

**HAUSA PRESENCE IN THE WATERS OF THE NIGER**

**A HISTORY OF YAURI KINGDOM  
FROM 1411 UPTO ITS EMIRATE STATUS - 2014**

**Edited by**  
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## **Dedication**

This book is dedicated to the memory of Tafiraulu and Jerabana, the great ancestors of the people of Yauri.

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I am personally grateful to the entire group of contributors to this volume for trying to maintain our timeline. I must however, mention the support I enjoyed- as the Chairman of the Departmental Research Committee from former Head of Department- Prof. Mukhtar Umar Bunza during whose time I was nominated to become the Chairman. I tried to decline but the H.O.D and others prevailed on me

to accept it. But I am happy that they cooperated with me fully to achieve this feat. The other is Prof. H.M. Maishanu. Together we edited the entire volume to give it its current shape and title. Thank you very much. I must not forget to mention Malam Yasin Abubakar who liaised with the Emirate Council's Staff on almost everything.

Finally we thank our various typists, Departmental Secretary as well as our clerks. Thank you all.

**Prof. A.I. Yandaki**

(Chairman, Departmental Research Committee)

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Sokoto.

October, 2014

## Foreword

I feel highly honoured to write the foreword for this timely important publication titled *A HISTORY OF YAURI KINGDOM*. Any attempt to trace the history of a people or place such as this great book has achieved for the Yauri Kingdom from 1411 to its current Emirate status in 2014, is not only auspicious but commendable.

First and foremost I commend and congratulate the Emir of Yauri HRH Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi for his foresight in conceptualizing the project and commissioning scholars that carried out the onerous assignment. I want to rejoice with him by giving glory to Almighty Allah for the commencement and successful fruition of this project during his reign.

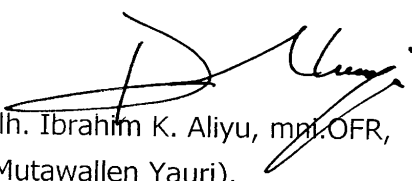
Having taken ample time to peruse the whole book, I must commend highly those involved in the scholarly researches and those who contributed in one way or the other towards the success of this great book's final production. I congratulate you for a job well done. Your very rich background and credibility have really paid off on the successful outcome of the publication. The consummate skills of the editors are indeed manifest in the quality and strategy of the arrangement as well as presentation of the entire book.

The whole thirteen chapters of this book are no doubt laden with verifiable facts and undisputable historical analogy. Chapter one of the book that discusses the Origin of Yauri Kingdom is indeed an interesting must read to lovers of contemporary history. The remaining chapters discussing the dynastic history of the Kingdom to the survival of the Emirate under the colonial rule and the influence of religion vis-à-vis tradition and people's chronological political developments and finally the history of the Yauri Emirate Development Association (YEDA) among others are areas containing solutions to the problems the book will solve.

Practitioners of local, national and regional history will no doubt be astonished by the book's depth of details.

Finally, *A HISTORY OF YAURI KINGDOM* is a remarkable book, a bibliography and an almanac rolled into one. It is a single sharp sword that cuts

across the murky waters of the History of Yauri Kingdom. I, therefore, strongly have no hesitation in recommending it to all and sundry, every Nigerian and lovers of history world-wide.



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Nigeria. 1<sup>st</sup> Nov 2014

## **Introduction**

### **Methodology**

To prepare this publication a long and tedious procedure took place. As soon as the Emirate council of Yauri and the History project committee agreed to start the work- it was first things first- research. We therefore, commenced on the research proper. To do this, three research sub-committees were formed. Accordingly, the entire – members of the History Department were shared amongst the three committees. The first committee was chaired by Prof. A.I. Yandaki to recover data from Sokoto, Zamfara, Katsina and Kano states on anything- oral or written where the name of Yauri was mentioned. The second committee was chaired by Prof. M.T. Usman to cover Birnin Kebbi, Yauri and parts of Niger. The third committee was chaired by Prof. H.M. Maishanu to take care of Zaria and Kaduna axis. And people swung into action. After some two to three months, the three committees reconverged at Sokoto with amazing huge volumes of archival collections, written materials and superb oral collections. Copies of these were made and deposited at the palace of the Emir of Yauri for reference purposes.

Soon after, write-ups began of course with occasional recourse back to the field from time to time to fill in some missing links. After one solid year of hard work and relentless efforts the unexpected happened- the coming to the limelight of this book. But the credit must go to the Emir of Yauri for sustaining the funding to the very end.

### **Significance of the Book Project**

The significance of the project cannot be over emphasized. The researchers, in a manner of speaking, ‘told it as it really was’. All the chapters were based, on solid evidence ranging from theses-M.A. Ph.D to archival files, oral information and field observations etc. All these pains were taken in order to avoid conjectures and sentimental or emotional opinions. Accordingly, the volume put together professional and informed accounts by 20 historians (lecturers, senior lecturers and professors) of 603 years of Yauri History. It has provided not only the dynastic records of the Sarauta and the Sarauta system of Yauri from the first founder- Sarki Tafiraulu to the 43<sup>rd</sup> Emir of Yauri in person of Dr. Muhammadu Zayyanu Abdullahi, CON, FNSM, but has also discovered and stated that Yauri, since that time had remained the only kingdom among the islanders of the river Niger. And the undisputed leader and authority to which all the 15 districts of the Yauri Emirate paid allegiance, tributes and taxes right from the fifteenth century, down to the Jihad period through the colonial period up to the present.

Why is it important to talk about the significance of the book? In the words of the Emir of Yauri, in one of our meetings and discussions-(this took place on Saturday 15<sup>th</sup> March 2014):

“Idan ba’a rubuta tarihi ba, to sai a maida da bawa kuma bawa ya koma da. Tarihi na da muhimmaci kwarai.”

### Meaning

If proper accounts of the facts of history are not taken, then there is the danger of ascribing a servile origin to a free born and making a slave appear like a free born. History is thus, very important.

It is in order to meet up with this significance that the Emirate Council insisted on producing a comprehensive history of their dynasty, the people and their land. And also to distance themselves from all claims that are contrary to the finding of the research.

### Coverage

The volume, consequently, covers all aspects of Yauri history- the political, dynasty, the land, the economy, ideas and plurality as ingrained in their belief systems and religions, intergroup relations, contemporary politics and even infrastructure. All these issues and others not mentioned have been competently and adequately covered in the thirteen chapters of this volume.

One last thing worth mentioning is that Yauri has been a luckily peaceful area. This may not be unconnected with the foresight of its rulers from Tafiraulu who was so generous with his personal wealth and which endeared him to the people, to Emir Abarshi the warrior, down to the Emir Abdullahi whom the colonial officials described as of ‘pleasant personality’ and enlightened and was eulogized as ‘*Bangon Duniya*’, down to Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi- a lover of the development of his people.

### Contents

As stated above, the book contains thirteen chapters. Chapter one discussed the Historical Origin of Yauri Kingdom. Chapter two is on the political and administrative structure of Yauri Emirate. The first chapter was handled by Prof. H.M. Maishanu, Malama A’isha Balarabe Bawa and Malam Murtala Ahmed Rufa’i. While the second was handled by Prof. A.I. Yandaki and Malam Yasin Abubakar. These two chapters brought to light two fundamental issues in the

history of the kingdom. First, apart from the myths of origin, chapter one thrashed the constitutive process of state formation in the area, showing how geography and the environment have provided opportunities for migrants and traders to converge on the area. And human will was the catalyst. The other chapter discussed the structure of the kingdom and as a matter of fact, its structure was no less different from other Hausa governments that are known in History.

However, a bone of contention about the autonomy of Maginga (Ngaski) was also carefully analysed by the two chapters. According to findings, the autonomy of Maginga was autonomy in so far as a son is autonomous of his father. This is because, Sarkin Yauri Tafiraulu was the father of the founder of Maginga itself. *Abin alji hu na mai rigane* (whatsoever is in the pockets of a garment, along with the garment itself are the belongings of the garment's owner). Accordingly, the Sarkin Yauri did not bother to extend his operations against the Kambarawa of Maginga. There were family ties and therefore, no need for such. Moreover, Maginga had never attempted to break away from Yauri control in the past. It is also a fact that Sarkin Yauri had regarded Maginga as an integral part of Yauri and for this reason, there had never been war of conquest between them throughout Yauri's wars of expansion. Finally Maginga not only paid allegiance, tributes and taxes to Yauri, but also obeyed directives of Sarkin Yauri, to the letter. Maginga has often been described by European explorers to that area, as the second Hausa town in importance, Yauri being the first. All these and other issues were treated in these chapters. In addition while the Sarkin Yawuri attended the Northern House of Chiefs assembly in Kaduna Sarkin Maginga had never done so.

The next two chapters by Dr. Usman Abubakar Daniya and Yasin Abubakar as well as Tukur Muhammad Mukhtar, took a long shot at the Dynastic history with profiles on all the rulers since 1411 AD down to the current period. An impressive documentation was given on the Sarauta system as well as the major achievements of the Sarakuna.

To meet up with the demands of chronology, the fifth chapter by Prof. M.T. Usman and Malam Labbo Abdullahi tackled the survival of the Emirate under colonial rule. Colonial administration and all its corollaries were adequately treated. Chapter six is also one of the key chapters of the work, on Yauri and Her Neighbours. It was treated by Professors M.U. Bunza, A.I. Yandaki and Malam Mansur Abubakar Wara. The chapter captured the types of relationships that had been built by the kings of Yauri since the days of the trans-Saharan trade and the trans-Atlantic trade. These relationships with far away neighbours as well as



those close to the land paved the way for diplomatic relations, wars and migrations. These relations, it were, that made Yauri a very cosmopolitan town and its people receptive to and tolerant of people of other lands and climes. Yauri had related well not only with Sokoto and Gwandu, but also with Kebbi, Nupe, Bussa, Kontagora, Kano, Timbuktu and even with people from Egypt. Again, M.T. Usman along with Umar Muhammad Jabbi touched another area of importance in Yauri history- the life wire of Yauri, which is the Economy, in chapter seven. They informed us that at the centre of the economy of Yauri especially in early times, was commerce which made Yauri a stop-over station *Zango* in Hausa; and which formed the very first name of Yauri up till the time when the name was changed to its present name, after a prominent ruler of the kingdom. In the early times, it was a resting place for Hausa and Arab merchants along the Hausa-Gwanja trade routes. While the kings and their governments provided security services to the merchants, they in turn brought gifts to the kings as well as paid taxes and royalties to the state. During British rule, we are also told in the chapter, policies were instituted to ensure maximum exploitation of the resources of the area, through agriculture and mining. Taxation was also instituted to push people into production of the desired crops as well as raise revenue for the running of the colonial administration. The stories of other local crafts were also provided as well as industries, enterprises and the like.

Chapter eight contains an account on religion and society in Yauri Emirate. It was thrashed by M.U. Bunza and Mansur Abubakar Wara. Although aspects of traditional beliefs had existed in the area, but already by the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Islam was present in Yauri. Islam entered into the region gradually and peacefully through the activities of Hausa and Upper Niger merchants. With the coming of the Sokoto Jihadists, Islam was consolidated in Yauri. Another tonic to the stay and preponderance of Islam in Yauri was the activities of the *Sardauna* of Sokoto Alhaji, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the premiere of Northern Region in the 1960s. Many scholars had likewise, contributed their quotas to the development of Islam in Yauri. There are as well pockets of Christians and evangelists among the native tribes of the area.

Chapter nine is on inter-group relations in Yauri Emirate- written by Dr. A.F. Usman, Malam Z.S. Sambo and Malam A.U. Alkammawa. An essential feature of inter-group relations, the authors have observed, is its dynamic nature. This dynamism has also been exhibited in the case of Yauri. Through several centuries, past down to the present, Yauri has become a melting pot of sorts. Waters of the Niger and markets on the Niger, have brought together an amalgam of nationalities- the Sarkawa, Nupe, Yoruba, Igbo along with native Kambari and

Gungawa, and their Hausa overlords. Social practices have cemented relationships earlier created on economic bases. These include inter-marriages, religious harmonies, and the Sarauta system itself.

Chapter ten discussed the native authority system of Yauri Emirate. Abubakar Sama'ila says the native authority system was rooted in the indirect rule system introduced by the British. And Nigerian emirates are famous for this in colonial history. One feature of native administration was its strict adherence to rules and regulations as was shown in the case of Yauri, in the 'Yauri Day Book' in which the Emir's daily business of administration was recorded. Other important landmarks of native administration were also covered.

In chapter eleven, A.I. Yandaki and M.L. Arabu took account of political developments in Yauri since 1960. Issues discussed in the chapter include: first republic politics, second republic politics, politics during the military transition, the creation of Kebbi State and an array of Yauri opinion makers in the contemporary period. Dr. A.A. Kware cast his lenses on infrastructure and other social services in Yauri Emirate. Kware sees the importance of this in the fact that, these are media for achieving individual and societal peace, stability and development. Issues tackled in the chapter include education, health, water supply, roads, electricity, as well as some briefs on Kainji Dam development.

Last but not the least is chapter thirteen on the history of Yauri Indigenes Association known as Yauri Emirate Development Association (YEDA). It is a parallel association of the elites of Gwandu who have Gwandu Emirate Development Association (GEDA), Argungu Emirate Development Association (AREDA) and Zuru Emirate Development Society (ZEDS). In the chapter A.I. Yandaki and Yasin Abubakar, traced the history of this association to its humble beginnings characterised by humanistic philosophy. In the end, the authors are of the view that the association is more like a movement that aimed at bringing societal development to Yauri, with a commitment to unity of purpose and sustained aspiration for unity among the Yawurawa.

### **The Name Yawuri (Yauri)**

Yawuri and Yauri are the same referring to the former Kingdom and now an Emirate. Yawuri has been the name in use before the advent of the British; however with their coming, just as they officially changed Sakkwato to Sokoto, so also Yawuri was changed and officially adopted as Yauri. In any case where ever each the spelt name appeared, they mean the same thing.

