

**A HISTORY OF DISTRICT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT
ADMINISTRATION IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICTS OF
ZAZZAU EMIRATE, C. 1902 - 1976**

BY

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CERTIFICATION

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own research and has been written by me. It has not been presented in any previous application for a higher degree. All sources of information and quotations have to the best of my knowledge been duly acknowledged in the footnotes and references.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the inextinguishable memory of my late father, Alhaji Sirajo Hayatu Dangaladima (died 24th May, 2011), and my caring mother, Hajiya Halira. I will forever have nothing to pay, let alone even equating the labour and sacrifices you invested in me. Your untiring support, training and prayers are what made me who I am today and always. May Almighty Allah reward you with *Aljannatul firdaus*. Amin.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the districts and local government administration in the Northern part of Zazzau Emirate, 1902-1976. It examined the various processes and fundamental changes witnessed in the spheres of administrative development at the grassroots level. In pre-colonial period, the relationship between the emirate central government and its areas of jurisdiction (towns and villages) was clientele in nature. There was no direct communication between the major emirate officials and the areas placed under their control. What characterised the magnate was dependence on slave messengers (*jakadu*), who acted on behalf of their masters at the emirate capital over their areas of authority scattered around the emirate. The two basic features of the pre-colonial system were absenteeism of major officials in the rural areas and disconnected areas of administration. This system was, however, radically changed following British colonial intervention early in the 20th century. By 1907, compact districts with resident heads were created primarily to collect taxes and to maintain law and order. This development ensured firm consolidation of colonial enterprise and further indicated clear departure from the old system. In the 1920s and 30s, the district head system was instituted as solid bedrock for colonial exploitation. From the 1950s, concerted attention was directed at improving the local government system and, to overturn colonial legacies. There was a shift and new approach to development oriented administration at the local level. In post-Independence Nigeria, the predominance of traditional authorities was challenged and supplanted with popular and participatory (democratic) local government system. The culmination of this was the revolutionary 1976 Local Government reform which insulated and reduced traditional authorities to mere advisory functions in the affairs of local government system. Institutions of coercion – police, court and prison, hitherto controlled by the Native Authority (NA) were all taken-over by the state and federal governments. And similarly, *haraji* and *jangali* taxes were also abolished. Constitutionally, local governments were recognised as a Third Tier of government. Consequently, three Local Government Areas emerged in the area of study - Zaria, Ikara, and Kaduna in the old Kaduna State. This heralded renewed vision by both the military and civilian regimes on the need of re-empowering and bringing government closer to people. Generally, this study demonstrated that the district head system was not traditional but colonial creation basically meant for maximum exploitation. As presented, there was an attempt to clearly depart from the usual concentration on colonial period and bigger polities to district and village areas. Other important arms such as the police, court and prison systems were also given the desired attention as against typical focus on the central of administration.

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The management and staff of National Archives Kaduna, Arewa House Library (both books and archives sections) were appreciably helpful for making available to me relevant materials in their custody. Without their cooperation, I must confess, the writing of this thesis would have been extremely impossible. At the Arewa House in particular, mention must be made of Dr. Salisu Bala , Suleiman Muhammed, Mrs. Lemsu Shallangwa, Mrs. Agnes Kolawale, Mrs. Esther Tabat and other staff of the research institute for their help in many capacities.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABU	-	Ahmadu Bello University
ADO	-	Assistant District Officer
A. G.	-	Action Group
AHAK	-	Arewa House Archives Kaduna
B. A.	-	Bachelor of Arts
BCGA	-	British Cotton Growers Association
BDC	-	Bauchi Discussion Circle
BUK	-	Bayero University, Kano
CFAO	-	<i>Compagnie Française de l'Afrique</i>
CMS	-	Church Missionary Society
D.H. Qtrs	-	District Headquarters
D. O.	-	District Officer
Ed	-	Edited
FAIS	-	Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies
GDSS	-	Government Day Secondary School
GL	-	Grade Level
JHSN	-	Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria
JMA	-	Jam'iyar Mutanen Arewa
J. P.	-	Junior Primary School
KCT	-	Kaduna Capital Territory
KJHS	-	Kaduna Journal of Historical Studies
KYA	-	Kano Youth Association
LA	-	Local Authority
LEA	-	Local Education Authority
LG	-	Local Government

LGPF	-	Local Government Police Force
LGSB	-	Local Government Service Board
M. A.	-	Master of Arts
MZL	-	Middle Zone League
NA	-	Native Authority/Native Administration
NAK	-	National Archives Kaduna
NCNC	-	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NEPU	-	Northern Elements Progressive Union
NNPC	-	Northern Nigeria Publishing Company
NNPC	-	Nigeria National Petroleum Company
NORLA	-	Northern Regional Literature Agency
NPC	-	Northern People's Congress
NPF	-	Nigeria Police Force
NPN	-	National Party of Nigeria
NYA	-	Nigerian Youth Movement
PhD	-	Doctor of Philosophy
PRP	-	Peoples Redemption Party
RCM	-	Roman Catholic Mission
SNP	-	Secretariat Northern Provinces
UMBC	-	United Middle Belt Congress
UPE	-	Universal Primary Education
WW II	-	World War two
YSC	-	Youth Social Circle
ZFS	-	Zaria Friendly Society
ZAHIR	-	Zaria Historical Research

GLOSSARY

<u>Hausa</u>	<u>English</u>
• Aikin Bauta -	Slave Labour
• Aikin gayya -	Communal effort
• Aikin Kwadago	Wage Labour
• Aikin Tilas -	Forced Labour
• Alkali -	Judge
• Almajirai (almajiri – singular)	Qur’anic school pupils or students
• Atcha/acca -	a variety of cereal
• Bazara -	Hot dry season
• Bazazzagi -	a man from Zazzau
• Beiril Mal -	(Arabic word) Native Treasury
• Birni -	(plural birane) City
• Cin-rani -	Seasonal Migration
• Dabarro -	Clayey Loam soil
• Dagatai -	Village Heads/Village Chiefs
• Damina -	Rainy Season
• Dauro -	a variety of cereal
• Dawa -	Sorghum/guinea corn.
• Dogari -	Palace Body Guard/Police
• Eid el fitr -	Feast of breaking the fast
• Eid el adha -	Feast of sacrifice
• Fadama -	Low lying land or marshy land
• Fulanin Gida -	Settled Fulani
• Fura -	Porridge (balls of cooked flour mixed up in sour milk usually drank)
• Gandu -	Family labour system/A large family farm/farm belonging to an emir, district or village heads
• Gardawa -	A pupil Qur’an teacher
• Gargari -	Gravelly loam soil
• Gunduma -	District
• Ilmi -	Literacy/Knowledge
• Hakimi -	District Head
• Haraji -	Tax
• Jakadu -	(singular Jakada) Messengers or Agents
• Jama’a -	People
• Jam’iyya -	Political party or association
• Jangali -	Cattle tax
• Kafirai -	Unbelievers
• Kaka -	Harvest season
• Kanawa -	People of Kano
• ‘Kasa -	Land
• Kasuwa -	Market

- Kewaye - Environs
- ‘Kiryā - a hard wood, largely used in charcoal production and burning.
- ‘Kofofi - (sing. Kofa) – literally means door, but in the 19th century emirate system, it means an official between the Emir and the other major officials in the conduct of civic affairs.
- Liman - An Islamic leader, who lead congregational prayers.
- Maguzawa - Non-Muslims Hausa
- Maigida - House holdhead/Head of Family
- Makarfo - *Aformosia Laxiflora* (Hard wooded tree)
- Makanikai (keke) - Bicycle repairers
- Makarantan Boko - Western type School
- Masugorori - Literally – men carrying clubs or heavy stick
- Noman Rani - Dry Season Farming
- Qadi - (Arabic word) Judge
- Reshe - Branch
- Sallah - Prayer(s)
- Sarauta - Aristocracy
- Sarki - King/Emir
- Sarkin Aska - Chief of Barbers
- Sarkin Baka - Chief of Hunters
- Sarkin Dillalai- Chief of Brokers
- Sarkin Fulani - Chief of Fulani
- Sarkin Gari - Village Head
- Sarkin Kasuwa - Market Chief
- Sarkin Magina- Chief of Builders
- Sarkin Noma - Chief of Farmers
- Sarkin Pawa - Chief of Butchers
- Sarkin Ruwa - Chief of Fishermen
- Siyasa - Party politics
- Sharri - Blackmail
- Talakawa - Commoners or Peasants
- Tsangaya - Islamic Centre of Learning
- Ubangiji - God/Lord
- Unguwa/Anguwa - Ward
- ‘Yandoka - N.A. Police
- ‘Yanmulkin Mallaka - Colonial Authority
- Zamani - Era

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

(I) Introduction

This work is a study on district areas and their eventual transformation into Local Government Areas in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate. It is a dual-folded research work based on the fact that, on one hand, it explores British Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the changes introduced on the pre-colonial system of administration in Zazzau Emirate. While on the other, it examines the various policies and reforms introduced in post-colonial Nigeria aimed at democratizing the age-old inherited Native Authority System (NA). This is because, soon after Nigeria's Independence in 1960, as demonstrated in many facets and expressed by many writers, as in the words of A.D. Yahaya, "...the mood of the time was to break with the past."¹ Thus, as the title of this research posits "*From Districts to Local Government Areas*", thus, a purposeful historical perspective was used in this study of the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. And this entails marshalling events from the British occupation in 1902, through all the colonial trends to 1960, and to the eventual post colonial local government reform of 1976 in Nigeria and the old Kaduna State in particular.² It is worthy of note that, the district head system has continued to attract the attention of researchers because of the belief that it was based on it that the Indirect Rule System in the various emirates of Northern Nigeria rested. However, most of such studies (published and unpublished) paid attention more on the histories of the Emirate capitals such as Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Borno and Sokoto.³ This is because they were considered most politically and economically important

¹ A. D. Yahaya (1989), "Local Government Reforms: The Military Initiative" in P. P. Ekeh (ed) *Nigeria Since Independence: Politics and Constitutions. The First 25 years* Vol. V, Ibadan, Heinemann, p.241

² Until recently, the former Kaduna state included the whole of the current Katsina state.

³ Example includes M. G. Smith (1960), *Government in Zazzau 1800 – 1950*, London, Oxford, C. N. Ubah (1973) "The Administration of Kano Emirate under the British 1900–1930", PhD Thesis, Ibadan, A. M. Fika (1978) *The*

within the region. The smaller units like the districts (towns and villages) that vastly constituted the emirates were given less emphasis. In addition, the local government areas which were offshoots of the districts fell far behind in our historiographical studies today. Instead, this important venture is to some great extent, left in the hands of political scientists and scholars of public administration. However, as impartially conceived even by one prominent and erudite political scientist in Nigeria – Attahiru Jega, that:

... as we all know, historians seems evidently indifferent to the inclination of political scientist, especially the Nigerian specie, who prefer to be occupied with the “here and now” of contemporary processes rather than what they view as the past, perceived as the appropriate domain of historians. In any case, knowing, understanding and appreciating the past are the only sound basis upon which to contextualise and address the unfolding events in the present conjecture. Perhaps the more political scientist relates to and understand history the better their contributions to explaining societal problems and finding solutions to them.⁴

Nevertheless, this work does not pretend to have tackled the vast and complex problems of British administration and the post-colonial trends in Northern Nigeria in particular. More so, it does not in any way tried to underestimate the contribution of other disciplines, other than history, in a study of this nature. Rather, it only seeks to fill in the gaps left by earlier studies. This we hope will stimulate further investigation and ultimately add to the literature on the study area. On the other hand, the chapter also addresses some key issues ranging from the significance and scope of the research, review of related literatures and theoretical paradigms relating to the subject of study. As a background to this study, the chapter further examines some

Kano Civil War and British Over-rule 1882 – 1940, Ibadan, Oxford, M. M. Tukur (1979) “The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighboring States 1897 – 1914: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Sources”, PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, I. A. Abba (1985) “Changing Patterns of Local Authority and the Evolution of District Head System in Gombe Emirate C. 1804 – 1960” Ph.D. Thesis BUK, Kano; and P. K. Tibenderana (1988) *Sokoto Province Under British Rule, 1903 – 1939*, Zaria, A.B.U. Press

⁴ A. M. Jega (2005) “Politics and Political Process in Northern Nigeria”, in A. M. Yakubu *et al* (ed) (2005) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903 – 2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, p. 223

basic geographical features of the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate, exploring the location of the area and relating it to the land, people and the pattern of settlement. This involves appraising the inter-play between man and his natural habitat. It was this interaction and the effort by man to conquer his environment that influences the emergence of human settlement in the area under discussion.

(II) Statement of the Problem

It is clear from some of the studies acknowledged on the history of Zazzau Emirate; most of it was preoccupied with the activities of the emirate administration at the center and particularly its capital, Zaria. In spite of its undeniable importance to the emirate, Zaria city is just a fragment of the vast territory that constituted the area of this study. There exist in the emirate significant number of districts, towns and villages which together formed the fabric of both the economic and administrative history of the area. Emphatically, these surrounding districts, towns and villages were not given the desired credence on the history of Zazzau Emirate. And since local government system is the crux of this study, thus the bedrock in which the system was built suffers from neglect and this has created a gap that needs to be consciously filled historians. There were stereotype conceptions and generalization on the activities of local government system. It is curiously noticed that, quite a number of people and casual observers presumed that what happens at the center was exactly conterminous with what obtained at the periphery in relations to administration. This therefore created a problem of understanding the historical trends that have shaped the evolution and transformation of local government system particularly in the area of study.

(III) Research Objectives

The major objective of this research is to present a purposeful document dealing with the history of local government system in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate. It also aimed at providing detailed discussion on what constituted governance at the local level – structure, operations and participation. From the colonial times to the present, local government system has remained a major priority of successive regimes in Nigeria’s political history. A topic occupying such importance, this study is modeled to provide a handy document, dissecting evolutionary processes of local government system in the emirate under review. The use of primary sources is prioritized in this study. This therefore added an important strand of flavour to the general history of the area. And of course to reiterate, part of the objectives of this study is to provide both to the people of Zazzau Emirate and the general public with a historical database for reference and further reading.

(IV) Scope and Area of Study

This research is a study of the creation of district head system and their eventual transformation into local government areas. It aims at looking at the structural and functional changes the districts underwent from 1902 to 1976. The year 1902 was chosen because it marked the period of British occupation of Zazzau Emirate and its subsequent and attendant consequences on the traditional administrative settings of the area. This was particularly the creation of districts in 1907 which served as buffer for the sustenance of colonial domination throughout the period of British presence in Nigeria. The year 1976 was considered as the terminal period because it ushered in a new phase of revolutionary system of local government administration in Nigeria. For the first time in 1976, the newly introduced local government reform was uniformly implemented throughout the country. Fourteen local governments were

created in the then Kaduna State. And out of this number, three were directly significant to this study. These were the former Zaria, Ikara and Kaduna Local Government Areas respectively.⁵ These local governments as at 1976 engulfed the whole of Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate, an expanse of land stretching from Zazzau borders with the emirates of Kano and Katsina, to the areas within and around Kaduna metropole. Presently, about eleven local governments constituted what was historically referred to as the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. These are: Makarfi, Kudan, Ikara, Kubau, Giwa, Sabon Gari, Zaria, Soba, Igabi, Kaduna North and Kaduna South local government areas. Therefore, the preoccupation of all the discussion in this work is limited to and centered on these areas.

Moreover, the area commonly referred to as the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate is approximately located between latitude 7 ° 15'E and longitude 11 ° 25'N.⁶ According to A.D. Yahaya, "All districts lying north of Kaduna were usually regarded as northern districts, and consisted of, Ikara, Makarfi, Soba, Kubau, Giwa, Sabon Gari, Zaria *da Kewaye* and Igabi."⁷ This description was based on Yahaya's studies of the Emirate of Zazzau from the 1950's which as at then Sabon Gari⁸ (Zaria) had come into being as a separate district area. Culturally, unlike the

⁵ These three local government areas (Zaria, Ikara and Kaduna) which were created in 1976 were those that encapsulated the numerous districts of what was (is) referred to as the Northern Zazzau Emirate. Later other local governments in this northern section sprang up. However, Kaduna town presents a different case, because since 1956, it was excised out of the control of Zaria Native Authority. With this development in 1956, Kaduna Town became administratively independent but the Ward Heads and the District Heads of Kawo, Makera, Barnawa, Afaka, Tudun Wada Kaduna, Sabon Garin Kaduna and Rigachikun which were within the city of Kaduna and its environs continued to be under the Emir of Zazzau. This is an historical and administrative relationship that still exists between Zaria and Kaduna. See the map on this chapter.

⁶ I am grateful to Malam Yakubu of the Cartography Unit, Department of Geography, Kaduna State University, Kaduna (KASU) for providing this information.

⁷ A. D. Yahaya (1980) *The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria, with particular reference to Zaria Native Authority, 1950-1980*, ABU Press, Zaria. p.14.

⁸ Sabon Gari Zaria, like the Sabon Gari Kano, emerged during the colonial period as a separate settlement occupied mostly by migrant population from southern Nigeria (especially Igbo and Yoruba). The impetus for the emergence of these Sabon Gari's was the construction and completion of the Baro – Kano railway line in 1912 and the activities of British colonial firms which attracted migrant labourers from the southern part of the country. For details, see, Ahmed Bako (2006) *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-Group Relations in the 20th Century*,

other earliest and homogenous districts, Sabon Gari emerged during the colonial period and populated mostly by the people from southern Nigeria. For a clearer picture, the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate is bounded to the north and north-west by Kano and Katsina Emirates. To the west, it bordered parts of the Birnin Gwari Emirate. To the south-east, the area shared boundary with the Lere and Kauru districts respectively.⁹ The location and history of these northern districts had been concurrently part of the evolutionary stages and transformation of *Kasar Zazzau* over the course of time.¹⁰ It is markedly important to begin from the colonial period, for the fact that, it was then the modern boundaries and administrative divisions were drawn in Northern Nigeria or the country as a whole. In 1902 when the capital of the emirate was occupied by the British and Zaria Province created, the northern part of the emirate remained within the boundaries of its former suzerain (Zazzau and now Zaria Province). This is unlike a large part of its southerly domain which was relocated to another province by the British.¹¹ When

Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto, and A.V. Dhiliwayo (1986) “A History of Sabon Garin Zaria, 1911 – 1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Settlement” Ph.D. Thesis, ABU, Zaria.

⁹ There are still controversies over the position of Lere and Kauru districts (now local governments) especially in the current Kaduna State socio-political arrangements. Historically as explained in chapter two both Lere and Kauru were vassal states of Zazzau and shares lots in common with the other core northern districts of the emirate. It is obvious the two districts are dominated by numerous ethnic groups but a significant percentage of the populations are also Hausa and Fulani. In fact, the Hausa and Fulani, occupies the ruling aristocracy of these areas until much recently when new chiefdoms were created in the area. For instance, A.D. Yahaya had this dilemma when trying to position the exact location of Lere and Kauru districts within the geo-political framework of Zazzau Emirate. While looking at the economic pedigree of the northern districts, he states that “Their economic importance facilitated a reasonably well-developed communication network which linked them to the metropolis of the Emirate. Between them - if Lere and Kauru districts are classified within northern Zaria – they accounted for about 71 per cent of the population of the Emirate. The uncertainty in the use of ‘If’ in Yahaya’s statement above should be noted. For convenience, these areas were now remotely referred to as part of southern Zaria (now southern Kaduna), while still the trivial argument on the areas continues. For recent work on such discussions in Kaduna State, see, Ibrahim James (2007) *The Politics of Creation of Chiefdoms in Kaduna State*, Kaduna, Vanguard Ltd.

¹⁰ Discussion is made under pattern and settlement of some of the major towns located in this part and their direct relations with Zazzau in this chapter.

¹¹ The sub-emirate of Keffi was relocated to Nassarawa Province, which according to the British was to punish Zaria for the murder of its official, Captain Maloney, in 1902, by Magajin Keffi Danyamusa (Emir’s representative in Keffi). For a recent discussion on this, see, Ibrahim Hamza (2011) “A little known eyewitness account of the Magajin Gari Keffi and Captain Maloney affair in the conquest of Northern Nigeria” A paper presentation at the Graduate Program Seminar, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano. Ibrahim Hamza is from the Department of History, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond VA 23220, USA. Also the districts of Kagerko (sic), Jere, and Janjalla were moved to Nassarawa until 1914 when they were transferred back to Zaria Province. See E. J. Arnett, (1920) *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, London, Waterlow & Sons Ltd, pp. 14 and 34

districts were created in 1907, the British realized and divided Zaria Province between the northern and the southern districts.¹² In spite of the various reorganisations carried out in Zaria, the districts in the northern part of the province remained, only that some ceased to exist as independent districts.¹³

In the post-colonial period, first in 1967 when the North-Central State was created and Zaria Native Authority re-designated as Zaria Local Authority Council, all the northern districts were put under the former. Lastly, in 1976, Kaduna State was created with 14 local governments areas under it.¹⁴ In this new political arrangement, the Zaria and Ikara Local Government Areas engulfed the entire northern districts of Zazzau Emirate. And by extension, the metropolitan Kaduna Local Government also remained traditionally as part of what is referred to as the northern Zazzau Emirate.¹⁵ It is important to note that there are now eight local governments that directly made up the core northern part of Zazzau Emirate in Kaduna State. These are Igabi, Zaria, Sabon Gari, Soba, Giwa, Kudan, Makarfi, and Ikara local government areas. And if Kaduna North and Kaduna South are to be included base on their earliest historical antecedent, the local governments are now ten.¹⁶

¹² See E. J. Arnett, (1920)... p.28.

¹³ As a result of the reorganisation process in the Zaria Province starting in the 1920's and 30's a number of districts were abolished and merged with another. As a result of this, by 1950 there were only 17 districts in the entire province. See chapter four for more details on the reorganisation of districts.

¹⁴ During that time, Kaduna and Katsina were in the same state (Kaduna) until in 19 when Katsina state was created out of Kaduna.

¹⁵ In 1956, Kaduna ceased to exist as part of Zaria Province following the transformation of the city as the capital of Northern Nigeria. Thereafter, under Kaduna Capital Territory (KCT) Law of 1956, Kaduna was administered as a separate local government area. See S. Bello and E. Oyedele (undated) *Cities of the Savannah (A History of some Towns and Cities in Nigerian Savannah)*, Kaduna, p. 74. And for discussion on the emirate and district relations between Zaria and the wards (*Anguwanni*) within Kaduna metropolis, see H. Sirajo (2008) "The British Administration and the creation of the District Head system in Zazzau Emirate: A case study of Igabi District, 1907 – 1976". MA Thesis, BUK, p. 119.

¹⁶ The influence of Zazzau Emirate on the greater part of Kaduna metropolis remained unchanged despite the more recent creation of chiefdoms in some parts of the southern axis of the town. The Emir of Zazzau's residential house still remained visible in the town at Unguwar Sarki, Kaduna. More importantly, the entire traditional District Heads within the Kaduna North and Kaduna South local governments owe allegiance to the Emir of Zazzau. This is also

(V) Research Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The research has extensively used both primary and secondary materials. Some of these appeared in the literature review. However, a few important points have to be made especially about the category of oral sources (the informants in particular) as well as some classical European sources of note. These are addressed below:-

Notes on some Sources

i. Nineteenth Century Travellers Account

The accounts and narratives of some European travellers, particularly Hugh Clapperton and Paul Staudinger were used for this study. These travellers cum explorers traversed through Hausaland including Zazzau Emirate in the 19th century and, put into records of their experiences of the people, economy, flora and fauna of this part of *bilad al sudan*. Clapperton visited Zaria, the capital of the emirate, and traversed many of its towns and villages. His geographical depiction of the country in the early parts of the 19th century was helpful and useful. Staudinger followed the trend in the later part of the 19th century, describing the state of the society on the eve of British colonial intervention. His encounter with one of the emirate messengers (*jakadu*), in the town of Igabi precisely, buttressed our understanding of the administrative pattern in the emirate prior to colonial intervention. As a whole, the insightful information provided by these travellers, as carefully digested, have added value to this study.

acknowledged in a work on the area that “Broadly speaking, by the late 18th century, Sarauta or the Habe Dynasty of the Zazzau state subordinated the Kaduna region under its political influence.” See M.B. Salau (1992) “A Political and Economic History of an Urban Settlement: A case study of Kawo, Kaduna, 1913-1980” MA Thesis, ABU, Zaria, p.20.

ii. Archival Materials

These are materials recorded and kept under the custody of National Archives at Kaduna (NAK). The materials at the archives were dated and classified according to subjects and places – Regions, Provinces, N. A.'s, Districts, and so on. Generally, these records covered the period of activities of British Colonial administration to 1960. The following were some of the records used in the course of this study:

District Assessment Report – these are records written by colonial District Officers on various district areas and villages, dealing with anthropological, land, history and economy of the people of each district under Zazzau Emirate. Information gathered through these assessments was used by the colonialist in determining and projecting policies in these district areas. When put into critical examination, these records prove useful to this study.

Provincial Reports – these were records on the whole of Zaria Province, regularly and yearly prepared by the Residents to the Secretary, Northern Provinces. Apart from yearly or annually, these reports were also prepared at intervals - Quarterly and Half Yearly, dealing generally on all aspects of colonial administration in the province. Policy implementation, progress and achievements, problems and areas with urgent attention were all systematically reported to the highest colonial body in the protectorate or region, through the British Resident, Zaria Province. Issues of importance on duties of local chiefs (emirs, district and village heads) such as taxation system, treasury, court and police, prison, labour, feeder roads, railways, health and education and so on, were all contained in this provincial annual report.

SNP Series – these were records from the office of the Secretary, Northern Provinces, and have accounts, similar to Provincial Reports, dealing on different subjects and policies of

colonial administration in the provinces that made up of the Northern Protectorate/Region. Reports on Zaria Province under this series were carefully sorted and used in this study.

Zaria L.A. – these archival materials referred to records of administration of Zaria Local Authority. It contained valuable information on the activities of central Zaria L.A. Council and its surrounding districts and village areas. It provides information on affairs of treasury (revenue and salaries), staff list, departments, list of districts and villages and so on.

Gazetteer of Zaria Province – it was not archival material per say, but it contained vivid summaries of Annual Reports, particularly from 1902 to 1920. It was prepared in form of a compiled book under the authority of British Colonial Office London.

Notwithstanding, in spite of its immeasurable importance in providing first hand information on particularly the colonial period, every bit of the archival records must be treated with scrutiny and logic. Colonial records were deliberately and systematically produced to be in line with the British colonial policies and to sooth the sole purpose of such foreign domination – exploitation. Thus, not all the information reported by the colonial officials in the emirate or province was perfectly correct. And in view of its summary form, details of what exactly transpired were inescapably missing here and there. More so, British colonial officials were portrayed saintly and their commands and policies were propagated as been like a blessing to the colonized populace. For instance, in the first three decades of British domination many local chiefs, including emirs, suffered from one accusation to another such as tax embezzlement, extortion, disloyalty and so on. On many reported cases, such allegations led to deposition of particularly numerous district and village heads in the emirate. Forceful and radical changes were introduced by the colonialist without due consideration to the people's historical background and

thereby forcing errors and incompatibilities. The intricacies and difficulties involved especially in colonial taxation and forced labour requires a discerning mind to be able to appreciate, to some great extent, the true picture of the events. Therefore, without closer look and critical examinations, some of the information may prove to be incorrect or misleading. On the surface, the British colonialist tended to pretend being into a kind of humanitarian venture, but inherently, the principal idea behind their adventure into foreign lands, like ours, was to exploit for the benefit of their nations back in Europe.

Notes on some Informants

This section gives brief biographical notes on some important people or informants interviewed in the course of writing this work. These resourceful informants were contacted at different towns and villages or local government areas in the Northern part of Zazzau Emirate. As a matter of fact, one should state here that meeting these personalities was a rare privilege. They shared and informed their experiences on matters related to the area and topic of study. Their oral views, I must say, immensely contributed in corroborating what was official and, on many related issues, revealed information which I should term as rare or out of public domain.

1) Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa

I was able to meet Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, through the assistance of a friend - Malam Yahaya Mahmud, who was (is) a youth member of the defunct Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) in the town of Rigachikun, Kaduna. I had three different sessions of interview with him in April 2013, at his house in the city of Kaduna. He is popularly known as Malam Balarabe Musa, born in 1936 at Kaya, Giwa Local Government Area of Kaduna State. He completed his primary education in 1947 in his home town and then attended the Zaria Middle School. After a

one-year course at Institute of Administration, Zaria (1952-53), thereafter attended various colleges at the United Kingdom from 1961-1969. In spite being a trained accountant, Balarabe Musa earned his fame in party politics in Nigeria. During the First Republic (1960-66), he was the youth leader of the Northern Elements' Progressive Union (NEPU) in London.

In his career, Musa worked as a school teacher (1955-60), and then appointed as an accountant in the former Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) now Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Kaduna (FRCN). At the radio house, he rose to the position of Company Secretary and Chief Accountant up until 1976 when he retired. During the Second Republic (1979-1983), Balarabe Musa was the leader of PRP and he contested and won election under the party as the first civilian Governor of Kaduna State, 1979-81. Since then he remains elder statesman and an important political figure in Nigeria. Our discussion centered on the emergence of party politics in our area of study, in which he was (is) a major player, from inception to date. He freely dashed me three materials on NEPU – (1) '*Manifesto of the Northern Elements Progressive Union for the 1959 Federal Elections*', (2) '*Northern Progressive Front*' of the '*United Progressive Grand Alliance*', *Manifesto for the Federal Election, 1964*', and (3) a book on Gambo Sawaba, titled '*Kallabi Tsakanin Rawuna*'. The researcher received information from him on matters relating to the 1976 LG reform which officially reduced traditional rulers to advisory status. We also had discussion on issues relating to his governorship radical decision in abolishing *haraji* and *jangali* (poll and cattle tax) in Kaduna State in 1979-1981. The meeting was indeed fruitful and proved useful for this study.

2) Alhaji Ibrahim Zubairu (*Sarki*)

He was born in 1947, at Anguwan Kaura in Zaria city. Ibrahim through his father, *Danmadami* Zubairu, District Head of Zangon Aya and Igabi, was a grandson of Emir of Zazzau, Ibrahim. This was where he earned the nickname as *Sarki*. He finished elementary school at Giwa in 1963, from where in the same year; Ibrahim joined the Zaria NA Police (*Yandoka*) at the age of eighteen. In 1969/70 when the *Yandoka* were integrated into the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), he served in Malumfashi, Kankara, Daura, Funtua, and Lagos; until his voluntary retirement in 1982, at the age of thirty-four. In 1983, Ibrahim joined the security division of the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). He retired from NNPC job in 2005 and finally settled with his family in Rigachikun, Kaduna. Our discussion with him concentrated on the integration of NA Police into NPF. More so, being directly from the royal family and son of a District Head, Ibrahim shared with me on the activities of traditional rulers during the colonial period. During the reign of Emir Ja'afaru (1936-1959), who succeeded my informant's grandfather, his name sake (Emir Ibrahim 1924-1936), I was privileged to hear from him on the quarrels leading to the deposition of his father, *Danmadami* Zubairu and his replacement with his junior brother, *Danmadami* Umaru around 1950. The interview was conducted on the 29th September, 2013.

3) Alhaji Dalhatu Alhassan Soba (*Mazan Jiya*)

He was born on the 15th March, 1945 at Soba, Kaduna State. He finished both junior and senior primary school in his home town of Soba and then completed Sokoto Teachers College from 1962-1965 with Grade III Certificate. In 1969, Dalhatu obtained Grade II Certificate and then proceeded to the university where he read Sharia and Civil Law in the late 1970s. He didn't

practice law, instead, spent his entire career as an educationist and taught in many towns such as Kuriga 1967-1971, Head Master at both Takalafiya Soba 1972-73, and Zuntu 1973-74, and lastly Government Girls School Soba. From 1987 when he was appointed as Assistant Education Officer, Dalhatu rose up to the rank of Assistant Director of Education (Exams), Government House, Kaduna State in 1995 and thereafter retired. My interview with him was on Sunday, 26th October, 2014 in his house at Soba. Important information derived from him was related to educational development in Zazzau Emirate, with emphasis on the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme introduced by the federal government in 1976. We also discussed other issues related to the activities of NA, the emirate, and party politics around Soba and Zaria areas.

4) Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed Ikara (*Bijimin Arewan Zazzau*)

“I was born in Ikara town and my age is more than 60 years now,” said the informant. Aliyu Mohammed had an appreciable level of education and according to him; he was 19 to 20 years old when he became the first chairman of the newly created Ikara Local Government Area from 1976-78. After his retirement, Aliyu was turbanned with the title of *Bijimin Arewan Zazzau*, District Head of Furana, Ikara Local Government Area in 2001. I interviewed him at his residence in Ikara town on the 26th October, 2014. He furnished me with information relating to the local government creation in 1976 and Ikara Local Government Area in particular.

5) Alhaji Musa Abdullahi (*Sarkin Gabas Zazzau*)

The interview was conducted on the 26th October, 2014 at his house in the town of Paki, Ikara Local Government Area, Kaduna State. He said he was born late in the 1920s in Ikara and had Quranic education earlier until in 1938 when he entered the newly opened Ikara NA Elementary School. From there, Musa Abdullahi proceeded to Zaria Middle School from 1942 to

1947. He worked with the Zaria NA as *Malamin Tsando* (Pest Inspection Officer) and then served as *Magatakarda* (Clerk/Scribe) in the N.A. Council. And when Shehu Idris became the Emir of Zazzau in 1975, he was later appointed as *Danmajalisan Sarki* (Member Zazzau Emirate Council). Then in 1991 when Paki was restored as a district, he was posted as the District Head there with the title of *Sarkin Gabas*. Our interaction provided me with many insights as regards the history and relationship between Ikara and Paki districts in Zazzau Emirate. He also shared his experiences as a worker under the NA System and an insider in the activities of the Emirate Council in Zaria.

6) Alhaji Mustapha Bello Sani (*Kunkelin Zazzau*)

Born around 1948 in Rigachikun, Mustapha Bello was the eldest son of the late *Danmasanin Zazzau*, Alhaji Bello Sani, who had been the District Head of both Igabi and Rigachikun districts respectively (1979-1989 and 1989-2001). The interview took place on 21st December, 2012 in Rigachikun town. Mustapha had western education to an appreciable level and worked with various ministries under the Kaduna State Government such as Education, Health and Pilgrims Board. After his retirement, and on the influence of his father, he was turbanned as *Kunkelin Zazzau*, District Head of Kwarau (Birnin Yero) in 2001. Then after the death of his father, he was transferred to Rigachikun District as its Head; the office he is holding up to date. Our discussion with him centered on district head system after Nigeria's Independence and the current position of traditional title holders in the scheme of administration at the local level.

7) Alhaji Dantsoho Wakili

The interview was conducted at his house in the town of Paki, Ikara Local Government Area, Kaduna State, on the 26th October, 2014. Born in Paki, Dantsoho claimed to be 79 years old and

was born during the reign of Emir of Zazzau, Ja'afaru Dan'Isiyaku (1937-1959) – approximately 78 years now. He had no western education but versed in the Qu'ran and other Islamic books and, informed that, his great grandfather was Musa *Limamin Doka* (Chief Imam of Doka). However, Dantsoho had been into party politics since the 1950s as an unwavering member of the defunct Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). Even though, he was young then but, claimed to have joined the party even before its foremost leader, Malam Aminu Kano. His die-hard passion for the party earned him the post of *Wakilin* NEPU (Leader or Representative of NEPU) in the town of Paki. In fact, his dogged support for the opposition NEPU and later People Redemption Party (PRP) made his residence to be named as *Gidan Aqida* – literally the House of Ideology or House of an Ideologue. And the name *Gidan Aqida* is there inscribed boldly both in Hausa and Arabic in front of his house, as gazed during my visit to him. Surprisingly, in spite of his age, Dantshoho is still active in politics and currently a major supporter of the All Progressives Congress (APC) at Paki Ward level. Our discussion with him was wholly on the history of party politics and the plight of NEPU/PRP supporters in Zazzau Emirate.

8) Murtala Sidi Makarfi

The date of the interview was 16th February, 2012 in the town Makarfi, Makarfi Local Government Area, Kaduna State. Murtala was born in 1976, and had his earlier education in his hometown of Makarfi and Zaria. In 2002, he obtained a degree in History from Bayero University, Kano (BUK). After spending a couple years as secondary school teacher at Makarfi, he is now with the Nigeria Customs Service in Lagos. Being an indigene of Makarfi and a graduate of history, Murtala helped a great deal with information on this important agricultural town. His final year university dissertation “*History of Makarfi Market in Zazzau Emirate*” was very insightful to the area of study.

9) Umaru Shehu Ikara

He was born in 1975 at Ikara and had education up to university degree level. After some years of work with Ikara Local Government Council, Umaru is currently with the Federal Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Kano. The interview was conducted severally with him (between 2012, 2013 and 2014) and he helped by linking the researcher with some personalities in the town of Ikara and its environs. Umaru, also made available to me some relevant documents on the history of Ikara town including his own B.A. project titled “*A History of the Emergence and Development of Ikara town c. 1800 – 1902*”, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 2006.

10) Mohammed Buhari

The interview took place at Anguwan Kambari, Zaria city, on the 16th May, 1971. Buhari was well educated, having obtained both his first and second degrees in history from Bayero University, Kano. He is now an academic staff with the Department of History, Kaduna State University (KASU). My engagement with him centered on prison system in Zazzau Emirate, a topic, Buhari wrote his masters degree thesis on – “*A History of Zaria Central Prison, 1902-1967.*” Apart from having access to his work, I also enquired from him issues requiring further explanations on prison administration in the Emirate generally.

11) Alhaji Abdullahi Badaru (*Sarkin Yamma Rigachikun*)

Born in 1973 at Rigachikun, Igabi Local Government Area of Kaduna State; Abdullahi had his education up to secondary school level in his home town. I had the advantage of unhindered access to Abdullahi, who is an uncle to me. Thus, we constantly interacted on issues bothering my research topic particularly in the first two sessions (2010/11 and 2011/12) of my studies. He

had versed knowledge on the study area, haven served as *Magatakarda* (Scribe) for many years under the District Head of Igabi and Rigachikun, the late Danmasanin Zazzau, Alhaji Bello Sani. After the death of the former, Abdullahi continued with his work under the current District Head until his appointment as Sarkin Gabas Rigachikun (Ward Head) in 2011. Being an experienced insider, I obtained information from him on the past traditional title holders (District and Village Heads) and their activities in the area and beyond.

Theoretical Framework

This work also cares for some theoretical framework of analysis. There are attempts made by scholars aimed at theorizing local government systems generally (both in the developed and underdeveloped nations). A theory is primarily an idea that is intended to explain a phenomenon. However, studies have shown that there is poverty of theories and confusion over which the local government system in Nigeria or Africa as a whole can be best explained. F.O.N. Roberts, submits that

Inevitably, it has been difficult to determine which particular theory (or theories) inform the reforms that define the evolution and development of Nigerian local governments, and adequately assess the logic and relevance of such a theory, and evaluate its successful implementation or otherwise.¹⁷

In view of this, there is persistent debate among government officials and academicians as to the existence of a conventional local government system in the country. The complexity of this arises from the reality of ethnic pluralism and which informed the original bases of Nigerian local government system to traditional institutions. No doubt, this propelled the persistent demand for the creation of more local government areas in the country.

¹⁷ F.O.N. Roberts (1997) *Theories of Local Government and the Nigerian Experience: Discourse or Real Politik*. Ibadan, NISER, p.1

Nonetheless, this is not to say that there are no theories aimed at explaining and justifying the viability of local government system, as aforementioned. There is the '*Localist School*' as advocated by an English Philosopher, John Stuart Mill in Britain in the 19th century.¹⁸ This school emphasizes local community representation from within rather than by the agents of States or Central Government. Only through such means, according to this school of thought, that service can better be identified, managed and provided to the populace of a given community. This will also provide an enabling opportunity for educating the citizens in participatory politics and governance through either election or selection of representatives of their own community. Through these processes according to the *Localist* view, democracy and governance at local government level would be nurtured and enhanced.

Moreover, in the 20th century another school called the '*Developmentalist School*' emerged and it shares the earlier views expressed by Stuart Mill's *Localist School*. It propagates that by co-opting and involving the local populace, and with better planning and coordination, the local government is the best alternative to promote and sustain quick socio-economic development in a nation state.¹⁹

There is the '*Democratic Participatory School*' which theorizes local government as a platform of instituting political culture and entrenching democratic principles among the citizens'. The 19th century French political thinker and historian, Alexis de Tocqueville had championed the cause of this thought. The basic argument of this school lies in an active mobilization of local populace in political activities such as electoral voting and election or selection to local governments' committees and boards. The tenets also engulf activities of

¹⁸ I.B. Bello-Imam (1996) *Local Government in Nigeria: Evolving a Third Tier of Government*. Ibadan, Heinemann, p.7-8

¹⁹ F.O.N. Roberts (1997)...p. 10-13

community pressure groups, public debates and discussions of local political issues.²⁰ The goal of this school of thought is to make local government achieve democratic values such as responsiveness, accountability and able representation at the grassroots level.

The '*Efficiency Services School*' is a thought that postulates the basic essence of local government in relation to the provision of services to the local community. The exposition of this school had its roots in the *Localist School's* view but emphasise that the success of local government could only be weighed by its ability to provide services to the community.²¹ The proponents of this school de-emphasize the functions of local government as only a tool of galvanizing political education and participation. It upheld service provision as the corner-stone of local government functions.

The '*Holistic Integrationist School*' is another school that expresses the presence of local government as an integral part that determinedly exist to help nurture national evolution, national integration and national consciousness. The major protagonist of this idea which became popular in the 20th century was Emil Sady. The basic view of this school is decongesting the central government and shouldering more responsibilities to local governments. These responsibilities include the provision of basic necessities like roads, clinics and schools with the help and encouragement of the central government. In this, the local governments will act as a catalytic agent in the implementation of national programmes.²² This will also help to reduce strenuous responsibilities of government at the centre and foster national consciousness at the local level.

²⁰R.O.F. Ola (1988) "Some Thoughts on the Role of Local Governments in Developing Countries (Nigeria) in L. Adamalekum et'al (eds) *Local Government in West Africa Since Independence*. Lagos, University of Lagos Press, pp.62-63

²¹ R.O.F. Ola (1988) ...pp. 63-64

²² R.O.F. Ola, (1988) ...pp. 64-66

A more critical thought in the 20th century was the ‘*Public Choice Theory*’ which was championed by G. Stoker. This school disparages representative democracy and bureaucracies.²³ They label such tendencies in local government administration as inefficient, wasteful and overspending. This grossly also only paved way and encourages self aggrandizement by officials to the detriment of the people of the community they represent.

In another perspective, this topic can also be looked at from the *Political Economy* approach. This is in view of the obvious relations between politics and economy. All political decisions or public policy must have an economic undertone. Looking at this topic with its huge span coverage of the colonial times, the view of the political economy could be of an exciting paradigm.²⁴ But this is not to say that this perspective is only tenable in the analysis of colonial activities. The obvious fact is only that it received popular attention especially amongst African writers on colonialism. Therefore, this warrants putting the political economy idea in to test. This historical thought drew the attention of Marxist scholars in their quest to analyze colonial domination. For instance, N. Bukharin²⁵ and V.I. Lenin²⁶ championed the cause and the latter particularly described it as the “Highest Stage of Capitalism”. While the pro-Capitalist saw colonialism as beneficial to the colonized nations, on the other hand, the Marxian enthusiasts condemned it in all ramifications. Colonialism is seen as the crudest form of exploitation of both human and natural resources of the colonized people. Therefore, the colonial system that was put in place to administer the districts or local government areas was driven to perpetuate the above exploitative tendencies. It did not stop there, in the post-colonial era, all the reforms and policies

²³ F.O.N. Roberts (1997)...p. 16

²⁴ The scope of this study is 1902-1976. And out of this, colonial period swallowed over fifty years of it – 1902-1960, the year Nigeria got her independence from Britain.

²⁵ N. Bukharin (1917) *Imperialism and World Economy*: London, Merlin Press.

²⁶ V.I. Lenin (1917) *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*: Moscow, Progress Publishers

initiated to enhance the local administration ended up in a vicious circle and creating further exploitative avenues for the ruling elites and their cohorts.

In view of the above theoretical explanations, it should be understood that all these theories were formulated and applicable to Local Governments in the developed world or in a developed democratic setting. However, expressions shared by '*Efficiency Services School*' and '*Democratic Participatory School*', which are collectively postulated by the '*Localist School*' is closely picked for this study. Thus, the *Localist School* view point would serve as a guiding framework for this study. With careful scrutiny, it is hoped to articulate a good understanding of the historical trends in the evolution of local government system in the colonial and post-colonial periods. This is with particular reference to the experiences and developments in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate.

(VI) Significance of the Study

The place of our indigenous system of government and its transformation into the modern local government system today, indeed occupies an important historical study that cannot be over emphasized. In view of this, a detailed account is necessary, especially coupled with the rising clamour for a more vibrant, popular, development-oriented, and autonomous local government system areas in the current democratic dispensation. Thus, it is interesting to undertake this research using Zazzau Emirate as a case study in this crucial period of Nigeria's history. Using historical perspective on this important emirate of Northern Nigeria, this research would definitely provide reference material to the academia and the general public. In this capacity also, the people and the Emirate of Zazzau, and Kaduna State as a whole stand to benefit from the research findings. This perfectly comes at a time and, perhaps, a response to a serious question

raised by the Emir of Zazzau, Shehu Idris, in his address at the Zazzau historical conference in Kaduna, June 2010. The Emir stated or rather lamented that:

Our attention has been drawn to a Radio announcement by the organizers of this conference that ‘Zazzau has no written History’. I was highly disappointed and deeply concern by the statement, which is entirely wrong, because even the participants and Resource persons who are going to present papers at this conference will only base their position papers on the research they have undertaken on the written History of Zazzau, anything other than that will show a negative attitude on the History of Zazzau and the people of Zazzau will never forgive any History which is not written or through oral traditions.²⁷

In view of not only what the monarch posited above, but also other reasons, this research is compelling, and therefore of great significance. This is because an attempt is made to document the history of the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate from the period of British intervention to its transformation into modern local government areas. This is particularly interesting having explored and critically examined both the available written and unwritten sources related to the area.

(VII) Literature Review

For the purpose of this research a number of both published and unpublished works were identified and reviewed accordingly. In view of this, some of these works were found to be either directly or indirectly relevant to this study. My focus is therefore, to examine this array of works and to see how they synthesized the topic of discussion. This enabled us uncover and understand the nature and changes the districts underwent in northern Zazzau Emirate, from the pre-colonial

²⁷ See, “Good will Message Delivered by His Highness Alhaji Shehu Idris, CFR, The Emir of Zazzau on the Occasion of the Conference of Zazzau History, Pre-Jihad to the Present Day”. From Tuesday 18th-Thursday-10th June, 2010, At the Main Conference Hall, Arewa House Kaduna, p.2

through colonial, to the post colonial periods when they became local government areas in 1976. This section is divided in to two viz: (i) Published sources and (ii) Unpublished sources

(a) Published Sources:

E.J. Arnett wrote the '*Gazetteer of Zaria Province*,'²⁸ which was an official colonial government document compiled by a British Resident in Zaria Province. The document contained a general history of Zazzau Emirate from the earliest time to the establishment of colonial rule. Since it was an official document, it emphasized the activities of the Provincial Administration, the Residents, Divisional and District Officers and other administrative activities. First hand information on the creation of districts and Native Courts, and the names of the various district heads appointed and deployed were documented in this gazetteer. However, it only covered records of the first two decades of British rule in the province (1902-1920). While in the case of this study, it covers whole of the colonial period and transcends up to the 1976 post-colonial history of Nigeria. Perhaps, useful information was deduced from it but other unofficial sources were utilized to check and corroborate the theme in question.

The work of M.G. Smith's '*Government in Zazzau 1800-1950*,'²⁹ is widely held as pioneering and a masterpiece on the history of Zazzau from the pre-jihad period through the establishment of an emirate government and to the imposition and consolidation of colonial rule to 1950. The book traces the history of Zazzau from its cradle and locations of its capitals up to the present site at Zaria city, its relations with other Hausa states, Bornu and other powerful kingdoms. It covers the coming of various Fulani lineages and their role in the 1804 Jihad that saw the overthrow of the last Hausa King of Zazzau, Jatau. Smith discusses at length the period

²⁸ E.J. Arnett (1920) *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, London, Waterlow and Sons Ltd

²⁹ M.G. Smith (1960) *Government in Zazzau 1800 – 1950*, London, Oxford University Press.

of the jihadists and the emirate type of government they founded, first under Malam Musa (1804-1821) down to the 13th Emir, Kwassau (1897-1903), whom the British met and conquered. The book also provides narrations on the consolidation of British colonial rule and the division of the Emirate or Province into 32 compact districts in 1907. He also discussed the establishment of Native Courts and the deployment of District Heads (*Hakimai*) to their various districts. This continued with the whole activities of the Zaria Native Authority up to the 1950's, a period characterized with changes in the political landscape of the country as a whole.

However, a Caribbean by origin and an anthropologist by profession, Smith tended to delimit the history of Zazzau to sociological interpretation. The book overemphasized the dynastic struggle and competition between the four ruling houses of Zazzau (*Bornawa, Mallawa, Katsinawa and Sullubawa*). He also devoted large percentage of the book drawing parallel and divergence between what he referred to as the Pre-jihad Hausa and the Post-jihad Emirate Governments of Zazzau. Subjecting historical analysis to such parallel of ethnic categorization – Hausa (*Habe*) versus Fulani as offered by Smith, did more harm than good to the understanding of Zazzau history. In their work, J. S. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Green, '*The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*',³⁰ the duo-authors drew much from Smith's exposition, and thus, practically ended regurgitating the same overview of Zazzau history. The flaws in this book was exposed to be bigger, particular by H. F. C. Smith,³¹ who questioned Smith's chronological dating of the Emirs in Zazzau, and claimed that it suffered from neglect. H. F. C. Smith further posits that:

³⁰ S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Green (1966) *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London, Oxford University Press.

³¹ Henry Frederick Charles (H.F.C.) Smith was his initial name before he converted to Islam in 1967 and took the name as Abdullahi Smith. He was a well known historian in the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and all over Nigeria and beyond. For details on his personality and works, see "*A Little New Light: Selected Historical Writings of Abdullahi Smith Vol. 1*", published by the Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Research, Zaria, (1987)

And if, as a result of this neglect, much of his dating should be wrong (as I believe it is), then it is also possible that his whole thesis with regard to the reasons why political events took place may be wrong in important particulars. For, clearly, political events took place in 19th century Zaria not in isolation from other events, but as an aspect of the total situation in the Caliphate.³²

This critical observation was also impeccably noted by P. J. Shea, in his review of Smith's book on Kano. According to Shea, Smith's "presentation has generally been one of comparing and contrasting the same society under different condition and different regime." More cautiously, he further posits that Smith's book "in the hands of an inexperienced, gullible and unsophisticated student could prove disastrous."³³ In the same fashion, indeed more critical, Y. B. Usman vociferously exposes Smith's fallacious usage of ethnic categories (*Habe*, *Hausa* and *Fulani*) in the study of the historical development of Central Sudan. With particular reference to *Kasar Zazzau*, Usman states that:

The definitions of categories like "Fulani", "Habe" which are basic to these narrations and model-building, are either never given or when given are vague and indeterminate³⁴.... "But in spite of the central role of these categories "Habe", "Hausa", and Fulani – in all his analysis of these political communities, M.G. Smith never defines any of them, nor does he probe in to their meaning and substance. He only lists the elements which he says gave each its internal solidarity and differentiated them from one another."³⁵

In spite of the criticism, the work still remains resourceful and relevant as far as history of Zazzau is concerned. It provides a background reading with insights on the activities of Zaria Native Authority up to 1950. The Native Authority directly controlled the district heads and therefore relevant to the present study.

³² H. F. C. Smith (1962) "The Dynastic Chronology of Fulani Zaria" in *Research Notes: Reprinted from the Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. II, No. II*, Ibadan, University Press, p. 278

³³ P. J. Shea (2003) "Book Review: M. G. Smith, Government in Kano 1350-1950" in *Kano Studies: A Journal of Savanna and Sudanic Research*, New Series 2000. Vol. 1 No. 2, 2003, p. 147

³⁴ Y. B. Usman (2006), "The Problem of Ethnic Categories in the Study of the Historical Development of the Central Sudan: A Critique of M. G. Smith and Others", In *Beyond Fairy Tales*, Vol. 1, CERDDERT, Zaria. pp. 24

³⁵ Y. B. Usman (2006), "The Problem of Ethnic Categories ... p. 27

Another work is by M. J. Mortimore, '*Zaria and its Region*'.³⁶ This work is a collection of articles that discusses the geographical setting, ecology and geology of Zaria region. The book provides ample geographical notes on Zaria but very little of its history. Admittedly, this did not in any way discredit its content as it was a conscious piece put together by the department of geography, ABU Zaria. Nonetheless, the article by Abdullahi Smith in the book titled "*Some notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings*" proves crucial to our understanding of the earlier history of Zazzau and its kings or rulers. More importantly rather, the book proves very much relevant to this research in terms of understanding the role geography played in shaping the environment in which *Kasar Zazzau* evolved and harmonizing the features that proves conducive for human settlement in the study area.

A. M. Fika's '*The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule 1882 – 1940*'³⁷ and C. N. Ubah's '*Government and Administration of Kano Emirate 1900 – 1930*'³⁸ are also relevant to this work. These writers studied Kano, an emirate considered as one of the most important territories of the Sokoto Caliphate to come under British Colonial rule. It is believed that in Kano, "many of the political, social, and economic policies evolved by the British in northern Nigeria and applied elsewhere in the country and in other parts of Africa had their origin in lessons learnt or experiments undertaken in Kano."³⁹ These policies introduced and tested in Kano by the British include taxation system, Native Treasury (*Bait-el-mal*) and Native Authority Police (*Yan Doka*). These policies played the dominant role in the British Indirect Rule System not only in Kano, but in other emirates brought under British rule. Fundamentally, these works of Fika and Ubah provides an in-depth discussion on the earlier British policies aimed at re-structuring the pre-

³⁶ M. J. Mortimore (ed) *Zaria and its Region*. Department of Geography, ABU, Zaria

³⁷ A. M. Fika (1978) *The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule 1882 – 1940*, Ibadan, Oxford

³⁸ C. N. Ubah (1985) *Government and Administration of Kano Emirate 1900 – 1930*, Nsuka, University of Nigeria Press

³⁹ A. M. Fika (1978) ... p. xiii (introductory pages)

colonial administrative system for maximum domination and exploitation. However, the scopes of their works were limited to the colonial period and thus, not have revealed the post-colonial experiences which the present research work intends to cover (i.e. 1976).

A. D. Yahaya wrote *'The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria 1950 – 1970'*.⁴⁰ This is a book with focus mainly on the activities and changes in the administration of Zaria Native Authority. Beginning from the 1950s to 1970, the book examines waves of reforms as it affects Local Government administration in the country and Zaria in particular. The period before 1950 is not covered in the work based on the author's predisposition.⁴¹ This created a wide gap and obviously an avenue to historically document the transformation of local government system in Zazzau emirate. The filling of this gap as intended by this research, requires examining the pattern in which the pre-colonial administration was, to the creation of districts at the time of the British and subsequently the transformation of the districts into local government areas after independence. Thus, a scope of convenient period from 1907 to 1976 is set to cover these historical changes with particular reference to the northern districts of Zazzau emirate.

Similarly, Alex Gboyega wrote *'Political Values and Local Government in Nigeria.'*⁴² This work provides a general overview on the evolution of local government system in Nigeria from the time of the British to the period of the second republic in Nigeria's political development. The general outlook of the book made it less detail in the areas of the pre-colonial administrative pattern of the various communities that constituted Nigeria. As the introduction

⁴⁰ A. D. Yahaya (1980) *The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria 1950 – 1970: A study in political relations with particular reference to the Zaria Native Authority*. Zaria, ABU Press.

⁴¹ In the first place A.D. Yahaya is a political scientist not a trained historian, and therefore he should not be blame for his scope of study and also not necessarily adopting historical method in his research.

⁴² Alex Gboyega (1987) *Political Values and Local Government in Nigeria*, Lagos, Malthouse Press

and operation of the Indirect rule system varies across the nation, so also its effects on the traditional administrative structures. This made it difficult if not impossible to identify all the changes introduced across the country. A detailed historical examination of the phenomenon of the transformation of local government system in the northern districts of Zazzau emirate as conducted, had ultimately added a good strand to the study. On the other hand, Gboyega's extensive overview was very relevant as it provided a sort of manual for comparative and drawing resemblance in the system of local governments in Nigeria.

Usman Dalhatu's book titled *'Malam Jafaru Dan Isiyaku: The Great Emir of Zazzau'*⁴³ is a biography of one of the famous emirs of Zazzau, Malam Jafaru Dan Isiyaku (1937-1959). In his foreword to the book, the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero, stressed that "It is indisputably the most comprehensive Biography which will ever remain an invaluable source of reference to researchers and members of the public."⁴⁴ The book covers significant aspects of the historical evolution of Zazzau from the earliest times to the end of the rulership of the biographee. The content of the book is arranged in parts (five parts) and the first three parts are most important to this study. As typical of most biographies of monarchs, the book mainly focuses on the political career of Jafaru Dan Isiyaku. Looking at the period of his reign – 1937-1959, he coincidentally came into power almost on the eve of the outbreak of the World War II in 1939, and he died also on the eve of Nigeria's independence in 1960. The historical analysis offered in the book as related to the lifetime of the emir is relevant to this study. Jafaru, having started first as the District Head of Zangon Kataf before ascending the throne as an emir, ultimately in control of the Zaria Native Authority, this historical thread provides useful data for this study. For example,

⁴³ Usman Dalhatu (2002) *Malam Jafaru Dan Isiyaku: The Great Emir of Zazzau*. Zaria, Woodpecker Communications Services

⁴⁴ Usman Dalhatu (2002)... see the foreword page of the book.

it provides information on the creation of districts, activities and reform of the NA especially that of 1954 which the emir reportedly opposed initially. However, the usefulness of these data depends on careful scrutiny and without been carried away by the weight of praises and eulogical lyrics contained in the book.

I. B. Bello-Imam wrote two books '*Local Government in Nigeria: Evolving a third tier of Government*' and '*The Local Government System in Nigeria*'.⁴⁵ These publications by the same author are but considered to be one book. The latter was a mere revised version of the former only that it was published by another press. Anyway, the author claimed to have achieved using historical-descriptive approach in reviewing the structural evolution, financial arrangement, manpower development, inter-governmental relations, and the role of traditional institutions in local government system in Nigeria. All these administrative indices as demonstrated in the book begins with the 1976 and especially 1985 reforms, a period Local Government system adjudged to have become very prominent in Nigeria's political discourse. So typical of an unhistorical work, the book offers rather a simplistic narration of local government evolution and the concurrent unattainable decentralization process of the federation system in Nigeria. This decentralization of power is between the Federal, State and the Local Government in the country. Crucially also, the book(s) begins from where this research stopped in terms of scope (1976). Thus, anything before 1976 suffers a choice of neglect from the author. However, this is not to say that the splendid discussion expressed in the book is unnoticed especially the process and impact of the 1976 local government reform throughout the country. Only that, this research work examined the historical evolution of local government system from the pre-colonial times

⁴⁵ I. B. Bello - Imam (1996) *Local Government in Nigeria: Evolving a third tier of Government in Nigeria*. Ibadan, Heinemann; and ... (2007) *The Local Government System in Nigeria*. College Press & Publishers Ltd.

through the changes introduced by the British and the reforms introduced in the post-colonial period up to 1976.

In addition to the above works reviewed for the purpose of this work, there are numerous other published works that deals with the history of British administration in Northern Nigeria. These include books written by the British Colonial Officials, such as F. D. Lugard,⁴⁶ M. Perham⁴⁷, Donald Cameron⁴⁸, C. W. Orr⁴⁹ and others. There are also numerous other books by Nigerians across various disciplines such as History, Political Science, Public Administration and even Sociology on the transformation of local government system in Nigeria. In the course of this research therefore, a great deal of these works were identified and reviewed accordingly. After a careful reading and fair understanding of these literatures, then a peculiar course of discussion was followed with a view at adding a new perspective on the history of the study area.

(b) Unpublished Sources:

There is the thesis of M. M. Tukur, “The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States 1897 – 1914.”⁵⁰ This is one of the important works that provides an extensive background study of the British colonial conquest of Northern Protectorate of Nigeria. The work splendidly discusses the establishment of British rule and the changes it brought on traditional political institutions especially on the emirates of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate and Borno. The period covered by this research (1903-1914) was that of pacification, experimentation and consolidation of British colonial rule in Northern Nigeria.

⁴⁶ L. Lugard (1965) *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa, Fifth Edition*. London, Frank Cass; and L. Lugard (1970) *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on subjects chiefly Political and Administrative 1913-1918. Third Edition, London, Frank Cass*

⁴⁷ M. Perham (1937) *Native Administration in Nigeria*. London

⁴⁸ D. Cameron (1934) *The Principles of Native Administration and their Application*. Lagos, Government Printer

⁴⁹ C.W. Orr (1965) *The Making of Northern Nigeria*. London, Frank Cass

⁵⁰ M. M. Tukur (1979), “The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States 1897 – 1914, A Re- interpretation of Colonial Sources” PhD Thesis Department of History, ABU, Zaria.

Tukur explicitly discussed the aim of the British of having few people to hold responsibility for administration of law and order in the rural areas and through whom to collect their taxes. In this context of tax collection, it became imperative to the British to re-organize the pre-colonial structure of local government. The relevance of Tukur's detailed exposition (two volumes thesis) to this research work is inestimable. Only that, the scope of the research for its own choice, dwelled on the period when even the re-organizations of the districts and village units were far from been consolidated. Building on this background, this study extends its scope to cover whole of the colonial period, and transcending traits of discussion into the post-colonial period to 1976.

I. A. Abba wrote "Changing Patterns of Local Authority and the Evolution of the District Head System in Gombe Emirate C. 1804 – 1960."⁵¹ It is a detailed discussion on the evolution of district head system in Northern Nigeria with emphasis on the Gombe Emirate. Adopting an in depth historical analogy, the author examined the pattern of pre-colonial system of administration in Gombe Emirate and how it was transformed during the colonial period. His major finding is that in the pre-colonial period loyalty to the traditional authority was often personal and either to a family head, clan head or an individual. This pre-colonial clientage system was opposed to British territorial (compact) based authority. The aim of the British was to create a single tax gathering authority (District Heads) in each given area. This referred to what Abba described as the creation of homologous districts in Northern Nigerian with emphasis on Gombe Emirates. He popularized and disputed the perceived claim that the district head system was traditional in nature. The duties and functions of the District Heads *viz-* collection of taxes, mobilization of forced labour and the maintenance of law and order were examined in the work. The work stops at 1960 which means reforms and developments that led to the creation of

⁵¹ Abba, I. A. (1985) "Changing Patterns of Local Authority and the Evolution of the District Head System in Gombe Emirate C. 1804 – 1960" PhD Thesis, Department of History, BUK. Kano

modern local government areas in the country were not covered in the work. Arguably, this work is helpful to our understanding of the administrative changes introduced by the British. But this study on the northern Zazzau Emirate only revealed some semblances of Abba's findings. This is in view of the differences between Gombe and Zazzau Emirates, which indeed the latter is larger and more complex than the former.

S. M. Aminu wrote "Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902 – 1945."⁵² This work discusses how the British colonial government used the Native Authority system, first, to ensure administrative control and second, to effectively exploit both human and natural resources of the colonized areas. The work studies the above colonial trend with reference to the Zaria Native Authority. It is examined in this thesis how the British used the Zaria Native Authority in popularizing British propaganda, collection of taxes, cash crop production and mobilization of forced labour. The coercive measures used especially in the extraction of labour by the Native Authority cannot be overemphasized as demonstrated in the work. The peasants who were forcefully recruited by the Native Authority through the District and Village Heads usually participated in the construction of railway network, roads and digging in the mining fields. The work stops at 1945, a year marking the end of the World War II. This research is invaluable in the sense that it discusses at length the activities of the Zaria Native Authority and its control over the District Heads who were seen as the bedrock of Indirect Rule system. More so, being the nerve centre of the emirate, the Zaria Native Authority was the central body that supervised all the activities of the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate up to 1976 when local governments were created.

⁵² S. M. Aminu (1991), "Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A case study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902 – 1945", M.A. Thesis, Department of History, ABU Zaria

Abdulkadir Adamu wrote “British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District.”⁵³ The preoccupation of this thesis centered on is the colonial agricultural policies in Northern Nigeria with reference to Soba District of Zazzau Emirate. The work clearly exposes how forcefully colonial policies on land, labour, production, transportation and taxation were instituted in order to re-orient the peasants towards production of exportable crops. This was planned to sustain British colonial economy and to entrench global capitalist network. The submission made as regards the various colonial agricultural policies particularly on the economy and society of Soba District was found to be adversely negative according to the author. The relevance of this work lies in the fact that, Soba District falls directly within the geographical scope of our research - Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. Indeed, the interplay between economy and administration is indispensable. Conversely, the thrust of this study is more political with purposeful look at the administrative transformation of constituent districts of Zazzau Emirate to local government areas in 1976.

Haliru Sirajo wrote “The British Administration and the Creation of the District Head System in Zazzau Emirate: A Case Study of Igabi District 1907-1976.”⁵⁴ This work focuses on one of the districts (Igabi) that constituted the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. It examines the history of some of the major towns and villages that constituted Igabi District. The central thesis of the work is on the British introduction of district head system in Zazzau emirate. It demonstrated that the districts were created in order to ensure effective administration and particularly collection of taxes. With Nigeria’s independence in 1960, the work examines the continued reduction in the powers and importance of the district head in local government

⁵³ Abdulkadir Adamu (1991) “British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1902-1945: A case study of Soba District”, M.A. Thesis, Department of History, ABU, Zaria

⁵⁴ Haliru Sirajo (2007) “The British Administration and the Creation of the District Head System in Zazzau Emirate: A case study of Igabi District, 1907-1976” M.A. Thesis, Department of History, BUK, Kano

administration. Collection of taxes as their major function was no longer the main source of the nation's revenue following the discovery of oil. The work is of great relevance though only on one of the districts that constituted the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate. As emphasized earlier, the current research is set to cover a multiple number of districts that formed the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate.

Another work is M. M. Gwadabe's "Land, Labour and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: A case study of Kumbotso District, 1903-1953."⁵⁵ Certainly, this work particularized Kumbotso District in Kano as a case study but the holistic discussion offered in the thesis encompasses major aspects of British colonial domination throughout Northern Nigeria.⁵⁶ Found most interesting in Gwadabe's work were the twin colonial 'Labour' and 'Taxation' systems which was dealt in details. This no doubt, the insights read and understood from this work had greatly supplemented and broadens our discussion on the study area. Considering the proximity and importance of the two emirates (Kano and Zazzau), it offers more room for comparative analysis and understanding of the area of study. Three districts of the northern Zazzau which directly shares border with Kano Emirate are Makarfi, Ikara and Paki respectively. However, while Gwadabe picked one district (Kumbotso) in Kano, this study covers multiple district areas in Zazzau. Also the period(s) of the two researches slightly varies - Gwadabe covered 1903 – 1953⁵⁷, while our study is from 1902 - 1976.

⁵⁵ M. M. Gwadabe (2008), "Land, Labour and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: A Case Study of Kumbotso District, 1903-1953", PhD Thesis, Department of History, ABU, Zaria

⁵⁶ This work is similar if not equal to the works of A.M. Fika and C. N. Ubah on Kano history during the colonial period. On Northern Nigeria in general, it can be likened to the works of M. M. Tukur and I. A. Abba, in terms of general overview and in-depth analysis of the nature and practice of Native Administration system. See the opening and closing chapters of the thesis for this general and elaborate discussion.

⁵⁷ For Gwadabe, 1903 stands for the conquest of Kano by the British, and 1953 entails or coincided first with the death of Emir Abdullahi Bayero in December, 1953 and accession of Muhammadu Sunusi as the new Emir. And on the other hand, the period of 1953 onward, heralded complexities in Kano NA and the ultimate emergence of radical politics in the emirate. For details on this see, A.M. Yakubu (2006) *Emirs and Politicians: Reforms, Reaction and*

Dalha Waziri's work is "A History of Local Government System in Gumel Emirate, 1903-1983."⁵⁸ It is a detailed study on the evolution of local government system using historical perspective with emphasis on Gumel Emirate. Using historical perspective, Dalha traces the pattern, structure and the changes local administration underwent from the pre-colonial period through the colonial period up to early 1980s when Gumel Emirate was divided into two local government areas. The work demonstrates a path breaking information on the role District Councils and Village Group Councils played in providing efficient platforms of administration at the grassroots level. It is clear the premise of Dalha's thesis is historical perspective and this, according to him, is "to provide a concise document on the structure and daily practice of Local Government in the emirate using primary sources which had been merely mentioned by scholars of political science and public administration."⁵⁹ However, Gumel is a smaller emirate when compared to Zazzau, and it had been all through its recent history under Kano Province and Kano State respectively. In fact, the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate, an expanse covered by our study is even bigger than the entire Gumel emirate. In terms of traditional rulership also, Zazzau politics is more complex and intriguing than that of Gumel. This peculiarity of Zazzau history and politics had pre-dates British incursion and still re-surfaces during the colonial and the post colonial periods.

(VIII) Relief, Land and People of the Area of Study

The land of the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate is conterminous with what generally obtained in the Central High Plains of Northern Nigeria. M.B. Thorp, described this

Recrimination in Northern Nigeria, 1950 – 1966, Kaduna, Baraka Press and Publishers Ltd, pp. 134-140. Similarly, the choice for 1902 for this particular research stands for the British occupation of Zazzau Emirate, and 1976, which was a post-colonial period denotes the general reform of local government system in Nigeria.

⁵⁸ D. Waziri (2009) "A History of Local Government System in Gumel Emirate, 1903-1983" PhD Thesis, Department of History, BUK.

⁵⁹ D. Waziri (2009) ... p. 3.

area as “part of the vast, gently undulating plains scenery which extends almost unbroken from Sokoto to Lake Chad and beyond, and from south of Kaduna to the Tiguédi scarp near Agades.”⁶⁰ The one-dimensional description of the plain as being vast and unbroken seems not exactly so at certain considerations. There are “considerable variations in both surface forms and composition,” especially when closely examined by experts. The dominant feature of the plain was a hilly one, and positing two types of landforms: rock inselbergs and lateritic ironstone-capped mesas.⁶¹ Rocks of the inselbergs type are a common and noticeable feature found in the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate. These rocks are so noticeable that, Hugh Clapperton, while approaching the capital city of the emirate (Zaria) described it “like islands in the midst of the sea.”⁶² Within the Zaria city, these rocks were found in areas around Madarkachi, Fan Tambari, Kufena, Tukur Tukur and Hanwa⁶³. Outside the city, a distance to the south, there was the *Dutsen Dumbi*, a rock site noted for its natural hollows and remarkable pool on it.⁶⁴ Across some towns in the northern part, these rocks could be found in Turunku and Farakwai in Igabi district, Kargi, Anchau and Dutsenwai areas in Ikara district and Garun Gwanki in Soba district. And in several other places, these rocks are striking scenery in the northern districts of Zazzau emirate. A study reveals the importance of the founding of *birane* (states or cities) around great inselbergs in Hausaland; for instance, the *Dutsen Dala* in Kano and the Kwatarkwashi in Zamfara. In Zazzau, the most prominent were Kufena and Turunku. These rocks were said to be

⁶⁰ M. B. Thorp (1970) “Landforms” in M. J. Mortimore (ed) *Zaria and its Region: A Nigerian Savanna City and its Environs*, Department of Geography, ABU, Zaria, 1970, p. 13. See also K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh (1955) *Land and People in Nigeria: The Human Geography of Nigeria and its Environmental Background*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 35-36; and R. K. Udo (1970) *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*, Ibadan, Heinmann, P. 156

⁶¹ M.B. Thorp, “Landforms”...p. 13

⁶² Hugh Clapperton (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. p.137

⁶³ Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) “The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis C. 1902-1960” PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria. p. 2

⁶⁴ See M.J. Mortimore (1970) “Settlement Evolution and Land Use” in M.J. Mortimore (ed)...p. 106

dwelling places of spirits and early *birane* (cities) were located and built around it especially in the pre-Islamic Hausaland.⁶⁵

In the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate, there are several networks of rivers and streams that traverse this southern most part of Hausaland. Among these too numerous to mention water-ways, the prominent one is River Galma, which also serve as a tributary to the major River Kaduna.⁶⁶ In 1923, the District Officer in Ikara district, reports that, “There are numerous streams flowing into the Galma river on the West and the *Kogin Kano*.”⁶⁷ In the dry season, these rivers and streams have little or no water in them, but they are usually flooded during the rainy season.⁶⁸ These water-ways sufficiently drains the expanse of the area and provided drinking water for both humans and animals. It is important to note that these networks of rivers and streams are instrumental to agricultural activities in the area, especially in supporting large scale dry-season (*noman-rani*) farming.⁶⁹

The soil type found in the area belonged to the group called ferruginous.⁷⁰ The dark clay soil of the *fadama* is also added due to its prevalence in most part of the towns and villages in the area. The *fadama* is suitable for sugar-cane and vegetables cultivation, but the two soils

⁶⁵ A. Smith (1970) “Some notes on history of Zazzau under the Hausa kings” in M.J. Mortimore (ed) ... p. 91. Also see from the same author where he offered treatment of the question of early state formation in Hausaland, and a criticism of earlier literature on the subject. A. Smith (1974) “The early states of the Central Sudan,” in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds) *A History of West Africa*. Vol. 1, London, Longman, pp. 177 - 193

⁶⁶ The River Kaduna is a main tributary of the famous River Niger, in central Nigeria. It rises on the Jos Plateau 18 miles (29 km) southwest of Jos town near Vom and flows in a northwesterly direction to a bend 22 miles (35 km) northeast of Kaduna town. It then adopts a southwesterly and southerly course before completing its 240-mile (550-kilometre) flow to the Niger at Mureji (opposite Pategi). Most of its course passes through open savanna woodland, but its lower section has cut several gorges (including the 2-mile [3-kilometres] granite ravine at Shiroro) above its entrance into the extensive Niger floodlands. www.britannica.com./Kaduna-River.

⁶⁷ NAK/SNP/368/1923 Ikara District Re-Assessment Report on by Captain H. Mereeek.

⁶⁸ See R. K. Udo (1970)...p. 156

⁶⁹ A number of areas in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate are renowned for dry-season and *fadama* plantations. Land stretching from Makarfi, Ikara, Anchau, Kubau, Soba and Igabi districts produce plentiful of sugar cane, onions, carrots, tomatoes, pepper, green leaves (*alaihaho* and cabbage) and many more. This is in addition to large scale conventional raining season farming which the area excelled in Kaduna State.

⁷⁰ See R. K. Udo (1970)... p. 157.

(ferruginous and *fadama*) are often prone to “erosion under the impact of heavy rainfall” as a result of high silt and sand proportion in the soil.⁷¹ In the 19th century, two famous European Explorers had made individual references at different times of the type of soil found in Zaria and its environs. During his visit to Zaria in the 1820s, Hugh Clapperton described the soil as being “... deep red clay, with now and then rock sand stone and clay iron stone.”⁷² While Paul Staudinger, who journeyed through Hausaland in the late 19th century recalled his experiences in Zaria that,

In summer during the raining season the landscape present quite a vivid picture with its many cornfields, but during the rest of the year the dry, flat, red clay plain looks bare and monotonous.⁷³

Moreover, for agricultural uses, an extensive research on the food economy of Zaria and its environs by Abdulkadir, had further expatiated the potentiality of these soil types found in the area.⁷⁴ The ferruginous *jarkasa* type that retains more moisture and well developed structure is good for annual crops like millet, guinea corn, rice, yams and sweet potatoes. The second type which is the *fadama*, is heavy, blackish, and with high clay content. The *fadama* has excellent moisture retention and therefore tilled year round by means of irrigation.⁷⁵ In the Makarfi and Ikara districts, the *fadamas* supported large scale sugar cane production. In Igabi and Soba districts, plentiful rice is cultivated in their *fadamas*. In Giwa and Zaria *da Kewaye*, onions, carrots and vegetables are produced in commercial quantity. These are in addition to other crops which the fertile *fadama* of the plain of northern districts of Zazzau Emirate supported.

⁷¹ See Abdulkadir Adamu (2001)...p. 3. Also according to Klinkenberg, “The *fadama* are of special importance. They are fairly rich in nutrients and have a good to extensive water supply, which persist in the dry season”. K. Klinkenberg (1970) “Soil” in M.J. Mortimore (ed)... p. 56 and 58.

⁷² Hugh Clapperton (1966)...p. 157

⁷³ Paul Staudinger (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*, Ohio, Ohio University Center for International Studies, Vol. 1. pp. 176 – 177.

⁷⁴ See Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) ... particularly chapter one, pp. 1-36

⁷⁵ See Abdulkadir Adamu (2001)...pp. 3-6.

However, in the northern most part of it, in areas bordering Kano and Katsina Emirates, the soil becomes less heavy, less fertile and weathered. This type of soil is commonly called the *jigawa*. In fact, T.C. Newton, who was District Officer at Paki, an area of Zaria Province, bordering Kano Province further to the north, described that,

The soil (of the *jigawa* type) is excellent, but the ground dries too quickly, especially in the North, for an abundance of such crops as cotton to be grown successfully.⁷⁶

The *jigawa* soil is naturally good in the production of crops that requires less rainfall like guinea corn and millet. It is also suitable in groundnut and cotton production which are high profile export crops in Northern Nigeria particularly during the colonial period.

b) The Climate

The Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate is situated in a region that possesses a Tropical Continental Climate. According to P.N. Hore, “The continentality of its climate is more pronounced during the dry season, especially in December and January. The mean daily maximum temperature shows a major peak in April and a minor one in October...”⁷⁷ This type of climate is over-run by two distinct air masses. One is in the North, which is dry and continental in origin (Saharan air masses) and the other, the Atlantic, in the South, is moist, cool and equatorial maritime in nature.⁷⁸ Therefore, the weather and climate depends on the air masses which covers the area and its depth. Throughout the region, “there is only a single rainfall peak which comes in August or September. The rainy season is much longer in the south and east where it begins in April and ends in October.”⁷⁹ In this northern part of Zazzau Emirate, the rainfall regime is similar to that of Kano region. But in areas closer to Zaria, rainfall normally

⁷⁶ NAK/SNP/369/1923. Faiki District Re-Assessment Report on by Mr. T.B. Newton.

⁷⁷ P.N. Hore (1970) “Weather and Climate” in M.J. Mortimore (ed)...p. 41

⁷⁸ P.N. Hore (1970)...p. 41

⁷⁹ R.K. Udo (1970)...p. 157

reaches 43 inches per annum, much higher in Kano, which is 33 inches.⁸⁰ While in the Southern part of the Emirate (now Southern Kaduna), as noted earlier, the rainfall is higher and with dense vegetation.

Generally, the inhabitant of the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate distinguishes four seasons or climatic regimes respectively. M.G. Smith and Abdulkadir Adamu⁸¹, who both also wrote on the economy of Zaria and its suburb, had shared similar findings. These are: *Bazara*, *Damina*, *Kaka* and *Rani*.

- a) *Bazara* – The hot dry season of the harmattan from mid February to mid May.
- b) *Damina* – The rainy season, from mid May to the third week in August.
- c) *Kaka* – The harvest season, from third week in August to the third week in November.
- d) *Rani* – The cold dry season of the harmattan, from the third week in November until mid February.

However, these climatic seasons are not always constant as they are subject to fluctuations depending on the movement of the air masses that compete for positions in the atmosphere. As the seasons are marked distinctively, so also the activities carried out in each especially agriculture.

c) The Vegetation

The vegetation of the Northern District of Zazzau Emirate belongs to the Northern Guinea Savanna Zone. This vegetation is described as a zone of transition between the two

⁸⁰ M.J. Mortimore (1970) "Settlement Evolution and Land Use" in M.J. Mortimore (ed)...p. 103

⁸¹ The works of these scholars are: M.G. (1955) *The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria*. A Report to the Colonial Social Science Research Council, Published by Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London. p. 2; Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) "The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria....." pp. 6-8

broadly – Guinea savanna and the Sudan savanna. Buchanan and Pugh, described the features of the zone thus,

There is a more or less continuous grass-cover, the grasses being short and feathery and contrasting with, coarse, tussocky grasses typical of the Guinea zone, while many valleys carry a discontinuous belt of fringing forest. This consist of a dense tangle of dry-zone species with isolated larger trees and patches of tall grass, and is very different from the dense evergreen gallery forest of the Guinea zone.⁸²

The above depicts typical vegetation found in the savanna which charecterised an open park land interspersed with tracts of orchard bush.⁸³ Experts attributed the characteristics of vegetation cover under the influence of three major facets *viz* - climate, soil and human activity. These facets, of course, were put into test, especially the human factor, in studying *Kasar Katsina* by Y. B. Usman,⁸⁴ and later by Abdulkadir Adamu,⁸⁵ in Zaria and its environs. Their findings which are concomitant with the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate, had presented three peculiar vegetation zones. These zones are:

- a) *Karkara*: This type is described as the immediate vegetation surrounding the various settlements scattered around the northern part of the emirate. Between the city walls in the case of Birnin Zaria and town walls in the area, the *Karkara* extends up to a few miles away from an established settlement⁸⁶. During the period of exploration, Hugh

⁸² K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh (1976)...p. 36

⁸³ See E.J. Arnett (1920)...p. 5

⁸⁴ See Y.B. Usman (1974) "The Transformation of Katsina: The Emergence and Overthrow of the *Sarauta* system, 1400-1884" PhD Thesis, ABU.

⁸⁵ Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) *The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria*

⁸⁶ Studies reveal that in the 18th century, it was only the Birnin Zaria that attained the status of a city in the entire Hausaland part of Zazzau. However, there were quite a number of towns and bigger villages with defensive walls, in the 18th and 19th centuries Zazzau. These towns include Hunkuyi, Likoro, Kudan, Igabi, Makarfi and others. Thus, they had similar vegetation of the *Karkara* type, like that of Zaria city. On this discussion of the city, towns and bigger villages (Birni, Alkarya and Kauyuka) in the 18th and 19th centuries Zazzau, see Mahdi Adamu (1981/82) "The Economy of a Hausa Capital: Zazzau in the 18th and 19th Centuries" in *History Research at ABU Vol. VI: The Departmental Seminar Paper of the Department of History, ABU, Zaria.*

Clapperton had become fascinated with the *Karkara* of Zaria while approaching the city and stated that,

...within about four or five miles of Zaria, the country becomes altogether clear of wood: except a patch here and there, all was in pasture, or planted with rice, millet and *daura*. Herds of beautiful cattle were feeding in the valleys, or lying chewing the cud on the higher grounds. Zaria is known by its tall trees, like long avenue of gigantic poplars (*rimi*) running across the horizon from north to south, stretching from the south end of one detached mount to the another.⁸⁷

Even though, most these European travelers tend to record and paid much attention to the capitals of the emirates, but the physical features seemed to be the same in the surrounding towns and villages. For instance, in the assessment reports of Ikara and Paki districts in 1923, the District Officers outlined that,

(in the case of Ikara) ...*Kadanya, Dorawa, Dunya* and *Rimi* are the chief trees of economic value to be found. There is an uninhabited area of land in the south eastern corner which might be considered as a suitable area to constitute a reserve. (and in the case of Faiki (sic) Paki)...Perhaps the most noticeable aspect of this District is the marked change, as one proceeds north-ward from the typical well watered and timbered Zaria country, to a much more opened class of land where the bush is much thinner,and *Shea* and *Dorawa* trees – so typical of Zaria – fewer and further between.⁸⁸

In the other constituent districts like Igabi, Soba and Makarfi, there are these types of trees of both domestic and commercial value. For example, the *daddawa*,⁸⁹ which Paul Staudinger in the 19th century hailed as ‘popular,’⁹⁰ produced in Zaria and environs was an important article of trade and used to find its way to neighboring Kano, Katsina, Sokoto and distance places like

⁸⁷ Hugh Clapperton (1966)...p. 158

⁸⁸ NAK/SNP/368/1923...p.5, and NAK/SNP/369/1923.... p.2

⁸⁹ The *Daddawa* is made from the fruits of the *dorawa* tree (locust bean tree – *parkia filicoidea*). It is used in the preparation of soup especially the commonest staple *miyar kuka* in Hausaland.

⁹⁰ See Paul Staudinger (1990)... p. 180

Maiduguri⁹¹. The other natural trees found in the area also have their own importance to the people. The *Kuka* (baobab – *adansonia digitata*), juicy staple soup (*miyar kuka*) is made from its leaves, the fibre from *rimi* tree (poplars), is used in making pillows, mattresses and oil when the seedling is crushed (*man angurya*), the *giginya* tree provides roofing material (*azara*), mats and an eatable condiment from its sown seeds (*muruci*).⁹²

b) *Saura*. This is a land left unseeded for a period of time in order to recover natural nutrients. It is also described as a fallow land, where because of the stoppage of cultivation, the field became over-grown with grasses and shrubs. It is said that based on the observations of European travelers in the 19th century, fallow lands (*saura*) were few in Zaria when compared to the situation in Katsina⁹³. Clapperton at the town of Fatika, for instance, attested that, “At 8. 30 A.M. left our encampment to the eastward of Fatika, the road winding and very gravelly; passed through several plantations of millet, sweet potatoes, indigo, and *dourra*,...”.⁹⁴ He made similar remarks in Igabi that, “...Eggebee (sic) is an extremely neat as well as large town, surrounded in the centre of a fine and highly-cultivated plain...”⁹⁵ Moreover, Staudinger, in the same Igabi town observed that,

...close to the walls of another fairly large town, Rikoka, we had to cross yet another river.... From here on our route lay through very swampy terrain but we reached Igabi at one forty five, having ridden across the fields (farm lands) that belonged to the town for over an hour...⁹⁶

However, this was not to outrightly declare the absence of the *Saura* vegetation in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate. To say the fact, lands for agricultural activities were

⁹¹ This was a narration of Heinrich Barth, one of the famous European visitors to Hausaland in the 19th century, as cited by Abdulkadir Adamu (2001)...p. 10

⁹² See Abdulkadir Adamu (2001)...p. 10-11

⁹³ See Abdulkadir Adamu (2001)... p. 11

⁹⁴ Hugh Clapperton (1966)... 157

⁹⁵ Hugh Clapperton (1966)...p. 303

⁹⁶ Paul Staudinger (1990)...p. 168.

extensively tilled in *Kasar Zazzau* in the 19th century and further revolutionized in the 20th century in order to sustain the British colonial economy (an economy which was exploitative in all ramifications).

- c) *Daji*. This referred to the woody part of the country, though without an exact extent, but it can approximately reach up to a radius of five miles, away from a particular city or town, as observed in the 19th century by Clapperton.⁹⁷ These thick and woody vegetations served as natural barriers or sometimes as boundaries separating one settlement from another. In the period preceding the British conquest, for instance, physical *daji* separated the Birnin Zaria from the other surrounding towns such as Maigana, Likoro, Hunkuyi, Giwa, Turunku and Igabi to mention a few. In this woodland vegetation, the commonest type of tree was the *Isobertinia doka*, which according to G. Jackson, "...if left undisturbed, form a moderately tall, (20m) closed woodland..."⁹⁸ Although, trees of the *Karkara* type could also be found in the *daji*, but the undisturbed trees of the *daji* were taller, bigger and plentiful. And it was from the trunk and branches of these matured trees that implements for both domestic and agricultural uses were produced. These wooden implements includes hoe handles, stools, pestle and mortar (*turmi da tabarya*), plates (*akushi*), spoons (*koshiya*), charcoal for blacksmiths (*gawayi*), canoes, hollows for drummers, and so on.

⁹⁷ Cited in Abdulkadir Adamu (2001)...p. 12

⁹⁸ G. Jackson (1970) "Vegetation" in M. J. Mortimore (ed)...p. 61

d) The People

Zazzau is a country of many names as it is also known as Zakzak and Zegzeg. The name of its capital city is Zaria. But the former (Zazzau) is the most widely used to refer this important area in Hausa land. In the words of Dahiru Yahaya,

Understanding Zazzau needs special skills and a unity of approach to historiography. The need for a unique approach arises because of the range of the physical features, the varied ethnic composition and the cultural diversity of Zazzau as well as the incongruity of its civilisations (sic) and the contrasting needs of its peoples and its neighbours.⁹⁹

It was one of the ancient independent Hausa states and the largest Emirate of the Sokoto Caliphate.¹⁰⁰ The emirate as a whole encompasses numerous people of diverse backgrounds. Regarding the area of our study, the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate, there are three major ethnic groups. These are the *Hausawa*, the *Fulbe*, locally known as Fulani and the *Gbagyi*, also known as *Gwari*. However, the Hausa is the predominant and widely spoken language in the area. Available evidence suggested that a number of towns found in this part of Zazzau, such as Turunku, Igabi, Likoro, Hunkuyi, Soba, Giwa, Ikara, Anchau, Kargi, Fatika, Makarfi, Kudan, Kubau, Paki, to mention but a few, had a long history of settlements of the *Hausawa* in the area.¹⁰¹ These are in addition to Zaria, the nucleus, the capital, and the most important city of the *Kasar Zazzau*. More importantly, the town of Turunku, according to Zazzau history was the cradle of one of the ancient founders of the Kingdom of Zazzau. He was called Bakwa Turunku, the father of the legendary Queen Amina of Zazzau and Zaria, to whom the city derived its

⁹⁹ Dahiru Yahaya (2010) "Zazzau, the Bridge between Hausa and Banza Bakwai: an Assessment" A paper presented at the Zazzau History Conference: Pre-Jihad to the Present Day" Tuesday 18th – Thursday - 10th June, 2010, At Main Conference Hall, Arewa House, Kaduna, p. 1

¹⁰⁰ On the history, size and vastness of Zazzau Emirate under the Sokoto Caliphate, see chapter two for a detailed discussion.

¹⁰¹ Local traditions and ethnographical notes collected on these areas ascribed the development of these towns prior to the Jihadist overthrow of the *sarauta* system of the *Hausawa* in the 19th century. A brief discussion of the history of some of these towns will follow in the chapter.

name¹⁰². Generally, the *Hausawa* people in this northern section of the Emirate are fondly and proudly called *Zage-zagi* or *Zazzagawa* (singular – *Bazazzagi*) – meaning the people of Zazzau.

The second major group of people in the area are the *Fulbe* - Fulani (singular *Pullo*), who are widespread and can be found in both rural and urban areas.¹⁰³ The *Fulbe* were also believed to have founded a number of towns in the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate, especially after the period of the jihad. However, as a result of long term interactions between the settled *Fulbe* and the *Hausawa*, a lot of the Fulani became assimilated in to the imperial Hausa culture. The reason for this as observed by M.G. Smith, was that, “they (Fulani) lost most of their independent culture, and language.”¹⁰⁴ But this is not common everywhere. While unlike the settled or sedentary *Fulbe*, there are also the nomadic cattle keepers, who live in the bushes. This group of *Fulbe* maintain to greater extent their culture distinctly from the *Hausawa*. They are the major source of providing the towns with livestock and milk.

The third important ethnic group in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate are the Gbagyi people. Even though some corrupted names such as *Gwari*, *Gwali*, *Goali*, and *Gbari* were imposed on them, the name Gbagyi is still commonly used by the speakers of that language to refer to themselves.¹⁰⁵ In fact, the popular saying “*Zazzau mafarin Gwari*” (Zazzau the origin of the Gwari) is enough to express and corroborate the inter-connection of the Gbagyi history to Zazzau. A number of writers ascribed the concentration and dispersal of Gbagyi settlements to

¹⁰² See E.J. Arnett (1920)... pp. 8 – 9. Also see, A. Smith (1970) “Some notes on the history of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings” in M.J. Mortimore (ed)... pp. 82 – 83.

¹⁰³ On the coming of the Fulani in to the Zazzau area, there were claims that when the *Hausawa* moved from the ancient site of Turunku to the present site of the city (Zaria), they met the Fulani people herding their cattle there. But this assertion was contested that the Fulani were just trying to justify their jihad as a resumption of ancient right based on earliest settlement in the area. See M.G. Smith (1960) *Government in Zazzau*...p. 137.

¹⁰⁴ M.G. Smith (1955) *The Economy of Hausa Communities*... p. 3

¹⁰⁵ For details see S. Mohammed (1988) “The Impact of British Colonial Rule on the Gbagyi 1900 – 1960: A study of Political Change”. M. A. Thesis ABU Zaria pp. 1 – 3. Also from the same author, ... (2002) “Gbagyi and their South West Neighbours to 1898” in A. A. Idrees and Y. A. Ochefu (eds) *Studies in History of Central Nigeria Area* Vol. 1, Lagos, CSS Limited, p. 154.

areas around the Niger-Benue confluence, stretching up to Giwa and Igabi Districts in Zazzau Emirate.¹⁰⁶ However, it is difficult to state exactly when the Gbagyi people came into these areas. But available sources revealed that they had preceded any other tribe, especially in areas around Kaduna metropolis.¹⁰⁷ There was a long history of relationship between Gbagyi and Hausa people of the area. According to J. N. Paden:

The indigenous Gbagyi people have had good relations with the Hausa migrants to the area, and have developed a joking relationship (*abokan wasa*) with the Katsina and Daura people in particular because of the tension in the past and the need to get along together.¹⁰⁸

These earlier settlements of the Gbagyi people were generally small and scattered. Some attributed this to constant slave raids especially by the emiral forces of Zazzau in the 19th century.¹⁰⁹ Tradition also had it that Gbagyi trace their origin to Borno area where they originally inhabited, but were pushed out during the Islamization period. They traced their migration into Katsina area to the east of Zaria and into the Birnin-Gwari area. While some Gbagyi historians trace their dispersion to the jihad of the nineteenth century, when some of them followed the fugitive king of Zazzau to Abuja and settled there.¹¹⁰ In Igabi District, Gbagyi settlements are found mostly in the outskirts of the towns and villages in the area such as Rigachikun, Afaka,

¹⁰⁶ J. N. Paden (1986) *Ahmabu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria*. Zaria, Huda-huda Publishing Company p. 319 (notes). Also see S. Nadabo (1988) *Tarihin Garin Kaduna*, Zaria, Huda-huda Publishing Company, pp. 15 – 18, and S. Mohammed (1988)...p.5. And also see the map attached.

¹⁰⁷ A submission has already been made in this chapter on the influence of Zazzau Emirate over the area now called Kaduna metropolis.

¹⁰⁸ J. N. Paden (1986)...p. 320

¹⁰⁹ S. Bello and E. Oyedele (1980) *Cities of the Savannah (A History of some towns and Cities of the Nigerian Savannah)*. Nigerian Magazine, P. 3. Also E. O. Oyedele (1987) "Colonial Urbanisation..."; M. B. Salau (1992) "A Political and Economic History of an Urban Settlement: A case study of Kawo – Kaduna 1913 – 1980", M.A. Thesis ABU, Zaria and A. Sani (1995) "History of Anguwan Kawo in Kaduna Metropolis 1900 – 1993" B.A. Dissertation BUK, Kano. These works all talked about the pre-existence of Gbagyi in Kaduna area, and attributed their dispersal to constant slave raids by the emirate forces of Zazzau. Even M.G. Smith stated that, both Kano and Zaria chronicles agreed in stating that the function of the Habe Kingdom of Zaria in Pre-Jihad days was to supply its more northern sister kingdom with slaves from the pagan groups on its borders. These pagan groups include the Gbagyi people.

¹¹⁰ For details see I. N. Baba (1984) "Role of the Gbagyi in the Hausa State of Abuja 1807 – 1979" B.A. Dissertation BUK Kano pp. 2 – 4.

Chikaji, Zaure, and Ruhogi.¹¹¹ The Gbagyi men are predominantly farmers while their women gather and sell firewood with distinct style of carrying the load on their shoulders to the nearby markets. However, this is not to say that there are no other ethnic groups in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate apart from the Hausa, Fulani and Gbagyi people. Certainly, other ethnic groups could also be found especially from the southern part of the emirate (now Southern Kaduna), and also people of southern Nigerian extraction. But, the population of the other ethnic groups in the area is grossly insignificant when compared to the dominant Hausa and Fulani.

e) The Pattern of Settlement

Demographically, there was a clear-cut difference between the northern and the southern part of Zazzau Emirate. According to the 1952 census, as noted by Mortimore, the northern part of the emirate, which forms the most southerly area of Hausaland, had a high population density which falls between 50 and 200 people per square mile. The less populated south of the emirate fell generally below 10 per square mile.¹¹² It was also on record that unlike in the neighbouring Kano Emirate, where large segment of the population lived in the city (*birni*), in Zazzau, a high proportion of the population in 1900, lived in towns and villages, especially in the northern part of the emirate.¹¹³ A number of factors were put forward as regards the emergence of human settlement and proportionate population density in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate. These were attributed to environmental conditions, economic and social reasons. As discussed at length earlier, this part of Zazzau is situated in the northern most part of the guinea savannah belt of the Nigerian area. The suitable geography of the area, according to Mabogunje, influenced the

¹¹¹ For details on Gbagyi settlements in Igabi District, see Haliru Sirajo (2002) "A History of Rigachikun Village in Kaduna State" B.A. Dissertation, BUK, Kano. pp. 3 – 4, and from the same author (2007)... pp. 14 – 15

¹¹² See M. J. Mortimore (1970)...p. 103

¹¹³ Polly Hill (1977) *Population, Prosperity and Poverty: Rural Kano, 1900 and 1970*. London, Cambridge University Press, p. 4.

establishment of human settlement.¹¹⁴ Other writers¹¹⁵ too had replicated Mabogunje's view that the openness of the savannah was the major indicator that influenced evolution of settlement on the plains of Northern Nigeria. However, this view was contested by some writers of the region. The major challenge came from Y.B. Usman,¹¹⁶ who rather marrying up the simplistic notion, he argued that, skills are the outcome of relations between man and his environment. Usman's research in Katsina attributed the availability of water and distribution of economic resources as the major factors that influenced evolution of settlement in this part of Hausaland. Similarly, in the Soba area of northern part of *Kasar Zazzau*, Abdulkadir, surveyed and concluded that,

The major environmental advantage of the Soba plain was the climate and the soil of the area which was healthy for human habitation and favourable for the cultivation of numerous food and industrial crops. The availability of underground water very close to the surface especially in areas adjacent to the streams also aided the emergence of human settlement in the area.¹¹⁷

However, unlike the hundred per cent fertile *fadama* and rich clay of the Soba District as noted by Abdulkadir, and as observed in many other districts in the area, stretched along the borders of this part of Zazzau with Kano, (Paki district) "as one proceeds north-ward from the typical wellwatered and timbered Zaria country, to a much more opened class of land where the bush is much thinner, the soil lighter, water scarce..."¹¹⁸ It should be emphasized that, areas with such

¹¹⁴ A. Mabogunje (19) "The Land and Peoples of West Africa" in J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowther (eds) *History of West Africa*. Vol. I. London, Longman, pp. 1-10

¹¹⁵ See A. Z. Ibrahim (2008) "The Emergence of Settlements in the Shika Area of the Zaria Plains c. 1800-1920" in ZAHIR: The Journal of Zaria Historical Research, 2008 Edition, Department of History, ABU, Zaria. The author mentioned Buchanan and Pugh as some of the writers that suggested that the savannah was completely conducive for evolution of settlement.

¹¹⁶ See Y. B. Usman (1981) *The Transformation of Katsina: The Emergence and Overthrow of the Sarauta system, 1400-1884*. Zaria, ABU Press, pp. 3-4

¹¹⁷ Abdulkadir Adamu (1992)... p. 13

¹¹⁸ NAK/SNP/369/1923, Faiki District Re-Assessment Report, p. 1

dry features in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate were few when compared with the greater section endowed with expanses of *fadama* and rich agricultural soil.¹¹⁹

It was obvious that, on the plains of the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate, pattern of settlement followed production pattern of its inhabitants, just as discovered by Abdulkadir in the Soba area by the late 19th century.¹²⁰ The pattern followed the Smithian exposition on the evolution of settlements in Zazzau and Hausaland in general – *Birane*\(*Garuruwa* (cities or towns), surrounded by *Kauyuka* (villages) and *Unguwanni* (hamlets).¹²¹ The local communities are centred about some towns or villages which have a recognized head (*Sarki*) and priest (*Liman*). The towns were usually walled for security and safety especially in times of war and to avoid being captured by slave raiders.¹²² On the practice of widespread walling in many towns of the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate, information from the area attributed it to the menace of the Ningi slave raiders. The Ningi raids had even reached areas around Zaria city. According to M.G. Smith, “The Ningi continued to ravage eastern Zaria annually, attacking Dan Alhaji, Soba, and towns near Makarfi; their captives included free Muhammadans as well as non-Muhammadan slaves.”¹²³ There were also attacks from the Maradi raiders, marching through Katsina, Kano and capturing the town of Kudan in Zazzau.¹²⁴ The invaders were said to have

¹¹⁹ The soil types (tropical ferruginous and *fadama* soils) of the area have been already discussed in the chapter under the Land section. Moreover, what is obvious according to R. K. Udo, “The Hausa are one of the few grassland groups who practice traditional forms of irrigation in the country, and all over Hausaland river flood plains, usually called *fadama*, are put under intensive cultivation during the dry season months. See R. K. Udo (1980) “Environment and Peoples of Nigeria: A Geographical Introduction to the History of Nigeria” in Obaro Ikime (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*. Ibadan, Heinemann, p. 20.

¹²⁰ See Abdulkadir Adamu (1992)...p. 14. In general, the Hausa economy has always featured the intensive cultivation and most Hausa live in small agricultural villages, although there are also large traditional towns, including Kano, Katsina, Zaria and Sokoto. See also R. K. Udo (1980)...p. 19

¹²¹ See Abdullahi Smith (1970)...pp. 82 - 101, and Abdullahi Smith (1974)...pp. 177 – 193.

¹²² See M. F. Smith (1954) *Baba of Karo. A Woman of the Muslim Hausa*, London, Faber and Faber, p. 43

¹²³ M. G. Smith (1960)...p. 187

¹²⁴ See M. G. Smith (1960)...p. 185.

capitalized on the weaknesses of the later rulers, especially Emir Sambo (1881- 1890), and on the other hand the general diminishing power and charisma of the Sokoto Caliphate as a whole.

Going back to the pattern of settlement, towns established around inselbergs was a typical feature of the early states and smaller towns in Hausaland. This has been discussed earlier in the chapter that a number of towns in the northern part of Zazzau were founded around inselbergs. For instance, within Zaria city, we have a number of such landforms like Madarkachi, and Fan Tambari, while Kufena, Tukur Tukur, Hanwa, and Dumbi were located outside the city. There were Turunku and Farakwai in Igabi district, Kargi, Anchau and Dutsenwai rock areas in Ikara district and Garun Gwanki in Soba district respectively.¹²⁵ But this is not to say that all the major ancient settlements in the area were founded around inselbergs, in fact, towns established on bare plains of the region were more in number. This therefore, informed that other important factors also played significant roles in the emergence of settlement in the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate, as we shall see in a brief discussion of some of the towns in the area.¹²⁶

Igabi

The town is situated about 32 kilometres south of Zaria city. Local traditions ascribed the founding of this town to a Bornoan scholar, called Malam Ahmadu Igabi, from Kukawa, and also from whom the town derived its name.¹²⁷ But the meaning of the word ‘Igabi’ in both Kanuri and Hausa languages remains unknown. Certainly, considerable interest and discussions were made by scholars in order to ascertain and to establish the relations that existed between Borno and

¹²⁵ A certain repetition of discussions earlier treated in the chapter has been thought to be necessary in order to give a co-ordinate account.

¹²⁶ It is absolutely not possible to cover all the towns and villages in this large part of northern Zazzau Emirate. However, a selection of some of the major districts or towns would give us a good co-ordinate perspective of the area.

¹²⁷ Interview with Malam Ladan, Gidan Tsamiya Igabi. This interview was conducted during the field work of my Masters degree in 2006. For details, see Haliru Sirajo (2007)...pp. 3 - 6

Zazzau and the entire Hausaland in general. Scholars for instance, dismissed the dominant view of warfare as the major relation that existed between Hausaland and Borno in the pre-colonial period. Abdullahi Smith particularly observed that “a reason for Bornoan influence in Zazzau was the position of the Bornoan Caliphate as a source of important cultural inspiration in the Central Sudan.”¹²⁸ He mentioned the position occupied in the kingdom by officials associated with Borno. These officials were *Magajin Mallam*, *Bakon Barno* and *Limamin Kona*. In relation to this, Y. B. Usman further explained that:

Many of the dynasties of Hausaland have traditions which either say that their founders came from Borno, or that they had passed through Borno.¹²⁹

Therefore, the tradition of origin indicates that Igabi town evolved as a centre of learning (*Tsangaya*). It is also connected with the wider incident of the flow of Bornoan scholars into Hausa states and development of Islamic scholarship in the Zazzau Emirate. Equally, the founding of Igabi town is associated with the coming of *Sullubawa* under their leader called *Alkali Sarkin Fulani Sule*, from Sokoto. Of course, M.G. Smith, in his work on the spread of Fulani lineages in Zazzau prior to the jihad, believed that, “the *Suleibawa* of Zaria were thus split into three segments before Musa’s invasion. Of these, the *Suleibawa* Igabi were closely linked to the *Bornawa*.”¹³⁰ Therefore, this stands to support the tradition held by the people of Igabi as regard the origin of their town and its wider relationship with the Emirate of Zazzau.

Moreover, Hugh Clapperton, during his visit to Igabi, made an encompassing assessment of the town thus:

¹²⁸ Abdullahi Smith (1970)...p. 93

¹²⁹ Y. B. Usman (1983) “A Reconsideration of the History of relations between Borno and Hausaland before 1804 AD” in Y. B. Usman and N. Alkali (eds) *Studies in the Pre-colonial Borno*, Zaria, NNPC, pp. 211-233

¹³⁰ M. G. Smith (1960)... p. 183. Malam Musa was even said to have visited Igabi town prior to the jihad in Zazzau, according to Smith. See in the same book page 138.

At six in the morning proceeded on the path, and crossing a large river running to the south at one, entered spacious town named Eggebee (Igabi) at two in the afternoon; the chief of which is one of the king of Zegzeg's principal fighting men. Eggebee is an extremely neat as well as large town, surrounded with a high wall, and situated in the centre of a fine and highly-cultivated plain. Nothing can be more beautiful than the appearance of the country for miles round. Lofty trees, covered with the most beautiful foliage, casting their welcome shade along the earth; plots of ground, planted with corn, every here and there enriching the landscape, and vegetation springing up at every step in the richest luxuriance, afforded a gratifying and delightful relief to the sameness of African scenery, which is welcomed with emotions of pleasure that a person who has never wandered in these regions can never know. The town contains six or seven thousand inhabitants, who are all dressed with peculiar neatness; while the cleanliness they display, both in their huts and person, strongly reminded me of my own far-distant country.¹³¹

This emphatic portrayal of the town by Clapperton was later confirmed and buttressed by a German traveller, Paul Staudinger, who journeyed through the Sokoto Caliphate between 1885-1886, and spent most of his time in the Hausa-speaking central emirates of the Caliphate, particularly Zaria, Kano and Sokoto. In his memoirs, Staudinger reported that at the time of his visit, Igabi was already a flourishing town with a beautiful mosque and thriving agriculture. The traveller reported that:

...from here on our route lay through very swampy terrain but we reached Igabi at one forty-five, having ridden across the fields that belonged to the town for over an hour. A beautiful *Zaure*, just as we liked best had been put at our disposal. The town king and the *Sarkin Pawa*, king of the butchers outdid each other with presents. A huge quantity of *Fura* and two large bowls full of delicious milk were sent to us for refreshment after the journey...¹³²

Under the pre-colonial emirate system, the town of Igabi was under the Dangaladima's fief and served both as an economic and political centre of its neighbouring towns and villages. In 1907, Igabi was made as a district, with a population of 8, 066 people in 1923,¹³³ which rose to 20, 156 by 1950.¹³⁴ Other important towns in the districts include Turunku, Rigachikun¹³⁵,

¹³¹ Hugh Clapperton (1966)...p. 303

¹³² Paul Staudinger (1990)...p. 168

¹³³ NAK/ZARPROF/385 Igabi District Affairs.

¹³⁴ See NAK/ZARPROF/385 Igabi District Affairs, and NAK/ZARPRO/399 Zangon Aya District Affairs.

Ashehu, Jaji, Zangon Aya, Birnin Yero and Afaka to mention a few.¹³⁶ The headquarters of the district was later relocated from Igabi town to Rigachikun around 1937.

Soba

An important agricultural town, Soba¹³⁷ is strategically situated on the major routes linking Zazzau Emirate with Bauchi and Gombe Emirates and the Jos-Plateau area. Oral traditions had it that, similar to Igabi, the town of Soba was founded by a Kanuri hunter, known as Soba (meaning friend in the Kanuri language). Having been captivated by the irresistible climate and soil of the area, Soba abandoned hunting and settled permanently for agriculture together with his people. The town of Soba was blessed with streams and an extensive *fadama* lands and this made the inhabitants of the area to cultivate plentiful crops. Its thriving agricultural potentials had even in the pre-colonial period attracted the attention of the emirate officials by establishing rumada – a farm worked by slaves and produced mainly cotton and grain crops. It is said that, Madaki Sa’idu, son of the Emir Kwassau, and another merchant called Barau Mai Mazaza had such big slave estates in the Soba area. A thorough agricultural research on Soba district by Adulkadir further reveals that, the town had booming commercial activities with an exceptional textile industry in the 19th century. Thus, Soba served as both the political

¹³⁵ For an account on the history of Rigachikun see Haliru Sirajo (2002) “A History of Rigachikun Village in Kaduna State” BA Dissertation, BUK.

¹³⁶ For details on Igabi district and its towns see Haliru Sirajo (2007), see also from same the author Haliru Sirajo (2012) “The Evolution of the District Head System in Zazzau Emirate with particular reference to Igabi District, 1907-1937” in *FAIS Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. 5 No 2 July 2011, pp. 1 - 20. And recently also see A. J. Jalal (2012) “A History of Igabi District, 1902 – 1960” B.A. Dissertation, ABU, Zaria.

¹³⁷ This brief discussion on Soba town and Soba district in general owes its source wholly from the work of Adulkadir Adamu (1992). However, I came across of a book titled “*Soba Garin Makama*” by Danmasanin Soba, Isa Abdu Soba in 2002. According to this book, the original name of the founder was still a Kanuri man called ‘Sauba’(meaning a friend in Kanuri language). And unlike as a hunter, this version of the tradition stated that Sauba was an Islamic scholar whose knowledge attracted people to come and settle with him. More so, it was Sauba’s name that was later corrupted as Soba by Hausa people and from then became the name of this important town in Zazzau Emirate. According to Isa, as at around the time he wrote this book, the town of Soba is about 394 years old. For more, see pp. 1-2 of the aforementioned book.

and of course the commercial centre of its neighbouring towns and villages such as Turawa, Gimba, Maigana, Mazaza, Dan'isa and Gurbabiya. At the inception of colonial period, the town was (still) referred to as “*Soba Garin Makama*” (Soba the town of Makama) due to the fact that most of the resident District Heads (six of them serially 1916-1963) sent to the area bore the traditional of *Makaman Zazzau*.¹³⁸

When the British arrived, Soba was created as a district with a population of about 7, 031 (Soba town only) people mainly *Hausawa* and Fulani. The British was quick to realize the economic importance of the district and thereby established a cotton buying station in the town. Farmers and traders from towns such as Kusello, Bakura, Takalafiya and Gurbabiya now brought their produce especially cotton to Soba for measures at the gazetted market. With the Bauchi light railway and the Zaria – Jos road, both traversing through the town, Soba served as a good evacuation centre of the produce exploited by the British in the entire district.

Under it there were numerous other important towns and villages that constituted the district with Soba town serving as the headquarters with a resident District Head. Some of these towns under Soba district include, Farin Kasa, Maigana, Kinkiba, Garun Gwanki, Richifa, Awai, Yakasai, Gimba and Danwata. According to the Gazetteer of Zaria Province, 1920, Soba District was under the headship of Makama Karami. And later, the town was fondly ascribed as “*Soba Garin Makama*” in view of the traditional title of *Makama* of most of its District Heads since the colonial period.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ I. A. Soba (2002) *Soba Garin Makama*, Zaria, Mutallib Enterprise, p. 6. Though it was certain there were six district heads with the title of Makama in Soba, but the chronology provided in the aforementioned is a little faulty. See the full list of the Soba District Heads in chapter six.

¹³⁹ It was recorded that from 1909 to 1963 there were six District Heads of Soba with the title of *Makama*. See Isa Abdu Soba (2002) *Soba Garin Makama* ... p. 5.

Kubau

Kubau town is located at the north-eastern part of Zazzau Emirate. Except to the eastern part, the town is surrounded by the *fadama*, a land feature that have played a significant role to the evolution and development of the town. To the west and eastern part, the town was bounded by the rivers of Mai Dinya and Wazabin. Available sources express obscurity as regards the traditions of origin of Kubau town.¹⁴⁰ What is clear however is that, the emergence of the town was attached to a man called Malam Garba, from the town of Kudan, who first settled in Zaria and left during the jihad and arrived at Takalafiya, where he married his wife, Yar'Soba. From Takalafiya, Garba moved to Garun-Gwanki¹⁴¹ and then finally to the site where later became known as Kubau. He was said to be a hunter and that was the more reason he kept moving from place to place in order to hunt for available game. Other prominent earliest settlers were *Magajin Arna* (a *Bamaguje* – a pagan Hausa) from Anchau, Saraki Yarbori from Rahama, a learned Islamic scholar, Malam Dini, and others.¹⁴² On the other hand, the origin of the town is associated with the ordeal of a man called Magaji Bawa, from the Zuntu ruling family, who fled home to escape one of the Ningi attacks.¹⁴³ On his return in about 1860, Magaji Bawa refused to

¹⁴⁰ It is a common phenomenon that traditions of origin associated with the evolution of towns and states tended to rely so much on oral traditions. This is due to lack of other available sources like written, archaeological, or to some extent linguistic evidences on which to rely on in trying to reconstruct the history of these societies. Though in some rare occasions written sources could be obtained especially in more advanced and complex societies. But even in this cases, such narrations were usually collected and documented from local narrations, which is itself a form of oral tradition. In this case, the history of Kubau is not an exception.

¹⁴¹ Both Takalafiya and Garun-Gwanki were towns closer to Soba and that was the reason he got his wife from the town and probably called her Yar' Soba (a woman from Soba). See Halidu Yalwa (1995) "History of Kubau Town to 1983", B.A. Dissertation, BUK, Kano, p. 9.

¹⁴² Saraki Yarbori was a woman herbalist and said to be the most famous in the field of traditional medicine in the region north-east of Zaria. While Malam Dini was a scholar to reckon with having said to have been a student of Malam Musa (Danfodio's flag bearer) at Igabi prior to the jihad in Zaria. Kubau had tradition of great and stern Islamic scholars even in the later period. In the colonial period for instance, one Malam Jibrin Maidarasu, whose ancestors were said to be from Mali, was at the forefront of opposition against the establishment of western type school in Kubau in 1928. See NAK/ZARPROF/1288/2325, Zaria Province, Kubau Elementary School (1929 – 1944), as cited in Halidu Yalwa (1995)... pp. 21-23.

¹⁴³ We have already discussed in the chapter how the Ningi warriors late in the 19th century terrorized and raided for slaves in a number of towns in Zazzau Emirate.

go back to Zuntu, instead settled in Kubau, a place where it used to be their farm lands. He met people of Garun-Gwanki farming there and joined them and later became their leader. However, the latter tradition lacks merit according to Halidu Yelwa, as it failed to establish a concrete relationship between the two towns (Zuntu and Kubau).¹⁴⁴ There were also controversies on how the town got its name but whatever the case, it was upheld that, Kubau as an established settlement came in to being between c.1812 – 1815.¹⁴⁵ In the pre-colonial Zazzau Emirate administration, Kubau was under the jurisdiction or fief of *Danmadami*.

When the British took over, Kubau was created as a district in 1920, following the abolition of Kudu district and the transfer of the ‘pagan’ tribes of Bisalla and Kurama to Lere District.¹⁴⁶ The first District Head was *Turaki Karami I* (1907 - 1917), and then Kubau was under Kudu District. During the period of *Turaki Karami Suleiman* (1918 - 1923), Kubau became an autonomous District with headquarters at Zuntu. It was in 1923 during the reign of Sa’i Umaru (1923 - 1931) that the headquarters was relocated from Zuntu to Kubau permanently. There were also other important towns in the District such as the rocky towns of Dutsenwai, Pambegua and Banki. These areas were important source of iron and other minerals since the pre-colonial times. And in view of the mineral deposit in these areas, the Zaria – Jos light

¹⁴⁴ See Halidu Yalwa (1995)...p. 11

¹⁴⁵ Regarding the origin of the name of Kubau, one of the traditions states that the town got its name from a statement made by the leader of Ningi who instructed one of his warriors to abandon a broken branch of tree which fell with him when asked to climb and detect enemy’s position. The fighter wanted to carry the branch but the leader said to him ‘*Kubarshi*’ – meaning leave it. The second explanation states that, Kubau derived its name from ‘*Kibau*’ (arrows) – that is the hunting arrows of Malam Garba, the founder of the town. The last narration states that, it was as a result of the discouraging statement made to the people whom Malam Garba invited to come and live with him in his new founded settlement. The invitees were used to be told ‘*Kubarshi yaje ko abinci ya dameshi*’ – meaning; ‘allow him to go the problem of food is enough for him’. What is common in two of the traditions is *Kubarshi* - meaning leave him. Thus, *kubarshi* based on popularity could be taken as where Kubau derived its name but if at all these traditions could be accepted. For details see Halidu Yalwa (1995)... pp. 9-13.

¹⁴⁶ Earlier in 1907 when districts were created in Zazzau, Kubau was under the Kudu district. The obvious reason for creating Kudu earlier as a district in place of Kubau was for the British aim of establishing a railway station at Kudu and thought to be a place where cheap labour could be obtain amongst the pagan tribes of the area. See Halidu Yalwa (1995)... pp. 42 – 44.

railway was built across these areas (Zaria through Soba – Dutsenwai – Pambegua and Kudaru to Jos). What is also important of Kubau is the fact that, the District served as an extensive agricultural zone. Farmers in the area produced especially grains in high commercial quantity.

Ikara

Ikara lies in the north-eastern part of Zazzau Emirate, and the town forms the emirate's boundary with Kano Province.¹⁴⁷ The area which the town occupies is topographically characterised by hills and rocks of different dimensions such as *Dutsen Lungu*, *Dutsen Zaki*, and *Dutsen Danlawal*.¹⁴⁸ These landforms in the area undoubtedly provided natural protection against impending external aggression and source of supernatural inspiration.¹⁴⁹ Traditions on Ikara history attributed the earliest settlement in the area to the Jukun people of the famous Kwararrafa Kingdom in the 1500 AD.¹⁵⁰ The rocky terrain served the Jukun warriors as a hiding place and camp during their wars with Kano and Katsina. In fact, it is said that at the summit of one of the large granite in the area one could see signs of the early Kwararrafa inhabitants. It further states that:

...the rock is bare and smooth; here one can clearly distinguish the track used by the early inhabitants from the summit to the foot of the rock, a track which it must have taken many years for naked feet to wear.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ See NAK/ZARPROF/1712/1913, Assessment Report on Ikara District. Moreover, it is because of the Ikara's easterly position in the emirate that one of its villages called Anchau is nicknamed as "*Anchau Zariyan gabas*" (Anchau, the Zaria of the east).

¹⁴⁸ See Umbaru Shehu (2006) "A History of the Emergence and Development of Ikara town c. 1800 – 1902" B.A. Dissertation, ABU, Zaria, pp. 5-6; and Shitu Adamu (2011) "A History of Forced Labour and Taxation in Ikara 1902 – 1960", BA Dissertation, ABU, Zaria, p. 3. See also a rather simplistic re-rendering of Ikara history –

¹⁴⁹ It is said that at Dutsen Danlawan in Ikara there was a shrine attended annually by the *Maguzawa* (non-Muslim Hausa) population of the area in the past. The shrine was destroyed during the jihad period in Zazzau Emirate.

¹⁵⁰ It was in the annals of the Hausa states that their history in the period of 15th and 16th centuries was dominated by the constant attacks by the emerging powerful Kwararrafa Kingdom of the Jukun people with its capital at Wukari, in the present Taraba State of Nigeria.

¹⁵¹ NAK/ZARPROF/1712/1912 Taxation, Exemption of Emirs and Chiefs in Zaria Province, p. 1. As cited in Shitu Adamu (2011)... p. 21

In the 1600 AD, the *Kanawa* were on the offensive and their pursued exploits against the Jukun's in Ikara left many *Kanawa*'s in the area. This brought the emergence of Hausa settlement in the area according to the source.¹⁵² Moreover, in the 19th century, the area witnessed the influx of many people especially the Fulani as a result of the jihad. The *Sullubawa* Fulani from Sokoto were those that exerted religious and political influence in the area. They destroyed the pagan shrine at Danlawan, built the town wall and transformed Ikara as the centre of the socio-political activities of the area.¹⁵³ However, late in the 19th century, the area suffered devastation of the Ningi raiders “who found... a comparatively safe hiding place, and used it as a base from which they conducted raids for many miles in both Zaria and Kano.”¹⁵⁴ Very recent, in a work titled “*The Chronicles of Ikara*”, a rather simplistic re-rendering of the said traditions of origin of Ikara town was attempted by S. O. Michael.¹⁵⁵

It is still silent from the sources consulted including M. G. Smith, on whose fief the town of Ikara was in the 19th century. However, on the arrival of the British, Ikara was created as a district in 1907; headed by *Sarkin Yaki*. As at when constituted, Ikara District had authority over towns and villages such as Malikanchi, Kurmin Kogi, Dan Lawal, Furana, Makurdi, Karr, Kurmin Jau, Kawari, Charra and Fala. In 1936, Paki District was amalgamated with Ikara, and

¹⁵² In view of the early *Kanawa* settlement and the close proximity between Ikara and Kano, even the Hausa dialect spoken in the area is said to be different from that of *Zazzagawa* (people of Zaria). The social intercourse between the people of Kano and Ikara far outweighs its relations with other towns in the northern part of *Zazzau* Emirate. This was even clear from some of the occupational quarters (Makera and Hayin Magina) founded or developed by the *Kanawa* artisans within the town and neighboring villages. And to date there are constant inter-marriages between the people of the two areas. Thus, the language spoken in Ikara is a combination of both Kano and Zaria Hausa.

¹⁵³ This development in Ikara history took place in the 19th during the reign of Sarki Ibrahim from the *Sullubawa* Fulani. For details, see Ummar Shehu (2006)... pp. 25-26

¹⁵⁴ SNP10/268P/1913, Zaria Province, Sarkin Yaki District Assessment Report by E.H.B. Laing – 1912, p. 1

¹⁵⁵ S. M. Michael (2013) *The Chronicles of Ikara (English & Hausa)*, Kaduna, Wemscorp Publishers, pp. 9-28 and 65-88. This author, Sowemimo Olanrewaju Michael was a graduate of Mass Communication, posted to serve (National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)) in the Kaduna State Cooperative Institute, Ikara. There, he embarked and published this work as part of his NYSC service year community project in 2013.

the latter then had a population of 21, 857 people.¹⁵⁶ This in turn transformed Ikara to a large district with massive agricultural and trading population. And strategically, the district was “situated on the main Zaria – Kano caravan road, and lie within easy reach of the Baro – Kano Railway main line to KANO.”¹⁵⁷

Makarfi

A renowned agricultural town, Makarfi is fondly called ‘*Makarfi karfin Zazzau*’ (literally - Makarfi the power of Zazzau). Strategically, the district of Makarfi along its northern lines shares borders with both Kano and Katsina Emirates respectively. Different sources agreed that the town derived its name from the *Makarho* tree – hard wooded tree (*abrormosia laxiflora*) which was plentiful in the area.¹⁵⁸ Unlike some towns in the area that were much older such as Likoro, Gazara, Durum and Filatan, Makarfi was probably a late 19th century phenomenon in terms of emergence as a town of considerable socio-political importance. Even in the 19th century, the picture was still not clear as to the extent and of its political organisation. In view of this, it is even clear from the major work of M.G. Smith, that Makarfi was not mentioned in the elaborate list of towns and fief holders in the 19th century Zazzau Emirate.¹⁵⁹ No doubt traditions made mention of settlement of people in the area earlier but references to the development of Makarfi by the Fulani were severally prominent according to the sources in hand.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ NAK/ZARPROF/ (file no. not clear) Magajin Gari Abdu – District Head Paki. The incidence that led to the abolition of Paki District and its merger with Ikara was as a result of embezzlement of funds set aside for payment of laborers for the construction of dry season roads. In view of this and other offences the Emir recommended his removal and deposition.

¹⁵⁷ SNP10/268P/1913, Zaria Province, Sarkin Yaki District Assessment ... p.1

¹⁵⁸ See M. S. Makarfi (2002) “History of Makarfi Market in Zazzau Emirate” B.A. Dissertation, BUK, Kano, p.12.

¹⁵⁹ See M. G. Smith (1960)... pp. 350 – 352.

¹⁶⁰ M.S. Makarfi (2002)..., for instance made reference to the people of Kadawa and other prominent individuals such as Dan doki, Madaki, Bamuma, Dan Nanya and Dauda among the earliest settlers in the town of Makarfi. There was also a band of Fulani’s and the most influential of them was Galadima Manga. And these people were from different places and background. In spite of the divergent views, they both posited that these earlier settlers

However, the prominence of Fulani influence to Makarfi history was more in the political scene than in the other facets (agriculture, trade and craft) which was dominated by the early Hausa settlers. It was because of these predominance of the *Hausawa* in these aspects the town in the closing decades of the 19th century earned a triple economic recognition as ‘*Garin Ka Uku*’, that is a town of three – *Karofi*, *Kasuwa* and *Kara* (dyeing, market and sugar cane).¹⁶¹ The ascendancy of the Fulani in Makarfi began immediately after the jihadist victory in Zaria. According to M.G. Smith,

Musa also effected a distribution of land rights among the four leading Fulani lineages which took part in the conquest of Zaria. This distribution centred on the capital. The *Katsinawa* were allocated land to the west of Zaria city, the *Bornawa* and *Suleibawa* had the land to the south and east, while Musa’s family held rights to the north, in the present district of Makarfi.¹⁶²

This was the political scenario obtained in almost all the emirates, and Y. B. Usman was keen to observe that, “One factor which favoured the increased sedentarization of the Fulani after the Jihad, was the incorporation of the leadership of several large clans into the government and local administration of the emirate;... .”¹⁶³ Whatever was the case, Makarfi had been under Zazzau Emirate and it continued to be so even after the British intervention early in the 20th century.

In 1902 the British occupied Zaria, and subsequently in 1907 compact districts were created with resident district heads. One of such districts was Makarfi under Galadima, with base first at Gubuchi and later relocated to the main town of Makarfi. Twenty four villages were constituted under the Makarfi District and these were: Basawa, Danbari, Dandanko, Dandamisa,

were attracted into the Makarfi area as a result of environmental factors especially fertile and abundant land for agriculture.

¹⁶¹ See M. S. Makarfi (2002)... p. 14

¹⁶² M. G. Smith (1960)... p. 144

¹⁶³ Y. B Usman (1981) *The Transformation of Katsina 1440-1883*, Zaria, ABU, Press, p. 206.

Danguzuri, Doka, Dorayo, Durum, Gangara, Garu, Gazara, Gimi, Gubuchi, Gwaibi, Hunkuyi, Kauga, Kwata-kware, Lafiya, Likoro, Makarfi, Mayere, Nassarawa, Rahama and Ruma.¹⁶⁴ Three out of these towns deserved mention that they were older and more influential than Makarfi in the pre-British period. For instance, Durum and Fatika had already attained the status of vassal states even before the jihad period. Likoro was an old walled town, and it was there that Malam Musa was said to have received intelligent aid during his march on Zaria.¹⁶⁵ While Hunkuyi was remarked by Mahadi Adamu as one of the important commercial centres apart from Zaria city in the 18th and 19th centuries Zazzau.¹⁶⁶ The strategic location, rich soil and the presence of colonial expatriate firms in Makarfi had given the town an edge over its older neighbouring towns.¹⁶⁷ Since then Makarfi had continued to maintain this feat over its neighbours as we shall see in our subsequent discussions.

It should be emphasized here that the above discussions made on some of the major towns situated in the Northern part of Zazzau Emirate represent only a fraction of the uncountable number of towns and villages of the area. The rationale for selecting few is for the fact that, it is not feasible to study or visit them all. Also the few once selected and reviewed stands out to be prominent and each represents a picture or characteristics of its immediate neighbour. More importantly, these major towns – Igabi, Soba, Makarfi, Ikara and Kubau had been in position of both political and socio-economic importance in the history of Zazzau

¹⁶⁴ NAK/ZARPROF/378 List of towns and villages in Zazzau Emirate, 1916 – 1932. p. 2

¹⁶⁵ See M. G. Smith (1960)...pp. 78-79 and 139. And particularly on Likoro, Paul Staudinger described the town “which appeared to be rich in industry.” See Paul Staudinger (1999)... p. 203

¹⁶⁶ See Mahdi Adamu (1981/82) “The Economy of a Hausa Capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th Centuries”, in History Research at ABU Vol. VI. The Departmental Seminar Papers of the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, pp. 3, and 17-18.

¹⁶⁷ Strategically, Makarfi is well accessible; being on the Zaria-Kano road and also traversed by the Baro-Kano railway line. Greater percentage of the soil in the town and surrounding was a rich *fadama* type enabling the people to produce plenty year round. In view of these economic advantages, about four colonial expatriate firms were opened in the town of Makarfi. These were the Niger Company, John Holt, G. B. Ollivant, and Melver. For details see NAK/ZARPROF/434, Makarfi District Notes, p. 59.

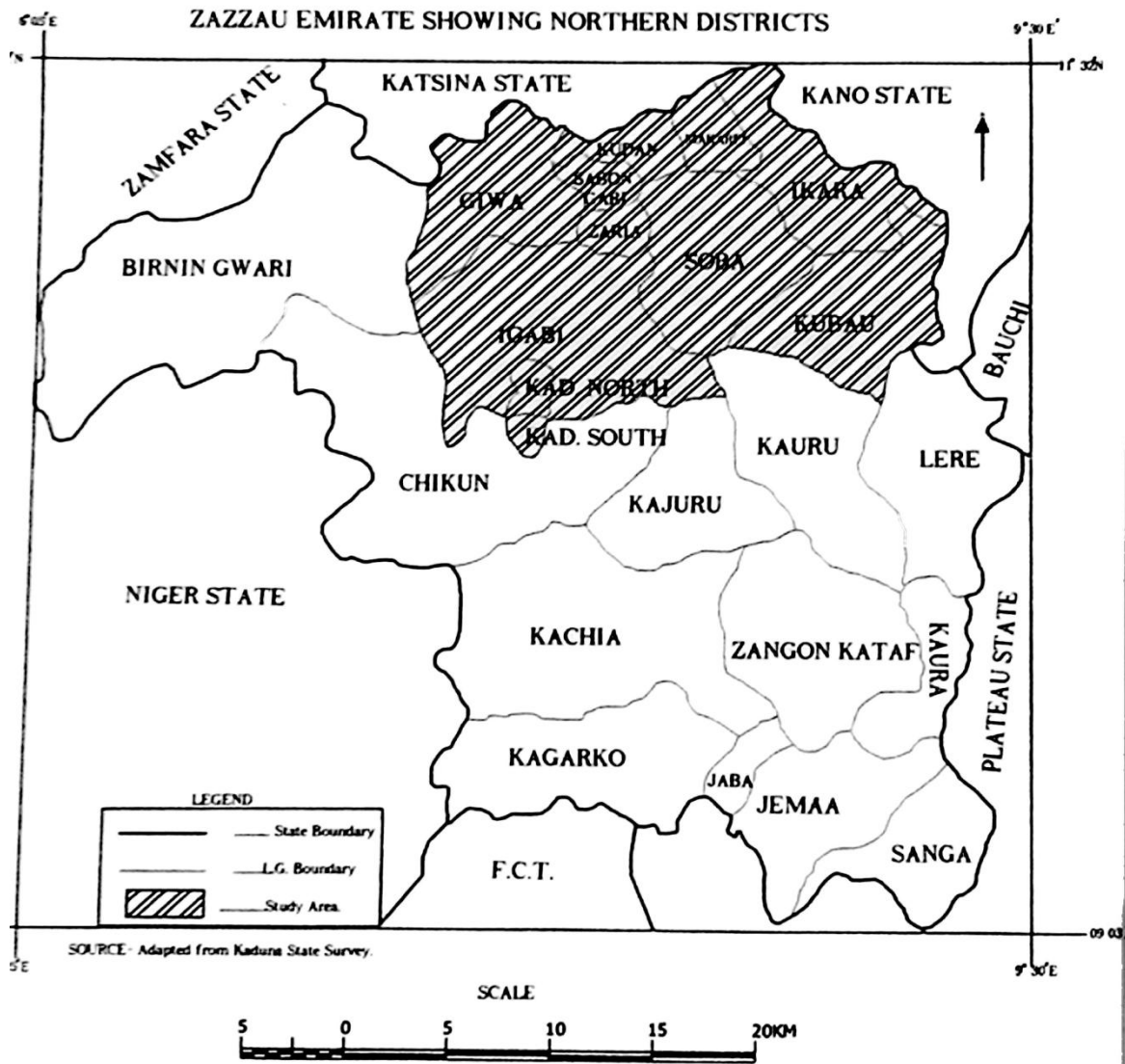
Emirate since the pre-jihad period. With the developments of the post-jihad era, the political and economic status of these towns became significantly noticeable. Of course, there were even written evidences from the accounts of some European travellers in the 19th century on the level of importance of some of these towns in Zazzau Emirate as already exemplified in our previous discussions. In view of this, it was not out of sheer accident when the British intruders arrived in the wake of the 20th century, to realize their status quo and transformed into compact district areas with villages under their control.

(XIII) Conclusion

This chapter introduces the whole aspect of this research study, exploring its significance, theoretical dimensions, scope and its relevance as an academic exercise worthy of undertaking. The chapter examined the available related literature on the study area and demonstrated the gap which this research contributed in filling. However, there is no claim that this research is an ultimate presentation. What is obvious is that an attempt has been made using historical perspective to study the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. Also discussed in the chapter are the geographical features of Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate as it relates to human habitation and the socio-political organisation of the people of the area especially at the closing decades of the 19th century. It established that the communities on this plain of *Kasar Zazzau* were communally fused together and deriving political influence from the Emir who resided at Zaria, the capital of the Emirate. This relationship continued up until the abrupt changes introduced by the British colonial government early in the 20th century. When the colonial government took over the control in 1902, the system of the administration was reorganized and gave room to the creation of districts in 1907. Consequently, these major towns in the Northern part of Zazzau Emirate were transformed into district areas with resident District Heads.

MAP I

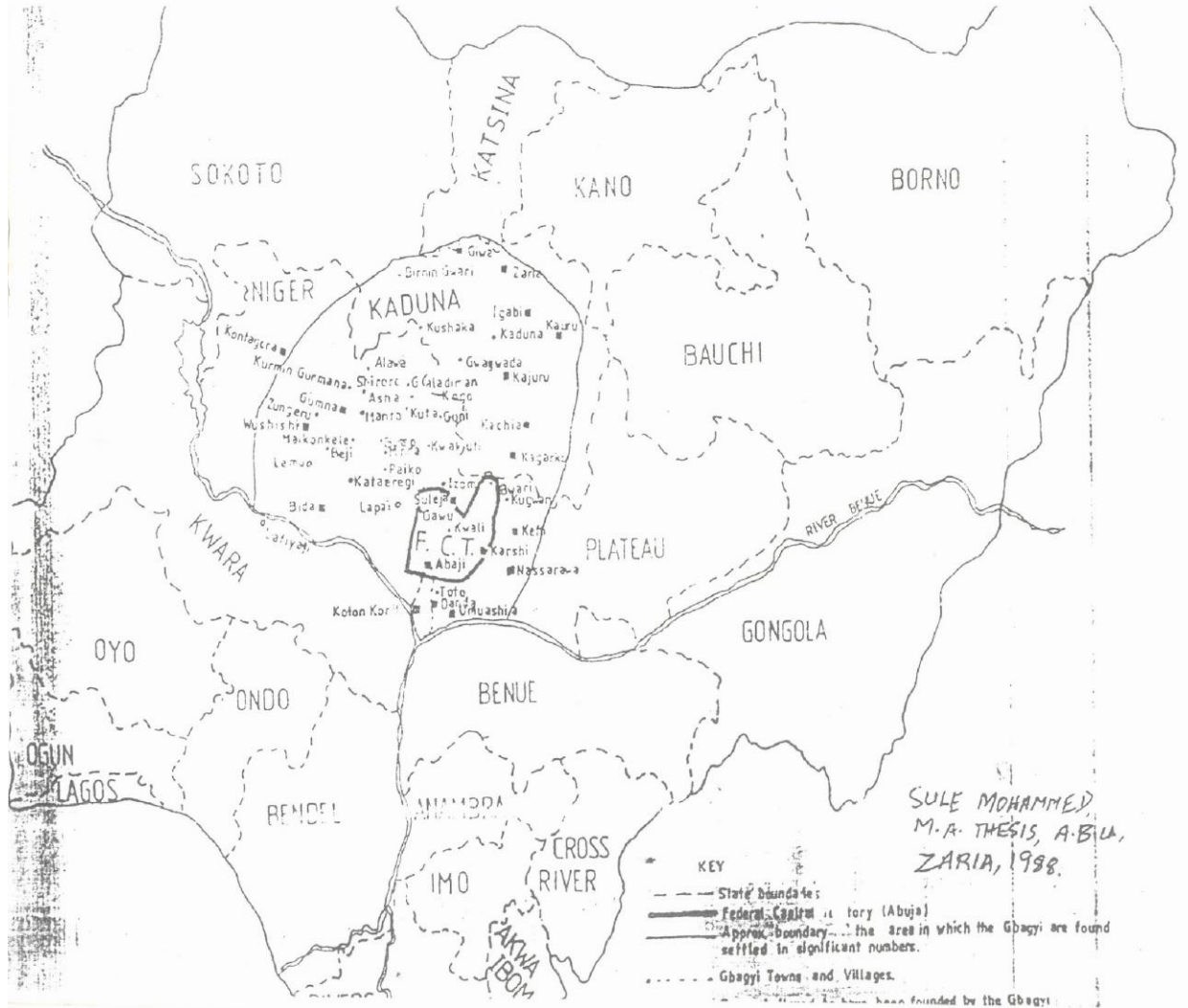
Map of Kaduna State Showing the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate



Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography, Kaduna State University (KASU) – by Malam Yakubu (2012)

MAP II

PRESENT MAJOR GBAGYI CONCENTRATION



CHAPTER TWO

PRE-COLONIAL SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION IN ZAZZAU EMIRATE 1804 – 1902

(I) Introduction

This chapter examines the pattern of administration obtained in the pre-colonial Zazzau Emirate with particular reference to the development that took place following the 1804 Jihad up to the time of British occupation of the emirate in 1902. This great event which started in Gobir in 1804 was famously known as the Sokoto Jihad, led by Shehu Usman Danfodio. The aim of the jihad was to reform the syncretistic Islamic practices of the people of Hausaland and to re-establish the *Shari'a*. The success of the jihad had culminated in bringing the greater part of Hausaland and beyond under the jihadists. This included the ancient kingdom of Zazzau which became an emirate under the Sokoto Caliphate. How the jihad reached Zazzau and the establishment of the emirate system of administration is the focus of this discussion. Consequently, this will give us a good understanding of the emirate and how it administered the local communities under it. This is with particular reference to the northern part of the emirate. That is an area predominantly inhabited by the *Hausawa* and Muslims population of the emirate.

(II) *Kasar Zazzau on the eve of the Jihad of 1804*

The meaning, causes and course of the 1804 Jihad¹⁶⁸ in Hausaland have been exhaustively discussed by numerous scholars. The Jihad in Zazzau was an extension of that

¹⁶⁸ Suffice to mention some of the major literature on the jihad, these includes S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Green (1966) *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*: London, Oxford, M. Last (1967) *The Sokoto Caliphate*: London, Oxford, H. A. S. Johnston (1967) *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, London, Oxford, R. A. Adeleye (1971) *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies*, London, Longman, Y. B. Usman (ed) (1979) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar Papers*, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, and A. M. Kani (ed) (1990) *State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*, Usman Danfodio University Sokoto

major reform led by Shehu Usman Danfodio as from 1804. However, the Jihad in Zazzau as in many parts of Hausaland took place in an area whose inhabitants were virtually Muslims except the southern pagan dominated part of it.¹⁶⁹ In view of this, M.A. Alhaj, pointed out that the jihad “must be conceived as a revolutionary movement within a Muslim community and not as warfare between Muslims and pagans.”¹⁷⁰ M. Last, a celebrated writer on this significant epoch further described the pre-jihad society in Hausaland that:

None of the city states that came under attack by the reformers was plainly pagan. Islam, in varying degrees, had been established for seven centuries in the trading quarters of the cities, while royal households in many cases had been at least nominal Muslims for generations.¹⁷¹

On the eve of the jihad therefore, the rulers in Hausaland neglected the *Sharia* and embraced exploitation and oppression of the *talakawa* (ordinary people). Also un-Islamic practices were prevalent among both the rulers and the ruled. On this ground, the leader of the jihad Shehu Usman Danfodio, his brother Abdullahi and his son Muhammad Bello set out to salvage Islam from degeneration. They upheld that revolt against such Hausa governments was not only desirable but an obligation. To undertake this quest, the jihadists expressed their ideology and justified this imminent jihad against the Hausa and Borno rulers in many of their writings.¹⁷² In Gobir, the actual jihad started when Yunfa, led an army against the *Jama'ah* (Shehu's Muslim community) at Gurdam near *Tabkin Kwatto*, on Thursday 21st June, 1804. This

¹⁶⁹ Until very recently most of the ethnic groups in the Southern Zaria area (now Southern Kaduna) were under the suzerainty of Zazzau Emirate. These tribes include Katab, Gwari, Kadara, Kwarro, Kaje, Jaba etc.

¹⁷⁰ M. A. Alhajj (1979) “The meaning of the Sokoto Jihad” in Y.B. Usman (ed)..... p.7

¹⁷¹ M. Last (1967).... p.5

¹⁷² Shehu Usman Danfodio, for instance, wrote '*Masa'il Muhimma*' (Important Question), a book written a year before his *hijra*. In it he spelled out the manifestos of the jihad. For details see M.A. Alhaj (1973) “The Mahdist Tradition in Northern Nigeria” PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, p. 68, and M. Last (1967) p. 13. Abdullahi wrote *Tazyin Waraqat* (dated October 1813), it was valuable according to Last, for its poems and for the history that accompanies the poems. See the introductory pages of M. Last (1967).... For Bello, he wrote the famous *Infaq al- maisur*, the most detailed and factual account of the jihad; and its chronology is usually preferred to that of *Tazyin Waraqat*, which is vague, said M. Last (1967), introductory pages.

marked the beginning of the jihad and which afterwards spread to other Hausa states. It took the form of military confrontation and Shehu's call for reform attracted followers especially among the peasants *Fulbe* (Fulani) and the *Hausawa*, whom the jihadists particularly appealed to. In the course of the event, Shehu distributed flags of authority as a sign of investiture to his disciples to carry out the jihad in their respective territories.

In Zazzau, as in most other Hausa states, there were several Fulani lineages settled in the area long before the commencement of the jihad. It is said that when the *Hausawa* of Zazzau moved from Turunku to the present site of Zaria city, they found the Fulani herding their cattle there. But Smith was sceptical in his assertion that, "this may be a myth, rationalising or justifying the Fulani conquest as a resumption of ancient rights based on initial occupancy".¹⁷³ However, an assertive statement which perhaps encountered Smith's earlier position came from Muhammad-Baba, who succinctly argued that:

It is not known, with precision, just when the *Fulbe* reached Nigeria. De st Croix (1945:5) asserted that since about the 13th century, *Fulbe* (Islamic) preachers, i.e. the *modibbo'en* as well as various nomadic/pastoral groups of the *Fulbe* had been part of the economy and society of Hausaland and Borno.¹⁷⁴

Whatever was the case, it is generally agreed that the Fulani were partly, if not fully integrated, into the socio-economic and political activities of Hausaland prior to the period of the jihad. In this case, there were four prominent Fulani lineages credited to the jihad in Zazzau. These were:

- i) *Mallawa* led by Mallam Musa from Mali
- ii) *Bornawa* led by Yamusa from Borno
- iii) *Katsinawa* led by Abdulkarim from Katsina

¹⁷³ M. G. Smith (1960) *Government in Zazzau 1800-1950*, London, Oxford, p.137

¹⁷⁴ Cited in T. A. Muhammad-Baba (1990) "Pastoral Ascendancy in the Savannah: A Sociological Assessment of the Impact of the 1804 Jihad on Pastoral Fulbe" in A. M. Kani (ed) *State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*, Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto, p.110

iv) *Sullubawa* led by Malam Kilba from Sokoto.¹⁷⁵

It is important to note from the outset that this partly reveals the heterogeneous composition of the Fulani force which conquered Zazzau, and the competition of its principal elements for command. As well, it also partially explains the political system which later developed in the emirate.¹⁷⁶ Of all the four leaders, it was Musa,¹⁷⁷ who was believed to have received flag (*tuta*) of leadership with authority to conquer Zazzau and reform Islam within it. In spite of being the flag bearer, Musa did not arrogate to himself or his lineage sole responsibility, instead; he collaborated with the other Fulani leaders for the success of the jihad in Zazzau.

After the defeat of Gobir, the Commander of the faithfuls, Dan fodio, wrote to the rulers of Hausaland appealing to them to support the jihad aimed at reforming Islam. But the rulers such as those of Katsina and Kano refused, while in the case of Zazzau, according to Abdullahi Smith:

From 1788 to 1806, Zazzau was ruled by the *Sarki* Issiaku Jatau, who is particularly remembered for his piety and learning. In 1804, indeed he went so far as to declare his support for the Fulani *Mujaddid* Usman b. Fudiye, who was leading a rebellion in the name of Islam against the government of the Hausa State of Gobir, by recognising him as Caliph in place of the Mai of Bornu. On this background, therefore, Zazzau under the leadership of Jatau was

¹⁷⁵ For details see, M.G. Smith (1960) pp. 137 – 139, and for a more detailed account on these lineages and their claims to the throne of Zazzau Emirate see, A. S. Wapanda (1979) “An Assessment of Politics in Zazzau and the Emergence of the four Ruling Dynasties 1804 – 1957” Post-graduate Seminar, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, pp. 1 – 21.

¹⁷⁶ See M. G. Smith (1960)... pp. 104-105. This is also going to be discussed in details in Chapter three and four.

¹⁷⁷ Malam Musa is said to be a *Pullo* – Scholar, from Mali. He was well known to Shehu Usman Danfodio and other *Toronkawa Fulbe*, having being a student of Shehu. At the start of the Jihad, Shehu gave him a flag of leadership with authority to conquer Zazzau and reform Islam within it. It is said that, he took part in the defeat of Gobir and Kano before crossing to Zaria. After the success of the jihad in Zazzau, he became the first Emir 1804 – 1821. For more details on the Fulani ruling houses and emirs of Zazzau, see Usman Dalhatu (2002) *Mallam Jafaru Dan Isyaku: The Great Emir of Zazzau*, Zaria, Woodpecker Communication Limited, pp. 46-65

not conquered in the first stage because it gave passive resistance to the Shaikh's Jihad.¹⁷⁸

For the above reason, it would not be out of place, if Sarki Jatau, though non-Fulani, was declared to be the first Emir of Zazzau when the jihad started.¹⁷⁹ It is pertinent at this point to know when the Jihadist triumphed over Zazzau and the course of victory of the Islamic reformers. Uncertainties abound as to the exact date in which the jihadists occupied Zaria, the capital of Zazzau. According to Abuja Chronicle, Zaria, the capital of Makau, was conquered in the year 1804, while he was at the Eid praying ground outside the city.¹⁸⁰ Other sources mentioned 1805, 1806, 1807 or 1808, as the period in which the jihadists took over Zazzau.¹⁸¹ Whatever the dates might be, at least all the sources agreed that, after the death of *Sarkin Zazzau* Jatau, probably in 1802, who had earlier declared allegiance to Shehu's reform, he was succeeded by Makau, who overturned his predecessors submission, and declared Zazzau independent. The course of the event in Zazzau reveals that the flag bearer, Mallam Musa, returned from Sokoto with a flag of investiture and a small army. Hogben reports the success of the jihadists in Zazzau, under Malam Musa as follows:

¹⁷⁸ Abdullahi Smith (1970) "Some notes on the history of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings" in M. J. Mortimore (ed), *Zaria and its Region*, Department of Geography, ABU Zaria, P. 95. See also on the same issue, M. Last (1967), p. 29 and R. A. Adeleye (1971) ..., p. 27.

¹⁷⁹ See H.F.C. Smith (1966) "The Dynastic Chronology of Fulani Zaria" in *Research Note*: Reprinted from the Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. II. No. II, Ibadan, University Press, p. 280

¹⁸⁰ A. Hassan and M. S. Na'ibi (1962) *The Chronicle of Abuja*, Lagos, African Universities Press, P. 4. However, the view that Sarkin Zazzau Makau (1802-1804) was at the eid praying ground outside the city of Zaria when the jihadist arrived was recently contested. It is said that Makau was at the village of Hunkuyi with his army in readiness to attack the jihadist forces. The jihadist learnt about this plot and thereby diverted their route and took over Zaria city unawares. For details see, Usman Dalhatu (2002) ...pp 38-39

¹⁸¹ It is generally agreed that the Jihad started in 1804 and culminated to the fall of Gobir. But for the other areas dates were not certain and mostly inconsistent. Johnston explained that it was not until July 1804, that Shehu wrote to the Hausa Chiefs, including Zazzau, and the jihad did not really spread to the other states until his overtures had been rejected, see H.A.S. Johnston (1967)... P. 70 (notes 49). While Murray Last, mentioned the month of December, 1808, as the period in which the Jihadist kicked out the last Hausa King of Zazzau (Makau). See M. Last (1966) "A Solution to the Problem of Dynastic Chronology in the 19th Century Zazzau and Kano", in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. III, p. 3

His party of seventy-four horsemen met opposition at Kudan and again at Hunkuyi, but at Durum, he received military assistance from the village-head, who was later rewarded with the gift of vassal status. Either avoiding or defeating the Hausa cavalry at Likoro, thanks to the intelligence supplied by the village's Sarkin Pawa, he attacked Zaria from the north-west. The Fulani drove out the pagan Sarkin Zazzau, Makau, who fled with many of his subjects until they settled at Zuba and eventually established the Emirate of Abuja.¹⁸²

In view of the above, the flight of Makau marked the overthrow of the last Hausa king of Zazzau, and in the words of Johnston, "The great city of Zaria, therefore, fell to the Fulani with hardly a blow having been struck."¹⁸³ In consequence, the event which followed ushered in a new era of Fulani Emirs in Zazzau history, with Mallam Musa as the first Emir.

(III) The Establishment of Zazzau Emirate

The aim of the jihad as conceived by the jihad leaders was principally to pave the way for the establishment of Islamic government. This is because Islam is a complete way of life. Therefore, the greatest success of the jihad was the founding of the Sokoto Caliphate, with a number of emirates,¹⁸⁴ one of which was the Zazzau Emirate. After the flight of the last Hausa king of Zazzau, Malam Musa, having received investiture earlier was confirmed by the *Amirul-Muminin* (Commander of the Faithfulls) Shaykh Usman b. Fodio, as the first Emir of Zazzau. With this development, the period of establishment and consolidation of the Emirate government of Zazzau started.

¹⁸² S. J. Hogben (1966)... p. 222

¹⁸³ H.A.S. Johnston (1967) ... pp. 70.

¹⁸⁴ There were a number of writers especially among the colonial administrators, who conceived the Sokoto Jihad primarily as warfare by the Fulani against their Hausa overlords. For details about this discussion on the jihad, see for example, M.A. Al-Hajj (1979) "The meaning of the Sokoto Jihad" ... pp. 1 – 19, Y.B. Usman (1979) "The Transformation of Political Communities. Some notes on the Perception of a Significant Dimension of the Sokoto Jihad" in Y.B. Usman (ed), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate*. PP. 34 – 55 and T. A. Muhammad Baba (1990) "Pastoral Ascendancy"... pp. 113 – 116.

As soon as he assumed office, Malam Musa set about introducing political reforms in order to put the government firmly in line with Islamic norms (*Shari'a*). The new government retained certain offices of the ancient Hausa regime and at the same time eliminated those found undesirable. Musa constituted a council, which Smith, said "...differed radically from that of the Hausa."¹⁸⁵ The council consisted of *Mallams* (Scholars) who were versed in Islamic knowledge. The Chief Imam (*Limamin Juma'a*) and the *Limamin Kona*, were also members of the council. He also established the office of *Alkali* or Senior Judge. And following the example of Sokoto, he established the office of *Waziri* (Vizier); whose duty was to advise the emir on administrative matters.¹⁸⁶ Other new offices established were the *Sa'i* (for collecting cattle tax) and *Sarkin Yaki* (Military Commander) who also takes charge of the royal bodyguard.¹⁸⁷

As mentioned earlier, there were four leading *Fulbe* lineages in Zazzau that took part in the jihad. These lineages or clans were the *Mallawa*, *Katsinawa*, *Bornawa* and *Sullubawa*. Therefore, based on their participation and instructions from Shehu (according to some narrations), Malam Musa appointed leaders of these lineages to important offices and also distributed land to them.¹⁸⁸ But this is not an attempt to narrow or brand the jihad on ethnic line. In this case, even Wapanda, in his assessment pointed out that;

Mallam Musa, who was of *Mallawa* lineage did not hold leadership post in his lineage neither did he claim to be representing his lineage when he was participating in the jihad. When he was delegated by Sokoto to set up an Islamic government in Zazzau, he was not regarded as a representative of the *Mallawa*.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ M. G. Smith (1960)... p. 143

¹⁸⁶ See, M. G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 142 – 143

¹⁸⁷ It is said that, after an abortive attempt at a palace revolt by one Mallam Bagozeki (Pullo), Musa established the new office of *Sarkin Yaki*. See, M.G. Smith (1960) ... p. 142

¹⁸⁸ See M.G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 144 – 145.

¹⁸⁹ A.S. Wapanda (1979) "An Assessment of Politics ... p. 2

Certainly, with the exception of one, all the other flag-bearers of the caliphate were *Fulbe*. But even in this case, “the Shaikh took care to avoid identifying the new emir with any one clan or class, rather choosing learned men who would not only know the law on which their administration was to be based, but would also attract respect.”¹⁹⁰ As clearly propagated by the jihad leaders, ethnicity and other social status was not part of the fundamental principle on which the jihad was based. In one of his works *Bayan wujub al-hijrah ala'l-ibad* (1806), Shehu categorically stated that:

One of the swiftest ways of destroying a kingdom is to give preference to one particular tribe over another and draw near those who should be kept away and keep away those who should be drawn near.¹⁹¹

Given to the above therefore, Malam Musa appointed Yamusa, from *Bornawa*, as *Madaki* (Commander of the Cavalry), Abdulkarim, from *Katsinawa*, to be his *Sa'i* (official responsible for collecting cattle tax) and Abdussalami, from *Sullubawa* lineage, was given the office of *Makama Karami*. The Emir also retained some of the officials of Makau, who remained behind when the latter fled to Abuja. Musa of Zazzau (1804 – 1821), thus set up a government in which all the major groups mainly the *Hausawa* and the *Fulbe* in the Emirate had to some extent equal status.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ M. Last (1974) “Reforms in West Africa”.... p. 11. It is also said that, the first two Emirs of Zazzau, Musa and Yamusa, were never crowned as Emirs, ceremonially. As deputies of the Shaikh, they retained their status of Mallams throughout their reigns. In those days the ruler was saluted with the greeting appropriate to Mallams ‘*Allah ya gafarta Mallam*’ (May God forgive Mallam) and never by the titles *Zaki* (Lion), or the Phrase appropriate for Chiefs ‘*Ranka ya dade*’ (May your life be prolonged) or *Allah ya ba Sarki Nasara* (May God grant the King Victory).

¹⁹¹ Cited in T. Hodgken (1975) *Nigerian Perspectives*, London, Oxford, p. 249

¹⁹² The reason is that, though the jihadists professed Islam and exemplified it in several aspects of the state without much discrimination but in terms of leadership or claim to the throne, the *Fulbe* remained adamant and reserved the seat exclusively to themselves (*Fulbe*) and even formed dynasties in Zazzau and elsewhere in the caliphate. The only exception is in Bauchi Emirate, where the Hausawa provided the leadership.

Moreover, while busy implementing reforms in the capital, Musa also undertook the task of expanding the Emirate. He accomplished this by appointing deputies with flags of their own to extend the dominion of the Emirate of Zazzau, southwards. In this way, the sub-emirates of Jema'a, Keffi and Lere came into being as vassal states of Zazzau in about 1810. With this development, it is said that the Emirate of Zazzau together with its vassals at length had reached the Benue.¹⁹³

However, it is crucial to note one peculiar aspect of the political system of Zazzau Emirate. This concerns the ruling houses that rotate the office of the Emir. Among the four leading *Fulbe* lineages who played role in the jihad and founding the Emirate of Zazzau none especially among the four leaders claimed superiority over the other.¹⁹⁴ In this case, when Musa (from *Mallawa*), the first Emir died in 1821, none of his sons was expected to succeed him. In the event, however, the choice of the king makers fell on Yamusa, the leader of the *Bornawa*. Similarly, when Yamusa died in 1834, the throne did not go to any of his sons, but to Abdulkerim, another leader from *Katsinawa*. And in 1860, Abdussalami, from the *Sullubawa* became the emir after the death of Abdulkerim. In his observation, Smith assessed the four ruling houses that:

Of these the Suleibawa were the last to acquire the throne (1860), and they were also the weakest. The three powerful dynasties were the *Mallawa*, *Bornawa*, and *Katsinawa*; and of these, the first two were the most important.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ According to works on Zazzau, under Mallam Musa, the Jihadists carried their attacks as far south as Wukari, and the Tiv country. That is in the present day Taraba and Benue States. This made the Emirate of Zazzau to be the largest in the Sokoto Caliphate. See, H.A.S. Johnston (1967) ... p. 72 and M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 140

¹⁹⁴ The quest for equity, fairness and exemplary leadership among the earliest Jihadists and founders of Zazzau Emirate was extensively discussed by Wapanda, in his assessment of politics in Zazzau. See A. S. Wapanda (1979) ... pp. 1 – 21

¹⁹⁵ M. G. Smith (1960)... p. 102

This system of rotational succession in Zazzau had been developed as a practical defence against mono dynastic absolutism. It was the Caliph at Sokoto through his Waziri that was responsible for ensuring compliance with the objectives of rotational succession in Zazzau's political affairs. However, later in the 1860s, the above political experimentation degenerated into a fierce struggle and competition between and within the four ruling houses, which were unequal in terms of strength. More significantly, Sokoto's direct intervention into the local politics of the Emirate later fuelled the rivalry between the contending houses. One writer reports that "Sokoto's intervention into dynastic dispute was not only confined to appointment and deposition of Emirs, but also their officials."¹⁹⁶ In this connection, we can submit based on the examination of the Emirate that, apart from the first three emirs (Musa, Yamusa and Abdulkerim) that ruled over the emirate from 1804 – 1846, the rest of the period up to the eve of British conquest was characterised by dynastic rivalry. Consequently, it was under this condition the Emirate of Zazzau flourished, and unlike in other emirates, like Kano,¹⁹⁷ which after the initial change, there was only one dynasty (mono-dynastic). From its inception, presumably in 1804, up to 1902, when the British arrived, the Emirate of Zazzau had had thirteen emirs.¹⁹⁸

(IV) Territorial Administration of the Emirate of Zazzau

The major consequence of the overthrow of the ancient Hausa kingdom of Zazzau by the jihadists was the establishment of an emirate government. The new government which was founded based on the tenets of Islam had to devise means of administering and extending authority over the vast territory under its domain. From the capital city of the emirate - Zaria, this

¹⁹⁶ I. Nuhu (1978) "Zaria – Sokoto Relations in the Nineteenth Century" B.A. Dissertation, BUK, p. 40.

¹⁹⁷ For details, see A. M. Fika (1978) *The Kano Civil War and British Over-Rule 1882 – 1940*, London, Oxford, pp. 15 -23.

¹⁹⁸ See Usman Dalhatu (2006)...pp 48-65, for a list and brief history of the Fulani emirs of Zazzau from 1804-1975, when the current Emir, Alhaji (Dr) Shehu Idris assumed office. Also see Appendix (?) for a list of Emirs of Zazzau 1804 – 1975.

administrative control encompasses the various vassal states or sub-emirates, major towns, villages and wards under the territory of Zazzau. In this discussion however, emphasis will be on the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate.

a) The Emir

The Emir was the head of the emirate and he exercises full delegated authority from the caliph (*Imarat al-tafwid ala'l-umum*) in the administrative affairs of his emirate.¹⁹⁹ The emir must also ensure that, the people on whom he was placed performed their duties according to the *Shariah*. To carry out his functions, Mallam Musa, the first emir of Zazzau appointed or delegated authority to loyal and capable people as officers of the state.²⁰⁰ Territorially, the 19th century Zazzau Emirate had the following enclaves as her sub-emirates or vassal states: Keffi, Jema'a, Doma, Kajuru, Kauru, Fatika, Kagarko, Lere and Durum.²⁰¹ Of these, Kajuru, Kauru and Fatika were already in existence before the jihad. According to Smith:

Each of these vassal states was linked to the ruler of Zaria through a *Kofa* (door) or intermediary. These intermediaries included titled officials of Zaria, but the king retained direct control over certain vassal states, communicated with them through his own *Jekada* (agent, intermediary), who would also be the vassal's *Kofa* (door).²⁰²

b) The *Kofofi*

The functions of the intermediaries (*Kofofi*) was passing out instructions and reporting developments in the various vassal states. These officials also collected tributes from the vassal states and kept as their pay certain percentage of the total and the rest to the emir. This system of

¹⁹⁹See R. A. Adeleye (1974) "The Sokoto Caliphate in the Nineteenth Century" in J.F.A. Ajayi and Crowder, M (ed) *History of West Africa*. Vol. 1, p.84

²⁰⁰ Not only in Zazzau, in Kano the same thing happened where by offices were redistributed among the son's of the *Fulbe* clan leaders that participated in the jihad. These clans in Kano include, *Sullubawa*, *Danejawa*, *Jobawa*, *Dambazawa* and *Mundubawa*. And for details see A. M. Fika (1979)... pp. 16 – 19.

²⁰¹ See M.G. Smith (1960) pp. 77 80. Also see the map on page 32.

²⁰² M.G. Smith (1960) p. 79

delegating *Kofa* (*Kofofi* – plural) in the administration of the emirates (not only in Zazzau), according to I. A. Abba, “Involved a strict operation of some central government titled officials from the emir in the conduct of civic affairs by setting between the officials and the emir another official- *Kofa*”.²⁰³ Out of these vassal states it was Fatika that falls under our area of study. By 1890, even Fatika ceased to exist as vassal state of Zazzau. The area was placed under the *Dangaladima*’s fief.²⁰⁴ Therefore, our discussion is now free from any of the vassal states. The other vassal states mentioned above however were located in the southern part of the emirate.

Therefore, the major concern of this section is to have a clear understanding of the pattern which local authority took in the 19th century. This is with a clue to examine the administrative structure of the towns and villages in the northern section of Zazzau Emirate. An observer in this area of study, Abba, stated:

“... that the foundation of authority in the country side during the 19th century was not territorially but clan – based” (for that, he added) “it is difficult to talk about ‘district’ and ‘District Heads’ (as the terms were applied during the colonial period).²⁰⁵

c) *The Hakimai*

Generally, in the pre-colonial period the highest authorities living outside the capital of an emirate were the town chiefs or *Sarakunan Gari*.²⁰⁶ These *Sarakunan Gari* were not only equal in status, but they were each subordinated not to the same chief (*Hakimi*) residing in the capital, but to different chiefs.²⁰⁷ The *Hakimai* were the major titled officials of the emirate and were men of refined origin or kinsmen of the ruling dynasty. M.G. Smith, who was a major

²⁰³ I.A. Abba (1985)... p. 119.

²⁰⁴ See the chart provided by M.G. Smith (1960) ... pp 351-352, titled: “State titles and Associated Fiefs under Fulani rule in Nineteenth Century Zazzau”

²⁰⁵ I. A. Abba (1985) p. 119

²⁰⁶ These *Sarakunan Gari* (Town Chiefs) were known as *Bulama* in Borno, in Adamawa as *Jauro'en* (sing Jauro = Jaumu Wuro, i.e. owner of the town) and in Ilorin as *Mogaji or Ajidungari*.

²⁰⁷ See M.M. Tukur “The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring State 1897 – 1914” Vol. II, PhD Thesis, ABU Zaria, p. 337.

writer on Zazzau, states that, Malam Musa (first emir) was credited with the order that *Hakimai*²⁰⁸ should remain at the capital, thus separating them residentially from their ‘fiefs.’²⁰⁹ This is not only in Zazzau; the pattern was also the same in the other emirates that the *Hakimai* resides solely in the capital. In the neighbouring emirate of Kano, A. M. Fika observes that:

Territorially, the organisation of Kano Emirate C.1882 corresponded to what obtained in nineteenth century Zazzau, Hadejia, Katagum and Gombe Emirates.²¹⁰

Therefore, as was obtained in the 19th century were *Hakimai* residing solely in the capital of the emirates, in this case, the real administrators of the rural areas were the local rulers, who were the resident territorial administrators, varied in importance, depending on their history or on the extent of territory under their control.²¹¹ The question is who were then the link between the resident *Hakimai* at the capital and the towns under their jurisdiction? Suffice it to say that, between a major chief living in the capital and his towns scattered in various parts of the emirate, were messengers known as *Jakadu*.²¹² These *Jakadu* (agents or messengers) were appointed by the *Hakimai*, and they commuted between the emirate capital and the various communities attached to their overlords or masters. The functions of *Jakada* were the collection of taxes, the settlement of cases that a *Sarkin Gari* was unable to settle. The *Jakada* was also responsible for

²⁰⁸ This was their name even in the pre-colonial period in Hausaland. See the notes on the map in page 32.

²⁰⁹ The term “fiefs” and “fief holders” which the British Colonial Officers used to describe the 19th Century title – holders in the Emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate is said to be entirely misleading. This is because these terms were derived without modification or redefinition, from European feudalism. For more details see, H. Polly (1977) *Population, Prosperity and Poverty, Rural Kano, 1900 and 1970*. Cambridge University Press, London, p. 8. And also see, I. A. Abba (1976) ... “A Reconsideration of the Indirect Rule System in Northern Nigeria with particular reference to the District Head System” A paper presented at the Department of Anthropology, University College, London pp. 6 – 8, and I. A. Abba (1985) “Changing Pattern”..... pp. 7 – 9

²¹⁰ A. M. Fika (1978).... p. 43

²¹¹ See C. N. Ubah (1985) *Government and Administration of Kano Emirate 1900 – 1930*, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Press, p. 18.

²¹² These agents called *Jakadu* were basically chosen from among the trusted slaves of the Emirate titled officials.

listening to complaints against the *Sarkin Gari*, settling them or reporting them to his master in the capital.²¹³ N. I. Dantiye, reported that the *Jakadu*,

....were the only officials of the central government in close contact with the rural populace. This provided them with the opportunity to wield tremendous power and influence in the affairs of the rural areas and the *talakawa* (commoners) who comprised the largest segment of the emirates population.²¹⁴

In this case since the *Hakimai* in Zazzau, as in other emirates, remained in the capital, it was the *Jakadu* that directly communicated with the rural populace, passing on their superior's instructions. It is important to note that, in some cases, the inhabitants of a single town paid allegiance not to a single *Sarkin Gari* but to different communal leaders within the town. Fika, in a neighbouring emirate of Kano, added that, "The emirate reflected the un-coordinated nature of the Fulani conquest of Kano in the scattered fiefs over which a particular *hakimi* exercised administrative control."²¹⁵ As an example of the situation depicted above, earlier in 1906, when the British were assessing the socio-political pattern they found in existence in Zazzau Emirate, Resident Charles Orr, aptly reports that:

The town owned by the various headmen were dotted at random about the Emirate and the headmen all resided in Zaria town, and had little or no knowledge of their towns.²¹⁶

²¹³ See M. M. Tukur (1979) "The Imposition" ... pp. 337 – 338.

²¹⁴ N. I. Dantiye (1989) "Taxation and *Hakimai* Envoys: The status of the Ribats of Rano, Babura, Gwarzo and their Resident rulers within the Administrative system of Kano" in B. M. Barkindo (ed) *Kano and some of her Neighbours*, Zaria, ABU Press, (Published for The Department of History, Bayero University, Kano) p. 79

²¹⁵ A. M. Fika (1978)..... p.37

²¹⁶ Cited in M. M. Tukur (1979) ... p. 342 (note 25) NAK/ZARPROF/2553 "Zaria Provincial Annual Report for 1906", by C. W. Orr

d) The *Jakadu*

Therefore, absenteeism and indirect communication with their towns were the features or nature of administrative control between the *Hakimai* and their territories scattered in the emirate. This made Polly Hill to argue that:

Being non-resident, often unfamiliar with their territories and reluctant to travel, most of the *Hakimai* delegated the task of tax collection directly to their agents, who were usually known as *Jakadu*, who descended on the territories in shoals, for they too were non-resident.²¹⁷

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that before the colonial era the *Hakimai* were not the real administrators of the rural areas, since they were ignorant of local conditions. They therefore relied heavily on their messengers (*Jakadu*). The real control lies with the town chiefs - *Sarakunan Gari*, families and clan heads. More so, the communities, which the *Hakimai* claimed to be under their control, were not territorially compact, rather, scattered randomly within the emirate. Thus, little or no regard was given to geography (in a modern District or Village territorial boundary), rather the communities were organised based on close socio-economic ties or relationship.

e) The *Sarakunan Gari*

Having discussed the position of the *Hakimai* and their messengers - *Jakadu*, let us turn now to the *Sarakunan Gari* and see how they functioned in the administrative structure of the emirate. In theory, the *Sarakunan Gari* were under a titled official of the emirate, who resided in the capital, and indirectly administered areas under his control through agents called *Jakadu*. Thus, in practical sense, the *Sarakunan Gari* were the real rulers in the rural areas. However, Ubah, observed that the *Hakimai* (titled officials) “could not be accused of absenteeism since the

²¹⁷ Hill Polly (1977) ... p. 9

system itself implied non-residence".²¹⁸ It is believed that unlike in Kano Emirate, where large segment of the population lived in the city (*birni*), in Zazzau, a high proportion of the population in 1900, lived in towns or villages, especially the northern part of the emirate.²¹⁹ This confirmed our previous discussions in chapter one, on some areas in the northern part of the emirate which had attained status or level that can be called a town or village. Some of these towns such as Fatika, Igabi, Makarfi, Soba, Kargi, Ikara, Paki, Giwa, Afaka, Ashehu, and Likoro, to mention but a few had even predated the jihad period, while others emerged after the jihad. Therefore, many of these towns in the northern part of the emirate had *Sarakunan Gari*, who lived in walled and strongly fortified towns.²²⁰

f) The Functions of the *Sarakunan Gari*

Within each community, the *Sarkin Gari* administered its population through a subordinate of ward heads (*Masu Unguwa*) and leaders of various crafts such as *Sarkin Makera* (Chief of Blacksmiths), *Sarkin Pawa* (Chief of Butchers), *Sarkin Noma* (Chief of Farmers), *Sarkin Ruwa* (Chief of Fishermen), *Sarkin Dillalai* (Chief of Brokers), *Sarkin Wanzamai* (Chief of Barbers) and so on. At his discretion, the *Sarkin Gari* reserved the right to appoint to office, to promote or dismiss any of his subordinates. The *Sarkin Gari* also conferred titles similar to what obtained in Zaria city to his relations, servants and slaves. Some of these titles include *Madaki*, *Galadima*, *Dangaladima*, *Ciroma*, *Turaki* and even the *Waziri* and so on. They also exercised authority over subordinate villages, whose rulers they were free to appoint and dismiss without any reference to Zaria.²²¹ The major duties of the *Sarakuna* were to maintain law and order

²¹⁸ C. N. Ubah (1985) ... p.18

²¹⁹ H. Polly (1977) ... p. 4

²²⁰ As discussed in chapter one, based on the research conducted a large number of these towns in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate had defensive walls (*ganuwa*) and when the British colonialists came they met many of these town walls standing and others in ruins.

²²¹ See M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 89.

throughout their territories and for the collection of taxes. They were also obliged to adhere to Islamic law, religion and custom; and to meet any demand from the emirate capital, for the supply of labour, materials, military forces as required for the maintenance of public buildings, town walls, mosque, market, caravan routes and so on. The *Sarkin Gari* must also ensure that he did not exceed his authority in discharging his duties, as this can lead to eventual deposition.²²²

Under this administrative pattern as discussed above, the Emirate of Zazzau operated, only to be transformed starting from 1902, by the British Colonial Administration. Below were the major titles in the nineteenth century Zazzau Emirate:²²³

Head of Government (Emirate)

- The Emir (*Sarkin Zazzau*)

Titles Occupied Mainly by Members of Dynasty

- Madaki
- Dan Galadima
- Wambai
- Magajin Gari
- Makama Karami
- Iya
- Wali

Titles Occupied Mainly by Barori (Free Clients)

- Galadima
- Sarkin Fada
- Turaki Babba
- Turaki Karami

²²² See M. G. Smith (1960) PP. 89 – 90; C.N. Ubah (1985) p. 19

²²³ The list of the various titles and areas (fiefs) which the numerous *Hakimai* administered in the 19th century Zazzau Emirate was provided by M.G. Smith. As he indicated, the areas (towns and villages) under each *Hakimi* were not compact, rather, scattered around the vast expanse of the emirate. However, some of these towns during that period were directly under the emir, supervised by hi own *Jakada*. These towns were Gangara, Makarfi, Ruma, Kidandan, (Fatika, Lere, Durum, post 1860), Kagarko, Bugai, Mangi, Kwoi, Dumbi, Awai, Dan alhaji, (Dan maliki), Hunkuyi, Gubuci, Kwari, Mayare. While for the towns under the *Hakimai* are too numerous to be mentioned here, but to be discussed and mentioned in the subsequent chapters. For details see, M. G. Smith (1960) ...pp. 351-352

- Sarkin Ruwa
- Danmadami
- Salenke
- Fagaci
- Ma'aji I
- Ma'aji II
- Mardanni
- Makama Babba
- Dallatu
- Madauci
- Katuka
- Iyan Kurama
- Wan'ya
- Sarkin Mai
- Jisambo
- Magajin Zakara
- Cikum
- Waziri
- Sa'i
- Hauni

Military Titles

(a) Freeman

- Sarkin Yaki
- Barde
- Kuyambana
- Rubu

(b) Slaves

- Sarkin Yamma
- Sarkin Yara
- Sarkin Ciyawa
- Shentali
- Wagu
- Shamaki
- Jagaba
- Kilishi
- Sarkin Dukawa
- Barwa

- Sarkin Lifidi
- Kwaramaza

Religious and Judicial Titles

- Limamin Juma'a
- Limamin Kona
- Alkali

(V) The Administration of Justice

As the objective of the Jihadists was the reformation of the society in line with the teachings of true Islamic principles, thus the enforcement of the Islamic legal procedures (*Shari'a*) must be observed.²²⁴ These legal procedures are usually dispensed through the court, police (*dogarai*) and the prison system available.

a) The Court System

In view of this, the Emirs in Zazzau had appropriately established courts in order to dispense justice for all. It is worthy to note that, earlier when the British arrived in Zaria, in 1902, they found three courts already functional in the city. These courts were the Emir's court, the Alkali's court and the Salanke's court.²²⁵ The Emirs by their disposition were acquainted with Islamic law and judicial procedure and they used to hold court sessions in their palaces.²²⁶ The

²²⁴ A thoughtful discussion on the application and observance of the Shari'a legal system in the Sokoto Caliphate has been made by many scholars. The most recent (available) is C. N. Ubah (2005) "The Operation of Shari'a Courts since 1903" in A.M. Yakubu, et'al, *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation*, Arewa House, ABU, Kaduna, pp. 178-182.

²²⁵ E. J. Arnett (1920) *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*: London. Waterlow & Sons Limited, p. 14, M. G. Smith (1960)...pp. 94-95. Even though outside the scope of this research, Arnett reported that, there were also four lesser *Alkali's* courts in the vassals or sub-emirates of Zazzau in the towns of Kauru, Lere, Jama'a and Kagarko. (E. J. Arnett (1920)...p. 15)

²²⁶ According to al-Mawardi, dispensation of justice was one of the most important functions of the emir. In Islam, therefore, the executive and the judicial arms of government were not separated and Muslim rulers in addition to matters of politics played a clear role of politics. Cited in C. N. Ubah (1973) "Administration of Kano Emirate Under the British" PhD. Thesis, Ibadan, p. 36

emir also listened to appeals from other courts and reserved the right to pass capital punishment.²²⁷ The *Alkali* was the Chief Judge and he remained in the capital unlike the *Salanke's* court which was mobile. The *Alkali* also listens to appeals and can reverse the case especially that of the *Salanke*.²²⁸ The *Salanke's* court was the lowest and its judge accompanied the emir especially on war campaigns.²²⁹ Dahiru Yahaya, remarked that, the *Salanke's* court, “took justice to those who needed it...”²³⁰ The administration of justice in the emirate of Zazzau during the period under review was so perfect that, Yahaya, concluded that “To maintain the independence of the judiciary the *Alkali* and the *Salanke* were kingmakers and fief holders and therefore enjoyed political prestige and economic independence.”²³¹ However, in times of stalemate, aggrieved persons or communities could appeal a case from the Emir’s court to the *Sarkin Musulmi's* court in Sokoto. Such appeal to Sokoto, for example led to the deposition of two emirs of Zazzau, Sidi Abdulkadiri in 1853, and Abdullahi in 1873 and 1887 respectively.²³² Under the Sokoto Caliphate which was the suzerain of all the emirates including Zazzau, the Sultan was the final arbiter. His judicial powers on the emirates were more pronounced in cases relating to succession disputes and boundary crisis between the various emirates under its

²²⁷ Dahiru Yahaya (2010) “Zazzau, the Bridge between Hausa Bakwai and Banza Bakwai” A paper presented at the Zazzau History Conference, from Pre-Jihad to Present, organised by the Axis Research Agency in conjunction with Zazzau Emirate Council, Tuesday 11th – Thursday 13th, 2010, Arewa House, Kaduna, ABU, p. 12

²²⁸ E. J. Arnett (1920)...p. 15

²²⁹ The powers of both *Alkali* and the *Salanke* were said to be identical and all appointed by the emir. Special cases in which the *Alkali* overturned the *Salanke* were in the spoils of war (booty). While the *Alkali* also used to had his judgement reversed by the emir in cases related to boundary disputes between vassals of his suzerain.

²³⁰ Dahiru Yahaya (2010)...p. 12. In Kano, a mobile Judge similar to the *Salanke* of Zazzau was called *Limamin Kasausawa*, who served both as Imam of battle-field and travelling Judge at the same time. See A. M. Fika (1978)...p.37

²³¹ Dahiru Yahaya (2010)...p. 12

²³² Usman Dalhatu (2002)...pp. 53-54. On the case of Emir Abdullahi, he was said to have been deposed twice. The first deposition was in 1873, when accused of disobedience to the Sultan. Ironically, Abdullahi was re-throned as the emir in 1876, following the death of Emir Abubakar. Tragically, the Sultan who re-appointed Abdullahi died and his successor was said to be unfriendly to him. In fact, the new Sultan was said to be the brain behind Abdullahi's earlier deposition and now fully in power, labeled same blame of disloyalty and deposed him again in 1887. See M. G. Smith (1960)...pp. 171 and 178. It is also said that, “the tradition to refer similar cases to the highest authority in a Muslim community is age-long starting with Caliph Umar-bn-Khattab (634-644)”. See T. M. Naniya(2003) “Duality and Conflict in a Society in Transition: Kano in the Colonial Period” in M. O. Hambolu (ed) *Perspective on Kano-British Relations*, Gidan Makama Museum, Kano, p. 135.

caliphate. On the other hand, the administration of justice in Zazzau could not be said to be fully perfect in accordance with the Islamic law throughout history. In Zazzau and Kano, “as in all other Muslim countries, the *Shari’a* was modified by the prevailing customs and the discretionary powers of the ruler or the judges.”²³³

As our much concern is on the adjoining rural areas, neither the *Hakimi* nor *Sarakunan Gari* had constituted courts in the 19th century Zazzau Emirate. This is also the situation elsewhere in the other Emirates of the Caliphate. Despite that, the *Sarakunan Gari* in their own capacity administered some judicial matters. They received complaints usually in their houses as there were no special court buildings for them.²³⁴ Also unlike the formal *Alkali’s* at the capital (Zaria city), the town chiefs were mostly not acquainted with Islamic law and jurisprudence. Therefore, the *Sarakunan Gari* were more involved with the traditional laws and customs governing their respective communities. As a result of this incompetency and informality, they only mediate or negotiate cases. This type of intercession is referred to as in Hausa as *sulhu*. The most frequent cases received and settled by the *Sarakunan Gari* were marriage related problems, disputes over farm lands, as well as dispute between individuals, and other minor cases. These were generally referred to as *Kananan Shari’o’i* (minor cases). However, cases which the *Sarkin Gari* was unable to settle, were referred to the *Hakimi*, at the capital. Also, through his *Jakada*, the *Hakimi* listened to complaints against the *Sarkin Gari*.²³⁵ Bigger cases and disputes giving

²³³ A. M. Fika (1978)... p. 37.

²³⁴ See C. N. Ubah (1985) *Government and Administration of Kano Emirate 1900 – 1930*, Nsukka, University of Nigeria Press, p. 25. However, T. M. Naniya, had it that, in pre-colonial Kano, there were town courts established in big towns of the emirate like, Tofa, Gaya, Ringim, Jahun, Karaye, Kura, Dutse, Danbatta and Wudil. This is unlike in Zazzau, where this type of courts was only in the vassal states of the emirate. See T.M. Naniya (2003).....p. 135

²³⁵ M. M. Tukur (1979)...pp. 337-338

rise to mutilation or capital punishment (*Manyan Shariah*) were outside the competence of any local chief and were always referred to *Alkali's* court at Zaria.²³⁶

b) The *Dogarai* System

Another important institution in the administration of Justice in the pre-colonial Zazzau Emirate was the *Dogarai* system (Royal Bodyguards).²³⁷ The *Dogarai* were the Emir's personal bodyguards, who were used to enforce the law and send offenders for trial. It is said that Shehu Usman Danfodio, in *Kitab al-Farq*, recommended the appointment of four officials in the administration of the Emirates of Sokoto Caliphate.²³⁸ One of these officials was the police and the other three were the Vizier, a Judge and an official in charge of *Kharaj* (Islamic legal tax). The institution of the *Dogarai* had pre-dated the Jihad period in Zazzau Emirate. During the pre-jihad Zazzau, the *Dogarai* were under the political control of a member of the chamber of eunuchs entitled the *Galadima*. The most senior among them occupied the office of *Sarkin Dogarai*.²³⁹ With the coming in to power of the Jihadists in Zazzau Emirate, the institution of the *Dogarai* continued, but with modification.²⁴⁰ The powers exercised by the *Galadima* as the *Sarkin Dogarai* ceased to exist. The reason for this according to M. G. Smith, "in Fulani Zaria, the king's eunuchs were purely personal attendants with no governmental roles."²⁴¹ However, this did not change their functions, the *Dogarai* continued as security operatives. Describing

²³⁶ E. J. Arnett (1920)...p. 15

²³⁷ For details on the origin and development of the pre-colonial policing system (*Dogarai*) in the emirates of Northern Nigeria and some parts of Yoruba and Edo kingdoms of the Western Nigeria, see, Kemi Rotimi (2001) *The Police in a Federal State: The Nigerian Experience*, Ibadan, College Press Ltd, pp. 1-4, A.Y. Chiranchi (2004) *Native Authority Police and Security in Kano Emirate, 1925-1968*, Kano, Yabi Investment Computer Business Centre, pp. 1-24.

²³⁸ Cited in, A.Y. Chiranchi (2004)...p.12.

²³⁹ M. G. Smith (1960)..., p. 36, 41

²⁴⁰ As representative of Shehu Usman Danfodio, the founders of the Zazzau Emirate after the overthrow of the Hausa regime, had undoubtedly implemented what their mentor recommended to them as enshrined in *Kitab al-Farq*. The emirates were advised in the book to establish police institution in the conduct of their administration system.

²⁴¹ M. G. Smith (1960)...p. 100

their outfit, Ahmadu Bello,²⁴² states that, “They all wore scarlet *rigas* (sometimes with another colour inserted) with great scarlet turbans, ill-balanced on their heads, and huge sword.”²⁴³ On the other hand, studies in Kano and probably applied to other emirates including Zazzau, “The *Dogarai* in the post-jihad period in Kano did not have any specific uniform nor were they trained in any formal way.”²⁴⁴ Notwithstanding, such law enforcement men especially in the Muslim Northern Nigeria were in their formality and more easily identifiable by outsiders than the relatively informal and rudimentary arrangements in the non-Muslim sections of the country²⁴⁵. Moreover, apart from their primary duties as body guards to the emirs, discipline and apprehending offenders²⁴⁶, the *Dogarai* also played vital role in the collection of taxes. Naturally, humans are averse to all sorts of levies be it religious or otherwise. In the process of tax collection, the *Dogarai* used to accompany the *Jakadu* (of the emir and *hakimai*), who went round the city, towns and villages to assess and collect taxes from the populace. In this tedious job, the presence of the *Dogarai* signifies authority and influenced prompt payment of taxes and other dues by the people to the emirate. Kemi Rotimi, aptly states that,

It is quite probable that the *dogarai* helped in the process by accompanying the official tax collectors known as *jakadu* of both the Emir and the *hakimai*...The *dogarai* would have, in that capacity

²⁴² This referred to the famous Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sarkin of Sokoto (1910 – 1966). He was the first and the only Prime Minister of Northern Nigeria. He was killed together with other prominent Northern Nigerian leaders in the bloody coup of January, 15th, 1966.

²⁴³ Cited in, Kemi Rotimi (2001)...pp.2-3. This mode of dressing is still maintained by the *Dogarai*'s in the emir's palaces, only that, they no longer carry huge swords and their functions taken over by the Nigerian Police Force (NPF). They were first transformed as *Yan Doka* (N.A. Police), starting from Kano in 1928, and later spread to the other Emirates of Northern Nigeria. For details, see, A.Y. Chiranchi (2004)... , particularly chapter three, pages 41-59.

²⁴⁴ A. Y. Chiranchi (2004)...p. 18

²⁴⁵ Police Ordinance (No. 39 Of 1914) in D. Kingdom (1923) *The Laws of Nigeria*, Lagos, pp. 441-461, as cited in, A. Y. Chiranchi (2004)...p. 13

²⁴⁶ The duties of the *Dogarai* in ensuring a crime-free state or emirate were enormous in the pre-colonial period (similar to the modern police force). In those days, the *Dogarai* serves as crime detectives and bringing criminals before the *Alkali*. In cases of homicide, the *Sarkin Dogarai* supervised the killing of the condemned criminal after the court order. The executioner was called a *Hauni*, a slave official under the *Sarkin Dogarai*. And in case of amputation of limbs for theft, it was conducted by another slave official called *Dan Jawal*, also under *Sarkin Dogarai*. For details, see, Kemi Rotimi (2001)... , p. 3, A.Y. Chiranchi (2004)...pp. 12-19

provided the necessary security to the men and given the force of legitimacy to their task. They were also involved in regulating the economy, particularly in the markets where they kept the peace, collected tolls and controlled the traffic.²⁴⁷

In the course of action, the *Dogarai* were those empowered by the emirate government to arrest and disciplined tax defaulters.

c) The Prison System

Closely related to policing operation in this context is the prison system²⁴⁸ in the 19th century administration of Zazzau Emirate. Even though there is scanty information as regards the prison system in the Zazzau Emirate, but according to one writer,

The Pre-British prison in Zaria was a small lock-up near the Emir's palace, just behind the *Waziri* (Old) *Gari's* house (sic). Though the precise period to which this prison was erected was uncertain but this small lock-up was referred to as *Gidan kurkuku* where the prisoners were kept and served with food.²⁴⁹

This is to show that, before the British intrusion, there was a special building set aside for keeping law offenders and criminals by the emirate government of Zazzau. Sources report that there were special farms provided by the emir in which the prison inmates cultivated in order to produce grain for their feeding.²⁵⁰ The official in charge of the prison was called *Yari*, another slave official also under the *Sarkin Dogarai*. The *Yarin Zazzau* was the Chief Warder and head of the *Dogarai* personnel, who oversees the emirate prison(s) and its inmates. The old small

²⁴⁷ Kemi Rotimi (2001)... p. 4

²⁴⁸ It is said that the Holy Qur'an has not categorically stated offences to be penalized through imprisonment but it gives narrative references of past cases of imprisonment that had occurred and this could be considered as examples for Muslims to follow. In Islamic history there were references made as regards the operation of prison system. An example from the times of Prophet Yusuf (*Alaihis salam*), to the period of Prophet Muhammad and some of his caliphs like Ali *bn abu-talib*, who is said to have erected two prisons called *Nafis* and *Makhis* and therefore became the first Muslim leader to establish prison for the detention of criminals and suspects. For details, see M. Z. Raliya (2000) "Kano Prisons in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" MA. Thesis, BUK, and Mohammed Buhari (2010) "A History of Zaria Central Prison 1903-1967", M.A. Thesis, BUK

²⁴⁹ Mohammed Buhari (2010)..., p. 18

²⁵⁰ Mohammed Buhari (2010)... p. 18

lock-up in Zaria was described as “too small and not conducive for human habitation.”²⁵¹ As a result of the smallish capacity of the pre-colonial Zaria prison, it became imperative for the British in 1903, just a year after the occupation of the emirate to establish a new prison yard. It is reported that this new prison was formally a personal house of the ninth Emir of Zazzau, Abubakar.²⁵² And again by 1912, in view of the increase in number of convicts, the British colonial government directed the construction of a larger prison in Zaria city.²⁵³

(VI) The Nature of Taxation System

Taxation means the system through which a state, kingdom or an emirate raises revenue for the maintenance of state structure and welfare. Therefore, taxation remained the most important aspect in which the new Emirate of Zazzau maintained its relationship with the local communities. As an Islamic government the Emirate had to ensure that only such sources of revenue duly authorised by the *Sharia* were collected. According to M. G. Smith, as representative of the Shehu in Zazzau Emirate:

The first two Fulani rulers collected a grain tithe called Zakka, which was due to them as *Mallams* or Koranic Scholars; in addition they collected a hoe tax of 500 cowries and taxes from blacksmiths and dyers... All nomad Fulani herdsmen with more than thirty cattle paid an annual tax (*Jangali*) of one in every ten cattle to the ruler ... Neither these first two Fulani rulers levied tolls on caravans, canoe men, or market transactions; they neither paid nor received *Kuridin Sarauta* (The money of taking Office).²⁵⁴

This was an exemplary posture demonstrated by Musa (1804 – 1821) and Yamusa (1821 – 1834) as true delegates of the Shaykh. Mahdi Adamu, gave an exposition of the economy of Zaria and its sources of revenue in the 18th and the 19th centuries and maintains that “....despite these

²⁵¹ Mohammed Buhari (2010)... p. 30

²⁵² Mohammed Buhari (2010)... p. 30

²⁵³ M. G Smith (1960)...p. 213

²⁵⁴ M. G. Smith (1960)...pp. 93-94

political changes (*Jihad*), the structure of public revenue coming in to the City (Zaria) remained fairly unchanged throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.”²⁵⁵ The most important tax in Islam was the *Zakkat*, the tithe or alms tax. *Zakkat* was one of the five pillars of Islam and must be paid by all Muslims in possession of wealth (cash or kind). In Zazzau, as in Kano Emirate, Gwadabe reports that, “What was realized from *Zakkat* was usually distributed to the *Mallams* in the locality in which it was collected; meaning that what was realized was not remitted in to the treasury of the emirates”.²⁵⁶ The most important source of state revenue in the 19th century Zazzau and other emirates was the *Kharaj* or *Kuridin Kasa*. This type of tax can also be referred to as land tax and it is related that each head of a family was expected to surrender to the state a certain proportion of the food crops he harvested. The proportion was usually small or token and varied in size and in consideration of the individual nature of harvest – bumper or otherwise.²⁵⁷

However, by 1860 according to M.G. Smith, as narrated by Barth, almost all the taxes denied by those first two emirs of Zazzau were revisited, and even death-duties levied on the estate of office-holders were collected.²⁵⁸ This tendency for taxation increase is said to have continued throughout the rest of the century. A source attributed it to “increase in the number of the members of the aristocracy and their followers....inflation and decline in the value of the

²⁵⁵ Mahdi Adamu (1981/1982) “The Economy of Hausa Capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th Centuries” History Research at ABU. Vol: VI: The Departmental Seminar Papers of the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, p. 6.