Finally, if the reader is additionally enlightened, even if by a sentence, this book would have achieved one of its cardinal objectives.

**The Editors**

## Chapter 1

### Historical Origins of Yauri Kingdom: Myths and the Facts

H. M. Maishanu,  
Mrs. A.B. Bawa &  
M.A. Rufa'i

#### Introduction

The origin of most Hausa states is clouded with myths and fiction often associated with the Hamitic hypothesis which shows that most of the Hausa states were founded by people of Arabian origin.<sup>1</sup> This notion has been challenged by Abdullahi Smith and other scholars of his school of thought whom, through the use of primary source materials, demonstrated that state formation in Hausaland was internally rather than externally motivated.<sup>2</sup> In line with this argument, the tradition of the origin of Yauri shows that the evolution of Yauri kingdom was a gradual process that started with the migration of different ethnic and cultural groups into the region of Upper Middle Niger. The economic potentials and geographical features of the region were some of the main factors that attracted the earlier migrants who laid the foundation of the political and social structures in the region. The process of centralised government was at its embryonic stage, when the newly arrived Hausa people brought with them a more powerful political system that hastened and consolidated the pre-existing state formation process.

The history and origin of Yauri is not an exception from what Isichei called 'Hunter-King Paradigm' which is associated with the arrival of heroic hunters, travellers, scholars and traders who established centralised state structures in distant places.<sup>3</sup> In the light of this, this chapter attempts to study the various actors and factors responsible for the historical emergence of Yauri Kingdom, by examining the migration of different ethnic and cultural groups into the area, political structure and the process of state formation in the early fifteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> D. Lange, 'The Bayajidda Legend and Hausa History' In Bruder and T.Parfitt (eds), *African Zion: Studies in Black Judaism*, Cambridge, 2012, p.139

<sup>2</sup> A.Smith, *A Little New Light: Selected Historical Writings of Abdullah! Smith Vol.I*, Gaskiya Corporation Zaria, 1987, pp.59-79

<sup>3</sup> S.McGill and R.Blench, 'Documentation, Development and Ideology in the **North-Western** Kainji Languages' In P.K. Austin and S.McGill (eds), *Language, Documentation and Description*, Vol.2. (2012) : pp.90-135, London: SOAS

## **Etymology of the Name Yauri**

The history of most ancient settlements in Hausaland is shrouded in conflicting traditions, especially if one tries to trace the origin of the name and the evolution of the Kingdom. There are mainly two versions that attempt to explain the origin of the word Yauri. First tradition and the most widely held by the people states that it was a name of a common dried meat produced by the people of the area called *Yawara* in Hausa.<sup>4</sup> This type of meat formed part of major gifts given to all visitors to Yauri in the ancient times. It was as a result of this that Queen or Princess Amina of Zazzau who visited the region always referred to it as *awura*, hence the name emerged. This tradition is erroneously held and believed by most people, but had its fundamental weakness because it does elucidate the period of Amina rule in Yauri and more importantly there were people in the area as explained by the tradition before the coming of Amina but the name of the settlement was totally ignored by the tradition. The second and the most acceptable version states that the word Yauri was the name of the fifth Sarkin Gungawa and the first Sarkin Yauri at Birnin Yauri. Sarki Yauri ruled for about one hundred years and his reign is remembered as one of the most important reigns in the history of Kasar Yauri.<sup>5</sup> He was responsible for the unification of the Karnbarawa and Gungawa under a single political authority and he also initiated several administrative reforms in the Kingdom. He was responsible for the further expansion of Kasar Yauri. This tradition could be accepted because it was associated with the major developments that occurred in the history of the Kingdom during the early period of its state formation.

## **Geographical Description of *Kasar Yauri***

The term Kasar Yauri should not be confused with Yauri Emirate, Yauri District or Yauri Local Government Area as presently constituted. Rather Kasar Yauri is synonymous with the old Yauri kingdom that spread across the Upper Middle Niger. It was among the most powerful polities in this region prior to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate.<sup>6</sup> The slave raiding activities of Nagwamatse directed from Kontagora had reduced both the size and population of Kasar Yauri in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> *Kasar Yauri* was severely

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<sup>4</sup> Malam.Adulmuminu Bako, 67 years, Alhaji Saidu Zakari Hakimin Tondi, 65 years and Mai.Musa Mu'azu 55 years . These informants confirmed to the researchers tha.. this is the dominant view held by most Gungawa people of the area

<sup>5</sup>M. Adamu, 'A Hausa Government in Decline Yauri in the Nineteenth Century', M.A History, ABU,Zaria,1968,p.55

<sup>6</sup> M.Last, 'Before Zaria: Evidence of Kanluna' paper presented at School of Oriental and African Studies Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 28<sup>th</sup> January, 1981,p.28

<sup>7</sup> F.A,Salamor,9, The social Construction of Colonial Reality: Yauri Envrte' *Journal of Legal Pluralism*, Vol.25, No.98,1987,p.50

affected because Kontagora, where Nagwamatse emerged, was a vassal state of Yauri. Even at this point the kingdom of Yauri was still very large as it occupied many more areas, according to Temple:

Yauri Kingdom embraced the countries between Libata in the South to the Gulbin Ka in the north, and west of the Niger from Shagunu in the south to lafagu on the north. The Districts of Besse, Kunji (sic), and Agwarra were, therefore, in Yauri territory.<sup>8</sup>

The size of the kingdom shrunk from a territory that stretched from Kebbi to Kaduna and South to Nupe areas on the eve of the colonial conquest to something far less at a later period.<sup>9</sup> It was reported that the Yauri Kingdom was in a state of decline during this period. But, in spite of that Yauri's sovereignty and control over its dependencies continued.

The physical size of the area shrunk from over 17,000 square miles before the British conquest to only 1,486, so also its population from 100,000 to 35,125. The British further reduced the status of *Kasar* Yauri first by placing it under Kontagora and Borgu Provinces.<sup>10</sup> After all these territorial adjustments, the kingdom of Yauri was consequently reduced to Emirate status. This makes it part of the second generation of emirates after the ones created as a result of the Sokoto jihad movement. At present Yauri has fifteen Districts which spread across three local government areas of Kebbi State namely Yauri, Shanga and Ngaski. These Districts as presently constituted are Birnin Yauri, Gungu, Shanga, Yelwa Yauri, Gebbe, Zamare, Sawashi, Rafin Kirya, Illela, Kanji, Giron Masa, Makurdi, Maginga, Ngaski and Kunbuwa. These Districts span within the latitudes of 9° 45' and 11°N and 4° and 5° East of the equator. Finally, it should reiterated that the above mentioned adjustments were for convenience sake.

The dominant topography of the area was the River Niger and its numerous tributaries that transversed most parts of Kasar Yauri. The river follows in a north-south direction from Yelwa to Jebba that created a valley which cut through crystalline rocks basement.<sup>11</sup> The river channel was studded with innumerable

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<sup>8</sup>C.LTemple, Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of Northern Nigeria,(ed.),London,19G5,p.492

<sup>9</sup> F.A, Salamone, 'Becoming Hausa: Ethnic Identity Change and its Implications for the Study of Ethnic Pluralism and Stratifications', *Africa: Journal of International African Institute*,Vol.45, no.4,1975,148

<sup>10</sup> F.A, Salamone, The Social Construction of Colonial Reality: Yauri Emirate,...,opc;'.p.51

<sup>11</sup> K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria: The Human Geography of Nigeria and Its Environmental Background, London University Presss,1964,p.220

Islands that except for a stretch of about five miles between Zamare and Jijima islands, there was no stretch of more than one mile in *Kasar* Yauri. Most of the islands were inhabited by people; some numbering in hundreds and the majority of the uninhabited ones were used by the people living in the neighbouring islands as farmlands.<sup>12</sup>

The climate of Yauri falls within the Northern Guinea zone with an annual rainfall of 40 to 60 inches. Seasonal contrast in climate and vegetation in this zone are marked, and their influence on the nature of human activities in the territory is always great. During the wet season, which normally begins in April and ends in October, the scenery is green everywhere. But immediately the rains are over (October to November), the picture changes rapidly as grasses and leaves, except those which have grown in the *Fade* became brown and dried up.<sup>13</sup> The favourable geographical conditions and rich agricultural land attracted different ethnic and cultural groups in the region before the formation of the kingdom in the fifteenth century. Now let us look at the ethnic groupings in the area.

### **Peopling of Yauri Kingdom**

Yauri is inhabited by four major ethnic groups each occupying a separate piece of land in which non-members of the group constitute a very small minority. The four major groups were the Kambarawa, Baresha (Gungawa), Dukawa, Lopawa, Yalawa and Shangawa. Other ethnic groups, with no claims of indigenesness, have periodically entered the area and provided the groups with goods and services.<sup>14</sup> Although none of the dominant ethnic groups claim to be the aboriginal, the traditions of origin of the people in Yauri suggest that each of the ethnic groups had come to Yauri at different times and at the time of their arrivals, none of them found any people living in the area in which they settled.

### **Kambari**

The tradition of origin of the Kambari claims that, they migrated from the Middle East, the cradle from which many ethnic groups of sub-saharan Africa believed to have come. Specifically, the Kambari claim that they migrated from Mecca,<sup>15</sup> moreover, they worship *Lata*, *Manata* and *Uzza* which are elements of pre -

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<sup>12</sup> Y.Abubakar, History of the Baresha (Gungawa) People to 1968, M. A. Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 2011,0.19

<sup>13</sup> R.K.Udo, *Geographical Regions of Nigeria* ,London, Heinemann Educational Books, 1970,p. 119

<sup>14</sup> Frank A. Salamone, "The Social Construction of Colonial Reality: Yauri Emirate" *Journal of Legal Pluralism*, nos 25 and 26 (1987): 47-70

<sup>15</sup> Mahdi Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth Century" M.A. History, thesis, A.B.U Zaria, 1968. p. 31

Islamic practices in Mecca. Thus, from all indications it shows that the Kambari migrated to the area before the emergence and spread of Islam in to Hausaland, thereby introducing non Islamic attitudes and skills along with them. However some of the Kambari later came to accept the two major religions, Islam and Christianity, while others still worship their ancestral idols of *Lata*, *Manata* and *Uzza* at a place in Macupa in the southern part of Ngaski, where the remnants of the said deities are still to be found.<sup>16</sup> Of course, the Kambari have a sub-classification amongst their group (Akimba, Avadi, Awunchi and Agadi)

### **Baresha (Gungawa)**

The origin of the Gungawa people is still not clear, but several scholars and a number of oral sources are of the view that, when the Songhay forces invaded Borgu in the sixteenth century they left behind some soldiers on their way back home in Yauri area, who likely merged with the island dwellers.<sup>17</sup> Adamu calls them a 'mixed group' by which he means that the Gungawa were formed by the union over time of members from a number of different ethnic groups who adapted to a riverine environment. It was further stressed by Adamu that, the process of integration by different ethnic groups had been fairly completed by the fourteenth century, for by the sixteenth century the fifth king of the Gungawa had become the first Emir of Yauri. This version was further confirmed by P.G Harris who stated that the early people of Yauri were Gungawa (the Islanders of Yauri) of Songhai origin. The people settled in the area as a result of Songhai - Borgu war fought around Gwangwarake a vassal state of Borgu. The Songhai army was defeated and most of them dispersed and founded several settlements.<sup>18</sup> Others became assimilated and integrated with other communities in Yauri area to form distinct ethnic groups called the Gungawa and Lopawa.

Both the Harris and Adamu versions of the origin of Gungawa tend to stress that there was ethnic transformation and the development of a new language and culture in the chain of islands at a time when they were gradually becoming inhabited. The Gungawa had their own traditional name "Baresha". According to Meek, Baresha referred to the people residing on the Island. Gungawa may probably mean an isolated group of people.<sup>19</sup>

The Gungawa are sub-divided into

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<sup>16</sup> I. Muktar, *Some Reflections on Hausa language and Culture Among the Yauris* Dirasat, Kano, 2003.P.106.

<sup>17</sup> F. A. Salamone, "The Social Construction of Colonial Reality: Yauri Emirate

<sup>18</sup> P.G. Harris, "Note on Yauri" (Sokoto Province) *Journal of Royal Anthropology*, (1930):283-334.P.293

<sup>19</sup> I. Muktar, "Some Reflections on Hausa Language and Culture Among the Yauris"Op.Cit. P. 109



- (i) Gungawa bisa-bisa i.e. the Gungawa who settled in the northern part of the Gungawa speaking area in towns like Rikubalo, Zamare, Chulu etc.
- (ii) Gungawa kasa - kasa (the southern settlers) who occupy towns such as Wara, Hoge, and Unoku.
- (iii) Gungawan ketare - Are those who live on islands and the river banks of the River Niger in Kwara state.<sup>20</sup>

### **Dukkawa**

The Hune (Dukawa) according to oral sources came to Yauri from Northeastern Nigeria and form a group closely related to them linguistically and culturally. While another version on the origin of the Dukawa had it that, the Dukawa were descendants of one Dukkayanusa, who left Mecca as part of the legendary migration of the Kisra.<sup>21</sup> Dukkayanusa and his people settled on a hill near the present Rijau town in Niger State and built a town there. They called the hill and the settlement they founded Rijau. For a very long time, tradition has it that, they lived almost in isolation and thus developed their own language and their own ways of life which they bequeathed to the present Dukawa people. According to the tradition, when Dukkanyanusa arrived the land which is now occupied by the Dukawa there were no people living on it. This group of people recognized the Emir of Yauri as their overlord and paid tributes to him. At a point, appointment and confirmation of the Chief of Dukkawa people was done by the Emir of Yauri.

### **Shangawa**

The Shangawa, according to J. Rouch, are a subdivision of the Kengawa (Tyengawa in his article) "who emigrated to the islands and banks of the Niger close to Shanga (near Yauri). They speak a distinct language somewhat akin to the Songhai (Temple).<sup>22</sup>

### **State Formation in *Kasar Yauri***

State formation in Kasar Yauri has been a very long and gradual process that started with the migration of different ethnic and cultural groups into the region called the Upper Middle Niger. Each group established its settlement in a different area. The Kambarawa of Ngaski, Agwara and Macupa settled in the mainland with their chieftaincy system called Maginga after their chief deity. These small chieftaincies had some villages under their political control. Some of the villages include Sawuni, Makawa, Unwayo, Ubaka, Mafonge and Alapa

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p.113.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> J. Rouch, "The Sarkawa", Farm and Forest, 1950.P36

among several others. The Kambarawa of the eastern part of Birnin Yauri also established chiefdom with its headquarters at Ibelu town.<sup>23</sup>

On the islands, the Gungawa were divided into two, each forming its independent political unit. On the island situated north of the Utono island, the first Gungawa developed their own system of government with Gungun Kafa as the centre and their ancestral home. While the second group close to River Niger established their institution at Gungun Hoge.<sup>24</sup> Among these islanders, each village ran its political affairs independently. The leader under this arrangement called Gago with his base at Gungun Kafa for instance was left to handle affairs related to external relations between the various villages in the area or the relationship between the lowlanders Kambarawa and the islanders Gungawa. Issues connected to fishing rights, arbitration of disputes involving two villages were usually handled by Gago.<sup>25</sup> The relationship between these chiefdoms was to a very large extent peaceful and cordial; most of our informants confirmed this fact. This shows that the various chiefdoms Maginga, Ibelu and Gungun Kafa were operating with certain degree of centrality, before the establishment of what Mahdi called the 'Hausa Government in Yauri'.<sup>26</sup>

The formation of Hausa system of government in the area was due to the inability of the chiefdoms to devise a means of solving external threats facing the people not from their immediate neighbourhood but from distant places. The Gago who was responsible for ensuring peace and security of the area was very weak administratively, because the instrument of state coercion was not under his control. It was this factor that weakened his political authority and control of the state affairs.<sup>27</sup> In order to create a better political system the different chieftaincies benevolently invited the only Hausaman in their midst called Tafiraulu. There are two dominant traditions about this invitation; the first source shows that he was a trader from Katsina, while the second source stated that he was a son of wandering Muslim cleric from Katsina.<sup>28</sup> The two versions are almost saying the

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<sup>23</sup> Mahdi Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth Century" M.A. thesis, A.B.U Zaria, 1968. p. 44, When the Hausa rulers took over control of this territory from the Kambarawa in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Ibelu was maintained as an important District headquarters with authority over many Kambari towns

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.32

<sup>25</sup> M. Fabunmi, 'Inter-Group Relations Amongst the Riverine Communities of the Upper Middle Niger and the Kabi Valley, 1500-1806,' PhD Thesis Department of History, UDUS, 1989, p.126

<sup>26</sup> Muhammad Munir Suleiman, Sarkin Gabas, Birnin Yauri, 59 years, Friday, 8<sup>th</sup> November, 2013

<sup>27</sup> Mahdi Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth Century ... opcit, p.47

<sup>28</sup> F.Fuglestad, 'A Reconsideration of Hausa History Before the Jihad, in *Journal of African W/story*', xix, 3 (1978), pp.319-339, Great Britain. According to Harris, there is an interesting relationship between Katsina and Yauri. In Yauri the first king appears to have been the son of a wandering Muslim cleric. But this

same thing because they both accepted the fact that he came from Katsina. More so, both trade and Islamic scholarship were usually carried out together by Hausa people.<sup>29</sup> This tradition was further expantiated by Usman that

if as some traditions say Tafiraulu, one of the key figures in the formation of the kingdom of Yauri was a trader from Katsina, then Katsinawa traders were clearly operating in the middle Niger region from as early as the sixteenth century, and perhaps before and these traders could have linked up with other trading networks further south and west.<sup>30</sup>

Katsina was exposed to the institution of kingship earlier than most parts of Hausaland. State like structure was introduced in Katsina by the Wangarawa community from Mali before c.1492-1493, where Muhammadu Korau became the first Sarki or king by replacing the Durbawa dynasty.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising if similar structures were introduced by Katsinawa people in other places. According to R.A Adeleye

With its newly acquired prosperity, Katsina expanded southwards into Yauri during the reign of Aliyu Karya-Giwa (c.1419-1431) and maintained its dominance there until the rise of Kebbi. The Kano Chronicle records the coming of traders from Gwanja to Katsina during the fifteenth century.<sup>32</sup>

It was possible that their arrival to Yauri started in earlier centuries. It would also appear that the movement of Hausa people into Yauri was occasioned by the search for areas to invest the surplus wealth accumulated from the participation in the trans-Saharan trade as indicated by Adeleye. The Katsinawa merchants involved in the commerce between Hausaland and Gwanja probably needed a stop-over and a resting place (Zango) where provisions and other services were

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king probably had to share whatever authority he wielded over the people of Yauri with two individuals who were the hereditary owners of the two major cults, one of them bearing the title of Durbi, see P.G.Harris, 'Notes on Yauri (Sokoto Province, Nigeria, *Journal of Royal Anthropology*', Great Britain and Ireland LX(1930), pp.283- 335(287)

<sup>29</sup> Y.B.Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883*, ABU Press,1981,p.42

<sup>30</sup> Y.B. Usman, 'Some Aspects of External Relations of Katsina Before 1804', *Savannah Vol.1 No.2*, December, 1972, p.193

<sup>31</sup> R. Palmer, History of Katsina. See also, A.Smith, The Early States of the Central Sudan, in J.F.Ade Ajayi and M.Crowder(eds.) *History of West Africa*, Vol.1( Second edition) London,1976,pp152-195. It is important to note the institution of Durbi continued in Katsina even after what A. Smith called dynastic change from Durbawa to Yan Korau

<sup>32</sup> R.A.Adeleye, 'Hausaland and Borno, 1600-1800', in Ajayi and Crowder (eds.) *History of West Africa*, Vol.1, 1971,p.S63

readily available. This was how Yauri became strategic to them. Ferry services became easily available, and quite safely too. The Hausa traders were probably determined to control this centre to ensure uninterrupted flow of trade. This fact was confirmed more authoritatively by Usman that

On the borders of the Katsina kingdom to the south-west, were certain polities *whose* governments by the late eighteenth century, had become dependent on the state of Katsina... they were all located in areas, which from an early period, received a considerable number of immigrants from Katsina, attracted... by their location at the trade routes to Nupe and the west, these Katsinawa became involved in the formation of the kingdoms.<sup>33</sup>

From the evidences above Tafiraulu was of Katsina origin that had stayed with the Gungawa people for a very long time. According to oral source, he had already won the support of most Gungawa people in the area before this power tussle started in the area.<sup>34</sup> For this reason when he was given the invitation, Tafiraulu was overwhelmingly supported. The trader or Muslim cleric had already travelled far and wide in the region. He had also, established trade connections in almost all the Gungawa and Kambarawa areas in Kasar Yauri. According to Mahdi, after his appointment as Sarki or king in Gungun Kafa, Tafiraulu used his wealth generously to further influence village elders on many islands to make his appointment recognised and his authority accepted.<sup>35</sup>

This was a major breakthrough in the political history of Kasar Yauri, it marked the end of the political feud caused by power tussle among the various chiefdoms and the beginning of new political order called the *Sarauta* system amongst the Gungawa of Yauri. The new Hausa ruler did not destroy the existing political structures rather the old institutions were improved upon and modified to suit the new political regime.<sup>36</sup>

Similar incident was also repeated in the neighbourhood of the Gungawa in Maginga Chiefdom, where the eldest son of Tafiraulu (Gimba) established the *Sarauta* system there. The reason for his migration from Gungun Kafa to

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<sup>33</sup> Y.B.Usman, The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883, ABU,1981,pp.83-84. There were strong political ties between Yauri and Katsina kingdoms, for instance Katsina largely involved in granting recognition to new rulers appointed in the Yauri by sending them certain regalia of office. Katsina might have also acted as an arbitrator in political disputes in Yauri. In any case the government of Katsina maintained an interest in this region throughout the early period of its state formation

<sup>34</sup> Abdullahi Na anko, Hakimin Birnin Yauri, 85 years ,7<sup>th</sup> November, 2013

<sup>35</sup> Mahdi Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth Century"Opcit,p.48

<sup>36</sup> M.Fabunmi, Inter-Group Relations Amongst the Reverine Communities. ...,opcit,p. 128

Maginga was due to Tafiraulu's attempt to make his younger brother Kamuwa-his successor instead of him (Gimba). This no doubt annoyed him and influenced his migration out of Gungun Kafa to seek for fortune elsewhere. Gimba travelled southwards until he arrived at the Kambarawa town of Agwara.<sup>37</sup>

During this period Maginga was in a state of interregnum, the king-makers in Agwara could not decide who to appoint Magwano Maginga. On hearing the cause of his departure from home, the king-makers decided to break their dynastic deadlock by appointing him their chief. Gimba was therefore, appointed the first Sarkin Maginga in succession to the old line of Kambarawa Magwano. Soon after his appointment, Gimba was said to have paid homage to his farther at Gungun Kafa and the family rift was closed. According to Mahdi 'Gimba would remain in office in Maginga, and he would rule Maginga as an autonomous Sarki, but within the framework of a dual state headed by the Sarki at Gungun Kafa'.<sup>38</sup>

Under this arrangement, Sarkin Gungu would not interfere with the internal affairs of Maginga, including the appointment and dismissal of chiefs. Sarkin Maginga would on his part, recognise his territory as being under Sarkin Gungu to whom he had to pay annual tributes in form of *Gaisuwar Sallah* after every *Babbar Sallah* ( Id-al-kabir). After the conquest of the Kambarawa on the mainland by Yauri, that duality disappeared and Maginga became just a District in Kasar Yauri.<sup>39</sup>

This action simply shows that the new Sarkin Maginga Gimba had recognised the superior political authority of his farther Sarkin Yauri Tafiraulu. The mere payment of homage was an indication that Kasar Maginga had become a vassal state of Sarkin Yauri and integrated itself willingly into the wider polity of Kasar Yauri. This could be further justified by the regular payment of tributes by Gimba as a sign of subordination to his farther and overlord Sarkin Yauri. This relationship between Yauri and Maginga continued harmoniously because of their ancestral ties. Although, the dynasty of Tafiraulu did not last long in Yauri, but in the case of Maginga it continues to rule up to the present date, the people of both areas still look on to Yauri for leadership and guidance on political affairs.

Matsafa town seems to be one of the early headquarters of Hausa Sarakuna while on the island before the establishment of Birnin Yauri. This could be so because by making the Matsafa the headquarters, any of the island Sarakuna could obtain

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<sup>37</sup> Mahdi Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth Century" opcit,p.54

<sup>38</sup> Ibid

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

better control of the islands he ruled, as Matsafa was in a more central position than Gungun Kafa. The rise of Birnin Yauri in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was what led to the fall of Matsafa town.<sup>40</sup>

There are conflicting traditions on the foundation and growth of Birnin Yauri, the town according to some informants, was among the early settlements established in Hausaland.<sup>41</sup> P.G. Harris dated the settlement to 1,450 years, and a total of 121 Sarakuna reigned in the town.<sup>42</sup> While another source shows that the settlement was founded by Gungawa people who came to the area for hunting expedition between 900 and 1000 A.D.<sup>43</sup> The people were organised in clans ruled by different Magaji, similar to Songhai system of administration. It was Queen or Princess Amina of Zazzau that restructured the town and constructed the city walls. This used to be a famous city and could be compared to any other city in western Hausaland during this period.<sup>44</sup> In those days it was an important political and commercial centre with high level of population heterogeneity. There is still evidence of its pristine glory in its great walls. These are over five miles in circumference, and even to the present day are 15- 20 feet high and 25 feet thick.<sup>45</sup>

The growth and development of Birnin Yauri 'was associated with the fifth Sarki of Gungawa and the first Sarkin Kasar Yauri. According to Mahdi, when Sarki Yauri started his war of conquest against the Kambarawa, he had not bothered to extend his operation into Maginga, which was already an autonomous District under him.<sup>46</sup> This autonomy which Mahdi is talking about was due to the family ties between the two royal families. Available records at our disposal showed that there was no any attempt by Maginga to break away from the control of Kasar Yauri in the past. It is also a historical fact that Sarakunan Kasar Yauri had regarded Maginga as an integral part of Yauri and for this reason there had never

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<sup>40</sup> Mahdi Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth Century", p.58, Umaru Hakimi, 74 years, Amadu Magaranta 75 years 10<sup>th</sup> November, 2013 all confirmed this fact.

<sup>41</sup> Alhaji Muhammadu Ima Yelwa 89 years, 10<sup>th</sup> November, 2013, Saidu Zakari Hakim Tondi, aged 65, 10<sup>th</sup> November, 2013 and Musa Mu'azu, 55 years, Tondi area, 10<sup>th</sup> November, 2013

<sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> NAK/SOKProf/4073, Notes on Mango Park and the Upper Niger, By P.G.Harris, See also P.G. Harris, Notes on Yauri (Sokoto Province), Nigeria, *Journal of the Royal Anthropology Institute* (L.R.A.I), Vol.XL, 1930, P.148

<sup>43</sup> NAK/SKOPProf/3881/S.I/ Kebbi History and Legends, K.7039/6/1928, p.13

<sup>44</sup> A.R.Augie, 'Birnin Yauri and Kontagora' In a Special Edition of the *Nigerian Magazine on Cities of the Savannah*, N.D

<sup>45</sup> Muhammad Munir Suleiman, Sarkin Gabas Birnin Yauri, 59 years, 8<sup>th</sup> November, 2013

<sup>46</sup> Mahdi. A, A Hausa Government in Decline Yauri in the Nineteenth Century, M.A. History, ABU, Zaria, 1968, p.54

been war of conquest between the two polities throughout the years of Yauri's wars of expansion.