²⁵⁶ M. M. Gwadabe (2008) “Land, Labor and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: The Case Study of Kumbotso District, 1903-1953” PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, p. 36. Moreover, Mahdi Adamu, in his discussion on financing Islamic learning in pre-colonial Zaria City, states that, the *Mallams* because of their tight schedules of teaching rarely had the time to do anything else for a living. In this case, the *Mallams* maintained themselves and their families through gifts from their students, occasionally the King (through giving them portions of the tributes and *kudin kasa* that he received). See, Mahdi Adamu (1981/82)... p. 13

²⁵⁷ Mahdi Adamu (1981/82)...p. 9

²⁵⁸ M. G. Smith (1960)...p. 94

courie (sic) currency or increase wealth accruing to tax payers.”²⁵⁹ It was also attributed to the reappearance of some features of the old regime – the *sarauta* system of the pre-Jihad period which the Jihadist earlier abhorred. M. G. Smith, Mahdi Adamu and Abdulkadir Adamu, have presented an elaborate list of taxes collected by the ruling aristocracy of Zazzau, up to the eve of colonial conquest. For example, Abdulkadir outlined the following taxes:

List of Taxes in the 19th Century Zazzau Emirate

- *Kurdin garma* – Hoe tax..... C5, 000 per hoe
- *Albasa* – onion tax..... C5, 000 per plot
- *Kara* – sugar cane C8, 000 per plot
- *Rogo* – cassava tax..... C5, 000 “ “
- *Bori* – bori dancers tax C5, 000 per dancer
- *Zuma* – honey tax..... C5, 000 per man
- *Fawa* – butchers tax..... C5, 000 “ “
- *Kira* – blacksmiths tax..... C7, 000 “ “
- *Dillanci* – brokers tax C5, 000 “ “
- *Madaka taba* – tobacco grinders tax C5, 000 “ “
- *Shuni* – indigo tax C3, 000 “ “
- *Kidi* – drummers tax C4, 000 “ “
- *Karofi* – dye pits tax C4, 000 “ “
- *Jangali* and *Zakkat*²⁶⁰

Occupational heads or guild leaders such as *Sarkin Makera* (Chief of Blacksmiths), *Sarkin Pawa* (Chief of Butchers), *Sarkin Noma* (Chief of Farmers), *Sarkin Wanzamai* (Chief of Barbers), were used by the state officials to collect taxes on these crafts. Others included

²⁵⁹ Abdulkadir Adamu (1992) “British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria, c.1902-1945: A case study of Soba District”, M. A. History Thesis, ABU, Zaria, p.63

²⁶⁰ Abdulkadir Adamu (1992).... p. 64. The *Jangali* as explained by the writer, (note 42) was originally an Islamic tithe of the herds. A two year old cow was given per each thirty heads of cattle and a year old sheep or goat per forty heads of goat or sheep. While the *Zakkat* is an Islamic tithe on grain crops notably millet and guinea corn, one bundle (*dami*) out of every ten bundles was charged. Abdulkadir further explains that, there were also the *kurdin gado* – ten percent of the estate of a deceased man and *kurdin sarauta* - money given to the Emir or a village chief on assuming a title. In addition, there were the *kurdin rafi* – tax on fishermen and the *bani-bani* (literally give me – give me, but technically a kind of contribution), whenever the Waziri of Sokoto visited Zaria. And finally concludes that, of all the taxes considered, the most important were the hoe tax and jangali as majority of the population were agricultural producers. The basic reason for subscribing to Abdulkadir exposition is that, the area in which he conducted his research falls directly under the area of this study – Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. See chapter one for detailed explanation of this study area. See also E.J. Arnett (1920)....p. 16 and M. G. Smith (1960)....p. 333.

weavers, fishermen, dyers and leather workers.²⁶¹ An official in Zazzau called *Sarkin Mai* was the one in charge of going round the emirate and receiving the taxes already collected by the guild heads for onward delivery to the capital.²⁶² It was reported, based on European travellers' account, that by the close of the 19th century, the levy per dye pot varied from 6d to 2s in Kano, Katsina and Zaria.²⁶³ Who were then the officials in charge of collection of the taxes? Many scholars such as Fika, Ubah, Tibenderana, Tukur, Abba, and of course more recently, Gwadabe, have made detailed descriptions of the method of assessment and collection of taxes in the pre-colonial emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate. Being an emirate with vassal states, the Emirate of Zazzau through its official called *Kofa*²⁶⁴ collected what was called *gandu* or tribute from those states. However, the Emir reserved the right of direct control and the size of *gandu* to be paid by certain vassal states.²⁶⁵ Sources state that, there was no fixed time of the year for paying in the *gandu*, but its refusal for more than one year attracted punitive attack. The emir sometimes used to lead the expedition on his vassal areas in order to enforce payment of the *gandu*.²⁶⁶ These vassal states or sub-emirates of Zazzau were Kauru, Kajuru, Lere, Jama'a, Keffi, and

²⁶¹ In his discussion of the 18th and the 19th centuries economy of Zaria (capital of Zazzau), Mahdi explored the major thriving occupational crafts and industries in the city. For example, the blacksmiths, apart from domestic implements such as knives, needles, cutlasses, axes and varieties of hoes for farming, they also produced arrow-heads and spears for the king's arsenal. Experts among them also made swords and repaired guns. Zaria was also famous in embroidery, clothes and leather works. The Madaka ward in Zaria specializes in embroidery. The embroidered gowns made in the area were very expensive and particularly the '*Yarmadaka* variety was revered and is still a class of itself. In the major towns of the emirate these crafts and industries also flourished. Hunkuyi was particularly mentioned for its dyed clothes and market. See Mahdi Adamu (1981/82)...pp. 14-19. Abdulkadir Adamu in his studies on Soba district also explored crafts and industrial activities engaged by the people of the area such as in the towns of Soba and Maigana.

²⁶² See Mahdi Adamu (1981/82)...p. 10

²⁶³ M. M. Gwadabe (2008) "Land, Labor... p. 38.

²⁶⁴ *Kofa*, literally means a gate. In the 19th century emirate system, *Kofa* means a senior official of the emirate government who served as an intermediary and through whom the vassal chief received instructions from the emir. The *Kofa* also collected the annual *gandu* or tribute from the vassal chief for onward delivery to the emir. He also listened to complaints and judicial appeals, if any from the vassal officials to the emir.

²⁶⁵ See M.G. Smith (1960)...p. 79, I.A. Abba (1985)...p. 143

²⁶⁶ Mahdi Adamu (1981/82)...p. 8

Nassarawa.²⁶⁷ The rest of the Emirate was divided in to small administrative units which were given to the numerous titled officers to look after. It is said that “Some of the units were very small ...consisting in some cases of just a town and its environments. Most of the officers were given three or more units scattered in parts of the kingdom (emirate).”²⁶⁸ M. G. Smith has presented a map showing the distribution of the administrative units in the 19th century Zazzau Emirate.²⁶⁹

In the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate, as in other emirates, the collection of the taxes usually commences at the end of the farming season.²⁷⁰ This is because majority of the people in this part of the emirate were predominantly agriculturalists. On the other hand, the collection of *Jangali* (cattle tax) was normally during the wet season when herds were in the towns in which their owners resided. The instructions for the tax collection start from the emir in whom he directed all the *Hakimai* to commence it and the amount to be charged. In turn, the *Hakimai* instructed and sent their slave officials – *Jakadu*, who took the message to the town chiefs (*Sarakunan Gari or Dagatai*). In addition, the town chiefs in Zazzau were assisted in the collection of the taxes by some men called *masu-gora* (men with sticks).²⁷¹ The directive continued downward to *Masu Unguwanni* (Ward Heads) and lastly to the heads of families. In the 19th century therefore, the *Jakadu* were the most important agents or messengers through which the emirate titled officials collected taxes and tributes from the numerous and scattered

²⁶⁷ Kauru and Kajuru were already under Zazzau even before the jihad. While the Lere, Kagarko, Jama’a, Keffi and Nassarawa were brought after the jihad by 1808. The other areas that also came under Zazzau after the jihad were Kuseriki, Galadiman Kogo, Doma, Lafiyan Barebari, Lapai and Koro chieftaincies of Zuba, Izom, Kawu, Jiwa, and Kuji; but Zazzau Emirate lost these areas to the emirates of Bauchi, Nupe and the new government of Abuja.

²⁶⁸ Mahdi Adamu (1981/82)...p. 8

²⁶⁹ See the map on page 32.

²⁷⁰ The Northern District of Zazzau Emirate was predominantly occupied by the *Hausawa* and Fulani people. And geographically also, they were bounded by Kano and Katsina emirates which their inhabitants were also predominantly Hausawa and the Fulani. Thus, share similar historical, cultural, religious and seasonal features.

²⁷¹ The name Masu-gora technically means a group of men who carries big baton or sticks (*gora* – a stick from bamboo like tree) and accompanied the Town chiefs during their tax collection tour. The big baton or stick (*gora*) in their hands was meant to demonstrate authority and to frighten tax defaulters.

communities under their control. In return of the tax, tribute and materials collected, the *Jakada* was allowed by his master (*Hakimai*) to retain a portion – usually one tenth – as remuneration, but it is clear that the *Jakada*, also enjoyed ample scope for the over-collection of the taxes and supplies.²⁷² The channels and the processes of administering taxes in the emirates was said to be generally appalling. Gwadabe, for instance observed that,

Such unorganised, unsystematic method of assessment and collection only ends with a record full of fraud and corruption where the officials corruptly enriched themselves at the expense of the State and the tax payers. The most common corrupt act among the collectors was the over assessment and therefore the collection of more than the amount. While out of personal interest some able-bodied men and women were exempted for personal reasons and in return collect *gaisuwa* (gratification).²⁷³

It is equally important to observe the nature in which the proceeds of the taxes or revenue was divided. It is said that, the town chiefs (*Dagatai*) and their helpers retained a portion of the total sum realized. The bulk of the tax was normally taken to the capital by the messengers (*Jakadu*) of the *Hakimai*. Out of it, the *Hakimi* would keep a reasonable share of the conveyed taxes for himself and his *Jakadu*. Finally, the *Hakimai* handed over the rest of the proceeds to the central treasury or the emir, as at that time “there was no distinction between the personal income of the ruler and that of the state.”²⁷⁴ An emphasis by Gwadabe, in Kano, found that, the taxes were so personalised by the emir that, he could give out an area for its taxes to be collected as a wedding gift to a prince or princes.²⁷⁵ On the other hand, it is obvious the emir used a large sum of the

²⁷² M.G. Smith (1960)...p. 94. In fact, the influence of the *Jakadu* in the 19th century emirate system was so strong that they were even described as “sub-fief-holders” and perhaps more aptly as “*hakiman hakimai*” (fief-holders of fief-holders). For a detailed account of the activities of the *Jakadu*, see, N. I. Dantiye (1989) “Taxation and Hakimai Envoys....pp. 79-86

²⁷³ M. M. Gwadabe (2008) Land, Labor,.....p. 39

²⁷⁴ A. M. Fika (1978)...p. 41

²⁷⁵ M. M. Gwadabe (2008)...p. 39

revenue realized from taxes in the purchase of arms and horses for defence, fortification of city walls (*ganuwa*)²⁷⁶ and palace building.²⁷⁷

To sum it up, it is observed that, forms and nature of pre-colonial taxation in Zazzau Emirate were numerous. Despite the varieties of the taxes, there was an unrestricted peculiarity in the medium of payment of these taxes. In other words, taxes during that time were both paid in kind and in cash depending on the tax²⁷⁸. Also unlike the colonial taxation which was said to be “oppressive and confiscatory right from the start.”²⁷⁹ A study on agriculture in Zazzau, “suggested that the pre-colonial policy on taxation was designed to increase the availability of raw materials and the expansion of manufacturing.”²⁸⁰ Lastly, it is evidently clear that there was an established system and structure of pre-colonial taxation in the area of study. And it was this organizational structure that the British imbibed with modification to establish its exploitative taxation system after the occupation of the emirates of Northern Nigeria.

²⁷⁶ Zazzau was famous for its ancient walls throughout Hausaland. In fact, the legendary Queen or Princess Amina of Zazzau in the 15th century was said to be a great wall builder. And because of her fame and exploit, it is said that all the ancient walls in Hausaland were sometime referred to as *Ganuwar* Amina (Amina’s wall).

²⁷⁷ Information available reveals that, there were three palaces constructed by the emirs of Zazzau Emirate. The first palace was built by the second Emir of Zazzau, Yamusa (1821-1834) at Rimin Doko. The second palace was at Anguwan Juma, built by Abdulkarim (1834-1846), the third emir. Abdulkarim was also accredited as the first emir who constructed central mosque in Zaria city. He also relocated the emir’s palace to its present place. The third palace was that built by Emir Abubakar (1873-1876). It is said that Abubakar had refused to move to the official palace and chose to remain in his personal house close to Kofar Doka and which he turned as his palace. This Emir Abubakar’s residence where he was said to have buried was later by 1903 converted as Zaria Central Prison. For more information on royal palaces and residences in Hausaland and particularly Kano, see A. N. Shehu (2009) “A History of Kano Royal Residences, 1804 – 2004” PhD Thesis, BUK, Kano

²⁷⁸ See Abdulkadir Adamu (1992)...p. 66

²⁷⁹ M. S. Abdulkadir (2000) “Resistance to Colonial Taxation in Northern Nigeria in the 1930s” in *FAIS Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 1 No 2 (November 2000), p. 33

²⁸⁰ Abdulkadir Adamu (1992)...p. 66

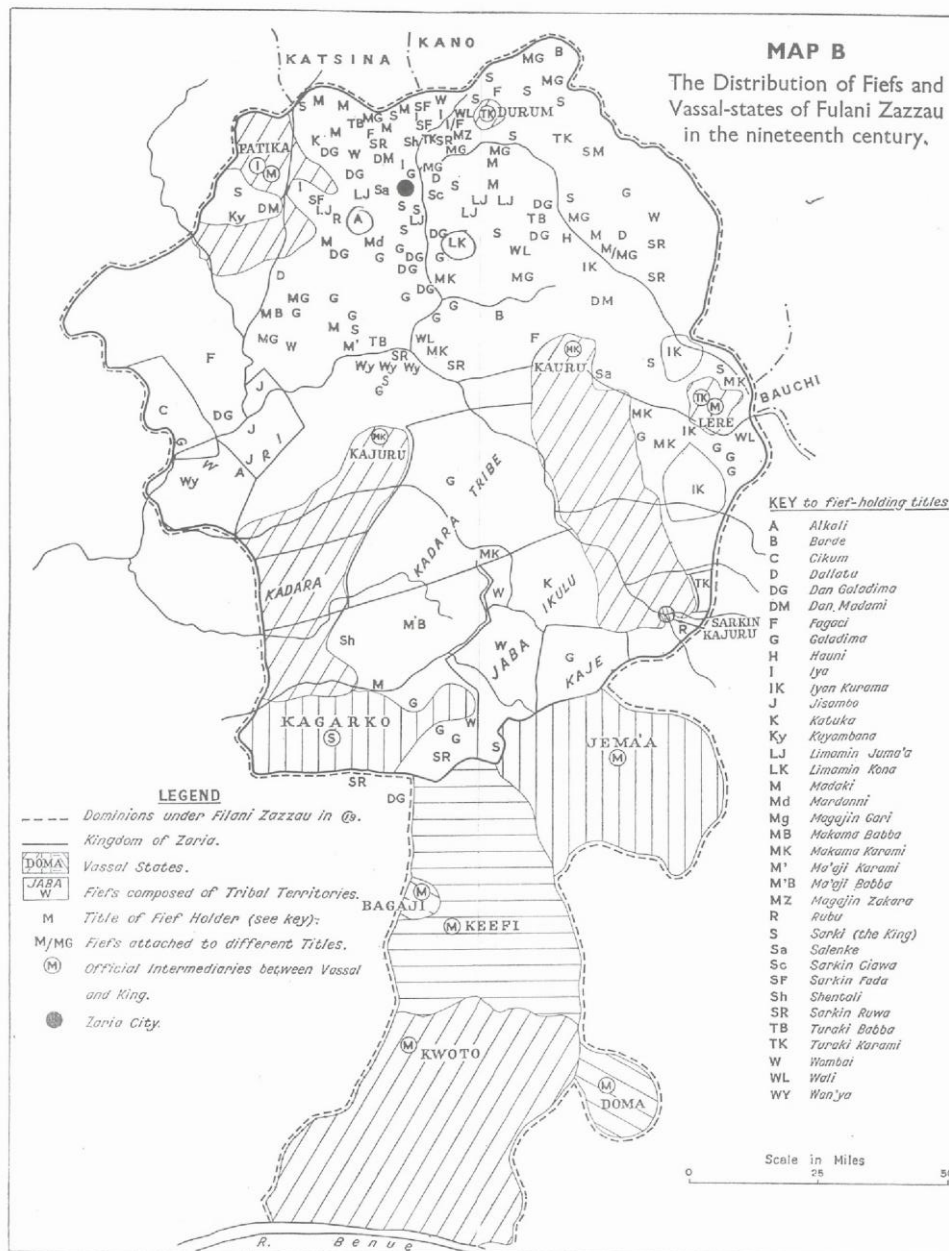
(VII) Conclusion

This chapter discusses the system of administration of the Zazzau Emirate from the period of the jihad in 1804, which the overthrow of the Sarauta system of the Hausa rulers throughout Hausaland. After the jihad, Mallam Musa (of *Mallawa* lineage) became the first emir of Zazzau and he ruled the emirate with the help of the other three Fulani contingents (*Bornawa, Katsinawa and Sullubawa*) that participated in the war. Under the Sokoto Caliphate, the emirs instituted *Shari'a* as the basis of government in both private and public life of the people of Zazzau Emirate. Administratively, discussion was made on how the emirs delegated authority to their titled officials (*Hakimai*) to rule over the towns and villages under its territory. During that time all the major titled officials resided in the capital with the emir and they control the areas assigned to them through their slave agents called *Jakadu*. The effective means through which the emirate and its officials control the communities was in the elaborate system of taxation. Through the taxes collected, the emirate raised the revenue for the sustenance of its numerous officials and for defense. There were also the judicial, police and prison institutions, established to encourage and strengthen the administration of justice in the emirate.

It should be noted that, in this pre-colonial system in Zazzau Emirate, as in other emirates, the real control and administration of the rural populace rested heavily in the hands of the local rulers. This is because, as observed by many writers, the basis of authority in the 19th century was not territorially but clientele or clan based. Areas (or fiefs as often used by many writers) under each *Hakimi* were not compact in nature, rather scattered around the emirate territory. In view of this jumpy nature of the system, it is difficult to mention district head system in the 19th century Zazzau Emirate. Finally, it was on this complex bureaucracy the emirate government of Zazzau flourished from probably 1804 to 1902, when the British invaders

occupied the area. From 1902 as we shall see in the next chapter, there was a total re-organization of the emirate system by the British colonialists, to be in line with the total exploitative agendas they set for.

MAP III



Source: M.G. Smith (1960) *Government in Zazzau 1800 - 1950*, London, Oxford

CHAPTER THREE

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH COLONIAL RULE IN ZAZZAU EMIRATE 1902 – 1920

(I) Introduction

This chapter examines the encroachment of the British imperial government and the establishment of colonial rule in Zazzau Emirate. This is with emphasis on the Northern part of the emirate. This chapter forms an important nexus of this work in view of the fact that it discusses the immediate administrative changes introduced by the British in order to govern the Emirate. It starts with the conquest of 1902 and then the consolidation of British colonial rule which manifested in the establishment of Zaria Province. This consolidation was carried out through institutionalization of the Native Authority system and the creation of the District Head system in the province. This measure introduced by the British had provided the bedrock on which the Indirect Rule system solidified. The District Head system and the functions of the District Heads are given emphasis as it is part of the preoccupation of this work. It examines the newly created districts and demonstrated that the district head system was basically a British creation as against the perceived belief that it was a pre-existing traditional system.²⁸¹ The chapter also dealt with the other important arms of the administration – Native Treasury, Native Courts, Native Prison and the Police. It stopped at 1920, a year in which the number of the districts in the Emirate was reduced from thirty-two to twenty-seven.

²⁸¹ As emphasized severally, there was that erroneous and stereotype belief that the district head system was traditional in origin and nature but research shows that it was basically a British design and differed radically from the pre-colonial type of local administration. For similar detailed and critical studies on another emirate, see, I. A. Abba (1985) “Changing Patterns of Local Authority and the Creation of the District Head System in Gombe Emirate c. 1804 – 1960” PhD Thesis, BUK.

(II) The British Conquest of Zazzau Emirate

Early in the 20th century the great Sokoto Caliphate which Zazzau constituted one of its numerous emirates was conquered by the British imperial government. This took place in an era characterized by intense rivalry and competition amongst the major European powers for acquisition of colonies. The term “New Imperialism”, was used to describe this period and V.I. Lenin described it as the “Highest Stage of Capitalism.”²⁸² This intense struggle amongst the European powers was as a result of the spread of industrialization across Europe with attendant effects of overproduction and other social problems. The result necessitate the need was for cheap and abundant raw materials to feed the ever expanding industries, market and new ventures outside Europe for investment of surplus capital.²⁸³ In the wake of this wild scramble which led in some cases to clashes between the European powers especially Britain, France and Germany, the climax was the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885.²⁸⁴ At Berlin, an act was signed which set the rules for the European occupation of African territories. It stated among other things, “that a European’s claim to any part of Africa would only be recognized if it was “effectively occupied.”²⁸⁵ In essence, the aftermath of this, rather, ‘unilateral’²⁸⁶ conference at Berlin set the stage for the European military invasion and conquest of the African territories. In

²⁸² V. I. Lenin (1983) *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Moscow, Progress Publishers

²⁸³ See for instance, Walter Rodney’s masterpiece – “How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, London, Bogle-L’Ouverture Publications), where he traced the crisis of 18th and 19th centuries industrial Europe and its attendance consequences on other continents particularly, Africa. The major consequence was the forceful colonization of African countries by the European powers in order to solve their economic and social problems at the expense or detriment of the Africans. In fact, Rodney’s position and other African writers attributed the continent’s underdevelopment to colonialism.

²⁸⁴ For details see, J. D. Hargreaves (1974) “The European Partition of West Africa” in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds) *History of West Africa Vol. II*. London, Longman, pp. 402 – 423.

²⁸⁵ Quoted in F. K. Ekechi (2002) “The Consolidation of European Rule, 1885 – 1914” in Toyin Falola (ed) *Africa: Colonial Africa, 1885 – 1939*. Vol. III, North Carolina, Academic Press, p. 27

²⁸⁶ The Berlin Conference (1884 – 1885) was hosted by the then German Chancellor, Keizer Williams, at the city of Berlin and attended by all the European powers that had stake in establishing spheres of influence especially in Africa. The conference was criminally one-sided as not even a single individual, state, kingdom or empire from Africa was invited to attend in spite of the fact that the meeting was purposely convened to decide the fate and future of their ancestral homeland.

this regard, the Sokoto Caliphate, which Zazzau Emirate falls under its suzerain, was assigned to Great Britain.²⁸⁷

Britain was quick in putting in place the outcome of the Berlin Act when it hastily granted a royal charter in 1886 to a British commercial firm, the United African Company (UAC),²⁸⁸ which had already been operating in the Niger-Benue Confluence area. With this, the firm came to be known as the Royal Niger Company (RNC) with Sir George T. Goldie²⁸⁹ as its chairman. As carefully observed by Ikime:

The obtaining of a charter meant that, the company was not just a trading concern, it had conferred on it certain powers of government and law making, as well as powers to raise and maintained an armed force for the effective pursuit of its trade as well as for the maintenance of law and order.²⁹⁰

Under the pretext of the charter, the RNC established a constabulary in 1886 and by 1897, the Emirates of Nupe and Ilorin were overpowered by the company. This act angered the Sultan, Abdurrahman and rejected further negotiations with the company.²⁹¹ In view of this, the relations

²⁸⁷ For a detailed account on the conquest, see Obaro Ikime (1977) *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest*. London, Heinemann, pp. 76 – 87 and 185 – 189, Charles Orr (1968) *The Making of Northern Nigeria*, London, Frank Cass; Flora L. Shaw (1905) *A Tropical Dependency*, London, James Nisbet & Co. Ltd; and R. A. Adeleye (1971) *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804 – 1906*. London, Longman.

²⁸⁸ The United African Company (UAC) was a conglomerate of various British commercial firms, formed in 1879 by Sir George Taubman Goldie. The company was similar to the one established by his compatriot, Cecil Rhodes in Southern Africa in order to establish, protect and monopolized trading activities in Africa for the sole benefit of the British Empire. For a detailed account of the Royal Niger Company, see J. E. Flint (1960) *Sir Goldie and the Making of Nigeria*. London, Oxford University Press, A. G. Hopkins (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa*. London, Longman Group Ltd, p. 199.

²⁸⁹ And for details on Goldie and his company's exploits, see E.A. Ayendele (1980) "External Relations with Europeans in the Nineteenth Century: Explorers, Missionaries and Traders" in Obaro Ikime (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*. Ibadan, Heinemann, pp. 380 – 389.

²⁹⁰ Obaro Ikime (1977)... p. 33

²⁹¹ In this circumstances, the RNC played double-standard game under the guise of the claimed treaties or agreements entered with the Sultan of the Caliphate. Even the so-called treaties meant different things to the parties concerned. To the British, it meant an overwhelming influence throughout the Sultan's territories (all the emirates inclusive), to the exclusion of French and German Interests. While the Sultan view the treaty as a form of friendly alliance which promised protection against other European powers and local revolts. For a critical interpretation of the so-called treaties, see R. A. Adeleye (1971) *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804 – 1906*. London, Longman, pp. 130 -136. Also M. G. Smith (1960) *Government in Zazzau 1800 – 1950*. London, Oxford, P. 200. In

between the British and the Caliphate deteriorated; and concurrently the British revoked the RNC's charter in December 1899²⁹², having realized that the company had failed to expectations as an effective agent of her interest. Consequently, in January 1900, the territory hitherto claimed as British sphere of influence was taken over by the British colonial government, and declared as the British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, with Lugard (later Lord)²⁹³ as its High Commissioner. This was as far as the British grand military plan to conquer the entire Sokoto Caliphate, of which Zazzau Emirate was already on the imminent road map of invasion.

Turning to Zazzau in particular, even though there were references of contact early in the 19th century, it was not until in 1899 that the British presence in the emirate was clearly felt when the Church Missionary Society Mission, was granted permission to settle at a place called Girku, located south of Zaria city.²⁹⁴ Soon afterwards, the dangers of the British military intention against the Emirate became apparent when in 1900, Colonel Kemball, with a unit of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) subdued two towns under Zazzau (Remo and Kaje). And this happened shortly after Kemball's visit to the Emir Kwassau, in which he pledged support and friendly relations with the monarch. To add salt to injury, Kemball was reported to have bragged of an impending occupation of even the capital city of the Emirate, Zaria, in order to put an end to slavery and slave trade.²⁹⁵

fact, Dalha Waziri further stated that in some places especially the smaller Emirates like Gumel, such treaties did not even exist. See Dalha Waziri (1999) "The Establishment of British Over-rule in Gumel: A study of Political Administration 1903 – 1939". M.A. Thesis, BUK, p. 14.

²⁹² For details on the activities of the British companies and revocation of their charters, see L. Lugard (1965) *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa, Fifth Edition*. London, Frank Cass, pp. 18 – 31.

²⁹³ Lugard had already been in the services of the Royal Niger Company even before the British took over the control and he had already gathered vast and intelligent information about the land and people of Nigeria. Therefore, his appointment as the High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria did not come as a surprise.

²⁹⁴ NAK/ZARPROF/2551, Zaria Provincial Annual Report for 1904, by C. W. Orr, P.5, as cited in Abdulkadir Adamu (2001)...p. 38.

²⁹⁵ R. A. Adeleye (1971) *Power and Diplomacy in Nigeria 1804 – 1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies*, London, Longman, p. 224. On the issue of putting an end to slavery, not only in Zaria or Sokoto Caliphate, but

(III) Internal Problem in Zazzau Emirate on the eve of British Conquest

It is worth examining the internal problems bedeviling the Emirate of Zazzau on the eve of the British conquest. This would shed more light on the events leading to the fall of the Emirate. The major problem was the unhealthy dynastic struggle between the leading ruling houses, after the death of Emir Yero, in 1897.²⁹⁶ Three candidates were selected by the electoral council, one each from the *Bornawa*, *Katsinawa* and the *Mallawa* dynasties.²⁹⁷ The intrigues erupted when the leader of the electoral council opted to impose an unpopular *Mallawa* candidate, Malam Muhammadu, who was said to be physically incapacitated.²⁹⁸ The big challenge came from the *Bornawa* candidate, Kwassau, who was popular and had the backing of *Yanbindiga* (musketeers). According to M.G. Smith, Kwassau bluntly informed the Waziri of Sokoto that “if he was not appointed king peacefully, he would seize the throne by force.”²⁹⁹ In order to avoid Zaria-Sokoto fracas, the Waziri duly crowned Kwassau as the Emir of Zazzau in 1897. What should be observed here is the degenerate succession pattern in the emirate at that time, and which ultimately gave Kwassau the impulse to have recourse to force. On the other hand, it expresses general weakness and the looming collapse of the Sokoto Caliphate as a whole. We can synchronize and cite example with similar succession incidence in the

Africa as a whole, it was an excuse often held by the Europeans and their apologist as one of the reasons behind their intervention into the affairs of the continent. This excuse did not go down well amongst African intellectuals and other anti-imperialist critiques. They viewed the anti-slavery movement by the European industrial powers as purely an economic excuse organized in order to salvage their countries of the social ills of industrialization. Slave labor was no longer needed as machines took over the position of man in the process of production.

²⁹⁶ See M. G. Smith (1960)... p. 193

²⁹⁷ See for details as discussed in chapter two, the emergence of these ruling dynasties of Zazzau. Also apart from the *Bornawa*, *Katsinawa* and *Mallawa*, there was also the less powerful fourth dynasty, the *Sullubawa*, who had only in one occasion its kinsmen became the Emir of Zazzau. He was Emir Abdulsalami, 1860 – 1863.

²⁹⁸ Malam Muhammadu of the *Mallawa* was discredited for being aged, blind, deaf and dumb, according to the sources. And if crowned as Emir, as plotted by the electoral leader, Galadima Suleimanu the government of the emirate would be in his hands since the former was incapacitated. See M. G. Smith (1960)... pp. 193 – 194.

²⁹⁹ M. G. Smith (1960)... p. 194.

neighboring Kano Emirate. And unlike in Zazzau, the succession dispute and the Sokoto's direct involvement in the local politics of Kano led to a civil war.³⁰⁰

Another internal contending problem facing Zazzau on the eve of British conquest started in 1901, following the flight of Ibrahim Nagwamatse, whose Emirate of Kontagora was sacked by the British. During his flight, Nagwamatse was reported to have been raiding villages in Zazzau's territory. It is said that both the Emir of Zazzau and the Caliph had cautioned him to stop but to no avail.³⁰¹ Emir Kwassau was said to have drifted into a dilemma as a result of Nagwamatse's excesses. One, he could not wage a war against Kontagora, being a sister Emirate, and nor could Zazzau allow the continued ravage of its domain by the latter.³⁰² In the midst of this quandary, Kwassau had no choice than to invite the WAFF men under Lugard against Nagwamatse's incursion. Lugard, who had already put Ibrahim under surveillance since the fall of Kontagora, wasted no time in entering Zaria in the guise of a friend.³⁰³ In March 1902, Ibrahim was captured near Maska and afterwards sent to Lokoja for trial.³⁰⁴

In the meantime, the arrest of Nagwamatse by the WAFF rather than solving the problem of Zaria only compounded it with the stationing of British garrison at the city. This was followed by the declaration of Zaria as a Province with Captain Abadie as its resident. The humble Emir

³⁰⁰ The famous Kano civil war (*Yakin basasa*) was extensively covered by Fika. It began in 1893, following Muhammadu Bello's death and ended in 1895, with Muhammadu Tukur's demise and the accession of Aliyu Babba as the Emir of Kano. This is even in spite of the fact that, unlike the multi-dynastic system obtained in Zazzau, Kano had only one ruling dynasty. For details, see A. M. Fika (1978) *The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule 1882 – 1940*. Ibadan, Oxford University Press.

³⁰¹ See H. F. Backwell (1927) *The Occupation of Hausaland*, Lagos, Govt. Printer, p. 12, and R. A. Adeleye (1972)... pp. 228- 244.

³⁰² The reason for the state of dilemma of the Emir of Zazzau, Kwassau, was that, Ibrahim Nagwamatse, the first Emir of Kontagora, was a grandson to the founder of the Sokoto Caliphate, Shehu Usman Danfodio, through his father, Abubakar Atiku, the second Sultan of the caliphate. Therefore, any attempt at an open confrontation against Nagwamatse by Kwassau, would be tantamount to a felony disrespecting Shehu's descendents.

³⁰³ For Lugard, Kwassau's invitation was a dream comes true. The British had already been nursing the idea of occupying Zaria for long. In view of this the British entered Zaria without firing even a single shot.

³⁰⁴ See H. F. Backwell (1927) *The Occupation of Hausaland*. Lagos, Government Printer, p. 12, R. A. Adeleye (1971)... pp. 244-245, Obaro Ikime (1977)... pp. 187 – 189; and M. G. Smith (1960)...pp. 201 – 202.

of Zazzau who had expected British help not military encampment in Zaria was furious of this British act. There were also pressure from Sokoto, Kano and Katsina on the Emir for granting British settlement in Zaria. To worsen the situation, the British soon turned Zaria into a kind of military base for mobilizing troops in readiness for an imminent attack on Kano. In reaction, the Emir was reported to have bluntly said that, “If the Caliph were to order him to expel the British from his Emirate, he would have no choice but to carry the instruction”.³⁰⁵ However, despite not being on a sound footing to fight, the Emir passively continued to resist British presence in Zaria. He was also in constant contact with Sokoto and Kano, informing them of British preparedness and also expressing to them of his intention to flee.³⁰⁶ On realizing the intention of the Emir to flee, the British deployed patrol troops on the major routes linking Zaria with Kano, Katsina and Bauchi respectively. This was meant to curtail any attempt by the Emir if he intended to flee and to prevent any reinforcement coming into Zaria from other Emirates.³⁰⁷ The implication and the reason why the British was so apprehensive about what they described as the Emir’s ‘intrigues’ is that, if the Emir fled, probably with a large following, he would go to Kano and strengthened its resistance.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ Obaro Ikime (1977)... p. 187

³⁰⁶ The intention of Emir Kwassau to flee was captured in his correspondences especially with the Emir of Kano, Aliyu Dabo. As cited by Backwell, one of the letters reads, “the Christians ... had increased among us and have settled more firmly than before. As for the news of the others, they have come from Kwaba and have collected stores for war”. In another intelligent letter, it reads, “This is to inform you that heavy trouble has come upon us, for by Allah we can neither stand nor sit, and have no power to remain in the same place with them”. See H. F. Backwell (1927) ... p. 70 and p. 71.

³⁰⁷ See R. A. Adeleye (1971)... p. 246, Obaro Ikime (1977)... p.187; and M. G. Smith (1960)... p. 201

³⁰⁸ The British was well informed about Kano’s advance preparation and readiness against any aggression. On the eve of the British conquest, Kano was said to have fortified its walls and purchase many guns from North Africa. Therefore, any reinforcement from Zaria to Kano would be detrimental to the British aim of reaching the ‘great emporium of Kano’. For details see, C. N. Ubah (19) A. M. Fika (1978) *The Kano Civil War and British Over – rule 1882 – 1940*, Ibadan, Oxford, pp. 84 - 101. And on discussion of the rationale for the British conquest of Kano, see M. M. Gwadabe (2008) *Land, Labor and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: The case study of Kumbotso District 1903 – 1953*. PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, pp. 44 – 46.

Relationship between the Emir and the British continued to deteriorate with no sign of compromise from the former. This according to Abdulkadir, "... indicates the passive resistance of the Emir to the British dictated by the condition he found himself."³⁰⁹ The last straw came in September 1902, when Captain Abadie (Resident), instructed the Emir to prepare to meet Lugard, which he refused; thereby not only defying the Resident's orders, according to Ikime, but also denying recognition of Lugard. The Emir stressed that, "he did not recognize either Lugard or the British government but the Caliph."³¹⁰ Consequently, on the orders of the Resident, a group of WAFF soldiers marched on the Emir's palace and arrested him. The apprehended Emir, Muhammadu Lawal Kwassau was deported to Lokoja, where he died in 1907. With this development, the British assigned Galadima Suleimanu to steer the affairs of the Emirate for six months, before the appointment of Emir Aliyu Dansidi in 1903. This marked the final phase of British conquest or occupation of Zaria and the Zazzau Emirate in general. And on the other hand, the conquest opened up a new chapter of British colonial administration in Zazzau Emirate. This we shall see in our subsequent discussions in the chapter.

(IV) The Establishment of Zaria Province and the Deposition of Emir Kwassau

As soon as the British completed the conquest of the Emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903, provinces were established throughout the declared Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The Emirate of Zazzau was conquered in 1902, following the deposition of Emir Kwassau and the enthronement of Aliyu Dansidi under the British Colonial Government. Zaria, the Emirate capital was made as the name and the headquarters of the newly created Zaria Province. The first

³⁰⁹ Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) "The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis C. 1902 – 1960". PhD Thesis, History Department, ABU, Zaria, P. 41. In fact, part of the Emir's uncompromising attitude was said to be his refusal to honor British request for labour and to return run away criminals.

³¹⁰ Obaro Ikime (1977) p. 187

British Resident of the Province was called Captain G.F. Abadie, who served on substantive capacity from March, 1902 to January, 1903. Abadie, who was nicknamed as *Maijimina* – ‘The owner of an ostrich’³¹¹, had a short spell as Resident of the Province when he died in February, 1904, at Kano.³¹² The short period of its first Resident almost became an omen to the subsequent Residents, not necessarily by death, but in an unusual and persistent posting and re-posting on nearly yearly basis. For instance, from 1902 – 1920, Zaria Province had 37 Residents, though some of them had multiple and intermittent periods of office (in substantive and acting capacities).³¹³ This further confirmed British lack of enough officials with which to man the vast Protectorate of Northern Nigeria which they created. Fika, commenting on this states that,

As always during the colonial period, there was a chronic shortage of British administrative officers, a shortage which was further accentuated when in 1914 the clouds of war descended upon Europe. Many of the European administrators in the Protectorate were on secondment from the British army to the Administration and they were recalled to their regiments. Others who were not military men volunteered for service at the war front. The 1914 – 18 war therefore denuded the Protectorate of very many Administrators.³¹⁴

Particularly on Zaria Province, the posture of the irregularity in which the Colonial Administrators (Residents) were posted and reposted over in the area was curiously lamented by E.J. Arnett in June, 1920 that, “Zaria Province has for many years suffered from the rapid changes of Residents and Acting Residents, making continuity of policy difficult ...These numerous changes and very large number of Acting appointments cannot have good effect on the

³¹¹ See S. J. Hogben & A.H.M. Kirg-Green (1966) *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London, Oxford, p.

³¹² See, E. J. Arnett (1920) *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, London, Waterlow & Sons Ltd, p. 20

³¹³ See the table on the names and period of various British Residents of Zaria Province, 1902 – 1920. This was also the situation in Kano as reported by M. M. Gwadabe, that, “such inconsistency and or a shortage in colonial personnel led to continued pressure for more officers...” This made touring and inspection of so many areas difficult. Kumbotso in Kano Emirate, for instance, there was hardly any District Officer posted there. And in some parts of Zazzau Emirate, Kauru District was not toured for inspection from 1938 until 1954. See M. M. Gwadabe (2008) “Land, Labor and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: The Case Study of Kumbotso District, 1903-1953” PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, pp. 115 - 117

³¹⁴ A. M. Fika (1978) ... p. 160

Native Administration.”³¹⁵ Consequent upon this problem of shortage of British political staff, which was particularly stretched by the outbreak of the World War I (WW I), enabled malpractices to continue in the Province unabated.³¹⁶ This complaint was reiterated in both the 1920 and 1921 Annual Reports of Zaria Province.

When it was initially established in 1902, the Zaria Province had an approximate total area of 22,000 square miles, but this dropped to 13,320 square miles by 1920, when the Gazetteer of the Province was compiled by its then Resident, Mr. E. J. Arnett.³¹⁷ At the same period, the population of the province was put at 350,000 people. The Province was bounded to the north by Kano Province, to the west by Sokoto and Niger Provinces, to the south by Nassarawa Province, and to the east by Bauchi and Kano Provinces respectively.³¹⁸ The River Kaduna was the major waterway of the province, while its two important tributaries - River Gurara and River Gulbi drew its Southern and Western boundaries respectively.³¹⁹

Moreover, the Zaria Province was described as a ‘self-contained’ administrative area - that is having only the Emirate of Zazzau within its territorial entity. This is the more reason it was not divided into Administrative Divisions with Divisional Headquarters³²⁰, as other provinces, like

³¹⁵ NAK/SNP10/286P/1920 Zaria Province, Report No. 76 for Half year ending 30th June, 1920, by E.J. Arnett, Pp. 7-8. Moreover, this irregularity in terms of the British Residents in Zaria Province, 1902 – 1920, could also be looked from the effects of the First World War on the British Empire in general.

³¹⁶ See NAK/SNP10/105P/1921, Zaria Province, Report for 15months ended 30th March, 1921, by Captain F.F.W. Byng-Hall, p. 17

³¹⁷ E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 5 and 7. The reduction in the size of the province had to do with the detachment made in 1908, when a large area of about 10,000 square miles on the Western part of the province was transferred to Niger Province. The detached area was sparsely populated and inhabited mostly by the Gwari (*Gbagyi*) people. However, the size continued to increase in view of constant patrols and discoveries of new secluded communities which were hitherto un-pacified by the British. These communities were mostly located in the south-eastern and southern part of the province.

³¹⁸ E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 5

³¹⁹ See chapter for the discussion on the major and smaller rivers in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate.

³²⁰ There were two sort of separate Administrative Divisions in Zaria Province which were more or less created only for ‘convenience’s’ in order to serve on temporary capacity between 1904 – 1912. One was the ‘Southern Division’ of the province, which was formed from 1904 to oversee the southern part of the province, comprising the districts of Lere, Chawai, Kauru, Katab, Katchia, Bitchini and Kajuru. The second was the ‘Western Division’ which was an

Kano,³²¹ for instance. Coincidentally, in 1914, the year the Northern and the Southern Protectorates of Nigeria were amalgamated, Zaria Province received back its southern most districts of Kagarko, Jere and Janjalla from Nassarawa Province.³²² This further reinstated the province's vastness and heterogeneous composition,³²³ as earlier opined by a British Official in 1909, that, "... from an administrative and political point of view, it has been of incalculable benefit to the province. It has brought together tribes formerly hostile and suspicious of each other to work together amicably side by side."³²⁴ However, this rather accidental cohesion or meeting was only made possible as a result of forceful recruitment of the various peoples of the Emirate or Province into the colonial construction sites of the railways, roads and mining fields. Working 'amicably side by side' and proving to the natives "on a large scale the advantages of organised labour,"³²⁵ as claimed by the colonialist, was only a sheer propaganda, projecting the benefits of colonial domination. In actual sense, the British was the only ultimate beneficiary as

administrative group and districts formed during the construction of the Baro – Kano Railway. This division was under a Political Officer residing at Kaduna Bridge. In both of the two divisions never even an Assistant Resident was assigned to them and by 1912, both the Southern and Western Divisions ceased to exist. See E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 7

³²¹ When it was constituted in 1903, Kano Emirate was grouped with Katsina, Katagum, Kazaure, Daura, Gumel, Hadejia, Misau, Jama'are, and Dambam (which was abolished in 1915) Emirates. In view of this, it was designated a 'double-province', and the largest in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. There were three Divisions in the province – Kano Division comprising only the Kano Emirate with headquarters at Kano, Katsina Division with headquarters at Katsina, comprising Katsina, Daura and Kazaure Emirates and the last one was the Katagum Division with headquarters at Katagum. However, by 1926, the Kano Province was reduced as a result of transfer of many of the aforementioned emirates into other province. For instance, Katsina was first transferred to Zaria Province in 1926, and later formed as a separate province in 1934.

³²² These districts (Kagarko, Jere and Janjalla) were hitherto part of Zazzau Emirate since the pre-British era. But when the Nassarawa Province was created after the conquest, these districts were grouped there alongside Keffi, Kwotto, Jama'a and Doma. The reason for this especially on the excision of Keffi from Zazzau Emirate, according to many writers was to punish Zaria for the murder of Captain Maloney at Keffi by Magaji Danyamusa, a representative of the Emir of Zazzau there. Keffi was an important southern vassal state of Zazzau during the Jihadist rule. However, the view of taking away Keffi in order to punish Zaria for the murder of Maloney was not necessarily the main reason. The basic fact is that, the British transferred Keffi to Nassarawa Province only for 'administrative convenience', as at immediately after the conquest, the British fully embarked upon re-organizing provinces and creating sizeable units of administration. See also L. M. Aminu (1993) "The History of Zaria Emirate Council from 1959" B.A. Dissertation, BUK, Kano, p. 39

³²³ See chapter one for the discussion on the people of Zazzau Emirate or Province. The diversity of the area is that, the northern part is dominated by Hausawa and Fulani, while the southern part was multi-ethnic.

³²⁴ NAK/SNP7/986/1910, Annual Report for 1909, Zaria Province by George Ormsby, p. 2.

³²⁵ NAK/SNP7/986/1910, ...p. 2

apart from the coerced labour the peasants were subjected to, the scale of the exploitation far outweighed the positive sides of colonialism.³²⁶

(V) The Native Authority System (N.A.)

Following the deportation of Kwassau in 1902, the exalted throne of Zazzau Emirate remained temporarily vacant for some months until when Aliyu (famously known as *Alu Dansidi*) was nominated to fill in the emirship position. Unlike his forebears, the new Emir, Aliyu, only owed his nomination to Sokoto, but his confirmation and appointment to the British. This clearly expresses the transfer of power to the British colonial government who by virtue of the fire of the maxim-gun subordinated all the hitherto independent emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate (Zazzau Emirate inclusive).³²⁷ In the same vein, “as a clear mark to the loss of their powers, the chiefs were warned that they had no right to their positions unless they rendered their proper services to the state.”³²⁸ It was further stressed by Lugard that, “neither the Emir nor any chief would be allowed to have recourse to armed force and the *dogari* would be abolished.”³²⁹ The next step was to establish a link or a policy between them (British) and the conquered subjects of the Emirates. This is because the basic motive of the British was to create an enabling environment, favourably enough to allow for both human and economic exploitation. In relation to this, Afigbo opined that,

³²⁶ For further details see C. C. Jacobs (1998) “Forced Labour in Colonial Nigeria” in M. Y. Mangvwat (ed) *A History of Labour in Nigeria*, Jos, University Press, pp. 44-56. And for discussion on the severity and violence of colonial domination see for example, Walter Rodney (1972) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London, Bogle-L’Ouverture Publication; and Frantz Fanon (1980) *The Wretched of the Earth*, London, Penguin Books

³²⁷ This transfer of power was clearly stated by Lugard in his speech at Sokoto during the installation of a new Sultan in 1903 that generally they (Fulani) in turn have by defeat lost their rule which has come into the hands of the British. See A.H.M. Kirk-Greene (1965) *Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria: Selected Documents 1900 – 1947*, London, Oxford, p. 50

³²⁸ M. M. Gwadabe (2001) “The consolidation of British Colonial Administration of Kano, 1909 – 1929”, in *Zaria Historical Research (ZAHIR) ABU*, Zaria, p. 92

³²⁹ M.M. Gwadabe (2001) ... p. 92

Every imperial power in human history has had to tackle such a problem, and the solution has generally been to use, in some form, at some stage, the traditional rulers and institutions of the conquered territory as a bridge for reaching the people.³³⁰

a) The N. A. and the Policy of Indirect Rule

In general terms the policy adopted by the British was what was called the Indirect Rule or the Lugardian System. It was a policy analyzed by many scholars and we (may) need not repeat the same details.³³¹ However, it is worth stating what Lugard, the self-acclaimed architect of the Indirect Rule thought of the system. He defined Indirect Rule as:

a rule through the natives Chiefs who are regarded as an integral part of the machinery of Government, with well defined powers and functions recognized by the Government and by law, and not depended on the caprice of an Executive Officer.³³²

Only that, what should be understood is that as the Indirect Rule passed through different colonial administrators, so also its philosophical conception and practice varied among them.³³³

From a neutral observation also the system was seen not living up to its originality. An observer, P. J. Shea, criticized the system thus;

In so far as 'Indirect Rule was an idea or a goal, it was never really implemented... no colonial system ever was truly representative in Africa, even those with Legislative Councils. Basically ... 'Indirect Rule' was not really a 'system' (it was certainly never either consistent

³³⁰ A. E. Afigbo (1974) "The Establishment of Colonial rule 1900 – 1918" in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds) *History of West Africa Vol. II*. London, Longman, p. 442

³³¹ On the philosophy of Indirect Rule system and British colonial administration see for example, C. Orr (1911) *The Making of Northern Nigeria*, London, W. Geary (1927) *Nigeria Under British Rule*, London, M. Perham (1937) *Native Administration in Nigeria*, London, R. Heussler (1968) *The British in Northern Nigeria*, London, and J. White (1981) *Central Administration in Nigeria 1914-1948*, Dublin and London

³³² Quoted from S. O. Okafor (1981) *Indirect Rule*, Lagos, pp. 37-38

³³³ A. G. saeed offered a close analysis of the conception and practice of Indirect Rule System among the various colonial administrators especially in Northern Nigeria (where it was said to be excellently practiced) and the country at large. She states that, under the duo of Sir Percy Girouard (1907-1909), and Sir Hesketh Bell (1909-1912), "indirect rule came to mean a policy of minimal interference by the colonial administrators in the affairs of Native Authority". While Sir H.R. Palmer (1904-1930) in his bid to experiment the "correct type of indirect rule" further deviate from the lines of Lugard and his successors by doing away with even the minimal interference. For details see A. G. Saeed (2005) "Sir Herbert Richmond Palmer and the Establishment of Colonial Rule, 1904-1930" in A. M. Yakubu et'als (eds) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, pp.142-143

or coherent); it was simply colonial Rule, and it has to be examined in the same as colonial rule elsewhere – in terms of domination and exploitation by outsiders.³³⁴

Central to this policy was the Native Authority, a term which denotes a recognized Emir or Chief by the British colonial government. With the Native Courts and Native Treasury, the three institutions formed the basis of the Native Administration. Emphasis here is on the Native Authority which was under an Emir or a Chief as the executive head of the Native Administration. At the inception of colonial rule, all the Emirs were graded into classes depending on the size and economic importance of the emirates in which they ruled. More importantly, the Emirs served as the link between the colonial officers and the colonized local people. The Emirs were obliged to swear an oath of allegiance to the British Colonial Government, and to assume their new roles in the functions of the Native Administration.³³⁵ This oath of allegiance, as enshrined in Lugard's political memoranda was inscribed both in Hausa and English as follows:

"Billahi lazi la illah ila hua

Ni ... na yi alkwali na yi bi da gaskiya jalel Sultan el Ingliz George na biat da wakilansa wato Governor. Za na rika bin dokokin Governor da abin da Wakilin Governor ya yi umorni sai dai abin da ya ketare addinin Musulmi. Isan dai haka ne nan da nan zan gaya wa Resident don shi sanad da Governor. B azan aje kowane irin ki ko munafichi achikin zuchiata ba. Zan rika mutane na da adilehi ban da tsalumchi. In na warware alkawalin nan Allah shi yi kukumshi akaina."

(Translation):

"I swear in the name of God to well and truly serve his Majesty King George V. and his representative the Governor-General of Nigeria, to obey the laws of Nigeria and the lawful commands of the Governor and

³³⁴ P. J. Shea (1982/85) "How Indirect was Indirect Rule? A documentary approach to an administrative problem" in *Kano Studies: A Journal of Savanna and Sudanic Research*, New Series Vol. 2 No. 3, p. 158

³³⁵ This information is contained in the appointment letters issued to the Emirs on the occasion of assumption of duty by the British colonial government. See for details, Northern Nigeria Annual Report 1904, para. 91 and L. Lugard (1970) *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subject Chiefly Political and Administrative 1913 – 1918*, London, Waterlow, pp. 307-308.

the Lieutenant-Governor, provided that they are not contrary to my religion, and if they are so contrary I will at once inform the Resident for the information of the Governor. I will cherish in my heart no treachery or disloyalty, and I will rule my rule my people with justice and without partiality, and as I carry out this oath so may God judge me.”³³⁶

This oath further encapsulates roles as thoroughly explained in the memoranda to include among others, maintenance of law and order, tax collection, mobilization of people for the building of offices and houses for the British colonial officers and clearing of roads linking the Native Authorities’ capitals with the Divisional and Provincial Headquarters.³³⁷ This expressed complete subordination and unconditional loyalty to British colonial authority. And anything short of such new laid down rules by the conquered populace including the traditional authorities (native rulers as called by the British) were met with stern punishment from the new conquerors – British colonialist.

b) Appointment of Emir Aliyu Dansidi and checks on the Emir

The history of the Zaria Native Authority in the first two decades of British colonial rule was in part dominated by the ascension, deposition and deportation of Emir Aliyu Dansidi³³⁸ (1903-1920). As already stated, Aliyu succeeded Kwassau, and being recognized by the British, he stood as the sole executive head of the Zaria Native Authority. The new Emir found himself in the midst of changing political position, one with the British, and secondly the continuation of the Emirate autocratic system which he inherited.³³⁹ On his relations with the British, Aliyu’s sovereign position was checked following the implementation of the Native Authority

³³⁶ L. Lugard (1970) ... p. 308

³³⁷ Northern Nigeria Annual Report 1904, (paragraph) 91

³³⁸ Emir Aliyu *Dan Sidi*, was the son of Emir Sidi Abdulkadir (1853-1853), and great-grandson of the first Fulani Emir of Zazzau, Malam Musa (1804-1821). Aliyu was also the fourth Emir from the *Mallawa* ruling dynasty of Zazzau. For details see A. R. Mohammed (1983) “The Exiled Emirs and their Activities in Lokoja C. 1900 – 1940”, Departmental Seminar, Department of History, BUK.

³³⁹ See M. G. Smith (1960)... p. 203

Proclamation, No. 2 of 1907. Despite the fact that, the proclamation empowers him to enforce obedience to his orders, but not in accordance to his unilateral will, as was the case prior to the British era. Now, he was to seek for a verdict of the new judicial system introduced by the British. His freedom to dismiss or to keep an official was reduced by the powers of the new judicial ordinance. Unlike before, maladministration was now defined by the new law as a disobedience to the British not the Emir. As observed by M. G. Smith, “Thus the authority of the ruler was defined and limited by the laws of the British Administration which had appointed him”³⁴⁰ This led to the founding of a new administrative court under the *Wali* with powers to handle all judicial matters, and autonomous from the influence of the Emir. Accordingly, “this made the power of the kingship formally dependent on the whims of his judge or the technicalities of law.”³⁴¹ As a whole, the complexity of the new law which from the Emir’s point of view had compromised and totally redefined his authority. Thus, unacceptable and caused protracted conflict between the Emir and the British, “and it was for many years before the king’s role and status were clearly defined.”³⁴² The Sole NA was perhaps conferred on the Emir in order to establish his position as the dominant one at the local level, and only accountable to the colonial government.³⁴³ This is as far as the radical changes introduced by the British on the status of the Emir, which was designated as the Native Authority was concerned. Despite being the executive head of the Native Administration, his powers were altered and limited to what the colonial policies dictated. As a result, in these early years of British rule in Zazzau Emirate, there were references to strained relationships between the Emir, Aliyu Dan Sidi, and the British. At

³⁴⁰ M. G. Smith (1960)... P. 204

³⁴¹ M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 204

³⁴² M.G. Smith (1960) ... p. 204

³⁴³ See A. D. Yahaya (2005) “Traditional Leadership and Institutions: The Colonial Transformation of the Emirate System” in A. M. Yakubu et’al (eds) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, p. 231

the end, as we shall discuss below, this un-cordial interaction sown in the Emirate by the British ended up with the dismissal of the Emir.

The second phase of Aliyu's activities on assumption of power as the Sole NA in Zazzau Emirate was redirected towards putting his own house (dynasty – the *Mallawa*) in order. This in view of the continuing dynastic and intra-dynastic competition between and within the leading ruling houses of Zazzau Emirate.³⁴⁴ Certainly, the phenomenon of dynastic struggle in Zazzau was as old as the foundation of the Emirate itself. Thus, it predated British incursion and colonialism. Only that it was re-sharpened on Aliyu's occupation of the most prestigious office of the emirate. His first victims were the *Alkalin Zaria* (removed in April, 1903) and Galadima Suleimanu (dismissed in July, 1904), both of whom the Emir accused of intriguing against his authority.³⁴⁵ The *Bornawa* dynasty was the major rival to the Aliyu's *Mallawa* dynasty as at that period. Therefore, Kwassau's son Ibrahim of the *Bornawa* was dismissed from the office of Madaki and Aliyu replaced him with his son, Sa'idu, and another of his sons, Yero, took over the position of the deposed Galadima Suleimanu. Members of the *Mallawa* also took control of other important titles of the emirate such as the *Wombai*, *Dan Galadima*, *Wali*, and *Iya*. To further strengthen his position and perhaps subdue his arch rivals, Aliyu also confiscated other offices occupied by the *Bornawa* and distributed it to other less influential Fulani clans (such as *Fulanin Zamfara* and the *Toronkawa*) in Zazzau Emirate.³⁴⁶ This phenomenon of getting-rid of rivals was not only peculiar to Zazzau, in Kano, Emir Abbas (1903-1919) axe fell on his rivals within his

³⁴⁴ On the four ruling houses or dynasty of Zazzau Emirate, see chapter two for details.

³⁴⁵ Galadima Suleimanu was already a powerful figure since the times of Emir Sambo, Yero and Kassau and more importantly held the position of a caretaker head of the emirate for six months after the deportation of Emir Kwassau in 1902, before the appointment of Aliyu as the Emir in 1903. Thus, he considered himself too powerful and above Aliyu's sovereign authority. With the support of the British, the new emir deposed him on the ground of intrigue, and to free his administration from a very powerful opponent. See E. J. Arnett (1920)... pp. 26-27, and M. G. Smith (1960) pp. 207-208

³⁴⁶ See M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 208

own dynasty who had hopes for the succession.³⁴⁷ An intra-dynastic rivalry was what took place in Kano due to the absence of multiple ruling dynasties as the case in Zazzau Emirate.

However, Aliyu's drastic pounce on his rivals, especially dismissal from offices and securing important titles to his kinsmen and loyal clients "did not pass without British notice and action."³⁴⁸ It should be emphasized that, the unlimited powers hitherto enjoyed by the Emirs in the 19th century was no longer practicable in the presence of the British. The Emirs' absolutism to appoint and dismiss at will was curtailed by the new laid down rules enshrined in the colonial policies of Native Administration. In effect, the British reserved the right through the new judicial system to sanction administrative procedures, dismissal and redistribution of offices in the context of our discussion. Thus, as observed by M.G. Smith, "Many of the dismissed office-holders had not been accused of any administrative offence."³⁴⁹ Consequently, the British compelled Aliyu to reverse his actions, first by reappointing two of Kwassau's sons, whom he had earlier dismissed. Agonizingly also, two of Aliyu's sons, Sa'idu, in 1915, and Yero, in 1918, were both dismissed from their offices by the British for embezzling tax money and maladministration.³⁵⁰ This was in spite of all the efforts made by the Emir to procure and retain, especially the office of Madaki³⁵¹ for his sons. Several appointments made by Aliyu on other people during his time were also terminated by the British. On the other hand, in the midst of this protracted disagreement between the *Mallawa* Emir, Aliyu, and the British, the rival *Bornawa* were said to be elated and fully in support of the British.

³⁴⁷ See A. M. Fika (1978) ... p. 163

³⁴⁸ M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 208

³⁴⁹ M. G. Smith (1960)... p. 208

³⁵⁰ See M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 209

³⁵¹ The office of the Madaki is one of the most prestigious office or title in the traditional emirate system. The Madakiship was also exclusively conferred on the emir's favorite son and heir to the throne. This tradition is particularly prominent in Zazzau Emirate, and that was why Emir Aliyu Dan Sidi was disenchanted when the Madaki office slips from the hands of his sons. It also became unthinkable to him, when the office was now handed back to his arch rival *Bornawa* dynasty.

In 1920, Aliyu's emirship came to an end when he was deposed by the British. And after having admitted that the Emir was "... probably one of the most intelligent and advanced native rulers in the Northern Provinces ...,"³⁵² the Resident of Zaria Province, Captain F. F. W. Byng-Hall, ironically accused the Emir in his report that:

He committed many malpractices, such as forced labour, illtreatment of prisoners, confiscation of property, farms, etc. for his own benefit, and unjust punishment in the name of Judicial Council ... On a minor scale his district heads and village heads followed in his footsteps and the Administration of the country was reduced to such a ... that the life of the peasants almost became unbearable ...³⁵³

In view of these and other offences like 'illicit slave-dealing'³⁵⁴ as reported by M.G. Smith, which were labeled against the Emir, the British deposed and exiled Aliyu to Lokoja, where he died in 1926.³⁵⁵ In what was to be as a re-pronouncement of their domineering position over the Emirate, the British officer informed at the installation of Aliyu's successor (Dalhatu) that:

All men are subject to the Law, and he who does evil, no matter how high the post that he occupies, cannot escape punishment if he fail to abide by the law.³⁵⁶

However, the circumstances leading to the deposition of Aliyu Dansidi still remains debatable amongst writers on Zazzau history.³⁵⁷

On the other hand and away from palace intrigues and politics, it is worth mentioning that, by the end of Aliyu's reign in 1920, the British had succeeded in consolidating their power

³⁵² NAK/SNP10/105P/1921, Zaria Province Report for 15 months ended 31st March, 1921, by Captain F.F.W. Byng-Hall, p. 1

³⁵³ NAK/SNP10/105P/1921, ... p. 1

³⁵⁴ See M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 223. The *sic* as put in the bracket denotes as seen written exactly in the source but acknowledging the language or spelling mistake in it. Therefore, the correct form of the fourth official is *Majidadi*, and the fifth is *Limamin Juma'a*.

³⁵⁵ For details see A. R. Mohammed (1983) "The Exiled Emirs and their activities in Lokoja C. 1900-1940" Departmental Seminar, Department of History, BUK, pp. 13-14

³⁵⁶ NAK/SNP10/105P/1921, ... pp. 29

³⁵⁷ Of these recent works was Shuaibu Shehu (undated) "The consolidation of British colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria: The Case of Deposition of Emir of Zazzau Malam Aliyu Dan-Sidi," Arewa House, Centre for Research and Historical Documentation, ABU, Kaduna (a draft paper).

throughout the emirate. There were sweeping changes introduced in the system of the Native Administration, creation of districts in 1907, establishment of Native Courts, Prison and Police, and the Native Treasury (*Beit-el-mal*) in 1910. The Baro-Kano rail line, which diametrically traversed the Emirate, was completed in 1912. The role played by the Zaria NA in the supply of labour for this railway building was enormous and utterly commended by the British. Moreover, by 1913, all District Heads in Zazzau Emirate were graded and placed on salaries.³⁵⁸ These and many other administrative reforms were introduced during Aliyu's emirship (1902-1920). The following were the principal office holders of the Zaria Native Administration with their salaries as at 1920, when the gazetteer of the province was compiled by its Resident, Mr. E. J. Arnett.³⁵⁹

<u>Office Holder</u>	<u>Salary (p.a)</u>
1. Emir -----	£2,000
2. Personnel to present holder - - -	400
3. Waziri -----	400
4. Majindadi (sic) -----	72
5. Limam Juma (sic) -----	84
6. Alkalin Zaria -----	240
7. Maaji -----	120
8. Head Teacher -----	60
9. Arabic Teacher -----	60
10. 27 District Chiefs varying from £100 to £400 per annum.	³⁶⁰

c) The Emirship of Dalhatu (1920 – 1924)

Following the ouster of Emir Aliyu in 1920, he was replaced by Dalhatu³⁶¹ (1920-1924), the son of Emir Yero (1890-1897) of the *Bornawa* ruling house. He ascended the throne from the

³⁵⁸ The District Heads were graded and put on salary scale during the colonial period on the basis of number of people (population – tax money) and the economic importance of their respective homologous districts.

³⁵⁹ Mr. E. J. Arnett was among the most experienced British Colonial Administrators in Northern Nigeria. He served the colonial government in different capacities and a resident in many provinces in Northern Nigeria. In Zaria Province, he was twice assigned as a Resident there, first between April, 1906 to December, 1906, and in March, 1908 to November, 1908. See the list above of the Residents, Zaria Province 1902-1920.

³⁶⁰ See E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 23. (Note: The names number 4 and 5 were miss-spelt. The correct spellings are Majidadi, and Limamin Juma'a).

title of *Magajin Gari*, a position he almost lost if not for the British intervention, who forced his reinstatement after being dismissed by Aliyu. Dalhatu was said to be the first to have rose from *Magajin Gari's* office to the throne in Zazzau history.³⁶² On the 28th February, 1921, during his formal installation, the Acting Resident, Captain F.F.W. Byng-Hall remarked that:

The Emir elect with all the Zaria Chiefs, Judicial Councillors, etc. were waiting him by the Union Jack. The Emir elect was the introduced to His Excellency by me and afterwards the individual Chiefs were introduced. The Emir elect accompanied by the Waziri-n-Zaria (sic) then retired to make the usual ablutions before taking the prescribed oath. On his return the oath was administered to him by the Waziri and His Excellency (Acting Lieutenant Governor, Mr. E. J. Arnett) then shook hands with the newly elected Emir and presented him with his letter of appointment, Staff of office, sword of honour, horse and state saddle. The chiefs were the called in turn according to their precedence and acknowledged their new Emir in front of his Excellency by saluting him and giving him their hands as a token of fidelity. The Emir then mounted his horse and accompanied by his Chiefs did the customary gallop in salutation to His Excellency.³⁶³

Though, he reigned for a short period of four years in office, but his tenure rekindled the bitter rivalry between his dynasty and the *Mallawa* of his predecessor. Until his death in 1924, Dalhatu ensured his sons occupation of the title of *Madaki*, a senior royal office “which entailed likeliest promotion to the throne.”³⁶⁴

d) The Emirship of Ibrahim (1924 – 1937)

In 1924, Emir Ibrahim succeeded Dalhatu, and both were members of the *Bornawa* dynasty. This indicates radical change from the traditional norm of rotational succession in Zazzau Emirate, as both the former and the latter were from the same dynasty. However, instead

³⁶¹ It was regrettable that the name of this emir was incorrectly spelt by M. G. Smith as Dallatu, instead of Dalhatu, as correctly written in the text. See M. G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 223-225

³⁶² See M. G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 223-224

³⁶³ NAK/SNP10/105P/1921, ... pp. 28-29

³⁶⁴ M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 224

of harmony, Ibrahim's tenure heralded intra-dynastic squabbles within a single ruling house. Ibrahim was Kwassau's son, while Dalhatu was a brother to Kwassau. Therefore, two lines of succession emerged within the *Bornawa*, and each having a stake to the throne. As a result, a number of title holders were either deposed or demoted, particularly from the *Bornawa*. And this time, the deposition saga differed as it mostly affected those princesses who had hope for succession. While loyalist and close associates of the Emir, including members of the other dynasties were in this turn promoted to certain important offices of the Emirate at the expense of his (Ibrahim) own kinsmen. For instance, Makama Ahmadu of the *Mallawa*, one time District Head of Igabi, was promoted to the office of *Waziri* and transferred back to Zaria in 1921.³⁶⁵ As a whole, the period of Ibrahim in Zazzau history saw the proliferation of lukewarm relationship between the Emir and the major title holders who were mostly District Heads across the Emirate.³⁶⁶ In consequence, Ibrahim was said to have even lost an unequivocal support of his own kinsmen – the *Bornawa*, let alone the other mutual rival dynasties.

(VI) The Creation of District Head System in the Northern part of Zazzau Emirate

As examined in the previous chapter, in the pre-colonial period all the major titled officials resided in the capital of the emirate together with the Emir. Slave messengers known as *Jakadu* were the intermediaries between the titled officials and the scattered villages under his master's authority. The *Jakadu* collected taxes, settled and reported cases on behalf of their masters. In terms of authority, inhabitants of a particular town or village could be paying allegiance not to a single *Sarkin Gari* but to several communal leaders within the town. And this pattern of authority

³⁶⁵ See Haliru Sirajo (2007) "The British Administration and the creation of the District Head system in Zazzau Emirate: A case study of Igabi District 1907-1976", MA Thesis, BUK, Kano, p. 108

³⁶⁶ For details see M. G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 225-230.

in some cases was even obtained within the emirate capitals as observed by Tukur.³⁶⁷ On the other hand, the British considered this traditional pattern as “disorganized”³⁶⁸ system of authority, both in terms of geography, politics and economy. For instance, it was clear from the Resident, Charles Orr’s report in 1906, while submitting the condition he found in Zazzau Emirate that:

The towns owned by the various headmen were dotted at random about the Emirate and the headmen all resided in Zaria ... and had little or no knowledge of their towns.³⁶⁹

Certainly, this expresses British ignorance of the pre-colonial emirate system as previously explained in chapter two.³⁷⁰ The obvious fact was the British fear of meeting the expenses of administration in the face of lack of enough staff (British) to handle the vast Protectorate of Northern Nigeria which they carved out for themselves. Therefore, it was lack of common pattern between the structure of local government in the emirates on the one hand and the British

³⁶⁷ See M. M. Tukur (1979) “The Imposition of Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno, and Neighbouring States: 1887-1914: A re-interpretation of colonial sources” PhD Thesis, ABU, pp. 336-337. Also see I. A. Abba (1985) “Changing Patterns of Local Authority and the creation of the District Head system in Gombe Emirate, 1903-1960

³⁶⁸ It was a common prejudice among the European writers or the British colonial officials to be precise to refer to anything non-European as inferior. This was what made them to declare the pre-colonial local authority as being disorganized in structure. In reality, the people were highly organised with structures and hierarchy of authority from ward level up to the central administration. The British argument was that, the various communities of the emirates were not territorially compact and they paid allegiance to different officials who resided at the capital. What the British colonialist wanted was to have a single authority rather than many in the aspect of law and order, and for the collection of taxes. I am grateful to late Professor I. A. Abba and Professor M. S. Abdulkadir for drawing my attention on this British propaganda. M. S. Abdulkadir in his recent outburst on these British prejudices particularly in Igalaland stated that, “Lugard’s views were in line with the notions of most colonial officials about non-Muslims – people they often referred to as “pagans” who had no civilization, and who had practiced barbaric rites that included human sacrifice.” This according to Abdulkadir expressed British ignorance and prevented them from bothering to study the customs and traditions of the people. However, Abdulkadir’s grievances were not particularly against the British, rather on what he referred to as the “Non-local rulers”, who were mostly the Hausa, Fulani and Yoruba, imposed upon the Igala people as their District Heads. This was because of the unorganised nature of the Igala’s and of course the British presumed superior intelligence and power of the Hausa and Fulani, and the official pre-occupation with the Emirate system. For details see M. S. Abdulkadir (2011) “Governance in Colonial Northern Nigeria: The era of non-Igala rulers in Dekina District in Igalaland, Central Nigeria, 1903-1918” in *FAIS Journal of the Humanities*, Vol.5 No.2, July, 2011, BUK, Kano, pp. 35-48

³⁶⁹ NAK/ZARPROF/2533 C. W. Orr, Zaria Provincial Annual Report for 1906, p. 7. Also see M. M. Tukur (1979)... p. 414

³⁷⁰ As explained in the chapter, in the pre-colonial periods the system of authority was not exclusively base on territory rather hinges on allegiance revolving around families, lineages and clientele.

aim of having a few rather than many people with authority to enforce law and order in the rural communities and through whom to collect taxes, and all at minimal financial cost on the other, that necessitated the reorganisation and creation of districts. To achieve this, Lugard directed the colonial administrative staff, “to catalogue the forms and units of local taxation and territorial administration with a view to sorting, simplifying, and reforming them.”³⁷¹ In pursuance of this ‘urgent necessity,’³⁷² the Resident of Zaria Province in 1906 undertook that, “the rough assessment of practically the entire province, with the exception of a few unsettled districts has been completed.”³⁷³ The part of the province which the Resident reported to have roughly assessed as at 1906 was the Northern Hausa dominated areas, which as we shall see later, the colonial officials claimed to have found it easier in the process of the new scheme. The troubled (unsettled) areas were the south-eastern part of the province, lying between Kauru and Zangon Katab, which “...comprises some very rocky and difficult country inhabited by a number of pagan tribes, the majority of whom own a shadowy allegiance to the Serikin (sic) Kauru – a *Habe* Chief who is himself a vassal of the Emir of Zaria.”³⁷⁴ It should be noted that the policy for the introduction of the taxation system and district formations was gradually taken in steps by the British colonial government. This is because, as Lugard put it,

...the whole object of this (new) system of taxation (and administration) is that it should be based on Native tradition and custom to an extent probably hitherto untried in any Colony or Protectorate.³⁷⁵

The major step taken was the Land Revenue Ordinance of 1904 which was re-proclaimed in 1906.³⁷⁶ With this proclamation, Residents in all the provinces of Northern Nigeria were

³⁷¹ See M. M. Gwadabe (2003) “The Evolution of the District System in Kano and creation of *Kumbotso District* 1903-1916” in *Kano Studies, New Series 2000*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2003, p. 9

³⁷² NAK/ZARPROF/2533 C. W. Orr, Zaria Provincial Annual Report for 1906, p. 7

³⁷³ NAK/ZARPROF/2552, C. W. Orr, Zaria Provincial Annual Report for 1905

³⁷⁴ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/563/1908, Annual Report Zaria Province 1908, p.1

³⁷⁵ L. Lugard (1970) *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1913-1918, Third Edition*, London, Frank Cass, p. 183 (emphasis mine).

empowered to assess the taxability of the people (of the Emirates), appoint District and Village Heads, who were to collect taxes and report evasion and extortion under the watchful eyes of a British District Officer (D.O). It should be noted that, assessment and collection of taxes was accorded a prime position in the British colonial policy. The reason is that, payment of taxes, though not popularly welcomed by the colonized people was considered as a sign of complete allegiance and loyalty to the new system of administration.

However, the task of reorganizing the indigenous local authority and assess the taxability of the emirate communities effectively seemed not as easy as presumed by the British. The daunting task before the British was how to phase out or abolish what Lugard referred to as the “three evils” – (a) absentee rulers (b) tax gatherers – *Jakadu* (c) disconnected areas of jurisdiction.³⁷⁷ Despite the effort made by the British to radically and effectively overcome these obstacles particularly in Zazzau Emirate, still the Resident in 1906 complained that,

...it has not been possible yet to divide the Zaria Emirate into districts, though early in the year an important step in this direction was taken by the appointment of the Ma’aji of Zaria on the Emir’s nomination, to the charge of a large tract of pagan territory in the South of the province. I installed him here myself in January with his headquarters in the Hausa town of Katchia (sic)... The arrangement has so far worked well, and promises to be thoroughly successful.³⁷⁸

The following year in 1907, the new scheme of the District Head System introduced by the British became successful and it was marked as one of the most important events of the year. In the Annual Report for the year, the Resident enthusiastically stated that,

³⁷⁶ See L. Lugard (1970)... pp. 165-169

³⁷⁷ These evils as defined by the British were, one, the titled official or fief holders who resided at the capital of the emirate (absentee rulers), two, the *Jakadu* - slave officials who communicated between the capital and the fiefs under their masters, three, was non-compact or scattered areas of jurisdiction under a fief holder. See L. Lugard (1970) ... p. 181

³⁷⁸ NAK/ZARPROF/2553... p. 1

In my report for last year I stated that I was engaged on a scheme for dividing the Emirate into a number of districts, with a District Headman residing in each. In April I was able to put this scheme into execution. The number of districts is thirty two, and each is under the charge of a Headman who, except in three cases where there are local Chiefs, is a Zaria Headman who formerly resided permanently at the capital but will in future reside in his District.³⁷⁹

a) The First Re-organisation of the District System

Accordingly, the “self contained”³⁸⁰ Emirate of Zazzau was divided into thirty two (32) districts in 1907, with resident District Heads of which three – Kajuru, Kauru and Chawai³⁸¹ already had resident Hausa Chiefs of vassal status. It is important to note that the division of the districts was often given an ethnic dichotomy from the onset by the British. The dichotomy was between the Northern Hausa (Muslim) Districts and the Southern Districts (frequently referred by the British as pagan dominated areas). Needless to repeat, the Northern Districts is our area of study as clearly captured by the title of this work.³⁸²

With this major reorganisation of 1907, the new District Heads now took over as the officially assigned tax-collectors, as against the pre-colonial *Jakadu*, who were seen as agents of extortion, evil and, therefore, grossly detested by the British.³⁸³ In fact, Lugard was not the first European to have noticed mischief amongst the *Jakadu*. Prior to colonial conquest, Paul Staudinger, who traversed Hausaland 1885-1886, while narrating his encounter with one *Jakada*

³⁷⁹ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/563/1908, ... p.2

³⁸⁰ Zazzau Emirate was referred to as ‘Self-Contained’ because of the fact that it was the only one recognized emirate in the entire Zaria Province when constituted in 1902. This was unlike Kano Province, for instance where there were multiple number of emirates within it. See the previous separate discussion on Zaria Province in the chapter.

³⁸¹ Kauru, Kajuru and Chawai were already vassal states of Zazzau prior to the British encroachment. They had local chiefs of hereditary status and they were re-designated as District Heads by the British. See also M.G. Smith (1960) ... p. 210

³⁸² See as already explained in chapter one about the geography, location, people and history of the area.

³⁸³ See L. Lugard (1970) *Political Memoranda* ... p. 181, also *The Dual Mandate* (1965)... pp. 230-242

in Igabi area; he referred to him as a “thief ... from Zaria, who was acting as intermediary.”³⁸⁴ In consequence, the *Jakada* as tax collector disappeared and was replaced by a resident District Head, who now collects the tax from individual and villages, with the assistance of the Village Chiefs (*Sarakunan Gari*). The districts under each Headman were also made self-contained territorially, thereby eliminating detached areas.³⁸⁵ With this swift restructure, emphasis and allegiance now shifted from agents to compact territories (Districts) – now called *Gundumomi* (sing. *Gunduma*) under a titled emirate official, called *Hakimi* (pl. *Hakimai*). The immediate effects of the new scheme were, one, subordination of some towns to others, who were hitherto equal in status, and two, sharp reduction in the number of traditional officials especially slave agents. The goal achieved by the British was in making individual and community pay tax through a single recognized authority, which also had the power to enforce law and order. However, the District Head must ensure strict compliance to colonial obligation under the supervision of the D. O.³⁸⁶

b) The Second Reorganisation of the District System

Not quite long the Emirate of Zazzau was divided into 32 district areas; the British began to curb the number in order to have sizeable areas, for both easier administration and supervision. This at the onset reveals British lack of enough staff with which to carry out the tedious task of effective supervision. That was why, just five months after the creation of the 32 districts, in September, 1907, a District Head, *Sarkin Zana* died, and a British Officer, instead, expressed that “his death affords an opportunity of amalgamating the district with some other in

³⁸⁴ Paul Staudinger (1990) *In the Hearts of Hausaland: Volume 1*. Centre for International Studies, Ohio University, p. 168.

³⁸⁵ See L. Lugard (1970) ... p. 181

³⁸⁶ See L. Lugard (1965) ... pp. 250-253, M. M. Tukur (1979)... pp. 343-344

pursuance of Captain Orr's policy of reducing the number of *Hakimai*.³⁸⁷ And by the following year in 1908, the number of the districts was reduced to 28, "partly owing to death and partly owing to one or two Chiefs (District Heads) being dismissed for malpractices the Districts affected seem to have been merged into other adjoining ones"³⁸⁸, as contained in the Annual report. On the other hand, as always amongst the British colonial officers, there were instances of not sharing same views on certain aspects or practice of the type of rule which they imposed on the colonized people.³⁸⁹ For instance, while Resident C. W. Orr, pursued reduction of the number of districts earlier, when on board, Resident J. Withers in 1911, declined that "I am not in favour of decreasing the number of districts as I find small areas are much more satisfactorily worked than large ones."³⁹⁰ It should be understood that, the exercise of reorganizing and reducing the number of districts in Zazzau Emirate continued unabated especially in the 1920s and 30s. And it involves political complexities and recrimination on particularly the District Heads.³⁹¹ This is to be discussed extensively in the next chapter.

³⁸⁷ SNP7/NAKZARPROF/1907, Report on the Zaria Province for September Quarter 1907

³⁸⁸ SNP7/NAKZARPROF/819/1909, Report Annual, Zaria Province 1908

³⁸⁹ From Lugard to his predecessors, as the system of Indirect Rule passed through different colonial administrators (Governor General, Lieutenant Governors, Residents, District Officers (D.Os) and Assistant District Officers (A.D.Os)), so also its philosophical conception and implementation varied amongst them. For instance, A. G. Saeed opined that "Under the duo of Girouard and Bell, indirect rule came to mean a policy of minimal interference by the colonial administrators in the affairs of Native Authority". Although, Palmer was initially faced with the problem of adopting the "correct type of indirect rule", as soon as he was able to overcome this problem, he steadily removed the minimal interference. This is probably why indirect rule has been described as "a divine revelation a sort of Natural Law against which it would be dangerous to behave". See A. G. Saeed (2005) "Sir Herbert Richmond Palmer and the Establishment of Colonial Rule, 1904-1930" in A. M. Yakubu et'al (ed) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation 1903-2003*, Arewa House, ABU, Kaduna, p.43. And for a more critical discussion on the Indirect Rule system, see P. J. Shea (1982/85) "How Indirect was Indirect Rule? A documentary approach to an administrative problem" in *Kano Studies: A Journal of Savanna and Sudanic Research, New Series, Vol. 2 No.3*

³⁹⁰ SNP7/NAKZARPROF/950/1911, Zaria Province Report (Annual) 1910, p. 7

³⁹¹ It involves numerous depositions of District Heads who were either accused of tax malpractices, insubordination and in some cases as a result of inter-dynastic and intra-dynastic competition between and among the title holders in Zazzau Emirate.

c) Districts as bases for District Heads

It is important here to give out a list of the districts created with a view at re-directing our attention to the particular ones concerned with this study. At the onset, in 1907 when the 32 districts were first created, they were “designated by a number: Independent Districts by the name of the ruling chief.”³⁹² Then later, the districts were named after the names or titles of the District Heads posted to each. However, in 1918, it was advised by the Resident, that in order

To avoid confusion in future it might be advisable to call Districts after the name of the principal town in the District viz: Turaki Baba (sic) to be known as IGABE (sic), Dan Galadima to be known LERE, Wali’s District as RIMO.³⁹³

Thus, by 1920, after one of the major reorganisations that reduced the number of the districts to 27, the District Areas were named after the major towns which served as the bases of the District Heads. The list of the 27 Districts in Zazzau Emirate, as compiled by Arnett in 1920 was as follows:

Towns and District Heads, Zaria Province 1920

S/No	Town	Titled District Head
1	Anchau	Dallatu
2	Auchang (sic)	Magajin Gari
3	Bichini	Sarkin Zana
4	Bikaratu	Dan Galadima
5	Chawai	Sarkin Chawai
6	Giwa	Fagachi

³⁹² NAK/ZARPROF/2554 C. W. Orr, Zaria Provincial Annual Report for the year ending December 31st, 1907 (See the map on page 57 for more information).

³⁹³ NAK/SNP10/623P/1917 Zaria Province Dangeladima District Assessment Report by A. C. Francis

7	Igabe (sic)	Turaki Baba (sic)
8	Ikara	Sarkin Yaki
9	Jaji	Wombai (sic)
10	Jere	Sarkin Jere
11	Kachai (sic)	Maaji
12	Kagerko (sic)	Sarkin Kagerko
13	Kain Giwa (sic)	Iyan Gari
14	Katab	Katuka
15	Kajuru	Sarkin Kajuru
16	Kauru	Sarkin Kauru
17	Kudan	Sarkin Fada
18	Kudaru	Turaki Kerami
19	Kujama	Woinya (sic)
20	Lere	Wali
21	Makarfi	Galadima
22	Makera	Magaji Jisambo
23	Panhauya	Madauchi
24	Sabon Birni	Makama Baba (sic)
25	Soba	Makama Kerami (sic)
26	Turunku	Sarkin Rua (sic)
27	Zungon Aya (sic) ³⁹⁴	Dan Madami

Source: E.J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, pp. 7 – 8.

Out of the 27 districts, 10 were located in what was physically referred to as the Southern part of Zazzau Emirate. These were Chawai, Kachia, Kagarko, Katab (Zangon Katab), Kauru, ,

³⁹⁴ It appears there are mistakes in the original text of some of the names of the towns and titles of the Districts and District Heads. The mistaken names are indicated with the “sic” sign – meaning as exactly seen or copied. The correction is as follows: (1) Auchan (2) Turaki Babba (3) Wambai, (4) Kachia (5) Kagarko/*Sarkin* Kagarko (6) Kangiwa (7) Wan’ya (8) Makama Babba (9) Makama Karami (10) Sarkin Ruwa (11) Zangon Aya.

Kujama, Jere, Bichini and Lere. All of these 9 districts were outside the scope of this study. While the remaining 17 Districts were basically those that constituted the Northern part of the Emirate which is our area of concentration. This was in addition with the Zaria Home (*Zaria da Kewaye*), and *Sabon Garin* Zaria Districts, which were created later.

(VII) Functions and Duties of the District Heads

The District Heads were the immediate subordinates to the Emir, who served as the head of the Native Authority. In the process of colonial administration, the District Heads were expected to obey orders from the Emir, in accordance with the instructions obliged on him by the Resident and the District Officers. The District Head, therefore, must ensure good government and prosperity of the district under his control.³⁹⁵ As argued by M. M. Tukur,

...he should be “honest” and if possible rich so that according to the Residents, he would not be tempted either to embezzle proceeds of British taxes or to extort from his subjects. He should also be a disciplinarian by disposition and without being unjust.³⁹⁶

These criteria were no doubt difficult to be met or fulfilled by any of the District Heads. The basic reason is that the new scheme introduced was still alien to the District Heads who were even still nursing grudge on their new prime role as resident administrators of their areas of jurisdiction.

a) Collection of Taxes (*Kuridin Kasa and Jangali*)

However, the single most important quality or function of District Head under the British rule was assessment and collection of taxes (*Kuridin Kasa and Jangali*). He was also to maintain law and order throughout his district. This is the more reason the District Heads were seen as the

³⁹⁵ SNP13/1/14 District Heads – Training: Zaria Province

³⁹⁶ M.M. Tukur (1979)... p. 371

bedrock of Indirect Rule system. In this regard according to the Resident, “The duty of each District Headman is to visit all his towns and villages, and compile returns of the population, and the various taxes due. These lists are checked by Political Officers on tour and form the basis of the assessment”.³⁹⁷ It is somewhat varied and complicated when carefully observed the duties assigned on the District Heads. On the task for which they are created to perform, the British was quick to commend the District Heads for “systematizing and simplifying” the collection of the Land Revenue. And early in 1907, the colonial officials in Zazzau Emirate had this to say on two District Heads:

The Makama knows every one of his taxes, and can answer questions about them without a moment’s hesitation and with correctness. Every village headman has been paid up in full by the peasantry and has received his correct percentage to the exact cowrie (sic). All the Makama’s taxation papers are completed, showing the numbers of persons engaged in the various forms of agriculture or crafts. The Serikin Fada (sic) has also done some good work in his district. He knows his taxes, and has made the Katsina road perfect.³⁹⁸

This and in many places the British repeatedly emphasized the function of the District Heads in the collection of taxes “...to accept responsibility and to perform the work themselves without a horde of Jakadas.”³⁹⁹ The Village Heads were directly co-opted in the exercise, as they also prepared their own assessment list under the supervision of the District Heads. It was even remarked by a colonial official, Mr. Grier, in 1911, that, “Village lists will be as much an appanage of their position as the turban and gown presented by the Emir on their appointment.”⁴⁰⁰ Therefore, apart from loyalty, the local officials (District and Village Heads) position was tied to their ability and vigour in assessment and collection of taxes. And anything

³⁹⁷ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/563/1908 p. 13

³⁹⁸ Makama was the District Head of Soba, while Sarkin Fada was the District Head of Kudan. See SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/563/1908p. 15

³⁹⁹ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/819/1909 ... p. 9

⁴⁰⁰ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/975/1912, Zaria Province Report (Annual) 1911, p. 2

short of that firmness usually attracts prompt punishment by either deposition or imprisonment, or sometimes both. This is to show how important the British considered the function of the District Heads in the taxation scheme. The method of the tax assessment and collection is to be discussed in the next chapter.

b) Mobilization of Labour

Another important function of the District Heads during the colonial period was in the aspect of mobilization of labour. The Native Authority under the British were expected to supply on demand, the required labour force to participate in the construction of colonial infrastructures – rail network, roads, mining fields and so on. At the onset there were claims by the British that forced labour was entirely forbidden, whether by government, a Native Administration or private person. However, as argued by Safiyanu,

...while the colonial administration redefined its position as regards the legal status of slavery and the use of slave labour, it succeeded in ‘legalizing’ and systematising (sic) dual exploitation of peasants. This exploitative attitude took the form of using cheap labour in building colonial projects on the one hand and the further exploitation, on the other hand by the emir and his officials whenever they desired it.⁴⁰¹

To further strengthened its position, the colonial state “sanctions without remuneration the annual clearing of roads.”⁴⁰² This according to the British was never an uncommon exercise among the peasantry, as they were mobilized to work on city walls, palace building, and royal farms, clearing of paths and conscription into the army by the ruling class. And the exercise continued unabated, as reported by the Resident, H. S. Goldsmith that “I also found that the

⁴⁰¹ S. M. Aminu (1991) “The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902-1945” MA Thesis, ABU, Zaria, pp. 97-98

⁴⁰² As quoted in I. A. Abba (1985) “Changing Patterns of Local Authority and Evolution of the District Head System in Gombe Emirate C. 1804-1960” PhD Thesis, BUK, p. 361. See also M. M. Gwadabe et’al (eds) (2006) *Turaki Nuhu: Biography of a Merchant Scholar*, Kaduna, Baraka Press, p.91

District Chiefs were sending labour into Zaria town to repair their old compounds without ever making payment for such services rendered.”⁴⁰³ This was a clear double standard application of policy or rule by the British. Lugard argued that, “to deprive a Head Chief of the power of the summoning his people to work will tend to decrease his authority and this is a point to be seriously considered.”⁴⁰⁴ Whether the labour was mobilized by the local rulers or the colonialists, the peasants were at the receiving end. In fact, the local rulers (Emirs and District Heads) were encouraged, as admitted by the colonialists that “the material factor has been the unbridled licence permitted the Native Administration to demand labour and supplies at will without payment.”⁴⁰⁵ It demonstrates therefore, forceful recruitment (*aikin tilas*) of the peasants to participate in colonial oriented projects and local ones were not completely abolished. And refusal to honour invitation to participate in the work was regarded as *kin umurnin hukuma* (refusal to obey orders) and an offender if found guilty was liable to punishment (fine or imprisonment).

c) Labour for Road Projects

The need for roads for movement of troops and opening up of agricultural areas and market was accorded a high priority especially at the inception of the colonial rule. For this reason, by 1904, the major road from Zungeru to Zaria, and the one from Zaria to Kano border were cleared for traffic passage.⁴⁰⁶ On this, the Emir of Zazzau “to whom great credit is due”⁴⁰⁷ was praised by the Resident, for his support to these major roads projects. Apart from the major roads, there were feeder roads linking various districts and villages, and with the provincial

⁴⁰³ SNP10/NAK/154P/1914 Zaria Province, Report for March Quarter – 1914, p. 6

⁴⁰⁴ L. Lugard (1970) ... pp. 242-243

⁴⁰⁵ SNP10/NAK/154P/1914 ... p.7

⁴⁰⁶ See NAK/ZARPROF/2551 Zaria Province Annual Report for 1904

⁴⁰⁷ NAK/ZARPROF/2551

headquarters were cleared. Here, the District Heads in conjunction with Village Headmen were usually summoned to mobilize their subjects to clear the roads within the boundaries of their district. This is to make the areas accessible to touring officials and movement of produce. In Makama District (Soba), for instance, the Resident in 1907 was impressed to have travelled along a ten feet wide road across the district.⁴⁰⁸ More importantly to the responsibilities of the District Heads in the provision of labour for road construction, by 1910, in Igabi District, “From the Railhead at Rigarchikun (sic) a dry season motor road was opened to the Bauchi Plateau for the benefit of the Mining Community.”⁴⁰⁹ This type of roads were called ‘feeder roads’ and constructed specifically “to convey the passenger and cargo traffic of the railways.”⁴¹⁰ One of the earliest important feeder roads in Zazzau Emirate was the 25 miles, Zaria-Maska road.⁴¹¹ On the 7th May, 1919, the Emir of Katsina motored this (Zaria-Maska) road in his own car during his visit to the Zaria Ginnery of the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA).⁴¹² In the same year (1919), there were reports indicating progress on network of feeder roads in the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate. One of the excerpts reads that the Emir, who was then anxious to purchase his own car:

He has visited Madauchi’s District of Panhauya and Fagachi’s District of Giwa with the Acting Resident and has constantly driven in the Town and surrounding country with him. The dry roads suitable for Motor traffic Kudan Tsibiri and Giwa have been fairly frequently used and are a great convenience. The Motor road from Kaduna to Ragachikkun (sic) made by the Public Works Department was, I understand, useful to Kaduna.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁸ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/563/1908 ... p. 15

⁴⁰⁹ E.J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 32. See also SNP7/950/1911/ Zaria Province Report (Annual) 1910, p. 2

⁴¹⁰ Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) ... p. 180

⁴¹¹ R. O. Ekundare (1973) *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960*, New York, Africana Publishing Co., cited in Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) ... 180

⁴¹² SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 Zaria Province Report No. 74 for half year ending 30th June, 1919, p.16. The construction of the Zaria-Maska road opened up the area to commercial firms to visit Southern Katsina and Sokoto Province.

⁴¹³ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 ... pp. 21-22

However, up to the middle of the 1920's road transportation linking Zaria and the major towns in the Northern region was said to be very poor.⁴¹⁴ Only that, within the Emirate of Zazzau, huge success was achieved, when in 1926, a 53½ miles distance road between Zaria and Kaduna was completed. The road was constructed approximately following the railway at the cost of £1670 (one thousand, six hundred and seventy pounds).⁴¹⁵ Moreover, by the end of the year, the following dry season motor roads important for commercial purposes were in a motorable condition. These roads were:

- a) Zaria – Guga – Danja.
- b) Zaria – Funkuyi – Kudan and on to Kano.
- c) Zaria – Dutsin Wai (sic).
- d) Karre – Banki (Mining area)
- e) Zaria – Birnin Gwari.⁴¹⁶

Not only the able bodied men assembled by the District Heads through the involvement of Village Heads were not paid, “but they were equally expected to feed themselves since as Lugard argued, it was for ‘the advancement of the natives themselves.’⁴¹⁷ Even after the establishment of the *Bait-el-mal* in 1910, which made provision for token fees to the labourers, the NA officials often embezzled the money to the detriment of the peasants who were usually kept away from their farms for period up to a week or two. One of the noticeable recorded incidences of embezzlement of funds set aside for payment of labourers was the case of *Fagachi*, District Head

⁴¹⁴ See Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) ... p. 181

⁴¹⁵ SNP17/NAK/ZARPROF/K III Zaria Provincial Report for 1926, p. 10

⁴¹⁶ SNP17/NAK/ZARPROF/K III ... p. 10

⁴¹⁷ This as discussed and cited by S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 101

of Giwa, who was charged and deposed in 1929.⁴¹⁸ There were several other incidences of funds embezzlement by the District Heads in the Emirate as we shall discuss in the next chapter. However, the most negative effects of the excessive demand for labour in this earlier period of colonial rule were the diversion of substantial labour or men from farms to colonial infrastructures sites. As a result, as early as 1904, there was serious complain of shortage of corn, and which was further strained by the military need to feed the newly formed mounted infantry and their horses.⁴¹⁹

d) Labour for Rail Construction

Another area in which the District Heads significantly mobilized labour was in the sphere of railway construction. It was stated by C. C. Jacobs that,

Apart from the railway in western Nigeria which was built with contract labour and the Kano-Nguru line, the railways in the North, the Eastern railway and its extension to the North were built chiefly with forced labour.⁴²⁰

The railway projects in which forceful recruitment of peasant labour was exacted in Zazzau Emirate were the Baro-Kano line (1907-1911),⁴²¹ the Zaria-Bauchi light railway (1912-1914)⁴²²

⁴¹⁸ The *Fagachi* was first accused of diverting money meant for road construction to erect a resident house for the emir at Fatika. He was also involved in concealing the exact N.A. funds set aside for the Fatika – Giwa road project, and thereby underpaying the labourers who worked on the road. The money earmarked for the road was £100, but he paid only £28.6.9d on the labourers. See S. M. (1991) ... pp. 103-104. However, this very *Fagachi* that was reported to have been charged and deposed in 1929 was, in a different source said to have reigned and died on his seat as District Head of Giwa. His name was mentioned as *Fagachi* Ahmadu Rufa’I (1924-1942). For details, see I. S. Mustapha (2011) *Giwa Ta Danfangi*, Zaria, ABU Press, pp. 27-32

⁴¹⁹ See S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 104

⁴²⁰ C. C. Jacobs (1998) “Forced Labour in Colonial Nigeria” in M. Y. Mangwat (ed) *A History of Labour in Nigeria*, Jos, University Press Ltd, p. 46

⁴²¹ The history leading to the construction of the Baro-Kano railway line was informed by the need to provide an efficient transportation system in order to facilitate the economic exploitation of the resources of the Northern Nigerian region. It all started when Lugard opined that “the material development of Africa may be summed up in one word- Transportation”; see F. Lugard, (1922/1965) *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, London, Frank Cass, p. 5. Here, Lugard suggested a modern type of transport system as against the pre- colonial type that depended largely on animals such as camels, donkeys, mules and canoes. For example, a journey on donkey from Kano to Lagos took about forty days. At the end, the non- mechanical means of transportation was considered unproductive and could not open- up the region for British commercial interest. See S. T. Yusuf (2008) “The Impact of the

and the Zaria-Gusau line (completed in 1912-1929).⁴²³ It is said that, Zaria had the longest miles of rail line, and the track in the area traversed through some of the most difficult landscape in the province.⁴²⁴ The most important of these railroads was the Baro-Kano line, which its work reached Zaria in 1909. The labour was usually obtained from the towns and villages through which the railway lines passed.⁴²⁵ By 1910, the Emir of Zazzau's effort on the work of the railway was saluted by the British Railway Officials. In fact, it was the Emir's subordinate District Heads that made the railway work possible. In the words of the Resident, J. Withers Gill, thus:

Railway on Madobi and Kwankwaso Towns in Kano Emirate C. 1903-1967, M.A. Thesis, BUK, Kano, p. 94. Fortunately for Lugard, his bid for a railway received a boost from the Barons of Lancashire who were also interested in expanding their markets; see C. W. Orr (1911) *The Making of Northern Nigeria*, London, Macmillan, p. 187. Already in 1902, the Barons had a cartel, called the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) and in collaboration with the Northern Protectorate Government, the BCGA fully supported the railway construction in Northern Nigeria. By 1907, the construction of the famous Baro-Kano line was approved and in 1908 the real construction work started. The labour for the construction of the railway was mainly recruited by force labour which was supplied by the NA through the district, village and ward heads. See A. M. Fika (1978) *The Kano Civil war and British Over rule 1882-1940*, Ibadan, Oxford University Press, p. 207. With an increased labour, on 1st April, 1912, the rail line was opened for commercial traffic in Kano. A colourful durbar was organized to celebrate it, in which the Emir of Kano, Abbas (1903-1919) and the Emir of Katsina, Muhammad Dikko (1907-1944) were given a ride from Kano to Challawa. I am equally grateful for the information received from a friend and colleague, Shehu Tijjani Yusuf, who is currently undergoing a PhD research on the impact of the railroads on the communities along Kano-Zaria line in Northern Nigeria, c. 1908-1970s, at the Institute for History, *Universiteit Leiden*, Netherlands.

⁴²² The Zaria-Bauchi light railway is said to have linked up the Baro-Kano railway from the Rigachikun (Zaria) station, passing through Soba, Rahama (Saminaka) and Jengere and reaching Jos and Bukuru in July and December of 1914 respectively. See I. K. Abdussalam (2011) "The Role of Rail and other Transport Systems in the Consolidation and Exploitation of Colonial Central and Eastern Nigeria: 1897-1929" in *KJHS (Kaduna Journal of Historical Studies), Special Edition*, Department of History, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, pp. 223-224

⁴²³ Gusau is located to the West of Zaria in the defunct Sokoto Province. The rationale by the colonial government to extend the railway line from Zaria to Gusau was to exploit the booming cotton production in the area. This informed the establishment of a ginning station in the area, a move which further attracts migrant labourers in to the town. With the railway station, Gusau soon became an important commercial centre in the North-West zone of Nigeria.

⁴²⁴ For instance on the Baro-Kano line, the construction of 141 miles out of a total of 356 miles had fell directly under Zaria Province see SNP7/950/1911.... p.9. , See also S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 107

⁴²⁵ Earlier when the railway works commenced in the Emirate, it was discovered that out of the 168 labourers employed, 100 were Kano men and the remaining 68 were from Zaria out-districts. Therefore, no real Zaria labour was represented, and this was in spite of the said estimated 20, 000 people inhabiting Zaria town and its environs. This need to be changed as reported the Resident of the Province, Major Arthur Festing, that, "It appears essential that this Railway work should be done by the districts through which it passes. To commence at ZARIA (sic) with outside labour is only inviting the idlers here to hold aloof". See SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/819/1909 Report (Annual Zaria Province 1908, p. 25

The District Heads responded to the satisfaction of all Railway Officials, to the heavy demands made upon them. In January and February 5580 men supplied from the Hausa Division alone... After May we were able to dismiss all to their farms... The District Heads by this time fully understood the method of recruiting and of supplying relief gangs, and by the close of the year all Railway demands were being met mechanically and without hitch.⁴²⁶

In meeting the labour demands of the railway, very often coercive measures and strict supervision were employed by the Emir and the District Heads in order to avoid desertion. According to S. M. Aminu “In certain cases villages were raided to procure labour for the construction sites...”⁴²⁷ The *Dogarai* and other N.A. Officials under a Colonial Officer usually accompanied the drafted peasants to the labour camps built at strategic points along the route.⁴²⁸ The British often commended the efforts of individual District Heads who cooperated well in the supply of labour. For instance, M. P. Porch in 1913, described Magaji Jisambo (Makera District) that,

The organisation of railway labour began in his district and gave him an opportunity of which he took full advantage... [And he] has done much valuable work for the railway. He is a man who if asked will often give an opinion which is worth considering.⁴²⁹

In the same vein, the Emir of Zazzau was said to have received a gift of £200, from the Governor, during his visit to Zaria in 1912, for his efforts in supplying labour for the Baro-Kano line.⁴³⁰ However, the reverse was the case on those District Heads who were found non-cooperative either by diverting the peasants ‘for their personal trading purposes and farm work’, or by embezzling the money meant for the colonial projects. For example, the District Head of

⁴²⁶ SNP7/950/1911.... pp. 11-12

⁴²⁷ S.M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 109

⁴²⁸ See C. C. Jacobs (1998) “... pp. 48-50

⁴²⁹ NAK/ZARPROF/C/8/1915 District No. 13. Magaji Jisambo

⁴³⁰ The role played by the Emir of Zazzau in the supply of labour for the construction of the Baro-Kano line was immense. In 1911 when the work on the line was nearing completion and the demand for labour risen, the Emir was said to have tripled the strength of the labour force from 1, 200 labourers on the ground to 5, 000 men. N.A.K., SNP 10, 107/P/1914, Memo 17 “Railway Labour in Zaria”, as cited in S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 109

Makarfi, Idirisu was deposed in 1920, on the ground, of 'being a tyrant and arrogant, who frightened people of his district and freely employed forced labour.'⁴³¹

Apart from the major Baro-Kano rail line which was officially opened for commercial traffic in April, 1912, there was also the Bauchi Light Railway (B. L. R.) extension from Zaria. It began immediately in 1912, in order to connect the tin mining fields in Jos-Plateau area with the main Baro-Kano line. This was to serve as a major addition to the 'dry-season motor road' already cleared in 1910 from the railhead at Rigachikun, as noted earlier.⁴³² The Bauchi light railway from Zaria traversed the districts of Soba, Kubau, Kudan and Lere on its paths to Jos. Therefore, the Emir, through the efforts of the District Heads of these areas as usual played a vital role in supplying the labour force for its construction. The construction of the Bauchi light railway was particularly noticed with the manner in which the work was accomplished with speed. It is said that, "... the readiness with which the Emir and his chiefs provided labour to the camps could be seen when in January, 1913, there was an estimated number of 1,200 labourers at work in the Bauchi line; and the emir made promise to gradually increase the work force to five thousand (5,000)."⁴³³ The labourers that participated in the work were even described by one of the Construction Engineers as the best he 'had ever dealt with'.⁴³⁴

⁴³¹ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P/1921 Zaria Province Report for 15 months ended 31st March, 1921, p. 21. Moreover, the Emir of Zazzau, Aliyu Dansidi was also accused of freely employing forced labour, an allegation which was reported to be one of the causes which led to his deposition on the 5th February, 1921. For details see the cited archival file, p. 16-21.

⁴³² This road cleared from Rigachikun in Igabi District was so good that, In December, 1910, His Excellency, the Governor General entered Zaria Province and followed the road on his way to Naraguta (Jos-Plateau region). See SNP7/950/1911... p. 2

⁴³³ This information is derived from N.A.K., SNP 10, 107/P/1914 ... as quoted in S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 111

⁴³⁴ See S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 111. See also NAK/SNP10/623P/1917 Zaria Province Dangaladima District Assessment Report by A. C. Francis, p.

Similarly, on the need to inter-connect the main Baro-Kano line with the other agricultural parts of Northern Nigeria, the Zaria-Gusau railway line was also constructed.⁴³⁵ The cotton and groundnut producing areas of Katsina and Sokoto Provinces were the target areas for which the railway was meant for. It was to facilitate transportation of, especially cotton to the ginnery established at Zaria. At the same time, the labour used for the construction of Zaria-Gusau line was procured through forceful means. The District Heads were also the medium through which the colonial authority in conjunction with the NA secured the much needed labour for its construction. It was reported that not more than 10% of the men that laboured on the Zaria-Gusau line arrived at the track sites voluntarily.⁴³⁶ In view of its importance to the colonial regime, there was an excessive labour demand imposed on the NA's⁴³⁷ involved for its construction. This made the Emir of Katsina to petition reduction of the gross labour demand from his emirate during the construction of the Zaria-Gusau railway line.⁴³⁸ As a result, in many of the areas traversed by rail lines, there was noticeable migration of the *talakawa* to neighbouring areas from Zaria Province. In March 1914, names of 1080 families were reported to have migrated to Kano Province, Katsina, Sokoto and Birnin Gwari Districts.⁴³⁹ From another angle of the unpaid railway works, the effects on the local populace was so adverse that the "continuous demand for enlisted labour from the agricultural population to work at Kaduna and

⁴³⁵ See the map on page 58 for details on communication networks (roads and rail lines) in the Hausa or northern part of Zazzau Emirate.

⁴³⁶ N.A.K. ZARPROF. C. 10/1940. "Forced Labour; Policy and Instructions", as cited in S.M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 112

⁴³⁷ It was not only Zazzau Emirate or Zaria NA that supplied labour for the construction of the Zaria-Gusau railway line. Since the line traversed through different emirates, NA's or provinces, the policy was that each of these areas was expected to supply its quotas of conscripted labourers for the work. These areas were Zazzau, Katsina, Gusau and Sokoto.

⁴³⁸ N.A.K. SNP. 17 KIII Zaria Provincial Report for 1926, p. 15, as cited in Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) ... p. 181

⁴³⁹ SNP10/NAK/154P/1914 ... p. 6

construct the Eastern Railway was far more likely to be the reason for these farmers leaving their districts.⁴⁴⁰

e) Mobilization of Peasants for Mining

In addition, forceful mobilization of the *talakawa* to the mining fields was also another area in which the District Heads functioned. Many companies acquired mining lease on the Jos-Plateau, covering a total of 3, 816 square miles area of tin fields. And this required large labour force which seemed to be inadequate in the area. The mining companies in Plateau region, therefore, resorted to the supply of labour from the neighbouring provinces of Borno, Bauchi, Benue, Kano, Sokoto and Zaria. Even though, there was a claim that men working in the mining fields were mobilized through what was referred to as ‘voluntary labour’, it was actually not true. Peasants were actually forced to the tin fields and indirectly lured through imposition of heavy taxes. In Zazzau Emirate, similar to the works on the railways, the District and Village Heads were given quotas to supply labourers who were to be transported to the mining fields in Jos. It was said that, in Igabi District for instance,

Yaran Hakimai (Boys of the District Heads) were sent to the mines fields to ensure that labourers recruited from the District area did not abscond. They were also to supervise the work to ensure maximum output by the labourers.⁴⁴¹

In their studies on the Jos mine fields, S. M. Aminu and C. C Jacobs both examined the precarious condition of the miners, who were often exposed to unbearable hardship, diseases and underpayment. This was further intensified during the period of the Second World War (1939-1945) as a result of the lost of Malaya tin fields to Japan by Britain in 1942. During this period

⁴⁴⁰ SNP10/NAK/154P/1914 ... p.7

⁴⁴¹ N.A.K. ZARPROF, 3525 Vol. II, “Nigeria Tin Ore Production, Mines Conscript Labour and Condition of”, cited in S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 120

there was an increase demand for tin in the British war effort against the Axis Powers. Increase tin therefore, means an increase labour force in the mines fields. Thus, by 1943, the number of labourers in the Jos mining centers increased from 25,000 to 30,000 men. All these labourers were conscripted through the effort of the NA's which in turn relied heavily on the District and Village Heads for the regular supply of the peasants.⁴⁴² Some notes contained in the 'Forced Labour (Policy and Instruction) 1940, was clear on how the peasant were galvanized through the use of local drummers at the work sites.

The drummers who come in with the laborers perform when requested at a small charge.

The drummer is one of the hardest worked men on Construction.

He drums the men out in the morning.

He drums to them all day on the work.

He drums them back in the evening.

He drums for them often half the night in addition.

It might be possible to recruit drummers separately say two per hundred men

They are real necessity both on the work and in the Camps.⁴⁴³

f) Other Sundry Functions

Other functions of the District Heads apart from mobilization of labour included propagation of British imperial agendas. The most important was in the area of agriculture, whereby the District Heads staged campaigns and encouraged the peasants to grow export crops (cotton and groundnut) on their farms. They also spread information from the colonial government concerning education, health, hygiene, forestry, sanitation and veterinary services for animals.

⁴⁴² See S. M. Aminu (1991) ... pp. 118-126, and C. C. Jacobs (1998) ... pp. 51-53

⁴⁴³ NAK/ZARPROF/C10/1940 Forced Labour (Policy And Instructions), p. 3

(VIII) Other Important Arms of the Native Authority System

Apart from the District administrative system which was introduced, and all its other appendages, there were other important arms of the Native Authority Administration. These include the Treasury, the Courts, Police and Prisons. While the Treasury was meant to collect and manage revenues, the courts were to try cases, while the police were to apprehend criminals and suspects and the prisons were to manage the custody of the convicted offenders. In any case, these semi-institutions served as means of social control in the society. These issues are discussed below.

a) The Native Authority Treasury

The Native 'Treasury'⁴⁴⁴ was, according to Ormsby-Gore, "the most essential feature of the system"⁴⁴⁵ of Indirect Rule. It was a modified form of the pre-colonial *Baitulmali* (from Arabic *Bait-al-Mal* – literally House of Money), a name which the British also adopted to refer to the new Native Treasury. In the opinion of Margery Perham, "it is impossible to conceive of the development of indirect rule to its present position in Nigeria without the institution of the Native Treasury."⁴⁴⁶ In the provinces of Northern Nigeria, the establishment of the Native Treasury was gradual, first in Katsina in 1908 and then Kano in 1909.⁴⁴⁷ In Zazzau Emirate or

⁴⁴⁴ By all definitions, Treasury means a government institution in charge of collecting and managing public revenue or funds.

⁴⁴⁵ Quoted in M. Perham (1937, 1962) *Native Administration in Nigeria*, London, Oxford, p. 120

⁴⁴⁶ M. Perham (1937, 1962) *Native Administration* p. 120

⁴⁴⁷ The brain behind the founding of the institution of Native Treasury (*Baitulmali*) in Northern Nigeria was H.R. Palmer (later Sir) at Katsina in 1908, then as Assistant Resident in charge of Katsina Division of Kano Province. He introduced the system in Katsina at ease because of the overwhelming influence he had on the Emir, Muhammadu Dikko (1906-1944), for appointing him into office. In January 1909, the institution was sanctioned by Governor Girouard and introduced into Kano, the richest emirate, under its newly appointed Resident, C. L. Temple. The whole object of this innovation was to place all office holders (including Emirs and District Heads) on fixed salaries. For more details on the circumstances leading to the birth of the Native Treasury, see A. M. Fika (1978) ... pp. 177-181, A. G. Saeed (2005) ... pp. 146-147

Zaria Province, the institution of the Native Treasury was introduced in 1910, following the ‘footsteps of Kano’.⁴⁴⁸ The immediate effect of the system was the placement of the:

Emir and his central officials being paid monthly salaries instead of the percentage of taxes formerly placed at the Emir’s disposal; District Chiefs and Village Heads still retained their shares of tax.⁴⁴⁹

Prior to the establishment of the Native Treasury, the verdict of the Native Revenue Proclamation of 1906⁴⁵⁰ obliged all the Emirs to surrender 50% of all the annual tax returns to the colonial government. They were allowed to retain the remaining percentage for the upkeep of their households and for the administration of their emirate. On their part, “The District Chiefs were allotted from 20 to 25 per cent of the tax collected by them.”⁴⁵¹ In spite of the Native Treasury and the object of fixed stipends to the officials, it was not until January 1st 1913 that the District Heads in Zazzau Emirate were placed on salaries. For this purpose, the District Heads were classified into six grades with salaries ranging from £100 per annum.⁴⁵² On this, according to the Resident, J.M. Fremantle, “no District Head (now) received a share in excess of his requirements, as far as could be judged.”⁴⁵³ The Village Heads were also included in this salary scheme. This is because, as C. N. Ubah observed,

⁴⁴⁸ The reason why the Native Treasury waited to be established until in 1910 in Zazzau Emirate, a year after Kano, was contained in the opinion shared by the two Residents of the Provinces, Major Arthur Festing C.M.G. (January 1909 – May 1909) and Mr. J. W. Gill (May 1909 – July 1909) that, “...it would be pre-mature to institute a *Beit-el-Mal* until the Revenue of the Province has increased. At present the native share of the Revenue is hardly sufficient to pay the E M I R (sic) and District Heads adequate salaries and a *Beit-el-Mal* with empty coffers would be of no advantage. ... and as soon as the share of the Revenue accruing to the Native Administration warrants it one will be instituted”. See SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/986/1910 Report Annual 1909, Zaria Province, p. 7

⁴⁴⁹ E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 31. See as previously provided the principal officers and their salaries in Zazzau Emirate (Zaria NA).

⁴⁵⁰ The Native Revenue Proclamation of 1906 was the renewed edict that superseded the Proclamation No. 4 of 1904 and which also codified and legalized the various customary taxes in the emirates of Northern Nigeria.

⁴⁵¹ See E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 29

⁴⁵² See M. M. Tukur (1979) ... p. 392

⁴⁵³ Quoted in M. M. Tukur (1979) ... p. 392

Lugard wanted the village head to replace the Jakadu in the same spirit Temple argued that tax collection should be undertaken by officials living among the people...⁴⁵⁴

The top most priority as conceived by Lugard was to provide regular and fixed allowances to the local officials and to make them less dependent upon the generosity of the Emir or otherwise.⁴⁵⁵ The Native Treasury managed funds raised from the annual general tax and cattle tax (*Kuridin Kasa and Jangali*), court fees and fines, custom and market dues, and other sources approved by the colonial government. In the inaugural year (1910) of the Native Treasury in Zazzau Emirate, it was reported that:

In addition to the fees from Native Courts and the share of Taxation formerly known as the Emir's share, the Emir has voluntarily surrendered (sic) to the *Beit-el-Mal* funds the *Kuridin Sarauta* and the *Ujeran Gado* on Fulani inheritance.⁴⁵⁶

Moreover, other taxes such as the *Zakkat* and *Kuridin Gaisuwa* were also paid to the Native Authorities but by virtue not recognized by the British. The titleholder in charge of the Native Treasury in Zazzau Emirate was called the *Ma'aji*,⁴⁵⁷ who was also a member of the Emir's Judicial Council. By 1914, the Native Treasury was described as "the outstanding feature in the Native Administration of the Zaria Province ... The *Ma'aji* and his staff take an intelligent interest in every item of payment entered."⁴⁵⁸ The first *Ma'aji* (Native Treasurer) of Zazzau Emirate during the British was called *Ma'ajin Gari*, Yahaya, who died on the 16th June, 1916. It is said that, "He had proved himself a capable adviser to the Emir on matters administrative as

⁴⁵⁴ C. N. Ubah (1985) *Government and Administration of Kano Emirate 1900-1930*, Nsuka, University Press, p. 116. See also on the desirability of paying emolument to the Village Heads through their respective District Heads in Zazzau Emirate as suggested by the Acting Resident of Zaria Province, Mr. M. P. Porch in 1912. This was a year before the placement of the District Heads and other officials on monthly fixed salary. See SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/Zaria Province Annual Report No. 55 for 1912, p. 4

⁴⁵⁵ M. Perham (1962) *Native Administration in Nigeria*, London, Oxford, p. 71, as cited in Dalha Waziri (2009) "A History of Local Government System in Gumel Emirate, 1903-1983" PhD Thesis, BUK, pp. 74-75

⁴⁵⁶ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/950/1911 ... p. 6

⁴⁵⁷ In both Zazzau and Kano Emirates, the custodian of the Native Treasury (*Baitulmali*) was called the *Ma'aji*; while in Gumel Emirate, he was titled as the *Matawalle*.

⁴⁵⁸ SNP10/NAK/154P Zaria Province, Report for Quarter March 1914, pp. 44-45

well as Judicial.” He was replaced by his Assistant, Malam Rufa’i.⁴⁵⁹ And following the appointment of *Ma’aji* Rufa’i in 1918 as the District Head of Giwa, with the title of *Fagachi*, the post of the *Ma’aji* was given to Isiaku.⁴⁶⁰

The revenue realized at the Native Treasury was partly used for the payment of monthly salaries of the NA staff. These included the Emir, *Alkalai*, District and Village Heads, NA Police, Prison Warders, Central Office Staff, NA Medical, Veterinary and Forestry Staff, and other officials under the NA recognized by the British.⁴⁶¹ Proper service and efficiency was the yardstick staffs were adjudged for in earning their regular salary. Speaking particularly on the District Heads, the Resident, G. Malcolm in 1919, stated that, “If a man is a good man in his District his salary may be increased if his revenue will warrant it, as a personal allowance to himself if necessary...”⁴⁶² However, as argued by Dalha Waziri, this apparently reduced the Emir and strangled his subordinate officials like the District Heads to mere agents, serving colonial interest.⁴⁶³ This is because unlike in the pre-British period when the Emir particularly, used the resources of his emirate at his discretion, apart from his monthly stipends, an Emir was prohibited from tampering with the Treasury’s money. There was an accounting method in which the *Ma’aji* and his assistants kept record of all the funds deposited at the Treasury. The British District Officer (D.O.) was the official in charge of supervision and checking records of the Native Treasury. There were also British auditors who visited the emirate at intervals with a view to auditing the treasury’s account. In one of such routine visits, the *Ma’ajin* Gari, Yahaya,

⁴⁵⁹ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/97P/1917 Zaria Province Annual Report No. 69 – 1916, p. 7

⁴⁶⁰ See E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 21

⁴⁶¹ See L. Lugard (1919, 1970) ... pp. 315-316

⁴⁶² SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 Zaria Province –Report No.74 for Half Year ending 30th June, 1919, p.7

⁴⁶³ See Dalha Waziri (2009) ... p. 75

in 1916, was charged for shortage of £62 in the Native Treasury Funds.⁴⁶⁴ On the other hand, in 1919, the Acting Resident, Mr. G. Malcolm had this to say on the Zaria Native Treasury:

The Native Treasury Staff continues to give every satisfaction. The accounts and records are well kept. The Tribute or Kurdin Haraji as collected for 1919 shows £35, 000 an increase of £926: 0: 0 on that of last year. ...This increase is partly accounted for by more Resident assessment and also that the wealth of the Province is increasing.⁴⁶⁵

The funds at the treasury were also used in the execution of developmental projects and other services such as food and clothing for prisoners and uniforms for *Dogarai*. Annually, estimates of Revenue and Expenditures from the funds at the Native Treasury were raised by the Emirate, and which was to be ratified by the Resident. The British classified the Native Treasuries in Northern Nigeria into three classes - Class A - 'Fully Organized Treasuries', B - 'Partially Organized Treasuries', and C - 'Unorganized Treasuries'. By 1928, the classes were reduced into two (A and B) and this followed the merger of Class C Treasuries into financially stronger units.⁴⁶⁶ Thus, the Zaria Native Treasury belonged to the Class A with an organized treasury. As compiled by the Resident, E.J. Arnett, in 1920, the share of Revenue assigned to the Native Administration since the inauguration of the Native Treasury in 1910 was as follows (the percentage of the tax being 50 per cent):

Year	Share of Revenue
1910-1911	£2,252
1911-1912	£17,752

⁴⁶⁴ However, Ma'aji Yahaya was not punished for the offence of the shortage (£62) found. Yahaya acknowledged his responsibility, but owing to his ill-health and consequent inability to perform his duties in an efficient manner as he truly stated. He died on the 16th June, 1916 as a result of the sickness. Earlier a claim on Yahiya's estate was made by the Native Treasury for the shortage. But, according to the Acting Resident, C. Migeod, "His Excellency the Governor General however ruled that in consideration of the loyal and capable service rendered by Yahaya up to his death, the loss should be borne by the Native Treasury and his estate left intact for his family". See SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/97P/1917 ... p. 7.

⁴⁶⁵ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 ... p. 32

⁴⁶⁶ CO583/159/2, Native Administrations Northern Provinces Estimate 1928-29, p. 225, cited in Dalha Waziri (2009) ...p. 76

1912 April to December ...	...	£5,988
1913 .....	...	£17,140
1914 ...	...	£23,061
1915 ...	...	£19,277
1916 ...	...	£20,779
1917 ...	...	£22,010
1918 ...	...	£25,419
1919 ...	...	£30,517 ⁴⁶⁷

b) The Native Authority Courts

The court system and judicial dispensation was not an alien innovation even at the time of the British arrival in Zazzau Emirate. Administration of justice in Zazzau dated as far back as the pre-jihad period, and of course reformed and continued after the jihad and the establishment of the Emirate system. The preexisting courts all located in Zaria city at the time of the British occupation in 1902, were the Emir's, the *Alkali's* and the *Salanke's* courts.⁴⁶⁸ Out of the three preexisting courts, only the *Alkali's* court in Zaria was reconstituted by the British in 1903, to serve the new government with matters related to administration of justice in the emirate. In 1905, three new Native Courts were established and none of which, apart from the one in Zaria city, fell within the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate.⁴⁶⁹ In 1909, the Resident, Zaria Province, George Ormsby, cried out that,

I consider it is most important that there should be a Native Court within reasonable distance of each village and I have therefore asked the Emir to recommend Mallams for Courts in the Northern Districts. I hope to

⁴⁶⁷ See E. J. (1920) ... p. 21

⁴⁶⁸ Refer to chapter two for discussion on the administration of justice in the pre-colonial Zazzau Emirate.

⁴⁶⁹ These Native Courts were established at Paiko, Birnin Gwari and Kacia. And it was only Kacia, located to the south, which fell directly within the territory of Zazzau Emirate.

submit the necessary warrant for His Excellency's sanction early next year.⁴⁷⁰

As a result, in 1910, four new Native Courts were established in the Northern Districts, in order to 'to relieve the pressure on the Zaria Court',⁴⁷¹ as declared by J. Whithers Gill. These Native Courts were established in Rigachikun, Soba, Auchang (sic) and Fatika; and were directly placed under the supervision of Chief *Alkali* of Zaria (*Alkalin Alkalai*).⁴⁷² The four courts were reconstituted in 1913, and both graded in class 'D', with powers of jurisdiction limited to small fines and petty penalties.⁴⁷³ Also reconstituted in 1913 was the Grade 'D' *Alkali's* Court in Kaduna town. Moreover, the Chief *Alkali* was also empowered to listen to appeal against the judgement passed by the District *Alkali*.⁴⁷⁴ The following table shed more light on the five Native Courts (Zaria, Soba, Rigachikun, Fatika, and Kaduna) which directly covered our area of study.

NATIVE COURTS, NORTHERN DISTRICTS OF ZAZZAU EMIRATE (1913)

N. A. Court	Name of Alkali	Members	Area of Jurisdiction	Grade
ZARIA	Malam Bako	1. Malam Yero 2. Malam Huseini 3. Malam Yakubu (Scribe)	Zaria town, the districts of Madauchi, Chiroma, Limamin Kona, Limamin Juma'a	'A'
SOBA	Malam Yahaya	1. Saidu 2. Liman Salihu (Scribe)	Soba town, the districts of Madaki and Sarkin Ruwa	"D"
FATIKA	Malam Sa'idu	1. Malam Umaru	Fatika town, the	"D"

⁴⁷⁰ SNP7/NAKZARPROF/986/1910 ... p. 9

⁴⁷¹ SNP7/NAKZARPROF/950/1911 ... p. 19

⁴⁷² See E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 32, M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 213

⁴⁷³ In Political Memoranda, Lugard expressed the judicial powers of the Native Courts and graded them into A, B, C, and D classes (see page 89 of the Memoranda). See also SNP10/NAK/488P/1913 Zaria – Native Courts. Areas of Jurisdiction

⁴⁷⁴ This power given to the Chief *Alkali* to listen to appeal from the lower District *Alkalai* of the emirate did not go down well with the Emir as we shall see in our discussion in this section.

		2. Malam Adamu (Scribe)	districts of Makama Karami, Makama Babba, and some parts Limamin Juma'a	
RIGACHIKUN	Malam Aliyu	1. Malam Sa'idu 2. Malam Jafaru 3. Muhammad Lawal (Scribe)	Rigachikun town, the districts of Turaki Babba, Wambai, Iya and Wali	"D"
KADUNA	Malam Iyal	1. Malam Sada 2. Malam Musa 3. Malam Yero (Scribe)	Kaduna town, the districts of Magaji Jisambo and Wan'ya	"D"

Source: SNP10/NAK/488P/1913 Zaria – Native Courts. Areas of Jurisdiction

It is noteworthy that, in 1911, the British formed the Judicial Council or Emir's Court; to administer matters hitherto dealt by the Resident. The council was composed of the Emir, as the President, *Waziri*, *Madauchi*, *Alkali*, *Ma'aji*, and *Magatakarda* (Scribe) as members.⁴⁷⁵ However, the composition was not always uniform, in Kano, for instance, "they rely upon other legal experts"⁴⁷⁶ than the *Alkali* in the council. The formation of the Judicial Council had led to strained relationship between the Emir and the Chief *Alkali* (*Alkalin Zaria*).⁴⁷⁷ And both of the two legal institutions were graded in Class 'A', with "power to try criminal cases in which the

⁴⁷⁵ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/975/1912 ... p. 5

⁴⁷⁶ M. Perham (1937, 1962) *Native Administration* ... p. 116

⁴⁷⁷ This problem was borne out of the resentment expressed by the Emir, who saw part of his powers being undermined by the newly constituted Alkali's Court of Zaria. Unlike in the past, when it was only the Emir that had the powers to entertain final appeal from all over the emirate, it was now vested in the Alkali's Court. Apart from listening to appeals from the Native Courts and reviewing them, the Chief Judge also had powers in the selection of persons suitable for appointment as *Alkalai* of these courts. The court also reduced the Emir's freedom to dismiss official or to keep them in office at will. Thus, early in 1903, the Emir, Aliyu Dansidi accused the Alkali of intruding his authority and with British backing caused for his deposition from office. See M. G. Smith (1960) ...p. 207, and 213-222. Moreover, up to the 1920, as reported by the Resident, E.J. Arnett, the Emir, "...shows the utmost jealousy of the Alkalin Zaria ... in the matter of appeals from the decisions of the District Courts. He maintains that all such appeals should be decided by the Judicial Council and not by the Alkali's Court even in such purely legal cases as the inheritance of property". See SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/286P/1920 ... p. 10

sentence of death may be passed, and practically unlimited powers in civil cases.”⁴⁷⁸ This further heightened the stalemate between the two courts. It was not only in Zaria that the Emir’s Judicial Court had such contention with their powerful Chief *Alkalai*. In fact, according to Dalha Waziri, in Gumel, the interference of Emir Ahmadu into the judgement passed by the *Alkali’s* Court led to the suspension of the powers of the Judicial Council in 1911.⁴⁷⁹ However, in the words of M. G. Smith,

Nonetheless, Aliyu and the Emirs of Zaria who came after him were quick to appreciate the relief from over-powerful Chief Judges with which the Waziriship provided them. They rapidly developed a practice of appointing the Chief Judge to the Waziriship, thereby separating him from his protected position with its indirect power over the executive, and powers to upset matters of interest to the king.⁴⁸⁰

As a result, this as in other emirates gave an edge to the Judicial Council or Emir’s Court to supersede the powers of the Chief Alkalis Court. The prerogative enjoyed by the Judicial Council was in entertaining appeal from the *Alkali’s* Court, especially on capital punishment. It was only the Judicial Council that could execute such death sentence with the final approval of the Resident. For instance, in 1914, apart from the fact that out of the total 5890 cases in which great majority were debt or divorce, “one case of murder was tried by the Judicial Council and capital punishment was carried out.”⁴⁸¹ Moreover, by the Ordinance No. 14 of 1916, the Emir’s Judicial Council was ‘designated as the highest judicial institutions in the emirates, with full

⁴⁷⁸ F.J.D. Lugard (1919, 1970) ... pp. 275-277, as cited in Dalha Waziri (2009) ... p.68

⁴⁷⁹ See Dalha Waziri (2009) ... p. 69. More controversially, back in 1908, the First Class Resident of Kano, Dr Cargill, who was notorious in the drastic changes introduced in the emirate, he suspended Emir Abbas Judicial Council. This added salt to injury coupled with Cargill’s earlier blunder of appointing a person of slave-descent, Dan Rimi Allah-bar-Sarki, as Waziri of Kano. See A.M. Fika (1978) ... p. 123. Similarly, on other contentious issues as regards the British introduction of new legal system, which perhaps they claimed earlier not in conflict with the Shari’a or the indigenous custom of the people of the emirates, see for details, T.M. Naniya (2003) “Duality and Conflict of laws in a society in transition: Kano in the colonial period” in M. O. Hambolu (ed) *Perspective on Kano-British Relations*, Kano, Gidan Makama Publication, pp. 134-143.

⁴⁸⁰ M. G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 219 – 220.

⁴⁸¹ SNP7/NAK/175P/1915 Zaria Province, Report No. 65 for Year 1914

executive powers of law enforcement'.⁴⁸² Therefore, the Native Court and the Emir's Judicial Council are selectively discussed in this section, excluding the Provincial and Supreme Courts, because it was the former institutions that fell directly under the control of the Native Administration.

Furthermore, in order to give the population more access to courts, the Native Court Ordinance of 1914 (amended by No. 15 of 1915) was passed. The ordinance stipulated among others that,

There shall be an adequate number of courts so that complainants may be able to obtain redress without travelling prohibit distances, and the difficulties of summoning witnesses may be reduced as far as possible.⁴⁸³

In line with this, by 1919, there were seventeen Native Courts in Zazzau Emirate, including the Chief *Alkali* and the Emir's Judicial Council. Out of these courts, ten were located in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate, and seven were of the grade of Class 'D', viz: *Alkali's* Court Rigachikun, Soba, Giwa (formerly Fatika), Zuntu, Makarfi, *Kasuwan* Zaria, Tudun Wada, and Kangiwa (formerly Kaduna). The other two courts were the Grade 'A', Judicial Council and the Chief *Alkali's* Courts, all located in Zaria City.⁴⁸⁴ The number of the Native Courts continued to increase, and this was in order to equate it with the corresponding number of District Areas in the Emirate. By 1920, there were twenty-seven District Areas, but with the continued reduction in the number of territorial districts, the British were able to establish Native Court in each of the

⁴⁸² See A. M. Fika (1978) ... p. 162. Moreover, this Ordinance passed in 1916 was meant to preserve the prestige of the Native Authority (Emir) in the eyes of his subject. And this preserved prestige continued in spite of efforts to truncate it up to the 1960's.

⁴⁸³ L. Lugard (1919, 1970) ... p. 205

⁴⁸⁴ See E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 15. The remaining seven Native Courts were located in the Southern part of Zazzau Emirate. These were the two Grade 'C' Courts of Zangon Katab and Lere, and then five Grade 'C' Courts of Kachia, Kauru, Kajuru, Kagarko and Jere.

district areas.⁴⁸⁵ Further to this, on the 22nd January, 1921, a new warrant was approved, extending the jurisdiction of the *Alkalin Zaria's* Court to cover the whole of the Emirate and to entertain appeals from the District Courts.⁴⁸⁶ And by 1950, when the last major reorganisation took place, only seventeen District Areas remained and so also the number of the District *Alkalai* in the Emirate.⁴⁸⁷

At this juncture, it is instructive to note that in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate, there are pockets of non-Muslims communities in the area. They were often referred to as 'pagans'⁴⁸⁸ by the British in their reports. These people were the non-Muslim Hausa people, traditionally called the *Maguzawa*. Thus, the British decided to establish for them a separate court, instead of the conventional *Alkali* Native Court, dominated by the majority Hausa and Fulani Muslims of the Emirate. This type of Court was referred to as the Pagan Court or

⁴⁸⁵ The decision to increase the number of the District *Alkalai* had earlier received dissatisfactory gestures from the British Officers in Zazzau Emirate. This in view of ex-Emir Aliyu's favour of establishing low grade Courts and badly paid *Alkalai* in each District, said the Resident, F.F.W. Byang-Hall, in 1921. In their opinion, the 14 District Courts as at then are quite sufficient and accessible to the people. The *Alkalai* and the Courts could also be better paid and supervised. However, the allegation made against Emir, Aliyu Dansidi, that he favours establishment of bad courts in the districts was not entirely correct. This is because there were lingering disagreements between him and the British Officers, in view of granting the Chief *Alkali* of Zaria warrant to listen to appeal from the District Courts in his stead. According to Aliyu, this is tantamount to usurpation of his prerogatives as the Emir and the custodian of his people customs and tradition. This and many other conflicting issues made the relationship between him and the British an uneasy one; and consequently led to his deposition on the 5th February, 1921. No wonder, when the new Emir, Dalhatu, came, who was perhaps not as strong as his predecessor, the British undertook a total reorganisation of the Judicial establishment of the emirate including salaries of the *Alkalai's* (Chief *Alkali* £240 and District *Alkalai* £36 per annum). For details on this see SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P/1921 Zaria Province, Report for 15 months ended 31st March, 1921.

⁴⁸⁶ The previous warrant (s) before 1921, which established the Chief *Alkali's* Court in Zaria, had limits its jurisdiction and power to a few districts closer to Zaria city. The suggestion to increase the warrant of the Court was made in 1920, but approved and rectified in January, 1921, by the Resident, Captain F.F.W. Byng-Hall. See SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/286P/1920 Zaria Province, Report No. 76 for Half Year ending June, 1920, p. 14, and SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P/1921 ... p. 47

⁴⁸⁷ See M.G. Smith (1960) ... p. 213

⁴⁸⁸ Pagan literally means in Hausa as *arne* (plural – *arna*). And it further referred to someone with no religion.

Maguzawa Pagan Court.⁴⁸⁹ These courts were said to be set up in 1913, and by 1914 available report on their existence states that,

Pagans hold their Courts in the following districts: Dan Galadima (Bikaratu), Galadima (Makarfi), Dallatu (Anchau), Serikin Yaki (sic) (Ikara), Turaki Karami (Kudaru), and Serikin Chawai (sic) (Chawai). The court consists of a Pagan judge only; there are no members. Litigants have a right of appeal to the Chief of their District. No complaints of injustice have been made.⁴⁹⁰

Out of the above areas in which the Pagan Court existed, the ones at Kudaru and Chawai Districts were in the Southern enclave of the Emirate. While Bikaratu, Makarfi, Anchau and Ikara, were the district areas in which the *Maguzawa* had well established communities in the Northern part of the Emirate. Unlike in the conventional Native Courts, which a trained *Alkali* presides, the *Maguzawa* Pagan Court was presided by the community leader or the most elderly among them (*Sarkin Arna*). Since they have no written or sacred laws like the Muslims, the *Maguzawa* adjudicate their cases base on ancestral customs and traditions. However, the Pagan Courts had never been sanctioned officially by the British and that was why by 1915, it was reported by the Resident, C.C. Migeod, that,

The *Maguzawa* Pagan Courts which were held at Gubuchi, (Galadima's District), Dan Lawal (Sar. Yaki's District) and Anchau Dallatu's District) and never legally constituted, have been done away with. No difficulty has been experienced in getting the *Maguzawa* to attend the *Alkali*'s Courts. The matters of marriage, divorce and inheritance the

⁴⁸⁹ The earliest mention of the Pagan Court in Zaria Province was made in the annual report of 1908, by Resident, Major Arthur Festing. He reported that "In addition to the Mohamedan Courts (Muslims *Alkali*'s Court) we have among the Pagan Communities of this Province what are called Judicial Councils". That is a council led by the Chief and the Elders of the pagan communities. Later Judicial Council was stopped and the Court was only referred to as Pagan Courts. See SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/819/1909. The word 'Pagan', according to the British, referred general to all the non-Muslim communities of Zazzau Emirate or Zaria Province. These were the numerous multi-ethnic (non-Hausa) people, particularly dominant in the Southern part of the Emirate. However, the *Maguzawa* who live in the Northern part were added to the Pagan list because they were non-Muslims. Therefore, the word *Maguzawa* was used by the British only to differentiate them from their Southern pagan group.

⁴⁹⁰ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/175P/1915 Zaria Province Report (Annual) 1914, p. 14

Heads of the *Maguzawa* Sarkin Dan Lawal and Anchau still continue to deal with according to Pagan Law and Customs.⁴⁹¹

However, there were few of these Courts left particularly in the south-eastern part of the Emirate. These included the *Dangaladima*, *Turaki Karami* and Chawai districts. The people of these districts were not *Maguzawa* per se, but according to the Resident, “The pagans where these courts are established are the most primitive met in the Province”.⁴⁹² Whatever it is, Pagan Courts in the Emirates of Northern Nigeria was one phenomenon that continued to be debated almost throughout the colonial period. It received much currency in the 1930’s when Donald Cameron attempted to reformed the NA System in the emirates of Northern Nigeria. This is to be discussed in the next chapter.

Looking at the Native Courts generally from a different perspective, S.M. Aminu opined that the courts were simply ‘instruments of oppression and exploitation’.⁴⁹³ This oppressive tendency lies in the context of jurisdiction and powers given to the courts beyond the perceived question of administering justice to the populace. In this regard, there were exploitative Ordinances passed by the Colonial State, and which were interpreted and enforced by the Native Courts. These included the Direct Taxation, Forced Labour, Agriculture, Marketing and Export regulations, Hides and Skins, Market and Forestry Ordinances. All these according to him were meant to keep in check the autonomous usage of the forest resources and local raw materials by the indigenous craftsmen and manufacturers. To ensure compliance, the Native Courts used to send weekly report to the Resident. In some instances, peculiar issues were reviewed by the Resident, but in many occasions cases treated by the Native Courts were usually upheld. For example, in 1912, out of the 131 cases tried, 99 cases were endorsed as earlier adjudicated by the Native

⁴⁹¹ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/138P/1916 Zaria Province Annual Report 1915, p. 23

⁴⁹² SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/138P/1916 ... p. 23

⁴⁹³ See S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 77

Courts. This expressed the extent to which the courts enforced colonial laws and compliance. The courts also served in the capacity of generating revenue (fines and duties) to the Native Treasury. For example, as at December 1921, a total Court fees, fines and Confiscation raised by the Native Courts in Zaria Province was £1619.13.11.⁴⁹⁴

c) **The Native Authority Police**

Policing and prevention of crimes was a phenomenon that long predated colonial intervention in the emirates of Northern of Nigeria. The pre-colonial institution or organisation in charge of the police in Zazzau as in other emirates was called the *Dogarai* (singular: *Dogari*).⁴⁹⁵ On the history and evolution of police institution in Nigeria generally, Takena Tamuno, Kemi Rotimi, and recently A.Y. Chiranchi, who wrote on Kano, have extensively dealt with the topic.⁴⁹⁶ When the British arrived earlier in the 20th century, it became a major priority to the colonial government to establish a Police force for the maintenance of law and order, prevention and arrest of criminals. This was in order to create an enabling environment conducive enough for maximum exploitation of both human and natural resources of the colonized territories. However, at the inception of colonial rule the British did not officially recognized the *Dogarai*, but they were not stopped from performing their duties as law enforcement unit of the emirates.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁴ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/178/1922 Zaria Province – Report No. 78 for 1921, p. 10

⁴⁹⁵ Refer to chapter two for discussion on the traditional Police institution in the Emirate of Zazzau.

⁴⁹⁶ These works are T. N. Tamuno (1970) *The Police in Modern Nigeria, 1861-1965*, Ibadan, University Press, Kemi Rotimi (2001) *The Police in a Federal State: The Nigerian Experience*, Ibadan, College Press Ltd and A.Y. Chiranchi (2004) *Native Authority Police and Security in Kano Emirate, 1925-1968*, Kano

⁴⁹⁷ See the Northern Nigeria Annual Report 1902, p. 93. The reason for the idea to abolish the *Dogarai* was probably because of the British initial attitude towards the institution of slavery. The *Dogarai* in the emirates were of servile origin under the royal family. And the British had sworn not to recognize any office occupy by a slave official till emancipated. See also Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... pp. 11-12

In 1908, the major police reorganisation was undertaken and which also recognised the *Dogarai* as NA policemen in Northern Nigeria. The Governor, Percy Girouard (1907-1909) and the Resident of Kano, H.R. Palmer were instrumental to the reorganisation of the police force in Northern Nigeria. Tamuno advanced three reasons for the police reorganisation in Northern Nigeria:

One, it was intended to remove the predominantly alien Government Police from the emirates, especially those of the northerly provinces of Kano, Sokoto, Zaria and Borno. Two, it was thus intended to secure the loyalty of the Emirs by permitting them the use of their indigenous *dogarai* as police. This was very much in line with the administrative policy shift from 'rule through native chiefs' to one of 'rule through native chiefs on native lines' inaugurated by Girouard. Three, it would be cheaper to use the *dogarai* than the Government Police.⁴⁹⁸

These and other reasons such as lack of enough manpower, and the need to improve the quality of service of the *Dogarai* necessitated the 1908 reorganisation, with Kano as the testing ground. This marked the recognition of the *Dogarai* as NA Police and the initiative spread to almost all other emirates. With this development, government police (NGF) were withdrawn from the northerly emirates and sent down to the southerly non-emirate areas "where the government was still actively engaged in pacification raid."⁴⁹⁹ In Zazzau Emirate, the effects of the new approved *Dogarai* as NA Police came into light in 1910, when the Resident, J. Withers Gill, reported that,

The Public Works and Railway necessitated the formation of villages of Artizans (sic) and labourers in the neighbourhood of the Station. Police supervision of these was ineffective until it was replaced by Dogarai supplied by the E M I R (sic). Since then, riots, market disputes, and affrays have sensibly diminished and a community of troublesome people has been comparatively orderly: There is a potent influence in native method of regulating crowds which the Government Official seems to part with when he assumes his uniform.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... p. 14

⁴⁹⁹ See Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... p. 14, A.Y Chiranchi (2004) ... p. 46

⁵⁰⁰ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/950/1911 ... p. 15

By 1914, the total number of the Dogarai was put at 100 and they “are recruited by the Emir from a good type of native.”⁵⁰¹ The head of the *Dogarai* force was called the *Sarkin Dogarai*, who was appointed and controlled by the Emir. Apart from the railway and public work sites, the *Dogarai* were also distributed to other establishments such as the Emir’s compound as body guards and night guards, Alkali’s Court, *Beit-el-mal* (Native Treasury), and Native Gaol as Warders, Market and Education Department Night Guards. All of these posting and duties of the *Dogarai* were within Zaria City, the capital of the Emirate.⁵⁰² In 1919, the strength of the force “consist of Sarikin Dogarai (sic) (Chief of Police) with 2 Assistants 12 Mounted and 117 dismounted men is (sic) responsible for all police work in the Town and Districts...”⁵⁰³ Even though, there was still room for improvement, but the duties carried out by *Dogarai* as at that time was generally commended by the Resident, as being efficient and the discipline well maintained. On the issue of policing the outlying districts, which is our main concern, the Resident, made an elaborate remark that,

In each of the Districts in this Province these *Dogarai* in accordance with the size of the Districts are stationed and relieved every three months. The presence of their uniform which shows them to be the Emir’s *Dogarai* has a very good effect on the outlying Districts. Formerly this uniform was red, owing to the price of red cloth the clothing of them during the past times was found to be excessive and the Emir has now adopted white robes with red facings and his name in Arabic on each robe personally I prefer them to the former uniform.⁵⁰⁴

The *Dogarai* posted (usually 1 to 3) to district areas were directly under the District Heads. They accompanied and assisted the District Heads in their major work of assessment and collection of taxes. The *Dogarai* also assisted the District *Alkalai* in their courts, which included

⁵⁰¹ SNP10/NAK/154P/154P ... p. 26

⁵⁰² SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/138P/1916, Distribution (roster) of Mounted and Foot *Dogarai* on 31st December, 1915

⁵⁰³ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 ... p. 43

⁵⁰⁴ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 ... p. 44, sees also the attached distribution roster of posting of the *Dogarai* to the various districts of Zazzau Emirate (both the northern and southern districts).

summoning, discipline and arrest of convicts. Where District gaol were established, they also served as Warders. And owing to the Zazzau Emirate's diverse railway lines, there were gross references to theft of sleeper keys along the lines. The *Dogarai* together with the Government Police were organized as special patrol team to check the lines and to provide security at important railway stations.⁵⁰⁵ However, in 1920, an abortive attempt was made to withdraw the posting of *Dogarai* to the District Heads. This was on the accusation that the District Heads were subjecting their *Dogarai* to bored responsibilities such as "the proper custody of prisoners brought before the District Native Courts and in transit to Zaria, a heavy responsibility which District Chiefs are apt to regard too lightly. They are also apt to be used by the District Chiefs for requisitioning unpaid labour."⁵⁰⁶ Instead and in view of serious complaints from the District Heads and the Emir, in the same year (1920), attention has been given to improving the *Dogarai* in which their pay was raised from 20/- to 25/- per month. With this, the Resident commended that, "The *Dagarai* (sic) Force has very greatly benefitted from these changes ... The men are now well dressed and contented and take some pride and interest in their work. Their numbers are, 1 Sarkin *Dogarai*, 1 *Makaman Dogarai*, 10 Mounted *Dogarai*, 100 Foot *Dogarai*."⁵⁰⁷ There was also attempt to build barracks for the *Dogarai* near the Military barracks in Zaria, but the Resident declined that such place is "unsuited to an undisciplined native". In spite of that, the Emir still suggested at the same site "a *Dogari* is allowed two huts which are enclosed by a *zana* mat compound."⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁵ We have discussed previously the railway lines in Zazzau Emirate. These are the main Baro-Kano line, the Zaria-Bauchi Light railway and the Zaria-Gusau extension line. And along these lines there are several small and bigger railway stations depending on their importance.

⁵⁰⁶ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/286P ... p. 18

⁵⁰⁷ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/286P ... p.19

⁵⁰⁸ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P ... pp. 52-53

In the meantime, the *Dogarai* as the recognized NA Police were not without a stink of problems in the course of discharging their duties. As claimed by most informants, the *Dogarai* were particularly cruelly used by the District Heads during tax collection and mobilization of forced labour. They often extort from the *talakawa* in exchange for mercy and justice. There was also the problem of quality and strength of the *Dogarai* institution. This was also coupled with the expanding socio-economic development and growth of urban centers, with its attendant social vices in the bigger cities of Northern Nigeria. Thus, this necessitated the Police Reform of 1925, which brought the new era of *Yandoka* in place of the *Dogarai*. This we shall discuss in the next chapter.

d) The Native Authority Prison

Closely related to the Police in the administration of justice is the Prison system. As an institution, Prison was also in existence in Zazzau and in other Emirates prior to the British intrusion in the 20th century.⁵⁰⁹ At the inception of colonial rule, Lugard described the pre-existing prisons in Northern Nigeria as ‘Dungeon’, because of its horrible condition for human incarceration.⁵¹⁰ This implied that the Prison system was not conducive for human habitation and need to be reformed. According to Mohammed Buhari,

...the first attempt towards the reform was the relocation of the Emirate’s lock-up from its initial location i.e. close to the Emir’s Palace, ... to its present location near *Kofar Doka* (one of the eight gates of Zaria City), which is bigger and more accommodating than the former.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁹ Refer to chapter two for discussion on pre-colonial prison system in Zazzau Emirate.

⁵¹⁰ Cited in M. Z. Raliya (200) “Kano Prisons in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” MA Thesis, BUK, Kano, p. 55, also see Mohammed Buhari (2010) “A History of Zaria Central Prison, 1903-1967”, MA Thesis, BUK, Kano, p. 37

⁵¹¹ Mohammed Buhari (2010) ... p. 37

This relocation which turned out to be the permanent Zaria Provincial Prison was completed in April, 1912. The construction of the new prison was also said to be as a result of increase in the number of Native Courts and corresponding increase in the number of convicts.⁵¹² With this, by 1916, the condition of the prisoners was reported to have been better, with only two deaths, discipline well maintained and only few minor punishments inflicted on the inmates. The average daily cost per prisoner amounted to 1. 44d and the prison was constantly visited by the Resident every month.⁵¹³

In the outlying districts, Native Authority Prisons (gaol or lock-ups) were also established to accommodate convicts tried at the District Native Courts. In the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate, these smaller NA Prisons were established in Ikara, Makarfi, Soba, Anchau, and Rigachikun. To the south of the emirate, such prisons were located in Saminaka, Kauru, Kujama, Kacia and Zangon Kataf.⁵¹⁴ Sentenced convicts from these prisons around the emirate were normally locked up on temporary basis before conveyed to the Zaria Central Prison for their various jail terms. The District Prisons were supervised by a British Political Officer, who at frequent intervals toured around the emirate in order to keep in check the activities of the prison warders and the prisoners. Unlike the Zaria Central Prison, records on the district prisons seem to be scanty. But oral sources reveal that prisoners at the district level were subjected to all sorts of menial works by the NA officials – District Heads, *Alkalai*, *Yari* (*Dogari* in charge of prison) and other influential people of the community. On the other hand, a report on the Zaria Prison in 1916, pointed that,

⁵¹² See E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 33, M. G. Smith (1960) ... p.213

⁵¹³ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/97P/1917 ... pp. 35-36

⁵¹⁴ See Mohammed Buhari (2010) ... p. 41, and also an interview with Murtala Sidi Makarfi, Umaru Shehu Ikara and couple with personal observation and knowledge of some of these areas.

The work of the prisoners has been very satisfactory. They have principally been engaged on Road work, metalling of the Zaria Kubani road and Zaria town roads under the supervision of the *Sarkin Tafarki*. Most of the repairs to the Public Building were also carried out by the prisoners under the supervision of the *Sarkin Magina*.⁵¹⁵

More so, farms were set up by the prison institute, not particularly for feeding the inmates, rather for the exploitation of cheap labour and profit. For example, in 1916, the approximate value of prison labour which was accrued free by the colonialist was amounted to £362:11: 0. And the sum of £21:14:1½ was realized from the vegetable garden worked by the prisoners. Other revenue amounting to £13:10:0 was also earned by prison labour. However, at the same year, the average number of prisoners confined was 134, and the daily cost per prisoner amounted to 1.44d only. In addition, the total amount expended on prisoners for the year 1916, viz: Food - £245:14:3, Clothing - £49:0:8, Bedding etc – £20:0:0 and the total was £314:14:11. This was the crude exploitation report on the prisoners as submitted by the Acting Resident, C. Migeod, in 1916.⁵¹⁶ It should be noted also, the health, sanitary and hygienic condition of the prison inmates was nothing to write home about. There were uncountable references to outbreak of diseases in prisons during the colonial period. The commonest diseases were small pox, pneumonia, pulmonary tuberculosis, cerebral spinal meningitis, coronary *thiambosis*, diarrhea, and malaria fever.⁵¹⁷ For example, it was reported that “the number of deaths in the Native Gaol from 1st January 1920 to March 31st 1921 was 12, the chief causes of death being pneumonia and fever.”⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁵ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/97P/1917 ... p. 37

⁵¹⁶ See SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/97P/1917 ... pp. 36-37

⁵¹⁷ See Mohammed Buhari (2010) ... pp. 48-49

⁵¹⁸ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P/1921 ... p. 54

The NA Prison was under the watchful eyes of the *Dogarai*, with their leader called *Yari* (Chief Warder),⁵¹⁹ appointed by the Emir. According to a report, the prisons *Dogarai* were employed permanently in the Native Prison. They received 2/6 more pay per month than the ordinary *Dogari*, who used to receive 30/- per month as at 1921 in Zazzau Emirate.⁵²⁰ In spite of the better pay, in the same year, “the *Yari* (Chief Warder) was found guilty of stealing the prisoners’ food and was sentenced to imprisonment by the Alkali.”⁵²¹ The modus operandi and record keeping in the prison consist of the Prison Register, Warrant File, Punishment Book, Prisoners’ Property Book, Daily Ration Book, Prison Labour Record, and a monthly Roll of *Dogarai* showing where each was employed.⁵²² Lastly, beginning from 1925, there was a reform aimed at improving the quality of services of NA Police. This development not only in Zazzau, it generally had direct bearing on the prison system in all the Emirates of Northern Nigeria. We shall discuss this in the next chapter.

⁵¹⁹ It was said that the first *Yari* of Zazzau (Chief Warder) was called Bagobiri, who was succeeded by Aliyu Dabbuje, a First World War (FWW) veteran, employed by the Zaria NA during the reign of Emir Ibrahim (1927-1937). After these two, the office of the *Yari* became a princely office held by members of the royal family. Thus, *Yari* Abdullahi, son of the deceased Emir Abdullahi took over in 1937. He was appointed by Emir Ja’afaru. Abdullahi was first a school teacher in Makarfi and later deployed to Zaria City, where he also taught in an Adult Literacy Class (*Makarantan Katti*). *Yari* Abdullahi was removed from office by Emir Aminu in 1959. He was replaced by late Umar Idris, another prince and also elder brother to the current Emir, Alhaji Dr. Shehu Idris (1975 to date). He was the former *Dangaladiman* Zazzau, and the District Head of Rigasa, in Kaduna metropolis. For details, see Mohammed Buhari (2010) ... pp. 37-40. Moreover, what should be observed here is the changing status of the *Yari* office, from men of servile origin (*Dogarai*) to members of royal family (Princes – ‘*Ya’yan Sarki*’). This was not accidental. The brain behind it was H.R. Palmer, who in 1925 reformed the NA Police in Kano. According to Kemi Rotimi, Palmer’s desire was to enhance the efficiency and credibility of the NA Police. Thus, “he suggested the appointment of a member of the royal family in each emirate to be at least the nominal head of the police”. This was called the princely-liaison officer scheme. This also brought the phenomenon of “the son of our Emir is doing the job, let me go and join it”. The scheme was said to have improved the NA Police reputation and an increase of spirit of loyalty to Native Authority. Within short time the scheme was functioning in the Kano, Sokoto, Zaria and Katsina NA’s. For full details see Kemi Rotimi (2005) “Ennobling the Police: The 1928 Princely-Liaison Officer Scheme and its Aftermath” in ... pp. 161-177

⁵²⁰ See SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P/1921 ... p. 51

⁵²¹ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P/1921 ...53

⁵²² See SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P/1921 ... p. 54

(IX) Conclusion

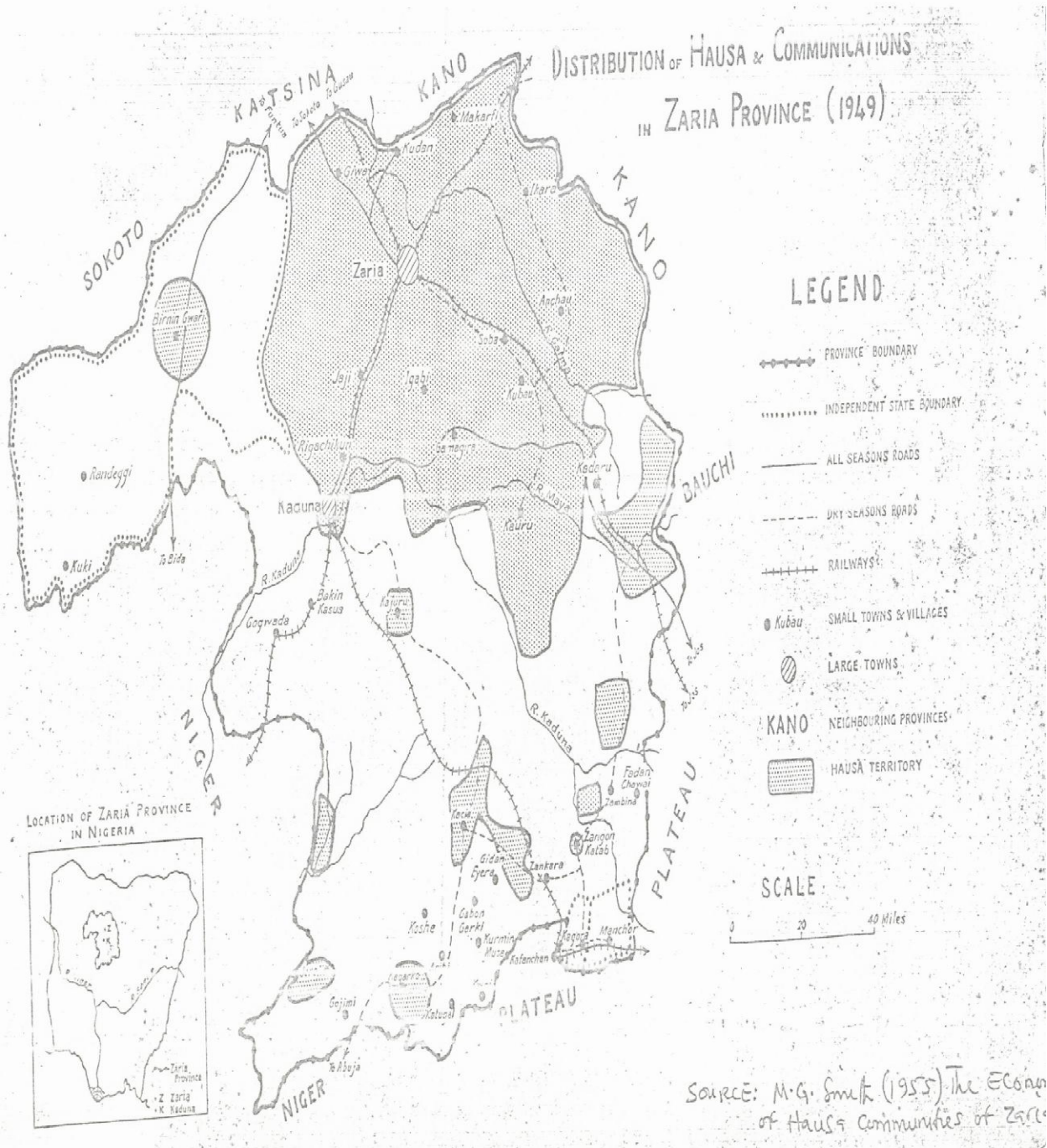
In concluding this chapter, we have examined the British forceful occupation of the Emirate of Zazzau. It was observed that the motive behind this invasion was for the British to establish its firm presence in the emirate in order to exploit the resources of the area. At the time of the invasion, both internal and external problems had contributed to the fall of Zazzau Emirate in 1902. Emir Kwassau remained defiant to the alien colonial government and this led to his deposition and deportation to Lokoja in 1902. In his place, Aliyu Dansidi was enthroned and thereafter the British consolidated its rule in Zazzau Emirate. When the Caliphate was finally conquered, the Protectorate Government of Northern Nigeria parceled the region into provinces. Thus, Zaria Province was established with Captain Abadie as the first Resident in charge. Unlike, for instance, the Kano Province, Zaria was a self-contained province – meaning a province with only one emirate. The Province was so vast that for administrative convenience it consists of the Northern and Southern Districts. The Hausa Muslim population dominated the northern part in contrast to the pagan multi-ethnic groups that occupied the southern section.

The system of administration put in place by the British was called the Indirect Rule system - that is ruling through the indigenous authorities found in existence. It was British-Emirate collaboration, termed as Native Authority system. In this regard, through the Emir as sole Native Authority, all colonial imperial dictates were passed down to the *talakawa*. District Head system was introduced where by emirate titled officials were sent out to district areas to purposely collect taxes and to maintain law and order. This saw the end of the era of the *Jakadu*. The new District Heads created by the British were shouldered with numerous functions such as collection of taxes, mobilization of labour, and dissemination of information on health, education, new crops and other colonial oriented propaganda. Through the District Heads the

British were able to collect their taxes, and also exploit cheap and abundant labour for infrastructural building (railway, roads and mine fields). The NA Treasury was established to cater for revenue mobilization and the financial management of the Native Authority departments and officials.

For administration of justice, NA Courts were established to adjudicate native related cases. The NA Courts provided the needful agency through which law breakers of especially colonial rule were silenced. In addition, NA Police and Prison were introduced to augment the work of the judicial courts. In general, our emphasis in the chapter was chiefly on the study area – the Northern District of Zazzau Emirate. We have demonstrated in the chapter how the British transformed the area in order to suit its grand plan of both political and socio-economic exploitation. This is within the scope of study from 1902 to 1920s.

MAPV



Source: M.G. Smith (1955) The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, London

CHAPTER FOUR

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM IN ZAZZAU EMIRATE 1920-1950

(I) Introduction

The British conquest and consolidation of colonial rule in Zazzau Emirate was followed by the establishment of Native Administration. The process involved the creation of Districts and Village administrative areas, and appointment of personnel to administer them, with a new guideline to be followed based on British interests. This chapter, however, first examines the nature of the relation that developed between the Emirate authority and their new resident District Heads under the supervision of the British. Closely related to this was an examination of the nature of the District and Village administration which evolved over the period of colonial system. Amongst other issues examined in the chapter were the problem of tax embezzlement and the resultant deposition of many District Heads, who were the tax gatherers. Last but not the least, the chapter also discussed other cogent administrative reorganisations which directly affected the number and the resident heads in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. The aim of this reorganisation, as pointed out, was to reduce and create manageable number of districts in the area.

(II) Un-easy Relationship between the Emirate Authority and the District Heads

Prior to the British encroachment, all powers of the Emirate Government lay in the office of the Emir. The Emir was both the spiritual and temporal head of his territory under the suzerainty of the Caliph of the Sokoto Caliphate. He appoints and dismisses office holders at his own discretion. Thus, the relationship that existed between the Emir and his subordinates was that of absolute loyalty. This loyalty was expressed in the fact that, before the colonial period all

subordinate officials lived in the emirate capital together with the Emir.⁵²³ However, with colonialism this relationship was altered particularly as the new policy directed all the major subordinate officials of the emirate to move out from the capital to their various fiefs as resident District Heads. This opened a new phase of relationship between the Emirs and the District Heads, who now assumed full control of their areas without relying on their slave messengers (*Jakadu*).

From the onset, studies show that there was no enthusiasm on the part of the Emirs on the scheme of moving out their title officials to district areas as resident administrators. Resident, Charles Orr, in 1907 stated that when he earlier came up with the new scheme in Zazzau, the Emir (Aliyu Dansidi) “looked upon it with distrust and dislike.”⁵²⁴ This was also the case in Kano, of which it was the “most resented moves of Resident Cargill” newer policies by the Emir Abbas.⁵²⁵ In Katsina, the apparent opposition of the Emir even led to the change of the ruling dynasty in 1906, by H. R. Palmer. The obvious reasons for the opposition was, one, the Emir’s were so accustomed to keeping their titled officials at the emirate capitals prior to British intervention. Two, the emir’s feared that, the resident District Heads living away from the capital would become popular and command followership and thus, undermine their authority. These suspicious reasons were further heightened particularly in Zazzau owing to its multi-dynastic political system (rivalry).⁵²⁶ In other words, in Zazzau, unlike in other emirates, not all the emirs and titled officials were from the same dynasty or lineage. And what characterized the relations between the various dynasties was an intense struggle and competition for the Emir’s throne and

⁵²³ Refer to chapter two for discussion on the Emirate system of Government and relationship between the Emir and his subordinate officials in the pre-colonial period.

⁵²⁴ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/563/1908 Annual Report Zaria Province 1907, p. 3

⁵²⁵ See M. O. Hambolu (2003) “Perspectives on the British Colonial Rule of Kano: 1903-1960” in M. O. Hambolu (ed) Perspectives on Kano-British Relations, Kano, Gidan Makama Publications, p. 8; see also A. M. Fika (1979) *The Kano Civil War and British Over rule 1882-1940*, Ibadan, Oxford, pp. 116-117

⁵²⁶ See chapter two on the ruling dynasties of Zazzau Emirate (*Mallawa, Katsinawa, Bornawa and Sullubawa*).

other important offices of the emirate. This dynastic struggle had its roots in the 19th century and it continued to manifest in the 20th century even in the presence of the British. In this case, the dynasty of a reigning Emir apart from dominating the capital of the emirate, it also had dominance in the number of titled District Heads appointed.

As a result, the Emirs, who now had British backing, deposed many District Heads from office, especially those who had hopes for the succession.⁵²⁷ This was what Emir Aliyu earnestly pursued when he came into power. He dismissed many title holders who were not from his lineage and replaced them with his sons and loyalist from the *Mallawa* dynasty.⁵²⁸ The commonest ground for deposing the District Heads were tax related offences. This is because the emirs knew well that they could easily secure British sanction if such allegation were labeled against an office holder. Thus, in the first three decades of British rule, three emirs reigned in Zazzau (Aliyu 1902-1920, Dalhatu 1920-1924, and Ibrahim 1924-1936) and each had deposed District Heads who were not from their dynasties.⁵²⁹ However, according to M. G. Smith, “many of the dismissed office-holders had not been accused of any administrative offence.”⁵³⁰ This was especially during the time of Emir Aliyu, who dismissed many *Bornawa* from office and replaced them with men from his *Mallawa* dynasty.⁵³¹ A clear picture of the scene was captured by the Resident, H. S. Goldsmith in 1914:

⁵²⁷ See M.G. Smith (1960) *Government in Zazzau 1850-1950*, London, Oxford, pp. 207-209, A.M. Fika (1978) ... pp. 162-165

⁵²⁸ M.G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 207-208

⁵²⁹ Emir Aliyu and Dalhatu were from the same *Mallawa* dynasty, while Ibrahim belonged to the *Bornawa*. For details see M.G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 104-209 and 228-229

⁵³⁰ M.G. Smith (1960) ... p. 20

⁵³¹ This was earlier discussed in chapter two where Aliyu's first commitment when he assumed office was to empowered his dynasty by deposing many title holders and replacing them with his own sons. For example, the titles of *Wombai*, *Dan Galadima*, *Wali*, and *Iya* were all given to the *Mallawa*. At the same time the offices of *Magajin Gari*, *Chikum*, *Makama Karami*, *Dallatu*, and *Sarkin Ruwa* were confiscated from the *Bornawawa* and again shared to the Emir's *Mallawa* and loyalist from other lesser Fulani clans in Zazzau. In fact, this was even part of the reason or offences the British accused him of and which contributed to his own deposition in 1920.

I have prepared a list of District Heads and shown their relationship with the present Emir's family and it is somewhat remarkable to find that there are only 5 Fulani District Chiefs who are not members of this family clique.⁵³²

The above picture occurred at a time when the number of the resident District Heads was close to thirty. However, because of the high extent in which Aliyu undertook the dismissal, the British intervened and compelled the Emir to reinstate some of the office holders.⁵³³ The case of *Galadima* Idirisu, District Head of Makarfi was a proven example of such dynastic rivalry. He was appointed by Aliyu in 1918 and when Dalhatu came into power in 1921, Idirisu was accused of being "favourite of the ex-Emir Aliyu's (sic) and followed in his footsteps."⁵³⁴ This was in spite of the fact that Idirisu was described by the Resident as "a strong and energetic Chief." But what cushioned Dalhatu's action on Idirisu, however, were other allegations that, 'he freely employed forced labour and enslaved a freeborn girl to his harem'.⁵³⁵ And these were offences the British could not condone. Similarly in Kano Emirate, during the periods of Emir Muhammadu Abbas and Shehu Usman, there were consistent references to deposition of District Heads, especially on accusation of tax embezzlement.⁵³⁶ Even though, Kano was (is) a mono-dynastic Emirate⁵³⁷, thus intense competition like that of Zazzau was barely absent, but there was an intra-dynastic squabble among the princes. This according to A. M. Fika, Emir Abbas's "axe

⁵³² SNP10/NAK/154P/1914 Zaria Province, Report for March Quarter 1914, p. 7

⁵³³ The most important reinstatements were two sons of the British-deposed Emir Kwassau (1897-1903), of the *Bornawa* dynasty.

⁵³⁴ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P/1921 Annual Province: Report for 15 months ended 31st March 1921, p. 21

⁵³⁵ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P/1921 ... p. 21

⁵³⁶ See A. M. Fika (1978) ... pp. 162-167

⁵³⁷ The *Sullubawa* Fulani was the clan that produced the ruling family of Kano Emirate after the Jihad. But there were other Fulani clans that made up the Jihadist contingents in Kano – *Yolawa*, *Jobawa* and *Dambazawa*. There was also the local fulani's who had history of settlement that preceded the Jihad period. During the period of district re-organization in Kano, these non-ruling clans were given certain few districts to administer, while the Emir's clan (*Sullubawa*) had the lion share of the districts. By 1916 for example, the *Sullubawa* had 14 out of the 24 districts in Kano Emirate. For details, see M. M. Gwadabe (2008) "Land, Labour and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: A case study of Kumbotso District, 1903-1953" PhD Thesis, History Department, ABU, Zaria, pp. 88-89

seems have fallen on the ruler's relatives who had hopes for the succession" in Kano Emirate.⁵³⁸

While Abba's successor, Emir Shehu Usman went further to even barred his *Hakimai* from getting access to the British administrative staff and thereby made all powers around him.⁵³⁹

Moreover, what made Zazzau's case peculiar was the multiplicity of its ruling dynasties which were four as noted earlier. Nevertheless, when Emir Ibrahim mounted the throne in 1924, a sort of intra-dynastic wrangling occurred within the same *Bornawa* dynasty. And this particular period of Ibrahim's reign further overheated the local politics and strain relationship between the major players. For a general overview on this, M. M. Tukur concludes that,

... Emirates in which relations between the Emirs and "their" District Heads were so cordial were definitely in a small minority among the Emirates of Northern Nigeria. (He added also) ... In the first and half decades of colonial domination over these Emirates relations between Emirs and District Heads was generally lukewarm, very often unfriendly and sometimes decidedly hostile.⁵⁴⁰

It is instructive to note that, this posture of an unstable relationship between the Emirs and the District Heads had made it difficult for a hereditary succession to occur at the district level. Unlike what obtained in other emirates where District Head office in certain particular areas was hereditary or exclusively for a particular clan, it was the opposite in Zazzau in most cases.⁵⁴¹ This was not to say such transfer of power was completely absent, there were instances of such occurrence but more often by lineage ties (that is one or two District Heads coming from the same dynasty and not from father to son). In Igabi for example, the District Heads were from two different dynasties (*Mallawa* and the *Bornawa*) and none of them had ever been succeeded by

⁵³⁸ A. M. Fika (1978) ... 163

⁵³⁹ See A. M. Fika (1978) ... p. 167

⁵⁴⁰ M. M. Tukur (1979) "The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States 1897 – 1914: An interpretation of colonial sources," PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, p. 213

⁵⁴¹ With the exception of few areas and particularly in the southern enclave of the Emirate such as Lere, Kauru and Kagarko which had historical vassalage to Zazzau and which were also transformed as districts by the British, their District Heads Offices continued to be hereditary. And now these areas are even autonomous emirates or chiefdoms in Kaduna state.

his own son.⁵⁴² And emphatically this buttressed part of the standings of this thesis that the District Head system was non-traditional or indigenous system. It was a 20th century phenomenon introduced by the British colonial government in order to cushion the effects of its socio-economic and political domination.

(III) District Administration

It was in 1907 that the British surmounted the major difficulty and succeeded in dividing Zazzau Emirate into 32 homologous districts, with resident District Heads.⁵⁴³ It was a radical departure from the pre-British emirate system and which entails the creation of a single authority responsible for administration and collection of taxes in the rural areas. This ended the era of the *Jakada* system, and as further argued by Gwadabe “This marked the end of the traditional arrangement and the beginning of provisional structure of territorial districts under a resident district heads.”⁵⁴⁴ The whole object of the scheme was for effective administration and supervision with emphasis on revenue generation (taxes). Therefore, this necessitated the grouping of the hitherto “scattered” villages into compact territorial district areas. On the success of the new scheme, the Resident, C.W. Orr, reported that,

The hakimai went out to their new districts in April (1907), and spent the rainy season in visiting their towns, making lists of the householders and artisans, collecting of taxes due, and generally obtaining an accurate knowledge of their new duties and responsibilities.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴² This observation was made at the time of writing of my MA thesis in 2005 (i.e. Haliru Sirajo (2007) “The British Administration ...). Also a re-interview with Alhaji Abdullahi Badaru, *Sarkin Yamman* Rigachikun, who was formerly *Magatakardan Danmasanin Zazzau*, aged 43 years, on 13th May, 2012.

⁵⁴³ As explained in chapter three, the British encountered difficulties as to how to divide the Emirate into district areas. The major problem was the complaint by the British that the towns owned by the various fief holders were dotted at random around the emirate. There was also a practical absenteeism among the fief holders as they all resided in Zaria, the emirate capital, and depended on their slave messengers for the control of their fiefs.

⁵⁴⁴ M. M. Gwadabe (2008) ... p. 92

⁵⁴⁵ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/563/1908 Annual Report Zaria Province 1907, p. 3

(IV) Change over in the Districts' Name - Nomenclature

Initially, these compact districts in Zazzau Emirate were named by numbers (1,2,3,4,5 and so on), then referred by the title of their District Heads, such as *Madauchi* District, *Galadima* District, *Makama Karami* District, *Madaki* District, *Dangaladima* District, *Fagachi* District, *Sarkin Yaki* District, *Wambai* District and so on. Later, these districts were referred by the name of the major town in the area which normally also served as the headquarters and residence of its District Head. In each district were number of villages closely knitted by territorial boundary under the charge of a single District Head. Between 1913 and 1920, two important developments took place – one, the District Heads were placed on salaries, and two, the number of the districts were reduced to 27.⁵⁴⁶ From then on, district areas in the emirate were named after one of the major towns in each district. For example, Soba District, Ikara District, Makarfi District, Giwa District, Igabi District and so on. Following these also, especially in the 1920s and 30s, the boundaries of each district was considerably delimited. The District Heads took full charge of the administration of their respective districts as by this time almost all the former pre-colonial features, such as *Kofofi* and *Jakadu* were almost completely phased out from having a stake in the rural administration of the emirate.

(V) Reforms of the 1930s: New roles for the District Heads

The new wave of reforms starting from the 1930s had culminated to what was referred to as the expansion of the technical departments of the Native Administration in Zazzau Emirate. These technical departments included Forestry, Sanitation and Health, Veterinary, Agriculture, and Public Works. Developments of these departments were spread across the outlying districts

⁵⁴⁶ The District Heads salaries vary from 100 to 400 pounds per annum. And out of the 27 districts in 1920, 19 were located in the northern part of the emirate (our area of study) and the remaining 8 were in the southern part.

of the emirate and which by 1950 were reduced to only 17, including the Zaria home District (*Zaria da Kewaye*). To this effect, M.G. Smith outlined that,

By 1950 each territorial district had, beside its District Chief and its Alkali, a *Galadiman Daji* (Forestry officer), a *Malamin Gona* (Agricultural officer), a *Sarkin Shanu* (Veterinary officer), and a number of teachers (*Mallaman Makaranta*), together with a warder (*Yari*), scribes, District Treasury officials, police, an *Alkali* and judicial assessors.⁵⁴⁷

Thus, we can surmise that, by the 1950s District administration in Zazzau Emirate had been fully developed. Apart from his main duty of tax collection, the District Head now ensures peace and an efficient routine of the administration of his territorial district. By this, the District Head is responsible for making occasional or annual returns of population, details of tax-collection, and specific problems from his district to the central administration. On receipt of instructions from the emir, the District Head also arranged for the visit of both local and British officials. He duly assigned his messengers, who served as escorts to the officials if the visit was to the village areas of a rural district. This is also after an effective arrangement and consultation between the District Head and the Village Head (s), whose areas were to be visited. In this case, communication control and whole fabric of rural administration was in the hands of the District Heads.⁵⁴⁸ With well defined territorial boundaries, and budgetary allocations, this no doubt, had prepared some of these districts to be transformed into the modern local government areas in Zazzau Emirate after Independence.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁷ M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 231

⁵⁴⁸ See M. G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 264-271. There were also a great deal of archival files discussing aspects of British official, Emirs and District Heads tours to towns and villages in the emirate.

⁵⁴⁹ The year 1950 was such an important landmark in the history of Zazzau Emirate. It ushered in an era renewed and progressive changes in both national, regional, provincial and particularly the NA system. It is therefore, not surprising that two important writers on Zazzau history had a confluence of reference to 1950. These are M. G. Smith, whose work was published in 1960, and covered the history of Zazzau from 1800-1950; and then A. D. Yahaya's work, published in 1980, and took from where Smith halted up to 1970. A review of these works has

(VI) Village Administration

On the issue of Village Administration, changes were introduced which affected their functions under British colonial administration. In the first place, villages were grouped to form a territorial district under a resident District Head in charge of their administration.⁵⁵⁰ Unlike in the past where the village population deals with messengers (*Jakadu*) of their superiors, now they interacted directly with the District Heads, who lives with them in the rural areas not the emirate capital. This caused a lot of friction between the District Heads and their new host; the Village Heads (*Sarakunan Gari*).⁵⁵¹ The District Head reserves the privilege of appointing and dismissal of a Village Head, though this had to be approved by the British. This entails tougher subordination of the Village Heads to the District Heads, an enormous power which they “used and misused.”⁵⁵² In some cases also, Village Heads were subordinated to another which were hitherto equal to in status or traditionally owed no allegiance.⁵⁵³ In view of this unwelcomed changes, many Village Heads felt “politically embarrassed and humiliated.”⁵⁵⁴ A typical example was Fatika, a town with an old vassal state status, but subordinated to the town of Giwa, which was the headquarters of the district under *Fagachin Zazzau*.⁵⁵⁵ So critical of the scenario,

already been provided in chapter one. While this work with particular interest on the transformation of districts to local government areas extended its scope to 1976, a year very vital in Nigeria’s local government system.

⁵⁵⁰ Village Heads (*Sarakunan Gari*) already existed in pre-colonial Zazzau Emirate and unlike the new District Heads who were pushed to their areas from the capital, village heads lived among their people.

⁵⁵¹ See C. N. Ubah (1973) “Administration of Kano Emirate under the British, 1900-1930” PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, pp. 201-203

⁵⁵² M. M. Gwadabe (2008) ... p. 90

⁵⁵³ See M. M. Tukur (1979) ... p. 343-344, C. N. Ubah (1973) ... p. 217

⁵⁵⁴ C. N. Ubah (1973) ... p. 212

⁵⁵⁵ Fatika had been a vassal state of Zazzau even prior to the Jihad period. Its rulers had insignia and *tambari* (royal drum); and also had easy access to the emir and the continued right of fiefs control within Zaria city before the Jihad. With British colonialism, Fatika was too small to be accorded autonomous district with its former vassalage status. And this led to its subordination to Giwa, an ordinary village in the emirate. The Sarkin Fatika was also degraded to the position of a mere village headman. However, the rulers of Fatika still reserves rights over their former dominions. This was also the case of the vassal state of Lere, which is outside the scope of our research. For details see M. G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 246-248. Moreover, it is obvious the people of Fatika were not happy with the demotion accorded to their town during the colonial period. This no doubt influenced the current movement for the restoration of Fatika vassal state status in Zazzau. In a document published in January, 2000, the people of Fatika

Gwadabe argued that, “Indeed this also meant the process for the establishment of the bases for disagreement, division and conflict among the aristocratic class and their servants.”⁵⁵⁶

In Lugard’s political memoranda, Village Heads were to assume full control of their respective villages and to assist the District Head particularly in the process of assessment and collection of taxes.⁵⁵⁷ This is unlike in the pre-colonial period whereby the village heads superintended rather than collected taxes themselves. And they too had agents whom they relied on for the collection of the taxes (similar to *jakadu*).⁵⁵⁸ The Acting Resident, C. Migeod, in 1916, expressed that, “The District Heads and Village Heads were instructed in a better system of compiling the assessment, and in the proper method of preparing and recording statistics ...”⁵⁵⁹ These records included village population register, by age, sex and occupation, livestock and emigration statistics. The Village Head also ensures the maintenance of law and order in his village, and to report to his District Head cases which he was unable to settle. They also acted on the instructions from the District Head to mobilize their subjects to participate in the process of colonial oriented projects – such as building of roads, railways and working on the mining fields.⁵⁶⁰ Thus, Village Heads were fully co-opted into the new scheme and with high expectation to deliver under the watchful eyes of the District Head, who in turn acted on behalf of the Emir. In addition, adjustment of village boundaries was also undertaken in 1916 and it stipulated that:

pleaded with the Kaduna State Government and Zazzau Emirate Council for Fatika to be restored back to its prestigious status and to be upgraded to the status of an emirate within Zazzau Emirate. See “Request for the Restoration of Fatika Vassal Status of Zazzau as Fatika Emirate: Traditional Rulership Institution of Emir of Fatika, January, 2000”.

⁵⁵⁶ M. M. Gwadabe (2008) ... p. 87

⁵⁵⁷ In Lugard’s new scheme of administration and program, recognition were only given to three grades of chiefs – the principal chief (emir), the district head and the village head. See L. Lugard (1970) ... p. 105

⁵⁵⁸ See C. N. Ubah (1973) ... p. 219

⁵⁵⁹ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/97P/1917 Zaria Province Annual Report No 69, 1916, p. 5, see also E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 35

⁵⁶⁰ See chapter three under functions of District and Village Heads in the mobilization of forced labour for colonial projects in Zazzau Emirate.

Where the villagers are so small that the Village Head cannot be a person of sufficient importance to carry any weight, they should be amalgamated with other village, having regard per contra to the danger of creating villages which are so large that the Village Head becomes so important a person that he is not subject to the Public opinion of the villages, and is able to deal with the individual through an agent. The Village Head should henceforth deal himself with the individual.⁵⁶¹

On the above administrative intend, a major village reorganisation was carried out district by district in the entire area (northern and southern districts) in 1916. The following table shows group of villages under each of the districts in our area of study.

TOWNS & VILLAGES IN ZARIA EMIRATE 1916 (with over 500 inhabitants)

DISTRICTS	VILLAGES	DISTRICTS	VILLAGES
KUBAU →	1. Anchau	IKARA →	1. Auchanawa
	2. Bugau		2. Dan Lawal
	3. Gadas		3. Hurana
	4. Haskiya		4. Ikara
	5. Kargi		5. Jan Falan
	6. Mah		6. Jibia
GIWA →	1. Biye		7. Kurmin Jau
	2. Bomo		8. Kurmin Kogi
	3. Gadagau		9. Makurdi
	4. Gangara		10. Malikanchi
	5. Giwa		11. Pala
	6. Iyatawa	IGABI →	1. Afaka
	7. Kadage		2. Igabi
	8. Kakangi		3. Kurmin Kaduna
	9. Karau Karau		4. Rigachikun
	10. Kaya		5. Sabon Gari Kaduna
	11. Kakoye	PAKI →	1. Auchan
	12. Patika		2. Daki
	13. Tsibiri		3. Kwari
	14. Yalwa		4. Saulawa
MAKARFI →	1. Basawa		5. Yauran
	2. Dan Bami	SABON BIRNI →	1. Ifira
	3. Dan Dako		2. Ruka
	4. Dan Damisa		3. Sabon Birni
	5. Dan Guzuri		4. Tami
	6. Doka	SOBA →	1. Awai

⁵⁶¹ NAK/ZARPROF/318/1916 Secretary Northern Province to the Resident, Zaria Province, p. 1

	7. Dorayi		2. Bagaldi
	8. Durum		3. Dan Wata
	9. Gangara		4. Garun Gwanki
	10. Garu		5. Gimba
	11. Gazara		6. Gurbabiya
	12. Gimi		7. Kinkiba
	13. Gubuchi		8. Kwasallo
	14. Gwaibi		9. Magada
	15. Hunkuyi		10. Mai-gana
	16. Kaura		11. Marmara
	17. Kwatakware		12. Marwa
	18. Kudan		13. Rahama
	19. Lafiya		14. Richifa
	20. Likora		15. Soba
	21. Mahuta		16. Tsinta
			17. Turawa
ZANGON AYA →	1. Aba	ZARIA →	1. Anguwan Chitumu
	2. Ashehu		2. Bogari
	3. Dutsen Mai		3. Dakache
	4. Gwada		4. Danbo
	5. Kerawa		5. Tukur-Tukur
	6. Kwaba		6. Tudun Wada
	7. Kwaro		7. Zaria City
	8. Matari		
	9. Parda		
	10. Turunku Tsohuwa		
	11. Wuchichchiri		
	12. Wusono		
	13. Zangon Aya		

Source: NAK/ZARPROF/318/1916 Secretary Northern Province to the Resident, Zaria Province, p. 1-3

However, up to the 1920s, efforts to completely phase out the old order and for both the District and Village Heads to fully adapt to the new scheme of work was still lamented by the British.⁵⁶² It seems particularly, on the aspect of collection of taxes from individual, Village Heads were tediously over-loaded. Hence the unsuccessful smooth flow of the new changes up

⁵⁶² M. M. Gwadabe was curious on the continued problems encountered by the British in eradicating features of the pre-colonial emirate administrative system in the rural areas. It was seriously contemplated and resisted in most of the emirates. That's was why successful implementation of the new scheme differed from one emirate to another. In Zaria (Zazzau) for example, it was not until 1912 and in Kano and Katsina until 1915. See notes 353, page 87 in Gwadabe's work.

into the second decade of British colonial rule in Zazzau Emirate. Reporting on this, the Resident, Mr. E. J. Arnett, states that,

A good deal has been written in previous reports of the weakness of the village administration and the habit of village headman of leaving too much of the tax collection in the hands of the unofficial assistants known as *Masugorori*. It appears to me speaking from short experience that the Village Heads have not received adequate remuneration for the work done and that in the larger towns it is not possible for a Village Head to deal with the town single handed. In the current years estimates only 5% of the taxes has been allocated for Village Heads or 10% of the Native Administration share. Five per cent is possibly enough for the smaller headmen but not enough for the more important towns. In 1921 Estimates (sic) the full ten per cent is being for and in return for this Village Headmen will be expected to carry out, under the supervision of their District Chiefs, the collection of *Jangali* as well as *Haraji*. Hitherto *Jangali* has been considered solely the concern of the District Chiefs, with consequent lessening of the Village Heads' authority and more opportunities for evading *Jangali*...⁵⁶³

A number of problems could be deduced from the above excerpt, ranging from maladministration, to irregular stipends⁵⁶⁴ and schedule of duties between the local rulers (District and Village Heads). Even though, they work in synchrony, but the Village Heads lived more closely with the *talakawa*, and thus, felt direct hassle of the new system of administration,

⁵⁶³ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/286P/1920 Zaria Province Report No. 76 for Half Year ending 30th June, 1921, p. 12. Moreover, this incidence of *Masugorori* was particularly reported in Soba District. *Masugorori* - literally means men carrying club or thick heavy stick used as weapon. They were sort of Village Heads servants who frightened and coerced the *talakawa* in order to collect taxes from them or forcing them to obey the Village Head's orders. But they were particularly notorious on the issue of tax collection whereby they also unofficially extort from the *talakawa*. However, in Gumel Emirate, as reported by Dalha Waziri, because of the refusal of the District Head of Danzomo District, Sarkin Fulani Abubakar to settle permanently in his area (Medu Village), he employed the assistance of unofficial men in the collection of taxes in his area. Waziri called them a modified form of the pre-colonial *Jakadu*, only that they were not allowed to collect money directly from the *talakawa*, this being done by the Village Heads. These unofficial men or the new *Jakadu* seems to have been noted by the District Officer of Hadejia Division of Kano Province; Mr. H. H. Middleton as 'self-supporting', and none was placed on official salary. They only receive 'occasional presents in terms of money or gowns' from the District Head. See Dalha Waziri (2009) "A History of Local Government System in Gumel Emirate, 1903-1983", PhD Thesis, Department of History, BUK, Kano, pp. 83-84

⁵⁶⁴ This was in spite of the fact that about seven years before (in 1913) all District and Village Heads in Zazzau Emirate were placed on salary in place of percentage share of taxes collected. For such problem to still resurface in 1921, this was to show how the British continued to grapple with system implementation in the emirates.

in some respect perhaps, than his superior District Head. This if not for anything they (Village Heads) “had to face the hostility of their communities in case of excessive assessment.”⁵⁶⁵

(VII) Method of Tax Assessment and Collection

Extensive discussion on general administration of taxes in the Emirates of Northern Nigeria has been dealt with by many scholars.⁵⁶⁶ At the inception of colonial rule, measures were taken by the British to ensure an effective mobilization of revenue (taxes in particular) for the sustenance of colonial structures. This is because, colonialism is not a ‘humanitarian venture’,⁵⁶⁷ and thus each colonial dependency was expected to raise the necessary funds for its sustenance. This as buttressed by Lugard that, “no system of rule can be effective unless it enjoys some measures of financial independence ...”⁵⁶⁸ The first measure taken by colonial government was the monetization of the economy, and the insistence that taxes be paid in British currency as opposed to the pre-colonial payment in kind and cowries. To this effect, as early as 1906, “the cowrie (sic) exchange was kept steadily at C. 1,600 to the shilling in Zaria Emirate by ordering as much as possible of the tax paid in silver and buying up silver with tax cowries during the rains.”⁵⁶⁹ In line with this and to further entrench Capitalism; exportable crops, particularly needed by the British Merchant houses and which can easily be converted into cash were

⁵⁶⁵ M. M. Gwadabe (2001) ... p. 210

⁵⁶⁶ Of particular note to mention are A.M. Fika (1978) ..., M. M. Tukur (1979) ..., C.N. Uba (1985) *Government and Administration of Kano Emirate 1900-1930*, Nsuka, University Press, and I.A. Abba (1985). Most recently, M. M. Gwadabe presented a detailed study in 2008, and taxation is one of the core features of the thesis. Thus, in terms of currency and perhaps detailed analysis, Gwadabe’s work proves inestimable on taxation system in the emirates.