Sarki Yauri did not consider Magina a threat to his rule rather it was considered second to Yauri in the political hierarchy of the Kingdom. Therefore, serious attention was paid to the eastern parts of Kasar Yauri. He conquered and incorporated the Districts of Rijau and Kontagora into *Kasar Yauri*. This war of conquest was fought by different ethnic groups that formed Kasar Yauri including the people of Maginga.<sup>47</sup>

This simply shows that, the area was under the control of Yauri in order to facilitate the movement of its military warriors to participate in the expansion of Yauri Kingdom. More over, the invasion of Yauri by Katsina forces during the reign of Sarkin Katsina Aliyu Karyagiwa c.1585, the war was collectively fought by all Yawurawa. Furthermore, similar battle was fought by the Yawurawa against Tsoede, which led to his killing by Kambarawa archers at Gwagwade in about 1591.<sup>48</sup> The extent of this military aid from Maginga was not certain, whether it was a regular military support or not, but it is certain that there was military assistance coming from Maginga to Yauri during the state's wars of expansion.

### **The Political Structure in Old Yauri Kingdom**

The political structure indicated that the two most powerful positions besides the Sarkin Yauri were the Maginga and Ubandawaki. There were others who also exercised some important roles in the administration of the kingdom that include: Dangaladima, Masu, Bindiga, Barje Babba, Barje Kuka, Barje Haini, Lifida Babba and Lifida Karami etc. The political hierarchy is discussed below:

**Sarkin Maginga** : The Sarkin Maginga was second in importance to Sarkin Yauri. He was in control of the Kambari, and Lopa peoples in Auna (Now in Kontagora emirate). He always dwelt at either Agwarra or Ngaski.<sup>49</sup>

**Ubandawaki** :The Ubandawaki was the head of Calvary. He was the most senior officer and hence the most superior war officer in the territory and also the leader of the King makers. He was in charge of the following towns in the old Yauri Kingdom; Dugu Tsofo, Tondi, Dugu Raha, Rikohe that are all now in Yauri emirate. On the islands he controlled Ikum, Zamare, Rikubalo, Tsulu, Tillo, Hiruala (Hiruala is now known as Ihira that was derived from the name of a chief

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<sup>47</sup> A.R.Augie, 'Birnin Yauri and Kontagora ....', opcit

<sup>48</sup> M.Fabunmi, Inter-Group Relations Amongst the Reverine Communities. ...,opcit,p.133

<sup>49</sup> P.G. Harris, "Notes on Yauri" p.297

of the island of Hiruala) Baha, Hikya Huwara, Ropia, Yabo, Hipolo, Gungun Kafe, Cheta, Sakache (Still now in Yauri Emirate).

**Dan Galadima:** The Dangkaladima occupied the third post in Yauri (after Sarkin Yauri) and was reserved for the likely successor to the Sarkin Yauri. The Dan Galadima resided at the head Quarters (Yelwa or Bin Yauri) but tour his domain which comprised Dukku, Iri, Shandiri and Sabon Gari (Ail now in Kontagora Emirate).At present he is the District head of Tondi.

**Galadima:** The Galadima was the most important unit commander, and in the absence of the Sarkin Yauri, the leadership of the whole army automatically fell on him. In the council he was the only officer who could boldly criticize the views expressed by the Ubandawaki. He was a spokesman of the princes.<sup>50</sup> The Galadima was in control of the following areas in the old kingdom; Utakka, Hizolo, Masonji, Anaba, Usubu, Raha, Ujangi, Mavuve, Hiria, Panbo, Gyengi, Irana (in Kontagora Emirate). The Islands,, he controlled were Hyella, Koma, Koshimala (all in Yauri Emirate).<sup>51</sup>

**Muta:** The position of Muta was that he served as the media through whom all official transactions between the Sarkin Yauri and his provincial chief of Maginga were passed. It was also the Muta who would make necessary arrangement for the annual visit which Sarkin Maginga used to pay to Sarkin Yauri to renew his allegiance and also to submit his annual tribute. Other duties include his being a member of the official advisers to Sarkin Yauri and also an important war officer.<sup>52</sup> Muta was also in charge of the following towns: Ushafa Akwa (in Kontagora Emirate now), likoshi (in Yauri Emirate).On the Islands, he controlled Jingimmu, Yerimawa (although at the time they came under Muta these towns were on the mainland and had not moved to the islands).

**Rukubu:** The Rukubu was the fourth in rank in the hierarchy and was an absentee fief-holder. Under Rukubu came the following towns Ligulla (now in Kontagara), Rikohi (a ward on Koma), Lipulo (award in Zamare).<sup>53</sup>

**Tsofor Fada:** The tsofor fada was in charge of the entire bush between Birnin Yauri and Yelwa, every person farming in this bush brought him a bundle of corn at the end of every harvest.

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<sup>50</sup> A.B.Bawa, "History of Bori in Yeldu and Yauri in the 20<sup>th</sup> century" M.A. UDUS.2007.P.25

<sup>51</sup> P.G.Harris, "Notes on Yauri", P.294

<sup>52</sup> A.B.Bawa, "A History of Bori in Yeldu and Yauri " Op.Cit.P.^6.

<sup>53</sup> P.G.Harris, "Notes on Yauri" Op,Cit.P294



**Masu:** This was among the council assistants and controlled areas on the mainland that include Ipasu and Kanbu (in Yauri Emirate).

**Bagaruwa Babba:** The person that holds the title controlled the following mainland towns, all of which are now in Kontagora emirate: Libelli Isana, Usu, and Sashi.

**Bindiga:** He controlled the mainland area of Shapono, Kwangara, Atabo (all in Kontagora), and on the islands, Uhun.

**Kujera Babba:** He was in charge of all the 'Yanbori of the Yauri Kingdom and he controlled the Island people of Loko. All wood workers whether on the mainland or on the islands were under him.

**Kujera Karami :**Kujera Karami was in charge of certain woodworkers and a quarter in Loko island (by Isulu rapids). <sup>54</sup>

**Barje Kuka** - He controlled portions of towns on the island. For more explanation on these offices see the next chapter

## **Conclusion**

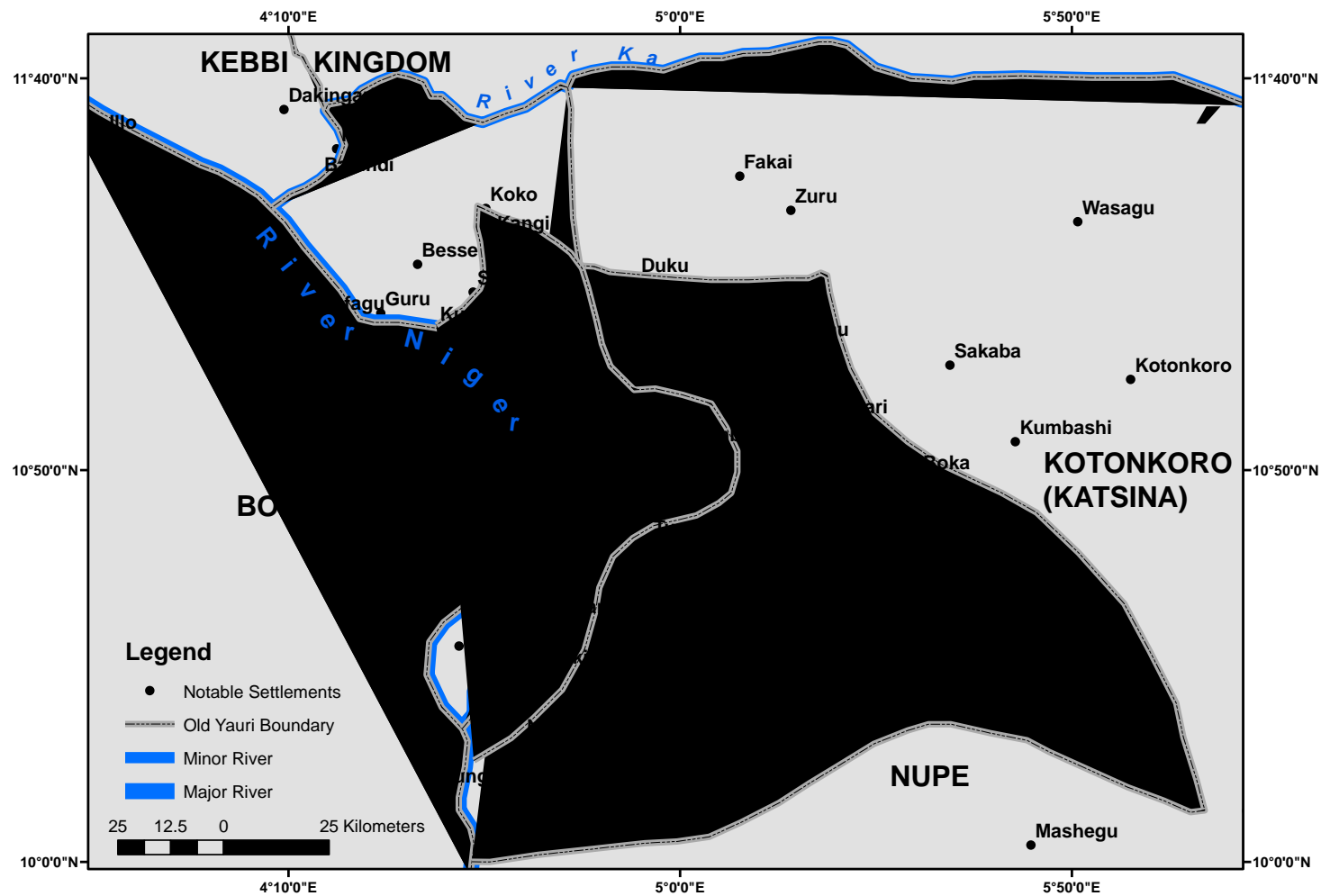
Kasar Yauri or the Kingdom of Yauri has rich historical and cultural heritage. Its origin could be traced back to the late fourteen and early fifteenth centuries when large number of people started migrating into the region of the Upper Middle Niger. The migration phenomenon started with Baresha (Gungawa), Kambarawa, Dukkawa and Shangawa each occupying a different territory either in the mainland or on the island. There was high level of social, political and indeed economic interactions amongst these people. This resulted into the formation of mini- states which were on transition from small chiefdoms to the creation of a large polity when the early Hausa people arrived in the region.

The Hausa government in *Kasar* Yauri succeeded in consolidating the existing process set in motion by the earlier inhabitants. This was achieved by Tafiraulu, a Hausa trader or scholar of Katsina Origin, who was invited by the generous Baresha (Gungawa) people to come and rule them. The reason for this was not far from his economic and Islamic knowledge that gave him leverage over other people of the area. The eldest son of this trader called Gimba, also succeeded in the formation of another state at the neighbourhood of Baresha (Gungawa), amongst the Kambari people called Maginga.

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<sup>54</sup> P.G.Harris, "Notes on Yauri" p.295

This development had strengthened the social and political ties between the two areas right from the onset. Since then the relationship has been very cordial politically and socially. It was due to this long historical relationship that the kingdom of Yauri gave some level of political autonomy to Sarkin Maginga and considered it next to Sarkin Yauri. Sarkin Maginga used to be heavily represented in the palace of Sarkin Yauri with the establishment of Hausa government. The office of Muta became the Kofa (Hausa gate) for Sarkin Maginga at the palace of Sarkin Yauri, through which all instructions were passed to the people of Maginga area. It is a known historical fact that Maginga has never been an independent entity from Yauri. The area was just a vassal or to use the concept of Mahdi Adamu a province of Yauri kingdom in the past. Even in the present time, Maginga is still one of the strong Districts under Yauri Emirate.



**Fig. 1**  
 Old Yauri Kingdom and her neighbours. Source – P. G. Harris, Notes on Yauri (Sokoto Province), Nigeria, *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 60, July-December, 1930; redrawn by: N. B. Eniolorunda, Geography Department, UDUS; 10-10-2014.



Kofar Adama at ancient Birnin Yauri



The Emir on a visit to the Kofar Adama



Kofar Durbi at the ancient Birnin Yauri

## Chapter 2

### The Political and Administrative Structure of Yauri Emirate

A.I. Yandaki &  
Yasin Abubakar

#### Introduction

This chapter discusses the political and administrative structure of Yauri Emirate from the earliest possible time to the present. The chapter, at the risk of some repetition, will first and foremost discuss the existence of indigenous chieftaincies created by the indigenous people in Yauri area namely Gungawa and Kambari; before the establishment of Hausa government at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Effort would also be made in the chapter to discuss the manner in which members of the ruling class in Yauri have been discharging their duties of running the political and administrative sectors of the Emirate.

#### Small Chieftaincies Established by the Indigenous People of Yauri before 15<sup>th</sup> Century

The early history of Kambari people of Yauri<sup>1</sup> indicates that long before the establishment of Hausa rule over non-Hausa people of Yauri in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Kambari people living in the present Maginga, Ngaski and Makurdi Districts of Yauri Emirate, had already organised themselves and formed a small chieftaincy which had its headquarters at a place called Agwara, which enabled them to administer themselves. They called the chieftaincy “Maginga”, after the name of their chief deity who was at Agwara and at another neighbouring settlement called Macupa. The leader of the chieftaincy was called “Magwano” Maginga.<sup>2</sup> Earlier, the Kambari people of Agwara and Macupa had established other towns in the west and south of Agwara. The towns were: Sawuni, Makawa, Unwayo, Ubakka, Mafonge, Alapa, Makata’i, Kya’un and Kinkiya. All these towns looked towards Agwara for political, and Macupa for social and spiritual leadership. The Kambari people of these towns also paid their annual tribute in form of foodstuff to the Magwano Maginga.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>. See for instance, M. Abubakar, “History of the Akimba Group of Kambari People to the End of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century”, *M.A. (History) Dissertation*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 2010

<sup>2</sup>. Magwano is a Kambari word for chief.

<sup>3</sup>. Malam Abubakar Barau (Village Head of Ngaski), 85 years, Palace of District Head of Ngaski, Monday 16<sup>th</sup>, September, 2013.