⁵⁶⁷ Abdulkadir Adamu (2008) ... p. 45

⁵⁶⁸ F. D. Lugard (1965) *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, London, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, as quoted in Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) “The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A study in Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis C. 1902-1960”, PhD Thesis, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, p. 52

⁵⁶⁹ E. J. Arnett (1920) ... p. 29

accepted in place of cash.⁵⁷⁰ In fact, not for any other thing, the division of the emirate into districts with resident heads was mainly for the collection of taxes.

The next important step was the consolidation of the hitherto numerous forms of taxes into a simplified one. To this effect, the land revenue ordinance which already started in 1904 was revised in 1906. However, enquiries made by the British within this period shows that, concealment of tax money ‘by all grades of the native officials’,⁵⁷¹ still occurred; and also the ‘Village Headmen were unable to collect the tax by themselves.’⁵⁷² The reason was that, despite the 1904 ordinance, up to 1911, the old numerous forms of taxes in Zazzau Emirate still existed. To this effect, the Acting Resident, E.H.B. Laing, in 1911, submitted that,

I am entirely in favour of abolishing all these minor taxes. It was quite impossible for the Headmen to collect them without a horde of followers. It will be the first real step towards the complete abolishment of the JEKADA (sic), and the Village Head will be able to assume his proper place and authority. The alteration approved of will chiefly affect the Northern Districts.⁵⁷³

In the following year (1912), new forms of taxes were introduced in a sort of an amalgam, to replace the old system. These were *kurdin galma* at 7 shillings, *kurdin banzan gari* (idlers) – 3 shillings, *kurdin kara* – 4s 6d per sugar cane plot. *Jangali* - one shilling six pence (1s

⁵⁷⁰ See P. J. Shea (2003) “The Establishment of the Colonial Economy in Kano” in M. O. Hambolu (ed) *Perspectives on Kano –British Relations*, Kano, Gidan Makama Museum Publication, pp. 109-111, M. M. Gwadabe (2008) ... pp. 204-207, Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) ... p. 53. The real control of the monetary policy was vested to the West African Currency Board, which through its policies continued to depreciate cowries’ value against the colonial currency. For example, in 1905-1906, the value of the cowries was from 1,200 to 1,600 to the British shilling. The value was subject to constant fluctuation according to place and season and that was why at the same period the rate of the cowries was 2,500 in the dry season at Wushishi. And as further explained by P.J. Shea, “For a long while there were two hundred cowries exchanged for a penny and this is why in Hausa the commonest coin, the half-penny, was called *dari* (English: one hundred)”. For details see, P. J. Shea (2003) “Making Money in Northern Nigeria: The Colonial Currency Regime, 1899-1963” in A. M. Yakubu et’al (ed) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, pp. 271-303

⁵⁷¹ Not only concealment of tax proceeds occurred. It was discovered that members of the aristocratic families (*Sarakuna* and *Hakimai*), their kinsmen and servants (*fadawa*) were customarily exempted from taxation. This was unacceptable according to the British new taxation policy.

⁵⁷² See E. J. Arnett (1920) ... pp. 27-29

⁵⁷³ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/975/1912 Zaria Province Report (Annual) 1911, p. 22; also see SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/9861910 Report Annual 1909, Zaria Province, p. 13

6d) per head of cattle. Calves and other domestic animals which included sheep, goats and donkeys were taxed up to seven pence. To further consolidate the tax system, the British in 1918, supplanted all the former taxes with *haraji*.⁵⁷⁴ It was an income tax amounting to ten percent of the total income of an individual farmer, herdsmen and industrialist.⁵⁷⁴ Owing to this innovation, “the *Kurdin haraji* as collected for 1919 shows £35,000 an increase of £926:0:0 on that of last year.”⁵⁷⁵ This was the report of the Acting Resident, Mr. G. Malcolm, who attributed the *Haraji* increase ‘partly by more Resident assessment and also that the wealth of the Province (Zaria) is increasing’.⁵⁷⁶ This type of tax assessment method was referred to, by writers on colonial taxation system as ‘Lump sum’.⁵⁷⁷ However, it is instructive to note that, as argued by Gwadabe, “the administration of taxes was not as easy a process as it is thought of, especially at district and village levels.”⁵⁷⁸ It was such a complex phenomenon involving repeated trials, errors and corrections, and all in the wake or search for an efficient method. And owing to this complexity, the system kept changing and varies in certain cases from one district to another.⁵⁷⁹ Another problem encountered was the continuation of other forms of taxes especially on what the British referred to as ‘special crops’ such as sugar cane, tobacco and cassava.⁵⁸⁰ The peasants were also taxed on their ‘part-time’ industrial activities such as weaving, smiting, pottery, and dyeing. A good example of this was captured in the continuous increase of tax returns between 1914 and 1920 in Soba District, where

⁵⁷⁴ See Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) ... p. 54

⁵⁷⁵ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 Zaria Province Report No 74 for half year ending 30 June, 1919, p. 32

⁵⁷⁶ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 ... p. 32

⁵⁷⁷ Undoubtedly, the most recent and detailed studies on colonial taxation in the emirates of Northern Nigeria was the work of M.M. Gwadabe (2008). Even though, it was on Kano but his overview encompass the experiences in the other emirates especially the northern Zazzau, which is our area of study.

⁵⁷⁸ M. M. Gwadabe (2008) ... p. 204

⁵⁷⁹ See M. M. Gwadabe (2008) ... p. 203-204

⁵⁸⁰ The tax for sugar cane was put 5 shillings per plot, 2 shillings and 6 pence on tobacco plot, and 3 shillings on cassava plot. See NAK SNP, 7 4252/1909, Zaria Emirate: Taxation on Industrial Organisation of Hausa Towns, by S. Withers Gill, as cited in S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p.

majority of the population combined farming with an irregular industrial work.⁵⁸¹ See below the tax increase figures on Soba District, 1914-1920.

Year	Amount of Tax collected
1914	2, 379 - 0 – 3 ^d
1915	2, 310 - 3 – 3 ^d
1916	2, 607 - 12 - 6 ^d
1917	2, 730 – 15 - 6 ^d
1918	2, 916 – 13 – 0 ^d
1919	2, 899 – 5 – 0 ^d
1920	3, 731 – 17 – 0 ^d ⁵⁸²

As a result of this, it was argued by S.M. Aminu and M. M. Adamu that, colonial taxes were more burdensome and exploitative when compared with the pre-colonial taxes. Their position is that, in the pre-colonial times, household was the unit of assessment as against the individual adult male in a household during the colonial period.⁵⁸³ In the same vein, M.S. Abdulkadir further opined that, “Colonial taxes were oppressive and confiscatory right from the start.”⁵⁸⁴ These mentioned problems associated with the Lump sum assessment, coupled with other natural factors had made the system inoperative. Thus, other methods such as the *Taki*⁵⁸⁵ and other feasible avenues of assessment were employed in order to perfect the administration of taxes in the emirates.

⁵⁸¹ The population of Soba as at 1919 was put at 6, 858 and out of this only 489 were full time professional industrialist. The rest of over 6000 combined farming with other industrial activities. See S.M. Aminu (1991) “Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902 – 1945” M.A. Thesis, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, p. 151

⁵⁸² See S. M. Aminu (1991) “Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902 – 1945” M.A. Thesis, Department of History, ABU, Zaria, p. 151, also cited in Abdulkadir Adamu (1992) “British Colonial Agricultural Policies In Northern Nigeria: A case study of Soba District 1902-1945” MA Thesis, ABU, p.

⁵⁸³ S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 152, M. M. Musa (2008) “The Nature and Impact of British Colonial Taxes in Maska District- Katsina Emirate C. 1903-1960”, in ZAHIR, The Journal Zaria Historical Research, Vol. 3 No.1, p. 125

⁵⁸⁴ M. S. Abdulkadir (2000) “Resistance to Colonial Taxation in Northern Nigeria in the 1930s” in *FAIS Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 1 No. 2 (November 2000), p. 33

⁵⁸⁵ *Taki* assessment method involves the measurement of farm lands acres using feet by the tax officers or *Mallams*. It also include keeping the tax *Mallams* vigilant in recording number of tax payers and putting an eye on new farms acquired and those abandoned by the people. For an explicit explanation on this M. M. Gwadabe (2008) ... pp. 218-220

Having discussed the processes and measures adopted by the colonial government for an efficient and consolidated form of taxes, it is pertinent to look at the method of assessment and collection of the taxes. Tax assessment was defined by Gwadabe, “as the method through which the taxability of individuals was ascertained.”⁵⁸⁶ This ascertainment of individuals’ taxes was, as stated severally, the work of the District and Village Heads, and which involved visits to each village and town.⁵⁸⁷ As mentioned earlier, the mechanism employed by the British was described as ‘Lump sum’, – a method in which a certain tax ratio is considered to the district heads to share according to the population. In the assessment process, considerations were made relating to quality of soil, market accessibility and the amount of industry and livestock. The Provincial Resident was to determine at the end, after studying the presumptive assessment, on the final amount to be paid by each assessed member of a town or village.⁵⁸⁸ This was the basic assessment method followed; only that adjustment were made in certain places and time, and in accordance with principles fashioned out by the British colonial government.

The British fixed the period, normally March/April for the commencement of the assessment. This was a time when the people returned from *cin-rani* – dry season labour migration, and began work on their farms.⁵⁸⁹ While in terms of collection the period remained generally the same not only in Zazzau Emirate but throughout Northern Nigeria during the colonial period. The collection of *haraji* (general tax) normally started after harvest (October – November) probably because it was (generally) regarded as a tax on farmers. It was also to ensure that peasants going on seasonal migration – *cin-rani*, had paid their taxes before going.

⁵⁸⁶ M. M. Gwadabe (2008) ... p. 211

⁵⁸⁷ We have discussed at length in chapter three the creation and functions of district and village heads in the aspect of collection of taxes.

⁵⁸⁸ See M.M. Gwadabe (2008) ... p. 209-210

⁵⁸⁹ I. A. Abba (1985) “Changing Patterns of Local Authority and the Evolution of the District Head System in Gombe Emirate C. 1804 – 1960” PhD Thesis, BUK, p. 346

And those who left before payment, their relatives were made to pay on their behalf. The point is that once a peasant was assessed, the tax due to him must be paid.⁵⁹⁰ The burden of the taxes was further compounded by the N.A. Officials especially District and Village Heads and their unofficial agents. These officials by the simple expedient of using their authority used to compel sale at a profitable price and to get the transport of the produce to expatriate firms for nothing.⁵⁹¹ For instance, while the colonial policy of tax collection was after harvest, these N.A. Officials went out of their way to collect taxes at the peak of the farming season. According to I. A. Abba:

Some commercially minded District Heads even bought standing crops from the peasants at very low prices, later selling them at higher prices with considerable profit to themselves. However, it was not only the local authorities who were involved in these malpractices. The local money lenders – known as *Masu bashi da ruwa* (Hausa) were also involved.⁵⁹²

Reporting on this incidence in 1932, one District Officer stated that, “tax collection (October – December) practically coincides with the harvest which means that the farmer has to sell his grain when the price is at its lowest in order to pay his tax.”⁵⁹³ On the other hand, the collection of *Jangali* (cattle tax) and taxes on other domestic animals was carried out between July and October when according to the British “the flocks and herds have returned from the *fadama* – low lying or heavy soiled lands – frequented in the dry season.”⁵⁹⁴ This period coincides with the wet season and herds were in the districts in which their owners resided. The season was also a period when the price of cattle is low and thus an additional exploitation by the British on the cattle owners. It was the responsibility of the District Head to report the presence of every herd

⁵⁹⁰ See S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 162

⁵⁹¹ M. Watts (ed) (1987) *State, Oil and Agriculture in Nigeria*, University of California, Berkeley, p. 146, quoted in I. M. Abbass (2008) ... p. 139

⁵⁹² I. A. Abba (1985) ... p. 354. Moreover, this according to Gwadabe led to the introduction of Money Lenders (*Masu bashi da ruwa*) into the social life of the people of village areas. These Money Lenders served as intermediaries between the peasant farmers who were in need of British currency to pay their taxes and the British merchant firms, who purchased the exportable crops.

⁵⁹³ cited in S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 163

⁵⁹⁴ I. A. Abba (1985) ... p. 349

irrespective of its normal habitat, and also supply details of its ownership and size. In the 1930s, faced by low prices and exorbitant *Jangali* (cattle taxes), there was large scale migration and evasion by *Fulbe* cattle owners. According to an informant, Alhaji Filani Kadi, who recollected that:

The oppressive nature of *Jangali* was further tightened by another measure taken known as *mazada* (a revisit of cattle counting). It was meant to count and collect the taxes of new born calves that escaped the first visit. In this circumstance, *fulbe* cattle owners used to adopt a measure called *baraya*, by keeping and rearing their cattle in a distance and secluded areas in the forest. This was in order to avoid tax collectors who were always in company of *Yan Doka*.⁵⁹⁵

Because of the hardship of the depression and the higher *Jangali*, this caused migration of *Fulbe* cattle owners, even to neighbouring countries. This type of migration, according to A.I. Asiwaju, was a revolt or protest and which constituted an important dimension of a series of unarmed but effective expressions of resentment by Africans against the European Colonial presence.⁵⁹⁶ More so, there were even references to family break ups whereby people undertook either a temporary or permanent migration in order to evade tax burden.⁵⁹⁷ It also led to decrease in government revenue. For example, “in 1931–32, Northern Nigeria Government’s share in the total *Jangali* revenue decreased by £12, 080, with a reduction of 330, 192 in the number of cattle counted in the Northern Province.”⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁵ Interview with Alhaji Filani Kadi, a Fulani community head in Rigachikun, age about 72. This interview was conducted in 2006, during the writing of my masters’ thesis. See Haliru Sirajo (2007) “The British Administration and the creation of the District Head system in Zazzau Emirate: A case study of Igabi District, 1907-1976”, M.A. Thesis, BUK, p. 139

⁵⁹⁶ See A. I. Asiwaju (1979) “Migration as Revolt: The example of the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta before 1945” in *Journal of African Studies* Vol. XVII No. 2, (1,2,3, and 4), Cambridge University Press, p. 57

⁵⁹⁷ See S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 177, M. M. Gwadabe (2008) ... p.

⁵⁹⁸ M. S. Abdulkadir (2004) *Structuring, Struggling and Surviving Economic Depression in Northern Nigeria: The 1930s as Preview of the Present*. Inaugural Lecture series No. 9, BUK, p. 3

(VIII) Tax Embezzlement, Depression Crisis and Deposition of District and Village Heads

The spate of embezzlement of tax money and references to the deposition of many district heads in the emirates of Northern Nigeria is such a peculiar topic that attracted the attention of many writers. Other reasons were given especially in Zazzau where dynastic rivalry had caused many district heads to be deposed,⁵⁹⁹ but the incidences at which the deposition occurred in tax related offences cannot be overemphasized. The imposition of colonial taxation had a twin multifaceted importance to the British imperial authority. One, was to mobilize the much needed revenue for the sustenance of the colonial authority, and two, it was viewed that the imposition and collection of taxes from the colonized communities was a sign of complete allegiance to the alien British rule. And as repeatedly noted, the creation of the districts in the emirates was basically for the collection of taxes. Thus, the District Heads position as administrators of their respective areas was considered very crucial by the British. Just as Charles Orr, argued, “It was through their (District and Village Heads) involvement that the colonial government was able to complete the ‘colossal’ tasks of assessing the taxpaying capacity of people of the Emirate.”⁶⁰⁰ In this view, any attempt to sabotage or undermine the continued flow of the tax money was treated by the British with impulse. As tax gatherers, the District Heads were the most liable offenders or embezzlers of taxes and they often faced instant punishment of either jail terms or deposition and sometimes both. As rightly put by M. M. Tukur,

...very common ground for deposing District Heads was refusal to assist in the assessment and collection of the *Kurdin Kasa* and the *Jangali*. (And he added) “still more frequent as a ground for deposing them was the embezzlement of the proceeds of these taxes.”⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁹ This was discussed in the chapter under the relationship between the emirs and the district heads. We have seen the intense struggle and competition between the four ruling dynasties of Zazzau Emirate.

⁶⁰⁰ Quoted in S.M. Aminu (1991) ... pp. 155-156

⁶⁰¹ M. M. Tukur (1979) ... p. 375

In his studies of Kano Emirate, A. M. Fika was curious to have stated that, “the frequency with which depositions of titled District Heads occurred and the standard reasons given for these call for comment.”⁶⁰² In Zazzau Emirate, deposition of District Heads also forms a common headline in British annual reports on the emirate. This started with a warning by the Resident, C. W. Orr, as early as 1907 that, he hope to eliminate such district headman who show himself ‘either corrupt or inefficient’.⁶⁰³ These words (corrupt or inefficient) were basically applied to tax related offences which the District Heads were much tempted to.⁶⁰⁴ For example, it was stated in the annual report of 1909 that “three District Headmen were removed by the Emir for incompetency or malpractice.”⁶⁰⁵ In 1915/16, *Wambai*, District Head of Jaji and Emir Aliyu’s son, *Madaki* Sa’idu were dismissed from office for tax embezzlement.⁶⁰⁶ The number of the deposed District Heads increased by 1917 when it was reported that:

Five cases of embezzlement of taxes by District Heads were brought to light during the year. The five District Heads were: *Katuka*, *Dan Galadima*, *Kauru*, *Kajuru* and *Jisambo*. They were tried before the judicial council, Zaria and each sentenced to be deposed from office and to imprisonment. The total amount embezzled by them was £656.5.0, of this the sum of £337.0.0 was realised by the sale of their property and was credited to Revenue.⁶⁰⁷

Moreover, in 1921, accusations were labelled against two District Heads, *Magajin Jisambo*, who embezzled tax arrears amounting to £385.3.8 from his district, and the *Wambai*,

⁶⁰² A. M. Fika (1978) ... p. 164. See also discussion on the deposition of District Heads by other writers such as I. A. Abba (1985) ... 392 – 399, C. N. Ubah (1985) ... pp.113 – 114

⁶⁰³ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/563/1908 Annual Report Zaria Province, p. 13

⁶⁰⁴ See S. M. Aminu (1991) ... pp. 164-195, for detailed discussion on the various tax corrupt practices by the District and Village Heads in Zazzau Emirate or Zaria NA.

⁶⁰⁵ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/986/1910, Report Annual 1909, Zaria Province, p. 5

⁶⁰⁶ M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 209. See also SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/97P/1917, Zaria Province Annual Report No 69, 1916, p. 6; and Confidential Reports on Chiefs, Zaria Province, 1915, unclassified, AHAK. Cited in M. M. Tukur (1979) ... p. 376

⁶⁰⁷ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/162P/1918, Annual Report Zaria Province, 1917, p.4

who after he had collected the whole of his district tax but yet to paid it in.⁶⁰⁸ As noticed in this deposition saga, even sons and kinsmen of the Emir were not spared when found culpable of tax embezzlement. The Emir was often powerless once a British Officer had found a *Hakimi* guilty of tax malpractice. On the sanction of the British, the Emir would ultimately declare the District Head in question deposed.⁶⁰⁹ This is because tenure of office of a District Head during the British was tied to his ability to discharge his duties efficiently. The most important of these duties was the tax gathering capacity. However, exerting higher taxes (over taxation) and repression on the *talakawa* during tax collection were considered as corrupt practices. Normally, the culprits, especially the District Heads were punishable by deposition. Not only the District Heads, Village Heads were also found involved in tax related offences. For instance, the case of the *Sarkin Gimi*, in Makarfi District, who was deposed for over taxing and locking up of one of his peasants, in person of Audu.⁶¹⁰ This was just a preamble to a bigger tax embezzlement scourge in the period of the 1930s due to economic hard times.

When the Great Economic Depression⁶¹¹ clamped down on the world economy in the 1930s, tax embezzlement and deposition of District and Village Heads became more widespread. As argued by M. E. Ochonu,

⁶⁰⁸ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/105P/1921, Zaria Province, Report for 15months ended 31st March 1921, pp. 43-44

⁶⁰⁹ C. N. Ubab (1985) ... p. 113

⁶¹⁰ See S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 167

⁶¹¹ The Great Economic Depression (1929-1939) was said to have been caused by a collapse in the Stock Exchange on Wall Street in New York City, USA. It devastating effects spread across Europe, to Great Britain and entrenched into all colonial dependencies – including Northern Nigeria or Nigeria in general. For detailed discussion on the Great Depression of the 1930s, see M.E. Ochonu (2009) *Colonial Meltdown: Northern Nigeria in the Great Depression*, Athens, Ohio, University Press; M. S. Abdulkadir (1990) “An Economic History of Igalaland 1896 – 1939” PhD Thesis, BUK, pp. 414 – 448; M. S. Abdulkadir (2000) “Resistance to Colonial Taxation in Northern Nigeria in the 1930s” in *FAIS Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (November 2000) pp. 32 – 42, and M. S. Abdulkadir (2004) *Structuring, Struggling and Surviving Economic Depression in Northern Nigeria; The 1930s as Preview of the Present*, Inaugural Lecture series No 9, BUK, pp. 1 – 19. And for discussions on British Imperial Policies and Monopoly during the depression, see P. J. Shea (2003) “The Establishment of the Colonial Economy in Kano” in M.O. Hambolu (ed) *Perspectives on Kano – British Relations*, Kano, Gidan Makama Museum Publication, PP. 114 – 116; and P. J. Shea (2005) “Making Money in Northern Nigeria: The Colonial Currency Regime, 1899 –

Embezzlement became both a Depression-era reality and a trope for explaining the increasingly impossible task of squeezing taxes and fees from depressed household economies. Chiefs seeking to maintain their lifestyles amid dwindling incomes had to make a choice between extortion of subjects and the embezzlement of tax money, and some daring and crafty ones devised innovative ways of doing the latter.⁶¹²

The depression period witnessed general falling standard in all the major economic indicators – declined agricultural prices, devaluation of currency, reduction of salaries of NA Officials, unemployment and worst of it, increased taxation. Other hardship and crises of the 1930s depression included natural disasters (such as locust invasion), emigration, famine, currency counterfeit, increased crime, and so on.⁶¹³ However, the intension is not to analyse those economic indicators, rather, it was an attempt to examine how the peasants, faced by an increased demand on them for taxes during the 1930s, were able to struggle, cope and survive. In that period, tax collection became more difficult and conflict between the native authorities and the peasants became very common because of tax defaulting and concealment of taxable properties particularly cattle by the Fulani. Also tougher and more coercive measures were taken by the British and the NA Officials in the collection of taxes. Too much burden was on the peasants who despite the depression hardship especially low prices of produce, “whether or not an individual did get cash or was able to perform an economic functions expected did not matter, the tax still had to be paid.”⁶¹⁴ Of great concern to note is that, the tax rates during the depression were higher than the period before the economic downturn.⁶¹⁵ For example, in the 1933-34 tax

1963” in A. M. Yakubu et’al (ed) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903 – 2003*. Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, pp. 287 – 290.

⁶¹² M. E. Ochon (2009) ... p. 68

⁶¹³ See M. E. Ochon (2009) and M. S. Abdulkadir (2000); and (2004)

⁶¹⁴ M. S. Abdulkadir (2000) ... p. 34

⁶¹⁵ For example the tax rates imposed in the depression was bases on the revised 1924 and 1928 rates, years described as un-usual in terms of high prices for export crops (cotton and groundnuts). However, with the drastic fall in prices and farmers income in the 1930s depression the colonial government still maintained the previous tax rates and even sometimes five times or more greater than the previous period. This was compounded as a result of lack of re-assessment especially at onset of the depression in 1929. See I.A Abba (1985) ... p. 346

season, statistics shows that peasants in Northern Nigeria paid more than 30 percent of their net income as tax. And the tax rates was remarked to be “too high” in 1933-34 when compared with the assessment of 1928-29, the year before the Depression. This was against and equally higher than the 10 percent net income standardized by the British. It was awkward also to note that, at the same Depression period the farmers in Northern Provinces paid more than their Southern Provinces counterpart.⁶¹⁶ In Soba District for instance, records shows in 1934 that farmers in the area “were paying 41 percent of their total income while some were paying as high as 70 percent of their total cash income.”⁶¹⁷ Making a critical observation of the scene in 1934, a senior Colonial Officer, S. M. Jacobs reported that:

...taxation is a dangerous drug for the polity. Taxation of non-existing profits is rank poison... the direct taxes imposed for the Northern Provinces for 1933-34 were £1.3337 million or nearly 35% too much.⁶¹⁸

On the other hand, heavily struck by the depression and the need for speedy recovery, the British pressed a more “aggressive revenue generation”⁶¹⁹ and high demands on chiefs to discharge their tax gathering responsibility vigorously. As a result, this exerted immense pressure on especially the District Heads in order to meet Colonial demands, and at the same time created an increased tense relationship between the chiefs and their *talakawa*. It also made the District Heads to become unpopular and disliked by their people.⁶²⁰ This created an atmosphere of chaos and putting the condition of the District Heads into a dilemma. Faced also by the pay-cuts of 1930, it became more precarious to the District Heads who unwaveringly wanted to continue with their aristocratic lifestyle and privileges – big family size (children, wives and concubines),

⁶¹⁶ See M.E Ochonou (2009) ... p. 49-50

⁶¹⁷ R.W. Shenton (1986) *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria*, Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, p. 102; as cited in M.S. Abdulkadir (2000) ... p. 36

⁶¹⁸ Cited in M.S. Abdulkadir (2004) ... p. 5, and in M.E. Ochonou (2009) ... p. 50

⁶¹⁹ M.E. Ochonou (2009) ... p. 65

⁶²⁰ See M.M. Tukur (1979) ... p. 369

servants, horses, drummers and praise singers. The District Heads also became vulnerable, as observed by S. M. Aminu, “as a result of measures taken ... which denied the aristocracy certain privileges they enjoyed hitherto. These included abolition of forced labour, the sophisticated accounting system through the treasury which also affected their luxurious life-style”.⁶²¹ Consequent to this hydra-headed wilderness, incidences of embezzlement of tax money amongst District Heads became widespread, and so also high recorded cases of deposition of the accused heads. To worsen the situation, even delay and failure to collect estimated taxes during the depression was termed corruption by the British and punishable by deposition. In 1931, *Sa’i Ummaru*, the District Head of Kubau was deposed for embezzling money meant for the payment of road labour.⁶²² The District Head of Makarfi was also deposed in 1938 for embezzling tax money amounting to the sum of £134.6.3d.⁶²³ There were also reports of forceful peasant migration as result headmen extortion. One instance in 1939 indicated that, several peasants left Gimi village (Makarfi District) not only because of over-exaction but “to more scandalous aspects of tempering with daughters of innocent peasants by the village Head.”⁶²⁴

The Village Heads also in view of their renewed position which fully co-opted them into the task of tax administration were not left out in many recorded cases of tax embezzlement. And similar to their superior District Heads, many Village Heads also fell afoul of embezzlement and suffered deposition. According to Ochonu, who cited in his masterpiece - *The Colonial Meltdown*, “In Zaria Province alone, authorities sacked forty-four village heads for their inability to meet tax obligations in 1931.”⁶²⁵ This also coincided with the confirmation made that the

⁶²¹ S.M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 171

⁶²² NAK ZARPROF 341/48, Misappropriation of Native Administration funds in Kubau District by District Head and others, cited in Halidu Yalwa (1995) “History of Kubau Town to 1983”, B.A. Dissertation, BUK, Kano, p. 44

⁶²³ NAK ZARPROF, C.4051, ‘Tax Defalcation in connection with ...’, as cited in S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 174

⁶²⁴ S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 178

⁶²⁵ M. E. Ochonu (2009) ... p. 68

Village Head of Kaduna unit of Igabi District did not account for £89.10.5d of 1931-32 general tax.⁶²⁶ To the British, any short fall to the estimated tax was largely regarded as embezzlement.⁶²⁷ This did not surprise when it was reported that, in 1931-32,

While the tax arrears of the whole Northern Provinces stood at £88.405, Zaria Province alone had £12.936 ... out of the said amount, £9.361 was lost through embezzlement, (and) thus Zaria Province recorded the highest incidence of embezzlement remission.⁶²⁸

Further into the depression period, in 1939⁶²⁹, six Village Heads and one *Sarkin Tarawa*⁶³⁰ (Chief Collector) in Makarfi District were also accused of concealing tax money amounting to £79.14.6d.⁶³¹ The reason for the large number of the deposed Village Heads was for the fact that their number far exceeded that of the District Heads in the emirate (averagely 15–25 village heads under one District Head). They also enjoyed far less security of tenure than the District Heads. This is because even disobeying a District Head orders could lead to deposition of a Village Head.⁶³² However, it is important to note that not all the District and Village Heads deposed were actually involved in tax embezzlement. A number of them particularly the District Heads in Zazzau Emirate were deposed on the grounds of dynastic rivalry. This was especially the princess amongst the District Heads who had hopes for succession.⁶³³ Therefore, there were set-ups and other tricky palace politics in the manner with which the offences and the removals occurred. The British mounted pressure on the chiefs particularly during the depression era did

⁶²⁶ NAK ZARPROF, C.4051, ... Cited in S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 173

⁶²⁷ M. E. Ochonu (2009) ... p. 67

⁶²⁸ ZARPROF, 217, "Tax Collection: Organisation of". Cited in S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 175

⁶²⁹ The year 1939 was said to be the end of the Great Depression period which concurrently also marked the beginning of another global tragedy - the Second World War (1939-1945). The turmoil of the depression which wrecked the world capitalist economy was in one part said to be one of the causes of the Second World War. Intense and rivalry and competition for economic recovery amongst the European nations encourage militarization and aggression.

⁶³⁰ This must have been an aid or trusted servant of the Village Head who on instructions collect taxes from individuals and keep before submitting it to his master.

⁶³¹ ZARPROF, Tax/9 "Loss of Tax Money by District and Village Heads" as cited in S. M. Aminu (1991) ... p. 173

⁶³² C. N. Ubah (1973) ... p. 220

⁶³³ This was treated earlier in the chapter.

not help matters. Many District and Village Heads became tempted to enrich themselves in view of the renewed power vested in them to vigorously pursue assertive revenue generation. The prestige and personal economies of the District and Village Heads; and other colonial agents were also at stake. Thus, the depression encourages extortion and cruelty amongst the local rulers all in the wake of an emergency economic recovery.⁶³⁴

It is instructive to note that, the Emirs and other top NA Officials were also found wanting in this monstrous act of ‘embezzlement’⁶³⁵ in one way or the other. Coupled with embezzlement and extortion, the policy of the British of exempting the NA Officials (Emirs and Head Chiefs with the exception of District Heads) from any form of tax payment to the detriment of the *talakawa*, only aggravated the situation. This was deliberate, as argued by the British, in order to make their offices popular. This discriminatory exemption as bitterly contested by S.M. Aminu, was not only counterproductive but unpopular even in the psyche of some colonial officials. It was also discovered that, NA employees who earned higher income paid less tax than the low income earners.⁶³⁶ In spite of all these privileges enjoyed, especially by the Emirs, in the 1950s many suffered abdication or deposition for alleged “in some cases proven, judicial and financial misdemeanour.”⁶³⁷ The reason for this, as succinctly explained by A. M. Yakubu is that,

The official explanation for moving against the emirs was the reform of the NA system embarked upon after the World War II in which there was no place for the old guard. The Lugardian philosophy of upholding

⁶³⁴ See M. E. Ochonu (2009) ... pp. 67-69

⁶³⁵ Embezzlement simply means financial mismanagement or corruption and which have many facets. In the period under discussion, the British colonial authority considers some of the following as embezzlement. These were concealment, over-taxation, under-assessment, non-issuance of receipt, discriminatory assessment and so on. Also failure to administer assessment and collection of taxes promptly was considered to be a financial failure on the side of local rulers. And all these in addition to other offences could easily lead to deposition and sometimes with various jail terms (or both).

⁶³⁶ See S. M. Aminu (1991) ... pp. 192-194

⁶³⁷ A. M. Yakubu (2006) *Emirs and Politicians: Reform, Reaction and Recrimination in Northern Nigeria 1950-1966*, Kaduna, Baraka Press & Publishers Ltd, p. 141

the personal prestige and authority of the emirs was inverted in favour of 'administration' involving consultation and consensus. Emirs who remained dogged indirect rulers faced stern disciplinary measures.⁶³⁸

(IX) Administrative Re-organization of the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate

As noted earlier, the number of the districts created was numerous (32) in Zazzau Emirate. Immediately afterward, it became impracticable and the British became desperate for ways to reduce the number of the districts for effective administration. That was why even death occurrence of a substantive District Head always affords the British with suitable opportunity of reducing the number of the district areas.⁶³⁹ For instance, in 1908, four districts out of the thirty two were abolished, "partly owing to death and partly owing to one or two Chiefs being dismissed for malpractice."⁶⁴⁰ The number of the districts was therefore reduced to twenty nine.⁶⁴¹ This was just the beginning as many other reductions of the districts numbers continued in the emirate. The fundamental reasons for the reduction were lack of enough manpower and funds with which to govern vast territories effectively. In the same vein, the foremost concern of the British was the taxable capacity of the numerous districts and which continued to pose serious challenges to colonial officers (Residents, DO's and ADO's). On this, the Acting Resident, G. Malcolm, in 1919 expressed that:

I am of opinion that a full Resident assessment is very necessary in many districts in this province in which at present we are working somewhat in 'dark' as to the taxable capacity of. I think also that there are more

⁶³⁸ A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 142

⁶³⁹ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/3997/1907 "Report for Zaria Province for September Quarter 1907", as cited in Haliru Sirajo (2007) ... p. 117. Also see Haliru Sirajo (2011) "The Evolution of the District Head System in Zazzau Emirate with particular reference to Igabi District: 1907-1937" in *FAIS Journal of the Humanities Vol. 5 No 2*, BUK, p. 14

⁶⁴⁰ SNP7/NAK/ZARPROF/819/1909 Report (Annual) Zaria Province, 1908, p. 2

⁶⁴¹ Out of the twenty nine districts in 1908, twenty eight were 'Out-Districts' – that is the adjoining districts; and the remaining one was the Zaria Home District (*Zaria da Kewaye*). But it should be noted that, the twenty nine districts comprised the whole of the emirate (Northern and Southern Districts). We have already discussed in chapter one what constituted both of the two divisions. And the Northern Division is our area of study.

districts in the province than are necessary or compatible with good administration.⁶⁴²

Consequent upon this, the British found the most desirous avenue of reducing the number of the districts particularly, on the incidences of tax embezzlement by the District Heads. The British, with the consent of the Emir, seized every opportunity when District Heads were found (accused of) guilty of tax related offences in doing away with the districts in questions. When such occurred, the affected districts were normally amalgamated or merged into other adjoining ones. These raise a question as to the rampant depositions that occurred and the standard reasons given for whole of it. And that was why even the accusations over tax embezzlement was viewed with scepticism; and seen also as ‘baseless and only meant to achieve some political goals’.⁶⁴³ At times also, the charges could not have warranted deposition, but desperation on the British side would expedite it to be so. It was added by M.G. Smith that “many of the dismissed office-holders had not been accused of any administrative offence.”⁶⁴⁴

However, whether it was genuine or not, the British on the other hand also, experienced some difficulties in this process of reducing the number of districts in Zazzau Emirate. This problem arises from the political, ethnic and geographical diversities of the Emirate. In the Northern – Muslim-Hausa dominated districts; little or no difficulty was encountered by the British. These were in the words of G. Malcolm, who remarked that:

I have already managed to abolish one District that of *Makami* (sic) (*Barde*) and I consider when opportunity either by death or deposition occurs the combining of Districts ought to be seriously considered in each case by Emir. The difficulty of abolition of these superfluous Districts in this Province is less than in places where they are hereditary,

⁶⁴² SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 G. Malcolm “Half Yearly Report for 1919 ending June 30th No. 74, p. 6

⁶⁴³ See M.M. Gwadabe (2008) ... p. 225

⁶⁴⁴ M.G. Smith (1960) ... p. 208. However, in Zazzau Emirate, as discussed earlier there were other conflicting political issues leading to the deposition of many title holders or District Heads. The most important was the unhealthy dynastic competition between the four ruling houses of the emirate. See the previous discussion in chapter two and this chapter.

as in most cases, there are I admit exceptions, the present District Heads are *Mallams* who have been connected with Central Administration and some not even that, and sent down as complete strangers to become District Heads.⁶⁴⁵

It was also out of the ordinary, judging from above that Malcolm was even anticipating death occurrences of District Heads as another handy opportunity of abolishing a district. More than any other factor, this clearly sums up British anxiety of having less number of districts in Zazzau Emirate. These Northern Districts for example were Soba, Makarfi, Ikara, Igabi, and Giwa and so on. In the Southern part of the emirate, most if not all, the districts there were formerly vassal states of Zazzau (turned as district areas by the British). Thus, their vassalage and hereditary political status had posed heavy obstacle and a sort of immunity from British reorganisation. For instance, when the districts were reduced to 27, by 1920, Kauru, Kajuru, Chawai, Kagarko and Lere were left intact.⁶⁴⁶ However, the reverse was the fate of Fatika, an old vassal state located in the northern part of the Emirate. In fact, the case of Fatika, as discussed previously, was a demotion to its ruler who was relegated to mere Village Head status, under *Fagachi*, the District Head of Giwa. Since our priority is on the Northern part of Zazzau, the following were the seventeen districts in the area as at 1920. These were Anchau, Auchan, Bikaratu, Giwa, Igabi, Ikara, Jaji, Kudan, Kangiwa, Makarfi, Makera, Panhauya, Sabon Birni, Soba, Turunku, Zangon Aya and Zaria *da Kewaye*.⁶⁴⁷ It is pertinent, now to look at some of the territorial adjustments (abolition and merger) made in the area of study and possibly district by district. For a clear geographical picture, it is decided to pick the nine districts (*gundumomi*) that survived the reorganisation processes up to the 1950s. These were Igabi, Ikara, Kubau, Makarfi,

⁶⁴⁵ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 ... pp. 6-7

⁶⁴⁶ M.G. Smith (1960) ... p. 210

⁶⁴⁷ See E.J. Arnett (1920) ... pp. 9-10

Soba, Giwa, Zaria *da Kewaye*, Sabon Garin Zaria and Kaduna (Kangiwa – Iya, and Makera districts). Discussion therefore, would revolve around the aforementioned districts.

a) Re-organisation of Igabi District

In Igabi District area, the first major move of reorganizing the adjoining districts around that area probably took place from 1921-1924. It started when *Wambai*, District Head of Jaji was deposed, and the District Head of Turunku was transferred to Kachia. This provided the opportunity of merging these districts (Jaji and Turunku) with Zangon Aya District, under *Danmadami*.⁶⁴⁸ However, prior to this period there were the smaller districts (or sub-districts) of Kwarau, Sabon Birni and Bikaratu which both ceased to exist after a short while.⁶⁴⁹ In view of proximity, both were certainly part of the villages that made up this initial re-arrangement. Again in 1924, owing to large sum paid to officials in the Emirate, it was decided where possible, to reduce the existing District Head salaries.⁶⁵⁰ In the period 1922-1927, several territorial adjustments were also made between Igabi and two other districts – Kangiwa and Makera that formed part of the present Kaduna metropolis. And in 1930, Igabi and Makera districts were merged and the combined district came to be known with the former's name (Igabi). With this merger, Iya, District Head of Makera was pensioned and retired to Zaria, while *Wambai's* base was temporarily relocated from Rigachikun (headquarters of Igabi District) to Tudun Wada, Kaduna.⁶⁵¹ But later the two districts were separated. During the Depression of the 1930s, as

⁶⁴⁸ See SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/88P/1921 “Y. Kirkpatrick, District Officer Emirate Zaria, and SNP17/NAK/ZARPROF/K. III “Zaria Emirate District Reorganisation”

⁶⁴⁹ For instance, Birnin Yaro was not constituted as a district until in 1910 following the suspension of Rubu for embezzlement and the transfer of Makama Babba, District Head of Sabon Birni to Kuyanbana District. Subsequently, Jaji District which appeared in the 1920's Gazetteer, emerged probably in place of Birnin Yaro. Jaji was earlier one of the villages that made up the Birnin Yaro District. See SNP10/624/1917 District Assessment Record – *Wambai*, Kwarao (sic)

⁶⁵⁰ SNP17/NAK/ZARPROF/K. III ...

⁶⁵¹ See Ashiru Sani (1995) “History of *Anguwan Kawo* in Kaduna Metropolis 1900-1993”, BA Dissertation, BUK, Kano, p. 73-74, and see also Yusufu Nadabo (1988) *Tarihin Garin Kaduna*, Zaria, Hudahuda Publishing Co. Ltd, pp. 101-102 (recently the English version of the same book on the history of Kaduna has been published).

discussed earlier, the British became more determined in search of ways to reduce the cost of administration and the number of officials that depended on government. In view of this, late in 1935, the Emir of Zazzau, Ibrahim and the British began to look for the possibilities of breaking up of Zangon Aya District, and of sharing its numerous villages between Igabi, Soba and Zaria home (*Zaria da Kewaye*) districts. This proposal took effect as suggested by the Emir in his letter to the DO dated 6th May, 1950. His main point was that Igabi, which was a big district should absorb larger part of the small Zangon Aya, and the two districts should be under the latter's head, *Dangaladima* Shehu (1944 -1950).⁶⁵² And the remaining villages of Zangon Aya which were closer to Zaria and Soba should go to these two districts as well. The annual report of 1950 captured this development thus:

The breaking up of Zangon Aya district, and its absorption by three neighbouring districts, caused the following increases (population) there:

<i>Zaria da Kewaye</i>	8189
Igabi	6150
Soba	1585 ⁶⁵³

The population figures given above, according to the report did not include non-natives (people of Southern Nigeria and other African countries) and military personnel. With these territorial reorganisation, from 1921 - 1950, Igabi District, thus, absorbed the former Jaji, Turunku and Zangon Aya Districts. It also swallowed, though dates unavailable, some parts of Kwarau⁶⁵⁴, Sabon Birni and Bikaratu districts. Consequently, this development made Igabi District to

⁶⁵² See NAK/ZARPROF/385 Igabi District Affairs, NAK/ZARPROF/399 Zangon Aya District Affairs, and NAK/ZARPROF/4844 Annual Report Zaria Province 1950. Also see in the appendices of Haliru Sirajo (2007) ... the letter written by the Emir of Zazzau to the DO Zaria Province, consenting him of the plan of dismantling Zangon Aya District and sharing its villages between Igabi, Soba and *Zaria da Kewaye* districts.

⁶⁵³ NAK/ZARPROF/4844 ... p. 1

⁶⁵⁴ According to an interview with *Kunkelin* Zazzau, Alhaji Mustapha Bello, who was in recent times, one of the District Heads of Kwarau, states that “until his appointment, Kwarau had only one district head in its history and it was later dissolved”. Mustapha Bello is now the District Head of Rigachikun. Interview conducted on the 21st December, 2012, at Rigachikun.

occupy the land area stretching between Zaria and Kaduna metropolis in the period of our study.⁶⁵⁵

b) Dissolution of Paki and its merger with Ikara District

Ikara was also another district that experienced reorganisation process in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. Report of 1935, by the DO, Mr. RCS Stanley on the state of affairs in the area was as follows.

District Head, Ikara, is an old man and further reorganisation might well be kept in view of his decease. Mr. Sharwood Smith considers most feasible step to eliminate Paki which should be absorbed by Ikara, some of Ikara at sometime going to Anchau. All these Northern Districts are of a more artificial character consisting of convenient amalgamations of towns held as fiefs by the various officials in pre-British days.⁶⁵⁶

Paki in this report was the district proposed to be abolished, on the pretext as added by HFB Backwell that, “Paiki (sic) district has only 8.300 odd inhabitants and Anchau and Igabe (sic) about 10.500 each”.⁶⁵⁷ This came into fruition in 1936 when *Magajin Gari* Abdu, the District Head of Paki was dismissed on the account of many ‘delinquent’⁶⁵⁸ charges labeled against him. Following this, opportunity avail itself to the British, Paki District was abolished and merged with Ikara District. The headquarters of the amalgamated district was Ikara town under the headship of *Sarkin Yakin Zazzau*.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁵ Up to date the towns of Sabon Birni, Bikaratu and Panhauya remained part of Igabi which was transformed from district to local government area in 1989. This earlier reorganisation in Igabi District during the colonial period was what made it now one of the biggest local governments (in terms of land size and population) in Kaduna State.

⁶⁵⁶ NAK/ZARPROF/274 Vol. II

⁶⁵⁷ NAK/ZARPROF/274 Vol. II

⁶⁵⁸ Amongst the delinquencies lined up against *Magajin Gari* Abdu are: employment of unpaid labour on his farm, interference with the wives of his peasantry, interference with the Alkalin Paki in judicial matters, failure to curb increase of theft and to get rid of undesirable characters in his district, and lack of active interest in the administration of his district. See NAK/ZARPROF/C72 *Magajin Gari* District Head Faiki (sic)

⁶⁵⁹ NAK/ZARPROF/C72 ...

c) Dissolution of Kударu and the Emergence of Kubau District

It was not until in 1920 that Kubau emerged as an autonomous district. This happened as a result of the breaking up of Kударu District which hitherto had dominion over Kubau town. Some part of the dissolved Kударu District, particularly its pagan communities of Bisalla and Kurama were transferred to Lere District. While the remaining villages, predominantly Hausa were constituted under the newly created Kubau District in 1920. Initially, the district headquarters was at Zuntu town under the District Headship of *Turaki Karami*, Suleman (1918-1923). Then in 1923, during the reign of *Sa'i Ummaru* (1923-1931), the headquarters of the district was relocated from Zuntu to Kubau town.⁶⁶⁰ The reason for this transfer according to Halidu Yalwa was that, Kubau “is the centre of native life of the district”; and it is also strategically closer to the Post Office at Dutsenwai, the cotton market and the Zaria-Bauchi Light Railway.⁶⁶¹ However, around 1937, Kubau was merged with Anchau District following the deposition of the latter’s head, in person of *Dallatu Yaro*. With this merger later, the headquarters of Kubau District was relocated to the town of Anchau, and it remained there until in 1991 when Anchau was distinctly created as a district of its own.⁶⁶² This means that throughout the period of our study the headquarters of Kubau District was at Anchau.

d) Re-organization of Soba District

To the west of Kubau, lies the Soba District. Unlike the former, Soba did not experience any serious reorganisation in the period under study. Apart from the initial citing of the headquarters of the district at Richifa from 1907 to 1909, Soba town since then remained the centre and

⁶⁶⁰ See Halidu Yalwa (1995) ... pp. 42-44

⁶⁶¹ Halidu Yalwa (1995) ... p. 44

⁶⁶² Halidu Yalwa (1995) ... p. 45

residence of the District Heads of Soba District.⁶⁶³ Both commercial and communication networks (Zaria-Jos road and closer to the Bauchi Light Railway) had played the key role of ensuring Soba's edge over the rest of the towns in the district.⁶⁶⁴ It was popularly referred with an adage as – “*Soba Garin Makama*” (Soba the town of Makama), because of the traditional title of many of its district heads, who bore *Makaman Zazzau*.

e) Re-organization of Giwa District

Giwa District lies to the west of Zaria city. It was one of the older districts in the emirate. Prior to 1924, the headquarters of Giwa District was not certain and speculated to have been cited in three different locations – Fatika, Iyatawa and Tsibiri.⁶⁶⁵ This was recounted in a book on Giwa, and which further pointed the appointment of *Fagachi*, Ahmadu Rufa'i in 1924 as the first District Head to have settled in Giwa town and made it headquarters. However, earlier in 1919, colonial records hinted that both the residence of the District Head and the Native Court were moved from Tsibiri to Giwa.⁶⁶⁶ And it was on the 1st December, 1918 that Ahmadu Rufa'i was appointed,⁶⁶⁷ not in 1924, as the book claims. Since then, the headquarters of the district remained in the town of Giwa. Moreover, despite the fact that records are unavailable but it could be gazed that, most certainly, Giwa District absorbed its closest neighbouring district of Panhauya during the continued territorial reorganisations of the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate.

⁶⁶³ This was confirmed to me verbally by Professor Abdulkadir Adamu, an authority in Soba history and particularly issues relating to the district on colonial agricultural policies in Northern Nigeria.

⁶⁶⁴ On Soba's agriculture and commercial activities which made it an important district in Zazzau Emirate, see Abdulkadir Adamu (1992) ... p.

⁶⁶⁵ I.S. Mustapha (2011) *Giwa Ta Danfingi*, Zaria, ABU Press, p. 27

⁶⁶⁶ SNP10/NAK/ZARPROF/273P/1919 Zaria Province – Report No 74 for Half year ending 30th June, 1919, pp. 4-5

⁶⁶⁷ See NAK/ZARPROF/C.8 D.H. Giwa

f) The Zaria Home District (*Zaria da Kewaye*)

Moreover, within the capital city of the Emirate and its environs, a district called *Zaria da Kewaye* (Zaria Home) was formed since the inception of British territorial reorganisation. Unlike the Outer-districts, which were composed of many towns and villages, the Zaria Home District was basically in charge of the administration of the constituent wards (*Anguwanni*) within the Zaria city's wall and other smaller settlements outside and around it (*Birnin Zaria*). Earlier there were forty-one ward heads in Zaria City, but by 1919 it was decided by the British and the Emir to reduce it to only four wards *viz* – *Anguwar Kwarbai*, *Anguwar Juma*, *Madaki Ward*, and *Limamin Kona Ward*.⁶⁶⁸ Traditionally, *Zaria da Kewaye* District Headship used to be held mainly by a favourite son of the Emir or heir to the throne, and he usually goes with the title of *Madaki*.⁶⁶⁹ In spite of all desperation at reducing the number of territorial enclaves by the British, the Zaria Home District remained intact. Not only intact, but it was even enlarged especially in 1950 when Zangon Aya District was dissolved as discussed earlier.

g) The Formation of Sabon Gari Zaria District

Next is Sabon Garin Zaria District, which its history presents an entirely new phenomenon on the subject of discussion at this point. It was not an old traditional town in the emirate. The coming of the British and the influx of Southern Nigerian labour migrants into the

⁶⁶⁸ See Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) ... pp. 45-46

⁶⁶⁹ The title of *Madaki* is such an important position in Zazzau Emirate history. In the 19th century, due to the prevalence of dynastic competition between the ruling houses of Zazzau, it is unthinkable for an Emir to let that title occupied by a rival dynasty. Even within his own dynasty the Madakiship office went only to his bonafide son (s). This was the more reason in the 20th century, the Emir of Zazzau, Aliyu Dansidi (of the Mallawa dynasty) had quarreled with the British following the deposition of his two sons consecutively from the office of *Madaki*. The British also reduced the powers of that office to the administration of a ward in Zaria town. In spite of all the British pressure, Aliyu doggedly secured the office to his son, *Madaki Sa'idu*. However, on the assumption of Emir Dalhatu, in 1920, who was from the Bornawa dynasty, he quickly dismissed Aliyu's son, Sa'idu from the office of *Madaki* and enthroned his son Abdu. And after the death of Abdu, another of Dalhatu's sons, Shehu, directly became the *Madaki*. For details see M.G. Smith (1920) ... pp. 208-209 and 223-224

North led to the emergence of Sabon Gari's such as that of Zaria and Kano.⁶⁷⁰ Our concern is the Sabon Gari Zaria, which was 'the first of its kind', and which was authoritatively founded in 1911, according to A.V. Dhliwayo.⁶⁷¹ In 1927, Malam Sambo was appointed by the Emir as the first *Sarkin* Sabon Gari, and in 1930, he was included in what was called the 'Township Advisory Board.'⁶⁷² Sambo, first served as the head of the Hausa community only, but with lapse of time he emerged as the official head of the whole of Sabon Gari area. However, his powers was only limited to an 'overseer' of Sabon Gari market under the supervision of the Station Magistrate.⁶⁷³ Later in the 1930s, a tax collector was appointed under the Sarkin Sabon Gari; and also an *Alkali's* Court was established, headed by *Alkalin* Tudun Wada, who adjudicated cases involving Muslims in the area.⁶⁷⁴ Thus, this was the condition until during the reign of Emir Ja'afaru (1936-1959) that, Iya, Muhammadu Aminu, was posted to Sabon Gari as the first District Head of this cosmopolitan area of Zaria.⁶⁷⁵ Since then, Sabon Gari Zaria remained a separate district within the administrative strata of Zaria. And much recently in 1991, Sabon Gari Zaria was transformed as an autonomous local government area in Kaduna State.

⁶⁷⁰ On the phenomenon of Sabon Gari system in Northern Nigeria and particularly Kano and Zaria, see Ahmed Bako (2006) *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-Group Relations in the 20th Century*, Sokoto, Usman Danfodio University Press, and A. V. Dhliwayo (1986) "A History of Sabon Garin Zaria, 1911-1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration" PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria

⁶⁷¹ See A. V. Dhliwayo (1986) ... chapter three (particularly pp. 204-253). While as regards Sabon Gari Kano, Ahmed Bako clearly states that "It was established in 1913 as the result of the effort by the colonial government to directly administer, within the British Magisterial rule, those African – Yoruba, Igbo, Nupe, Hausa, Ghanaians and Chadians who migrated to Kano. (see Ahmed Bako (2006) p. 27). This means that Sabon Gari Zaria which was founded in 1911, for the same reason as that of Kano, was two years older than the latter.

⁶⁷² This Advisory Board came into existence as a result of colonial exclusives policy of administering non-native towns separate from the local authority or Native Administration. The composition of the Advisory Board in Sabon Gari Zaria as at 1930 included the Resident, as the chairman of the Board, the District Officer, the Station Magistrate, the Senior Medical Officer, the Senior Executive Engineer (P.W.D.), Commissioner of Police, the Divisional Engineer (Nigerian Railway), Mr. Adams (B.C.G.A.), Mr. Ruston and the representative of the Emir, the Sarkin Sabon Gari. The Sarkin Sabon Gari was the last to be admitted into the Board in 1930 due to the changing nature of the time which gave room to the reintroduction of the Native Administration presence in the affairs of Sabon Gari after a spell of thirteen years of exclusivism. For details see A. V. Dhliwayo (1986) ... chapter four.

⁶⁷³ See A. V. Dhliwayo (1986) ... pp. 222-223

⁶⁷⁴ A. V. Dhliwayo (1986) ... p. 223

⁶⁷⁵ Interview with Mallam Dalhatu Mohammed, age about 45 years, and Muhammadu Buhari, age about 40 years, both at *Anguwar Kwarbai*, Zaria City, on 13th December, 2012

h) Makera District, the Creation of Magajin Gari Office and the Emergence of Kaduna as Regional Headquarters

The area within the present Kaduna metropolis was until 1956 directly under the Zaria Native Authority and the Zaria Province in general. In other words, the Emirate of Zazzau had firm sway over this important area of Kaduna. It is on record that the two districts of Kangiwa and Makera were located within the environs of the present Kaduna town.⁶⁷⁶ In the long run to the 1930s, Kangiwa and Makera were merged under the latter's name (Makera District) and "thus putting all the area round Kaduna under one District Head."⁶⁷⁷ But there are two issues that need to be made clear as far as the administration of Kaduna is concerned. One is that, there was what was called Sabon Gari Doka, which was under the Resident in Zaria, and the second was, the Kaduna Township under the Zaria Native Authority.⁶⁷⁸ In 1937, the Emir of Zazzau, Ibrahim, appointed the first *Sarkin* Sabon Gari Doka, in person of Muhammadu Sarkin Daji. This development made the inclusion of Sabon Garin Doka into the Zaria Native Administration.⁶⁷⁹ Then in 1938, Malam Muhammadu Sambo came in as the new *Sarkin* Sabon Garin Doka. By 1945, Muhammadu Sambo was upgraded to the title of *Magajin Garin* Kaduna; a position substantially equal to the status of a substantive district head of Zazzau Emirate.⁶⁸⁰ With this development from 1945, the territory under the *Magajin Garin* Kaduna increased remarkably.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁶ We have discussed in the first three chapters on the position of Kaduna within the administrative set up of Zazzau Emirate.

⁶⁷⁷ SNP17/NAK/ZARPROF/K. III, p. 8

⁶⁷⁸ See S. Bello and E. Oyedele (1980) "The City of Kaduna" in Y.B. Usman (ed) *Cities of the Savannah (A History of some Towns and Cities of the Nigerian Savannah)*, Lagos, Nigeria Magazine, p. 74

⁶⁷⁹ For details see NAK/ZARPROF/C.2479B, Kaduna Township, Inclusion of in Native Administration Area (CONFIDENTIAL).

⁶⁸⁰ Yusufu Nadabo (1988) ... p. 101

⁶⁸¹ It was during the time of Muhammadu Sambo that the famous edifice of "Magajin Gari" Secretariat was built (now occupied by the Kaduna North Local Government Council). This historical building was in the past referred to as "*Dubu Saba'in Kwana Saba'in*" – literally "Seventy Thousand, Seventy Days." The meaning of this according to tradition was that, the sum of seventy thousand pounds was spent for its construction and it took only seventy days to be completed. Interview with Bunun Zazzau II, Alhaji Bala Muhammad Tijjani, District Head of Doka/*Magajin*

It now included the areas or wards of Karshi, Babban Saura, Sabon Birni, Makera, Kakuri, Barnawa, Tudun Wada, Kawo and Afaka.⁶⁸² These areas were hitherto under different district areas around Kaduna town.

However, in 1956 as hinted earlier, Kaduna was made as the capital of Northern Regional Government. A law was enacted (KCT Law of 1956) which made provision for the government and administration of the capital. With this development, the status of Kaduna changed and it ceased to be directly under Zaria Province or Zaria Native Authority.⁶⁸³ Moreover, in the post-Independence period, Kaduna Township continued to be under similar status; and this time as the capital of the North Central State, created in 1967. In 1976, Kaduna Local Authority was established and some changes were effected as regards the status of the district heads within the Kaduna metropolis. This we shall discuss in the next chapter.

(III) Conclusion

This chapter first studied the un-easy relationship that resurfaced immediately after when the new District Heads were sent away from the emirate capital (Zaria city) to the rural areas as resident administrators. This relationship earlier took the form of distrust by the emirs on letting their titled officials away from their watchful eyes, and on the other hand feared the influence they could wielder to undermine their authority. It became compounded owing to peculiar prevalence of dynastic competition between the ruling houses of the Emirate. As a result, many District Heads suffered deposition in the hands of the emirs during the period of study. With British backed policy for prudent administration, many of the District Heads were deposed on the grounds of tax related offences (real or fancied). The chapter also discussed aspects of

Gari Kaduna. Follow up interview on 9th January, 2015. Bala Muhammad was born on 22nd November, 1962 (53 years old).

⁶⁸² Yusufu Nadabo (1988) ... p. 102

⁶⁸³ See S. Bello and E. Oyedele (1980) ... p. 74

District and Village administration under the new scheme as spelled out by the colonial government. From the colonial point of view, collection of taxes was the primary duty of the District and Village Heads. Apart from this major duty, they were also to ensure administration maintenance of law and order, mobilization labour and dissemination of British propaganda.

The chapter also discussed method of tax assessment and collection. This started with measures taken by the British in unifying and consolidating numerous forms of pre-colonial taxes in Zazzau Emirate. The economy was monetized and taxes were insisted to be paid in colonial pounds, pennies and shillings in place of the domestic cowries. Different experiments were taken aimed at founding suitable method of assessment and collection of taxes. In view of this, methods such as the Lump sum, *Taki*, and so on were tried by the colonial administration. No single experiment became fully perfect and it depends with the area in which a particular method was used. This therefore, forced repeated trials, errors and adjustments over the period of time. Summarily, colonial taxation system was discovered to be burdensome and grossly exploitative throughout the colonial period in Zazzau Emirate and the region at large. The gruesome nature of the colonial taxes had had direct manifest on the socio-economic life of the people of Zazzau Emirate. These included official and unofficial extortion, violence, forceful migration, theft, and coupled with in certain periods, to natural disasters, famine and locust invasion.

The chapter also discussed the horrific experience of widespread tax embezzlement amongst the local chiefs – District and Village Heads. These financial scandals continued unabated and heightened in the depression period of the 1930s. The negative effects of the embezzlement cases and the world financial crisis led to deposition of many District and Village Heads. The peasants also felt the effects of this troubled period of financial and political crisis in immeasurable ways.

The major effects included fall in produce prices and an unfortunate hike in taxes to be paid by peasant farmers. Lastly discussed in the chapter is the administrative reorganisation of the northern territorial districts of Zazzau Emirate. From thirty two districts in 1907, they were reduced to twenty eight in the 1920s, and further sharply reduced to only seventeen by 1950, throughout the emirate. As explained in the text a number of reasons such as lack of enough manpower, funds and the need to create sizeable areas for efficient administration were behind the whole process of this reorganisation. In view of this, many districts were abolished or amalgamated with one another (larger districts absorbing the smaller ones).

CHAPTER FIVE

REFORM POLICIES AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM IN ZAZZAU EMIRATE, 1950-1967

(I) Introduction

The thrust of this chapter focuses on the changing political climate which characterised the period immediately after the Second World War. These changes in the period under review gave impetus to decolonization activities, constitutional changes and the ultimate formation of political parties. This renewed wave of self-determination, reform and democratization had a far reaching consequence on the Native Authority System. The most profound consequence of this pre-Independence era (1950-1959) reverberation was the institutionalization of the revered Native Authority Reform of 1954. As discussed in the chapter, the 1954 reform was spelled out to wholly revolutionize the Native Authority system which was then despised by the new generation of educated elite and politicians. The reform informed a radical departure from the boredom corrupt practices of the Native Authority, to an open, efficient and popular participatory system of local government administration particularly in the Northern Region. In view of this, discussion is made in the chapter with reference to the Zaria Native Authority and how the impact of the reform was felt in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. In 1956 Kaduna was excised out of the jurisdiction of Zaria Native Authority following the transformation of the town as the headquarters of the Northern Regional Government.

The chapter also explored the early post-Independence period 1960-1967, an era with far reaching developments in the system of local government administration. The results were changes in all the major departments of local government system ranging from the Native Treasury, Native Courts, Native Police and Prison. The affairs of Districts administration was

also affected by these sweeping post-Independence developments. In 1967 new states were created in the country and this led to the creation of the North-Central State which our area of study directly fell under. The term Native Authority was reconstituted as Local Authority. With this, the former Zaria Native Authority was renamed as Zaria Local Authority Council but inheriting all the powers of its former status. To fashion the reform in Zazzau Emirate, three administrative councils were created. These were the Zaria Administrative Area which comprised the districts of Makarfi, Ikara, Kubau, Soba, Zaria *da Kewaye*, Sabon Gari, Igabi and Giwa; Saminaka Administrative Area covered the districts of Lere and Kauru, and finally Kacia Administrative Area was based on the districts of Chikun, Kajuru, Kacia, Kagarko and Zangon Katab. In 1968, the Native Authority Courts were re-designated and called Area Courts, in which almost at the same time; all Native Authority Prisons were also merged with the Federal Prison.

(II) Party Politics in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate (*Zamanin Siyasa*)

This discussion begins with a critical statement by A.D. Yahaya, who stated that:

At the end of the second world war when, with a view to altering the basis of political participation, the Government began to respond to demands for structural changes, the political dominance of the N.A. became subject of increasing challenge; local government came to be included in the planned political changes to which the British Government was committed. These changes ushered in the terminal phase of British rule in Nigeria, led to the emergence of counter elite, and to the emergence of political organizations in Northern Nigeria. The effect of these changes was reflected at local level where the political process came to be dominated by a continuing struggle for local influence between the N.A. and the new political organizations.⁶⁸⁴

Sequel to the aftermath of this global catastrophe (WW II), particularly in Nigeria, was a renewed upsurge in nationalist activities and the relentless visions from the western-educated

⁶⁸⁴ A.D. Yahaya (1980) *The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria 1950-1970: A Study in Political Relations with particular reference to the Zaria Native Authority*, Zaria, ABU Press, p. 21

elite, whose efforts were, bent on forming stronger political platforms throughout the country.⁶⁸⁵ The major agenda of the nationalists was to bring an end to British colonialism and a purposeful radical reform of the NA system.⁶⁸⁶ At this initial stage, the concentration of such associations or groups were mostly in the urban centers; in Northern Nigeria particularly, several of these associations were founded in places like Sokoto, Kano, Bauchi, Borno, Benue, Kaduna and Zaria.⁶⁸⁷ In our area of study, Zaria was the strategic city in which the educated elites concentrated and played key role in the creation of political associations in that formative period.⁶⁸⁸ On ‘information and social interactions’, which was crucial during this important period, Zaria luckily became the cradle of the first pan-Northern Nigeria Hausa newspaper – *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* (Truth is Worth More Than a Penny), first published in 1939. This publishing house, renamed Gaskiya Corporation in 1945 was one of the major employers of the educated elites in the region. Among others, was the Co-editor of the newspaper, the famous Hausa novel writer, Abubakar Imam. At the same time, came the revered Sa’adu Zungur, who was posted to the newly established School of Hygiene, in Zaria.⁶⁸⁹ With the presence of Imam and Zungur, and their like-minds which Zaria decisively attracted, the city therefore, played a key role to the formation of earlier political associations in the area.⁶⁹⁰ Zungur, for instance, became instrumental to the formation of Zaria Friendly Society (ZFS) in 1940 and, the Northern General Improvement Union (NGIU) in 1941. This resulted to:

⁶⁸⁵ For details on the activities of early Nigerian Nationalist and formation of political parties, see for example, J. S. Coleman (1958) *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, Los Angeles, Berkeley Press, R. L. Sklar (1963) *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an emergent African Nation*, Princeton, University Press, pp. 88-101

⁶⁸⁶ See A. M. Jega (2005) “Politics and Political Process in Northern Nigeria” in A.M. Yakubu *et al* (ed) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, p. 227

⁶⁸⁷ These proto-political associations for example were - the Youth Social Circle (YSC) in Sokoto, Kano Youth Association (KYA) in Kano, Zaria Friendly Society (ZFS) in Zaria, the Bauchi Discussion Circle (BDC) in Bauchi and the Northern Teachers Association (NTA). These are just to mention but a few. For details see, B. J. Dudley (1986) *Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, London, Frank Cass and Company Ltd, pp. 77-90. And for a more recent and detailed studies on particularly the origin, formation and spread of these associations in various towns in Northern Nigeria, see A. M. Yakubu (2006) *Emirs and Politicians: Reform, Reaction and Recrimination in Northern Nigeria 1950-1966*, Kaduna, Baraka Press, especially chapter II, pp. 45-81

⁶⁸⁸ I. M. Abbass (2008) “The Dynamics of Radicalism and Conservatism in Zaria” in *Zaria Historical Research (ZAHIR)*, Vol. 3 No. 1, Department of History, Faculty of Arts, ABU, Zaria, p. 140. However, for his own personal reasons, Abbass, seems to be on the side of the radical NEPU/PRP political parties in his analysis of Zaria’s political history. He sees little or nothing positive from the NA establishment and the NPC.

⁶⁸⁹ See A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... pp. 55-61. And for more on Sa’adu Zungur, see A. M. Yakubu (1999) *Sa’adu Zungur: An Anthology of the Social and Political Writings of a Nigerian Nationalist*, Kaduna, NDA Press

⁶⁹⁰ I. M. Abbass (2008) “The Dynamics of Radicalism and Conservatism in Zaria” in *Zaria Historical Research (ZAHIR)*, Vol. 3 No. 1, Department of History, Faculty of Arts, ABU, Zaria, p. 140. For his own personal reasons, Abbass, seem to be on the side of the radical NEPU/PRP political parties in his analysis of party politics in Zaria.

...the first unofficial public assembly in Northern Nigeria attended by the Resident, the Emir, NA officials and by former, serving and future headmaster of the Zaria Middle School, the top brass of the town's intelligentsia.⁶⁹¹

It was not long that the impact of the activities of these elites began to be felt by the colonial authorities, the NA, and markedly also the aristocracy (*masu sarauta*), which they vehemently accused of being autocratic and wielding unlimited powers over their councils. Interestingly, two of these vocal educated elites in Zaria were – Malam Jumare Zaria⁶⁹² and Alhaji Aliyu *Turakin Zazzau*,⁶⁹³ who were both educated at Katsina College.⁶⁹⁴ Thus, it did not come as a surprise, when in 1948 Zaria presented the space for the birth of *Jam'iyar Mutanen Arewa* (JMA) – Northern People's Congress (NPC).⁶⁹⁵ The NPC was a socio-cultural association

⁶⁹¹ A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 60

⁶⁹² Malam Jumare was born in 1916 in Zaria and he belonged to the *Mallawa* ruling dynasty of Zazzau. He attended Katsina College, 1930-1935, from where he took up teaching job at the Zaria Middle School. Unlike his contemporary, Abubakar Imam who was diplomatic in dealing with the authority, Jumare was so outspoken that in 1941 his political agitation earned him dismissal from his teaching job. He was dismissed as result of petitioning the composition of Emir Ja'afaru's council as being partial in terms of representation of the multiple ruling dynasties of the emirate. For a short while, he relocated to Lagos and joined the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYA), and returned to Zaria in 1942. On his return, Jumare remained dogged and constant critique of the NA and the British authority, a struggle which he pursued up until after the Second World War. For details on Jumare and other early Northern Nigerian educated elites and formation of various political associations, see A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... 45-81. On the role of Malam Jumare in particular also, see G.A. Kwanashie (2002) *The Making of the North in Nigeria 1900-1965*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, pp. 85-86

⁶⁹³ Aliyu *Turakin Zazzau* did not belong to any of the ruling dynasties of Zazzau Emirate, though the District Head of Igabi, *Makama Karami*, Malam Yahaya was said to be his guardian. On the other hand, M. G. Smith said that Aliyu Turaki was a member of the local branch of the *Toronkawa* Fulani, descended from Mallam Musa's daughter and Dan Fodio's Waziri Gidado. When he finished from Katsina College, he worked with the technical department of the NA. In spite of his connection with the NA, Aliyu Turaki openly criticized and called for the reform of the local government system in order to serve the immediate needs and welfare of the general populace. He was also not in support of the *sarauta* system or the status quo; and thus in this early period, Turaki is said to belong to those calling for the discontinuation of the *sarauta* system. See M.G. Smith (1960) *Government in Zazzau 1900-1950*, London, Oxford, p. 277; A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 27-28, I.M. Abbass (2008) ... p. 140

⁶⁹⁴ For reasons in keeping to the promise made by the British of not interfering into the religious beliefs of the Muslim North and to avoid raising up of western educated elements who were susceptible to colonial domination, like in the South, it was not until 1921 that the Katsina College was established as the first post-elementary school in Northern Nigeria. This was almost two decades after the conquest. In 1938 the Katsina College was relocated to Kaduna and then to Zaria in 1949. But this is not to say that there were no NA elementary schools spread across the region. However, the College remained for (another) more than two decades until the establishment of Government College Keffi in 1949.

⁶⁹⁵ The founding of the *Jam'iyar Mutanen Arewa* was as a result of the merger in September 1948 of the Kaduna based *Jam'iyar Mutanen Arewa A Yau* (Convention of Contemporary Northerners) under D.A. Rafi Tijaye, and the Zaria based *Jam'iyar Mutanen Arewa* (Northern People's Congress) led by Dr. R.A.B. Dikko. In October the same year, the two amalgamated associations assumed the latter's name but this was to be more of a socio-cultural

at inception, but later provided the catalyst for the formation of real political parties in Northern Nigeria. A.M. Yakubu opined that, the reason for the NPC's non-hasty move into real politics was "probably in order to avoid the fate suffered by many previous organizations whose overt political objectives led to their suppression by the establishment".⁶⁹⁶ This political reluctance on the side of the NPC was short-lived when in 1950 the scene took a different dimension.

Just out of the blues, the radical and more politically driven members of the NPC seceded and formed the *Jam'iyar Neman Sawaba* (literally - Salvation Party, but commonly called the Northern Elements' Progressive Union, NEPU) under Malam Abba Maikwaru, in August 1950. By 1952, Malam Aminu Kano emerged as life President of the NEPU in Nigeria.⁶⁹⁷ This spurred the leading members of the NPC to change the course of their association into real political party in October, 1951, and still maintaining its name.⁶⁹⁸ During this period, Ahmadu Bello, the *Sarduna* of Sokoto joined the party and later became its President, with Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as Vice President. With this development, the NPC's headquarters was relocated from its initial base at Zaria to Kaduna, the seat of the Northern Nigerian Regional Government.⁶⁹⁹ With this landmark in the history of party politics in Northern Nigeria, the NPC and NEPU remained the dominant parties particularly in the emirates of Northern Nigeria until the *coup d'état* of January, 1966.

association than a real political party, see B. J. Dudley (1968) ... p. 79. In addition, A.D. Yahaya reports that, in this early period, "The Zaria group spearheaded the formation of a pan-Northern Nigeria political organization that subsequently became the governing political party in the Region", p. 27.

⁶⁹⁶ A.M. Yakubu (2006) *Emirs and Politicians: Reform, Reaction and Recrimination in Northern Nigeria 1950-1966*, Kaduna, Baraka Press, pp. 66-67

⁶⁹⁷ For more details on the founding of NEPU and the political career of its famous leader, Malam Aminu Kano, see Alkasum Abba (ed) (1993) *The Politics of Mallam Aminu Kano: Documents From the Independence Struggles, 1950-1960*, Kaduna, Vanguard Printers and Publishers; (2007) *The Northern Elements Progressive Union and the Politics of Radical Nationalism in Nigeria 1938-1960*, Zaria, Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Research (particularly chapter two, three and four)

⁶⁹⁸ See B.J. Dudley (1986) ... p. 79, J.N. Paden (1986) *Ahmadu Bello, Sardana of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria*, Zaria, Huda-Huda Publishing Company, p. 139

⁶⁹⁹ See J.N. Paden (1986) ... pp. 150-154

However, in the Middle-Belt⁷⁰⁰ area, the Middle Zone League (MZL), later known as the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) was formed in 1955, “to provide organisational direction to the demands of the people who identified with the Belt.”⁷⁰¹ This is the more reason why, according to Kaza Toure, “the organizational structure of the MZL was based on ethnic and clan groupings.”⁷⁰² The UMBC had as its leading member in person of J.S. Tarka. More so, unlike the NPC and NEPU which were urban based and dominated mostly by Muslims (Hausa and Fulani), the UMBC had its sympathizers predominantly amongst the rural based non-Muslim minority ethnic groups of the Middle-Belt area. The UMBC was also said to be anti-NA, but with a stint of parochial outlook shrouded in cultural and religious underpinnings.⁷⁰³ This point is made clearer by Abdullahi M. Ashafa, in his analysis of inter-group relations and the birth of the UMBC in Northern Nigeria that,

... the Northern Nigeria Non-Muslims League was formed to protect the religion and customs of the Northern Christians. This was later changed to Middle Zone League (MZL) with Pastor David Lot as its President. This was again changed to the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC). Whatever it was, the Christian missionaries ensured that Christianity became the basis for the political separation and identity of the Northern Christians and in the creation of the Middle Belt state.⁷⁰⁴

In view of the above historical peculiarity, the woes of the British to UMBC’s agenda became very apparent. For instance, the Resident, Zaria Province, described the party as being

⁷⁰⁰ As at then, the area consistently referred to as the Middle-Belt, where UMBC had its stronghold consisted of the Benue, Niger, Plateau and the southern part of Zaria Province. See B. J. Dudley (1968) ... pp. 90 and 92-93

⁷⁰¹ Mahmoud Hamman (2005) “Inter-Ethnic Relations and Inter-Ethnic Conflicts” in A.M. Yakubu et’al (eds) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, p. 459

⁷⁰² Kaza Toure (1991) “The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province, 1902-1960”, MA Thesis, ABU, Zaria, p. 477

⁷⁰³ See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 32-33, I.M. Abbass (2008) ... p. 140, 147

⁷⁰⁴ Abdullahi M. Ashafa (2005) “British Colonial Rule and the Transformation of Inter-Group Relations” in A.M. Yakubu et’al (eds) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, p. 441. For detailed account on the subject of ethnic and religious politics in Northern Nigeria, see Niels Kastfelt (1994) *Religion and Politics in Nigeria: A Study in Middle Belt Christianity*, London, British Academic Press, pp. 65-125

“vicious and inspired mission elements... by their irresponsible and ill-mannered behavior”.⁷⁰⁵ However, Mahmoud Hamman, was subtle to it and boldly sees UMBC as not exactly a party limited to a particular ethno-religious divide, and further explained that, “neither the ruling NPC nor the two main opposition groups, NEPU or UMBC can be said to have harboured ethnic prejudices and limited their membership exclusively to particular ethnic group...”.⁷⁰⁶ Even though, Hamman looked at it from the ‘articulated party objectives and ideology’, to borrow his own words, but it would come with a wild surprise to many and in contrast to the exegesis of many literatures on the history of party politics in Northern Nigeria.⁷⁰⁷ For example, in Southern Zaria, Toure, concludes that, “... the Christian elite organized themselves under the umbrella of ethnicity and religion; they hid under the canopy of advancing the cause of the Animist/Christian masses”.⁷⁰⁸ In view of the UMBC’s preoccupied agenda of ethnic and religious politics, Alkasum Abba, reiterates that:

This obsession with minority problems limited the ideological focus of the UMBC. In this respect, the UMBC was much more limited in its political activities within the Northern Region. In reality, the UMBC became more and more a Benue Province party, if not a Tiv party.⁷⁰⁹

It is worthy to note that, the geography and ethno-religious postures of these three parties (NPC, NEPU, and UMBC) in the Northern region as a whole, was what, coincidentally obtained within the geographical divide of Zazzau Emirate. The NPC and NEPU having dominance in the Northern Muslim (Hausa and Fulani) part of the emirate, while the UMBC had its strong and exclusive followership in the Southern multi-ethnic part of the emirate. There were instances of

⁷⁰⁵ NAK, 1946 (sic), as quoted in I.M. Abbass (2008) ... p. 147

⁷⁰⁶ Mahmoud Hamman (2005) “Inter-Ethnic Relations and Inter-Conflicts” in A.M. Yakubu et’al (eds) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, pp. 461-462

⁷⁰⁷ These works are too numerous to mention but the most consistent references for example, included, J.S. Coleman (1958), R. Sklar (1963), and B.J. Dudley (1968)

⁷⁰⁸ Kaza Toure (1991) pp. 475-476

⁷⁰⁹ Alkasum Abba (2007) ... p. 211

alliances and collaboration of purpose between the parties, but it was insignificant to draw any further discussion as far as the crux of this thesis is concerned.⁷¹⁰ For clarity of purpose therefore, our concentration will be on our area of study (northern part of the emirate), where the NPC and NEPU predominated political activities of the area.

a) The NPC and NEPU in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate

A little look into NPC and NEPU reveals that the two political parties had glaringly parted ways on ideological inclinations.⁷¹¹ The NPC was basically described as a conservative party and always in support of the existing social order – the NA headed by the emirs. This no doubt the NPC and the NA became synonymous in political parlance, and the influence of this wedlock (of NPC and NA) over the whole of Northern Nigeria at that time was not a secret to anyone. Therefore, greater majority of NA employees and members of the aristocratic families (from emir down to the ward heads), businessmen and their clients were in support of the NPC. But this is not to say that there were no significant supporters of the NPC even amongst the *talakawa's* (common people) in the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate. On the other hand, NEPU was utterly anti-NA and the *sarauta* system (aristocracy). And unlike the NPC which opted for gradual reform of the status quo, NEPU demanded radical tone to it. The appeal of NEPU was directly to the *talakawa* (mainly farmers, petty traders, retailers and hawkers) which

⁷¹⁰ For instance, both NEPU and UMBC were ideologically anti-NA and the *sarauta* system, while the NPC which had the most strongest support in the region generally, had as part of its political ploy extension of alliance, with UMBC rather, not NEPU for continued dominance and protection of the status quo (*sarauta* system).

⁷¹¹ Apart from the usual connotations purported and ascribed to the two parties, the Conservative - NPC and the Progressive – NEPU, A.M. Yakubu, further expressed that the NPC's "major political issue in Northern Nigeria was the threat of domination by Southern Nigerians who, for historical reasons, took an early lead in western education and its ideas of administration and commerce... For NEPU, "the major political issue was not the threat of domination of the North by Southern Nigerians but the autocracy of emirates rule". See A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... pp. 103-104. See also Alkasum Abba (2007) ... pp. 203-206; he states that apart from the two parties being 'ideologically miles apart', and both 'vying for power and relevance in the same political unit (northern region)'; also that 'the NEPU had a Nigerian perspective while the NPC largely functioned as a northern political party with a conservative outlook.'

the party arrogated to itself to emancipate from the yoke of the aristocracy and the NA system. Others identified with the party, who mostly lived in urban and semi-urban areas included dismissed NA staff, retrenched workers from European firms, and of course the *gardawa* (itinerant clerics), who saw in NEPU a sort of Islamic leanings. In addition, there were also few members of NEPU who, instead, had an aristocratic antecedent.⁷¹² This NEPU mandate aimed at particularly salvaging the *talakawa* was enshrined in the party's *Sawaba* Declaration of 1951.⁷¹³

b) The NPC in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate

For reasons of historical importance to the evolution of political parties not only in Zazzau Emirate but the Northern region in general, it is strategic to start with the NPC's organisation and exploits in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. The reason for this has been elucidated above. Therefore, immediately after the NPC's Jos Convention in 1954, Nuhu Bamalli became the first President of the Zaria Provincial organisation of the party. He was succeeded by Alhaji Aliyu *Turaki*, on the former's relocation to the party's headquarters as its National Organizing Secretary. The Financial Secretary was Ahmadu Fatika, while Alhaji Shafi'i and M. Sambo Jisambo were the two Vice Presidents. Lastly making the list of the top officials of the party was Mamman Kuseriki,⁷¹⁴ who succeeded Abdullahi Makarfi as Secretary.⁷¹⁵ With

⁷¹² A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... 105-106

⁷¹³ The *Sawaba* Declaration was the earliest document of NEPU, which contained a seven-point 'Freedom Charter'. In this, the party is said to have borrowed and indoctrinated a "Marxist analysis of social relations based on class onto Islamic conception of social justice based on egalitarian ideals". This class struggle was the *talakawa* (masses) against the *masu sarauta* (members of aristocracy). See "Declaration of Principles (October 1952) reproduced in Report on Kano Disturbances, 16-19 May 1953 (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1953), App. A No. 11." cited in A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 104. See also a full text of the *Sawaba* Declaration in A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... (Appendix IV) p. 238

⁷¹⁴ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 121

⁷¹⁵ Abdullahi Makarfi, though not actually certain, was the first Provincial Secretary of the NPC in Zaria prior to even its transformation into real political party (then as a socio-cultural association). Also official correspondences of the party to the NA and government up to November 1952 had his name appended as the secretary of the party. For example see NPC correspondences and petitions in NAK/ZARNA/142/S.1/Northern People Congress (NPC)

the exception of Bamalli⁷¹⁶ and Shafi'i, all of these NPC provincial leaders were NA employees.

Moreover, by 1952, serious efforts were already underway at the lower levels of the emirate – districts, towns, villages and wards, for the opening of NPC branches (*reshe*) for the purpose of galvanizing the party's activities.⁷¹⁷ Instructively, by 1955, the large number of applications and permits given to many NA employees across the emirate to attend NPC's annual national convention in June 1955, at Maiduguri, had indicated strong followership of the party.⁷¹⁸ For example, see below an excerpt copy of such applications from the NPC Branch, Rigachikun.

*N. P. C. Rigacikun Branch
31st May, 1955*

Dan Madami

D. H. Igabi

N. P. C. Annual Convention at Maiduguri

1. *M. Suleman Scribe*
2. *M. Balarabe Lere Teacher*

Gaisuwa mai yawa. Muna sanar da kai mu ne wadanda za su wakilci N. P. C. reshen Rigacikun a taron shekara na N. P. C. da za'a bude a Maiduguri ran 13/6/195 (sic). Saboda haka muna neman hutu na kwana 15 tun daga 7/6/- 22/6/55 dan mu halarci wannan taro.

⁷¹⁶ Nuhu Bamalli, was born in Zaria in 1917. He was a strong member of the *Mallawa* dynasty and later turbaned with the title of *Magajin Garin Zazzau*. According to A.D. Yahaya, in spite of Nuhu's royal connection with the NA establishment, he was never in the services of any of the NA departments in Zaria. However, A.M. Yakubu reported differently that, Nuhu Bamalli "worked for the Zaria NA until 1938 when he joined the Literature Bureau (later renamed Gaskiya Corporation)." He was one time Minister for External Affairs until the 1966 coup. He died in March 2001. Whatever it was, his *Mallawa* descent which was the major rival dynasty to that of the incumbent Emir Jafaru's *Bornawa* might perhaps be the reason for his non-inclusion in the NA; if we are to go by the assertion made by Yahaya. The reason is that, appointment and promotion into various departments of the NA during that period was dominated by members of the emir's dynasty. Thus, it is obvious that during the reign of Jafaru, the *Bornawa* had greater percentage of NA employees as compared to, and particularly against the number of its arch rival *Mallawa* dynasty. M.G. Smith said that out of the 64 percent of the *Fulanin Zazzau* in the NA, 22 percent were members of the Emir's dynasty, the *Mallawa* held 5.6 percent, other dynasties (*Sullubawa*, *Katsinawa* and non-dynastical Fulani) held 26 percent, and the non-Fulani Northerners (Hausa or '*Habe*') occupied 36 percent of the total. See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 121, A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 72 (notes 17); M.G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 272-274

⁷¹⁷ See Letter No. 24/5/8, from The Central Office, Zaria, 27th October, 1952, to The Hon. Secretary, Jam'iyar Mutanen Arewa, Reshen Zaria. NAK/ZARNA/142/S.1/Northern People Congress (NPC)

⁷¹⁸ See NAK/ZARNA/142/S.1/Northern People Congress (NPC)

(Many greetings. To inform you that we are those to represent the NPC Branch Rigachikun at the NPC annual convention in Maiduguri, scheduled to start on 13/6/195 (sic). On this, we request for 15 days of leave from 7/6/ - 22/6/55 in order to attend the convention).

Mallam Balarabe Lere

M. Suleiman

Secretary N. P. C. RCN Branch

President N. P. C. RCN Branch

31/5/55⁷¹⁹

Similarly, such letters from different branches of the NPC across the northern part of the emirate such as Igabi, Soba, Anchau, Kubau, Paki, Giwa, Makarfi, Kudan and so on, members of the party working under the NA sent in their applications for permission to attend the convention. It also included supporters of the party within *Birnin Zaria* (Zaria city), Sabon Gari Zaria and *Garin Kaduna* (Kaduna town). This was at a time when “NA workers were not barred from politics,”⁷²⁰ according to Balarabe Lere.⁷²¹ Campaigns and party meetings were also intensified by the NPC leaders with the aim of selling the party’s manifestoes to the teeming populace especially the peasantry. Extracts of various NPC speeches at rallies and congregations held across the emirate up to 1960 consistently emphasized these points, (in Hausa language)

1. *Manufar NPC* - (NPC Manifestoes)
2. *Tarihin siyasa a Nigeria* - (History of party politics in Nigeria)
3. *Zaben daya wuce da wanda za’ayi na 1959* - (Previous elections and the forthcoming of 1959)
4. *Mulkin kai na Jihar Arewa 1959* - (Northern Nigeria self-Independence in 1959)
5. *Alherin da Gwamnatin NPC tayi wa Arewa* - (Achievements of NPC Government to the North)

⁷¹⁹ See NAK/ZARNA/142/S.1/Northern People Congress (NPC). The English rendering of the excerpt is mine.

⁷²⁰ See Haliru Sirajo (2007) “The British Administration and the Creation of the District Head System in Zazzau Emirate: A case study of Igabi District 1902-1976”, MA Thesis, BUK, p. 174

⁷²¹ Malam Balarabe Lere was the most popular of the earliest teachers of the Rigachikun NA Elementary School, which was established in December, 1945. He also taught at the adult literacy class (*Yaki da Jahilci*) when newly opened in the town in 1952. And in 1956, Balarabe Lere, then as a Head Master, together with Malam Abdu, Organizer of Adult Literacy in Igabi District, started English classes for the adults at the same town of Rigachikun. See Haliru Sirajo (2002) “A History of Rigachikun Village in Kaduna State to 2000”, BA Dissertation, BUK, Kano, p.71, Haliru Sirajo (2007) ... p. 186, also see *Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo*, 18th September, 1956.

6. *Banbancin NPC da sauran Jami'iyoyi* – (Difference between NPC and other Parties)⁷²²

Moreover, unlike the persistent and stereotype belief that the NPC was more or less a tool of the NA and the aristocracy, evidences available also indicates that the NPC was also against excesses of the NA system. According to Yakubu, “despite their varying degrees of emphasis, both NEPU and the NPC had made democratisation of the local government system a major political issue”.⁷²³ For instance, in a letter to the Emir Ja’afaru, dated 19th November, 1952, the Provincial Headquarters of the NPC in Zaria expressed an outcry on the widespread use of forced labour and wages underpayment against the *talakawa* by the people in authority. It reads:

... The NPC would like to see introduced, something like declaration of working hours and wages before the commencement of any work, to help the unfortunate victims of these corruptuous (sic) practices.⁷²⁴

Here therefore, forced labour (*aikin tilas*) which NEPU constantly stood against, was also petitioned by the leadership of the NPC. The NPC was also at the forefront in the call for the overhaul of the local government system under the aegis of NA system. It is worthy to note that, prior even to the Tafawa Balewa’s revered motion in 1954, locally in Zaria, NPC members were pressing effort for the reform of the local government system in the emirate. To this effect, on the 11th May, 1953, the NPC Secretary, Zaria branch, wrote to the Zaria NA as follows:

I am directed by the general convention of the Northern Peoples (sic) Congress Zaria Branch to present to you the Party disapproval of the way and manner Local Government Councils are run in this Emirate. The Northern Peoples (sic) Congress believes in the eventful Self Government for the Northern Region, but it believes also that in order to

⁷²² Sample of those similar speeches taken from the one of NPC *Reshen Anguwar* Juma, Zaria City, dated 20th August, 1958, to the Zaria NA Police, seeking for permission to hold party lectures (*lacca* in Hausa) in the following wards between 23rd August – 6th September, 1958: Kufena, Wusasa, Fan Madina, Ang: Haran (sic), Majeru, Kafi, Rafin Yashi, Sabon Birni, Maganda and Kwaba. For such letters see NAK/ZARNA/POL/18 N.A. Police Department (subject) N.P.C. The transliteration of the excerpt from English to Hausa is mine.

⁷²³ A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 110

⁷²⁴ See NAK/ZARNA/142/S.1/Northern People Congress (NPC) - (Letter No. ZP/1/4 Provincial Headquarters, c/o Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, 19th Nov., 1952)

be able to run a Self-Governing Northern Nigeria as a modern state it is very necessary that the masses of this country should be taught the art of government by allowing them to participate actively in the management of their own affairs.⁷²⁵

In this regard therefore, leaders of the NPC in the late 1950s were frontrunners in criticising NA's anomalies, and calling for its immediate reform, particularly "by making the judiciary independent of the N.A. on the grounds that the chiefs were tampering with the course of justice."⁷²⁶ Owing to this, it did not come as surprise when Emir Ja'afaru⁷²⁷ refused to appreciate NPC's presence in Zaria, and even further discouraged his loyalist from identifying with the party. And unlike what was prevalent in other emirates, Ja'afaru had only one leading member of NPC in his council, in person of *Sarkin Yaki* Muhammadu Sanusi.⁷²⁸ But this is not to give the impression that Ja'afaru either secretly sympathizes with the opposition NEPU, the principal rival of the NPC, or declared an open support to it. From another take, J.N. Paden, opines that, "Among the traditional rulers, Sardauna's relations with Emir Ja'afaru are not close, and Ja'afaru never really helps the NPC."⁷²⁹ This coming from his major biographer, it was certain Sardauna was the most important member of the NPC, and having such distance with Ja'afaru would definitely affect his party. What is certain is that, his neutrality and non-partisan position during this period of intense political competition was really appreciated within the circle of NEPU members in Zaria. Narrating her ordeal, Hajiya Gambo Sawaba⁷³⁰ states that,

⁷²⁵ NAK/ZARNA/142/S.1/Northern People Congress (NPC) - (Letter No. 2/130 Northern People Congress P.O. Box 211, Zaria. 11th May, 1953)

⁷²⁶ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 121-122

⁷²⁷ For detailed biography of this emir, see Usman Dalhatu (2002) *Malam Jafaru Dan Isiyaku: The Great Emir of Zazzau, Zaria*, Woodpecker Communications Services

⁷²⁸ See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 130

⁷²⁹ J.N. Paden (1986) *Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto*: ...p. 335

⁷³⁰ Hajiya Gambo Sawaba was born in 1933 at Sabon Gari Zaria. Her father, Isa Amertey, was a migrant labourer from Ghana, who worked with the Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) until his death in 1942. Her mother's name was Fatsuma (Fatima), a Nigerian of the Nupe origin, who died in 1945. Gambo Sawaba joined NEPU in Zaria at a very young age and rose to the position of national women leader of the party in 1952. She was the most famous of the earliest women to have engaged in party politics in Northern Nigeria. Gambo was equally described as an

*Tun da ake daure ni a Zariya ba'a taba kaini gabansa ba sai sau daya. A nan ne ya fadawa wadanda suka kaini cewa Mutanen banza ne. ... Ya ce su je su sake ni, ni in tafi gida. Ya bani kyautar Fam daya, ... Amma muna fita, dogarai suka kwace Fam dayan, suka kaini gidan yari.*⁷³¹

Upon all the imprisonments I suffered in Zaria, I have never been taken before him but once. On that occasion, he accused those that arrested me as stupid people and ordered them to release me immediately. He gave me a gift of one pound. But as soon as we went outside, the palace guards confiscated the one pound and imprisoned me.