To the east of Birnin Yauri, the Kambari had also organised themselves and formed another small chieftaincy with its headquarters at Ibelu town. There is however paucity of information on the nature of political system that operated at Ibelu chieftaincy. The only available information regarding Ibelu chieftaincy is that up to the time when the Hausa rulers brought the area together with other areas in Yauri territory at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century under one government, Ibelu was maintained as an important district headquarters in the then newly established Yauri Kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

Still in Yauri territory, prior to the establishment of Hausa rule over the indigenous people of Yauri the Gungawa (island dwellers), formed a political system with *Gago* as a leader. His headquarters was at one of the islands called Gungun Kafa. Each island was however allowed by the system to run its internal affairs independent of Gungun Kafa. But such matters regarded as external like settling of disputes arising from claims over membership of islands or disputes over fishing right in some channels of the River Niger among members of the island communities, were handled by the *Gago*.<sup>5</sup>

It was these three chiefdoms that were brought together by the 5<sup>th</sup> Hausa King of Gungu Kafa (Yauri, 1505-1531) to form the then newly formed Kasar Yauri (Yauri Kingdom). According to Mahdi Adamu, “it was Yauri who created Kasar Yauri by bringing together for the first time, the Kambarawa on the mainland and the Gungawa on the islands under one government.”<sup>6</sup> He added that “after the conquest of the Kambarawa on the mainland by Yauri, that duality must have disappeared and Maginga became just a province in Kasar Yauri”.<sup>7</sup> Sarki Yauri (1505-1531) is thus, regarded in the history of Yauri as the first Sarki of the amalgamated Kasar Yauri.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Structure of Hausa Government in Yauri**

The early well organised form of government in Yauri established by the Hausa people from Katsina during the 15<sup>th</sup> century was a monarchical government based on hereditary succession, whereby office of the King (*Sarki*), constituted the highest authority of the land. It was a system of government in which local

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<sup>4</sup>. Malam Ibrahim Ahmad Birnin Yauri, 78 years, his residence in Birnin Yauri, Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup>, November, 2013

<sup>5</sup>. Y. Abubakar, “History of the *Baresha* (Gungawa) People to 1968”, *M.A. (History)* Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 2011, p. 46.

<sup>6</sup>. M. Adamu, “A Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century”, *M.A. (History)* Dissertation, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1968, pp. 54-55.

<sup>7</sup>. *Ibid*, p. 54.

<sup>8</sup>. For more on this, see chapter 3 on Dynastic History of Yauri, pp. 2-3.

administration was run in an indirect manner. The government was further operated by using palace officials called *Sarakunan Majalisa* who looked after countryside of the Kingdom for the *Sarki* in proxy. The *Sarakunan Majalisa* ruled subordinate territories on behalf of the *Sarkin Yauri* through intermediaries called *Damisa*. They were also the highest decision-making body in the kingdom. The *Sarki* was the leader of the *majalisa*. It was the only body that was empowered to discuss any administrative problems that arose in any part of the kingdom. Informal meetings between the *Sarki* and members of the *majalisa* were held every day at council chamber called *zauren fada*. Apart from being the chief advisers of the *Sarki*, the palace officials (*sarakunan majalisa*), namely: Ubandawaki, Galadima, Rukubu and Muta; constituted the only Electoral College in Yauri who were vested with traditional power and authority to appoint and to depose a *Sarki*. Control of the state (Yauri) army was in their hands either at home or at battle front, and as such, they could hold the *Sarki* at ransom. Members of the *majalisa* could also participate in any court case that was brought before the *Sarki*. Thus, the *Sarki* was the only source of authority, but his authority was delegated to the *sarakunan majalisa*. The government's unwritten constitution also made it virtually impossible for any *Sarki* (king) to exercise despotic powers for long. All the titles of its officers were war titles and every title-holder was a warrior.<sup>9</sup>

For administrative purposes, Yauri Kingdom was divided into small administrative units which were administered by absentee fief-holders and their representatives. The full operation of the system showing how the entire subordinate territories of the kingdom were administered would be discussed below under *Sarakunan Majalisa*, their duties and hierarchies of authority.

### ***Sarakunan Majalisa: Duties and Hierarchies of authority***

The *Sarakunan Majalisa* otherwise called absentee fief holders acted like District Heads. However, all of them resided at the headquarters i.e. Birnin Yauri. Their duties were the traditional duties of the District Heads of maintaining law and order and collection of taxes from the countryside of the Kingdom. Though they were always at the capital together with the *Sarki*, the *Sarakunan Majalisa* were represented at the countryside by officials called *Damisa*. The subjects in all countryside of Yauri Kingdom paid their taxes and received instructions from the *Damisa*. The *Damisa*, received their instructions from the absentee fief holders and then submit all the taxes they collected to them for onward submission to the *Sarki*.

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<sup>9</sup>. *Ibid*, p. 119.



## **Ubandawaki**

As his name implies (*Uban*=father of, *dawaki*=horses in Hausa); he was the head of cavalry. This is an important assignment as it placed the whole Yauri army under his direct control. In the past, the army in Yauri Kingdom was entirely based on cavalry whereby, the mounted soldiers were armed with spears, swords and arrows. The Ubandawaki was the head of the army at the battle field, unless if the Sarki himself was present, and even if the Sarki was present, his presence would be merely symbolic because, the general command of all the warriors was in the hands of the Ubandawaki. He was also the most senior of all palace officials, leader of the King makers and the most superior war officer in Yauri Kingdom.<sup>10</sup>

In local administration, the Ubandawaki had the largest fief. Though a fief holder he was always at the capital with the Sarki and other palace officials, except when he was on inspection tours to his domain or was leading a military expedition. It is not known precisely how many intermediaries (*Kofas*) the Ubandawaki used in administering the vast area that was attached to his office. Some of the territories that belonged to the fiefs of Ubandawaki in Yauri Kingdom included: Dugu Tsoho, Tondi, Dugu Raha and Rikohe on the mainland. While, on the islands they included: Ikum, Zamare, Rikubalo, Tsulu, Tillo, Baha, Hikiya, Hiwere (Gungun Sarki), Rofiya, Yabo, Hipelo, Gungun Kafa, Cheta and Sakace. All of them are still in the present Yauri Emirate.<sup>11</sup>

Like other fief holders in Yauri, the Ubandawaki possessed a small judicial court in his official residence at Handawaki (Birnin Yauri), that enabled him hear cases arising from his fief. Delicate cases such as robbery, witch-craft allegation, e.t.c. were normally transferred to the judicial court of the Sarki in the capital, for further hearing and final ruling. As the most senior palace official in Yauri Government and its army, the Ubandawaki was also saddle with responsibility of making recommendations to the Sarki, for promotion of other palace officials below him.<sup>12</sup>

## **Galadima**

He was the assistant to the Ubandawaki in all capacities, except being a fief holder-holder himself. In the army, Galadima was the most important unit commander, and in the absence of the Sarki and the Ubandawaki, the leadership of the whole army automatically fell on him. It was part of the duty of Galadima

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<sup>10</sup>. *Ibid*, pp. 127-128.

<sup>11</sup>. H.A. Harris, "A History of Yauri Kingdom", ND, P. 19.

<sup>12</sup>. M. Adamu, "A Hausa Government...", *op.cit*, p. 129.

that he should spend more time with the Sarki more than any of the other three officers and that he should keep the Sarki informed on the events going on in the Kingdom and sometimes share part of his confidence even in private matters. As a member of the judicial court of the Sarki, the Galadima was the only officer who was always present and participating whenever the Sarki had a case to judge. Another important duty of this officer was looking after the interests of the princes ('*Yan Sarki*) generally. He was their spokesman, because none of them had a seat in the *majalisa*. In official matters, any request that the most senior of all the princes (*Dangaladima*) or any village/district head (*Damisa*) wished to make from the Sarki or the Ubandawaki, the Galadima was the channel through which such requests were submitted.<sup>13</sup>

As a fief-holder, the towns under him were many, they included: Ubakka, Hella, Koma and Koshimala (Yauri Emirate), Hizolo, Masanji, Anaba, Usubu, Raha, Ujengi, Alala, Mavuro, Hiria, Pombo, Gyengi and Irana-all now in Kontagora Emirate.<sup>14</sup> In addition to what he had in the countryside, the administration of the Aganawa section of the capital (Birnin Yauri), was supervised by him. For administrative purposes, Aganawa part of Birnin Yauri was divided into five wards and each ward was headed by a head of a family appointed by the Galadima for that purpose. Judicial cases arising from the wards were heard in the court of the Galadima at his official residence in the capital. Other duties of the Galadima included receiving important visitors whenever they come to the capital. On their arrival, it was the duty of the Galadima to receive them, arrange for their accommodation and then, make appointment for them to meet the Sarki.<sup>15</sup>

## **Muta**

Muta was third in rank among the *Sarakunan Majalisa* in the government established by the Hausa people in Yauri way back in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. He was also an absentee fief-holder in charge of all official transactions between Sarkin Yauri and his provincial chief of Maginga (Sarkin Ngaski). In addition to being the medium through whom all official transactions between Sarkin Yauri and his provincial chief of Maginga were passed, Muta was also a fief holder at the palace of Sarkin Yauri looking after the affairs of Ushafa Akwa(now in Kontagora Emirate), Likoshi, Jingimma and Yerimawa.<sup>16</sup> Before the establishment of Hausa government in Yauri, the post of Muta existed in the

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<sup>13</sup>. *Ibid*, p. 130.

<sup>14</sup>. H.A. Harris, "A History of Yauri Kingdom....", *op.cit*, p. 20.

<sup>15</sup>. M. Adamu, "A Hausa Government...", *op.cit*, p. 131.

<sup>16</sup>. H.A. Harris, "A History of Yauri Kingdom....", *op.cit*.

Gungawa chieftaincy of Gungun Kafa and that it was through the Muta that the Gungawa dealt with the Kambarawa south of the River Malando. However, when Hausa administration was established in Yauri, the office of Muta became *Kofa* for Sarkin Maginga. It was also the Muta who used to make necessary arrangement for the annual visit which Sarkin Maginga used to pay to Sarkin Yauri to reaffirm his allegiance and also to submit his annual tribute. Sarkin Maginga's tribute to Sarkin Yauri comprised of cloth (especially the Nupe-made), rams, pots of honey, cowries and foodstuff. Other duties of the Muta included his being a member of the official advisers to the Sarki and also an important war officer.<sup>17</sup>

### **Rukubu**

Rukubu was fourth in rank among the palace officials at the palace of Sarkin Yauri and was also an absentee fief-holder.<sup>18</sup> Following the establishment of Hausa rule in Yauri in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Rukubu became representative of the Gungawa at the palace of Sarkin Yauri. His regular duty to the Yauri government consisted of being him, a member of *majalisa* of the Sarki and an important war officer. His domains include: Ligulla (now in Kontagora Emirate) and Lipulo (still in Yauri Emirate).<sup>19</sup>

### **Duties of representatives of fief holders (*Damisa*)**

For administrative purposes, Yauri Kingdom was divided into small administrative areas. The towns and villages which bordered the River Niger and some few Kambarawa towns on the mainland were given out as fiefs to the war officers who administered them from their homes at the capital. It was the responsibility of representatives of the fief holders, (the *Damisa*) to look after the affairs of countryside of the Kingdom for their masters (the fief holders), who were intern answerable to the Sarki at the capital. The most important duties of the representative of fief holders were keeping law and order in their respective districts and collecting of revenue for the fief holders who in turn remitted same to the Sarki whenever it was due. All the *Damisa* were maintained by the people they governed. This means that his (*Damisa*'s) people used to cultivate his farms for him and supplemented his stock of foodstuff. Each *Damisa* made money from fines, forced gifts and occasionally bribes.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> . M. Adamu, "A Hausa Government...", *op.cit*, p. 133.

<sup>18</sup> . Alhaji Hassan Usman Tondi (Rukubun Yauri), 69 years, his residence in Yelwa, Saturday, 21<sup>st</sup> September, 2013.

<sup>19</sup> . H.A. Harris, "A History of Yauri Kingdom...", *op.cit*.

<sup>20</sup> . M. Adamu, "A Hausa Government...", *op.cit*, pp. 139-140.

The codes of law used in judging cases and settling disputes in the districts varied from one ethnic group to another, as cases were tried according to the laws and customs of the people involved. To ensure co-operation of the local people and to make the administration of the *Damisa* more acceptable in the localities, each village was allowed to nominate its own village head from among the native people. It was through those local village heads that the representative of fief holders administered their districts and it was them (those local village heads), who used to interpret the customs of the people to the *Damisa*. Amongst the Gungawa for example, the *Damisa* and the *Balkari* (chief farmer or *Noma* in Hausa) were the core of local administration, as they were the only people who could command the loyalty of the subject people. Any demands which fief holders or the Sarki had on such villagers were channelled through them.<sup>21</sup>

In judicial matters, after trying cases, the *Damisa* had the authority to impose fines for minor offences, while major cases, such as accusations of witch-craft and highway robbery were referred to the capital, and the people who were found guilty of such offences were often sold as slaves by *majalisa* of the Sarki. The *Damisa* provided the only visible link between the government at the centre and the people in the country-side. The representatives of the fief holders were also the media of information through whom the fief holders and ultimately the Sarki were kept informed of what was happening in the countryside.<sup>22</sup>

### **Maginga (Ngaski)**

Yauri-Maginga (Ngaski) relations have been cordial and had co-existed for a long period of time, the latter being a vassal of the former. In addition, “Birnin Yauri and Agwara (Ngaski) were the only Hausa towns in the whole of Yauri Kingdom up to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century”.<sup>23</sup> it was only in those two towns that Hausa language was used as first language, and it was only there that Hausa culture was observed in the predominantly Kambari and Gungawa territory as it was being practised in Hausaland itself.<sup>24</sup> However, right from the reign of Sarkin Yauri, Yauri (1505-1531), Maginga has always been a subordinate part of Yauri.

Captain Hugh Clapperton who passed through the southern part of Yauri (Ngaski) in June 1826 confirmed that “The chief of Ingaskie, (was) the second town in

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<sup>21</sup>. Y. Abubakar, “History of the *Baresha* (Gungawa) People...”, *op.cit*, pp. 44-46.