Amongst the recent Emirs of Zazzau, Ja'afaru was peculiarly hailed with so much adoration as 'Adilin Sarki' (the Just King),⁷³² who was sympathetic to his people, particularly the *talakawa*. In this sense, Abbass opines that, Ja'afaru "would pick NEPU to go with as a lesser evil than NPC."⁷³³ But the Emir neither supported the NEPU nor the NPC. On the other hand, the fortunes of the NPC during Ja'afaru's period were bleak in both local and national elections. It was not only Ja'afaru's unwillingness that marred NPC's success in the Emirate, other factors relating to especially NEPU's resiliency, discipline and mobilization had contributed to that. Also the desire of the provincial authority for an indiscriminate political contest in the emirate seemed not to have favoured the NPC.⁷³⁴ Earlier, the NPC had records of success in both the

activist, involved in women liberation struggle in a predominantly conservative Muslim society of Northern Nigeria. On the other hand, because of the popular insinuation that she used to be a prostitute, and especially in a Hausa-Muslim society where religion and tradition reign supreme, Gambo Sawaba's fame received a mixed reception. While still paying tribute to her, a NEPU/PRP stalwart, Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, stated that "Gambo Sawaba (female) no body accorded her much respect and it is unfortunate to say she was a prostitute (*Tsohuwar Karuwa ce*). But the other Gambo Sawaba (male), was a scholar, versed in the Quran and the Hadith" - Interview with Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, dated 4th April, 2013 in Kaduna. For detailed account on the life history and career of Hajija Gambo Sawaba, see Rima Shawulu (1990) *The Story of Gambo Sawaba*, Jos, Echo Communications Limited, A. Abdulhamid (1991) "The Role of NEPU in Zaria Emirate with special reference to the Life History and Career of Hajija Gambo Sawaba" B.A. Dissertation, BUK, Kano, Ahmed Abdulkadir (1993) *Gambo Sawaba: Kallabi Tsakanin Rawuna*, Zaria, Ganuwa Publishers.

⁷³¹ Quoted in, Ahmed Abdulkadir (1993) *Gambo Sawaba: Kallabi Tsakanin Rawuna*, Zaria, Ganuwa Publishers, p. 30. The English rendering of the excerpt below is mine.

⁷³² The people of Zazzau used to praise Emir Ja'afaru as "Sarkin Gari, Alkalin Gari, Limamin Gari" (the King of the Land, the Judge and the Imam).

⁷³³ I.S. Abbass (2008) ... p. 144

⁷³⁴ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 131

1951⁷³⁵ and 1954⁷³⁶ elections, but in 1956, the NPC suffered the most humiliating defeat to the opposition NEPU. It was in the regional election, where NEPU's candidate, Shehu Mahiru,⁷³⁷ defeated Aliyu Turakin Zazzau, of the NPC, who was then a Regional Minister.⁷³⁸ Moreover, in the six constituencies of the province in 1956, the NPC, NEPU and UMBC won two seats each. Below was the breakdown of the 1956 Regional Elections in Zaria Province:

Constituency	Districts	Elected Candidates
Zaria Urban:	Zaria <i>da</i> Kewaye Sabon Gari Zaria Township	Shehu Mahiru (NEPU)
Zaria North:	Makarfi Ikara Soba	Ango Soba (NEPU)
Zaria West:	Birnin Gwari Giwa	Ahamadu Fatika (NPC)

⁷³⁵ This election was won by the NA nominees who also sympathised with the NPC. They were Abubakar Imam, Sambo Sarkin Fada, Sani Maigamo and Muhammadu Sanusi. And accordingly, none of them is said to have built a political career in their history. See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 132

⁷³⁶ In this Federal Election of 1954, NPC won three out of the four seats for the Zaria Province. During this period, for the first time, the Province was divided into three Electoral Districts – **Zaria Central** (cosmopolitan and consisted of both urban and rural districts). This constituted the districts of Zaria *da* Kewaye, Sabon Gari, Soba, Igabi, Kauru, Lere, Kaduna Township, Chikum, and Kajuru. Because of its large size it had two members who won under the NPC and they were Nuhu Bamalli and Abdulkadiri Makama. **Zaria North** consisted of Ikara, Makarfi, Giwa and Kubau districts and produced Ahmadu Fatika as member under NPC. The third electoral district was the **Zaria South** comprising the three independent districts of Jama'a, Kagoro and Jaba; and the other districts were Kacia, Kagarko and Zangon Katab. The southern districts as discussed earlier was dominated by the MZL (later UMBC) and thus presented Gwani Dogo.

⁷³⁷ A son of a court clerk and later a judge in many villages of Zazzau, Shehu Mahiru was at the forefront in the founding and spread of NEPU in the emirate. He established fame in bicycle hiring, repairs and sales, a business he gained popularity from and also capitalized on that towards the cause of propagating the radical views of NEPU. Because of his radical political view, Shehu Mahiru is said to have suffered victimization and several unjust prison sentences in the hands of the authority in Zaria and its environs. For example, he was once imprisoned while still a member in the Northern House of Assembly. For more on the life and political career of Shehu Mahiru, see I.S. Abbass (2008) ... pp. 142-145.

⁷³⁸ Aliyu Turaki was a traditional office holder in the palace with the title of *Turakin Zazzau* during the time of Emir Ja'afaru. See the earlier discussion on this personality in this chapter.

	Igabi	
	Chikum	
Zaria East:	Kubau	Muhammadu Sanusi (NPC)
	Kauru	
	Lere	
Zaria South East:	Zangon Katab	Didam Kagoro (MZL)
	Kagoro	
	Moroa	
Zaria South West:	Jaba	Maude Gyani (MZL)
	Kagarko	
	Kacia	
	Kajuru	

Source: Adapted from A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 135

The NPC felt highly embarrassed and in response the party put the blame on the Emir for being consistently uncooperative to their cause. Upon this, the NPC's led regional government removed Ja'afaru as Minister and member of the Regional Executive Council. It is said that Ja'afaru was even threatened to be dethrone from his seat as the Emir if not for the intervention of the Sultan of Sokoto, who warned on the repercussions of such a dicey move.⁷³⁹

However, there was a change of political climate when Aminu became the Emir following the death of Ja'afaru in 1959. The new Emir, Aminu (1959-1974)⁷⁴⁰ was said to be a

⁷³⁹ See A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 134, I. A. Abbass (2008) ... 144

⁷⁴⁰ Aminu (1959-1974) was the 18th Fulani Emir of Zazzau. He was from the *Katsinawa* dynasty unlike his predecessor, Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku of the Bornawa. After his education at Middle School, he became a Sanitary Officer Inspector, and in 1931 promoted as Chief Sanitary Inspector of Zaria NA. Aminu was appointed as Sarkin

close friend of the Sardauna, and as expected, the political substance of the NPC received a big boost.⁷⁴¹ The NPC found in Aminu an open aristocrat, willing to support and entrench the supremacy of the party in his emirate. As the Emir and the head of the NA, and with an assured loyalty and support of his subordinate Districts Heads, Aminu overturned the NPC as the most dominant political party in the emirate up to the fall of the First Republic in 1966. Statistically, it was put that during Ja'afaru's time the NPC's share of votes was a mere 39.7 percent. But the figures dramatically soared to 67.2 percent, just a year after Aminu assumed office as the Emir. This was followed with NPC's landslide victory of all the eight parliamentary seats in the regional elections of May 1961.⁷⁴² It is said to be the highest percentage of result gained by the NPC throughout Northern Nigeria.⁷⁴³ Aminu's support for NPC was so apparent that "he was said to have attended NPC campaign meetings for the 1964 Federal elections".⁷⁴⁴ However, this is not to say that the political journey on the side of the NPC was an easy one as NEPU continued to be resilient.

Sabon Gari Zaria in 1938, and in 1940 combined those duties with that of President of Mixed Court until 1944, when he became *Dan Iya*, the District Head of Sabon Gari.

⁷⁴¹ The Sardauna, being the Premier of the Northern Region and no doubt the most powerful political personality during that time was said to be instrumental to the appointment of Aminu as the Emir of Zazzau. This relationship according to sources stemmed up from the incident of trial in Zaria of the Sardauna (then a District Head), who was accused of embezzling *Jangali* tax in 1943. Aminu was then the President of Mixed Court at Sabon Gari, and said have played role in ensuring Sardauna's success in the appeal trial at Zaria. Thus, for the NPC to enjoy the full support of the emir was never a surprising phenomenon. The names of the other six candidates that contested for the emirship were *Madaki* Shehu, *Katuka* Sulemanu, *Wambai* Sani Maigamo, *Wali* Umaru, and *Danmadami* Umaru, and all of the five from the Bornawa dynasty. The remaining candidate was *Ciroma* Muhammadu Aminu from the Mallawa dynasty. For details on the trial of Sardauna in Zaria, see the work of his major biographer, J. N. Paden (1986) ... pp. 119-123. Also see A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 137

⁷⁴² See A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 137; A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 189

⁷⁴³ 'Voting Behaviour in Three Constituencies' in Mackintosh, Nigerian Government, p. 326, as cited in A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 189

⁷⁴⁴ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 139

c) The NEPU in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate

Re-directing now to the activities of NEPU in the Emirate, the party as noted earlier was ideologically against the *sarauta* system. Unquestionably also, the party was against the British colonial authority (*mulkin mallaka*). In the words of a NEPU stalwart, Balarabe Musa, the party was particularly against the *sarauta* and the NA system “because it was oppressive and exploitative, and it carried out the functions assigned to it by the conquering British colonial government”.⁷⁴⁵ Certainly, NEPU was utterly against both domestic or foreign oppression and “linked the deplorable conditions of life of the ordinary people, the talakawa, to their domination and exploitation by British colonialism through the agency of the Native Authorities”.⁷⁴⁶ Thus, unlike the NPC, NEPU lacked both the support of the *masu sarauta* (aristocracy and NA) and the alien colonial authorities. In fact, a renowned Governor of Northern Nigeria, Sir Bryan Sharwood-Smith (1954-1957),⁷⁴⁷ once described that “the aim of NPC was to ‘unite and reform’, while NEPU was a ‘radical organisation’ and its aim was ‘to destroy and replace’ ”.⁷⁴⁸ Recalling and describing the leadership of NEPU in Zazzau Emirate, Balarabe Musa, who was then the party’s youth leader in London, states that:

We can say Gambo Sawaba (male), Gambo Sawaba (female), Ango Soba, member House of Representatives, Muhammadu Alangade, who was also a member House of Representatives from Sabon Gari, then Shehu Mahiru who became a member of the House of Representatives from Zaria. These were the leading members of the party who were known even outside Zazzau Emirate.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁵ Interview, Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, 19th April, 2013, Aliyu Turaki road, Kaduna, Kaduna State

⁷⁴⁶ Alkasum Abba (2007) ... p. 123

⁷⁴⁷ Bryan Sharwood-Smith was a British Colonial Officer. He served in Sokoto, Kano, Zaria and Niger Provinces from 1927-43, military intelligence duties from 1940-42, Resident in Niger, Sokoto and Kano from 1943-52, Acting Chief Commissioner in 1950, Lieutenant Governor and Governor General of Northern Nigeria from 1952-57. See B. Sharwood-Smith (1967) *But Always as Friends: Northern Nigeria and the Cameroons, 1921-1957*, London

⁷⁴⁸ Quoted in A. Abdulhamid (1991) ... p. 106

⁷⁴⁹ Interview, Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, 19th April, 2013

Furthermore, unlike the NPC whose leaders were influential men, as discussed above, the crop of people that made up NEPU leadership were non-NA officials or members of the *sarauta* families. They also differed in the acquisition of the western-type of education (*boko*) which the modern-type of party politics deeply rooted in. While some of the NPC leading members were even Katsina College graduates, only few of the NEPU leaders reached up to the Middle school level of that period. In relation to the aforementioned NEPU leaders, Balarabe Musa clarifies that:

Gambo Sawaba (male) had no Western education but he had Islamic education at high level. Gambo Sawaba (female) had no Islamic education at all. In fact, she was a ‘lumpenproletariat’,⁷⁵⁰ she probably had Western education, but it was doubtful. But she could speak English, Hausa, Yoruba and Nupe, simply because of her origin/background. Some people even believe she was a Ghanaian. Ango Soba was educated up to the Middle school level. Shehu Mahiru had Islamic education but he had no Western education. Muhammadu Alangade, I doubt if he had either of the two (Islamic and Western education) at high level. He probably had Islamic education at a reasonable level but definitely he didn’t have Western education.⁷⁵¹

The disparity was not only peculiar to Zazzau, at both national and provincial leaderships, NEPU “comprised mainly of people with little education, western or eastern”.⁷⁵² In spite of all these disadvantages, NEPU remains dogged with its enthusiastic followers (*Rundunar Sawaba*), drawn mostly from “the teachers, the clerks, the petty traders, the farm peasants, the lorry drivers, the

⁷⁵⁰ According to the *Encarta Dictionary* (Premium 2009), Lumpenproletariat connotes, “in Marxist analysis, people regarded as living on the margins of society, particularly criminals, homeless people, and the long-term unemployed”. It also entails “people from the lowest social class who are regarded as too content with a life that is supposedly intellectually empty and socially inferior.” Going by these definitions, Gambo Sawaba (female), who was said to have spent some parts of her life without a husband, probably because of political activism, would definitely fall under the circle of people which the word (lumpenproletariat) described. This is in relation to the Muslim-Hausa society of Zaria which Gambo lived. Therefore, Balarabe Musa’s reference to Gambo Sawaba as a lumpenproletariat is in conformity with the socio-cultural setting of the society in which both of them live.

⁷⁵¹ Interview, Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa

⁷⁵² A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 107

truck pushers, the women and the ex-servicemen etc, etc”.⁷⁵³ From the social outlook, these classes of people that supported NEPU were vulnerable and also easy prey to authority’s high-handedness. Ultimately, authorities’ intimidation, violence and naked assault on NEPU supporters became the order of the day throughout Northern Nigeria. The assault exacerbated, particularly in Zaria Province, from 1959 with the demise of Ja’afaru and accession of Aminu as the Emir. According to a source, Aminu had a history of grudge against NEPU since his days as the *Iya*, and the District Head of Sabon Gari, before becoming the Emir. It is said that, *Iya* Aminu had once been “dragged to court by NEPU in Zaria where he suffered not only social but also psychological demoralization of the trial in Kano.”⁷⁵⁴ Therefore, it was not a surprise if Aminu had paid back on NEPU in such a posture. This and coupled with other reasons, I supposed, made Aminu’s era a source of notorious reference amongst NEPU members. Not only in the city of Zaria, records and narrations made by many surviving NEPU supporters around the Northern Districts of the Emirate reveals same stories of suffering and imprisonment.

However, why was it that the NEPU despite all the victimization still remained resilient in the Emirate? One of the reasons popularized about NEPU is that, the party was more articulate in terms of ideological mobilization of its supporters especially during rally and election periods. The party had eloquent speakers, who “by exposing the NPC and NA as well as attacking them from the top, it means that those below them were highly inconsequential”.⁷⁵⁵ Reporting on one of NEPU speakers, M. Jibrin, during a party rally at Kurmin Kaduna in 1954, *Danmadami* Umaru, District Head Igabi, informed the Emir, Ja’afaru that:

⁷⁵³ *Manifesto of the Northern Elements Progressive Union, for the 1959 Federal Elections*, Kano, Oluseyi Printing Press, p. 2

⁷⁵⁴ I.S. Abbass (2008) ... p. 146

⁷⁵⁵ I.S. Abbass (2008) ... p. 145

*Da farko ya ce Talakawa kada su yarda sarakunansu su sa musu aiki irin na sarauta, sai sun biya su ko sharan hanya ko daukar kaya irin na hakimi ko na wani ma'aikaci, ko wani Bature ko wani alkali, kada wani talaka ya dauka sai sun yi lada da sarkin garinsu. In kuwa y ace ba zai biya ba to kada su dauka, kada talaka ya huda audugarshi, wani Malamim Auduga ya zo don bai sare karmo ba, Malamin Audugar y ace ya kama shi ya yarda don wannan ba oda bane zalunci ne, saboda haka kada su yarda sai sun ga dama su sare.*⁷⁵⁶

(The *Talakawa* should resist any form of aristocratic exploitation and particularly insistence of payment of any work before embarking on it; be it road clearing, carrying of load like that of a District Head, or any State official, or a visiting Whiteman (British Official), or any local Judge. Nobody should carry anything until he made good bargain with his Village Head; and refuse if otherwise. Nobody should again listen to Cotton Inspection Officers, who used to arrest farmers on the grounds of not cutting down cotton-stalks after harvest. This is not in order, it is an injustice. Therefore, they should cut it at their own will.)

Even though, the authenticity of this report could not be ascertained due to the fact that, 'sharri' (political blackmail) became the primary weapon used by the N.P.C. against N.E.P.U. leaders.⁷⁵⁷

In any case, the content of the report clearly corroborates with the persistent NEPU attack on the *sarauta* and NA establishment. Secondly, NEPU's continued resilience against NPC/NA victimization was crucially attributed to natural human instinct of struggle for freedom. Speaking on this aspect of human struggle, a NEPU stalwart, Balarabe Musa, historicized what transpired down to the current political dispensation as thus:

Because there are no alternatives, they had to liberate themselves. Nobody throughout human history has remained a slave without a fight to free himself. So it continued up to today. The successor of NEPU – PRP (People Redemptions' Party) is suffering from the same oppression at the lower level. ... It has become virtually difficult for the PRP to win any election because the elections are rigged. There is the problem of incumbency and there is the problem of the deciding role of money

⁷⁵⁶ NAK/ZARNA/142/S.2/Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU), Letter No. 40/13 Igabi District, 5/9/54. The English rendering of the excerpt is mine.

⁷⁵⁷ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 158

power in politics and elections which make it difficult for PRP to win any election anywhere in Nigeria.⁷⁵⁸

In addition to the above reasons, NEPU also remained defiant and resorted to the use of violence to counter the NPC's political blackmail and the use of agents of coercion (NA Police – *Yandoka*) against its members. The condition was so tense that a para-military group called the *aljanun dare* (literally - Night Spirits) was formed by the NEPU members in order “to organize violence against individual N.P.C. members ...”⁷⁵⁹ The *aljanun dare* were drawn from the youth members of the party and, it also included some women whom their leader in Zaria, Gambo Sawaba, mentored and made to attack any stubborn NPC member in the nightfall.⁷⁶⁰ In response, the NPC intensified its brutality in order to neutralize the opposition especially through the use of framed blackmail, the NA Police and Court. It is said that between 1951 and 1957 alone, about 320 NEPU members in the emirate served various prison terms for politically related offences.⁷⁶¹ A leading member of NEPU in Igabi District, Alhaji Sanda recalled that,

We were looked upon as inferior to dogs and sometimes equated as *Kafirai* (unbelievers). I was imprisoned five times because of NEPU in Rigachikun and Zaria, with jail terms ranging from 3, 4, to 6 months. In the last arrest, I spent a whole year in prison at Zaria.⁷⁶²

This was also the case in Kubau District, where all the leading members of NEPU such as Malam Jafaru, Danjuma Baranchi, Ummaru Ja Bature, Tanko Kwala, Malam Yakubu Maikwano, Isa Gama and Sarkin Dambe, were arrested and detained prior to the election held on the 12th and 13th December, 1959. The reason for their arrest was to give room for the NPC/NA's preconceived plan to rig the election and which they achieved by declaring Malam Yusha'u

⁷⁵⁸ Interview, Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa

⁷⁵⁹ See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 160; Ahmed Abdulkadir (1993) ... p. 31

⁷⁶⁰ See Ahmed Abdulkadir (1993) ... 31

⁷⁶¹ See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 157

⁷⁶² As quoted in Haliru Sirajo (2008) “The British Administration and the Creation of the District Head System in Zazzau Emirate: A case study of Igabi District, 1907-1976”, MA Thesis, BUK, Kano, p. 177

Muhammed of NPC as the Representative for the Kubau-Soba constituency. On their release after the election, NEPU members went on rampage and forcefully made the Village Head of Kubau to remain indoors for several days for fear of assassination by the raging NEPU victims.⁷⁶³ In fact, victimization of NEPU members was not only peculiar to Zazzau, Yakubu states “that in many emirates by the mid-1950s, the party was reduced to an irrepressible core of die-hards”.⁷⁶⁴ These die-hard members were those the party, in its 1959 Federal Election Manifestoes referred to as those who suffered “intimidation and victimisation; naked beastly actions and repression of the worst type.”⁷⁶⁵

However, what was unique about NEPU in Zazzau Emirate was its relative success when compared with the other emirates in the region. The best comparison was Kano, where NEPU originated and the base of its National Headquarters,⁷⁶⁶ but it could not return many electoral seats apart from that of Malam Aminu Kano, the National President of the party. In Kano, NPC reigned supreme above NEPU in almost all the elections during that period. In Zazzau Emirate, the scene was different, as both in the 1956 Regional, and the 1959 Federal Elections, NEPU performed wonderfully, whereas NPC’s “performance remained unimpressive.”⁷⁶⁷ This is in addition to other local elections in both urban and rural districts constituencies which NEPU also excelled in the Emirate. In the light of all these, it was even envisioned by the NEPU leaders in

⁷⁶³ See Halidu Yalwa (1995) “History of Kubau Town to 1983”, BA Dissertation, BUK, Kano, p. 63

⁷⁶⁴ A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 123. For more, see A.D. Yahaya’s exposition on the ‘Official responses to the Opposition’, particularly on NEPU in Zaria and other towns in the Northern section of the emirate (pp. 156-160).

⁷⁶⁵ Manifesto of the Northern Elements Progressive Union, for the 1959 Federal Elections, ... p. 2

⁷⁶⁶ It is said that NEPU was formed by a group of eight people in Kano, on the 8th August, 1950 (around 8 o’ clock in the morning). The eight men were: Abba Maikwaru, Mudi Sipikin, Bello Ijuma, Musa Kallah, Abdulkadir Na Balarabe Danjaji, Babanliya Manaja, Garba Bida, and Magaji Danbatta. See Ahmed Abdulkadir (1993) ... p. 55

⁷⁶⁷ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 135

Zaria, that the party's National Headquarters be relocated from Kano to Zaria, on the account of success of the party.⁷⁶⁸ But this did not take place.

From 1959 to 1966, as observed earlier, with the coming into power of Emir Aminu, NEPU successes in the Emirate was severely curbed. NEPU and even the UMBC lost all the seats in the elections that followed in Zazzau Emirate. This is emphatically as a result of all the aforementioned advantages enjoyed by the NPC, as a government party, to the detriment of NEPU, who were seen as a group of subversive elements. The British also favoured the NPC in order to ensure political continuity in Northern Nigeria after Independence. In doing this, the British made the Native Authorities as the bedrock for the support of the ruling political party (NPC) by working closely with the Emirs, District Heads, and other local authorities against the opposition political parties.⁷⁶⁹ Consequent to this, the political atmosphere became rancorous, and with features also at the national level characterised by regionalism, ethnicity, and to some extent religious chauvinism. In the Western Region, there was the Action Group (AG) led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, and in the Eastern Region, we have the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) headed by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. It was on this equation of regionalism the country's political parties operated and the slogan of the day according to Dudley was "East for Easterners, West for Westerners, and North for Northerners and Nigeria for nobody".⁷⁷⁰ On the eve of the Independence election held in 1959, the NPC and NCNC formed a coalition government with AG in the opposition. It was on this un-healthy-political climate Nigeria got its Independence on the 1st October, 1960; and the scene continued to deteriorate and culminating to

⁷⁶⁸ See I.M. Abbass (2008) ... p. 145

⁷⁶⁹ See I.A. Abba (1985) "The changing patterns of Local Authority and the evolution of District Head System in Gombe Emirate C. 1804-1960", PhD Thesis, BUK, Kano, p. 331. For further discussion on this British aim of political continuity in Northern Nigeria, see C.S. Whitaker (1970) *The Politics of Tradition: Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, pp. 291-329

⁷⁷⁰ B.J. Dudley (1986)... p. 175

the end of the First Republic in January, 1966. The chaos which followed the coup plunged the nation into the Civil War from 1967 to 1970.

(III) The 1954 Local Government Reform (NA Law of 1954)

In the period of the 1950s, reform of the local government system had remained a major priority pursued amongst the ‘progressive’ and the educated elites, who now formed associations which later transformed into political parties for quicker realization of the said aims.⁷⁷¹ However, as enunciated earlier, both NEPU and the NPC shared views on the need to reform the local government system (NA) in the Northern Region, only that the two parties differed sharply in the ways and manners the reform should be carried out. NEPU with its radical ideology called for total eradication of the *sarauta* system and its leanings in the NA system. While the conservative NPC proffered for gradual reform and maintenance of the status quo.⁷⁷² What was certain amongst all the political blocks was that the NA system must be “restructured to reflect the changing circumstances in Northern Nigeria.”⁷⁷³ In the wake of this quagmire, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, a Provincial Member for Bauchi, moved a motion in the Northern House of Assembly on the 19th August, 1950, calling for the House to listen to the demands channeled and championed by the crops of his ‘co-educated elites’⁷⁷⁴ from the region. The status of the sole NA system was the major object of their grievances. They labeled it as being too autocratic and

⁷⁷¹ An expositional discussion has been made on the emergence of western educated elements in Northern Nigeria and their demands in the region according to the changing nature of political happenings in the Nigerian polity as a whole. See G.A. Kwanashie (2002) *The Making of the North in Nigeria 1900-1965*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, pp. 50-87

⁷⁷² See the earlier discussion in this chapter on the formation, activities and achievements of these political parties in Northern Nigeria and Zazzau Emirate or Zaria province in particular.

⁷⁷³ A.D. Yahaya (1980) p.26. For a detailed discussion on the rise of the educated elites in Northern Nigeria, see A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... pp. 45-81

⁷⁷⁴ These early educated elites from Northern Nigeria who prominently supported Abubakar Tafawa Balewa’s motion were Shettima Kashim (later Sir Kashim Ibrahim), Aliyu Makaman Bida, Walin Borno Muhammadu, Yahaya Ilorin, Bello Kano, and Muhammadu Ribadu.

“even be said to be against the broad principles of Islam”.⁷⁷⁵ In the House, Balewa made the following renowned speech:

That this House respectfully recommends to His Excellency the Governor that he be pleased to appoint an Independent Commission to investigate the system of Native Administration in the Northern Provinces and to make recommendations for its modernisation and reform, and that the Northern Public be given the fullest opportunity to discuss and criticise the report and recommendations of the commission before their final acceptance by the Governor.⁷⁷⁶

Balewa went further to divulge and touched some issues of great concern in the NA system, which according to him required urgent attention, if at all the system was to continue according to its formative principles. These points raised by Balewa as itemised by Yahaya were:

- a) the need for a clear cut definition of the functions of N.As;
- b) the status of members of the N.A. Councils should not be advisory;
- c) delegation of responsibilities to district and village councils;
- d) a training scheme for N.A. staff;
- e) measures to stamp out bribery and corruption in the N.A.;
- f) the lack of contact between field administrative officers and the people;⁷⁷⁷

To carry out these herculean tasks, it was advised that people with versed experiences in and outside the government; and those with good grasp of local government system both in the North and Africa as a whole, should be made members of the Commission.⁷⁷⁸ To the British, the resolution passed was a noble idea and very timely. But the opinion to form an independent body to investigate activities of the N.As was utterly rejected by most of the senior Emirs in the region. The only exceptions were said to be the Emirs of Katsina and Ilorin. Leading the rejectionists list were the Sultan of Sokoto, the Shehu of Borno, and the Emirs of Kano and

⁷⁷⁵ Quoted in A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... 35

⁷⁷⁶ Quoted in A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 36 (and for the full text of Balewa's speech at the Northern House of Assembly, 19th August, 1950, see pp. 225-229)

⁷⁷⁷ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 36

⁷⁷⁸ See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 36

Zazzau. They jointly accused Balewa of being too harsh, and considered his idea for reconditioning all aspects of the NA system regrettable. In fact, the spurred reactions of the emirs was so hostile that Balewa was even viewed or likened as an ‘opportunist’, who by virtue of his position trying to undermine the emirs and to stir-up discontent.⁷⁷⁹ In particular, the Emir of Zazzau, Ja’afaru, was said to have bitterly stressed that:

The pace at which modernisation and reforms are being introduced is already almost dangerously fast and yet Mallam Abubakar dares to say that there have been no improvements (“*babu gyara*”) in the system of administration in the past fifty years... It is difficult to believe that Mallam Abubakar is serious when he said that he cannot find any grounds for the system of sole Native Authority in the North, he knows that before the British came there were many Chiefs who were completely autocratic and powerful...⁷⁸⁰

Therefore, “For Ja’afaru, (according to Yakubu) Balewa was a self-appointed reformer motivated by selfish interest rather than genuine desire for change.”⁷⁸¹ The Emir of Bauchi, Yakubu III, from whose emirate Balewa hailed, took it, perhaps, more personal and, “asked if the *talakawa* had ever complained to him against the NA system; (or) “how many *talakawa* were aware of what he was doing in Kaduna.”⁷⁸² On the other hand, the less powerful chiefs in the region showed little or no concern to the motion in question. In spite of all these, Balewa’s motion marked a watershed in the reform of the NA system in the region. On the issue of bribery and corruption, all the monarchs admitted its existence, and Ja’afaru particularly, who in spite of being a strong critique of Balewa’s motion, concurred and referred to it as ‘evil and punishable

⁷⁷⁹ See the various quoted reactions of the emirs in Northern Nigeria on Abubakar Tafawa Balewa’s 1950 speech on the reforms of NA system in A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... pp. 90-92

⁷⁸⁰ Quoted in A.M. Ladan (1993) “The History of Zaria Emirate Council from 1959”, B.A. Dissertation, BUK, Kano, p. 68. See also further reported comments made by the Emir Ja’afaru on Tafawa Balewa’s motion in A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... pp. 90-91

⁷⁸¹ A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 90

⁷⁸² See A.M. Yakubu (2006) p. 91-92

by Allah'.⁷⁸³ The emirs also welcomed the idea of training of NA staff to increase their efficiency and, through this, as time permit the delegation of responsibilities to districts and villages. But the emirs had expressed dismay on the issue of sharing their powers to 'subordinate councils'. They also expressed resentment on the increasing influence of the educated class whom they viewed with suspicion and; as egotistic elements bend on undermining their natural position of authority as 'Fathers of the Land (or People)' (*Uban Kasa*).

Consequently, Balewa's motion which sparked up bitter reactions earlier turned out to have far reaching results in the NA system in Northern Nigeria. In the first place, provincial conferences (NA and General Conferences) were held throughout the region, "to stimulate suggestions for improvement from within."⁷⁸⁴ In Zaria, the Conference was held between 14 and 16 November 1950, with 31 persons in attendance. The Emir of Zazzau, Ja'afaru was the Chairman, together with other top NA officials and District Heads across the emirate attended the conference. The Chiefs of Kagoro, Kwoi, and Moroa, with members of their various councils were also in attendance.⁷⁸⁵ In the General Conference, 42 persons were said to be in attendance. Two District Heads - the *Sarkin Fada*, District Head of Kubau, and the *Magajin Gari*, District Head of Kaduna, represented the bulk of the district heads of the emirate. A number of Village Heads (*Dagatai*) from different districts of the emirate were also in attendance. The Independent Districts of Southern Zaria also sent representatives at the conference. Others were officials from various NA departments and representatives of some 'Unions'⁷⁸⁶ in the emirate. However, little

⁷⁸³ A.D. Yahaya (1980)... p. 39-40

⁷⁸⁴ Quoted in A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 94

⁷⁸⁵ See the full list of the persons that attended the Zaria NA Conference in 1950 in A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 51 (notes 53).

⁷⁸⁶ These unions included the Zaria Branch of the Jam'iyar Mutanen Arewa (JMA), represented by Abubakar Imam and Adamu Wushishi JMA Kaduna branch, Northern Teachers' Association, Zaria Branch, represented by M. Mora, Yahaya Gusau representing Zaria Secondary School, Baba Gana, Clerical Training School, P.O. Ishaku, School of

or no meaningful deliberation was achieved at the sessions of the conference. This is especially in the NA conference where the Emir dominated its proceedings and leaves no room for criticism of the system. While in the General Conference, only the courageous, Aliyu Turaki,⁷⁸⁷ who was an NA staff, was bold enough to criticize the system. Others who also spoke at the conference were non-NA staff, and this included representatives from the southern Zaria Independent Districts.⁷⁸⁸ In the case of members from the various districts of the emirate, it was “difficult to determine since they said scarcely anything”⁷⁸⁹ at the conference.

It is pertinent to understand that, discussion at this conference (s) was predominated by two opposing camps – one by the Emir and his loyal supporters from the NA establishment, who believe in the continuation of the status quo. The second group was made up of emergent western educated class (*‘yan boko*), whose plea “was for participatory local government”⁷⁹⁰ and reduction in the unlimited powers of the Emir. However, since the British were still very supportive of the Emirs, who also were vested to act as ‘conveners and prime movers’⁷⁹¹ of the conferences, thus, opinions spiritedly moved by the educated class were dampened. In fact, because of the preconceived support the colonial administration had for the emirs, they made the opinion expressed by the educated class as a ‘misunderstood’ position of what really the conference demands on improving the activities of the NA system.

In spite of all these, both parties agreed on the existence of bribery and corruption across all cadres of the NA system. In the words of Yahaya, in Zaria, during this period, “At least three

Pharmacy, and Umaru Bauchi and Aliyu Gwandu of the Samaru Agricultural Station respectively. See A.D. Yahaya (1980) for detailed list of the participants, pp. 51-52

⁷⁸⁷ See as discussed earlier in the chapter, a brief on this personality - Aliyu Turaki.

⁷⁸⁸ See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 40-43

⁷⁸⁹ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 42

⁷⁹⁰ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 47

⁷⁹¹ A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 95

main types of abuse were associated with the N.A.: these were *aikin tilas*, (forced labour) *zalunchi* (official corruption and extortion) and discrimination.”⁷⁹² It was also achieved base on the recommendations of the two conferences on the need for an improved and effective administration especially at the district and village levels. The dominant features of the recommendation were popular participation (democratization), welfare-oriented system at the local level, mass public re-orientation, and so on. Therefore, in view of our significant emphasis on the development of local government system, it deems necessary to put down a summary of the various recommendations made, as a result of, first, Balewa’s motion and, later the conferences which followed. This is as carefully articulated and itemized by Yakubu as follows:

1. The pyramid system of Village, District and Outer Councils should be generally adopted.
2. Village Councils should include elected members from each and a few representatives of special interest.
3. District and Outer Councils should not only be composed of members elected by the Village and District Councils respectively, they should also include local head of departments and special representatives of interests not otherwise adequately represented.
4. District Heads should have some education and be trained in their job.
5. Steps should be taken to ensure that District and Village Councils are properly trained and supervised.
6. The Chiefs’ advisory council should be made more representative.
7. In the view of General Conference which (improperly) discussed the matter, all Sole Authorities should be abolished.
8. There should be more devolution of authority to District and Village Councils.
9. More educational tours are needed.
10. There is very little general awareness of civic responsibilities. The remedy is mass education, propaganda and publicity.
11. Bribery and corruption are extremely prevalent. A full-scale campaign is needed using every form of propaganda, severe penalties should be inflicted on both giver and receiver, and all new appointments should be referred to selection board.⁷⁹³

As these conferences were taking place all over the region, concurrently also, the colonial administration constituted a two-man team to undertake an in-depth study of the NA system,

⁷⁹² A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 45

⁷⁹³ A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... pp. 96-97

with a view to recording the progress made and the areas requiring immediate improvement. The outcome of this exercise is known as the Maddocks-Pott⁷⁹⁴ Report, prepared by two former Oxford and, experienced colonial officers in Northern Nigeria. The underlying submission of the report concerning, as a whole, ‘progress or otherwise’, in the local government system is that, “over much of the Region the machinery has been provided. It remains for the people to make it work.”⁷⁹⁵ The general impression was that at the ‘*classical emirates*’ (or bigger Emirates), an appreciable ‘solid progress’⁷⁹⁶ was achieved; only that, at the lower levels (district and villages), there was still a gulf to be filled. Thus, Maddocks-Pott Report was used (intended) to augment the recommendations of the NA and General Conferences. And to give it an official effect, a Joint Select Committee was set up by the Northern House of Assembly, which look into the reports of both the Provincial Conferences and the Maddocks-Pott Report. This provided for the Joint Select Committee, therefore, as terms of reference on which it “made its recommendation on local government reforms”⁷⁹⁷ in Northern Nigeria.

In 1952, prior to the enactment of the awaited N.A. Law of 1954, a resounding move was made when the sole NA was abolished; and in its place a Chief-in-Council was introduced.⁷⁹⁸ The sole NA system was blemish for wielding unlimited powers to the chiefs, and which also put

⁷⁹⁴ On these two men, Maddocks is said to have started as a Cadet in Kano in 1929. He served in both Plateau and Benue Provinces as a District Officer (DO and SDO capacities). Through the ranks of colonial administration, he rose to the position of Civil Secretary, and as Deputy Governor in 1957. He ended up as Governor in South Pacific colony of Fiji Island (1957-1963). While Pott, started his cadetship in 1936, and served in six different provinces, including a spell in Kaduna, the regional headquarters. He had an immense knowledge of local government system, and he authored the 1953 “*Progress Report on Local Government in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*”. Pott retired in 1962, after serving as the Permanent Secretary, Ministry for Local Government. For more, see A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 93-94 and p. 101 (notes 47).

⁷⁹⁵ A.M. Yakubu (2006)... p. 94

⁷⁹⁶ This is contained in the ‘Progress Report on Local Government in the Provinces Northern Provinces of Nigeria’ which was a summary of the earlier submitted ‘Maddocks-Pott Report’, as quoted in S.A. Oladosu (1981) *Kaduna Essays in Local Government*, Kaduna, Department of Local Government Studies, Kaduna Polytechnic, p. 15

⁷⁹⁷ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 53

⁷⁹⁸ The decision to abolish the Sole NA followed a resolution passed in the House of Chiefs, which the Sultan is said to have moved and the motion was particularly supported by the Emir of Zazzau, Malam Ja’afaru. See A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 133, A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 53

them excessively on top of their councils. This change in the status of the NA system coincided with the release of the ‘Pott report’⁷⁹⁹ on the progress of local government in Northern region; and which was itself a culmination of the previous efforts made to that effect. Notwithstanding, even with the new reconstituted Chief-in-Council in place, this still, “did not nullify the critics of the Native Authorities”⁸⁰⁰ in Northern Nigeria.

The climax of these pervasive urge for the reform of the local government system, and perhaps as a response to the NA’s faultfinders, a new legal document called the NA Law of 1954 was promulgated. The law officially introduced five different types of Native Authorities of which the commonest were the Emir-in-Council (set up in bigger emirates), and the Emir-and-Council (set up in smaller emirates).⁸⁰¹ Thus, the big Emirate of Zazzau, with a sitting first class Emir, was peremptorily constituted with the Emir-in-Council type of NA system. In this Council, the Emir was the Chairman, “and was to consult and act in accordance with the decision of his council but he could act against the decision of his council in the interest of order and good government.”⁸⁰² The smaller emirates were constituted as Emir-and-Council, and here according to the law, the Emir must act (in theory) in accordance with the decision of the council. What is instructive to note is that, the NA Law of 1954 which was to serve as a buffer to the ailing NA system, emphasises democratization, popular participation and creation of subordinate councils. These councils were the Provincial, Outer, Town, District and Village Councils.

⁷⁹⁹ See D.A. Pott (1953) *Progress Report on Local Government in the Northern Region of Nigeria*, Kaduna, Government Printer

⁸⁰⁰ Alex Gboyega (1989) “Local Government Administration Since Independence” in Alex Gboyega et’al (ed) *Nigerian Since Independence: The First 25 Years* Vol. VIII. Ibadan, Heinemann, p. 166

⁸⁰¹ The other types of the Native Authorities were the ‘Council’ – it entails a Council of federated native authorities made up of smaller NA’s (small in terms of size, financial and human resources). This type of NA was common in the non-emirate areas such as the Jema’a federation in Zaria Province. The other two were the Group of Persons and the Caretaker (Sole authority) types. Even though both of the two were provided in the law, was never set up.

⁸⁰² A.D. Yahaya (1989) “Local Government Reforms: The Military Initiative” in P.P. Ekeh (ed) *Nigeria Since Independence: Politics and Constitutions. The First 25 Years* Vol. V. Ibadan, Heinemann, p. 235

However, no meaningful development was achieved in terms of functional responsibilities accorded to the above councils. Only the District and Town Councils to some degree were accorded minor administrative and developmental functions.⁸⁰³ And as a whole, the Emir, Ja'afaru was said to have had a firm control of his Council until his death in 1959. Commenting on the scene, Yahaya concludes that:

In reality, all matters coming before the council were either unanimously accepted or unanimously rejected and therefore there was no known occasion in the Zaria N.A. Council when any decision was settled by a vote.⁸⁰⁴

This was also the arrangement at the Town, District and Village Councils. Even though, District Council stood relatively more popular than the other councils, as a result of the 'budgetary allocation' (District Council Fund)⁸⁰⁵ it attracted. However, it was not all the districts that enjoyed this financial privilege. This is because, by 1961, "in Zaria Emirate, only the Igabi, Ikara, Kacia, and Zangon Katab Councils were allowed to function as district councils with financial responsibilities."⁸⁰⁶ This therefore, reduced the general statement made by the Resident in which he reported that, in Zaria, as early as 1952, "districts and village councils had been firmly established in the Province."⁸⁰⁷ In view of these malfunctions and the need to improve the efficacy of the NA Law of 1954, measures were taken in which the law was severally amended between 1955 and 1963. Moreover, these subordinate – District, Town, and Village councils were also found deficient in terms of linking up the rural populace with the NA. A more profound body was introduced in 1956, called the Outer Council. This type of body was already

⁸⁰³ It is said that this initiative of warranting certain functions to Districts in Zaria was not something entirely. It has predated the 1950s reform because since in 1949, Zaria N.A. had established a district council fund. This is in order to enable districts to carry out minor administrative and developmental functions.

⁸⁰⁴ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 58

⁸⁰⁵ See Alex Gboyega (1989) ... p. 168

⁸⁰⁶ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 61

⁸⁰⁷ Quoted in A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 59

on experiment in Bornu since 1948.⁸⁰⁸ The Outer Council had no executive powers but it was hailed as a vibrant initiative; and the ‘most representative body’, aimed at ‘creating a central forum for linking the people more directly with the N.A. council’. The council was vested to advice and to proffer solutions to the NA in matters relating to administrative excesses.⁸⁰⁹ This was the composition of the Zaria Outer Council, as illustrated by Yahaya that,

... out of the 75 members who composed the Outer Council, 45 were to be elected, 6 were nominated by the N.A. and 24 were ex-officio members. The elected members were drawn from the District Councils, 6 from Zangon Katab, 4 each from Ikara, Lere and Makarfi districts, 3 each from the Zaria Town Council, Giwa, Igabi, Kubau, and Soba districts. Kacia, Kagarko, Kajuru, and Kauru districts supplied 2 members each while Chikum, *Sabon Gari* and Zaria each provided one member.⁸¹⁰

There were also representatives to the above council which the law did not mandate their presence through electoral process. These classes of representatives were from outside the realm of the NA. They included the Cattle Fulani, the *Mallamai* (religious leaders), traders, local craft leaders, teachers, and other technical and commercial staff.⁸¹¹ In essence, this entails that representative bodies were drawn across all the Northern District of the Emirate to the central body of the NA at Zaria. For the Southern Zaria people, the Outer Council for the first time brought them in direct contact with this powerful centre. This wholesome body was stipulated to be meeting twice in a year at Zaria for exchange of information on the development of the local government system in the emirate.

However, the idea of setting up the Outer Council which was to encourage local participation in government and development at the rural areas did not materialize as ‘envisaged’

⁸⁰⁸ See Alex Gboyega (1989) ... p. 168

⁸⁰⁹ See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 64; Alex Gboyega (1989) ... p. 168

⁸¹⁰ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 64

⁸¹¹ See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 64

earlier. The twice yearly meetings never live up to its biddings as the central NA still remained a dominant force dictating all the functions of the system. Thus, it did not come as a surprise when in 1959, “the Outer Council was dissolved and superseded by another body”.⁸¹² Moreover, the malfunction was not only in the Outer Council, other established subordinate bodies – the District, Town and Village Councils, all according to Alex Gboyega only “bred disillusionment as far as popular participation in local government administration was concerned.”⁸¹³ In the words of Yahaya, “Thus the initial enthusiasm which ushered in the formation of these subordinate councils was not sustained”⁸¹⁴; and perhaps also, right from the start, these councils were not allowed to function accordingly. Therefore, we can submit or perhaps surmise, that the political and administrative changes introduced in the 1950s which was symbolized in the 1954 NA Law seems to have failed in laying a solid participatory local government system. Much of the effects of the 1950s initiatives or reforms were to be realized to some greater extent in the post Independence period, particularly under the military regime.

(IV) The Impacts of the 1954 Local Government Reform in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate

The reform on local government as approved by the Northern Region, House of Assembly and Chiefs, in 1954, was formally recognised as the Native Authority Law No. 4 of 1954. In spite of the shortcomings of the law as enumerated earlier, the 1954 reform had certain impact on the development of local government system, not only in Zazzau, but throughout Northern Nigeria in general. One of the areas in which the law was articulated was in the sphere of staff

⁸¹² A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 64

⁸¹³ Alex Gboyega (1989) ... p. 168

⁸¹⁴ A.D. Yahaya (2005) “Traditional Leadership and Institutions: The Colonial Transformation of the Emirate System” in A.M. Yakubu et al (eds) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, Baraka Press & Publishers Ltd, p. 239

training, as clearly embodied and emphasised in the recommendation of the Commission on Local Government Reform. In line with this, on April 1st, 1954, the Institute of Administration, Zaria was founded “at a time when the whole structure of local government was undergoing changes.”⁸¹⁵ In addition, according to J. N. Paden:

The Institute of Administration in Zaria will become to the cadre of administrators in the north what Katsina College was to teachers – a central source of training, and also a place for socialization into values of the new northernization policy. ... It also links local levels of government personnel with higher levels of government personnel. The institute is organized and administered directly under the Sardauna.⁸¹⁶

The Institute was timely established to replace the former Zaria Clerical Training College, which was set up in 1946.⁸¹⁷ In order to catch up with the immediate need of the period, “the new Institute had greater scope for training all categories of local government staff.”⁸¹⁸ As a result of this, the Institute expanded with greater number of trainees coming from the various NAs across the Northern region. It should be noted that, administration and teaching at the Institute was organized by the staff of the British Council, and as well, Instructors were also invited from the University of Ibadan.⁸¹⁹ In 1955, barely a year after commencement, courses attended at the Institute were observed to have markedly improved the quality of Native Authority office staff. For instance, it was noticed in the 1955 Zaria Provincial Annual Report that:

⁸¹⁵ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 71

⁸¹⁶ J. N. Paden (1986) *Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria*, Zaria, Huda-Huda Publishing Company, p. 261

⁸¹⁷ The Institute of Administration Zaria was founded by the Northern Nigerian Government with a vision to train regional administrative staff who were to take over responsibilities when the British expatriates left on the attainment of independence in 1960. This Institute later formed the nucleus of Ahmadu Bello University; the pioneer Northern Nigeria based was established in 1962. However, in place of the Clerical Training College, Zaria which was replaced by the Institute of Administration, four additional clerical training schools were established at Sokoto, Potiskum, Bida and Oturkpo in 1957. But they were all put under the administration of the Institute. See J. N. Paden (1986) ... p. 262

⁸¹⁸ S.A. Oladosu (1981) ... p. 15

⁸¹⁹ See S.A. Oladosu (1981) ... p. 15 (notes 1)

... in the Native Treasury the Native Treasurer, Mallam Ladan, and two holders of the Institute of Administration Diploma have so cleansed what had become a veritable Augean stable that the annual accounts for 1954-55 were produced unaided, and the estimates for 1956-57 with only occasional verbal advise from an Administrative Officer.⁸²⁰

Moreover in 1955, when the extensions building of the Institute was completed, a Crown Counsel was posted “to give much needed instruction in statute law to Alkalai and other native court members.”⁸²¹ On the judicial front therefore, the Institute of Administration at Zaria also introduced courses aimed at improving legal proceedings and capacity of NA Court Judges in the Emirates. This new judicial courses at the Institute also prioritized English law lessons, an attempt critically observed by T.M. Naniya, as a deliberate plan by the colonial government in the 1950s, “to dilute what remained of the *shari’a*,” and to possibly persuade the *alkalai* to abandon their opposition to the alien and conflicting system of British Common Law.⁸²² Nonetheless, the *alkalai* were encouraged with a promise of better pay on completion of courses. This is because, as stressed by the Premier that, “good administration cannot be achieved without law and justice.”⁸²³ Above all, by 1957, the Regional Government in conjunction with the Institute of Administration sponsored a course for Chiefs’ at Kaduna, in order to educate the traditional rulers, on matters related to the various government departments; and to also enable them understand the relations between the Regional and Local Authorities. It is said that the courses were earlier scheduled to hold in Zaria but moved to Kaduna (legislative buildings), in order to ‘preserve the dignity of the Emirs’ by not exposing them to the public at the Institute premises, like ordinary students, similar to their subjects.⁸²⁴ Thus, Emirs/Chiefs from various

⁸²⁰ Provincial Annual Reports 1955, Zaria Province, Kaduna, Government Printer, p. 134; see also J. N. Paden (1986) ... p. 199, A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 71

⁸²¹ Provincial Annual Reports 1955, Zaria Province ... p. 141

⁸²² T. M. Naniya (1994) “The Impact of the British Conquest on the Interpretation and Application of the Shari’a”, *Paideuma* 40, p. 170

⁸²³ J. N. (1986) ... p. 208

⁸²⁴ See A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 181 (notes 35)

NAs in the region used to attend occasional courses at the Institute of Administration in Zaria in order to be acquainted with government policies (new) and administration. In the two-week course organised in January 1957, it is reported that twenty-four emirs and chiefs were in attendance.⁸²⁵

It was not only the NA Central Administration staffs who were made to undertake courses at the Institute. Portfolio Councillors, District Council members, District and Village Heads and their Scribes (*Magatakardu*) were given periodical training “aimed at reorientating their role to conform with the requirements of participatory local government.”⁸²⁶ And it is said that these courses were ‘steadily bearing fruit’ particularly in improving the quality of work carried out by the District Heads and the Scribes.⁸²⁷ In his speech at the opening of a five-day training course for District Heads and their Scribes in 1962, the Emir, Muhammadu Aminu, speaking in Hausa language stated that:

*Wannan yana cikin kos-kos da ake yi a Makarantar Mulki, wanda yanzu ta zama sashin Ahmadu Bello University. A cikin wannan kos abin da za ku koya musamman shine kula da tattalin arzikin En’e ta Zariya. Za a gwada muku yadda ya kamata ku kiyaye ranakun shigad da kudade da irin yadda za ku rika rubuta rasidai da kuma yadda za a rika bada labarin kudaden shiga lokaci lokaci.*⁸²⁸

This is part of the courses offered at Institute of Administration, which now formed a unit of the Ahmadu Bello University. In this course, you are to basically learn how to manage Zaria NA’s finances. To be taught

⁸²⁵ See NAK/PREM. OFFICE 2/6/ASII/180, Institute of Administration – Courses for Emirs and Chiefs (1955-60)’. The two week-course (Tuesday 15 Thursday 31 January 1957) was attended by twenty-four emirs and chiefs.; - as cited in A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 182 (note 36). Moreover, as early as 1954 when the Institute was still very new, it is reported that, the Emir of Gumel, Muhammadu Sani (1944-1980), attended a course on local government at the Institute of Administration, Zaria. See Dalha Waziri (2009)) “A History of Local Government System in Gumel Emirate, 1903-1983”, PhD Thesis, BUK, Kano, p. 137

⁸²⁶ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 71

⁸²⁷ Provincial Annual Reports 1955, Zaria Province ... p. 134

⁸²⁸ *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo*, 26th October, 1962, captioned - “*Sarkin Zazzau Ya Bude Kos Na Tattali Don Hakimai Da Malamansu*” p. 1 (The English rendering of the excerpt is mine).

also methods of keeping efficient financial records, writing of receipts and periodic reports of revenue collected.

The above excerpt of the emir's speech emphasises on the need for proper management of Zaria NA finances and accountability. According to the Emir, the District Heads and the Scribes were to be taught on the efficient method of keeping financial records, issuance of receipts and periodic reports. He informed the attendants that the training was part of the courses organised by the Institute of Administration, which was now part of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (ABU). Apart from these formal courses, it became a regular feature in the emir's speech whenever on tour (*rangadi*), emphasizing to the District Heads on the importance of keeping an up to date financial records of their areas.⁸²⁹

It should be noted that, the Institute of Administration, which became part of the University in Zaria, continued to play a leading role in staff training both during the colonial and the post Independence periods. On the eve of Independence, on July 1st, 1960, the Institute "launches what it believes is the largest single training scheme on local government in the continent of Africa."⁸³⁰ More importantly, in the post-Independence period, the Institute pioneered the production of the popular 'Local Government Year Book', for the Northern States of Nigeria;⁸³¹ which probably started from 1967. In his apt comment, and particularly on the

⁸²⁹ These speeches of the emir during his tour of the emirate were prominently captured in the popular Hausa vernacular newspaper – *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo* (Truth is worth more than a penny). It was a pan-Northern Nigerian newspaper which started in 1939 in Zaria. It was an arm of the Northern Regional Government publishing company called the Literature Bureau established since 1930 (it was renamed as *Gaskiya Corporation* in 1945). Abubakar Imam is said to be one of its earliest editors. For more details on *Gaskiya* newspaper see A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... pp. 51-55

⁸³⁰ J. N. Paden (1986) ... p. 263

⁸³¹ It was an annually produced book, covering all aspects of local government administration in the Northern States of Nigeria. The series of this book was prepared by the Department of Administrative Studies, Local Government Division, Institute of Administration, ABU, Zaria. The publication work was by the Northern Nigerian Publication Company Ltd (NNPC) – under the auspices of *Gaskiya Corporation*, Zaria. In its 1972-3 publication, members of the Editorial Committee of the book were: Malam Mahmud M. Tukur, Director, Institute of Administration, Zaria, Mr. D. A. Omokore, Director, Staff Development Centre (S.D.C.), Kaduna, Professor D. E. Nemetz, Dept. of Research and Consultancy, Institute of Adm., Zaria, Mr. J. B. Adewumi (General Editor), Department of

Administrative Management Training Courses (AMTC) organised by the Institute, the Military Governor, North-Central State, Colonel Abba Kyari, on the 22nd September, 1970, informed that:

If I may take you back, I will like to mention the purpose for which the Administrative Management Training Courses (AMTC) was started. This purpose was to auggest the acute shortage of Administrative Officers facing most of the Northern States following the creation of States. ... This is necessary if we are to keep pace with current trends of development and modernisation prevalent in the world today.⁸³²

On educational development, a course was introduced at the institute to train “educational officers for local education authorities and also for government service in the Ministry’s headquarters and in provincial education offices.”⁸³³ This is in line with the envisaged Northern Nigerian education expansion programme as contained in the Development Plan, 1962-68. It was this plan than led to the establishment of Local Education Authorities (L.E.A.) and which by this period about forty-six were set up in the region.

Another area in which the wave of the 1950s local government reform had impact was the introduction of the office of Minister for Local Government.⁸³⁴ This idea was first moved as a motion by Ibrahim Imam, leader of opposition in the Northern House of Assembly in July 1952. The motion expresses the “transfer to that Minister of all responsibilities for local government hitherto exercised by the European Civil Secretary.”⁸³⁵ Imam further expressed ‘public opinion’ and interest on the creation of the Ministry for Local Government similar to

Administrative Studies, Institute of Adm., Zaria, Mr. S. A. Oladosu, Local Govt. Dept, S.D.C., Kaduna, Mr. A. Gregory-Smith, Local Govt. Finance Adviser, S.D.C., Kaduna; and lastly Miss Bello Harris, (Secretary to the Committee) Dept. of Administrative Studies, Institute of Adm., Zaria.

⁸³² North-Central State of Nigeria, Excerpts of Speeches in 1969-70 by Colonel Abba Kyari, Military Governor, North-Central State, Kaduna, Government Printer, p. 92

⁸³³ *Education in the six Northern States of Nigeria, 1962-73*, Ministry of Education, Planning Division, Kaduna, November, 1967, pp. 46-47

⁸³⁴ See detailed account on the Ministry of Local Government and Council of Chiefs, under the Sardauna, in J. N. Paden (1986) ... pp. 183-187

⁸³⁵ A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 156

what was obtained or practiced in the Western and Eastern Regions of Nigeria. This idea suffered heavy criticism and out-voted in the House. It was rejected on the perceived grounds that the creation of the office of Minister for Local Government would ultimately undermine and subordinate the position of the Emirs. The fear of the emirs' was the imminent emergence of a 'super-emir', who had powers as Minister to supervise all the NAs in the region. They (emirs) therefore, "were worried about subordination of their NAs to the Ministry and of themselves to the Minister."⁸³⁶ On the other hand, public interest on the need to create a Ministry for Local Government was very popular and consistently made captions in the region's dailies.

In order to appease the emirs that their powerful positions would not be compromised by the proposed portfolio of Minister for Local Government, the colonial administration engaged the traditional authorities into a serious consultation. They were convinced that there would be no conflict between their positions as head of the various NAs and the Minister. As the most senior chief in the region, the Sultan of Sokoto was cajoled and made "to espouse the need for a Minister for Local Government in its belief that if did so other emirs would drop their opposition."⁸³⁷ At last, the emirs became persuaded and the terms guiding the Ministry and the office of the Minister for Local Government clearly outlined. In January and February of 1953, the bill for portfolio for Local Government was made public and two broad submissions were made. One was on responsibilities which it states among others that the Minister was:

"... to tour and observe the progress and development of NA Councils and Committees and to report thereon to the Executive Council";⁸³⁸

⁸³⁶ A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 159

⁸³⁷ A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 159

⁸³⁸ A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 159

The above responsibility and others as outlined by Yakubu were intertwined when closely looked at. This is in the sense that it made the Minister a mere go-between or an intermediary of the Government and the NAs in the region. Therefore, the British continued its policy of collaboration with the emirs' with view at maintaining classical principles of the Indirect Rule system. But this is however, amidst growing wave of changes and the clamour for popular participation in the affairs of local government administration. Moreover, the Minister for Local Government was also mandated not to "give orders to Native Authorities as to the management of their affairs".⁸³⁹

Certainly, this entails creation of a less powerful minister, who was likened to more or less as the 'Waziri' (Vizier), as described by Yakubu. Having being assured of what constituted the office and responsibilities of the Minister for Local Government, the emirs withdrew their opposition to it. The Emir of Zazzau, Ja'afaru, is said to be a major challenger of the bill earlier, but later succumbed to the position of his fellow emirs. Moreover, to further boost the confidence of the emirs, the colonial administration decided to appoint as the Minister, a personality whom they believe would easily be accepted. Therefore, in 1953, a prince of the Sultanate, Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto,⁸⁴⁰ was appointed as the Minister for Local Government in the Northern Region. When appointed, Sardauna was already a Minister of Works; and in 1954 rose up as the first (and of course the only) Premier of the Northern Region. He relinquished the local government post in 1957 to take up another post as the Chairman of the Council of Chiefs. Two men succeeded the Sardauna into the office of Minister for Local

⁸³⁹ A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 160

⁸⁴⁰ Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto (later Sir) was a great grandson of Muhammad Bello, the son of *Uthman dan fodio*, the founder of the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th century history of the Western Sudan (or Hausaland). For details on this great personality see, J.N. Paden (1986) Ahmadu Bello, *Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria*, Zaria, Huda-Huda Publishing Company

Government in the region – Abdullahi Maikano (1957-1960), and Muhammadu Bashar (1960-1966). They were both princes from Kano and Daura Emirates respectively.⁸⁴¹ Consequently, the Regional Ministry for Local Government came to an end in 1968 following the operational commencement of states earlier in that year.

Another worthy development in this period of the 1950s was the beginning of appointments of non-royal blood into important offices of the emirate. This occurred both in the spectrum of traditional title holders – district heads particularly; and also bringing on board into the Zaria NA Council, a score of men from the group of western educated class. On the traditional appointments, in 1951, the office of the *Waziri* was revived and given to a non-royal blood, Muhammadu Lawal, the Chief *Alkali*.⁸⁴² Within this period also, about five district heads out of the eight appointed by Ja’afaru, were not from the ruling lineages.⁸⁴³ However, it is still not certain whether those appointed were completely not from the larger contingents of Fulani, who by virtue of the 19th century Jihad established political dominance in Zazzau. And later, this political dominance continued during the British period under the so-called ‘non-interference with the native tradition’ policy of Indirect Rule system. Here therefore, it should be cautiously noted that up to the 1948, “the Fulani receive preference over non Fulani as regards employment

⁸⁴¹ See A.M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 162

⁸⁴² See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p.57. The last person to hold the office of the *Waziri* before the appointment of Muhammadu Lawal, was Umaru, appointed by Emir Ibrahim (1924-1936). *Waziri* Umaru died in 1938, two years after the accession of Emir Ja’afaru; and since then the office remained vacant for thirteen years until in 1951 when Muhammadu Lawal was appointed. See M.G. Smith (1960) ... pp. 229 and 237

⁸⁴³ See M.G. Smith (1960) ... p. 287. Smith attributed this to the Emir Ja’afaru’s lack of male child, a potential heir to his throne after him. And also in his preoccupied sociological subjection of the history of Zazzau to mere struggle between ruling dynasties, Smith states that these appointments reflects the emir’s intention to hurt his opponents within his dynasty – the *Bornawa*. However, certainly there was rivalry, but Smith tends to overlook the changing political reforms which were underway during that period; and which according to A.D. Yahaya mounts “pressure ... on N.A.s throughout the Region to broaden the membership of their councils so as to represent a wide spectrum of opinion in society” (p. 57).

by the Zaria N.A.”⁸⁴⁴ On the inclusion of the emergent educated class, it started in 1953, when five men were appointed into the Zaria NA Council. These were Malam Sambo, the District Head of Kaduna (*Magajin Gari* Kaduna), Ahmadu Fatika, Manager of Zaria NA schools, the Head of the NA Health Departments, the NA Treasurer, John Abbas Tafida, and a Government Pharmacy Superintendent, A.B. Dikko. Contrary to the class they emerged from, these men were said to be moderate; and their perception of the NA was considered to be favourable. In fact, none of these men express any radical view during sessions of the conference (s) debate on the reform of the NA system.⁸⁴⁵ Being employees of the NA establishment, their presence at the council headed by a powerful Emir, in person of Ja’afaru, at that time, remained of little or no impact at all. However, this is not to say that the energy exerted by the educated class in the 1950s did not yield any fruit as far as the demand for participatory local government was concerned in the Emirate. Following the push by the educated class for a democratic; and devolution of authority, the Zaria Town Council of 1955-1958 came into existence. It is praise worthy to note that “the election to the Council held towards the end of 1955, was the first direct, secret ballot election in the Emirate.”⁸⁴⁶ Because of the strength of NEPU in the emirate during that particular period as discussed earlier, the party had a landslide victory of “26 seats to the N.P.C.’s 14 and so controlled the Council.”⁸⁴⁷ More so, we have previously also discussed the establishment of similar subordinate councils at both District and Village levels. And all these were part of the impacts of the demands of the educated class; and which later culminated to the enactment of the NA Law of 1954, and further amendments that followed its implementation.

⁸⁴⁴ M.G. Smith (1960) ... p. 274. This preferential treatment in terms of employment was not only between the Fulani and the non Fulani; it was also prevalent between the dynastic Fulani and the other Fulani (for example the *Toronkawa*); and it occurred also between the ruling dynasty and its rivals. See chapter two for detail discussion on the ruling dynasties in Zazzau Emirate.

⁸⁴⁵ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 57

⁸⁴⁶ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 61

⁸⁴⁷ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 61

To put resounding remarks on the impacts experienced in the local government reforms of the 1950s, it is important to look at the general bureaucratic organization of the Zaria NA. This was a culmination of the foregoing discussion, which even though, “the structure of the organization remained basically the same, but relationship between officers was formalized.”⁸⁴⁸ In this regard, a formal office in the NA System was introduced called the Portfolio Councillor System. Under this system, various departments were grouped into divisions and put under the supervision of a councillor.⁸⁴⁹ The councillor was also to monitor and record activities of District Councils. This councillor was however, completely tied to the N.A Council under the emir, and thus lacks much of executive powers in running the affairs of the departments under his portfolio. The councillor was also only expected to maintain supervisory position, as detailed work of departments was to be handled by each head concerned. But this is not to say that the councillor was barred from ensuring efficiency in the works of all the departments under his portfolio.⁸⁵⁰ In spite of all these mechanism aimed at crystallising a smooth division of responsibility between the councillor and the heads of departments, it was discovered that the process was still unsatisfactory as envisaged. In 1957 therefore, the office of the Executive Secretary was created, who was to serve as the secretary of the NA Council. This officer was now to serve as the link between the council and the various departments; and to also oversee the relations between the departments and the District Councils across the emirate. The Portfolio Councillors were further obliged on supervisory duties in order to effectively record activities of the district councils in the rural areas. Speaking on this, the Premier of Northern Region, in 1965, emphasised that, “... District Councils need supervision and they can only be supervised by the

⁸⁴⁸ A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 67

⁸⁴⁹ These Portfolio Councillors were chosen from the emir’s trusted and major title holders in the emirate council. This is as shown in the table in the text.

⁸⁵⁰ See A.D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 67-68

Councillors”⁸⁵¹ The table below is showing the Organization of Zaria N.A. Central Bureaucracy 1965:

Division	Councillors	Departments	Heads of Dept’s
Administration	<i>Waziri</i> (Senior Councillors)	Central Admin.	<i>Sarkin Ruwa</i>
Judicial	Chief <i>Alkali</i>		
Finance	<i>Sarkin Zana</i>	Treasury	<i>Ma’aji</i>
Police and Prison	<i>Turaki Babba</i>	Police, Prison	<i>Wakilin ‘Yandoka</i>
Works	<i>Sa’i</i>	Works	<i>Magaji Jisambo</i>
Natural Resources	<i>Barde</i>	Veterinary Agriculture Forestry	<i>Sarkin Shanu</i> <i>Wakilin Gona</i> <i>Sarkin Daji</i>
Education	<i>Galadima</i>	Education	<i>Magajin Malam</i>
Medical and Health	Madaki	Health Medical	<i>Wakilin Tsabta</i> <i>Wakilin Asibiti</i>

Source: Adapted from A.D. Yahaya (1980) *The Native Authority System ...* p.68

(V) Other Reforms of the Local Government System

a) The Native Authority Treasury: In view of increased work and the need for an efficient management of financial records, improvements were made in terms of staffing and training of the NA Treasury Department. Various divisions and departments of the NA which included the Central Administration, Judiciary, Police and Prison, Medical and Health, Veterinary, Forestry, Education, and Works, all became in need of trained treasury personnel. There was also such demand of trained treasury staff at the subordinate NA councils, such as in the Town Council (in Zaria and Kaduna) and District Councils in the emirate. The Institute of Administration at Zaria,

⁸⁵¹ Speech by the Premier of Northern Nigeria, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, in the Northern House of Assembly, 8th May, 1965; as quoted in AD. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 69

as discussed above, was at that time responsible for organizing periodical training courses for all NA staff; and in particular, special attention was given to the general upkeep of the Treasury and its staff. According to Yahaya:

So much importance was attached to finance that N.A. Treasurers were required to possess a specific qualification; it was perhaps the only N.A. office which required candidates for appointment to be qualified. Furthermore, Government approval of candidates was essential before they could assume duty.⁸⁵²

The major sources of revenue to the NA Treasury were generated basically from general tax – *haraji*, cattle tax – *jangali*, native court fees and fines, and market dues. The other source was called the miscellaneous revenue, made up of all fees and dues collected by the NA other than the principal taxes (*haraji* and *jangali*) mentioned above. Officially, in Zaria for instance, these revenues “was paid by the Native Treasury into regional funds; and in return, the Native Authority received certain grants from the Regional Treasury.”⁸⁵³ The Zaria Native Treasury which belonged to the ‘Class A’ category, apart from serving the emirate, it also served the Independent districts of Birnin Gwari, Jaba, Moroa, and Kagoro, as well.⁸⁵⁴ This changed in 1954, when a sub-Treasury was built at Zonkwa, in order to speed up distribution of funds from the main Zaria Native Treasury to, particularly, the southern Independent Districts.⁸⁵⁵ The Treasurer posted to the Zonkwa sub-Treasury was M. Iliyasu Kubau, who before his transfer was

⁸⁵² A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 97

⁸⁵³ M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 262

⁸⁵⁴ See as discussed in chapter three on the establishment of Zaria Native Treasury. Also see M.G Smith (1960) ... p. 267

⁸⁵⁵ The reason for the establishment of the sub-Treasury at Zonkwa followed the Colonial Government intervention on the persistent complaints by the people of southern Zaria, “against the operation of the district administration, and demanded a role in the administration of their districts”. This came up in 1953; and it was initially dismissed by the S.D.O., K.J. Bryant, on the ground that the petition was politically motivated and particularly instigated by the Christian Missionary educated elements amongst them. For more see, A.D. Yahaya (1960) ... pp. 73-77

in charge of the Kaduna sub-Treasury.⁸⁵⁶ While for the Northern Districts, the central Treasury at Zaria continued to be the point of call for their running in terms of management and staffing. This informed the earlier posting by 1950 of District Treasury officials to each of the seventeen districts in the Emirate.⁸⁵⁷

It is observed that greater part of the NA financial expenditure was spent on the administrative sector; and this for instance amounted to about 42.2 per cent of the Zaria's 1950/51 total expenditure. In spite of fluctuations over the years, in 1964/65 it rose as much up to 74 per cent of the NA total expenditure. The largest single sector was the Village Heads, who numbered as many as 889 in 1964/65 Zaria NA's administrative establishment.⁸⁵⁸ But this is not to down play other functionaries such as in the District administration, Police and the Judiciary. More so, already in 1963, tax assessment was regularized in which individuals were taxed on flat rate basis, instead of the erstwhile assessment according to the wealth of an individual. This tax practice was particularly prevalent in the northern part as against other part(s) of the emirate. The flat rate method was said to have succeeded in reducing strains in tax assessment and more importantly, it reduced incidences of tax embezzlement in the emirate's record.⁸⁵⁹

However, while the taxation system seems to be stable, it is ironical to observe that in the early years of the 1960s, reports of financial weakness and scandals were very common. This is not only in Zaria but almost throughout all the NAs in Northern Nigeria. For example, "in 1958, Zaria N.A. investments stood at 76,392 naira, but in 1962 investments dropped to 73,384

⁸⁵⁶ This was before the removal of Kaduna from the Zaria NA in 1956. In 1957, M. Iiyasu Kubau was promoted as the Ma'ajin Zazzau (Chief Treasurer), and he remained until August 1963 when he retired from the services of Zaria NA in order to take up new appointment with the Northern Regional Ministry of Agriculture in Kano. See *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo*, 27th September, 1963, p. 20

⁸⁵⁷ M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 231

⁸⁵⁸ A. D. Yahaya (1960) ... pp. 95

⁸⁵⁹ See A. D. Yahaya (1960) ... pp. 95-96

naira”.⁸⁶⁰ The result was a region-wide measures aimed at containing the problem which was attributed to the NA’s inability to live up to the expectation as regards budgetary procedures and disbursement of funds. In view of this, all Provincial Administrations in the region were sanctioned to be directly involved in all matters relating to financial activities of the NA’s.

Of great importance to mention is the issue of financial accountability and democratization, which the early post-colonial era emphasised on. The Sardauna, for instance, in January 1961, cautioned that “my government will not tolerate Chiefs who show financial irresponsibility or who oppress the people.”⁸⁶¹ In view of this, soon the government became very critical and intolerable; and swiftly between the space of “1960 and 1963, the affairs of no less than five NAs were investigated.”⁸⁶² Out of these, three cases led to deposition of Emirs/Chiefs, while the remaining two were neither deposed nor forced to abdicate by the Commission of Enquiry.⁸⁶³ The Zaria NA, which was then under new Emir, Muhammadu Aminu (1959-1975), was one of the establishments investigated in 1961; and thus requires a brief observation here.

A.M. Yakubu succinctly reports the incidence that:

In April 1960, the budget of Zaria NA showed a projected surplus of £181,000. Before the end the fiscal year in March 1961, however, the NA asked the government to guarantee a bank draft of some £100,000 to enable it meet its financial commitments, including the payment of staff salaries. Alarmed by what might have gone wrong, the government appointed a Commission of Enquiry headed by the Emir of Lapai, Muhammadu Kobo, to investigate the financial affairs of Zaria NA.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁶⁰ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 106

⁸⁶¹ Quoted in J.N Paden (1986) ... p. 437

⁸⁶² A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 188

⁸⁶³ The three deposition cases were that of the Chief of Zuru, Muhammadu Sani in 1960, the Chief of Ningi, Abdullahi in 1961; and the powerful Emir of Kano, Sir Muhammadu Sunusi in 1963. The two other cases which did not lead to deposition were those of Emir of Gwandu, Haruna Rasheed in 1960, and the Emir of Zazzau, Muhammadu Aminu in 1961. For details see A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... pp. 188-191; and particularly on the abdication of Emir of Kano, Muhammadu Sunusi, see pp. 200-208.

⁸⁶⁴ A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... p. 189

The above was the financial anomaly leading to the investigation of the Zaria NA in 1961. However, unlike the drastic consequences of depositions as exemplified in some NA's, the Commission of Enquiry in Zaria did not uncover much frightening maladministration that could warrant deposing the emir. Instead, the Zaria NA was thoroughly restructured and made to be under the watchful ambits of the Provincial Administration. This was the stern position taken by the regional government under the Saradauna, who, even in spite of the purported friendship between him and Aminu, still remained bold on Zaria NA.⁸⁶⁵ However, in June 1963, when the Saradauna came to commission the new Zaria NA Council building, he made cautious reference to the drastic action his government earlier took on the council. He states that (in Hausa),

*... Babban abin farin ciki ne in zo in yi wannan aiki a Zariya. Kamar yadda kowa ya sani, kusan shekara biyu kenan da suka wuce da na zo nan don inyi wani aki (sic) mara dadin yi game da wannan Majalisa ta En'e. Na kuwa sha ziyartar Zariya bayan wannan lokacin ma amma ina so jama'a su san cewa amsa gayyatan nan da aka yi mini, abu ne da ke nuna zurfin ban gaskiya da amincewa ga tabbatacciyar Majalisan nan.*⁸⁶⁶

... It gives me lots of pleasure to come and do this work in Zaria. As you all know, about two years ago, I came here for an assignment on this very NA Council; and which was unpleasant to undertake. After that, I equally visited Zaria many times, but people should understand that my presence here is a clear testimony of deep trust on the prestige of this well recognised Council.

b) The Native Authority Courts: As a background to this discussion, it should be noted that, in 1933, the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir Donald Cameron, promulgated a new Native Court Ordinance. This judicial ordinance introduced by Cameron, re-affirmed the continuation of the 'fourfold classification of the Native Court system' – Grade A, B, C, and D respectively. The

⁸⁶⁵ It is said that when Emir Ja'afaru died in 1959, the Saradauna used his influence in securing the emirate throne to his friend, Muhammadu Aminu. As discussed in this chapter, no doubt when Aminu became the emir, the fortunes of the NPC in Zazzau dramatically soared, unlike during the time of his predecessor.

⁸⁶⁶ *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo*, 14th June, 1963, (captioned - 'AN YI BIKIN BUDE MAJALISAR EN'E TA ZARIYA') p. 1. The English rendering of the original Hausa excerpt is mine.

major change in the status of the courts affected only the Grade ‘A’ category, which was subdivided:

into “A – limited”, the court of the *babban alkali* which could no longer try cases of murder or witchcraft; and “A – unlimited”, the emir’s judicial council which had jurisdiction in all criminal matters, including capital cases, though its sentences subject to confirmation by the Governor.⁸⁶⁷

The Court Ordinance of 1933 thus, reasserted the Judicial Councils above all the other Native Courts, with jurisdiction also, as the final courts of appeal for all cases, including cases from the Chief *Alkali*’s Courts of the Emirates. This gesture is seen as an attempt to revive the Emir’s Courts/Judicial Councils as the Courts of Appeal. This was in contrast with the developments in the late 1920s when “the emirs were ... under strong pressure to desist from interfering with courts of the chief *alkalai*.”⁸⁶⁸ However, non-emirates citizens, particularly of Southern Provinces were accorded with freedom to make appeal to the Magistrate’s Court instead of the Emir’s Judicial Council against judgments carried at the *Alkalis* courts.⁸⁶⁹

In this period of the 1930s, the Chief *Alkali* of Zaria was Yakubu, a non-Fulani (*Hausa*) from Kajuru, appointed by Emir Ibrahim (1924-1936). On Yakubu’s death, the position, for a short period, went to another person; and then, Yakubu’s brother, Umaru (died 1938) was appointed as the Chief Judge. Both Yakubu and Umaru were said to have made their kinsmen from Kajuru to dominate the available judicial offices in the Emirate. However, following the promotion of Umaru as the *Waziri*, Muhammadu Lawal, a Fulani of the *Katsinawa* ‘*Yandoto*’ lineage was made the Chief Judge. Similar to what the Kajuru *Alkalai* did, the *Katsinawa*

⁸⁶⁷ T. M. Naniya (1994) “The Impact of the British Conquest on the Interpretation and Application of the Shari’a”, Paideuma, pp. 167-168; T. M. Naniya (2003) “Duality and Conflict of Laws in a Society in Transition: Kano in the Colonial Period” in M. O. Hambolu (ed) *Perspective on Kano-British Relations*, Kano, Gidan Makama Museum, pp. 139-140

⁸⁶⁸ C. N. Ubah (2005) “The Operation of Shari’a Since 1903”, in A. M. Yakubu et’al (eds) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, p. 189

⁸⁶⁹ See Dalha Waziri (2009 ... pp. 109-110

‘*Yandoto*, also appointed their kin to judgeships. For years to follow, it became a usual competition between the two houses of the Chief Judges to exert dominance in judicial appointments available in the Emirate. By 1945 for example, of the 65 Northerners in the emirate judicial staff, 13 were from the ‘*Yandoto*, 12 were non-Fulani, and 10 out of that were from the Kajuru members. Also in the list were 7 Southern Nigerians, who dealt with cases involving Southern populations living outside Kaduna and Zaria. This division and rivalry was said to have, for practical rather than moral reasons, given great advantage to the Emir, to further wielded administrative control throughout the emirate.⁸⁷⁰ At the district level, by 1950, there were seventeen Native Courts, equaling exactly the number of territorial districts in the emirate. The rationale was, as discussed in chapter two, to establish one Native Court in each of the territorial districts in the Emirate. Moreover, in 1955, in order to relieve the Chief Alkali’s Court of Zaria of excessive burden of trying relatively minor cases, and which caused it tardiness in administering justice, especially its appellate jurisdiction; some smaller courts were decided to be upgraded. These courts which were upgraded were the:

... native courts of the Alkalai of Kaduna, Tudun Wada, Zaria and the Junior Alkali of Zaria were advanced to from Grade C to Grade B. At the same time the area of the Junior Alkali’s jurisdiction was substantially increased. In addition certain of the tribal Courts serving the various non-Moslem (sic) communities of the province were reorganised ...⁸⁷¹

In the second half of the 1950s, controversies and conflicts arose regarding British aim of reconciling the *shari’a* with the English Common law. This is a phenomenon that up-to-date remains debatable in the Muslim dominated emirates of Northern Nigeria.⁸⁷² In 1956, the

⁸⁷⁰ See M. G. Smith (1960) ... p. 229, 275, 284-285

⁸⁷¹ Provincial Annual Reports 1955, Zaria Province ... p. 135

⁸⁷² See an exposition of such debates by C. N. Ubah (2005) “The Operation of Shari’a Courts Since 1903”, in A. M. Yakubu et al (eds) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, pp. 191-197

Northern House of Assembly passed into law the establishment of the Muslim Court of Appeal, which was to be presided by a Grand *Khadi*. This court was to supersede and to hear appeals against the decisions taken particularly at the Grade ‘A’ Courts, which were presided by the Emir and the *Alkalin Alkalai* (or *Babban alkali*). This was still not enough as the reform of the Northern Region’s judicial system remained a contentious epic in the few years before Independence. The climax of the event was the setting up of a panel in 1958, which was to “advise the Northern government as to how they should reform their Muslim law courts,”⁸⁷³ and a special attention should be given to the minorities’ question in the region. Details of the terms of reference given to the panel and the experts that made up the panel were studied by a number of scholars; and thus, no needs for repetition hear.⁸⁷⁴ Nonetheless, in October 1958, the panel submitted its report which recommended among others, the codification of Penal and Criminal Code system in the region, a replica of models imposed or obtained in Muslim countries such as Sudan, Libya, and Pakistan. In September 1959, the new Penal Code for Northern Nigeria was enacted; it is, in the words of Naniya, “a hybrid of the *Shari’a* English Common Law and Customary Law.”⁸⁷⁵ In essence, the Penal Code curbed the *Shari’a* to those matters of Muslim personal law such as marriage, divorce, inheritance, guardianship and other family matters.⁸⁷⁶ In spite of the fact that the panel had recommended the Chief *Alkali’s* Court to be abolished, the idea was not heeded by government. Particularly in Zazzau Emirate, the Chief *Alkali’s* court continued to operate with its appellate powers under the control of the NA. This firm control of the native courts by the NA establishments was critically observed to have been grossly misused

⁸⁷³ T.M. Naniya (1994) ... p. 170

⁸⁷⁴ For a detailed discussions, see T. M. Naniya (1994) ... pp. 170-171, T. M. Naniya (2003) ... pp. 140-141, C. N. Ubah (2005)... pp. 189-190; A. M. Yakubu (2006) ... pp. 176-179

⁸⁷⁵ T. M. Naniya (2003) ... p. 141

⁸⁷⁶ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 98; see also C. N. U bah (2005) ... p. 191

to oppress political opponents of the party in power in all the emirates or provinces in the region.⁸⁷⁷

In June 1964, Nuhu Mustafa⁸⁷⁸ succeeded Muhammadu Buhari as the new *Alkalin Alkalan Zazzau* (Chief *Alkali* of Zazzau Emirate). In August the same year, a number of *alkalai* were reshuffled, and new appointments were also made in the Emirate. The *Sarkin Sabon Gari*, Malam Muhammadu was posted to Makarfi to replace Nuhu Yakubu, who now became the new *Babban Alkali* (Senior *Alkali*). The *Alkali* of Tudun Wada, Salihu, was posted as the President of the ‘Mixed Court’ (*Kotun Kabilu*) at Sabon Gari, Zaria;⁸⁷⁹ and in his stead, *Alkalin* Kagarko, Aminu Ibrahim moved to Tudun Wada. Other changes included the promotion of Sambo, from *Mufti* to *Alkalin* Kagarko, *Alkalin* Zangon Katab, Yusufu Akilu took the position of *Alkalin* Soba, Sa’idu who retired; and then lastly, *Alkalin* Rigachikun, Aliyu Ishaku now took over at Zangon Katab.⁸⁸⁰ The most fundamental change that occurred in the administration of justice in

⁸⁷⁷ Our earlier discussion on party politics in this chapter has taken care of the manner in which agents of coercion, including Native Courts were used as an instrument of oppression against the opposition parties, particularly NEPU by the NPC throughout the Northern Nigeria.

⁸⁷⁸ After his elementary education, Malam Nuhu Mustafa attended provincial Judicial School in Zaria. His career as a jurist started in 1939, when posted to Soba as an Assistant *Alkali* (*Muhti – Hausa, Mufti - Arabic*). He became a full pledged *Alkali* in 1954 at Giwa District Native Court. He later returned to Soba as full *Alkali*, and served for several years until his relocation to Ikara Native Court in 1960. A year after in 1961, Nuhu Mustafa rose to the rank of *Babban Alkali* (Senior *Alkali*); and three years later (in 1964) he reached the pinnacle of his career as *Alkalin Alkalan* (Chief *Alkali*) of Zazzau Emirate. He is said to have successfully attended judicial courses (two times) at the Institute of Administration, Zaria. See *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo*, 19th June, 1964 - “*Sun Sami Ci Gaba*”, p. 14

⁸⁷⁹ Mixed Court - *Kotun Kabilu*, literally means a court patronized by any tribe other than the Hausa and Fulani (or sometimes a non-Muslim). Founded in 1911, Sabon Gari Zaria where the Mixed Court was established was such a complex, urban and plural society, unlike the ancient traditional city of Zaria. The inhabitants of the area were predominantly of Southern Provinces of Nigeria extractions, mostly Igbo and Yoruba; and from other West African countries, like Ghana, Sierra Leone, Benin, and Cameroon. Besides that, significant populations of Northerners (Hausa and Fulani) were also part of the inhabitants of Sabon Gari Zaria. In view of this complexity, three kinds of courts were established in the area – the Magistrate Court, the Mixed Court and the *Alkali* Court. This gave the Sabon Gari community the freedom to take their cases to either of the courts mentioned above. For details see, A. V. Dhiliwayo (1986) “A History of Sabon Gari Zaria, 1911-1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration, PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, particularly chapter four, pp. 204-252. Moreover, according to another ardent researcher, Ahmed Bako, who like Dhiliwayo, studied another Sabon Gari in Kano, established in 1913. Bako states that, “it is quite natural that rapid population increase must equally increase litigations, particularly in civil matters such as debt, marriage to such an extent that it was considered necessary to establish a mixed court”. See Ahmed Bako (2006) *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-Group Relations in the 20th Century*, Sokoto, Usman Danfodio University Press, p. 81.

Zazzau Emirate in particular and the region in general, took place in the post-Independence period. According to a keen writer on this episode, C. N. Ubah:

The courts presided over by the *alkalai* were among the major casualties of a judicial shake-up introduced by the military in 1967 when the Area Courts Edict was issued ostensibly to free the courts from political pressures by bringing them under the Chief Justice. The Edict came into effect in different States of the North at different times after the States were created. And, consistent with this objective, the Emirs' Courts were abolished.⁸⁸¹

This Edict that brought the Area Courts repeals the hitherto Native Courts Law of 1956, and also instead of the Native Authorities, the courts were now controlled by State Governments. In theory and official records, the Area Courts were to be presided over by presidents not *alkalai*. All these were effort to erode what remains of the *shari'a* in the Muslim dominated States of Northern Nigeria. However, in cases concerning Muslim personal law, it was enshrined that such matters should be “determined by an ‘expert in Islamic law sitting alone’”.⁸⁸² The Area Courts were categorised into four grades; and only the Upper Area Court reserves the jurisdiction of appeal from the other lower courts. Nonetheless, all courts called “Area Courts” have both Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction; and in addition to powers on land disputes. The four grades of the Area Courts and their jurisdiction are as follows:

1. Upper Area Court – unlimited jurisdiction except in homicide cases.
2. Area Court Grade I – Criminal case: - imprisonment up to 5 years and a fine up to £500.
Civil: - matrimonial causes unlimited; suits re custody of children under Native Law & Custom unlimited; actions for debt or damage, maximum £500; actions re inheritance under Native Law & Custom, unlimited; land causes, maximum value £1,000.
3. Area Court Grade II – Criminal: - imprisonment up to 3 years, and a fine up to £300.
Civil – matrimonial causes, unlimited; suit re custody of children under Native Law & Custom, maximum value £250; land causes, maximum value £250.
4. Area Court Grade III – Criminal: – imprisonment up to 9 months, and a fine up to £50.

⁸⁸⁰ See *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo*, 21st August, 1964 - “*An Yi Canjin Alkalai Da Nadin Sababbi A Zariya*”, p. 16

⁸⁸¹ C. N. Ubah (2005) p. 191

⁸⁸² C. N. Ubah (2005) ... p. 191

Civil – matrimonial causes, unlimited; suit re custody of children under Native Law & Custom unlimited; actions for debt or damages, maximum £500; maximum value 100; land causes, maximum value £100.⁸⁸³

As noticed already, the issue of the Area Courts heralded first in 1967, the year in which states were first created in Nigeria. But it was exactly with effect from 1st April, 1969 that the Area Courts took over with full swing particularly in the North-Central State.⁸⁸⁴ This episode of the State Governments taking-over full control of the judicial system is fully discussed in the next chapter.

c) The Native Authority Police By 1925, a giant stride was taken in the re-organisation of the NA Police - *Dogarai*, and Kano was the earliest ‘experimental base’. The result was the emergence of the *Yan Gadi* or Kano City Police; who now complements the policing activities of the *Dogarai* in the emirate. Later on, the title *Yan Doka* (singular – *Dan Doka*) was officially adopted throughout the region to mean the official NA Police. H. R. Palmer, then the Lieutenant-Governor, was the brain behind this reform; and which by 1929; had succeeded in exporting the new scheme to other NA’s like Sokoto, Katsina, and Zaria.⁸⁸⁵ It is believed that Palmer’s cunning suggestion for appointment of men of royal origin not servile, in each emirate to be “at least the nominal head of the police,” had yielded overwhelming success in the new scheme. Kemi Rotimi, referred to this as the ‘princely-liaison officer scheme’, in which for instance, in Kano and Sokoto, relations of the two monarchs became heads of NA Police force. While in the

⁸⁸³ Adapted from Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book 1972-3, Zaria, Northern Nigerian Publishing Company, p. 107

⁸⁸⁴ See AHAK/14/2/D18 North-Central State of Nigeria. “The Takeover of Native Courts from Native Authorities”, Printed by the Government Printer, Kaduna, 1969, pp. 1-2

⁸⁸⁵ See Kemi Rotimi (2001) *The Police in a Federal State: The Nigerian Experience*, Ibadan, College Press Ltd, pp. 22-24, Kemi Rotimi (2005) “Ennobling the Police: The 1928 Princely-Liaison Officer Scheme and its Aftermath, in A. M. Yakubu et’al (eds) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation ...* pp. 163-164; and A. Y. Chiranchi (2004) *Native Authority Police and Security in Kano Emirate, 1925-1968*, Kano, Yabi Investment Computer Business Centre, pp. 56-57

case of Katsina – Usman Nagogo, and in Zaria – Muhammad Lawal, who were both direct sons of emirs became at the helm of police affairs (*yan doka*) of their respective emirates.⁸⁸⁶ The title which they held was known as *Wakilin Yan Doka*, serving as the head of the co-joined police and prison departments of the NA.⁸⁸⁷

With this background, efforts were further made on training and standardizing the scheme; and in Zaria particularly, between the 1930s and 1940s, there were four grades of NA Police.

The trained segment of local Police became the “*Yandoka*” while the untrained segment were grouped into various forms such as “*Dogarai*” (District Police), “*Dogaran tsaro*” (night-watchmen) and the “*Yantauri*” (special constabulary) as assistance to the “*Yandoka*” during night patrols in Zaria metropolis.⁸⁸⁸

This therefore entails that, in spite of the new police scheme both the old *Dogarai*, who were seen “no longer sufficient to deal with present condition”⁸⁸⁹ by the Emir of Zazzau, and the new *Yandoka*, continued to co-exist as law enforcement agents in the emirate. In the 1939 distribution of Police in colonial Nigeria, record shows that there were 141 NA Police in Zaria Province.⁸⁹⁰ Greater percentage of this number was in the emirate capital (Zaria), while one or two of such forces were posted to each of the outlying district areas. When posted to the districts, officially one *dandoka* should be with the District Head, and the other stationed at the NA Court, to help the *Alkali*. According to Musa Kura, “no matter the land size of a district only two *Yandoka* control it as native policemen. And we move on foot from one village to another no matter the

⁸⁸⁶ For details see Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... p. 24, Kemi Rotimi (2005) ... pp. 164-173

⁸⁸⁷ See Chapter three for details on the origin and development NA Police and Prison in Zazzau Emirate.

⁸⁸⁸ A. Y. Chiranchi (2004) ... p. 58

⁸⁸⁹ C. N. Ubah (2005) ... p. 166

⁸⁹⁰ T. N. Tamuno (1970) *The Police in Modern Nigeria 1861-1965*, Ibadan, University Press Ltd, p. 99, as cited in A. Y. Chiranchi (2004) ... p. 58

distance to summon and apprehend when asked by the authority.”⁸⁹¹ Moreover, in order to enhance police efficiency generally in the region, the Northern Police College, Kaduna was established in 1948.⁸⁹² According to Rotimi; “in a bid to secure the cooperation of the Emirs, the Hausa language had been adopted from the start as the medium of instruction” at the college. This policy had earlier caused some difficulties particularly for the training of non-Hausa speaking *Yandoka*.⁸⁹³

However, in the 1950s, references were made to some incidences of corruption charges amongst the *Yandoka*, in the Zaria NA Police. In 1952 for example, one Abdullahi Kaura was sentenced to four months imprisonment for extorting 10 shillings from a man called Gabriel at Sabon Gari Zaria. Similarly, in 1957, a 31year old Bako Zonkwa was charged of forceful collection of 10 shillings; and sentenced to 2 year imprisonment by the Magistrate Court.⁸⁹⁴ And late in 1953, two men in the Kaduna detachment of Zaria NA Police – Muhammadu Galadima and Saudi Ingawa were dismissed following the disappearance of 12 bags of cement kept in police custody as exhibit. At the same time in Kaduna detachment, Lance-Corporal Hari Jafaru was accused of many offences, including extortion totaling £9 at various times.⁸⁹⁵ Many factors were attributed to these corrupt practices. A. Y. Chiranchi for instance, generalized these

⁸⁹¹ Interview: on the 6th October, 2013, with Musa Kura, an old man of about 89 years. According to him, he hailed from Rigachikun, where the District Head, Danmadami Umaru in 1953, gave him a note to Zaria for enrollment into NA Police (*Yandoka*), after seeing an advertisement on the *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo* newspaper. He said, he was enrolled into the force without demand for any school certificate, as he did not attend school either. However, Musa continued to build career in the system and later converted into the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) in 1970. In the NPF, he served in Mani, Paki, Zaria, Daura, and Kankia until his retirement in 1985 at the rank of Inspector of Police.

⁸⁹² The Police College, Kaduna (its formal name now) was said to be the first of its kind in Nigeria. It started in 1922 as Police School, located at the present Police Training School (P.T.S.) of the Kaduna Police Command. Construction of permanent buildings at the college started in 1946; and by 1948 the College was formally opened for recruitment and training of police personnel. The first Commandant of the College was said to be Mr. R. N. Alcock (1949-1952). In the following year, December 1949, the Police College, Ikeja was established in the Southern part of the country. For more on the Police College, see A. Y. Chiranchi (2005) ... pp. 97-98

⁸⁹³ Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... p. 35

⁸⁹⁴ Nigerian Citizen, August 28th 1952, and November 20th 1957, as cited in A. Y. Chiranchi (2004) ... p. 132.

⁸⁹⁵ See Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... p. 192

incidences (not only in Zaria) to lower salaries earned by the NA Police in comparison particularly, to that of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF).⁸⁹⁶

Not exactly in the same corruptive posture as above, but a much serious controversy arose in the manner with which “some holders of the post of Chief of Police (*Wakilin Yandoka*) abused their royal connections and lost the office.”⁸⁹⁷ In the case of Kano and Adamawa, the experimentation of the ‘princely liaison officer’ had been smooth, but in Zaria, the tale was different. The first problem emanated in 1954, when the *Wakilin Yandoka*, Muhammadu Sani Maigamo,⁸⁹⁸ was accused of combining his work and politics, and thus would not be able to discharge his duties ‘without fear or favour’. More so, his participation in politics also encouraged other ranks of the *Yandoka* to engage in active politics. This was resolved later in the year when Maigamo left office and got appointed as district head with the title of *Wambai*.⁸⁹⁹ The resolve was just temporary as a much bigger problem resurfaced with the accession of Mallam Mamman Sule⁹⁰⁰ as the successor of Maigamo in the office of *Wakilin Yandoka* of Zaria. He was described as a “thorn in the flesh of all the NPF advisers (four of them) who worked with the Zaria NAPF.”⁹⁰¹ Already had a case in 1950, when kicked out of office as Chief Scribe in the NA office and only to be saved by the Emir; but Sule still remained unchanged. In addition, as *Wakilin Yandoka*, 1955-1957, his tenure by many accounts was full of turmoil; and grossly shrouded in abuse of office, indiscipline and corruption. Sule’s assured banking on the support of

⁸⁹⁶ See A. Y. Chiranchi (2004) ... p. 132. And for a comparative table of salary between the NA Police and the NPF in 1939, see Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... pp. 51-52

⁸⁹⁷ Kemi Rotimi (2005) ... p. 171

⁸⁹⁸ Maigamo – *Wakilin Yandoka*, was of royal descent and a confidant of the Emir, Ja’afaru. He was one of close associates of the Emir to have won federal election seats in 1954 in Zaria. Others were Umaru *Wakilin Ofis*, *Sarkin Ruwa* Mamman, and Yahaya Pate (later the *Sarkin Yaki*).

⁸⁹⁹ See Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... p. 86, C. N. Ubah (2005) ... p. 171, A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 136

⁹⁰⁰ Sule is said to be not directly of royal blood, but was raised in the palace by Emir Ja’afaru. This was attributed to the emir’s lack of a male child until in 1955, when probably the current *Yariman Zazzau*, Mannir Ja’afaru was born. Therefore, Sule enjoyed the patronage and backing of the emir in the services of the Zaria NA.

⁹⁰¹ Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... p. 86

the emir came to an end in 1957, when his excesses was checked by an inquiry set up by the NA. In addition to the above, the following charges were labeled against him, and ultimately dismissed in July:

- a) that he received 42.17s.6d from Lance-Corporal Tanko Dangata in order to promote him to the rank of corporal;
- b) that he was given 8 by Alhaji Dangora from Lance-Corporal Tanko;
- c) that he received 7s. from ex-Constable Sarkin Zagin Galadima; and
- d) that he received a sum of money from Corporal Danladi Birnin Gwari.⁹⁰²

Lastly, Sule was replaced by Malam Nuhu Yahaya, who before his appointment as *Wakilin Yandoka*, was a cashier in the NA services, and also a Treasurer of the NPC, Zaria branch.⁹⁰³ On the other hand, while Sule was relieved from office in Zaria, in 1957, the year coincided with the appointment of Ado Bayero, as the *Wakilin Doka* of Kano NA. However, Ado's account in the neighbouring emirate of Kano was completely opposite to Sule's ordeal in Zaria. From the office of *Wakilin Doka*, Ado moved to serve as Nigeria's ambassador to Senegal in 1962; and in 1963, he ultimately reached the apex as a prince when turbaned as the Emir of Kano (died 2014).⁹⁰⁴

The post colonial period ushered in two major facets in the activities of police in the country generally – one was the issue of concerted regional control and training of NA Police; and two was the consequential abolition of the NA Police and its merger with the NPF. In the North, the concern of the government for the quality of its policemen (*Yandoka*) was reinforced with the completion of the NA Wing at the Northern Police College, Kaduna, in 1963. The reason is that “because the North was largely policed by the NA police it was essential that the men be adequately trained.”⁹⁰⁵ It was anticipated therefore, that the college would host trainees from all over the region with an expected turn of 360 corps in a year. The regional government

⁹⁰² See Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... pp. 86-89; C. N. Ubah (2005) ... pp. 171-173

⁹⁰³ See Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... p. 89

⁹⁰⁴ For details on the role of Ado Bayero as *Wakilin Doka* of Kano Emirate, 1957-1963, see A. Y. Chiranchi (2006) ... particularly pp. 101-105

⁹⁰⁵ Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... p. 101

also increased its control by “making the officers more beholding to Kaduna than to their individual native authorities. ... (and more so) the Premier’s sanction had been a condition for the appointment of a Chief of Police.”⁹⁰⁶ Certainly, all these were efforts to maintain the *status quo* – that is by barring the regions’ NA Police from being in any form of control or influence of the NPF. The regional party in power (NPC) was also not ready to relinquish its hold of this agent of coercion, especially amidst fear of undying threats of the opposition since in the 1950s and 60s (NEPU in particular).

While these developments were taking place, the protracted campaign for the abolition and merger of the NA Police with the NPF looms large in the horizon. Many writers have extensively discussed issues leading to this development.⁹⁰⁷ But fundamentally, the period between 16th January 1966 and April 1970, the NA Police in the North and the LGPFs (Local Government Police Force) in the West ceased to exist. More details on this issue of police reform late in the 1960s and early 70s is provided in the next chapter.

d) The Native Authority Prison

In the aspects of maintaining law and order, the work was not only confined to the courts and the police. NA Prisons were also very crucial in what was actually a kind of synergetic collaboration in which all the three (courts, police and prison) are involved. We have already discussed in chapter three on the establishment and administration of Zaria NA Prisons. This included the central prison in Zaria city, as well as smaller prisons or lock ups located in some of the districts of the Emirate. Actually, information on district prisons is scanty, and for this

⁹⁰⁶ Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... p. 102

⁹⁰⁷ See for example Kemi Rotimi (2001) ... pp. 122-128, A. Y. Chiranchi (2004) ... particularly chapter seven, pp. 167-193

reason, much of the discussion here concentrated on the ‘Zaria Central Prison.’⁹⁰⁸ More so, the central prison in the city was officially the building where most of the convicts from district lock-ups were referred to serve their jail terms. This particularly involves offenders tried and sentenced to serve for more than six months of jail terms. However, a full list of Zaria NA Prison Warders (1943-1944) would shed more light on the personnel involved and places of their work generally.

ZARIA N. A. PRISON WARDERS 1943 – 1944⁹⁰⁹

Zaria Central Prison Warders

Name	Date of Birth	Educational Qualification	Date entered NA Services	Place of Work
1. Yari Abdullahi	1901	ETC	1922	Zaria City
2. Musa Katsina	1870	ETC	1925	Zaria City
3. Mamman Garko	1894	ETC	1935	Zaria City
4. Tanko Kura	1908	ETC	1939	Zaria City
4. Sale Yaro	1914	LHEC	1938	Zaria City
5. Rilwanu	1916	LHEC	1938	Zaria City
4. Bala Yaro Zaria	1910	LHEC	1938	Zaria City
5. Amadu Zabarma	1913	LHEC	1940	Zaria City
6. Jarmai Zaria	1891	LHEC	1926	Zaria City
7. Idde Zabarma	1911	LHEC	1940	Zaria City
8. Danlami I	1909	LHEC	1938	Zaria City
9. Dangugo Zaria	1913	LHEC	1938	Zaria City
10. Maigamo Zaria	1911	LHEC	1941	Zaria City
11. Musa Zaria	1915	LHEC	1941	Zaria City
12. Alu Zaria	1916	LHEC	1941	Zaria City
13. Shaihu Manu	1915	LHEC	1914	Zaria City
14. Amadu Zaria	1912	LHEC	1940	Zaria City
15. Ali	1918	LHEC	1941	Zaria City

⁹⁰⁸ The most available and perhaps, authoritative work is Mohammed Buhari (2010) “A History of Zaria Central Prison 1903-1967”, MA Thesis, BUK, Kano

⁹⁰⁹ There are changes made in the table which was a little different from the original excerpt. The changes are mine. Some irrelevant and less important portions were removed. In addition, the full meaning of the qualification abbreviations: ETC – E.T.C. Toro, LHEC – Literate in Hausa and in English characters. See NAK/ZARPROF/27 Zaria NA Staff List 1943 – 1944, p. 3

Danbaraima				
16. Tanko Zaria	1948	LHEC	1941	Zaria City
17. Danlami II	1887	LHEC	1941	Zaria City
18. Jamo	1911	LHEC	1932	Zaria City
19. Yusufu	1873	LHEC	1923	Zaria City
20. Bazariye	1869	LHEC	1924	Zaria City
21. Abdu Rano	1874	LHEC	1924	Zaria City
22. Sule	1914	LHEC	1941	Zaria City
23. Shekarau	1906	LHEC	1941	Zaria City
24. Mamman Fada	1918	LHEC	1941	Zaria City
25. Mamman Zaria	1914	LHEC	1941	Zaria City
26. Garba Kano	1916	LHEC	1941	
27. Abas Zaria	1919		1941	
28. Ibrahim Kazau	1917		1941	
29. Dalhatu Zaria	1923		1941	
30. Ishaku Zaria	1923		1941	
31. Danjuma Zaria	1917		1941	
32. Sule Gusau	1923		1941	
33. Tanimu Zaria	1918		1941	
34. Bello Gaya	1917		1941	
35. Mu'azu Zaria	1920		1942	
36. Ladan Zaria	1918		1942	
37. Barau Zaria	1906		1942	
38. Zama (Wardress)	1906		1935	
39. Balarabe	1920	M. III	1941	Zaria City

District Warders

1. Is'haku Shama	1890		1940	Kaduna
2. Maigari	1903		1935	Kaduna
3. Abdu G. Baki	1893		1938	Rigachikun
4. Hassan	1880		1927	Giwa
5. Turakin Maka	1903		1942	Ikara
6. Aliyu	1910		1941	Makarfi
7. Musa	1893		1940	Soba
8. Abdu Kano	1883		1939	Lere*
9. Abdu Kwalo	?? (sic)		?? (sic)	Kacia*
10. Inte	1888		1941	Anchau
11. Ya'u	1913		1941	Kauru*
12. Aliyu	1913		1941	Kagarko*

13. Musa Kano	1888		1935	Katab*
14. Lukka	1901		1942	Jaba*
15. Alif	1897		1928	Kagoro*
16. Adam	?? (sic)		?? (sic)	Moroa*
17. Hassan	1913		1943	Birnin Gwari*

Source: NAK/ZARPROF/27 Zaria NA Staff List 1943 – 1944, pp. 11-13 (Note: The districts or towns with asterisk are not directly part of our area of study).

Administratively, from staff strength of forty-seven Warders as at 1949, the prison department of Zaria NA by 1950/1951 had fifty-eight Warders, one Wardress, a Chief Warder; and a Prison Superintendent (*Yarin Zazzau*).⁹¹⁰ And by 1952-1953, more than twenty of these warders, including the Chief Warder had attended courses at the Warders Training Depot, Enugu. The courses were intended to equip the warders with an up-to-date *modus operandi* of prison techniques and administration.⁹¹¹ On the other hand, efforts were also made in the 1950s, to cater for an improved medical and general welfare of the inmates in the central prison. Thus, by 1951, a twelve-bed capacity sick bay was erected to cater for the health needs of the inmates inside the Zaria prison compound. It is reported that, at the helm of affairs, stood a prison reformer, Mr. R. H. Dolan, Director of Prisons’ (1946-1954). He was an icon, “popularly known among prison staff as ‘Napoleon’ (in Prison Administration).”⁹¹² Dolan introduced a package called the ‘earning scheme’ in order to enhance prison welfare services to inmates. The scheme which was the first of its kind enabled good and industrious inmates to earn a modest sum of money which was to serve as an incentive or assistance to them to recuperate while in prison and on discharge. But only a ‘long term first offenders’, who had obediently completed two years of their jail terms were eligible for this incentive. Dolan was also specially credited with concern on

⁹¹⁰ NAK/PRI/2/ZARPROF (Colonial Annual Report, Zaria Province 1950), p. 217; as cited in Mohammed Buhari (2010)... p. 47

⁹¹¹ NAK/PRI/2/ZARPROF (Colonial Annual Report, Zaria Province 1950), p. 240-241; as cited in Mohammed Buhari (2010)... p. 47

⁹¹² Mohammed Buhari (2010) ... p. 45

the moral and religious aspects of the prisoners. He, for instance in Zaria, permits preachers of both faiths (Muslims and Christians) into the prison, and also allows the erection of a mosque and a prayer room for the Christians in the prison. He also initiated and implemented a formal policy on prison visitation that permits relatives of prisoners to pay visit to their kindred in order to conserve and maintain family ties.⁹¹³

In spite of all these developments, the Zaria NA Central Prison was also not void of violence and prison escape during this period. It is reported that from 1950-1951, about forty-one inmates escaped and only a fraction were captured. Also from 1952-1953, thirteen inmates escaped but eight were later recaptured. The escapees were said to have capitalized to run while outside on extra moral employment with working parties; and others escaped while on admission at hospital.⁹¹⁴ No doubt, as discussed above, between this periods (1950-1953), a significant number of prison Warders from Zaria NA were sent for training courses in Enugu, in order to generally improve their work. In a related scenario, the *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo* newspaper of Friday 11th May, 1962, reported an act of violence that, “*FURSUNA YA NEMI TAWAYE A ZARIYA*” – (literally - A Prisoner Had Attempted Violence in Zaria). In the report, an Ijaw man, George Amachere was handed over to Zaria *Yandoka* for investigation over his violent act of using a sharp knife (made of 6 inch nails) to starve the Chief Warder, M. Rilwanu, and the *Yarin Zazzau*, M. Umaru Idris,⁹¹⁵ who was on supervision duty. It is stated that, the rampaging prisoner,

⁹¹³ See, Mohammed Buhari (2010) ... pp. 39-52

⁹¹⁴ See Mohammed Buhari (2010) ... pp. 46-47

⁹¹⁵ Umaru Idris was born on the 18th December, 1934, in Zaria City. He was a prince by birth through his grandfather, Emir Sambo (1881-1890), of the *Katsinawa* ruling dynasty of Zazzau Emirate. In fact, he was an elder brother to the current Emir, Alhaji (Dr.) Shehu Idris. He started first as a clerk in 1954, and then appointed as the first Welfare Officer in Zaria NA. Umaru was appointed as *Yarin Zazzau* (Prison Superintendent) by Emir Muhammadu Aminu, shortly after his accession to the throne in 1959. He took over as *Yarin Zazzau* from *Yari Abdullahi*, who was said to be not in good terms with the Emir, Aminu; and that accounted for his removal according to a report. In 1963, he was turbaned as *Dangaladiman Zazzau*. During the Civil War periods (1967-1970), he joined the federal government as a Chief Superintendent of Prison. After the war, Umaru transferred back to Kaduna, and served the state as Director of Sports for about ten years. He was appointed as the District Head of

George, first starved Rilwanu on his cheek and then pursued the *Yari*, Umaru Idris, and injured his head. Also in the same day, one John Okoro was caught in possession of the same type of weapon, earlier used by George; and both were forcefully stripped off of the weapons by their co-inmates in the prison.⁹¹⁶

Consequence to this kind of incidences, not only in Zaria, but the nation as a whole, a ‘Prison Armed Squad’ was introduced in order to protect the lives and properties of both the prison staff and the inmates. It was also meant to counter any aggression or mob attack on the prison from outside. In Zaria, the Prison Armed Squad is said to have come into full force late in 1966. A number of Warders from Zaria were sent to Police College, Kaduna, for training on the use of especially firearms and other security techniques.⁹¹⁷ The next important development in the aspect of prison administration was its national integration late in the 1960s by the Federal Military Government. This was discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the crucial events that shaped the history of our area of study (the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate), and of course, the Northern region and Nigeria as a whole between 1950 to 1967. It is understood that, by the 1950s, political parties were formed as part of the decolonization activities of the nationalist throughout the country. The two parties that dominated the political landscape in our study area were the NPC and NEPU. As seen in the chapter, this event in the early 1950s had influence in the pressure mounted by the emergent educated class, who besides party politics also demanded reform of the local government system

Rigasa, Igabi Local Government Area in 1990, the position he held until his death early in 2013. For details on his biography, see M. T. Lawal (2004) “The History of *Dangaladima* Office Zaria Emirate in the 20th Century” B.A. Dissertation, Department of History, HBUK, Kano, particularly chapter five (pp. 53-59). Also see Mohammed Buhari (2010) ... p. 40

⁹¹⁶ For details see, *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo*, Friday 11th May, 1962, p. 1 (The English rendering is mine)

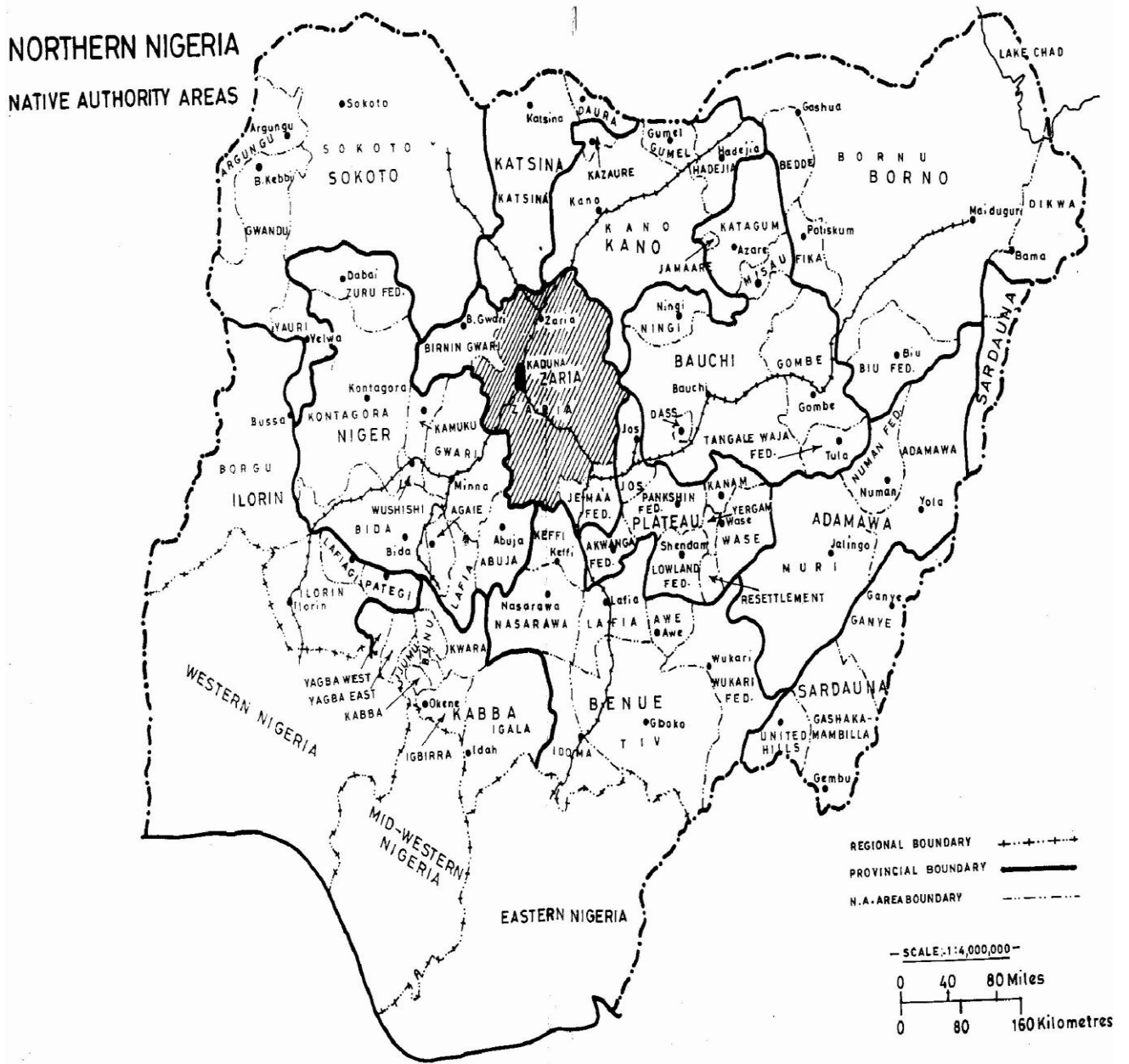
⁹¹⁷ See Mohammed Buhari (2010) ... pp. 65-66

in the emirates. The result was the Balewa's clarion call for the overhaul of the NA system, and which later culminated to the promulgation of the NA Law of 1954. This revolutionary law of 1954 emphasizes popular and participatory local government system, which tended to limit excessive powers wielded by the emirs. In spite of stiff opposition, the law, in the case of Zazzau, introduced the Emir-in-Council type of NA system; and with subordinate councils at both the Town, District and Village levels. The reform also sought to address the menace of bribery and corruption which pervades the NA system during that period. There was a far reaching impact following the implementation of this reform in our study area as discussed in the chapter. The NA bureaucratic establishment was reshuffled with emphasis on devolution of responsibilities and financial accountability.

This sweeping reform initiated in the 1950s was also felt in other important segments of the NA System, such as the Native Treasury, the NA Courts, and the NA Police and Prison. As discussed with factual instances, these sectors of the NA were improved and special attention was geared towards staff training and general welfare. The establishments of the Institute of Administration, Zaria, and the Police College, Kaduna (for training of *Yandoka*) were also all part of the purposeful steps taken to improve the local government system at the grass-root level. However, with the coming of the military in 1966, and the creation of states throughout the country, measures were taken also to reform the local government system. And by 1970, new local authorities were put in place, while the NA Courts, Police and Prison were all reformed and taken over by the States and Federal Government of Nigeria.

MAP VI

ZARIAN. A. IN NORTHERN NIGERIA



Source: A.D. Yahaya (1980) The Native Authority System in Nigeria

CHAPTER SIX

POST INDEPENDENCE DEVELOPMENTS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICTS OF ZAZZAU EMIRATE 1967-1976

(I) Introduction

This chapter discusses the immediate political and administrative developments that shaped the history of Nigeria in general and its immediate effects on the system of local government administration, with particular reference to Zazzau Emirate. The period was opened up by the tragic secessionist threat of the Eastern Region, which culminated to the Nigeria's Civil War of 1967-1970.⁹¹⁸ However, the attention of this chapter is not on this tragic phenomenon, rather, it first focused on the creation of states in the country, an attempt meant to contain the break-away plan of the Eastern Region from the federation. Twelve states were created by the then military regime under General Yakubu Gowon, and one of these states was the North-Central which our area of study was part of its territories.

On the other hand, the creation of these states also concurrently stemmed up momentum on the need to reform the local government system throughout the country. This development led to the abolition of the term Native Authority and its replacement with a new system called the Local Authority Councils. As discussed in the chapter therefore, this change led to the emergence of the newly constituted Zaria Local Authority (L.A.), and the Emir still retained his seat as the Chairman of the council. Under this reformed L.A.s, territorial districts in each of the L.A. were grouped into what was called the Administrative Area Councils. These Administrative

⁹¹⁸ On the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970, see for example, Alexander M. Madiebo (1980) *The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafran War*, Enugu, Adewale Ademoyega (1981) *Why we struck: The story of the First Nigerian coup*, Ibadan, Evans Nigeria Ltd, A. M. Mainasara (1982) *The Five Majors: Why they Struck*, Zaria, D. J. M. Muffet (1982) *Let Truth Be Told, Vol. 1: The Coup D'état of Nineteen Sixty Six*, Zaria, A. R. Mohammed (1988) "The Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970: A Critical Look at the Developments that Led to it" in Uma Eleazu (ed) *Nigeria: The First 25 Years*, Ibadan, Heinemann, pp. 73-77

Area Councils under Zaria L.A. were three and with bases at Zaria, Kacia and Saminaka. Certainly, the activities of all the districts lying north of Zazzau Emirate were grouped under the Zaria Area Council. On the other hand, the Kacia and Saminaka Area Councils served as the bases of the districts situated in the southern and south-eastern parts of the Emirate.

With this development, this chapter discussed issues related to district administration after the creation of new Local Authority Council and their groupings under Administrative Area Councils. More importantly, in the northern part of the Emirate, there were eight districts that remained as at 1967, and their position was looked at with a view to establishing how they fit in this, rather, a new administrative set up. Therefore, discussion offered in this chapter aligned the major components of this thesis as purposefully set to achieve from the beginning. This determined end result is to achieve a clear-cut discussion on the historical processes leading to the establishment of a 'modern' type of local government system in Zazzau Emirate. This end result, first achieved in 1967, was when the constituents' districts in the northern part of the emirate gave birth to the modern Zaria Local Authority Council. Even though, the Emir was still the chairman of the council, but a large number of elected officials constituted part of the new L.A. Council. Not only elected members constituted the new council, but people of non-royal blood were also incorporated into it. Later, as we shall see in the next chapter seven, the number of the Local Authority Councils increased to three following the creation of Ikara and Kaduna Local Authority Councils in 1976 respectively.

Further to this major local government shake up in 1967 were other important reforms translated or made in three integral organs of the former Native Authority system. These changes introduced were in the NA Courts, NA Police, and NA Prison systems. It was a profound initiative introduced by the military and meant to refurbish or modernize the new administrative

system in order to be in line with the mood of the time. The mood was to break with the past ills of the NA system particularly political oppression and administrative inefficiency. Thus, following the creation of states in 1967, subsequently NA Courts were taken over by the State Governments in 1969. NA Courts were transformed as Area Courts and to be controlled by the State judiciary. While the NA Police and Police were integrated or taken over by the Federal Military Government between 1968 and 1970 respectively. This as discussed in this chapter expressed government desire to take over institutions of control from local authorities; and it was in order to bolster them towards the provision of basic and welfare services at the grass root.

(II) The Creation of the North-Central State

In January 1966, for the first time in post-colonial Nigeria, the military staged a *coup d'état* that saw the end of the first republic. However, the counter-*coup* which followed in July 1966 had plunged the country into political crisis and; it further fueled deep mutual suspicion amongst the component regions that made up the Nigerian federation.⁹¹⁹ In the midst of this, it became increasingly evident that the Eastern Region had opted to secede. In order to contain the situation, in May 1967, the military government announced the division of Nigeria into twelve states. It is captured in the statement made by the then Head of the military government, General Yakubu Gowon, that:

⁹¹⁹ The military intervention of 15th January, 1966 marked the end of the First Republic. It was a bloody intervention that saw the brutal murder of major Northern Nigerian leaders including the Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and the Premier, Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto; and others. But few months (in July) after General Aguyi Ironsi came into power, young military officers from the north staged a counter coup which ended with the death of Ironsi; and consequently General Yakubu Gowon took over as the military president of Nigeria. Soon afterwards, the country plunged into political crisis, characterized by ethnic, regional and religious sentiments. The result was the breakaway of the Eastern Region and the declaration of the State of Biafra by Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu in 1967. The federal military government hastily announced the creation of twelve states in the country in order to kill the secessionist threat. In spite of this political and other diplomatic measures taken, Nigeria never survived the burning smoke and the nation, tragically, drifted into Civil War 1967-1970.

... The Twelve States will be six in the present Northern Region, three in the present Eastern Region, the Mid-west will remain as it is, the Colony Province of the Western Region and Lagos will form a new Lagos State and the Western Region will remain as it is. ...⁹²⁰

Perhaps, there were other secondary reasons particularly the issue of “obvious imbalance in having one Region (Northern) that is larger than all the others combined”⁹²¹ as regards the creation of states in 1967. But the imminent intent of the Eastern Region, to dismember from the federation at that trial period in the history of the country surpassed all other reasons. Consequently, the result of this major political reorganisation led to the creation of the following twelve States in Nigeria. These were the North-Central, North-Eastern, North-Western, Kano, Benue-Plateau, Kwara, Western, Mid-Western, Lagos, East-Central, South-Eastern and Rivers States respectively. Our focus is on the North-Central State, which at the time of its creation from the defunct Northern Region in 1967 comprised the two Provinces of Zaria and Katsina. Within its territory also was the semi-autonomous Jema’a Federation. It also contained, by extension, the Kaduna Capital Territory (Kaduna Township), which was territorially under Zaria Province. This structural change saw the demise of the provinces and provincial commissioners throughout the country. Conversely, divisions were formed, and in the North-Central State, we have the Katsina, Jema’a, Kaduna and Zaria Divisions. According to the records of the 1963 census, the sum of these areas that made up the North-Central State had a total of 26,754 Area Square Miles; and with a population of about 4,098,305 people.⁹²²

⁹²⁰ A. H. M. Kirk-Greene (1971) *Crisis and Conflicts in Nigeria: A Documentary Source book 1966-1976*, vol. 1., London, Oxford University Press, pp. 42-43, 158-159 & 169-177; as quoted in Omolade Adejuyigbe (1989) “Creation of States in 1967 and 1976” in Peter P. Ekeh (ed) *Nigeria Since Independence: Politics and Constitution: The First 25 Years* Vol. V, Ibadan, Heinemann, p. 209

⁹²¹ *Nigerian Opinion: Nigeria, 1965. Crisis and Criticism, Selection from Nigerian Opinion*, Ibadan, University Press, 1966, p. 47, as quoted in Omolade Adejuyigbe (1989) ... p.

⁹²² See *Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book*, 1968, Zaria, Institute of Administration, ABU, NNPC, pp. 6-7; also see Omolade Adejuyigbe (1989) ... p. 211

Since it was during the military era the state was carved out, a Military administrator, Major Abba Kyari⁹²³ (later Brigadier), 1967-1975 was posted as the first Governor of the North-Central State. The important city of Kaduna which used to be the headquarters of the defunct Northern Regional Government now became the capital of the new North-Central State (1967-1975). For almost ten years, Abba Kyari remained the only Governor of the State up until 1976, when it was renamed as Kaduna State.⁹²⁴ Coincidentally, the year 1976 corresponds with the chosen terminal period of this research.

(III) The Creation of Zaria Local Authority Council

The creation of states in the polity in 1967 was also accompanied with changes in the system of local government administration throughout the country. The military regime in power thus, in order to make their intervention purposeful, “local government was one institution it had to purify and rectify.”⁹²⁵ This is why even prior to the creation of states, and in preparedness to fix it, the military obliged the regional governments to take over control of all the institutions for the maintenance of law and order. The reason is that, in the Northern Region particularly, the conception of local government under the aegis of the Native Authority system was primarily for ‘control’. This is in contrast with what was in place in the Southern region, where the system had

⁹²³ Abba Kyari was born on the 17th November, 1938 at Dawa, a border town in the old Borno Province, between Nigeria and Niger Republic. After attending Borno Middle School and Government College Zaria, his military career started at the Royal Officers’ Training, Teshie in Ghana. From 1959-60, he moved to Mons Officer Cadet School in Britain, and then later went to the School of Infantry at Westminster, and Missiles School Fortsili, Oklahoma. He held many positions in the Nigerian Army between 1961 and 1963 in Kaduna, including Battalion Commander, 1964-1966. He was also once a Commander of the 51st Battalion in Kano. In June 1967, he was appointed as the Military Governor of the newly created North-Central State of Nigeria. From the rank of Major, Abba Kyari rose to become a Brigadier in 1972. Three years after becoming a Brigadier, Abba Kyari retired in 1975. He was succeeded by Wing Commander Usman Jibrin (later Group Captain) as the Military Governor of the old Kaduna State, 1975-1977. For more, see *Kaduna State in Perspective*, a publication of the Ministry of Economic Planning, Kaduna State of Nigeria (first published 2006, reprinted 2007 and updated 2009), pp. 6 & 15-17

⁹²⁴ His successor, Group Captain, Usman Jibrin, took over in 1975, a period of history ushering in the transition between Gowon and Obasanjo military regimes.

⁹²⁵ A. D. Yahaya (1989) “Local Government Reforms: The Military Initiative” in Peter P. Ekeh (ed) *Nigeria Since Independence: Politics and Constitution. The First 25 Years Vol. V*, Ibadan, Heinemann, p. 240

encouraged popular participation in governance. Therefore, the military was commended at this earlier stage for its boldness in taking over control of the ‘police and courts’ institutions.⁹²⁶ In the previous chapter, references were given on the use of agents of coercion (police and courts) against political opponents. This is particularly between the ruling NPC, which had total support of the NA, to the detriment of the opposition NEPU party. Already, earliest in February, 1967, the Military Government banned politics for NA staff in the North; and thereby further blocked some of the conceived political abuses of the past.⁹²⁷

However, while preparation was still on, the general reorganisation of the local government system in the country was halted by the imminent political crisis which led to the civil war. Therefore, since the Federal Government was occupied with this crisis, “the newly created states had a free hand in resolving their local government policy.”⁹²⁸ This was the basic reason that the local government reform was not uniform throughout the nation as each state inaugurated its reform based on its design and time. All the same, they both shared general interest for efficiency at the grassroots level. In other words, the aim was to transform local government to be more ‘development oriented’ and ‘closer to people’.⁹²⁹ And more significantly, a symbolic recognition was reaffirmed when the entire local governments were redesigned and called either as ‘Local Government Authorities’, ‘Local Administration’, and ‘Local Authorities’; but with same designated functions as subordinate administrative units.⁹³⁰ This is in accordance with what a

⁹²⁶ On the takeover of police and courts institutions from Native Authorities by the regional and federal military governments see the last few pages of chapter six of this work.

⁹²⁷ See *New Nigerian*, No. 349, Tuesday, 21 February, 1967 – captioned: “POLITICS BANNED FOR N.A. STAFF IN NORTH”, p. 1. Moreover, this was just a follow up announcement, because since the 4th April, 1966, the Military Government banned politics throughout the federation.

⁹²⁸ A. D. Yahaya (1989) “Local Government Reforms: ... p. 240

⁹²⁹ See A. D. Yahaya (1980) *The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria 1950-70: a Study in Political Relations with particular reference to the Zaria Native Authority*, Zaria, ABU Press, p. 195

⁹³⁰ Kano and Kwara states had Local Government Authorities; Benue-Plateau renamed theirs as Local Administration, while the North-Central, North-East and North-West had Local Authorities. See A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p.196, and A. D. Yahaya (1989) ... p. 240

particular state or states desired their local government to be called. Our reference here is particularly on the new six states created out of the defunct Northern Region.

In spite of all these, this is not to say that the reorganisation went smooth as envisaged by the military government. Defects ranging from inefficiency, corruption, and lack of accountability were identified as major problems associated with the old system (NA). However, a much bigger problem identified was, on how to deal with some powerful NA's located in the middle of the new states created. An example was the case of Kano and Zaria NA's, being also chaired by, relatively, two powerful emirs in the former Northern Regional Government. There was also the problem of nomenclature whereby the concept of the 'Native Authority' was seen as an outdated colonial terminology; and the mood at that time was to 'break with the past'. In his own words, the Governor, Abba Kyari, further denigrate that, "the term "Native Authority" itself symbolised or epitomised conservatism and victimization."⁹³¹ This therefore, entails breaking or parting ways with colonial enigma, as demonstrated in the shift from 'Native Authorities' to 'Local Authorities or Local Administration;' as the case applied in various States.⁹³² Thus, the military made concerted effort to address these issues and, one of which was to exert and convince the people that power now lies with the state governments not the old NA's headed by the emirs. This new approach embarked by the military was officially articulated, formalized and circulated amongst the various state governments in the federation.

In the North-Central State, as noted above, the term Native Authority was replaced with Local Authority (L.A.). In our area of study therefore, the Zaria NA, which housed the northern

⁹³¹ *Excerpts of Speeches in 1969-70 by Colonel Abba Kyari, Military Governor, North-Central State* (undated), Kaduna, Government Printer, p. 21

⁹³² See A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 194-196, A. D. Yahaya (1989) ... p. 241. For detailed discussion on power play and political relationship between the traditional authorities or emirs as heads of the various NA's and government officials, both during and immediately after independence to 1966, see A. M. Yakubu (2006) *Emirs and Politicians: Reform, Reaction and Recrimination in Northern Nigeria 1950-1966*, Kaduna, Baraka Press

districts of the emirate, was reconstituted and named as Zaria Local Authority Council. One of the major departures was the abrogation of the former ‘Chief-in-Council’ and supplanted with ‘Chief-and-Council’ system. Here, the power of emir to override on the council’s decision was curbed; and now “Chief must abide by the majority decision of his council.”⁹³³ However, this was not achieved without government taking the bull by the horn trying to convince that these “changes do not bring any derogation from the authority and dignity of Local Authorities or Traditional Chiefs.”⁹³⁴ Unfortunately, this only set the phase for the gradual, but with intent on the side of the government, loss of powers by the traditional rulers (both Emirs and District Heads). Fears of the traditional chiefs were further compounded in this imminent reform, when “all Local Authority Councils were required to have a majority of elected members ...”⁹³⁵ And in view of the earlier ban on political activities by the military government, members to the Council were therefore nominated.⁹³⁶ Not only that the members were elected or nominated, it was for the first time the council was composed of people who were not related to the royal families of Zazzau Emirate.⁹³⁷ A. D. Yahaya had given an exposition of the newly created Zaria Local Authority Council. He outlined that:

⁹³³ *Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book, 1972-3*, Zaria, Institute of Administration, p. 1.; also see A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 197

⁹³⁴ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 197

⁹³⁵ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 197-198

⁹³⁶ The regulation completely banning politics amongst NA staff was earnestly announced prior even to the creation of states. In the North, the Military Governor, Lieutenant Colonel (later General) Hassan Usman Katsina, through his Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Information, Malam Ahmed Joda; announced, as captured by the *New Nigerian*, No. 349, Tuesday, 21 February, 1967, p. 1, that: “no NA employees whether on duty or not, whether on leave or at work, shall hold any office paid, or unpaid, permanent or temporary, in any political organisation. No any employee shall offer himself or nominate anyone else as candidate at any election of members of local council, outer Council N.A. Council, Provincial Council or Legislative Council”.

⁹³⁷ As explicitly dealt with in the earlier chapters (2, 3, and 4), Zazzau is such a peculiar emirate made up of about four different royal houses or dynasties (*Mallawa, Katsinawa, Barebari, and Sullubawa*), and each had a stake in the activities of the emirate. This made the Zaria NA, therefore, to be predominantly occupied by members of the *sarauta* families. With the changing circumstances, from 1967, precisely, the status quo was challenged by the reform; and non-royal bloods begun to occupy both higher and lower posts in NA departments.

The Council was composed of the Emir as Chairman, 2 traditional members, ex-officio members (of which the Chairman of Area Councils, and the District Heads of Zaria City, Sabon Gari, and Zangon Katab were named) and 24 nominated members.

On this basis, a substantial number of members of the old Council lost their seats. A sizeable number of new men with no association with sarauta families were given seats in the new council. Hitherto, because of their preponderance in the Council, Portfolio Councillors were drawn mainly from the traditional political class. Now most sarauta members had lost their seats on the Council, those who were Portfolio Councillors were removed from office and assigned to administrative post in the Local Authority. As at 1970, there were five Portfolio Councillors in Zaria Local Authority none of whom was a member of any of the royal lineages in Zaria.⁹³⁸

The Emir, who was then the Chairman of the Zaria Local Authority Council, was Muhammadu Aminu (1959-1974).⁹³⁹ The other three top members of the Council were the *Waziri*, Alhaji Nuhu Yahaya, as the Chief of Staff, Alhaji Abduljalil, the Administrative Secretary, and Alhaji Ishaku Suleyman, was the Treasurer.⁹⁴⁰ This reform introduced by the military in 1967, did not take full and uniform effect throughout the federation, as hinted earlier. In the North-Central State, it was not until in 1969, that the new Zaria Local Authority Council formally took off. Abba Kyari, addressing the Council on the occasion of its inaugural meeting, stressed that:

I am pleased to be here to address you on this important occasion. As you are aware the former Zaria Native Authority Council was, along

⁹³⁸ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 198

⁹³⁹ For more on Emir, Muhammadu Aminu, his ascension to the throne in 1959, and what particularly transpired in terms of his support to the ruling NPC during the first republic, see the immediate previous chapter (six).

⁹⁴⁰ This is as recorded in the *Local Government Year Book, 1972-3*, p. 117. While prior to this period (1961 precisely, after the investigation of the Commission of Enquiry, Zaria Emirate Council), the Zaria Native Authority Council constituted the following – the Emir, the *Waziri*, District Head of Zaria City (Zaria da Kewaye), District Head of Sabon Gari, Mallam Aminu (Ciroma), Mallam Saïdu (*Iya*) M.H.R.; as Ex-officio of the Council. While the personnel members of the Council were: Hon. Alhaji Ahmadu Patika (*Sarkin Fada*) M.H.A., Alhaji Shehu (*Madakin Zazzau*), Alkali Buhari (on his resignation), Mallam Muhammadu Lawal (*Barde*), Mallam Bawa Gambo (*Sarkin Zana*), Alhaji Sama'ila Ahmed (*Dallatu*) M.H.A., Alhaji Abdu (on resignation from the Ministry of Education), Alhaji Dikko (on resignation from the District Headship of Kachia); and Alhaji Muhammadu Fagaci – this is as cited in L. M. Aminu (1993) “The History of the Zaria Emirate Council from 1959”, BA Dissertation, BUK, Kano, pp. 54-55

with its counterparts elsewhere in the State, abolished because my Government was convinced that it had contained a number of defects and shortcomings which needed to be remedied. One of the many criticisms made against the old system was that it was unrepresentative of the people it was supposed to serve. That is why my Government decided to broaden the new Local Authority Councils to reflect, as far as possible, all shades of opinion within their respective areas of jurisdiction. It is in pursuance of this policy that every district in Zaria Emirate now has at least one member on this new Council.⁹⁴¹

Apart from the Zaria L.A., there were also other reconstituted L.A's in the then North-Central State. These were – Katsina, Daura, Jema'a Federation and Birnin-Gwari Local Authorities.⁹⁴² While, in the Ministry for Local Government of the State, the Commissioner in charge then was Alhaji Muhammadu Danmallam, and the Permanent Secretary of the ministry was Alhaji M. I. Sama'ila.⁹⁴³ From the foregoing therefore, the military in the wake of reforming the local government system was, not only apt in emphasizing efficiency and accountability; they also broaden the new Council to accommodate all interest groups. To exert this effective capacity, the Council was set to appreciate the changes introduced, and to be able to “distinguish political, from essentially administrative, roles.”⁹⁴⁴ What was also new in the composition of the Council was the fact that, majorities were no longer NA employees; and they earned their seats not on the bases of patronage or to the Emir's lineage. The key factor to this feat in the Council was the emphasis of popular participation in what constituted it. Thus, it became apparent, even though still gradual, that the older system had given way to a new one; and in which members of the traditional class who hitherto dominate, were made to look insignificant in the Council.

⁹⁴¹ *Excerpts of Speeches in 1969-70 by Colonel Abba Kyari, ...* p. 18

⁹⁴² The L.A. Council in Katsina was under Alhaji Sir Usman Nagogo, Emir of Katsina, Daura was under Alhaji Muhammadu Bashar, Emir of Daura, the Jema'a Federation was under Malam Gwamna Awam, Chief of Kagoro; and Birnin-Gwari was under Malam Jibril Mai-Gwari.

⁹⁴³ See the *Local Government Year Book, 1972-3*, p. 117

⁹⁴⁴ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 198

No doubt, the creation of the new states also informed the need to reform the local government system and, concurrently, to review its functions in line with the whole object of the exercise. Too important to mention again, was the taking over of the police and prison establishments by the Federal Government. These two institutions for the maintenance of law and order were before the reform traditionally regarded as function of local government. Also particularly in the North-Central, both the Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary establishments had been taken over by the State Government. At the same time, in the same State, legal authority over many other functions was handed down to newly created Area Councils which were subdivisions of existing local authority areas.⁹⁴⁵ Moreover, it was also emphatic and clear in the new reform that:

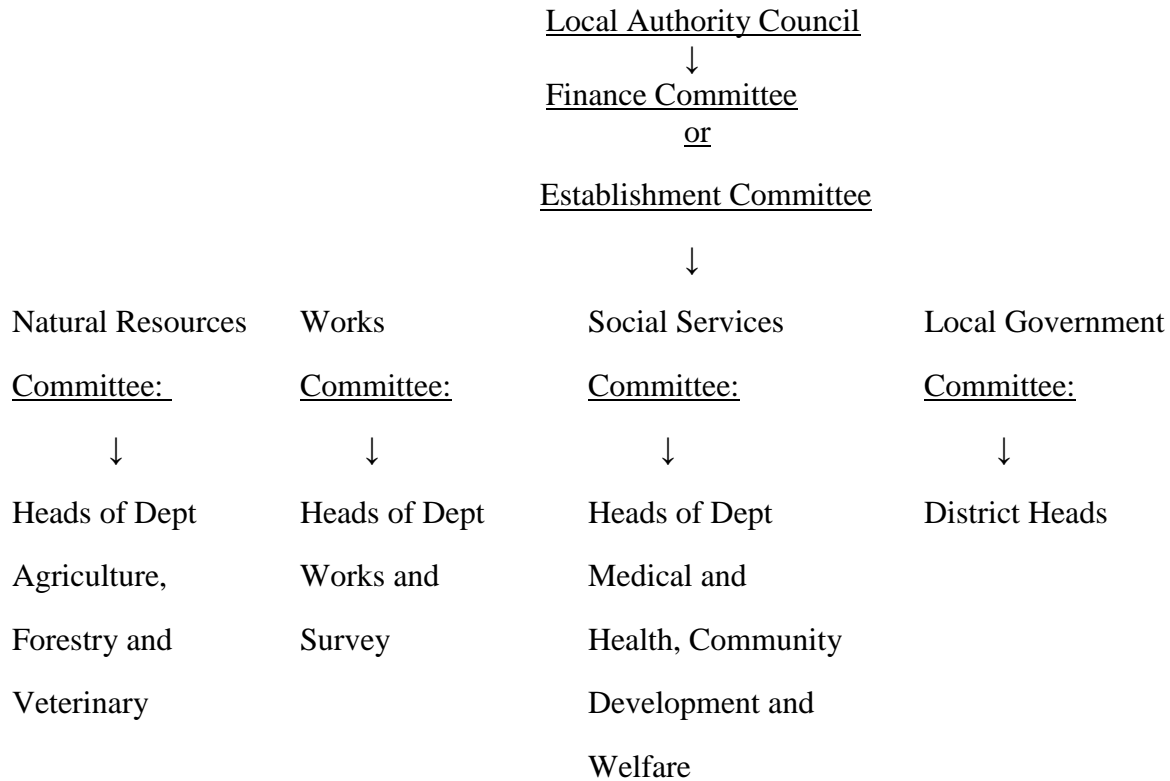
Where expenditure estimates for services taken over by the Federal or State government continue to appear in Local Authority Estimates ... the appropriate authority makes a 100% re-imbusement of the cost.⁹⁴⁶

However, in spite of the creation and delegation of authorities to smaller units of local government, there were peculiar services such as Veterinary and Education which remained directly under LA's. This was probably because of size and importance, and in which, thus, a Joint Committee of two or more local units had to jointly provide these services. See the table below for the structure of the new local authorities.

⁹⁴⁵ See Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book 1972-3, Zaria, Institute of Administration, p. 37

⁹⁴⁶ Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book 1972-3, ... p. 37

Local Authority Administrative Committee Structure (1972-3)



Source: Adapted from Local Government Year Book 1972-3, p.3

(IV) The Establishment of Administrative Area Councils

Another initiative or rather a breakthrough introduced by the new States, though differently, was the establishment of a tier between the local authorities and the district areas.⁹⁴⁷ This tier was called the Administrative Areas, and it was a scheme pronounced by the Governor of the North-Central State, Colonel Abba Kyari, to “assist ... Council (Local Authorities) in spreading

⁹⁴⁷ This additional tier introduced by the Military Governors of the defunct Northern Region was named as ‘Administrative Areas’ in the North-Central and Kano States. In Kwara and Benue-Plateau States “all former local government units that were considered too large were fragmented into multipurpose units”. While the North-East and North-West States, opted for the creation of ‘Area Development Boards’ within each local government. Other patterns were also adopted in the former Southern and Eastern Regions respectively. For more, see A. D. Yahaya (1989) “Local Government Reforms ... pp. 242-243, Alex Gboyega (1989) “Local Government Administration since Independence” in Alex Gboyega et’al (ed) *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years, Vol. III (Public Administration)*, Ibadan, Heinemann, pp. 170-172

modern amenities to the rural areas”.⁹⁴⁸ In addition, the fundamental reasons for this were; one, to guarantee uniform development and political participation within and throughout a Local Authority. Two, was the desire by the government to grant self-determination of affairs by the various interest groups, particularly in the wider Zazzau Emirate.⁹⁴⁹ And in fact, the predominance size of the Emirates of Katsina and Zazzau in the North-Central State then was also considered as a reason for the creation of Administrative Areas in the State. As a result, under the Local Authority Law (Cap. 77),⁹⁵⁰ three Administrative Area Councils were established by 1970, within the Zaria Local Authority. These were the Zaria, Kacia⁹⁵¹ and Saminaka⁹⁵² Administrative Area Councils respectively. The Zaria Administrative Area directly covered the area of our study – the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. Its base was in Zaria town, and it comprised as at then, Makarfi, Ikara, Kubau, Soba, Zaria *da Kewaye*, Sabon Gari, Igabi and Giwa districts. It was illustrated by Yahaya that:

In terms of size the Zaria Administrative Area was by far the largest and with a population of just over 1 million, had almost twice the population of Saminaka (190,320), and Kacia (449,170) Administrative Areas. This disparity was the result of an attempt to group culturally related districts into one Administrative Area. The consideration of cultural homogeneity had been given as the factor of local feeling.⁹⁵³

Certainly, as a result of the above obvious disparity between the three Area Councils, the Zaria Administrative Area enjoyed higher distribution of resources from the Local Authority and, perhaps, the State Government. Accordingly, in the North-Central State, an Area Council was “composed of elected representatives from the District Councils, all Districts Heads in the

⁹⁴⁸ *Excerpts of Speeches in 1969-70 by Colonel Abba Kyari, ...* p. 20

⁹⁴⁹ See A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 199

⁹⁵⁰ *Local Government Year Book 1972-3, ...* p. 31

⁹⁵¹ The Kacia Administrative Area constituted the core southern districts of Chikun, Kajuru, Kacia, Kagarko, and Zangon Katab. Its base was in Kacia town.

⁹⁵² The Saminaka Administrative Area covered the south-eastern districts of Lere and Kauru. Its base was in the town of Saminaka.

⁹⁵³ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 220. The issue of cultural, ethnic, geography and religious divide that complexly explain Zazzau Emirate has been briefly attempted in chapter one of this work.

Council Area ex-officio, representatives of special interests nominated by Government, and a Government appointed Chairman.”⁹⁵⁴ By 1972-1973, Alhaji Aliyu Turaki was the Chairman of Zaria Area Council, the Chief of Staff was Malam Umaru Sanda, Malam S. Malami was the Administrative Secretary, and the Treasurer of the Council was Malam Shehu Sani.⁹⁵⁵ In spite of the fact the Chairman of the Area Council was appointed by Government, but he was still, and, other members of his Council, considered as staffs of the L.A. In fact, by law, the Area Council was not fully an autonomous body, rather a subordinate of the L.A. That was why also the Chairman lacked the power to appoint or fire staff. The Area Council must also operate based on the general principle and policies of the L.A. The L.A staff in charge of overseeing activities of Area Councils was the Portfolio Councillor, who ensures implementation of L.A policies at the Area Councils.⁹⁵⁶ So practically, the Area Council was crafted in a weak political position in the structure of the L.A. Yet, it was considered to be in the best interest of the reform to bring government closer to people in the rural areas.

Under the Instrument establishing it, certain functions of the L.A. were by delegation shared-out to the Administrative Area Councils to execute. A closer and critical look to these functions reveals that, “In fact, all social and welfare services provided by local government were assigned to the Area Councils.”⁹⁵⁷ These functions are spelled in the under listed five departments:

1. Adult Education
2. Community Development
3. Works
4. Health, and

⁹⁵⁴ *Local Government Year Book 1972-3*, ... p. 2

⁹⁵⁵ See the *Local Government Year Book 1972-3*, ... p. 118

⁹⁵⁶ See A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 202-203

⁹⁵⁷ A. D. Yahaya (1989) ... p. 242

5. Forestry⁹⁵⁸

These functions expected to be controlled or performed by the Administrative Area Councils could also be broken to include commercial motor vehicle parks, grazing lands, markets, maternity and child welfare clinics, dispensaries, reading rooms and libraries. The provision of all these services requires funds to be executed. In this regard, the North-Central State made adequate financial provisions or sources of revenue to the Area Councils. The sources of revenue assigned to the Area Councils were:

- 1) 25 per cent of community and cattle taxes derived from the areas;
- 2) all local licences (sic), fees and rents;
- 3) capital grants from both the Local Authority and the Government for health facilities;
- 4) special rates; and
- 5) 50k Government capitation grant for development.⁹⁵⁹

However, one of the major functions exempted from being delegated to the Area Councils “was primary education which, under the existing system, is the responsibility of the Local Education Authority.”⁹⁶⁰

(V) District Administration after the Creation of Local Authority Councils

It is fundamental to note that, the reform of 1967, which reconstituted the older Native Authority with the new Local Authority Council, did not lead to the end of District Administration. More so, the new Area Councils were also not an impediment to the Districts, instead, only serve as an intermediate body between the Local Authority (L.A.) and the District Councils. To note also, unlike the Chairman of Area Council, who occupied office base on appointment by the Government; the Chairman of District Council continued to remain in the office as a traditional title holder of the emirate. This was similar to the emirs who also remained

⁹⁵⁸ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 203

⁹⁵⁹ Alex Gboyega (1989) ... p. 172, also see A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 201-202

⁹⁶⁰ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 201

as the chairmen of the newly created L.A's. Even though, the Chairman of the Area Council, under the new reform, was accorded superior position above all, but; he was not to interfere in the activities of the District Councils in his area. This, therefore, expresses importance and standing of the District Council as a separate structure from the Area Council. All these were meant to make the District Councils as effective units of local government organisation. And this was the more reason, similar to other tiers of the L.A.; District Councils were guaranteed and supported with funds and sources of revenue. The District Councils were assigned the following sources of revenue following the 1967 Local Government reform:

1. 5 per cent of the community and cattle taxes (less government share);
2. 20 per cent of local licences (sic), fees and rents collected on behalf of the Area Council within the District;
3. local Authority and Area Councils grant and
4. special rates.⁹⁶¹

As at 1968, there were sixteen District Councils which were directly under the influence of Zaria L.A. Out of this number, half of it (8) constituted the Northern Districts; seven belonged to the Southern Districts; while the last one was the semi-autonomous Birnin Gwari. These were the sixteen districts and their headquarters:

ZARIA NA (1968)

<u>Districts</u>	<u>Headquarters (where different)</u>
1. Cikum (sic)	Kajuru
2. Giwa	
3. Kagarko	
4. Kajuru	
5. Kauru	
6. Kubau	Anchau (Takalafiya)
7. Lere	
8. Makarfi	
9. Soba	

⁹⁶¹Alex Gboyega (1989) ... p. 172

10. Zaria da Kewaye
11. Zaria Sabon Gari Zaria City
12. Birnin Gwari
13. Ikara
14. Igabi Rigachikum (sic)
15. Kacia
16. Zango Katab (sic)⁹⁶²

It should be re-emphasized that, this work is only having direct concern with those districts located in northern part of Zazzau Emirate – Giwa, Kubau, Makarfi, Ikara, Soba, Sabon Gari, *Zaria da Kewaye*, and Igabi districts. And by an extended covering, base on history and administrative magnate, the city of Kaduna (not in the above list) is also included in the general discussion.

**(VI) State and Federal Governments Taking-Over/Integration or Unification of:
NA Courts, NA Police and NA Prison**

Concurrent to the emergence of the military government, creation of new states, and the reformed Local Government system, was the integration, unification or taking over of three major organs of the aged Native Authority System (NA). These integral organs of the NA were the NA Courts, NA Police, and NA Prison. These were the key institutions used by the NA's in the execution of one of their major functions of maintenance of law and order in the areas under their jurisdiction. The military which intervened in January 1966, first made it as an act "to transfer all the institutions for the maintenance of law and order to the regional government".⁹⁶³ The reason for this was to add a plus to the general review of the local government system already taking place. And moreover, this is to change the emblematic orientation and perception of local government system from typically that of 'control', to that with an increased responsibility in the provision of social and welfare services. Thus, this informed the taking over

⁹⁶² Adapted from: *Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book*, 1968, ... p. 28

⁹⁶³ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 240

of these institutions of control (court, police and prison) by the regional and federal governments in order to make the local governments more development-oriented.

a) The Takeover of Native Courts from Native Authorities

Prior to this period, several attempts were made aimed at improving the dispensation of justice in Zazzau Emirate. These attempts had certainly remained in motion throughout the colonial period. But the most fundamental change that occurred in the administration of justice in Zazzau Emirate in particular and the region in general, took place in the post-Independence period. As observed previously, this change was enshrined in an Edict (Penal Code) enacted in 1959. The new edict was meant to free the courts from political pressures by bringing them under the Chief Justice; and more so the Emirs' Courts were abolished throughout the northern States of Nigeria.⁹⁶⁴ At the same time, the erstwhile Native Courts were replaced with Area Courts under the control of the State Governments. And consistent to this change objective, even the name *Alkali* was replaced with President to preside over court matters. Writers so critical of this radical change in the judiciary ascribed it to effort meant to erode what remains of the *sharia* in the northern Muslim states.⁹⁶⁵ It was observed, in line with this discussion, the Area Courts were categorised into four grades – Upper Area Court, Area Court I, II, and III. In this categorization, only the Upper Area Court was to administer appeal from the other lower courts.⁹⁶⁶

Fundamentally, on the issue of the State governments' taking-over of the Courts, it officially took effect from 1st April, 1969, particularly in the North-Central State.⁹⁶⁷ The need for

⁹⁶⁴See for instance, T. M. Naniya (2003) ... p. 141, C. N. Ubah (2005) p. 191

⁹⁶⁵ C. N. Ubah (2005) ... p. 191

⁹⁶⁶ Adapted from: *Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book 1972-3*, Zaria, Northern Nigerian Publishing Company (NNPC), p. 107

⁹⁶⁷ See AHAK/14/2/D18 *North-Central State of Nigeria*, "The Takeover of Native Courts from Native Authorities", Printed by the Government Printer, Kaduna, 1969, pp. 1-2. See the appendix for the full text of Government declaration on "The Takeover of Native Courts from Native Authorities"

this takeover was in order to have more uniform and unified judiciary, professionalism, independence, and the capacity to administer justice without fear or favour in the country.⁹⁶⁸ At the top was the High Court, established in each of the Northern States. The High Court “exercises both Civil and Criminal jurisdiction approximately co-extensive with that of the High Court in England.”⁹⁶⁹ In the case of the Upper Area Courts, there were thirteen of such courts in the Northern States; and each may sit in one or more divisions. A Government document declaring the new structure of the Courts, as it affects the North-Central and other five States of the defunct Northern Region, also made it clear that:

Further appeals from Upper Area Courts go to the Sharia Court of Appeal, in cases involving Moslem Personal Law and to the High Court in all other cases. Appeals from the High Court go to the Federal Supreme Court which is the final Court of Appeal in the Country.⁹⁷⁰

In the then North Central State, there were two Provinces under it – Zaria and Katsina; and in each of the two provinces, an Upper Area Court was established. In Zaria, the Upper Area Court was located in Zaria City; and it serves as the appellate court to the twenty-seven lower Area Courts in the Province. This included the courts located in the semi-independent Jema’a Federation,⁹⁷¹ with 4 Grade I and 1 Grade II Area Courts; and also the Kaduna Capital Territory⁹⁷² having just 1 Grade I, and 2 Grade II Area Courts respectively. While the rest

⁹⁶⁸ /14/2/D18 *North-Central State of Nigeria*, “*The Takeover of Native Courts from Native Authorities*”, ... p. 1

⁹⁶⁹ *Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book 1973-3*, ... p. 106

⁹⁷⁰ AHAK/14/2/D18 *North-Central State of Nigeria*, “*The Takeover of Native Courts from Native Authorities*” ... p. 2.

⁹⁷¹ Jema’a Federation was formerly constituted in 1957, in order to appease or give credence to the agitations of the people of southern Zaria for autonomy. The federation was made up of the small Emirate of Jema’a (a vassal state of Zazzau in the 19th century), and three other districts of Kwoi, Moroa, and Kagoro – officially referred to as Independent Districts. see A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 74-75

⁹⁷² Kaduna Township was excised out of the control of Zaria NA following the enactment of the KCT Law No.8 of 1956. It was declared as the Kaduna Capital Territory (KCT) – the headquarters of Northern Regional Government. A source states that, “The Kaduna capital territory combined the Kaduna township area, the urban district of Kaduna and the European Reservation Area which all together covered an area of about 120 sq. km. The administration of the capital territory was placed under the control of the Governor-in-Council acting through an administrator” The KCT Law was amended in 1962, and the new law reconstituted the Capital Territory into an independent Native Authority with full powers like any other Native Authorities in the region. It differs with others only because

majority number of the courts – 18 Grade I and 1 Grade II Area Courts were directly under Zaria Province or Zazzau Emirate. Concurrently, all the former Native Courts located in each of the northern districts of the emirate were redesigned and called as Area Courts.

b) Integration/Unification of NA Police with the Nigeria Police Force (NPF)

Immediately after Independence there were concerted efforts in all of the regions to provide efficient training, good condition of service and arms for the police force. However, during this period of the First Republic (1960-1966), “The motives, when properly scrutinised, sprang more from the desire to ensure a firmer control of political opponents than of common felons.”⁹⁷³ Sequel to our discussion in the previous chapter, movements were already on the way for the formation of a unified Police force in the country. This campaign was particularly coming from members of the opposition parties before the fall of the First Republic in 1966. This major stride basically took place between 1966 and 1970 when local police in both the North and West gave way. The military regime with their unitary system of government was behind this initiative immediately when they took over control in January 1966. In February 1968, a government white paper was released following the recommendation made by a study group in August 1967. An interesting part in the white paper reads:

Both the local government Police in the West and the Native Authority Police in the Northern states would be gradually integrated with the Nigeria Police so as to have a single Police Force through the federation of Nigeria.⁹⁷⁴

Kaduna is essentially an urban authority and this reflected in the services it provided and the grants it receives from the State, both of which are consistent with those of a Township, See *Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book*, 1968, ... p. 35, S. Bello and E. O. Oyedele (undated) “The City of Kaduna” in *Cities of the Savannah (A History of some Towns and Cities of the Nigerian Savannah)*, ... p. 75; Provincial Annual Reports 1955, Zaria Province ... p. 136. And for details on Kaduna, see E. O. Oyedele (1987) “Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna, 1913-1960”, PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, pp. 450-466, and also see S. M. Bashir (1992) “A Political and Economic History of an Urban Settlement: A case study of Kawo, Kaduna 1913-1980”, MA Thesis, ABU, Zaria, pp. 128-131.

⁹⁷³ Kemi Rotimi (2001) *The Police in a Federal State: The Nigerian Experience*, Ibadan, College Press Ltd, p. 100

⁹⁷⁴ Sunday Times, 4th February 1968, p. 10; as quoted in A. Y. Chiranchi (2004) ... p. 192

Firstly, by 1969, the integration of the LGPF into the NPF in Western Nigeria was completed. However, in Northern Nigeria, because of the large number of NA Police, cum financial implication, and reluctant support on the side of the ‘Emirs’;⁹⁷⁵ the conversion was delayed until 1970. According to an informant, Ibrahim Zubairu,⁹⁷⁶ who joined the Zaria NA Police a few years (1963) before the police integration (or conversion) reform took place, stated that,

When the conversion of the NA Police with the federal police came up in 1969/70, all the *Zaria Yandoka* were summoned at the NPF office in Sabon Gari. There, screening was conducted based on age, height, years of experience, and qualification. The young and the literate among us were recommended, while the aged and the illiterates were withdrawn. We the successful ones were sent to Police College, Kaduna, for a three month course; and on completion, posted to various towns across the country.⁹⁷⁷

This was how the process went on throughout the region. Finally, the selected *Yandoka*, who were trained and converted, were accordingly also placed on appropriate ranks in the NPF. Nonetheless, those *Yandoka* found unfit or voluntarily refused to be converted into the NPF were retired and pensioned and some reverted to the palaces as royal-guards (*Dogaran Sarki*). This marked the end of the era of NA Police in Zaria, and the nation at large. It also became a

⁹⁷⁵ As previously discussed, NA Police (*Yandoka*), particularly in northern Nigeria was headed by sons of the emirs (that is the experimentation of the ‘princely liaison officer’ in the emirates in order to encourage and popularize it). And at the time of the military takeover in 1966, there were at least three important emirs who had been chiefs of NA police (*Wakilin Doka*) before their accession to the throne. These were Alhaji Ado Bayero (Kano NA Police 1958-1962), Alhaji Usman Nagogo (Katsina NA Police 1929-1944), Alhaji Aliyu Mustapha (Adamawa NA Police 1945-1958). There were also many other sons of emirs in other emirates who held such positions but did not necessarily emerge as emirs later. For example, in Zazzau Emirate, we have Muhammad Sani Maigamo, 19??-1954 and Mamman Sani 1955-1957. Thus, as heads of their various NAs, they expressed reluctance to military’s effort to the complete abolition of NA Police in the north. The emirs considered the NA Police as an institution with revered connection to their traditional establishments. For details see, Kemi Rotimi (2005) “Ennobling the Police: The 1928 Princely-Liaison Officer Scheme and its Aftermath, in A. M. Yakubu et’al (eds) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation*, Kaduna, Arewa House, ABU, pp. 163-174

⁹⁷⁶ Ibrahim, through his father, *Danmadami* Zubairu, was a grandson of Emir of Zazzau, Ibrahim; and that was why he earned the nickname as *Sarki*. He was born in 1947, at *Anguwar* Kaura in Zaria city. He completed his elementary school in 1963 at Giwa and in the same year, at the age of eighteen, the young Ibrahim joined the services of Zaria NA Police. After the conversion of the NA Police to NPF (1969/70), he served in Malumfashi, Kankara, Daura, Funtua, and Lagos; until his voluntary retirement in 1982, at the age of thirty-four. In 1983, Ibrahim joined the security division of the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), and finally retired in 2005.

⁹⁷⁷ Interview - Ibrahim Zubairu (*Sarki*), age 66 years, at Rigachikun, Kaduna, on the 29th September, 2013. Interview also with Musa Kura, about 89 years old, at Rigachikun, on the 6th October, 2013

watershed in the formation of single, uniform and centralized police institution in Nigeria, known as the Nigeria Police Force (NPF).

c) Unification of NA Prisons with Federal Prison Service

The police and prison institutions works in many facets parallel, both in style and administration, especially in the colonial times and early post-Independence periods. Just before the end of the First Republic, general overhaul of prison services was in full force. The 'Prison Armed Squad' scheme was introduced, and this encouraged many Prison Warders to attend Kaduna Police College, for training on the use of especially firearms and other security techniques.⁹⁷⁸ Moreover, prison administration was also not left out in the general wave of reformation of key government institutions embarked by the military after 1966. Consequent to this, similar to the taking over of the NA Courts and Police, the Federal Military Government in 1968 also announced the unification of all prisons in Nigeria. All NA Prisons (including those located in district areas) and the Central Prisons were to be administered according to the Nigerian Prison Regulations with effect from 1st April, 1968. With this drastic reorganisation therefore, the control and administration of all the prisons in Zazzau Emirate was relocated to Kaduna, the capital of the North-Central State of Nigeria. Consequent to this also, a number of smaller lock-ups and prisons in the rural areas were closed permanently.

(VII) List of District Heads of the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate 1907 – 1976

The thrust of this study, as demonstrated earlier, centered on Districts and Local Government administration. In this context, the District Heads were very central as official administrators of the district areas, recognised by all the relevant authorities in the period under review. This informed the need of providing a catalogue or list of the various District Heads of the Emirate, according to their names, titles, districts and period (1907-1976 and a little beyond). The list was

⁹⁷⁸ See Mohammed Buhari (2010) ... pp. 65-66

compiled based on the records available and which were basically sourced from archival records, books and oral information. Nonetheless, there were problems encountered particularly with the names, towns, titles and period of many of, mostly the earliest District Heads in the Emirate. Thus, many of the dates were approximations and imprecise as a result of unavailability of comprehensive records. All the same, from the pieces of written records and oral information gathered, the following table is an illustration of the various districts and their heads in the Emirate.

District Heads of Zazzau Emirate, C. 1907 – 1976

District	Title/Name	Period	District	Title/Name	Period
IGABI	1. Turaki Karami Alamu	1907-1911	SOBA	1. Madaki Sa'idu (deposed)	1907-1916
	2. Turaki Babba	1911-1916		2. Makama Ahmadu	1916 -1921
	3. Makama Karami	1916-1921		3. Makama Yahaya	1921-1921
	4. Wambai, Usumanu	1921-1944		4. Makama Nuhu	1922-1944
	5. Dangaladima, Shehu	1944-1950		5. Makama Sambo	1944-1944
	6. Danmadami Zubairu (deposed)	1950-1950		6. Makama Isma'ila	1944-1950
	7. Danmadami Umaru	1950-1967		7. Makama Haliru	1950-1963
	8. Ma'aji Idrisu	1967-1972		8. Wambai Alhaji Sani Maigamo	1963-1967
	9. Chiroma Muhammadu Aminu	1972-1979		9. Sarkin Yaki Yahaya Pate	1967-1992
	10. Danmasanin Zazzau Alhaji Bello Sani	1979-1990		-----	-----
	-----	-----	MAKARFI	1. Galadima Sambo	1907-1918
GIWA	1. Madaki Ibrahim	1907-1918		2. Galadima Idrisu (deposed)	1918-1920
	2. Fagachi Ahmadu Rufa'i (deposed)	1918-1929		3. Magajin Gari Dalhatu (later became emir)	1920-1921
	3. Fagachi	1929-1959		4. Galadima	1921-1929

	Muhammadu			Muhammadu Tukur	
	3. Wambai Muhammadu Sani Maigamo	1959-1961		5. Sarkin Ruwa Sambo	1929-1936
	4. Kilishin Zazzau Malam Hassan (<i>Muqaddashi</i> - Caretaker)	1961-1963		6. Danmadami Zubairu	1937-1941
	5. Dangaladima (later Madaki) Abubakar Aminu	1963-1991		7. Sarkin Fada	1941-1947
	6. Magajin Malam Alhaji Musa Muhammadu	1991-1995		8. Wali Umaru	1947-1954
	-----	-----		9. Madaki Shehu	1954-1962
KUBAU	1. Turaki Karami Yusuf I	1917-1917		10. Fagachi Muhammadu	1952-1978
	2. Turaki Karami Yusuf II	1917-1918		11. Wan'ya I Adamu	1978-1981
	3. Turaki Karami Suleman	1918-1923		-----	-----
	4. Sa'i Umbaru (deposed)	1923-1931	IKARA	1. Sarkin Yaki Muhammadu Gidado	1907-1929
	5. Sa'i Hayatu	1931-1945		2. Sarkin Yaki Lawal	1929-1937
	6. Sarkin Fada Sambo	1945-1950		3. Fagachi Muhammadu	1930-1942
	7. Katuka Suleman	1950-1988		4. Madaki Shehu	1942-1959
	-----	-----		5. Dallatu Muhammadu	1959-1963
SABON GARI ZARIA	1. Iyan Zazzau Muhammadu Aminu	1945-1959		6. Makama Halliru	1963-1966
	2. Iyan Zazzau Sa'idu	1959-1979		7. Makama Babba	1966-1970
	3. Iyan Zazzau Bashar Aminu	1979-date		8. Majidadin Zazzau	1970-1975
	-----	-----		9. Walin Zazzau Umaru	1975-1985
KADUNA	1. Iyan Zazzau Malam Abdullahi	1919-1931		11. Magajin Malam	1985-1991
	2. Wambai Usman	1931-1935		-----	-----
	3. Magajin Gari	1935-1953			

	Muhammadu Sambo				
	4. Magajin Gari Nuhu Bamalli	1953-1975			
	5. Magajin Rafi Zakari Isa	1975-1982			
	6. Bunun Zazzau I, Sidi Muhammad Yaro	1982-2009			

Having tabled the above list, it is important to throw a little light on how we arrived at it. Earliest in 1907, the District Areas created in Zazzau Emirate or Zaria Province were thirty two (32) in number. This number was the total of the combined district areas in the northern and southern part of the Emirate. But our main focus was on the northern districts.⁹⁷⁹ By 1920s, the number of the districts was reorganised and reduced to twenty seven (27).⁹⁸⁰ Out of this, seventeen districts were substantially located in our area of study. These were as follows:

- 1) Anchau
- 2) Auchan
- 3) Bikaratu
- 4) Giwa
- 5) Igabi
- 6) Ikara
- 7) Jaji
- 8) Kangiwa
- 9) Kudan
- 10) Kudu
- 11) Makarfi
- 12) Makera
- 13) Panhauya
- 14) Sabon Birni
- 15) Soba
- 16) Turunku
- 17) Zangon Aya⁹⁸¹

⁹⁷⁹ See chapter three of this study for detailed discussion on this issue of creation of districts in Zazzau Emirate

⁹⁸⁰ This was the period, for example, smaller districts such as Turunku, Kwarau (Birnin Yero), Sabon Birni, Panhauya, and others ceased to exist. The affected districts were not only small but, mostly also referred then as sub-Districts.

⁹⁸¹ See E. J. Arnett (1920) *Gazetteer of Zaria Province* ... pp. 7-8. However, two more districts - (Zaria da Kewaye and Sabon Garin Zaria) emerged and added up to the northern districts.

The remaining ten districts were located in the southern part of the Emirate – Chawai, Kachia, Kagarko, Zangon Katab, Kauru, Kajuru, Jere, Kujama, Bichini, and Lere. This was the period in which the districts were named after a major town (base) in each of them, as against title of their heads or numeric number. Further into the 1920s, some reorganisation was undertaken and the number of the districts reduced. For example, Jaji and Turunku were merged with Zangon Aya District. The next issue which also affected the number of the districts occurred in the 1930s, during the hard time economic depression period. In order to reduce administrative cost, a number of districts were abolished or merged with one another. Likewise, many District Heads and even the Village Heads suffered deposition on basically tax related offences (*haraji* and *jangali* proceeds).⁹⁸² For instance, Paki District was abolished and merged with Ikara in 1936; and Kubau was merged with Anchau in 1937.

In addition, there were also administrative changes within two of the cosmopolitan areas of Zazzau Emirate – Sabon Gari Zaria and Kaduna. Probably, either in the late 1930s or early 1940s, Sabon Garin was created as an autonomous district area. And by 1945, the *Magajin Gari* office was also established within Kaduna metropolis; it was an office equivalent to substantive District Head of Zazzau Emirate. With this, the *Magajin Gari* office (also known as Doka District) engulfed the erstwhile districts of Sabon Birni (Afaka) and Makera (Magaji Jisambo). This development therefore, increased the number of districts in our area of study (Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate) before 1950.

However, by 1950, the number of districts in the whole (northern and southern) of the Emirate was sharply reduced to seventeen. This was the year Zangon Aya District was broken

⁹⁸² See chapter three for a detailed discussion on tax embezzlement, deposition and reorganisation in the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate.

and its villages shared between the neighbouring Zaria, Igabi and Soba districts. The surviving nine districts in our area of study as at 1950 were therefore as follows:

- 1) Ikara
- 2) Makarfi
- 3) Igabi
- 4) Soba
- 5) Giwa
- 6) Kubau
- 7) Sabon Gari
- 8) Zaria da Kewaye
- 9) Magajin Gari (Kaduna Doka)⁹⁸³

Then in 1956, Kaduna was transformed as the capital of Northern Regional Government, and the Kaduna Capital Territory (KCT) Law was enacted and which now excised the capital from the Zaria N.A. The new law did not scrap the office of the *Magajin Gari*, but now put directly under the administrative stratum of the capital city. The next phase of reorganisation, which a little affected the above listed districts, was between 1967 and 1976, the period in which states and local government areas were created in Nigeria (the North-Central and Kaduna States in our area of study respectively). Three Local Governments Areas emerged, first Zaria in 1967 and then Ikara and Kaduna⁹⁸⁴ followed in 1976. Consequent to this development, particularly in 1976, the office of the District Head (*Magajin Gari*) and other traditional rulers within Kaduna city was formerly returned to the newly constituted Zazzau Emirate Council.⁹⁸⁵

⁹⁸³ These nine district areas were (are) basically the ones that survived all the reorganisation processes up to the terminal period of this study (1976). Later on, several other district areas were created out of those mentioned in the in the Northern Districts of Emirate of Zazzau. For more, see S. M. Zubairu (2006) "A History of the Creation of Additional Districts in Zazzau Emirate of Kaduna State, 1999-2005," BA Dissertation, History Department, BUK, Kano.

⁹⁸⁴ Until 1976, the status of Kaduna was still under a special administrative provision under the KCT Law of 1956. In 1976, after the nationwide Local Government reform, Kaduna city assumed status of a full pledged Local Government Area in the state.

⁹⁸⁵ Detailed discussion on this has been provided in chapter seven of this work.

(VIII) Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter paid attention to the administrative developments that took place in the period 1967-1976. It started with the military *coup d'état* in 1966, and the creation of States in 1967. This brought an end of the regional government and the emergence of the North-Central State in our area of study. A new branded local government reform was also brought in by the military which transformed or abolished the NA System and replaced it with Local Authority Council. The result was the emergence of the Zaria Local Authority Council (L.A.), which was still presided by the Emir but in a renewed status called Emir-and-Council. Here, the decision of the emir was not expected to supersede that of the council as hitherto practiced in the colonial and early post-Independence periods. The functions of the new L.A. were redefined in order to be 'development oriented' in both structure and in the provisions of social and welfare services. In other words, the aim of the military was to re-direct the status of local government from that of instrument of control and expropriation to that which political objective and social welfare were given high prominence. The major breakthrough achieved was in the composition of the L.A. Councils whereby elected members were given more seats irrespective of their political or royal connections. This is a significant development to the emergence of 'modern' local government system in our area of study and the nation at large.

To reinforce it, under the new L.A. Council another tier was formed called the Administrative Area Councils, which control the activities of District Councils grouped under it. Certain functions of the local government were by delegation also assigned to the Administrative Areas which included Adult Education, Community Development, Works, Health, and Forestry. This was carried out in such a way that certain sources of funds and revenue were handed over to the Administrative Areas to generate. So as we have seen, apart from the new Zaria L.A.

Council, there was also the Zaria Administrative Area, shouldered with the responsibility of direct control on the activities of District Councils. However, this did not signal the end of district administration in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate. District Councils continued exist and presided over by traditional District Heads.

It is also seen in the chapter where three important organs (NA Courts, NA Police and NA Prison) of the old Native Authorities were taken over by both the state and federal governments. The NA Courts spread across the district areas were transformed as Area Courts, and now put under the control of State Government. But the new Area Courts still inherited the powers and jurisdiction of the former NA Courts. In the same vein, in the late 1960s, both the Police and Prison institution which were before controlled by the NA were also integrated with the Nigeria Police Force (NGF) and Federal Prison Service respectively.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE 1976 LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN ZAZZAU EMIRATE

(I) Introduction

As the terminal or final chapter of this thesis, discussion here first focusses on the 1976 Local Government Reform in Nigeria. This reform was a significant step and indeed a culmination of years of concerted efforts towards revolutionizing local government system as veritable tier of channeling political, social and economic developments closer at the local level. It is acknowledged that the 1976 reform received a much broader concept and for the first time uniformly implemented throughout the country. This is in contrast to the preceding reforms where regions and states governments implemented policies at discretionary level. Therefore, the implementation and significance of this reform in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate is the main preoccupation of this chapter. The chapter also looks at the structure and functions of the new local government system in relation to the 1976 reform. The period also coincided with the creation of states in the polity and the North-Central State was renamed as Kaduna State.⁹⁸⁶ The result was the creation of fourteen local government councils in the ‘new’ Kaduna States. And out of this number, three were located in our area of study – Zaria, Ikara and Kaduna Local Government Councils (LG) respectively. With this development, the three LG’s are given a general look with a view at understanding the perceived development achieved in these areas after their creation. In other words, the chapter examined the major significance of the reform in the area.

⁹⁸⁶The ‘new’ Kaduna State only supplanted the former by name as it continued to inherit the exact territorial boundary of the former North-Central State which was created in 1967.

On the other hand, this chapter also discusses the official overturn which the 1976 reform did to the institution traditional authorities. All formal recognition and privileges enjoyed by the traditional authorities since the colonial times, through the first two decades of post Independence, came to an abrupt halt as a result of the implementation of 1976 Reform. The military government of that time officially removed traditional office holders from the affairs of local government administration. In their place, elected, appointed, or selected government officials took over the mantle of steering local government activities. Since then, Emirs, District and Ward Heads were relegated to mere ceremonial bodies.

Lastly, the chapter closes with an examination of educational development in our area of study. A needful historical background is provided on the emergence of western type of schools in the area. This discussion threaded down to 1976, when the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme was introduced by the military government. It was a massive programme, declaring a free and compulsory primary education to every Nigerian child. This led to considerable increase in the number of primary schools and pupils' enrollment. Not only in number, UPE programme also made a giant stride in revamping the management and funding of public primary schools. However, issues relating to lack of adequate preparation which ultimately reduced successes of the UPE scheme are also discussed. Moreover, post-primary schools and higher institutions of learning are also given a brief look in order to generally examine development of western education in the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate.

(II) The 1976 Local Government Reform and the Creation of new Local Government Areas in Kaduna State

For a good start, it is worthy to note that the year 1976 was not only a watershed in local government affairs; it was also crucial in terms of State creation in Nigeria. It was in 1967,

exactly a decade ago, when regional governments were dismantled and the first set of twelve states was created in the history of Nigeria. The most expedient reason for the 1967 State creation was to contain the imminent breakaway threat of the Eastern Region from the federation of Nigeria.⁹⁸⁷ While the 1976 State creation was basically a response to the persistent demands made by the various components or groups that made up the polity. These demands, some of which based on complaints of the unequal size of some of the states created in 1967. This is particularly the Western and the North-Eastern States which were considered too large and needed to be broken. Other complaints centered on feelings of marginalization in the distribution of federal positions and opportunities and, coupled with this was minority question for self determination by ethnic nations. This prompted the military regime to set up a panel in 1975 to advice on the viability of creating more new states in the polity. After the panel had submitted its reports, the military regime announced the creation of nineteen states across the federation in February, 1976. These were – Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Kwara, Bendel, Anambra, Imo, Rivers, Cross River, Benue, Plateau, Gongola, Borno, Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna, Sokoto and Niger States respectively.

Here, the Kaduna State supplanted the former North-Central State, which was earlier created in 1967 only by name. In all facets, the ‘new’ Kaduna State of 1976, inherited the former North-Central State’s geographical territory, its people and population. The city (Kaduna) also retained its status as the capital of the state. Nevertheless, the state had a new administrator, Group Captain Usman Jibrin,⁹⁸⁸ who succeeded Major Abba Kyari (1967-1975) as the Military

⁹⁸⁷ See the previous chapter six for discussion on the 1967 creation of states in Nigeria.

⁹⁸⁸ He was born on the 30th June, 1942, in the former Nassarawa Province and now Nassarawa State of Nigeria. After his elementary education in Nassarawa and Abuja, Usman Jibrin attended Government College Kaduna. His military career started in 1965 at the Nigeria Air Force Training College (NAFTC), Kaduna; and later served in different capacities and places in the Nigeria Air Force establishments, at Kaduna, Ikeja, Makurdi and Kano. Outside Nigeria, he attended the Royal Canadian Flying Instruction School and the Royal Canadian School of Techniques in Canada; Staff College, Bracknell, England, Supersonic Fighter Instruction School, USSR, and Royal

Governor of Kaduna State (1975-1977). Usman Jibrin made history as the first military governor of (renamed) Kaduna State. It was also during his time the nationwide 1976 Local Government Reform was introduced. This brings our discussion to the implementation of this major reform by the military regime.

The initiative for the 1976 Local Government Reform started during the Murtala/Obasanjo regime in 1975, but it was Obasanjo/Yar'adua's regime that finally executed it. This was as a result of the attempted bloody coup *d'état* that saw the murder of the then Military Head of State, General Murtala Muhammed in February 1976. After aborting the coup, though claimed the life of the Head of State, his deputy, General Olusegun Obasanjo took over with Brigadier Shehu Musa Yar'adua as the second in command. The new government was committed to continuing one of Murtala's revolutionary policies "to consolidate and overhaul the haphazard administration of local government by introducing a democratic and unified system nationwide."⁹⁸⁹ Reforming the local government system had been consistently the vain of each successive administration, and this even goes far back to pre-Independence period. We have already dealt with such attempted reforms in the preceding chapters of this thesis. One of the major deficiencies of the previous reforms was lack of uniformity. Thus, in 1976, "the objective of the Federal Government was to convert local government in all States into a third tier of government with responsibility for grassroots developments."⁹⁹⁰ After a wide and articulate consultation with all the necessary stakeholders, including traditional rulers; the military government published and circulated to all the States, "*Guidelines for Local Government*

Air Force Staff College, United Kingdom, all from 1970, up until 1975 when he was appointed as the Military Governor of the North-Central State – renamed Kaduna State just a year later in 1976. For more, see *Kaduna State in Perspective*, a publication of the Ministry of Economic Planning, Kaduna State of Nigeria (first published 2006, reprinted 2007 and updated 2009), pp. 17-18

⁹⁸⁹ Shehu Musa Yar'adua: *A Life of Service* (2004), Abuja, Shehu Musa Yar'adua Foundation, , p. 132. (The book is not appended with either an author or editor's name).

⁹⁹⁰ A. D. Yahaya (1980) *The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria 1950-70: a Study in Political Relations with particular reference to the Zaria Native Authority*, Zaria, ABU Press, p. 204

Reform, 1976.” It was a holistic document, “very flexible and take into account the various peculiarities of the different parts of this country”, said Usman Jibrin.⁹⁹¹ It also clearly spelt out aims and objectives, structure, forms and functions of the new reformed local government system. In Kaduna State, the Military Governor, Group Captain Usman Jibrin, launched the new Local Government Reform on the 23rd August, 1976.⁹⁹² Attendance at the formal launching of the reform were among others, Emir of Zazzau, Alhaji Shehu Idris, Emir of Daura, Alhaji Muhammadu Bashar, Emir of Katsina, Alhaji Usman Nagogo, the Chief of Kagoro, Malam Gwamna Awam, and the Chief of Jema’a, Alhaji Isa Muhammadu.⁹⁹³ The Governor’s address was conterminous with the earlier official announcement of the nationwide Local Government Reform, by the deputy Head of State, Brigadier Shehu Musa Yar’adua, in August. As contained in the 1976 national guidelines document, the principal aims of Local Government are:

- a) To make appropriate services and development activities responsive to Local wishes and initiatives by devolving or delegating them to local representative bodies.
- b) To facilitate the exercise of democratic self-government close to the local levels of our society, and to encourage initiative and leadership potential.
- c) To mobilise human and material resources through the involvement of members of the public in their local development.
- d) To provide a two-way channel communication between local communities and government (both State and Federal).⁹⁹⁴

Moreover, in order to cushion the effect of the 1976 Local Government Reform, so many States in the federation, Kano State for instance, created new local government areas. The development in Kaduna State was different and, as clearly stated by the Governor of the State:

It will be recalled that in 1969 this state was divided into ten administrative areas and early in 1975 the number of divisional areas was increased to fourteen. The Kaduna State Government has therefore that there will be no increase in the number of administrative divisions in

⁹⁹¹ *New Nigerian*, (No.3, 283) Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, - captioned - “ Local Government Reforms in Kaduna State”, p. 7. See also A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 204

⁹⁹² See *New Nigerian*, No. 3,282, Tuesday, 24 August, 1976, - captioned - “Kaduna Now 14 LG Areas”, p. 1, 13,

⁹⁹³ See *New Nigerian*, (No.3, 283) Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, ... p. 7

⁹⁹⁴ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976*, Kaduna, Government Printer, p. 1

the State as a result of the reform. The divisional areas will be called local governments with full statutory powers ...⁹⁹⁵

Thus, fourteen local governments were created in the Kaduna State, which its geographical expanse then included the present Katsina State area. These were: Katsina, Dutsinma, Funtua, Mani, Kankia, Malumfashi, Daura, Zaria, Kachia, Saminaka, Ikara, Jema'a, Birnin Gwari, and Kaduna respectively. In the context of this thesis, the three LG's of Zaria, Ikara, and perhaps Kaduna, are the ones to be giving an exclusive attention here. The basic reason is that, these three LG's created in 1976, constituted what exactly is our area of study – the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. The following is a brief on each of the three LG's:

- 1) **Zaria Local Government Area** – As at when constituted or rather 'reconstituted' in 1976, it was made up of the component district areas of Zaria City (*Zaria da Kewaye*), Sabon Gari, Tudun Wada, Giwa, Soba, and Igabi. Out of these, the first three districts were urban and the latter were rural based districts. The headquarters of Zaria LG was located at Zaria City. No doubt, it was the most important, more complex and viable of the three LG's in the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate. The diversity of population in Zaria LG was historical, and owed its process to colonial activities that led to, particularly the establishment of Sabon Gari in 1911. The population at Sabon Gari was significantly of southern Nigerian origin – mostly Igbo and Yoruba. And at Tudun Wada, though the people were Hausa, but not of *Zagezagi* roots; they were predominantly from other Northern Hausa States. On the other hand, the combined indigenous populace, living within the Zaria City's wall, and the overwhelming agrarian Hausa population of the districts of Giwa, Soba and Igabi provided solid economic base for the new LG in 1976.

⁹⁹⁵ *New Nigerian*, (No. 3,283), Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, p. 7

Moreover, Zaria's strongest viability lies in its history and administrative capacity. During the colonial period, and post-Independence Nigeria up until 1976, Zaria remained as the administration center of the northern districts of the emirate and beyond. In other words, in terms of personnel, structure and infrastructures, Zaria LG had it in place. Therefore, this made the take off of the 1976 reform at Zaria a lot easier than, particularly the new Ikara LGA. However, later between 1988 and 1992, three additional local governments were carved out of the former Zaria Local Government. These were Soba, Igabi and Giwa Local Government Areas of Kaduna State. The creation of Katsina State out of the former Kaduna State in 1987 was particularly, among others, the reasons for the creation of additional local government areas in Kaduna State generally.

Chairmen of Zaria Local Government Council, 1969 - 1986

1. Alhaji Turaki Ali	1969-1973
2. Alhaji Mijinyawa Dikko	1973-1977
3. Ahmadu Fatika	1977-1979
4. Alhaji Salisu Ahmed	1980-1983
5. Alhaji Dayyabu Kurfi	1984-1986

2) **Ikara Local Government Area** – Until the 1976 reform, Ikara, like other important towns, was an ordinary district area in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate. Sharing boundary with Kano Emirate, Ikara survived all the concurrent reorganisation of territorial districts in Zazzau Emirate.⁹⁹⁶ In fact, it succeeded in absorbing other smaller districts, like Paki. Ikara had a fascinating history, dating back to pre-Jihad period and the activities of ancient Hausa culture and religion (*Maguzanci*) in *Kasar Zazzau*. In the 19th century, it remained a caravan transit because of its thriving crafts, supported by the booming agricultural activities of the people of the area. With colonial intervention,

⁹⁹⁶ See Chapter four for discussion on reorganisation and abolition of districts in the emirate.

Ikara retained its status as both the commercial and administrative center of all the towns and villages in the area, including neighbouring enclaves of Kano Emirate.

When created in 1976, the component districts that constituted Ikara Local Government Area were – Ikara town (headquarters), Kubau and Makarfi. The three districts were rural and predominantly agrarian. It was (is) one of the biggest agricultural zones in Zazzau Emirate and Kaduna State at large up to date. The people were largely *Hausawa* of Zazzau (*Zagezagi*), with pockets of people of Kano origin (*Kanawa*), and the Fulani (both settled and nomadic). Of course, there are *Maguzawa* (non-Muslims Hausa) in Ikara, but only if we are to count them as a distinct group from the mainstream Hausa people.⁹⁹⁷ Thus, this historical and economic viability, among other factors were certainly considered in the selection of Ikara as a local government area in 1976. As at then, Ikara Local Government shared boundary to the south with Zaria, to the east with Saminaka, and to the west with Malumfashi Local Governments. The headquarters of this local government was (is) at Ikara town, and the reason was citing it there according informants was due to the central in which the town occupied between and amongst the other constituents districts, towns and villages in the area. Even though, there were those who protested and wanted the headquarters to be somewhere other than Ikara, particularly Makarfi, but the move remained futile.⁹⁹⁸ The headquarters remained in Ikara, only that between 1982 and 1992, three additional local governments were created out of the former. These were Makarfi, Kubau and Kudan Local Government Areas.

⁹⁹⁷ See Chapter two for a brief history of Ikara town.

⁹⁹⁸ Interviews with Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed Ikara, first Chairman, Ikara LGA (1976-78), and now he is with the traditional title of *Bijimin Arewan Zazzau*, District Head of Furana, at his residence in Ikara town. Also interviewed on the same issue was *Sarkin Gabas Zazzau*, Alhaji Musa Abdullahi, District Head of Paki, at Paki town. Both interviews were conducted on the 26th October, 2014.

Chairmen of Ikara Local Government Council, 1975-1983

1. Alhaji Sale Kubau	1975-1976
2. Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed Ikara	1976-1978
3. Alhaji Ahmadu Bakori	1978-1979
4. Alhaji Abdullahi Makarfi	1979-1982
5. Alhaji Tsoho Abubakar Ikara	1982-1983

3) **Kaduna Local Government** – It requires no elaboration as per as viability for selection as a local government is concerned. Beginning from the colonial times, precisely 1916, the city of Kaduna was made as the headquarters of British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The city maintained this status up until 1967 when the regional governments were abolished and States created in post-Independence Nigeria. From 1967, it was the capital of North-Central State, which was renamed as Kaduna State in 1976, as discussed above. For basic reasons of 1976 developments, apart from being the capital of the State, a local government was also created within metropolitan Kaduna to serve the constituent districts that made up the city. These districts were Doka, Tudun Wada Kaduna, Kawo, Gabasawa, and Makera. A lengthy discussion is provided in chapter one, two and three for reasons why Kaduna is considered in this thesis as part of Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate.