<sup>22</sup>. M. Adamu, “A Hausa Government...”, *op.cit*, pp. 141-142.

<sup>23</sup>. M. Adamu, “Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries”, in Y.B. Usman (ed.), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar Paper*, Zaria, 1979, p. 75.

<sup>24</sup>. *Ibid*.

Youri<sup>25</sup> It has also been reported that the rulers of Maginga used to receive directives from Sarkin Yauri long before imposition of colonial rule in the area. For example, Mahdi Adamu has stated that “But Tsoede died on his return journey when he was ambushed and shot by some Kambarawa archers in Maginga province at the order of Sarkin Yauri.”<sup>26</sup>

Harris, who was a colonial officer in Yauri from 1924 to 1933 and who was later made Senior Resident of Sokoto Province in 1935 stated that:

Sarkin Maginga was second in importance in the old Yauri Kingdom to the Sarkin Yauri and he always dwelt at either Agwara or Ngaski. Under Sarkin Maginga came the Kambari and Lopa peoples including Auna (now in Kontagora Emirate). Though the ruling house of Ngaski had definite autonomy, it was closely bound to Yauri by ties of descent, marriage and allegiance.<sup>27</sup>

From the foregoing it, therefore, suffices to say that from the reign of Sarkin Yauri, Yauri (1505-1531) who brought together for the first time, the Kambarawa on the mainland and the Gungawa on the islands under one government thereby creating Kasar Yauri, Maginga (Ngaski) has always been an integral vassal district of Yauri Kingdom. The payment of tribute to the rulers of Yauri by Sarakunan Maginga discussed above in this chapter and the previous one certainly signifies acceptance of political dependence of the latter on the former.

### **Yauri under Sokoto Caliphate**

There are two conflicting opinions regarding what had happened between the rulers of Yauri and Sokoto Jihad leaders. The first one argues that Yauri Kingdom did not escape the Jihad forces. That in the year 1806 Birnin Yauri (capital of the Kingdom) was attacked by the Jihadists but the attack was unsuccessful. An agreement of peace and neutrality was subsequently reached between the 30<sup>th</sup> King of Yauri Muhammadu Albashir Dan A’i, 1793-1838 (at his request) and the jihad leaders. According to Mahdi Adamu,<sup>28</sup> this saved Yauri further attack, and throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century both sides had honoured the agreement.

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<sup>25</sup>. H. Clapperton, *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccato*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1966, p. 131.

<sup>26</sup>. M. Adamu, “A Hausa Government in Decline...” *op.cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>27</sup>. P.G. Harris, *Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer*, London, 1939, p. 297 & p. 304.

<sup>28</sup>. .M. Adamu, “A General History of Sokoto Caliphate”, in A.M. Kani and K.A. Gandhi, (eds.), *State and Society in Sokoto Caliphate*, Gaskiya Corporation: Zazzau, 1990, p. 7.

The second one yet provided by Mahdi Adamu,<sup>29</sup> says that what happened was that when Sarkin Yauri Muhammadu Albashir Dan A'i was informed of the commencement of the jihad, he consulted his war chiefs and suggested to them that the government of Yauri should voluntarily surrender to the jihadists on the condition that they would leave Yauri to continue running its affairs under its traditional rulers. The reaction of the war chiefs was hostile to the proposal, as they considered it very degrading to surrender their state to what they regarded as a handful of Fulani warriors without fighting any battles. After some lengthy discussion, they agreed that Dan A'i could send a mission to the leader of the jihadist (the Shehu), to express his sympathy and his allegiance to him on the condition that Yauri's autonomy would be guaranteed. The mission was said to have been led by Dan A'i's son Jibril Gajere. The Shehu, as Mahdi Adamu<sup>30</sup> further stated, accepted Muhammadu Dan A'i's request and promised that he would not despatch any force against Yauri and neither would he allow the internal affairs of Yauri be interfered with by the Caliphate. But in return, he (the Shehu) demanded no King of Yauri should ever fight the Caliphate government. That was how, according to this opinion, Yauri managed to have escaped the Jihad campaigns and reforming impact of the movement. That was why according to Abubakar,<sup>31</sup> Yauri's status in Sokoto Caliphate was that of *amana* (trust) paying tributes in form of *jizya*<sup>32</sup> to a Muslim government.

From the aforementioned explanations provided by Mahdi Adamu, the first one is the one that corresponds to what Muhammadu Bello has said in his *Infaq al-Maisur*. It is therefore the most convincing. What is worth knowing here is that the 19<sup>th</sup> century Islamic movement in Hausaland led by Shaykh Usmanu Danfodiyo did not in any way tamper with the internal political and administrative arrangements of Yauri. The Hausa rulers who formed the Hausa government in the state since the 15<sup>th</sup> century continued to its rulers to the present time.

### **Yauri and its Early encounter with the Europeans**

The earliest recorded contact between the people of Yauri and Europeans started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when four European explorers, namely Mungo Park, Captain Hugh Clapperton, Richard and his brother John Lander passed through the

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<sup>29</sup>. M. Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline...", *op.cit*, pp. 165-166.

<sup>30</sup>. *Ibid*, p. 166.

<sup>31</sup>. S. Abubakar, "The Established Caliphate: Sokoto, the Emirates and their Neighbours", *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books, 1980, pp. 303-304.

<sup>32</sup>. *Jizya* is an Arabic word. It is the payment that a non-Muslim state or group of people gives out to a Muslim government if the donor prepared to remain outside the Muslim administration. Yauri was in fact paying *jizya* to the Sokoto Caliphate under the name of annual tribute.

Kingdom as part of their exploration missions of the interior of the Nigerian area at different times.<sup>33</sup> The time when Mungo Park passed through Yauri, according to Hogben and Kirk-Green,<sup>34</sup> was early in 1806 when, together with his companions, they came down the Niger from Sansanding<sup>35</sup> and touched at Yauri. He eventually met his death in the same year (1806), when he was drowned in Bussa rapids in the River Niger.<sup>36</sup> Captain Hugh Clapperton passed through the southern part of Yauri in June 1826 while Richard Lander, together with his brother John Lander, visited Birnin Yauri and stayed there for five weeks from June to August 1830.<sup>37</sup> The position of Yauri under colonial rule proper, is given in chapter five.

### **Imposition of colonial rule over Yauri**

The imposition of British colonial rule over Yauri territory can be traced to the year 1896 when a detachment of the British Royal Niger Constabulary troops stationed at Jebba, arrived in Yelwa and established a British post. Shortly afterwards, Sir William Wallace (then Mr. William Wallace of the British Royal Niger Constabulary troops), also arrived on his way to Sokoto and left two officers and a detachment of soldiers at Yelwa.<sup>38</sup> This was done in order “to forestall French colonization of the Yauri side of the River Niger”<sup>39</sup>. When the British Government took over the conquest of northern Nigeria from the Royal Niger Company in 1900, it carried out the subsequent annexations of the region.

It should, however, be noted that the encroachment of the British into the Yauri area, was not without resentments. For instance, in Chulu Island, the Gungawa were believed to have not only refused selling food to the British troops who came from the Rofiya garrison to buy foodstuffs in September 1898, but also attacked the troops and took away their carbines.<sup>40</sup> A month later, in October

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<sup>33</sup>. See M. Adamu, “A Hausa Government in Decline...” *op.cit.*, pp. 3-7.

<sup>34</sup>. S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Green, *History of Islamic States of Northern Nigeria*, Ibadan, Oxford University Press, 1967, p.136.

<sup>35</sup>. Sansanding was a small town in the Segou Region of southern-central Mali. The town is presently on the left bank of the River Niger, about 50 Kilometers downstream of Segou. See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mungo\\_Park\\_\(explorer\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mungo_Park_(explorer)) and <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sansanding>, for details.

<sup>36</sup>. S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Green, *History of Islamic States of Northern Nigeria...* *op.cit.*, pp. 136-137. Details of what led to the death of Mungo park in the Bussa rapids are also contained in this source.

<sup>37</sup>. M. Adamu, “A Hausa Government in Decline...” *op.cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup>. P.G. Harris, *Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer...*, *op.cit.*, p. 287. See also, E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer Notse...*, pp. 17-19.

<sup>39</sup>. M. Adamu, “A Hausa Government...” *op.cit.*, p. 307. See also, S.J. Hogben and A.H.M Kirk-Green, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Tradition*, London, Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 258.

<sup>40</sup>. M. Adamu, “A Hausa Government...” *Ibid.*

1898, the Gungawa of Tillo Island to the north of Yelwa town beat up some native soldiers of the Rofiya garrison who were on their way to their garrison, by boat down the River Niger, from the British fort of Lafagu.<sup>41</sup>

As a result of this Lt. H.E.C. Keating, who was the officer commanding the Rofiya garrison requested Abdullahi Abarshi, the then King of Yauri (1890-1904) to provide him with boats to attack the Gungawa of Tillo Island. But when Abarshi instructed the Gungawa of Hella Island to provide the boat they refused and consequently this forced Lt. Keating to go to Hella himself to secure the boats. The Gungawa of Hella did not welcome Lt. Keating and consequently fighting broke out instantly, and the British were defeated. The British were not only defeated but also lost 13 of the 16 men that went to Hella Island, including Lt. Keating. The loss that the British had made at Hella was one of the worst in the British conquest of Northern Nigeria. Hella Island itself lost 35 men including the village head. This took place on 10<sup>th</sup> October 1898,<sup>42</sup> and by the 16<sup>th</sup> of the same month, a combined army drawn from the British garrisons at Illo in the north and Bussa in the south reached Hella Island with an order from Lugard to punish the people in order to forestall the occurrence of similar incidence in the area.<sup>43</sup> Also in Maginga (Ngaski) province, in September 1898, Sergeant Mackenzie from the Uneku garrison was attacked by the people of Hoge Island led by their Hausa chief, and Mackenzie was compelled to open fire killing four Hoge people.<sup>44</sup>

Notwithstanding the stiff resistance on the ground, the British Government had, by 1903, taken over the administration of Yauri following the appointment of a political officer (Mr. Fergus Dwyer), in Yelwa to represent the government of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.<sup>45</sup> The liquidation of the old Yauri Kingdom began early 1901, when the British captured Kontagora and annexed the territory as part of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The territory in which Kontagora town was established was part of the former Yauri Kingdom. So, in 1901 when Kontagora was captured by the British, the whole of eastern Yauri Kingdom was automatically lost to the British. It was therefore, during this time that the division of the new Yauri and Kontagora territories became formally recognized by the British colonial government. The areas recognized by the British as part of Yauri extend from Libata in the south to the Gulbin Ka in the north. The Emir of

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<sup>41</sup>. *Ibid*, p. 310.

<sup>42</sup>. *Ibid*, p. 311.

<sup>43</sup>. *Ibid*.

<sup>44</sup>. *Ibid*, pp. 308-309.

<sup>45</sup>. *Ibid*, pp. 290-291. See also, S. Adamu, *A Brief History of Yauri (A Monograph)*, Kaduna, Master Prints, 2000, p. 15.



Kontagora on the other hand took over the area from Mariga River to Malando River beyond Ipana which he had dominated before the British Occupation. Similarly under the new arrangement, Auna went to Kontagora Emirate while the Wara and Ngaski Kambarawa remained under Yauri.<sup>46</sup>

### **Administrative Structure of Yauri under colonial rule**

The provincial organisation of Kontagora Province under which Yauri Emirate fell, consisted of four Divisions: Borgu, which made up of the 3<sup>rd</sup> class Emirates of Bussa and Kaiama; Kontagora, consisting of the 1<sup>st</sup> class Emirate of Kontagora; Yelwa consisting of the 2<sup>nd</sup> class Emirate of Yauri and Dabai (Zuru) consisting of the chieftainship of Dabai under which had been brought together the Dakarkari clans.<sup>47</sup> Up to 1910, Yauri Emirate was administered in the old indirect rule system discussed above, i.e. through the use of fief holders. However, in 1911, the Emirate was divided into six (6) Districts: Gungu, Ngaski, Birnin Yauri, Shanga, Kwanji and Dukku. The town of Yelwa was treated as a metropolitan district. District headmen were appointed to reside in the various districts and in 1912 they were put on salaries instead of receiving a percentage of the taxes they collected.<sup>48</sup>

In January 1907 Besse, a village unit in Shanga District of Yauri Emirate, was transferred to Gwandu Emirate (Sokoto Province) by the British High Commission in compensation of the land that Sokoto had lost to the French Government in the north.<sup>49</sup> It was also in 1912, that Yauri lost Koko to Gwandu and six years later, in 1918, Dukkun Yauri was transferred to Kontagora Emirate. Thus, by the end of the first half of the twentieth century Yauri lost almost all of its former territories and, according to Sahabi Adamu, it was left with only one-third (1/3) of it.<sup>50</sup> In 1924 following the partitioning of Kontagora Province as result of adjustments and re-organisation of provinces by colonial administrators in northern Nigeria, Yelwa (Yauri) and Dabai (Zuru) Divisions were transferred to Sokoto Province. The two (2) put together, became known as Southern Division. When in 1939 Zuru was removed from Sokoto and merged again with Niger Province, Yauri Emirate was merged with Gwandu Division.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> P.G. Harris, *Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer...*, *op.cit.*, p. 305.

<sup>47</sup> E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer Notes, Kontagora Province*, London, Water Low and Sons Ltd, 1920, p. 4.

<sup>48</sup> P.G. Harris, *Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer...*, *op.cit.*, p. 290.

<sup>49</sup> S. Adamu, *A Brief History of Yauri ...*, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> P.K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province Under British Rule, 1903-1939*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1988, p. ix.