Chairmen of Kaduna Local Government, 1975 – 1983

1. Alhaji Balarabe Mohammed	1975-1976
2. Alhaji Abdullahi Abubakar	1976-1979
3. Alhaji Junaidu Mohammed	1979-1980
4. Alhaji Yusuf Dantsoho	1980
5. Alhaji Kabir Umar	1980
6. Mr. Musa Yohanna	1980-1983
7. Alhaji Ahamed Dalhat	1983-1984

(III) Structure and Functions of the Local Government after the 1976 Reform

The 1976 Local Government Reform also came with a new structure, designed to uphold a “multipurpose single-tier institutions ... with complete and self-contained budgets, so that the whole system of local government within area can be identified, costed and co-ordinated.”⁹⁹⁹ The *Guidelines* provided that each local government, as far as possible, should serve population of between 150,000 and 800,000.¹⁰⁰⁰ Albeit, in places or States where the figure is less 150,000, due to inevitability of low population density, the local government should remain. But such local government with below 150,000 figures “should be kept as few as possible ... (because) ... Only in this way can more sophisticated services be provided.”¹⁰⁰¹ It was further discouraged that, for a small local government to be created, the home State must seek for clearance from the Federal Military Government. The fundamental reason is that small local governments are likely to face financial disadvantages and, are less to attract well-qualified and skilled staff.¹⁰⁰² And in cases involving urban areas, no town or city should be divided between two Primary Local Governments, and this is regardless of population size. All the same, where necessary subordinate councils existed and delegated with specific function, such councils should be allocated with funds directly from the local government budget. In Kaduna State, Edict promulgated by the state in 1976, authorized the Governor to divide local government units into Wards, and this was by using the emirate structure in the reorganisation.¹⁰⁰³

Furthermore, in the *Guidelines*, five patterns of Local Government Councils were provided and State Governments were instructed to determine and adopt which one is applicable to its settings. In Kaduna State, two out of the five patterns were adopted:

⁹⁹⁹ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976* ... p. 3

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976* ... p. 4

¹⁰⁰¹ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976* ... p. 4

¹⁰⁰² *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976* ... p. 4

¹⁰⁰³ See A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 206

- A.** In some cases a large traditional authority will be split into more than one Local Government. In such cases there will be the following options: -
- i. For each Local Government, there will be a Local Government Council which will be mainly elected under a Chairman. ...
- B.** Then above these Local Governments, there will be Traditional or Emirate Council presided over by an Emir or Paramount Chief. The Emirate or Traditional Council, in addition to the Emir or Chief as President, shall consist of traditional title holders, one or two representatives of each Local Government Council if this deemed appropriate, and any other person who may be desired to make the Council broadly representative of the major facets of life in the area. The precise composition of each Council shall be determined by State Governors after appropriate consultation within the area. ... Where a Local Government is conterminous with an existing local government authority with a single Emir or Paramount Chief, and it is desired that this Emir or Paramount Chief shall be the active President of the new Local Government Council, there will be a single Council for the Local Government, with the Emir or Paramount Chief as President. This may also apply if the Local Government consists of more than one former Emirate or other traditional authority, but one of the latter covers the great majority of the whole population, and if the Emir or Paramount Chief is fully acceptable to the population of the minority elements as Council President. The minor chiefs would in this case be members of the Local Government Council. ...¹⁰⁰⁴

In this scheme of reform during the old Kaduna State (1976-1988), the first pattern was applied to Zazzau and Katsina Emirates. The Zazzau (Zaria) Emirate, which is our area of study, had traditional jurisdiction and spread on the new Zaria, Ikara, Saminaka and Kacia Local Government Authorities. And to greater extent, Zazzau Emirate also covers the Kaduna Local Government, in spite of the fact that “there will be no emirate or traditional council in Kaduna,”¹⁰⁰⁵ said the Governor. This is because the component districts within Kaduna metropolis - Doka, Tudun Wada, Kawo, Gabasawa, and Makera, all owe their traditional titles to the Emir at Zaria not the LG Chairman. Like Zazzau, so also the Katsina Emirate with spread over a number of the new local governments created in the old Kaduna State. On the other hand, the second pattern (B) was adopted for the Emirate of Daura and the Chiefdom of Birnin Gwari, which were conterminous with one local government area each. While the Jema’a Emirate, though also fell under the latter pattern, but the Council was made up of other smaller chiefs.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976 ... p. 6*

¹⁰⁰⁵ *New Nigerian, Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, p. 7*

Prior to the 1976 reform, the area where Jema'a Emirate was, had been referred to as the 'Jema'a Federation'. Details on the establishment and composition of Zazzau Emirate Council will come down in our subsequent discussion in the chapter.

In Kaduna State, "the local government councils themselves will consist of 75 per cent elected and 25 per cent nominated members,"¹⁰⁰⁶ said the Governor of the State. The nominated members were selected to represent different interests groups, and warned not to engage in partisan politics in their contribution to the council.¹⁰⁰⁷ The following was the allocation of members to all the fourteen local governments in Kaduna State based on the 1976 reform:

Local Government	No. of Elected Members	No. of Nominated Members
1. Katsina	23	7
2. Dutsin-Ma	21	6
3. Funtua	21	7
4. Mani	19	5
5. Kankia	20	6
6. Malumfashi	15	4
7. Daura	13	4
8. Zaria	23	7
9. Kachia	15	5
10. Saminaka	10	3
11. Ikara	15	5
12. Jema'a	11	3
13. Birnin Gwari	8	2
14. Kaduna	21	5

Source: *New Nigerian*, Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, p. 10

The above allocation was further distributed between the component districts in each local government area, and it was based on the 1963 census figures.¹⁰⁰⁸ As stipulated in the *Guidelines*, 75% membership of the LG Councils should be elected either by direct or indirect elections from local communities. On the occasion of launching the LG reforms, Monday, August 23rd 1976, the Military Governor states that:

¹⁰⁰⁶ See *New Nigerian*, Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, p. 10

¹⁰⁰⁷ See *New Nigerian*, Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, p. 10; *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976 ...* p. 8

¹⁰⁰⁸ See *New Nigerian*, Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, p. 10

In Kaduna State the elections will be indirect but by secret ballot using the electoral college system. All adult tax payers who produce tax receipts or statements of Pay-As-You-earn from their employers should have the right to vote and be voted for. Any civil servant or local government employee wishing to contest the elections must resign his appointment first.¹⁰⁰⁹

The process of the election was on non-party basis and this translates that members will be elected on personal merit and ability to contribute to the development of the local government. And on picking the 25% nominated members to the various LG councils, the State Governor, reserves exclusive right on their nomination and, “such nomination may be by name, or office or traditional title.”¹⁰¹⁰ Moreover, after all the election processes, the Chairman of the Council will be elected by the new members of the council. The *Guidelines* provided that, the Council will elect three candidates from its membership and forward the list to the State Governor to nominate the Chairman. He (Governor) may seek for Emirate Council comments if deem necessary, before making the final choice of the Chairman. The Secretary was the Chief Executive and responsible for the administrative management of the Local Government as a whole. The normal life span of each Council shall be three years but the Governor may order its dissolution when found that the Council is incapable of discharging its functions.¹⁰¹¹ In such a case, the Governor was empowered to constitute a Caretaker Committee to oversee the activities of the Local Government Council up until a fresh election was hold. Generally, each local government was to consist of maximum of six departments:

- 1) Administration planning, information, local government community development, trade, co-operatives.
- 2) Education and adult education.
- 3) Finance – (Treasury, revenue, etc).

¹⁰⁰⁹ *New Nigerian*, Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, p. 10

¹⁰¹⁰ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform*, 1976 ... p. 8

¹⁰¹¹ See *Guidelines for Local Government Reform*, 1976 pp. 8-9; *New Nigerian*, Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, p. 10

- 4) Agriculture and Natural Resources.
- 5) Works, Land and Rural Water Supply.
- 6) Medical, Health, Social Welfare and Sports.¹⁰¹²

Accordingly, as enshrined in the *Guidelines*, the above six departments will be served, in all cases by two main Standing Committees – (a) A Finance and General Purposes Committee and (b) An Education Committee. Nonetheless, a few other Standing Committees were allowed to be set up but restricted to manageable size.¹⁰¹³ In addition, Local Education Authority was to be established to manage education in each Local Government Area. This initiative received a boost in 1976, when the Federal Military Government launched the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme. This, as we shall discuss later in this chapter led to significant increase in the number of primary schools in our area of study.

The maintenance of law and order was also very paramount, and in which each Local Government Authority was expected to participate. Thus, a Police Committee was added to the above two major committees in every local government area.¹⁰¹⁴ This came at a time when general reform in the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) was underway. It was made therefore that there should be a Police Unit covering exclusively each Local Government Area. And the Police officers deployed in each area shall be conversant with the language and social background of the people. The Committee was to hold meetings regularly with a view to discussing all security matters in the area and enforcement of legislations made by the Local Government. The Police Committee comprised of:

- a) The Senior Officer in charge of police in the area.
- b) The designated liaison officer if different from (a) above.

¹⁰¹² *New Nigerian*, Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, “*Local Government Reforms in Kaduna State*”, p. 7

¹⁰¹³ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform*, 1976 ... p. 9

¹⁰¹⁴ Kaduna State Local Government Edict 1976, Sec. 52; as cited in A. D. Yahaya (1980) *The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria: a Study in Political Relations with particular reference to the Zaria Native Authority*, Zaria, ABU Press, p. 208

- c) The officer commanding the Military Unit in the area, if any, or his second-in-command if the Unit is a large one.
- d) A representative of the Judiciary.
- e) A representative of the Prison Department.
- f) The Chairman of the Local Government.
- g) A traditional leader.
- h) Two or three dignitaries from the Area.¹⁰¹⁵

There were also provisions for other committees to be set up which were however on ad hoc basis like Works, Public Enlightenment and Welfare Committee. Two or more departments could be under either of the Committees, and members including Chairmen of the Committees were to be drawn from the Local Government Council. In some cases involving Committees like Education, Agriculture and Natural Resources, some members could be co-opted from outside the Council. The Chairmen of these Committees, who were political heads of one or more departments, were automatically members of the Finance and General Purpose Committee, which in effect was the ‘Cabinet’ of the Local Government Council. Similarly, election of Chairmen and members of Committees was same in process as that of the Chairman of the Local Government. This was also subject to the approval of the State Governor, ‘who may stipulate qualifications or determine suitability for such offices’.¹⁰¹⁶ The Heads of Departments were Secretaries of the Committees under which their Department was placed.

On the other hand, it was also provided that two or more Local Government Authorities can establish Joint Boards, either between them or with the Government for collective discharge of the assigned functions of their Councils. Under these Joint Boards, two legal Instruments – one from the Commissioner for Local Government, involving two or more Local Authorities, and

¹⁰¹⁵ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976 ... p. 9*

¹⁰¹⁶ *See Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976 ... p. 9-10*

secondly the one from the Military Governor, acting in Joint Board involving Local Government Authority and Government.¹⁰¹⁷

On the *functions of Local Government*, the Governor of Kaduna State, Usman Jibrin, on the occasion of launching the programme emphasised that “the intention ... is to provide the local government with clearly defined functions, assist them financially and ensure that they employ and retain the right type of staff with requisite qualifications.”¹⁰¹⁸ These functions of the local government, as spelled out in the *Guidelines*, were wide and varied, but it can be reduced into three groups, based on A. D. Yahaya’s rendering - (i) the maintenance of law and order, (ii) the power to engage in economic activities and, (iii) the services to the people.¹⁰¹⁹ Moreover, the official nationwide *Guidelines* states that, on functions which should be devolved to Local Governments, there were two major parts to it:

PART ‘A’ “Items which are the responsibility of Local Government save under exceptional or temporary circumstances.” (This part is also referred to as Exclusive List):

- a) Market and Motor parks;
- b) Sanitary inspection, and nightsoil disposal;
- c) Control of vermin;
- d) Slaughter houses, slaughter slabs;
- e) Public conveniences;
- f) Burial grounds;
- g) Registration of births, deaths and marriages;
- h) Provision of community and local recreation centres’;
- i) Parks, gardens, and public open spaces;
- j) Grazing grounds, fuel plantations;
- k) Licensing supervision and regulation of bake houses, and laundaries (sic);
- l) Licensing, regulation and control of the sale of liquor.
- m) Licensing and regulation of bicycles, hand carts and other type of vehicles except those mechanically propelled, and canoes;
- n) Control of keeping of animals;

¹⁰¹⁷ See A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 208

¹⁰¹⁸ *New Nigerian*, Wednesday, 25 August, 1976, “*Functions of Local Governments*”, p. 11

¹⁰¹⁹ See A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 209

- o) Control of hoardings, advertisements, use of loud-speakers in or near public places, drumming;
- p) Naming of roads and streets and numbering of plots/buildings;
- q) Control and collection revenue from forestry outside the 'Forest Estate' of gazetted Forest Reserves;
- r) Collection of vehicle parking charges;
- s) Collection of property and other rates, community tax and other designated revenue sources.¹⁰²⁰

PART 'B' "Items which should be regarded as Local Government responsibilities although State Governments and other organisations may also perform part or whole of these functions if Local Governments are not equipped to perform them initially. (Also referred to as the 'Concurrent List'):

- a) Health Centres, Maternity Centres, Dispensaries and Health Clinics, Ambulance Services, Leprosy clinics and preventive health services;
- b) Abbatoirs (sic) and meat inspection;
- c) Nursery and primary and adult education;
- d) Information and public enlightenment;
- e) Provision of scholarships and bursaries;
- f) Provision of public libraries and reading rooms;
- g) Agricultural extension, animal health extension services and veterinary clinics;
- h) Rural and Semi-Urban water supply;
- i) Fire Services;
- j) Provisions of roads, streets (other than trunk roads) their lighting, drainage;
- k) Control beggars, of prostitutes and repatriation of destitute;
- l) Provision of homes for destitute, the infirm and orphans;
- m) Provision of public utilities except where restricted by other legislations, specifically including provision of road and inland water transport;
- n) Public housing programmes. Operation of commercial undertakings. Control of traffic and parking;
- o) Regulation and control of buildings. Town and Country Planning;
- p) Piped sewerage systems.¹⁰²¹

¹⁰²⁰ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976 ... p. 2*

¹⁰²¹ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976 ... pp. 2-3*

(IV) The Establishment of Zazzau Emirate Council, 1976

In spite of the swift changes introduced by the 1976 reform, traditional institutions were given recognition and new role in the local government system. The military government ensured that:

It is not the intention of Government to destroy the organic unity of the Traditional Chiefdoms, Emirates or similar institutions. ... The Local Governments will be modern functional institutions. The traditional Emirates and Chiefdoms will remain, although their functions will be changed to accord with the present day circumstances.¹⁰²²

This recognition given to the traditional authorities did not, however, guaranteed continued active participation in the control and supervision of local government. Their status was more or less reduced to an advisory one, and as custodians of people's culture and religion. They were also responsible for "determination of customary law and all practice on all matters including that relating to land ...,"¹⁰²³ as exclaimed by the Governor of Kaduna State. In the State, on Monday 23rd August, 1976, the Governor, announced the recognition of four Emirate Councils of – Katsina, Zaria, Daura and Birnin Gwari; and a traditional council at Jema'a. Our focus is on Zazzau Emirate, which at the same time also called or referred to as Zaria Emirate, both in public and official documents.

As enshrined in the *Guidelines*, "the traditional institutions are those which have been accepted and derive their strength over a history of many generations."¹⁰²⁴ In the case of Zazzau Emirate, the 1976 reform had authorized its Council's jurisdiction, by undeniable historical facts, over the Local Government Authorities of Zaria, Ikara, Saminaka, and Kacia. This reform also brought an end to the Kaduna Capital Territory (KCT) Law of 1956, which hitherto excised the

¹⁰²² *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976* ... p. 5

¹⁰²³ *New Nigerian, Wednesday, 25 August, 1976* "Local Government Reforms in Kaduna State", p. 7

¹⁰²⁴ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976* ... pp. 5

city of Kaduna from the Zaria Native Authority (NA). Thus after 1976, the city “had been returned and put under the sway or direction of Sarkin Zazzau.”¹⁰²⁵ Therefore, Zazzau Emirate Council, apart from the above four local governments, it also now reclaimed back its jurisdiction over the territory of the new Kaduna Local Government Authority.¹⁰²⁶ However, it should be re-clarified that out of the above mentioned local governments, only Ikara, Zaria and Kaduna fell directly under our area of discussion. That is those local governments constituting what is referred to as the Northern part of Zazzau Emirate. Whereas Saminaka and Kacia, in spite being part of the emirate, are however located to the south, and thus not part of our discussion. According to the 1976 Local Government Reform Guidelines, the following were the functions of the Zazzau Emirate Council, as well as other traditional councils in Nigeria:

- a. To formulate general proposals as advice to Local Governments.
- b. To harmonise the activities of Local Government Councils through discussions of problems affecting them generally, and giving advice and guidance to them.
- c. Co-ordination of development plans Local Government by joint discussion and advice.
- d. Community Tax Assessment within the area as a whole in consultation with Local Government Councils, and announcement of tax. Also to aid, as is the usual practice, in collection of tax.
- e. Determination of religious matters where appropriate.
- f. Support of Art and Culture.
- g. Chieftaincy matters and control of traditional titles and offices, except where these are traditionally the exclusive prerogative of the Emir or Chief in which the Council’s function shall be advisory to the Emir or Chief.
- h. Determination of customary law and practice on all matters including that relating to Land.
- i. Making representations or expressing opinions to Government or any other organisation on the collective behalf of the Local Governments in the area.
- j. Deliberating on or making representations or expressing opinions to Government or any other organisation on, any matters which it deems to be of importance to

¹⁰²⁵ I. M. Abbass (2010) *State, Class and Management of Local Government in Nigeria*, Zaria, ABU Press, p. 150

¹⁰²⁶ The position of Kaduna as relates to the history of Zazzau Emirate has already been dealt with in earlier chapters of this thesis. It is also briefly discussed in this very chapter above.

the Emirate or Chiefdom as a whole, or which may be referred to it by Government or other organisations.

It would be of interest to mention that, as at when constituted in 1976, the Zazzau Emirate Council had (still) as its President, a new Emir, Alhaji Shehu Idris, who was just barely a year on the throne, after this major development in Kaduna State. He ascended the coveted emirship throne, on the 8th February, 1975, following the demise of Emir Muhammadu Aminu (1959-1974); who were both members of the *Katsinawa* ruling dynasty of Zazzau Emirate. Born in Zaria city, on the 20th February, 1936, Shehu's father was Malam Idrisu Autan Sambo, son of Emir Sambo (1879-1888). He attended elementary school in Zaria 1947-1950, Zaria Middle School 1950-1955, and then Katsina Training College 1956-1957. After attending an administrative course at Congo, Zaria, he served in 1961 as Secretary to the Zaria NA Council under Emir Aminu. He was turbaned as *Madaki*, District Head of Zaria *da Kewaye* (Zaria home District) in 1973; and then ascended as the 18th Fulani Emir of Zazzau in 1975.¹⁰²⁷ Moreover, apart from Alhaji Shehu Idris, being the Emir and Chairman of Zazzau Emirate Council, there were other members who helped in the day-to-day running of affairs of the council. At one time, the Zazzau Emirate Council was composed of the following members:

- 1) Emir of Zazzau, Alhaji Shehu Idris (Chairman)
- 2) *Wazirin Zazzau*, Alhaji Nuhu Yahaya
- 3) *Makama Karami*, Abbas Usman
- 4) *Sarkin Fada*, Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika
- 5) *Fagacin Zazzau*, Alhaji Nuhu Muhammad
- 6) *Magajin Gari*, Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli
- 7) *Limamin Kona*
- 8) *Limamin Juma'a*
- 9) Révérend Stephen Ungbo (representing the non-Muslims)
- 10) *Sarkin Gabas*, Musa Abdullahi

¹⁰²⁷ For details on his biography, see Usman Dalhatu and Musa Hassan (200) *Alhaji Shehu Idris CFR: The 18th Fulani Emir of Zazzau*, Kaduna, Books Africana, A. M. Fagachi (2005) *Maimartaba Sarkin Zazzau Alhaji Shehu Idris CFR*, Zaria, Sankore Educational Publishers (particularly chapter one to four).

11) *Kuyambana*, A. D. Bala Gora.¹⁰²⁸

Since 1976, and in view of the fact that the throne is for lifetime, Shehu Idris has remained the President of the Zazzau Emirate Council up to date. But other members of the council consistently changes, either by death, retirement or change of responsibility. There are also other lesser emirate officials (*Yaran Sarki*), directly attached to the emir, who also served as errands and for daily upkeep of the Emir's palace in Zaria. These are *Shantali*, *Shamaki*, *Majidadi*, *Figini*, *Sarkin Dogarai*, *Sarkin Lema*, *Sallama*, *Madauchi*, among others.¹⁰²⁹ Moreover, the Emir of Zazzau is also the chairman of the Kaduna State Council of traditional rulers. This council of traditional rulers in the state, particularly from 1999, now has about twenty six autonomous emirates and chiefdoms with varying grades and classes.¹⁰³⁰

(V) The Position of Traditional Authorities after the Creation of Local Government Councils in 1976

It was clear that the 1976 Local Government Reform had given to the traditional rulers' full recognition and accorded them important role in the scheme of governance in the country. This led to the establishment of traditional or emirate councils as the case may be throughout the federation. However, was the reform actually a welcome development to the traditional authorities or otherwise? Just to draw back a little during the colonial period, emirs and their appointees (district and ward heads), enjoyed substantial decision making powers with regards to justice and financial affairs. They wielded these powers under the aegis of the Native Authority System, which was a system of administration nourished by the British colonialist. But this is not to say the powers they enjoyed in pre-British period was not tampered with, especially as they

¹⁰²⁸ List as compiled by L. M. Aminu (1993) "The History of Zazzau Emirate Council from 1959", B. A. Dissertation, Department of History, BUK, Kano, pp. 64-65

¹⁰²⁹ see A. M. Fagachi (2005) *Maimartaba Sarkin Zazzau Alhaji Shehu Idris ...* pp. 131-133

¹⁰³⁰ See for details, S. M. Zubairu (2006) "A History of Creation of Additional Districts in Zazzau Emirate," B. A. Dissertation, Department of History, BUK, Kano, pp. 57-70

begun to receive orders from British Colonial officials (District Officers (D.Os). and Residents). This pattern of administration was popularly referred to as the Indirect Rule system – ruling the conquered territories through indigenous authorities. However, with the approach of Independence and post-Independence political developments in Nigeria, traditional institutions began to face rapid challenges on their continued hold of authority at the local level. This was particularly spurred by the emergence and activities of political parties throughout the nation. A series of reforms were promulgated aimed at democratization and encouraging popular participation in the act of governance at the grassroots level. Consequent to this, in the 1960s, two important institutions – Court and Police were taken by the State and Federal Military Governments from the Native Authorities, presided over by emirs and chiefs. And this was coupled with the reduction of powers of the emirs in decision-making process, following the introduction of Chief-and-Council type of NA System, particularly in Northern Nigeria. Here, the decision of the emir as chairman of the council should not override that of the majority members. The scenario was reflected as been “moved from the time when the emir was a real *Sarkin Yanka* with the power of life and death, to a time when the emir could scarcely slaughter his own chickens.”¹⁰³¹ This excessive powers discussion has already been dealt with explicitly in the previous chapters.

The straw that broke the camel’s back was the 1976 Local Government Reform, which was centrally implemented by the Federal Military Government. Perception varies as regards the position of traditional authorities after the 1976 local government reform in Nigeria. Some were

¹⁰³¹ As quoted in the book, *Shehu Musa Yar’adua: A Life of Service* (2004). This book is on the biography and career of Shehu Musa Yar’adua, who happened to be the deputy Head of State under General Olusegun Obasanjo. He was then a Brigadier in the Nigerian military and said to be instrumental to the introduction of the 1976 Local Government Reform. He also announced the reform on behalf of the Federal Military Government, and at the same, the blueprint, ‘*Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976*’, which was distributed to all the States in Nigeria, carried his name on it.

of the opinion that the reform “enhanced their positions by clearly identifying their position and roles in the society;”¹⁰³² while many impressed that it “marked the beginning of the final overthrow of traditional rulers from political power in Nigeria.”¹⁰³³ These were the two contending views meticulously expressed, particularly in a book, available to me, titled “*Local Government and the Traditional Rulers in Nigeria*, (1985), edited by Oladimeji Abarisade, at the University of Ife, Nigeria. But this is not to say there are no other numerous works addressing the same theme on Nigerian politics. What is certain is that, the aim of the government was to completely insulate the traditional rulers from partisan politics. And this was fully achieved in defining their roles and positions to not more than an advisory board to the local governments and states in which they found themselves. All the other roles assigned to the traditional rulers, as explicitly stated in the 1976 *Guidelines*, only radiates around advisory status.

Further to this continued erosion of the powers of traditional authorities was in the area of finance. Prior to the 1976 reform, the issue of assessment and collection of taxes was in the hands of Emirs, District and Village Heads. With the 1976 reform, the process of generation and control of local revenue was transferred to the Local Government Authority. The State Government took over the financial aspects of the Emirate Councils, through an approved grant to cater for salaries and allowances. In other words, District and Village Heads, who were the real tax gatherers, were absorbed as employees of local government authorities, and they now collect the taxes on its behalf. With particular reference to District Heads, it is observed that even their salaries was adversely affected by the standard set using new Grade-Level (GL) system throughout the Nigerian Civil Service. For example, see below a table showing salaries of

¹⁰³² A. S. Dogondaji (1985) “Traditional Rulers and Local Government” in Oladimeji Abarisade (ed) *Local Government and the Traditional Rulers in Nigeria*, Ile-Ife, University of Ife Press, p. 346

¹⁰³³ I. B. Bello-Imam (1985) “The Paralysis of Traditional Rulers in Nigerian Politics” in Oladimeji Abarisade (ed) *Local Government and the Traditional Rulers in Nigeria*, Ile-Ife, University of Ife Press, p. 190

District Heads based on GL system as from the time of the 1976 Local Government Reforms in Nigeria.

Tax Payers and Salaries of District Heads

Tax Payers in a District	Salary Grade of the D.H.	Amount in Naira
5, 000	GL. 06	N2, 196 – N2, 772
5, 000 – 10, 000	GL. 07	N2, 832 – N3, 552
10, 000 – 12, 000	GL. 08	N3, 564 – N4, 464
12, 000 – 15, 000	GL. 09	N4, 668 – N5, 640
15, 000 and above	GL. 10	N5, 760 – N6, 732

Source: I. A. Abba (1985) “The changing patterns of Local Authority and the Evolution of District Head System in Gombe Emirate C. 1804 – 1960” PhD Thesis, Department of History, BUK, p. 379

In line with the above, during the Second Republic (1979-1983), which ushered in a new civilian democratic government, elections were held at both the federal, state and local governments nationwide. In the two States (Kano and Kaduna) won and controlled by the Peoples Redemption Party (P.R.P), an offshoot of the former Northern Elements Progressive Party (NEPU); the collection of *haraji* and *jangali* (poll and cattle taxes) was abolished. In Kaduna State, it was Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, who became the Governor under the P.R.P, 1979-1981.¹⁰³⁴ The abolition of these taxes was a long-standing political agenda of the NEPU/P.R.P, because they (taxes) “were unjust and very oppressive”,¹⁰³⁵ said Balarabe Musa. In the words of an

¹⁰³⁴ Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa was the first civilian Governor of Kaduna State. As a governor from an opposition party (P.R.P.), he is said to have faced serious challenges from the State’s House of Assembly, which was dominated by members of the ruling National Party of Nigeria (N.P.N.). As a result, he governed the State without commissioners as his nominees were severally rejected by the then State House of Assembly. At last, the House impeached him from the Governorship office after two years in power (1979-1981). He was succeeded by Alhaji Abba Musa Rimi (1981-1983) as Governor of the old Kaduna State under the platform of N.P.N. See, *Kaduna State in Perspective* (2006, 2007, and 2009), publication of Ministry of Economic Planning, Kaduna State, Nigeria, pp- 23-24

¹⁰³⁵ Interview, Alhaji (Malam) Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, former Governor of Kaduna State (1979-1981), on the 19th April, 2013, Aliyu Turaki Road, Kaduna town.

informant, Dalhatu Alhassan Soba, “many people ran away from their hometowns and settled somewhere because of *haraji*. But people were happy when the *haraji* was abolished in 1979 by the PRP Governors of Kaduna and Kano States.”¹⁰³⁶ Subsequently in 1981, on what was described as sheer ‘political expediency’, the National Party of Nigeria (N.P.N.) led Federal Government, announced the abolition of *haraji* nationwide.¹⁰³⁷ This further drastically eroded the District and Village Heads role in the affairs of local government administration. Asked of his view on the position of traditional rulers after the implementation of the 1976 local government reform, Balarabe Musa emphatically concludes that:

The Native Authority ceased to exist completely. The Emirs and other traditional institutions under the emirs ceased to have any legislative, executive or administrative authority by Law. The only position given them was advisory. As it is today, as a result of the 1976 Local Government reform, no any traditional ruler has legislative power, has executive power, and has administrative power. Even on matters of religion and marriages, and so on, they have only advisory power and there is nobody that is oblige to, if you are not satisfied, you go to court.¹⁰³⁸

From the aforementioned, it demonstrated a clear shift of power from the traditional political leadership to the popular elected representative of the people. Since then, emirs and district heads became more or less traditional symbols, functioning more as custodians of people’s culture and performing ceremonial functions. These ceremonies included among others, the biannual durbars (a horse-show parade), particularly during the two *Sallah (eid-fitr and eid-adha)* celebrations at the emirate capitals. On some special occasions also, they do perform such traditional shows when invited by the State and Federal Governments.

¹⁰³⁶ Interview – dated, 26th October, 2014, with Alhaji Dalhatu Alhassan Soba (Mazan Jiya), born 15th March, 1945, conducted at Soba town, Soba LGA, Kaduna State.

¹⁰³⁷ See I. A. Abba (1985) “The changing patterns of Local Authority and the Evolution of District Head System in Gombe Emirate C. 1804 – 1960” PhD Thesis, Department of History, BUK, p. 380

¹⁰³⁸ Interview, Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa ...

Notwithstanding, particularly in the minds of local people, traditional heads are still upheld with high esteem and respect. It is not a secret that traditional rulers and their palaces remained a regular place of visit by both government and private officials. These officials not only sought for the blessing of these monarchs, they also consult them for support and collaboration in certain aspects of administration. Even at this level of consultation, the influence of the traditional rulers was curtailed as they have no constitutional influence, for instance, on the construction of roads, electricity and water supply, crime control, and et cetera, et cetera. They can only advise if asked for. But because of their position as *Iyayen Kasa* (Fathers of the Land), traditional authorities helped in publicizing government propaganda especially on matters relating to education, health, agriculture, census, elections among others. They also helped in the maintenance of law and order and settlement of crises or disputes amongst people and communities of their respective areas. All these are because of the closeness and respect given to them by the local people as natural rulers.

Far from this, some analyst viewed the institutionalization of traditional or emirate councils into the aspects of local government as constituting ‘conflicting impulses’. According to this school of thought, Local Government and traditional council are completely opposed and contradictory to each other. And contrary to the popular view that the traditional authorities were insulated by the 1976 reform, but the reality is “far from being an irrelevant artifact, the institution has become an important actor in social, political and economic of the State.”¹⁰³⁹ In fact, instead of being ‘partners in progress’, the involvement of the traditional authorities was seen as an impediment to local government administration in the country. Making reference to the period of colonialism in which the traditional rulers partnered “within the framework of

¹⁰³⁹ I. M. Abbass (2010) ... , p. 128

colonial political economy”¹⁰⁴⁰ and jointly perpetrated surplus exploitation of the peasantry. Overtime, these traditional institutions continued to wield influence within the corridors of power both during the civilian and military regimes in the country. And there exist friction and clash of interest between the traditional institutions and the new political leadership, and on many occasions the former emerged victorious over the latter. On this, I. M. Abbass further concludes

Thus, the ex-officio position membership they occupy in the Local Government Councils, their political appointments as chairman (sic) of parastatals, chancellors and pro-chancellors of universities etc. have all refashioned them into the local political arena and provided the avenues to be in possession of enormous power. ... these so-called traditional institutions or rulers are however not seriously viewed as stooges, ...¹⁰⁴¹

In Kaduna State, for instance, the preponderance of influence exerted by the traditional rulers, particular the Zazzau Emirate Council in the administration of local government had clearly manifested. For example, traditional title holders from the Zazzau Emirate Council had been at the helm of the Local Government Service Board (LGSB)¹⁰⁴² as Chairmen – amongst was *Dan Iyan Zazzau*, late Alhaji Nuhu Bayero,¹⁰⁴³ who was followed by *Sarkin Fadan Zazzau*, late Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika. The council also used to make its influence felt in the appointments

¹⁰⁴⁰ I. M. Abbass (2010) ... p. 129

¹⁰⁴¹ I. M. Abbass (2010) ... p. 128

¹⁰⁴² The LGSB, according to the 1976 *Guidelines*, “should be responsible for all employment, posting, discipline, etc., of all members of the combined local government service ...” (it also) act in an advisory capacity to Ministries for Local Government in all matters relating to Local Government establishment, condition of service, etc”. (p. 11). It is now called in Kaduna State as Local Government Service Commission. In Kaduna State, the Commission is particularly responsible for appointment, promotion and discipline of the senior staff of local governments. In the case of junior staffs, the Local Government Areas are empowered to take care of their recruitment and promotions.

¹⁰⁴³ Alhaji Nuhu Bayero was born in 1916 in Zaria city. He started as a school teacher and later ventured into the services of local government in the Northern States of Nigeria. He also worked at an administrative capacity in some universities. Nuhu Bayero’s fame was in the sphere of local government management, where he held top post and excelled as follows: (a) Provincial Councillor 1957-62 (b) Senior Local Government Consultant 1971 (c) Chairman of Panel on the creation of administrative divisions of Benue State, 1976 (d) Chairman Local Government Service Board, Kaduna 1977-79, and (e) Chairman Local Government Service Commission 1984-88. Apart from the traditional title of *Dan Iyan Zazzau*, he was also conferred with the National honour of Order of the Federal Republic (OFR) in 1981. And as a seasoned local government administrator, Nuhu Bayero published a book titled – “*Local Government in the Northern States of Nigeria: Past and Present*” (undated).

of Heads of Department and other top officials for the local Government Councils.¹⁰⁴⁴ Invariably therefore, this immutable and powerful traditional council, has continued to play in the processes and appointment of junior, intermediate and even senior staffs of local government authorities. This is particularly within the ambits of its emirate jurisdiction in Kaduna State.

More so, another area in which the traditional authorities also infringed into the local government system was on land matters. In theory, both the 1976 reform and the Land Use Act of 1978 had given only minimal symbolic recognition to the traditional authorities. But in practice, traditional institutions – Emir, District, Village, and Ward Heads, exercises enormous powers in the area of land distribution and allocation. They, in collaboration with local government staff turned land issues into another ‘gold mine’ for selfish aggrandizement. There were persistent references to land seizures and abuses perpetrated by members of the aristocracy and other powerful men against the peasantry particularly. This was what prompted the Kaduna State Government, under Balarabe Musa to form a Land Investigation Commission in 1979, to look into the matter.¹⁰⁴⁵ The point here is just to show another angle in which traditional authorities continued to constitute problem to the smooth conduct of local government administration. Thus, as against the popular notion that the 1976 Local Government reform had completely eroded the powers of traditional authorities, it rather emboldened it indirectly right from the onset. This was through the Federal Government official recognition for the establishment of traditional or Emirate councils in all the local governments in the country. To this school of thought therefore:

...the involvement of the traditional rulers/institutions in the administration of the Local Government has constituted one of the

¹⁰⁴⁴ See I. M. Abbass (2010) ... pp. 153-153

¹⁰⁴⁵ See I. M. Abbass (2010) ... pp. 180-185

serious impediments to the evolution, growth and dynamism of the system as a whole.¹⁰⁴⁶

(VI) Significance of the 1976 Local Government Reform

The 1976 Reform was and is still upheld as a revolutionary landmark in the affairs of Local Government administration in Nigeria. The fundamental reason is that, it was in 1976 that a purposeful reform in local government administration was nationally and uniformly implemented in the country. This was unlike in the past when regional and states governments were at discretion to adopt and implement the type of local government system that suits its historical background. Previously, State Governments were also blamed of encroachment, inadequate funding, and excessive politicking into the system, and thereby making Local Government ineffective and ineffectual. The uniform and national outlook of the reform in 1976 was not unconnected with the unitary system of the military government in power then. In the 1976 blueprint - *Guidelines for Local Government Reform*, the opening section implied that:

The Reform of our system of local Government is not only important and desirable in itself, but it is crucial element in the Political Programme of the Federal Military Government. Indeed, having disposed of the question of the Creation of new States, the Local Government Reforms are the next important exercise in the process of building a sound foundation for the return of this Country's administration to civil rule. ... The defects of previous Local Government system are too well known to deserve further elaboration here. ... In embarking on these reforms, the Federal Military Government was essentially motivated by the necessity to stabilise and rationalise Government at the local level. The Federal Military Government has therefore decided to recognise Local Governments as the third tier of governmental activity in the nation. Local Government should do precisely what the word government implies i.e., governing at the grass roots or local levels.¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴⁶ I. M. Abbass (2010) ... p. 150

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976* ... p. (foreword page 'i')

The objective of the Federal Government and at the same the major significance of the 1976 reform was the conversion of local government in all States into a ‘Third Tier’¹⁰⁴⁸ of government with responsibility for grassroots development. This was also backed with all the necessary constitutional norms and procedures, as masterly articulated in the reform guidelines. It was acclaimed to be a result of widespread consultation which also “accommodated the social and cultural diversity of the country”¹⁰⁴⁹ as a whole.

The transfer of responsibility from the traditional authorities (NA System) to the popular elected representatives of the people in Local Government Councils was considered as another significance of the 1976 Reform. Elected members were now to be the majority and their decision was binding on general matters of administration in the Council. In other words, democratic principles were instituted into the system and participation was open not only limited to the nobility but to all members of the society. However, there was still argument on the continued presence of autocratic state control in which the appointment/selection of Chairmen and Councilors had to be approved by the Military Governor for it to stand. And this trend continued even during the civilian administration, 1979-1983, whereby Governors nominated Chairmen of Local Governments on political party platforms. Traditional rulers also played role in this state-control nomination process in sanctioning the Governor’s nominees.¹⁰⁵⁰ All the same, it was a step forward and especially in preparedness for the return to and sustenance of civilian rule (Second Republic) in the country during that period.

¹⁰⁴⁸ There are three constitutionally recognised tiers of government in Nigeria – Federal, State, and Local Governments. As enshrined in the *Guidelines* ... (page 3) “The term “tier” is used in this context as meaning a set of Local Governments with their own identity, powers and sources of revenue established under state legislation, and with functions for which they are responsible to the State”.

¹⁰⁴⁹ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 204

¹⁰⁵⁰ See I. M. Abbass (2010) ... pp. 113-114

It is also important to note the significant financial changes introduced into the Local Government system as a result of the 1976 nationwide reform. Prior to 1976, inadequate finance was identified as one of the major reasons for local governments' ineffectiveness. Local Governments relied on the state government for grants and virtually the federal government was not directly contributing to local government finance. Even the contribution from the states was so insignificant that, "government grants in the pre-1976 years ranged from 3 to 4 percent of total local government revenue in each state."¹⁰⁵¹ Thus, local governments nationwide depended on their locally generated revenue for over 90 percent of their revenue. With the 1976 reform, local governments no longer depended on the old system of grants-in-aids from the government. A new principle of revenue sharing was instituted whereby the federal and state governments contributed appreciable percent of funds to local governments. A source broke down the new revenue sharing formula as follows:

Federal government allocated 5 percent of its retained revenue and the state government allocated 10 percent of its total revenue to local government. A formula for the distribution of federal and state derived revenue to all the local government councils in each state stipulate that 75 percent should be shared according to population, and the remaining 25 percent was to be shared on the criterion of equality.¹⁰⁵²

With the above, it undoubtedly led to significant increase of revenue and also as the main source of local government finance. Throughout the country, it is said that this new federal and state contribution amounted to "no less than 60 percent of local government revenue in all the states."¹⁰⁵³ And in some states, this joint contribution accounted to over 80 percent of the total revenue available to the local governments.¹⁰⁵⁴ As a result, this came to be the single most

¹⁰⁵¹ A. D. Yahaya (1989) "Local Government Reforms: The Military Initiative" in P. P. Ekeh (ed) *Nigeria Since Independence, Politics and Constitution. The First 25 Years*, Vol. V; Ibadan, Heinemann, p. 248

¹⁰⁵² A. D. Yahaya (1989) "Local Government Reforms ... p. 248

¹⁰⁵³ A. D. Yahaya (1989) "Local Government Reforms ... p. 249

¹⁰⁵⁴ A. D. Yahaya (1989) "Local Government Reforms ... p. 249, I. M. Abbass (2010) ... pp. 235

important source of local government revenue. Not only that, it also led to significant increase in local government revenue in the country. For example, in Kaduna State, local government revenue of all the local government councils “in 1970/71 was ₦3.067 million, but dramatically increased to ₦32.7 million in 1977/78.”¹⁰⁵⁵ Moreover, there was a steady increase of revenue from this federal and state contribution, for the fourteen local government councils in Kaduna State, 1979-1982, as tabulated below.

Federal and State Grants to Kaduna State Local Governments, 1979-1982.¹⁰⁵⁶

L. GOVT.	1979/80 (₦)	1980 (₦)	1981 (₦)	1982 (₦)	TOTAL (₦)
Kaduna	1,123,313.36	1,943,989.78	8,369,029.84	7,471,198.19	18,907,551.17
B/Gwari	322,578.00	657,526.58	1,454,792.54	1,120,396.64	3,555,293.76
Jema'a	842,425.38	1,612,378.20	8,159,185.52	5,572,066.34	16,366,065.44
Saminaka	827,111.15	1,483,615.42	5,357,797.92	5,516,111.16	13,202,635.65
Ikara	1,139,330.04	2,023,641.39	5,873,837.21	5,037,619.88	15,074,428.88
Kachia	1,125,589.27	2,009,258.41	9,512,572.88	7,952,194.23	20,599,723.79
Zaria	1,329,230.29	2,373,041.50	11,449,418.19	10,069,735.99	25,221,425.97
Daura	956,334.64	1,822,299.92	5,744,886.90	5,388,213.88	13,911,735.02
Dutsin-MA	1,487,025.05	2,617,802.75	8,312,027.78	4,930,380.21	17,011,174.63
Kankia	1,397,282.89	2,466,780.75	8,015,478.27	4,980,193.98	17,106,417.53
Mani	1,364,727.12	2,428,152.33	7,706,140.77	5,512,154.42	17,011,174.63
Funtua	1,517,607.45	2,638,818.64	8,430,222.19	7,158,150.99	19,745,800.00
Katsina	1,510,449.08	2,796,948.54	9,209,476.78	10,245,361.62	23,762,236.02
Malumfashi	1,094,692.38	1,936,409.76	6,683,899.89	4,404,744.42	13,134,546.45
Total	16,037,696.08	28,814,663.87	105,296,876.45	85,537,521.65	

Source: Department for LG, Kaduna Governor's Office, Dec. 1989, as cited in I. M. Abbas (2010)

Between these years of 1979-1982, as shown in the preceding table, allocation amounting to over ₦235 million was disbursed into the Kaduna State Local Government Councils. And between 1984 and 1988, this steady increase of revenue had astronomically risen to almost ₦470 million.¹⁰⁵⁷ On the other hand, this generous allocation of revenue to local governments over the years also meant an increased hope and expectations from the public for grassroots development.

¹⁰⁵⁵ A. D. Yahaya (1989) “Local Government Reforms ... p. 249

¹⁰⁵⁶ As cited in I. M. Abbass (2010) ... p. 146

¹⁰⁵⁷ See I. M. Abbass (2010) ... pp. 145-146

However, in spite of the constitutional provision that local governments should exercise an autonomous position as a third tier of government, this only remained on paper. In practice, State Governments particularly have continued to encroach and strangle the activities of local governments in the country. The major area of strangulation was in the sphere of finance, whereby the State Governments through the ‘State-Local Government Joint Account’,¹⁰⁵⁸ succeeded in hoarding and hijacking local government funds. This joint account system made funds available for local governments to be used for other purposes which are not of priority to the local councils in question. Thus, with this and other forms of state control, local governments were made to look as a mere extension of the state governments. On this posture of State control on the local governments, I. M. Abbass expounded that:

Local Governments have been systematically denied any meaningful role, relevance and place in the scheme of democratic space while at the same time the State Government has refused to devolve any power or authority, without strings attached, to the Local Governments.¹⁰⁵⁹

Another area in which the 1976 reform was also significant was on the issue of qualified staff to handle managerial positions in local governments throughout the country. The 1976 reform was clear that “one of the fundamental objectives of the reforms ... is to raise the quality of local public service. (This is because) Poor quality staff are unlikely to provide good quality services.”¹⁰⁶⁰ As already observed, there was generous financial provision to the local governments following the introduction of new revenue sharing formula from both the federal and state governments. It was a deliberate policy to improve the conditions of service in order to

¹⁰⁵⁸ In Kaduna State, such financial control was re-institutionalized in 2006 when the State Joint Local Government Account Law was passed. It was an added control over what was already imposed in 2004, called “Basic Operational Guidelines for the Elected Local Government in Kaduna State. For details, see I. M. Abbass (2010) ... pp. 116-121, 222-227

¹⁰⁵⁹ I. M. Abbass (2010) ... p. 223

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976* ... p. 4. The emphasis is mine.

attract, and retain qualified manpower available to local governments. An improved condition of service was also to be augmented by job satisfaction and ability to demonstrate one's ability in local government service. As a result, Local Government Service Boards (later Commission) were established and assigned with responsibilities of recruitment, promotions, discipline and posting of all local government staff in the state. This Board or Commission "is not only expected to insulate staff from politics, it is expected to develop a combined local government service for the highly trained cadres."¹⁰⁶¹ It was also meant to safeguard and protect, particularly the senior staff local government employees from victimization, and at the same to provide a healthier career development.¹⁰⁶² Moreover, states were also mandated to establish Ministry for Local Government, which was to provide secretarial support and facilities to Local Government Service Boards. It was also to render services such as keeping and processing records, among others, of all local governments in the state.¹⁰⁶³

The aforementioned were the major significance of the 1976 Local Government Reform in Nigeria. And in spite of some of the constraints and problems inherent in it, the reform was actually a serious landmark in the political history of the country. Even the late Shehu Musa Yar'adua, who was then the deputy Head of the Federal Military Government, stated that "If I were to choose one single yield which this Administration thinks has been one of its main contribution, I will probably say ... the Local Government Reform"¹⁰⁶⁴ of 1976

¹⁰⁶¹ A. D. Yahaya (1989) "Local Government Reforms ... p. 251

¹⁰⁶² Alex Gboyega (1989) "Local Government Administration since Independence" in Alex Gboyega et'al (eds) *Nigeria since Independence: The First 25 Years (Public Administration)*, Ibadan, Heinemann, p. 187

¹⁰⁶³ Guidelines for Local Government Reform, 1976 ... p. 11

¹⁰⁶⁴ As quoted in, *Shehu Musa Yar'adua: A Life of Service (2004)* ... p. 136

(VII) Educational Development

Zaria, the heartbeat of the area of discussion had received glowing comment from Adamu Baikie, that, it “is second to none in Northern Nigeria in education in spite of the fame that Katsina enjoys because of the historical Katsina College that was initially established there.”¹⁰⁶⁵ Even as earliest as then, there were four students from Zaria Province amongst the first set of students in the college.¹⁰⁶⁶ However, this very famous Katsina College, established in 1922 was first transferred to Kaduna in 1938, and then finally moved to Zaria in 1957. When transferred, it was renamed as Government College Zaria (now Barewa College).¹⁰⁶⁷ This is tantamount to the city’s popular adage as – *Zaria Birnin ilmi* (Zaria the City of Learning) and this was an accolade, Zaria earned in terms of Islamic learning long before even the introduction of western education in the area. However, our discussion is not exclusively on colleges; rather, it is a general exposition on development of education (Western), particularly in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate. This therefore included both elementary, post-elementary schools and tertiary institutions.

The earliest introduction of western type of school into Zazzau Emirate was in 1905, when a member of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S), Dr. Walter. R. Miller, moved into Zaria city from Girku,¹⁰⁶⁸ and established a mission station there. At a place “not far from the Emir’s

¹⁰⁶⁵ Adamu Baikie (2002) *Recurrent Issues in Nigerian Education*, Zaria, Tamaza Publishing Co. Ltd, p. 58

¹⁰⁶⁶ Kazah Toure (1991) “The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province, 1902-1960”, M.A. Thesis, ABU, Zaria, pp. 245-246

¹⁰⁶⁷ For details on the college, see Sani Abubakar Lugga (2004) *Katsina College*, Katsina, Lugga Press

¹⁰⁶⁸ Girku is a village located about forty miles, south-east of Zaria city and peopled mostly by the Kadara tribe. It is said that, the Christian Mission Society, (C.M.S.) led by Reverend Tugwell (C.M.S. Bishop of Nigeria 1894-1919), and Dr. Walter R. Miller, got to Zaria almost at the same time the British imperial forces occupied the city in 1902. F. D. Lugard ordered the C.M.S. to leave Zaria for Girku, which was then a colonial military camp. In 1905, W. R. Miller moved the headquarters of C.M.S. to Zaria. Girku is now part of Igabi Local Government Area of Kaduna State.

palace,”¹⁰⁶⁹ W. R. Miller opened a small school and a dispensary. Not long after establishment, the mission school was resented by the local people in Zaria because of its attempt to proselytize the people into Christianity. To avoid unwanted friction, the colonial authorities intervened and restricted the activities of the mission school.¹⁰⁷⁰ While in terms of colonial education, by 1910 when the Government School at Nassarawa in Kano Province, was opened “five men from Zaria Province entered it.”¹⁰⁷¹ However, it was not until barely twelve years after British occupation, that a formal colonial school was established in Zaria. An excerpt to this effect reads:

On 8th May, 1914, a Provincial Primary School was opened in Zaria City by the Resident and the Director of Education, with an English Superintendent, Mr. G. O. Pauer, in charge. At the start, there were 59 pupils, 15 of whom were from Bauchi Province, 10 from Kontagora Province, while the 34 were from Zaria Province. ... At the end of 1919, the school contained 82 boys, all of Zaria Province, with the exception of 6 from Kwongoma Division of Niger Province. These pupils are arranged in 7 classes, 3 working on Standard 1, 2 on Standard II, 2 on Standard III. One of the latter will be promoted shortly to Standard IV. Religious instruction, i.e., teaching of the Koran for Mohammedan (sic) pupils, is compulsory. Teaching is carried out in Arabic and Hausa, with English added in Standards IV, V and VI.¹⁰⁷²

The school was more of a regional outlook than provincial based on the cross-section of the pupils that attended it. It is crucial to note that the bulk of pupils at the Zaria Provincial School as at 1915, “... are sons of well-to-do Zaria families, District Heads, certain village Heads and Alkalai who are all able to afford school fees.”¹⁰⁷³ The introduction of fees was seen as deliberate effort by the British to discourage the *talakawa* from enrolling their wards to school. With this development, the number of schools at Zaria then increased to four – one

¹⁰⁶⁹ C. W. Orr, “Zaria Provincial Annual Report for 1905”, Zariapref No. 2552, NAK; as quoted in M. M. Tukur (1970) “The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States: 1897-1914: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Sources, PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, p. 842

¹⁰⁷⁰ See Kazah Toure (1991) ... pp. 234-235

¹⁰⁷¹ E. J. Arnett (1920) *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, London, Waterlow & Sons Ltd, p. 24

¹⁰⁷² E. J. Arnett (1920) *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*... p. 24

¹⁰⁷³ C. O. Migeod, “Zaria ... Annual Report No. 67 for 1915”, as quoted in Kazah Toure (1991) ... p. 244

government school shared with two other provinces, two mission schools in the city and at Gimi.¹⁰⁷⁴ And by 1924, following the opening of Craft school at Zaria, the number of schools reached six in the province. These were the Provincial Primary school Zaria, the Craft school, and four elementary schools located at Zaria town, Giwa, Soba, and Makarfi.¹⁰⁷⁵ The elementary schools were located at the district headquarters where the local elite of the N.A. resided, and “in practical terms, to take care of their sons.”¹⁰⁷⁶ Moreover, there was also an increase in Christian missionary schools which by 1931 numbered up to nine, particularly at Kaduna and Zaria. In 1931 also, the Zaria Provincial primary school was upgraded to a Middle School following the enactment of new policy in the Northern Region. A similar school at Kaduna was also established at the same time.

Apart from the cities of Zaria and Kaduna, none of the outlying districts of the emirate was with a western type school in almost throughout the first three decades of colonial rule in Zazzau Emirate. On the other hand, there were traditional Islamic schools (referred as Mohammedan school by the British) spread across towns and villages in the area, as indicated in the table below 1916 report.

EDUCATION

MOHAMMEDAN SCHOOL – ZARIA PROVINCE, 1916

DISTRICTS.	No. Of School.	Makaranta Littafi Pupils	Makaranta Allo Pupils	Total
1. MADAKI	163	115	452	567
2. MAKAMA KARAMI	110	30	432	462
3. GALADIMA	120	44	672	716
4. DANGALADIMA	45	163	942	1105
5. MADAUCHI	15	21	166	187

¹⁰⁷⁴ C. O. Migeod, “Zaria Provincial Annual Report for 1915”, SNP 10 No. 138P/1916, NAK., as cited in M. M. Tukur (1970) ... p. 847

¹⁰⁷⁵ See, Kazah Toure (1991) ... p. 249

¹⁰⁷⁶ Kazah Toure (1991) ... p. 249

6. SARKIN FADA	40	83	268	351
7. MAAJI KACHIA	12	10	46	56
8. DANMADAMI	29	27	225	252
9. SARKIN YAKI	27	11	95	106
10. DALLATU	20	37	61	98
11. TURAKI KARAMI	78	44	119	163
12. WAMBAI	27	11	163	174
13. TURAKI BABA (sic)	48	27	283	310
14. SARKIN RUA (sic)	11	12	176	188
15. SARKIN KAURU	8	50	136	186
16. MAGAJIN GARI	37	21	125	146
17. WALI	4	-	56	56
18. MAGAJI JISAMBO	6	4	29	33
19. MAKAMA BABA (sic)	16	16	39	55
20. IYAN GARI	6	9	67	76
21. BARDE	8	7	30	37
22. WANYA	-	-	-	-
23. KATUKA	8	12	30	42
24. SARKI CHAWAI	3	-	13	13
25. SARKIN KAJURU	6	34	43	77
26. SARKIN ZANA	-	-	-	-
27. SARKIN KAGHERKO (sic)	23	26	227	253
28. SARKIN JERE	9	12	54	66
29. ZARIA TOWN	153	376	1656	2032
Total	1032	1202	6605	7807

Source: NAK/ZARPROF/750/1916 Annual Report No. 69 – For 1916 by Acting Resident, Mr. Migeod. (Note: The names with the *sic* were incorrectly spelt in the original text. The correct spellings are: *Turaki Babba*, *Sarkin Ruwa*, *Makama Babba* and *Sarkin Kagarko*).

Late in the 1920s, however, constituent districts, towns and villages in the emirate also witnessed the establishment of elementary schools. For example, Makarfi 1922, Kubau 1928,¹⁰⁷⁷ Sabon Gari Zaria 1935, Ikara 1938,¹⁰⁷⁸ Rigachikun 1945,¹⁰⁷⁹ Giwa 1946,¹⁰⁸⁰ Igabi, Afaka, Zangon Aya, and Sabon Birnin Daji all in 1948,¹⁰⁸¹ Kawo-Kaduna 1953,¹⁰⁸² There were also

¹⁰⁷⁷ Halidu Yalwa (1995) “History of Kubau Town to 1983”, B.A. Dissertation, BUK, Kano, p. 23

¹⁰⁷⁸ Interview with Alhaji Musa Abdullahi, Sarkin Gabas, Hakimin Paki, 26th October, 2014

¹⁰⁷⁹ NAK/ZARPROF/3835 Rigachikun Elementary School

¹⁰⁸⁰ I. S. Mustapha (2011) *Giwa Ta Danfangi*, Zaria, ABU Press, p. 48. That elementary school established in the town of Giwa in 1946, had as one of its pioneer pupils, the former Vice Chancellor, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Professor Ango Abdullahi. He is now a leading member of the pan-Northern Nigerian socio-political group – Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF).

¹⁰⁸¹ Kaduna State, Universal Basic Education Board - General Statistic: Primary Schools enrolment by Class. Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State, January 2008

other schools established across the northern part of the emirate in 1950s and 60s. In terms of secondary school education, “two of the standard secondary schools in Northern Nigeria as at early 1950s were located in Zaria Province; they were the Government College Zaria and the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM) owned Saint John’s College Kaduna.”¹⁰⁸³ Further to this, in 1954, the Middle School at Zaria was transformed into a Secondary School; and around 1955/1956, two senior primary schools were opened at Giwa and Soba.¹⁰⁸⁴

On development tertiary institutions, on April 1st, 1954, the Institute of Administration, Zaria was established to replace the former Zaria Clerical Training College, which was set in 1946. The institute was primarily established to provide the necessary training to all categories of local government staff. It was also meant to cushion the impact of the popular 1954 NA Reform in Northern Nigeria.¹⁰⁸⁵ In November, 1957, the Nigeria College of Arts, Science and Technology Zaria came into full operation. Not only as a conventional college, the institute was equally regarded as “the first leading higher education institution in Northern Nigeria.”¹⁰⁸⁶ In this same period before Independence, there were also other or rather, professional institutes established at Zaria, such as Agricultural College, School of Hygiene, Women Training Centre, and of course the railway school, among others. However, the peak of this came immediately after Independence when the pioneer Northern Nigeria university was established in 1962 – the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (ABU). This giant university was part of the accelerated and purposeful change of educational policies in Northern Nigeria (Northernization programme). According to the then Northern Region, Minister for Education, Isa Kaita:

¹⁰⁸² Ashiru Sani (1995) “History of Anguwan Kawo in Kaduna Metropolis 1900-1993”, B.A. Dissertation, BUK, Kano, p. 189

¹⁰⁸³ Kazah Toure (1991) ... p. 264

¹⁰⁸⁴ Kazah Toure (1991) ... p. 264, I. S. Mustapha (2011) ... p. 49

¹⁰⁸⁵ See chapter five for details on the Institute Administration, Zaria and the 1954 NA Reform. The institute later formed the nucleus of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, established in 1962.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Kazah Toure (1991) ... p. 264

This university has long been a project very dear to our hearts, and the recommendation of Ashby Commission that it should be established must be a source of great satisfaction on us all.¹⁰⁸⁷

Moreover, it was discovered that in all the social services provided by the Native Authority (NA), “the highest expenditure was devoted to education.”¹⁰⁸⁸ This was further strengthened following the change in the Educational Law of the Northern Region in 1962. It was this Law that led to the establishment of Local Education Authority (L.E.A.), charged with the responsibility for the development and administration of primary education. The L.E.A. was a separate body but under the control of the NA., and assisted by its education committee and other stakeholders on education. The new L.E.A. derived its funds from three sources – contribution from the NA (later Local Authorities) Government supported grant, and school fees paid by the pupils.¹⁰⁸⁹ With this Law in place, all voluntary agencies schools were directed to be transferred to the L.E.A. under the NA. The result was a dramatic reduction in the number of voluntary agencies schools from 84 in pre-1963, to only 15 by 1970, in the whole of Zazzau Emirate.¹⁰⁹⁰ As a mark of new policy in the Northern Region and Zazzau Emirate in particular, all the former NA Elementary schools were renamed as L.E.A. primary schools. The following were the primary school statistical records of Zaria and Kaduna Local Authorities, 1971/72:

Zaria – Schools: 251, Classes: 1,310, Pupils: 49,869 (male 33,401, female 16,468), Teachers: 1,440 (male 1,179, female 261).

Kaduna – Schools: 46, Classes: 602, Pupils: 22,694 (male 12,934, female 9,760), Teachers: 634 (male 359, female 275).¹⁰⁹¹

¹⁰⁸⁷ Quoted in H. M. Mika’il (2012) *Isa Kaita (Wazirin Katsina), Selfless Service: His biography, speeches and the achievements of their government of “ONE NORTH ONE PEOPLE” under his close associate Sir Ahmadu Bello, Premier of Northern Nigeria*, Kaduna, New Nigeria Press Ltd, pp. 36

¹⁰⁸⁸ A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... p. 101

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book, 1972-3*, Zaria, NNPC, p. 95

¹⁰⁹⁰ See A. D. Yahaya (1980) ... pp. 101-102

¹⁰⁹¹ *Northern States of Nigeria: Local Government Year Book, 1972-3* ... p. 103

In 1976, the Federal Military Government introduced the Universal Free Primary Education (UPE) scheme. In the words of Adekunle Adeyemi, “It is the boldest and the most ambitious step ever taken by the Federal Government of Nigeria towards educational development in the country.”¹⁰⁹² It was an action plan designed for the funding and management of primary education, to be carried out jointly by the Federal, State and Local Governments in Nigeria. This joint educational plan was first through the LEA’s, but later changed following the introduction of the 1976 Local Government Reform and the coming into operation of the 1979 Federal Constitution. With these changes, the provision and management of primary education was said to have been “unilaterally transferred to Local Government Councils and local communities by the State Government for further implementation of the scheme.”¹⁰⁹³ Local Government Councils were charged and shouldered with the responsibilities of providing new school buildings, enrolment of pupils, and recruitment of teachers as well as general management of primary education within their areas. The impression created by the Federal Government was that primary education would be completely free, universal and compulsory. As a result, there was an unprecedented increase in the number of pupil’s enrolment and construction of new schools in the country. In Kaduna State, the Chief Education Officer, Malam Yahaya Hamza, disclosed in August, 1976 that “300,000 school age children in the state have registered for the scheme.”¹⁰⁹⁴ At the same time, expansions and construction of new schools were also pursued with the aim of bolstering the UPE scheme in the state.

However, when the scheme started formally around 1978, it was discovered that the government was faced with many problems than expected. For instance, “a shortage of 3,992

¹⁰⁹² Adekunle Adeyemi (1983) “Trends in the Development of Education in Nigeria”, in Segun Adesina et’al (eds) *Nigerian Education: Trends and Issues*, Ife, University Press, p. 73

¹⁰⁹³ I. M. Abbass (2010) ... p. 163

¹⁰⁹⁴ *New Nigerian*, (no. 3269) Monday, 9 August, 1976 – captioned “Kaduna State prepares for UPE take-off”, p. 17

teachers”¹⁰⁹⁵ was envisaged by Chief Education officer of Kaduna State, when the UPE scheme too-off. This forced, rather unprepared, recruitment of teachers, with the hope “to overcome the problem of acute shortage of teachers in the near future”,¹⁰⁹⁶ as declared again by the states’ Chief Education officer, in 1976. Urgent induction training courses were also organised in order to meet up with the challenges posed by the new educational scheme. To show how desperate the situation was, apart from training regular teachers, for instance, the then acting Education Officer for Zaria LEA, Alhaji Abdullahi Nalado-Kaya, even “explained that primary school leavers would be trained for two months, while secondary school leavers would be trained for one month.”¹⁰⁹⁷ This was confirmed by an educationist, Dalhatu Alhassan Soba (*Mazan jiya*), that:

When the UPE scheme was introduced during Obasanjo’s time, primary school leavers were made to teach in primary schools. They were called pupils’ teacher. I knew even of a place where a primary school leaver was sent as a headmaster in primary school. The reason was lack of good preparation for the programme to succeed. Basically, teachers supposed to have been well recruited before embarking on building schools.¹⁰⁹⁸

In addition, in spite of large enrolment figures from the start of the scheme, there were no adequate facilities to accommodate the pupils. Very few schools or classrooms were built since 1977, and according to I. A. Abbass,

What frequently occurred was for the Local Governments to beg individuals to permit them (LGs) to designate and use their car garages and *Zauruka* (first entrances of the traditional houses) as ‘schools’ or ‘classrooms’. Other pupils were worse off as they were taught under tree shades while others received no teaching at all.¹⁰⁹⁹

¹⁰⁹⁵ *New Nigerian*, Monday, 9 August, 1976 ... p. 17

¹⁰⁹⁶ *New Nigerian*, Monday, 9 August, 1976 ... p.17

¹⁰⁹⁷ *New Nigerian* (No. 3.226), Thursday 5th August, 1976, “Zaria prepare for UPE take-off”, p. 11

¹⁰⁹⁸ Interview – dated, 26th October, 2014, with Alhaji Dalhatu Alhassan Soba (*Mazan Jiya*), born 15th March, 1945. From a classroom teacher, early in the 1960s, Dalhatu rose up to the position of Assistant Director of Education (Exams), Government House, Kaduna State in 1995.

¹⁰⁹⁹ I. M. Abbass (2010) ... p. 165

All the same, the UPE scheme could not be said to have been a complete failure due to lack adequate preparation on the side of government. At least, because of the propaganda expressed that the scheme was free and compulsory, large enrolment figures of pupils were witnessed. And many areas with no schools in pre-UPE period were provided with one. Thus, there was a general reawakening in terms enlightening the public on the need to send their children to school. Particularly in the first two years of the programme, there were steady increase in the pupils' enrolment figures and the local government councils were also committed to the success of the programme. After at least 1978, many of the schools established became overcrowded and this forced the introduction of 'shift system' "whereby half of the pupils attend classes in the morning while the other attends in the afternoon with overcrowded classrooms notwithstanding."¹¹⁰⁰ In 1977 for example, primary school enrolment figure in Kaduna State was 63,600, but by 1980 it rose to 417,000.¹¹⁰¹ Coupled with the problem of overcrowded classrooms was lack of due regard to adequate teacher strength also. A critical breakdown of the problem was unearthed by Abbass, on the situation in Kaduna and Zaria Local Governments:

In Kaduna Local Government ... there were (50) fifty, primary schools with 1,712 classes, 84,384 pupils and 1,498 or 1,564 teachers. Few schools and classrooms were built since 1976. ... the teacher-pupil ratio is between 1:60 and 80 in most schools while the overall ratio is the Local Government is 1.54 or 1.57. ... In Zaria Local Government, there 308 primary schools spread all over, 64 in Zaria, 102 in Soba and 142 in Igabi areas. Additional schools since 1976 were only six in the Local Government, one each in Zaria city, the Kewaye (the Zaria environs), Sabon Gari and Jaji while Giwa had two. ... the number of classes (840) could therefore contain the capacity of the total number of pupils (108,385) while average ratio of the teachers and pupils was 1:38.¹¹⁰²

¹¹⁰⁰ I. M. Abbass (2010) ... p. 165

¹¹⁰¹ Adekunle Adeyemi (1983) "Trends in the Development of Education in Nigeria", in Segun Adesina et'al (eds) *Nigerian Education: Trends and Issues*, Ife, University Press, pp. 74-75

¹¹⁰² I. M. Abbass (2010) ... p. 167 (additional is provided in the book under table 6.4. {p. 167} and Appendix 'B' {pp. 267-272}).

Generally, this was the situation in primary school education sector in the period and area of our study. On the other hand, when the PRP led government under Balarabe Musa came in 1979; many post-primary schools (secondary school) were established in Kaduna State. These secondary schools established around 1980 to 1983, had spread all over the State. The new schools were (still) called ‘*Government Day Secondary Schools (GDSS’s)*’; and some of the “earliest established were at Rigachikun and Kurmin Mashi, Kaduna, in June 1980.”¹¹⁰³ This government effort, according to an informant “brought tremendous educational development in the Kaduna State.”¹¹⁰⁴

(VIII) Conclusion

This chapter discussed one of the crucial aspects that tailored the entire work. This aspect was the 1976 Local Government Reform and its attendant effects on the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. It was this reform of 1976 that ultimately led to the creation of Zaria, Ikara, and Kaduna Local Governments respectively. These three local governments, as at then, constituted what was basically referred to as the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. In the previous chapters, district areas were given preference and the passed through transformations from the colonial and post-colonial periods. Through this trend of transformation, came the 1976 nationwide and uniform reform of local government administration in Nigeria. It was the initiative of the military regime that fundamentally empowered and institutionalized Local Governments as a third tier of government (the other tiers are State and Federal). The chapter therefore, looked at the structure and functions of the new local governments, particularly Zaria, Ikara and Kaduna. The major changes introduced and which was a clear-cut departure from the

¹¹⁰³ Interview – Shehu Ibrahim (Na’Allah), age about 50 years old, at Rigachikun, on 25th February, 2014. He was one of the pioneer students of Government Day Secondary School Rigachikun, opened in 1980.

¹¹⁰⁴ Interview - Dalhatu Alhassan Soba ...

former was in the discontinuation of traditional authorities at the helm of affairs of local governments throughout the country. In place of it, some elements of democracy was introduced whereby elected officials were to be the chairmen of local governments instead of emirs or chiefs. But as we have elucidated, traditional or emirate councils were established to serve only as an advisory body to the local government councils. This led to the establishment of Zazzau Emirate Council which had jurisdiction over the above three local government of our area of study.

The chapter also discussed what constituted functions of the local government. An elaborate list of responsibilities ranging from control of markets and motor vehicle parks, collection of community tax and control of land, to provisions of health and maternity centers, primary and adult education, rural water supply and roads, information and public enlightenment, public libraries and reading rooms, supports for arts and culture, and so on. These responsibilities were categorised into – Exclusive and Concurrent Lists. And the local governments were also engaged in the maintenance of law and order in their areas of jurisdiction. Even though, some of these responsibilities were to be shared between the Local Government(s) and the State. But basically, the local government councils were expected to provide socio-economic and political developments at the grassroots level. In line with this, the chapter critically discussed the significance and impact of this reform in 1976. These significance and impact were in the spheres of popular participation in governance, devolution of powers and all geared toward ensuring development-oriented administration at the local level.

On the other hand, the chapter also examined the radical changing position of traditional authorities (Emirs, District and Village Heads) after the 1976 local government reform. Fundamentally, traditional authorities were officially detached from having any executive,

legislative and judicial powers in the act of governance. They were only to advise when sought for by either the local, state and federal governments. In theory, it was a complete paralysis of the traditional authorities, but in practice, they continued to exert unofficial influences in the day-to-day activities of especially the local government councils in their traditional and historical areas of control. Thus, the powers and influences hitherto exhibited have continued to bear on the system of administration at the local level, and perhaps even at the state and federal levels of administration.

Lastly, an examination of education development in the area of study was also discussed. It was a historical survey, with emphasis on the development of western education in the area of study. From the Christian mission school in 1905 in Zaria, to colonial elementary, middle and secondary schools, to some tertiary institutions, this chapter paid special attention to their establishment across the area of study. It was observed that, colonial education was purposefully introduced to train sons of the nobility. Later, the system became open and incorporated even sons and daughters of the *talakawa's*. The situation then was to establish at least one NA elementary school in each districts of the emirate or province. A giant stride was achieved when the famous Katsina College was transferred to Zaria just before the end of colonial rule. However, earlier in the 1960s new policies on education were introduced and this particularly led to the establishment of Local Education Authority (L.E.A) with responsibility for finance and management of primary education. By 1962, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria was established, and more secondary schools were also opened in the area around this period. In 1976, the UPE scheme was introduced by the military government in order to seriously revamp particularly primary education in the country. As examined in the chapter, despite on the revolutionary intention of the scheme, it became apparent that lack of adequate preparation rendered successes

of the new system below expectation. With the commencement of the Second Republic in Nigeria, 1979-1983, there was an increase in the number of secondary schools in Kaduna State generally.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the history and of course the transformation of district and local government administrations with particular reference to the Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate. The work first traced the pre-colonial system of administration obtained in Zazzau Emirate prior to colonial intervention earlier in the 20th century. The area of study constituted part of the most southerly larger area of Hausa land. The predominant people in the area are the Hausa and Fulani. Of course, there are some pockets of other people mostly of both northern and southern Nigerian extractions, but inhabited the area particularly after the colonial domination. The land and people of the area was (is) conterminous with the general historical transformation of *Kasar Zazzau*.

As the preoccupation of this work centered on administration, we observed that the Emir of Zazzau was the head of government, who administered the Emirate with the support of his Council and other titled officials across his territory. In all the emirates of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate, Zazzau inclusive, ascension to the throne of emir was basically hereditary. However, Zazzau Emirate was so peculiar in view of its multi-dynastic succession system right from the onset of the Jihad of 19th century. These traditional ruling dynasties were *Mallawa*, *Katsinawa*, *Bornawa* and *Sullubawa*. This peculiarity of politics had played a key role in shaping and reshaping the history of Zazzau Emirate both in the pre-colonial, colonial and post independence periods. From another angle, it was observed during the emirate system, absenteeism was the order of the day, as both the Emir and the fief holders all resided at the capital (Zaria city). This was not to say, particularly that the rural areas were void of linkages with the center. The *Jakadu* (royal messengers) were the administrative magnate between the center and the periphery. These *jakadu* served as representatives who collected taxes and settled cases on behalf of their masters

(*hakimai*) who resided at Zaria. One particular area of interest which this study observed, particularly on the eve of British intervention was the absence of territorial delimitation of areas of control under a particular *hakimi*. The fiefs were not compact, rather scattered and dotted at random around the emirate. On the administration of justice, *Sharia* was the bases of law and there were grades of courts ranging from that of the Emir, the *Alkali* and the *Salenke's* mobile court. Maintenance of law and order was carried out by the emir's bodyguard (*dogarai*) and other armed personnel of the emirate government. There was also the *bait-al-mal* (treasury) which was in charge of the emirate's finances and supplies. This was the structure and pattern of the administration which lasted for almost a hundred years before the colonialist intervened in the affairs of the emirate.

In the opening years of the 20th century, April 1902 precisely, the British colonial forces occupied Zaria and thereafter established their type of rule (Indirect-rule system) over the Emirate. The Zaria Province was established and an alien Native Authority system was declared – the so-called ruling through the indigenous authority. As against the pre-colonial pattern, a solid colonial base was put in place in 1907 following the creation of territorial districts with resident heads. Some important towns which were already in existence since the pre-British days emerged as new districts areas and at the same time as centers for channeling colonial enterprise. These new emergent districts in the area of study included Makarfi, Igabi, Soba, Ikara, Giwa, Kubau, Paki, Panhauya, Turunku, Zangon Aya and Afaka amongst others. The new system placed all traditional rulers on salary scales and grades as another marked departure from the old system. The single most important reason for the creation of the districts was for generation of revenue (taxes) and mobilization of labour for colonial benefits. By the 1920s and 1930s, the new system was firmly instituted and served as the bedrock in the evolutionary process of

‘modern’ local government system in the northern part of Zazzau Emirate and beyond. Under this, the Emir, District and Village Heads, and of course their subjects were co-opted and placed under strict control dictated by the British colonial authorities. For reasons amounting to political expediency, conflict of interest aroused between the colonial authorities and the local rulers. The new system seemed alien and repugnant to the ways the people of the area used to govern themselves. For instance, many older towns found their status relegated or placed under another which was hitherto inferior to. A cogent reference was made to the town of Fatika, for example, which was placed under Giwa District. Complete loyalty and efficiency was pronounced as principles guiding colonial enterprise and anything other than that were met with stern measures from the colonial authority. As a result, many local rulers lost their positions for inability to adjust to the new system introduced by the British. This loss of positions did not spare even the first Emir under the British, Aliyu Dansidi in 1920. And emphatically speaking, many district and village heads were the worst affected almost throughout the period of colonialism.

As the colonial system continued to evolve, Emir’s Council numerical composition was reduced in order to accommodate the ‘Sole’ Native Authority statutory position of the emir. However, the emirs continued to dictate who and who to made up their council through personal nomination of members which was to be approved by the Colonial Governor. The gesture for efficiency was also extended to other important arms such as the NA Courts, NA Police, NA Prisons and the Native Treasury which were developed through reforms and staffing. There came development in annual budgets preparation and salary regulations and placement of NA staff, as supervised and approved by the colonial government. This was in line with the colonial dictates that each colonial dependency should or must raise funds for its sustenance. This was obvious because of the fact that colonialism was not a humanitarian or philanthropic adventure.

After the WW II and through the period of the 1950's, there emerged renewed vigour for self determination by the western educated class and this also resulted in spirited campaign for reform of the NA System. Political parties particularly the NEPU and the NPC sprang up and dominated political activities in the area of study and Northern Nigeria in general. We observed the fierce rivalry between these dominant parties both at the centre and around some of the constituent districts that made up the northern section of Zazzau Emirate. By disposition, NEPU was anti-NA and colonialism, while the NPC was branded as being pro-NA and colonial hegemony (continuation of the status quo). The NA system was accused of harboring corruption, maladministration, and abuse of power such as extortion and force labour by the elites and local aristocratic class.

Consequent to this uproar against the system was the promulgation of the popular 1954 NA Law which was passed to overhaul the system. The new law made attempt to curb excess powers hitherto enjoyed by the Emirs through the introduction of Emir-in-Council type of NA System. Subordinate Councils - Outer, Town, District and Village Councils were also established to serve as buffer to the ailing NA system. All these were put in place in order to encourage democracy and popular participation in aspects of administration at the local level. However, as keenly observed in this study, little or no much success was achieved as a result of the reform in 1954. Emirs' as chairmen of their councils continued to wield unlimited powers. So also the subordinate bodies, only the District Council attracted some level of improvement as a result of budgetary allocation (District Council Fund). In spite of that, not all the districts enjoyed such financial privilege. As at 1961, it was reported in this study that only the Igabi and Ikara District Councils were allowed to function with full financial responsibilities. Generally, there were some levels of improvements which embodied the 1954 NA Law, but it failed in laying a solid

participatory local government system. Much of the initiatives introduced to enhance were realized when the military took over after 1966.

Immediately after Independence, the issue of improving administration at the local level continued to dominate priorities of successive military governments. More educated elites and people with no connection with the aristocracy were injected into the aspects of administration. The military took bold steps in taking over control of the Courts, Police and Prison from the control of the NA. This was to clear the rot and abuse of these institutions of coercion which the old system was consistently accused of. On general note, this prepared the ground for the establishment of new Local Government system. The term 'Native Authority' was despised as an outdated colonial terminology which at the same time epitomised conservatism and victimization. Thus, the mood of the time was to break from the past. In place of it, Local Authorities replaced the aged Native Authorities. In 1967, the North-Central State was created with Brigadier Abba Kyari as its first military Governor. Thereafter, Zaria Local Authority was created and it housed all the constituents that made up the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate. Though the Emir remained as president, but, by law, he 'must abide by the majority decision of his council'. And what was adjudged as a milestone was that, majority of the council members were now to be elected. In 1969, the new Zaria Local Authority Council formally took off with Emir Muhammadu Aminu (1959-1974), as the President. Still here, the traditional authorities continued to held sway of the affairs of local government system. But what seemed to be new was the creation of Administrative Area Councils, which was a body between the Districts and the Local Authority. It was meant to guarantee uniform development and political participation within each Local Authority. Three Administrative Area Councils – Zaria, Kacia and Saminaka were established by 1970 under the Local Authority Law (Cap. 77). Districts of our study –

Makarfi, Ikara, Soba, Giwa, Igabi, Zaria *da Kewaye*, and Sabon Gari were constituted under Zaria Administrative Area Council. And each Area Council was also under a Chairman, answerable to the Local Authority Council. The most important development achieved was the sharing, by delegation, certain social and welfare services to the Area Councils to execute. These included Adult Education, Community Development, Health, Works and Forestry. It is fundamental to note, this reform did not mean an end to District Administration. As in the case of Emir who remained as the President of the Local Authority Council, so also titled District Heads continued to preside over the affairs of the various districts. In fact, District Councils were supported with funds and sources of revenue.

In view of the above Local Government reform introduced in 1967 by the military, it was noticeable that the old system was gradually fading out owing to composition of council members' based on election rather than patronage or membership to the Emir's lineage. It was also clear that State Government now controlled institutions (Court, Police and Prison) for the maintenance of law and order. The notion held was in making these institutions less susceptible to abuse by, particularly the aristocrats, who had greater control of the system in the past.

The most profound reform of the Local Government system was in 1976. For the first time, the reform was embarked by the Federal military government and implemented uniformly nationwide. This was unlike previously where regions or states were at discretion to introduce reforms according to their design and time. Scholars on Local Government system further described the 1976 reform as revolutionary because it marked the recognition, constitutionally, of Local Government as a 'Third Tier' of government. And in terms of finance, Local Governments were placed on statutory allocation from the Federal and State Governments accounts. In order to bolster the 1976 reform, the then Kaduna State Government also increased

the number of Local Government areas in the state to fourteen. Out of this number, three – Zaria, Ikara and Kaduna (following abrogation of KCT Law of 1956) were under the area of our study. The rest were in the southern part of Zaria (now southern Kaduna) and in the present day Katsina State.

Fundamentally, it was the 1976 reform that brought an end to traditional rulers' preponderance in the affairs of Local Government in Nigeria as a whole. This reform not only affected the powerful Emirs', it also abolished District and Village group councils. Though, they were recognized in the form of establishing Emirate Councils', but their power was relegated to the backwaters, as only an 'advisory one'. In essence, all traditional rulers, from the 1976 reform, became employees of State and Local Government Authorities. Nonetheless, they continued to assist government in the maintenance of law and order and in the collection of local taxes. They earned respect as custodians of peoples' culture and tradition and at the same time some authority over the issue of land. For these reasons, the new reconstituted Zazzau Emirate Council was allowed based on historical facts, powers of jurisdiction over the newly created Local Government Authorities of Zaria, Ikara, Saminaka and Kacia. But only the first two and by extension, the Kaduna (metropolis) Local Governments were under our area of study.

It is noteworthy that the reform had also reversed agendas of the previous reforms in the aspect of decentralization of powers. The Emir, District and Village Councils were all scrapped and power now centered only at the Local Government Council, chaired by an elected or nominated Chairman. By 1979, even in the aspects of collection of taxes (*haraji* and *jangali*), particularly in Kaduna and Kano States, Emirs, District and Village Heads were completely relieved from it.

However, since the introduction of the 1976 reform, one aspect of it has remained, to date, a lingering problem in the affairs of Local Government administration in Nigeria. This aspect is the Joint State-Local Government Account, whereby, as discussed in this study, funds meant for Local Governments are hijacked and diverted for other purposes not directly relevant to the needs of the local populace. As argued, this succeeded in weakening the Local Governments and at the same time impedes its autonomy as third tier of government in Nigeria. Thus, in view of this and many other bottlenecks, the real goal or impact of bringing government closer to people at the local level, as purported in the various reforms, has been defeated.

Lastly, as carefully discussed, this research work covered a scope c. 1902-1976. It clearly examined issues dealing with district and local government administrations, from the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history of Nigeria to 1976. This discussion is wholly with particular reference to the northern districts of Zazzau Emirate. However, I have this recommendations to make as far as the topic and area of study is concerned and for further studies. One, as the thrust of this study is fully on administration (or political), I suggest similar studies need to be carried dealing with social and economic history of this large part of Zazzau Emirate. If possible, I recommend that each district need to be studied independently, for it will give room for more in depth and documentation of the history of this area. The reason is that, this study had exposed me to a very unique, complex and dynamic issues and events relating to the history of the area.

Two, I recommend that, the issue of relegating traditional authorities to only an advisory body in the affairs of Local Government administration need to be revisited. Emir, District and Village Councils should be resurrected and allowed to function as important sub-divisions of Local Government Councils. These traditional authorities are much closer to the populace and

attracted higher respect than the so-called democratically elected officials at all levels. This is not to exonerate them of some faults, but their role particularly on the issue of maintaining law and order must be referenced to and accorded with desired position. With particular daunting security challenges bedeviling Nigeria today, traditional authorities are a priority in finding lasting solutions to these.

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2.	Alhaji Ibrahim Zubairu (Sarki)	Rigachikun	68	29 September, 2013
3.	Alhaji Dalhatu Alhasan Soba (Mazan Jiya)	Soba	70	26 October, 2014
4.	Late Alhaji Aliyu Muhammed, Bijimin Arewan Zazzau, District Head of Furana	Ikara	62	26 October, 2014
5.	Alhaji Musa Abdullahi, Sarkin Gabas Zazzau, District Head of Paki	Paki	88	26 October, 2014
6.	Alhaji Mustapha Bello Sani, Kunkelin Zazzau, District Head of Rigachikun	Rigachikun	67	21 December, 2012
7.	Alhaji Dantsoho Wakili	Paki	79	26 October, 2014
8.	Malam Idi Dogari	Ikara	73	13 February, 2012
9.	Alhaji Bala MohammedTijjani, Bunun Zazzau II, District Head of Doka, Kaduna	Kaduna	53	19 January, 2015
10.	Musa Kura	Rigachikun	89	6 October, 2013
11.	Late Alhaji Filani Kadi	Rigachikun	70	
12.	Alhaji Abdullahi Badaru, Sarkin Gabas Rigachikun	Rigachikun	43	13 May, 2012
13.	Dalhatu Muhammed	Zaria	46	13 December, 2013
14.	Muhammed Buhari	Zaria	44	16 May, 2013
15.	Murtala Sidi Makarfi	Makarfi	40	16 February, 2012
16.	Umaru Shehu	Ikara	40	30 December, 2012
17.	Shehu Ibrahim Na'Allah	Rigachikun	50	25 February, 2014
19.	Suleiman Badamasi Nasarawan Doya (Magatakarda)	Makarfi	48	5 July, 2012
20.	Wazirin Sarkin Barga	Zaria	39	6 March, 2014

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LIST OF EMIRS OF ZAZZAU EMIRATE, C. 1804 TO DATE

Name	Period	Dynasty
1. Malam Musa	1804 – 1821	Mallawa
2. Yamusa	1821 – 1834	Bornawa
3. Abdulkarim	1834 – 1846	Katsinawa
4. Hamada	1846	Bornawa
5. Mamman Sani	1846 – 1860	Bornawa
6. Sidi Abdulkadiri	1860	Mallawa
7. Abdulsalami	1860 - 1863	Sullubawa
8. Abdullahi	1863 – 1873	Bornawa
9. Abubakar	1873 – 1876	Mallawa
10. Abdullahi	1876 – 1881	Bornawa
11. Sambo	1881 – 1890	Katsinawa
12. Yero	1890 – 1897	Bornawa
13. Kwassau	1897 - 1902	Bornawa
14. Aliyu Dansidi	1902 – 1920	Mallawa
15. Dalhatu	1920 – 1924	Bornawa
16. Ibrahim	1924 – 1936	Bornawa
17. Ja'afaru Dan'isiyaku	1936 – 1959	Bornawa
18. Muhammadu Aminu	1959 – 1975	Katsinawa
19. Shehu Idris	1975 – Date	Katsinawa

Note: It should be understood that the chronology of the above list of emirs was problematic in view of controversies of the exact dates in which, particularly the earliest emirs of Zazzau Emirate reigned. This is from the beginning of the jihad in 1804 up to the eve of British occupation of Zaria in 1902. While the chronology from 1902 to date, is fairly well documented in both colonial and post colonial records.

The above list was exclusively from M. G. Smith's "*Government in Zazzau, 1800-1950*", with the exception of the current and reigning Emir, Shehu Idris. There were also other available records in numerous sources. On the chronological problem of the list, detailed explanation was made was made by H.F.C. Smith – "*The Dynastic Chronology of Fulani Zaria*", an article published in the Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria (J.H.S.N.), 1961.

APPENDIX II

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM, 1952-1953:

NOTE ON THE REFORM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE NORTHERN REGION OF NIGERIA.

The Maddock-Port Report on Local Government in the Northern Region of Nigeria was considered in July and August of 1953 by a Joint Select Committee of the Northern regional council. This Committee made several recommendations, and in the Budget Session of 1952 its report was adopted by the House of Chiefs and supported also by members of the House of Assembly. The following are its most important recommendations:-

- (1) Subsidiary Councils (District and Village) should be formally recognised and their responsibilities defined. Village Councils should be elected every three years by all adult male tax-payers; District Council should be elected by Village Councils from amongst their members.
- (2) The main functions of Subsidiary Councils should be as follows:-
 - a) Village Council: To make recommendations to District Heads, to look after the apportionment of tax and other matters concerning improvements and development of the Village, and to give advice on matters referred to them from higher levels.
 - b) District Councils: To administer Council funds, to discuss and submit proposals to the Native Authority on all development projects, etc. Town Council to operate in a similar manner.
- (3) "Outer" or Advisory Councils should be developed, to provide direct contact between the Native Authority and representatives of both urban and rural committees. Members would in part be elected from District Councils and in part nominated by the Native Authority. One function of these Councils would be to consider the annual estimates and to propose plans for the improvement of the Native Authority area as a whole.
- (4) "Sole" Native Authorities should be abolished, and replaced by Chief-in-Council, who would not have the power to diverge from the advice of the Council except under special circumstances.
- (5) The Native Authority Ordinance and all other ordinances affecting native administration should be examined to ensure that they conform to the Committee's recommendations.

The reform of Local Government in the north is being carried out along these lines; the recommendations provide the pattern and it is left to each Native Authority (with encouragement) to implement the principles. To this end also, a Minister of Local Government has been appointed; his functions have been described as those coordinating and encouraging development and passing on of ideas. He has no direct control over the Native Authorities.

Development has, however, been marked at the higher levels than in the Villages, where education has yet hardly penetrated. The nature of reform also according to the existing type of Native Authority; in the north the area is often highly populated and has a financially sound and over-centralised Native Administration, in which case decentralization and delegation is the aim; on the other hand, in the middle belt most of the administration are small units, poor financially, independent and parochial in outlook. Groups of the latter are, therefore, being persuaded to federate in order to combine their resources and considerable measure of success on these lines

has been achieved, particularly with certain Native Authorities in Ilorin, Kabba, Plateau and Adamawa Provinces.

Particular recommendations of the Select Committee are being implemented in the following ways:-

- (1) In July 1952 the Northern Legislature passed the Native Authority (Definition of Functions) Law, the effect of which is to provide for the association of Councils with Chiefs who had formally been called Sole Native Authorities. There are now two kinds of Native Authorities in the north:
 - a) Chief-in-Council: The Chief must consult his Council but is able to depart from its advice, subject to the right of the Resident or refer the matter to the Lieutenant-Governor, who may then give such direction as he deems expedient.
 - b) Chief-and-Council: The Chief has no power to act otherwise than in accordance with the decision of the Chief-and –Council.
- (2) A Committee was set up to examine the Native Authority Ordinance and other legislation affecting native administration, and to consider how far this should be amended and what additional legislation was required. The work of the Committee has been embodied in a Bill to consolidate and amend the statute laws relating to Native Authorities in the Northern Region, which is now being considered by members of the Colonial Local Government Advisory Panel and by Legal Division, prior to its being debated in the Northern Legislature in July. Two important changes in the Law are proposed in the Bill:
 - a) That the authority of the Native Authority should be extended to cover all those persons living within its area, and not restricted to natives of that area.
 - b) That Native Authorities should be empowered to decentralise their administrations by establishing Subsidiary Councils on which they may confer functions and powers. This provides statutory authority for the process which has been continuing since the report of the Select Committee.
- (3) The process described in 2(b) above is being carried out by the creation where they do not exist, and the strengthening where they do exist, of local councils subordinate to, or advisory to, the Native Authorities. Progress has also been made in the introduction of the elective principle into district and town councils and into the outer councils of the larger Native Authorities, and in the delegation to these councils of financial responsibility for services operating within their areas.
 - a) Village Councils
The process of formalising these has gone forward, but in all provinces. The limiting factors are principally the shortage of supervising staff to ensure that changes made are genuine, and the unreadiness of the people for normal councils. Among the Provinces in which the greatest progress has been made are Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, Zaria and Niger.
 - b) District Councils
Much reorganisations of the traditional has taken place, and the nominal establishment in the region is now almost completed. The actual development of a true counciliar system is, however, further ahead in some Provinces than others, for regular supervision is required if members are to remain properly and regularly elected and if meetings are to be regularly attended. Recently, work on the census has limited the amount of close supervision which has been available.

c) Urban Councils

There has been much activity in reorganising and developing Urban Councils, for here the educated elements are concentrated and there is, in consequence, a greater supply competent personnel. In mid-1952 there was a total of 34 such councils in the Region, varying from councils with purely advisory functions to those with status of Subordinate Native Authorities.

d) Advisory (Outer) Councils

The purpose of Councils is to bridge the gap between the District Council and the Native Authority itself. There has been good progress in this sphere and, in every Province, except one, Advisory Councils have been, or are being, reorganised to conform in principle with the recommendations of the Select Committee.

e) Native Authority Councils

Many Native Authorities have broadened representation on these councils by the inclusion of more educated members or of members representing interest hitherto unrepresented. In some cases members of these councils have been allocated supervisory duties in respect of certain subjects. Some Native Authorities have shown willingness to expand their councils in this manner, in others, it has been, or is being, achieved with some difficulty. The most recent case of the latter process is that of the Kano Native Authority, where a prominent member of the Kano trading community has been appointed to the Council. Council members do, however, remain appointees of the Native Authority and are not elected from outside.

f) Native Authority Committees

The use of Committees in an advisory capacity continues through some, such as finance committee, are being given a greater degree of executive authority. That they do not seem to be deploying very quickly is in greater measure a reflection upon the unwillingness of the public to give up their spare time, gratis, in the cause of local government.

g) Delegation of this nature follows from the delegation of powers to District and Urban Councils. There has been a growing demand and competence for financial delegation to Subsidiary Councils, and this has led to the preparation of instructions to be used by District or Urban Councils who have become competent to undertake responsibility for expenditure within their area. Up to mid-1952, the Urban Council of Waje and two District Councils in Kano, and three District Councils in Katsina, had reached this stage.

SOURCE: PRO/CO554/236, *Nigeria: Reforms in the Northern Provinces Local Government, 1952-1953*

APPENDIX III

EXTRACT FROM “THE NIGERIAN CITIZEN” OCTOBER 29TH, 1953

NORTH PLANS FOR EFFICIENT LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM.

Plans to build a strong, efficient Local Government system in the Northern Region have been drawn up. From April, next year, Zaria Clerical Training College – to be renamed the Institute of Administration from that date will be the centre of instruction in Local Government for the Region. The man behind the planning of this instruction scheme for the various grades of officials is M. Ahmadu, the Saraduna of Sokoto, Regional Minister of Local Government, Community Development and Works.

Into the £55,000 extensive building at present under construction will stream Local Government officials from all corners of the North – District Heads, District Scribes, touring Assistant District Officers, middle seniority N.A. headquarters’ officials, N.A. Accountants and N.A. Councillors – to learn more about their own and other peoples work in Local Government and be taught how best to apply this knowledge in their own areas. In addition, boys commencing their careers will be given instruction on in clerical and treasury subjects.

The courses for District Heads will last for about a month. They will receive practical instruction in the organization and functions of village and district councils, the duties of chairmen, electoral systems and like subjects. The courses will be of different standards so as to cater for all the District Heads.

District Scribes, whose courses will also last for a month, will receive practical instruction in the organization of councils, the carrying out of decisions of councils, office routine, writing of minutes, electoral orders and Local Government legislation. Here again the courses will be of different standards in addition to courses for the equivalent of the district scribes from the non-Emirate areas.

On the annual refresher courses for the touring Assistant District Officers they will be instructed in the technique of the Local Government council system and kept informed of the instruction given to the District Heads and Scribes.

Course for Emirs

Courses lasting for three to six months will be held for middle seniority N.A. headquarters’ officials and will cater for the more promising N.A. officials of between five to 10 years seniority and who are working in the N.A. headquarters. Half of the time will be devoted to practical work and the other half will be equally divided between theory and English and general knowledge.

The Diploma courses for Native Treasury Accountants will be of a Higher standard than the present Native Treasury courses and in time the possession of the diploma will be an essential qualification for appointment to senior post in Native Treasuries. N.A. Councilors will receive practical instructions on the organization and functions of all types of Local Government councils.

A study course will be arranged in Kaduna for Emirs where they will be kept up to date with the latest development in Local Government and informed of type of instruction given to the various Local Governments councils.

It has been decided that training for senior Local Government officials working at N.A. headquarters and holding responsible post such as Chief Scribe should be in the United Kingdom because it would not be practicable for the Institute to give them a practical course of a sufficiently high standard. The courses will last from March to August each year.

SOURCE: PRO/CO554/236, *Nigeria: Reforms in the Northern Provinces Local Government, 1952-1953*