Yauri Emirate was again detached from Gwandu Division and made an independent Division in May 1971.<sup>52</sup>

### **The Administrative Re-organisation of Yauri Emirate after Independence**

The most remarkable development in the political and administrative history of Yauri Emirate after independence was the elevation of Emir of Yauri from second class to first class status. The installation and presentation of first class staff of office of the Emir of Yauri took place during the reign of Alhaji Muhammadu Tukur (1955-1981) in Yauri on the 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1971. The event was attended and witnessed by the then Governor of North-western State, Assistant Commissioner of Police, Alhaji Usman Faruk.<sup>53</sup>

When Local Government Reform was introduced in Nigeria in 1976, the Emirate was made to stand for a Local Government Area in Sokoto State. However, in 1991 when Kebbi State was created out of Sokoto State, Ngaski Local Government was also created out of Yauri Local Government. Thus, Yauri Emirate became an Emirate made up of two (2) local government areas. Shanga Local Government Area was again created in 1996 out of Yauri Local Government, making Yauri Emirate an Emirate made up of three (3) local government areas. These three (3) local government areas (Yauri, Ngaski and Shanga) put together are what make up of Yauri Emirate in its present form.

From six (6) districts in 1911, the number of districts in Yauri Emirate has over the years been increased to fifteen (15). The table below shows fifteen available districts in Yauri Emirate in order of their importance.

<b>S/N</b>	<b>Name of District</b>	<b>Title of District Head</b>	<b>Residence</b>
1.	Maginga	Sarkin Maginga	Wara
2.	Gungu	Dangaladiman Gungu	Tondi
3.	Shanga	Kwakuten Shanga	Shanga
4.	Gebbe	Sarkin Kwanji Gebbe	Gebbe
5.	Birnin Yauri	Sarkin Gabas	Birnin Yauri
6.	Yelwa	Ubandoma	Yelwa
7.	Ngaski	Sarkin Ngaski	Ngaski
8.	Zamare	Sarkin Kudun Zamare	Zamare

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<sup>52</sup> U. Faruk, *From Farm House to Government House: An Autobiography*, Zaria, Amana Publishers Limited, 2006, p. 217-218.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, p. 239.

9.	Sawashi	Uban Kasan Sawashi	Dugu
10.	Rafin Kirya	Mai Arewan Rafin Kirya	Rafin Kirya
11.	Illela	Sarkin Kudun Illela	Illela, Yelwa
12.	Makurdi	Sarkin Makurdi	Makurdi
13.	Kwanji	Sarkin Yamman Kwanji	Kwanji
14.	Giron Masa	Sarkin Giron Masa	Giron Masa
15.	Kambuwa	Sarkin Kambuwa	Kambuwa

*Source: List of District Heads in Yauri Emirate, available at the Emir's palace, Yelwa Yauri, Kebbi State*

## **Conclusion**

It is clear from the foregoing that prior to the establishment of Hausa rule over the indigenous people of Yauri, some of the people in the area have succeeded in establishing some petty chieftaincies such as the Gungawa state of Gungu Kafa and the Kambarawa chieftaincies of Ibelu and Maginga. It was out of these three chieftaincies that Yauri Kingdom, which eventually incorporated all of them, with its capital at Birnin Yauri, came about. The government established by the Hausa people in Yauri was run in an indirect manner whereby representatives of absentee fief holders called *Damisa* governed the countryside of the Kingdom on behalf of the Sarki. The absentee fief holders were always at the capital with the Sarki. The chapter also discovered that the 19<sup>th</sup> century Jihad movement in Hausaland did not change the internal political and administrative setting in Yauri Kingdom. The Kingdom however experienced quite a number of political and administrative transformations during and after colonial period.

## Chapter 3

### Dynastic History of Yauri Kingdom/Emirate to Colonial Period

Usman Abubakar Daniya &  
Yasin Abubakar

#### Introduction

Two main ruling houses had so far ruled Yauri throughout its long history, first as a Kingdom, and later as an Emirate. These houses are that of Tafiraulu and Jerabana. The Tafiraulu dynasty provided only six (6) *Sarakuna* (kings), while the Jerabana dynasty remained in office from 1560 to date. This chapter discusses how each of these two ruling houses ascended Yauri throne and provide detailed discussions on the dynastic history of Yauri from inception to the period of colonial rule.

#### Tafiraulu Dynasty

The first ruling house was established by a certain Abdullahi Tafiraulu, a wealthy Hausa trader-scholar, who is believed to have come to Yauri area from Katsina in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. He lived for some time among the Gungawa settlements on the islands of River Niger in Yauri territory. Through his generosity and good manners, Tafiraulu eventually won the heart and confidence of the Gungawa people.<sup>108</sup> Traditions further state that, it was the failure to provide an effective central control over the Gungawa islands by their traditional leader called *Gago* that made them to request Tafiraulu to lead them. The latter accepted their request but insisted to rule the whole territory not in a limited way as *Gago* was ruling them but as a ruler with wide powers whose authority would be felt and accepted in all the islands. According to Yauri Kinglist, he began his rule as the first King (*Sarki*) of the Gungawa Island of Gungun Kafa around 1411 A.D. Not long after his appointment as *Sarki* in Gungun Kafa, Tafiraulu used his wealth generously to influence village elders on many islands to make his appointment recognised and his authority generally accepted.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> For further information about who the Gungawa are and their detail history, see Y. Abubakar, "History of the Baresha (Gungawa) people to 1968", *M.A. (History) Dissertation*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 2011.

<sup>109</sup> M. Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century", *M.A. (History) Dissertation*, Ahmadu Bello University, 1968, p. 47.

In 1433, after about 22 years on the throne, Tafiraulu decided to abdicate his throne and he recommended his second son called Kamuwa, to be accepted as the *Sarki* to succeed him. Kamuwa's appointment naturally upset Tafiraulu's first son, Gimba who left and moved southwards until he arrived the Kambarawa town of Agwara. At the time Gimba left home, Maginga, a small Kambari Chieftaincy with Agwara as capital to the south of Gungun Kafa was in turmoil.<sup>110</sup> The king-makers in Agwara could not decide who to appoint *Magwano* (Chief of Maginga). On hearing the reason why Gimba left home, the king-makers decided to break their dynastic deadlock and appointed him as their chief. Gimba was, thus, appointed as the first Sarkin Maginga in succession to the old line of Kambarawa *Magwano*. Soon after his appointment, Gimba visited his father at Gungun Kafa and the family rift was closed: Gimba would remain in office in Maginga, and would rule Maginga as an autonomous chief, but within the framework of a dual state headed by the Sarki at Gungun Kafa. Under this arrangement, Sarkin Gungu would not interfere in the internal affairs of Maginga, including the appointment and dismissal of chiefs. Sarkin Maginga would, on his part, recognise his territory as being nominally under Sarkin Gungu to whom he had to pay annual tributes in the form of *sallah* greeting (*gaisuwar sallah*) after every Id el Kabir (*Babbar Sallah*). However, according to Mahdi Adamu, after the conquest of the Kambarawa on the mainland by Yauri, the 5<sup>th</sup> Sarki of Gungu Kafa and the first Sarki of Kasar Yauri (Yauri Kingdom, 1505-1531); hence the policy of duality must have disappeared and Maginga became just a province under Kasar Yauri.<sup>111</sup> These have partially been discussed in the last two chapters.

The families of the present District Heads of Maginga, Ngaski and Makurdi in Yauri Emirate descended from Gimba. This historical fact explains why of all the 15 Districts in Yauri Emirate,<sup>112</sup> it is only these three that are not being ruled by present members of Yauri ruling family, who at a certain point in history were the same (descendants of Tafiraulu)<sup>113</sup> as discussed above. This occurred as a result of developments that occurred later, which will be explained below.

Kamuwa who ascended the throne after Tafiraulu, was succeeded by Bunyagu in 1456. The latter ruled for 24 years from 1456 to 1480 and was in turn succeeded by Sakazu who also ruled for 25 years from 1480 to 1505. Sakazu was succeeded

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<sup>110</sup>. For more on creation of small Kambarwa Chieftaincy of Maginga, see *Ibid*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>111</sup>. *Ibid*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>112</sup>. They are: Maginga, Gungu, Shanga, Kwanji-Gebbe, Birnin Yauri, Yelwa, Ngaski, Zamare, Dugu, Rafin Kirya, Illela, Makurdi, Kwanji, Giron Masa and Kambuwa.

<sup>113</sup>. Alhaji AbdulMalik Nuhu (District Head of Maginga), at his palace in Wara on Monday 16<sup>th</sup> September, 2013.

by Yauri who was the 5<sup>th</sup> Sarki at Gungun Kafa and who eventually became the first Sarki of Yauri Kingdom.<sup>114</sup> By the time Yauri became Sarki in the islands, he felt that the island chieftaincy was too small for him. He, therefore, began to look across the waters, to the vast Kambarawa land. The time for him to move out of the islands eventually came when a serious famine hit the islands but left the mainland untouched. Yauri suddenly occupied Birnin Yauri and built a palace there, making himself the first to come out of the river. He then made arrangement for the supply of food to the islands, and established large farms on which he grew different types of food-crops. He also began a war of conquest against the Kambarawa east of his new capital which one after the other, fell to his warriors. All the while Yauri, stationed his representatives in the newly conquered Kambarawa towns to the east of Birnin Yauri in order to ensure regular supply of foodstuffs to the new capital.<sup>115</sup>

In this way, it can rightly be argued that, it was Yauri who created Kasar Yauri (Yauri Kingdom) by bringing, for the first time, the Kambarawa on the mainland and the Gungawa on the islands together under one effective government. When he left the islands, he brought along with him his chief advisers who included Rukubu and Muta, the latter being the Gungawa officer through whom all matters connected with the Kambarawa in what later became Maginga province were channelled. It was Yauri who also began the system of stationing government representatives in the Kambarawa towns, a system which was later developed into the indirect rule system of government whereby, Sarki's representatives called *kofas* were assigned responsibilities of administering the countryside for the Sarki. That was how Muta became the *kofa* for Sarkin Maginga at the palace of Sarkin Yauri.<sup>116</sup>

The growth of Birnin Yauri as administrative and commercial centre of Kasar Yauri, a position the town held up to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is associated with the activities of the fifth Sarki of the Gungawa and first Sarki of Yauri Kingdom. It was also from Sarki Yauri that the Kingdom of Yauri and the town of Birnin Yauri derived their names respectively, the name they still bear. As far as the history of Yauri Kingdom is concerned, an important thing to note about Birnin Yauri is that for about three and half centuries (from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), the town was the headquarters of the long line of Hausa kings who created the government of Yauri Kingdom.

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<sup>114</sup>. Based on genealogy of Sarakunan Yauri obtained from Emir of Yauri's palace in Yelwa.

<sup>115</sup>. M. Adamu, "Hausa Government in Decline...", *op.cit.*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>116</sup>. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55. Up to the present time any official correspondence between the palace of Emir of Yauri and District Head of Maginga is channelled through Muta.

Similarly throughout the period when it was the capital of Yauri Kingdom, Birnin Yauri was the largest town in the kingdom, and together with Ngaski, was the only town in Yauri where Hausa people were permanently settled as predominant inhabitants up to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>117</sup>

Meanwhile, Yauri was succeeded by Kisagari in 1531 who, according to Yauri king-list, reigned for five years. His rule was followed by an interregnum, which lasted for twenty four years until around 1560. When he died in 1536, there was no eligible male member of the ruling family who could be appointed Sarkin Yauri. This marked the end of Tafiraulu dynasty in the history of Yauri Kingdom.

### **Jerabana Dynasty**

In 1560, a certain Hausa young man called Jarabana, who was born and brought up in Birnin Yauri, was appointed as the 7<sup>th</sup> Sarkin Yauri. He was a son of a Hausa merchant from Katsina Kingdom. According to the durations of reigns given in the Yauri king-list, he reigned for twelve years, that is from 1560 to 1572. His descendents ruled Yauri Emirate to this date.<sup>118</sup> From 1560, when Jerabana dynasty began their rule in Yauri, his descendants operated as one peaceful ruling family for more than two centuries until during the reign of one Mustafa Gazari (1790-1793 ), when tensions began to develop between him and his chief advisers (kingmakers); namely: Ubandawaki, Galadima, Muta and Rukubu. Traditionally, in Yauri, it was the kingmakers who had the powers to select and publically turban a new king. But once the person chosen has been presented to the public by the kingmakers and officially installed, the kingmakers could not remove him from the throne. A king could only be dethroned by a

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<sup>117</sup>. *Ibid*, pp. 51-52. See also, A.R. Augi, "Birnin Yauri and Kontagora", *Cities of the Savannah: A History of Some Towns and Cities of the Savannah*, Nigeria Magazine, p. 54. The last Sarkin Yauri that used Birnin Yauri as his capital was Sarki Abdullahi Gallo (1880 and 1890). According to Ryan, the transfer of the capital by Abdullahi Gallo took place in 1881. See NAK/SOKPROF/R.284/A70/1919, "Yelwa Assessment Report", p. 12 by Mr Ryan.

<sup>118</sup>. It was this development that distinguishes Yauri ruling family from that of Ngaski. While in Ngaski it is the descendants of Tafiraulu that are still in office, in Yauri Tafiraulu dynasty died out after the death of the 6<sup>th</sup> Sarki, Kisagari (1531-1536). This historical fact explains why up till this time members of Yauri ruling family are not being appointed to serve as either District or Village Heads in Maginga, Ngaski and Makurdi Districts. This is despite the fact that since the time when the fifth Sarki of Gungun Kafa, Yauri, created Yauri Kingdom by bringing for the first time the Kambarawa on the mainland and the Gungawa on the islands under one government, Maginga (which was in place of present day Maginga, Ngaski and Makurdi Districts); has been an integral part of Yauri Kingdom, and later Yauri Emirate. See M. Adamu, "Hausa Government in Decline...", *Ibid*, p. 54.

prince of the ruling family who must have secured support and invitation of the kingmakers, who were also the military leaders of the kingdom.<sup>119</sup>

Three years after Mustafa Gazari became Sarkin Yauri that is around 1793, the king makers secretly invited one of the leading princes called Muhammadu Albashir Dan A'i , to come to Birnin Yauri and overthrow the government of his uncle Mustafa Gazari, whom they accused of oppressing the people of the kingdom. The plan succeeded and Gazari was overthrown. Dan A'i ruled for 45 years (from 1793 to 1838) and during his time the kingdom prospered economically. He also gradually restored peace and stability to both the ruling family and Government of Yauri. However, shortly after his death in 1838, tension once again reappeared between Dan A'i's successor (Ibrahim Dogon Sarki, 1838-1844) and the kingmakers. This time the kingmakers accused the king of being too stringy and too protective of the masses. Subsequently, they invited his brother Jibrin Gajere to come to Birnin Yauri and overthrow Ibrahim Dogon Sarki. Again the plan succeeded in a bloodless manner in 1844. However, this action was to eventually plunge Yauri Kingdom into a civil war, which lasted for twenty years from 1858 to 1878.<sup>120</sup>

During the civil war, Yauri Kingdom became divided into two, with each part being ruled by a Sarki. The civil war ended in 1878 when one of the rival kings, Suleimanu Dan Ado (1859-1878), who was the King recognized by the official kingmakers, died. The official kingmakers decided to unite the Kingdom by recognizing the other Sarkin Yauri, that is Yakubu son of Jibrin Gajere, as the legitimate Sarkin Yauri. Thus the civil war officially ended. Yakubu ruled for only two years from 1878 to 1880 and was succeeded by Abdullahi Gallo. Gallo's reign ended after 10 years of rule in 1890 when he died on the throne and was succeeded by Abdullahi Abarshi. During his reign, precisely in 1881, according to Ryan, the capital of Yauri was transferred from Birnin Yauri to Ikun Island.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>. Malam Ibrahim Ahmad Birnin Yauri aged 78 years, at his residence in Birnin Yauri, on Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2013.

<sup>120</sup>. H. Harris (Senior Resident), "History of Yauri Kingdom", pp. 4-6. See also, Mr. Ryan, NAN/SOKPROF/R.284/A70/1919, "Yelwa Assessment Report", *op.cit*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>121</sup>. Ryan, ...





**Emir of Yauri's occasional resting place at Ikun Island built by Emir Zayyanu Abdullahi**

By the time Abdullahi Abarshi became Sarkin Yauri all the leading actors in the Yauri civil war were either dead or too old to fight him. Added to this advantage on the side of Abarshi was the fact that neither him nor his father, Aliyu, had participated in the overthrow of any previous government during the civil war. Abdullahi Abarshi was the last sovereign Sarkin Yauri because all those who ascended Yauri's throne after him did so as Emirs, appointed by the British Colonial Government and its successors. It was during the last 4 years of Abarshi's rule, from 1900 to 1904, that Yauri Kingdom lost substantial parts of its territory to the then newly created Kontagora Emirate.<sup>122</sup>

### **Ruling Houses that Emanated from Jerabana Dynasty in Yauri Emirate**

Of the numerous branches produced by Jerabana dynasty in Yauri Emirate four appeared to be the most active and well known. They are: Musa Rikwahe, Gajeren Sarki, Abubakar Jatau and Abarshi ruling families. These are discussed below:

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<sup>122</sup>. Malam Ibrahim Ahmada Birnin Yauri..., *op.cit.*

1. **Musa Rikwahe ruling family (*Gidan Musa Rikwahe*)**

This ruling house descended from the 30<sup>th</sup> Sarkin Yauri Muhammadu Dan A'i (1793-1838). Musa Rikwahe was the son of Muhammadu, son of Musa, son of Dan Agwaru, son of Sarkin Yauri Muhammadu Dan A'i. Members of this ruling family have since during the colonial rule, concentrated in the administration of Garin Baka and Rikwahe village areas in Birnin Yauri District. The late Alhaji Idrisu Wara popularly known as Alhaji Idi Rikwahe, a seasoned civil servant who died in 2009 was a member of this ruling family. There are also currently quite a number of surviving members of this family in Yauri.<sup>123</sup>

2. **Gajeren Sarki ruling family (*Gidan Gajeren Sarki*)**

Jibrin Gajeren Sarki was the 32<sup>nd</sup> Sarkin Yauri. He ruled from 1844 to 1853. When he died, he left behind many male children, many of whom later became village heads (Hakimai) in different parts of Yauri Kingdom. Although Jibrin left behind many sons, it was only Yakubu who was lucky to have ascended Yauri's throne. Yakubu, the 35<sup>th</sup> Sarkin Yauri who reigned from 1878 to 1880. Some of the sons of Jibrin Gajeren Sarki that became village heads included: Dan Nasara, the Village Head of Tondi; Muhammadu, the Village Head of Koma (Gumbi) and Muhammadu II the Village Head of Mahillo. Another descendant of Gajeren Sarki that became District Head in Yauri in recent years was late Alhaji Adamu Shatambaya, who died as Sarkin Yakin Rafin Kirya (District Head of Rafin Kirya), on 13<sup>th</sup> October, 1998<sup>124</sup>. Shatambaya was the son of Isa, son Muhammadu II (Village Head of Mahillo), son of Jibrin Gajeren Sarki.<sup>125</sup> Malam Ibrahim Ahmad who gave us this information is a member of this ruling family.

3. **Abubakar Jatau ruling family (*Gidan Abubakar Jatau*)**

Abubakar Jatau was the 33<sup>rd</sup> Sarkin Yauri. He ruled from 1853 to 1858. He was the son of Mustafa Gazari, the 29<sup>th</sup> Sarkin Yauri (1790-1793); son of Suleimanu Jarabana, the 25<sup>th</sup> Sarkin Yauri (1748-1770). The prominent members of this ruling family were late Malam Umaru Mai Unguwa (Village Head of Illela) and Alhaji Muhammadu Na-Yelwa, a seasoned politician and civil servant. The late Malam Umaru Mai Unguwa was the son of Abubakar Gwanda son of Tankwa, son of the 33<sup>rd</sup> Sarkin Yauri

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<sup>123</sup>. Alhaji Sule Noma, 62 years, in his residence in Rikwahe, on Monday 16<sup>th</sup> September, 2013.

<sup>124</sup>. Alhaji Ali Kaduna (son of the late Shatambaya), 45 years, at Emir of Yauri's lodge, Unguwan Sarki, Kaduna, Friday, 31<sup>st</sup> January, 2014.

<sup>125</sup>. Alhaji Sule Noma, *op.cit.*

Abubakar Jatau. While Alhaji Muhammadu Na-Yelwa is a son of Malam Buhari son of Abubakar Gwanda, mentioned above.<sup>126</sup>

4. **Abarshi ruling family (*Gidan Abarshi*)**

Abdullahi Abarshi, the 37<sup>th</sup> Sarki and 1<sup>st</sup> Emir of Yauri (1890-1904), was the son of Alu popularly known as Alu Akwaga, son of Suleimanu Yariman Jatau, son of Sarkin Yauri Ahmadu Jarabana, the 27<sup>th</sup> Sarkin Yauri (1773-1790), son of Suleimanu Jarabana, the 25<sup>th</sup> Sarkin Yauri (1748-1770). An important thing to note about Abarshi ruling family in Yauri is that, its members were out of office for one hundred years from 1790 to 1890, and since 1890 when Abarshi himself came to the throne the family managed to remain in office for over one hundred years now. The Emirs of Yauri from this ruling family were: Jibrin son of Abdullahi Abarshi (1904-1915), Abdullahi son of Emir Jibrin (1923-1955), Muhammadu Tukur son of Emir Abdullahi (1955-1981), Shu'aibu son of Yakubu son of Abdullahi Abarshi (1981-1999). Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi, the present Emir of Yauri is also son of Emir Abdullahi.<sup>127</sup>

**List of Kings (*Sarakunan*) Yauri From Inception to Date**

S/No.	Name	From	To	Period
1.	Tafiraulu	1411	1433	22 years
2.	Kamuwa	1433	1456	23 years
3.	Bunyagu	1456	1480	24 years
4.	Sakazu	1480	1505	25 years
5.	Yauri	1505	1531	26 years
6.	Kisagari	1531	1536	5 Years
7.	Jerabana I	1560	1572	12 years
8.	Gimba I	1572	1600	28 years
9.	Gimba II	1600	1601	1 year
10.	Kasafaugi	1601	1620	19 years
11.	Jerabana II	1620	1663	43 years
12.	Gimba III	1663	1663	6 months

<sup>126</sup>. Alhaji Muhammadu Na-Yelwa, 90 years, at his residence in Yelwa, on Tuesday 17<sup>th</sup> September, 2013. As stated above, this informant is a direct descendant of Abubakar Jatau, the 33<sup>rd</sup> Sarkin Yauri.

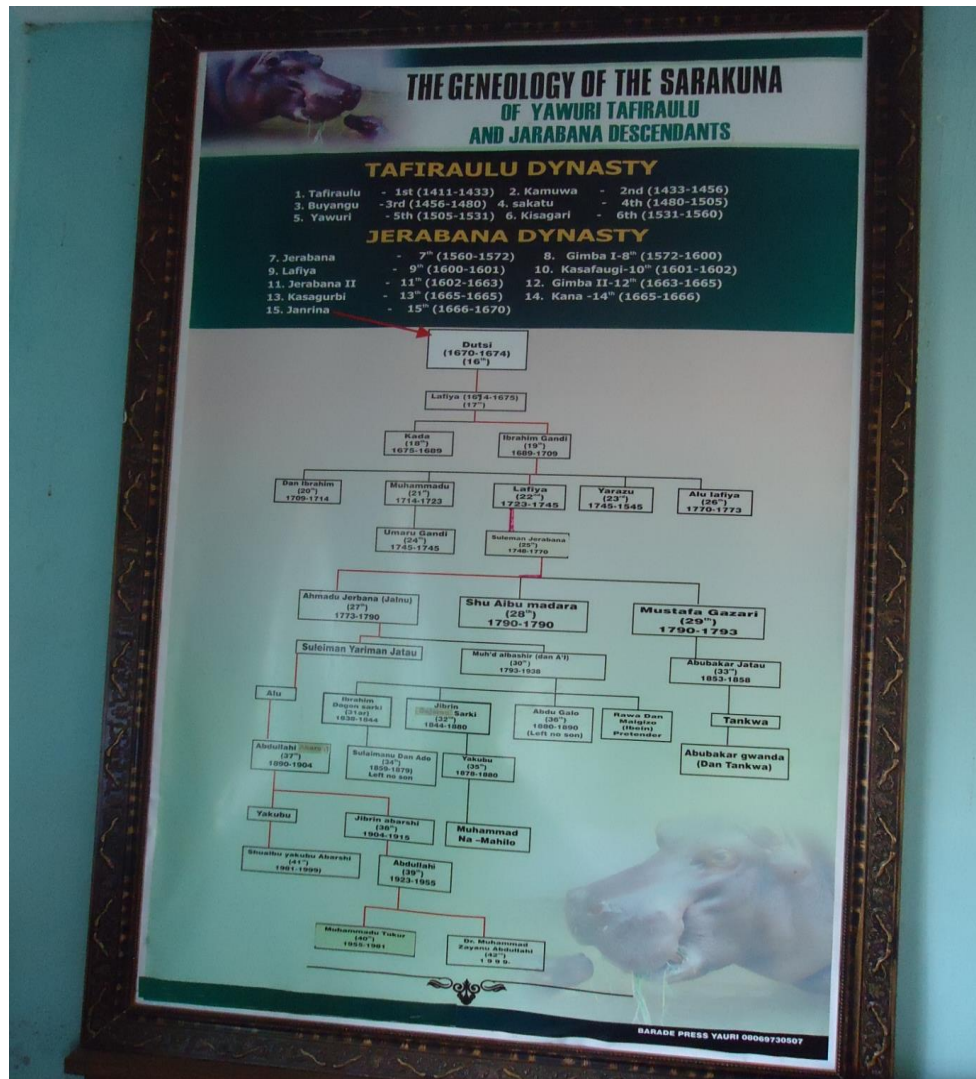
<sup>127</sup>. Alhaji Musa Salihu Abarshi (Magajin Garin Yauri), 82 years, his residence in Yelwa, Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup> November, 2013. This informant is a grandson of Abarshi thus, a member of Abarshi ruling family. He is a son of Salihu, son of Abdullahi Abarshi. He eventually died on Monday 18<sup>th</sup> November, 2013 exactly five days after this interview. May his sole rest in peace.

13.	Kasagurbi	1663	1665	2 years
14.	Kana	1665	1666	1 year
15.	Janrina	1666	1670	4 years
16.	Dutsi	1670	1674	4 years
17.	Lafiya	1674	1675	1 year
18.	Kada	1675	1689	14 years
19.	Gandi	1689	1709	19 years
20.	Dan Ibrahim	1709	1714	6 years
21.	Muhammadu	1714	1723	9 years
22.	Lafiya II	1723	1745	22 years
23.	Yanzu	1745	1745	2 months
24.	Umaru Gandi	1745	1748	3 years
25.	Suleiman Jarabana	1748	1770	22 years
26.	Aliyu Lafiya	1770	1773	3 years
27.	Amadu Jarabana	1773	1790	17 years
28.	Shu'aibu Madara	1790	1790	2 months
29.	Mustafa Gazari	1790	1793	3 years
30.	Muhammadu Albashir Dan A'i	1793	1838	45 years
31.	Ibrahim Dogon Sarki	1838	1844	6 years
32.	Jibrin Gajeren Sarki	1844	1853	9 years
33.	Abubakar Jatau	1853	1858	5 years
34.	Suleiman Dan Ado	1858	1878	20 years
35.	Yakubu Dan Gajere	1878	1880	2 years
36.	Abdullahi Gallo	1880	1890	10 years
37.	Abdullahi Abarshi	1890	1904	14 years
38.	Jibrin Abarshi	1904	1915	11 years
39.	Aliyu of Jabo	1915	1923	8 years
40.	Abdullahi Jibrin	1923	1955	32 years
41.	Muhammadu Tukur	1955	1981	26 years
42.	Shu'aibu Yakubu Abarshi	1981	1999	18 years
43.	Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi	1999	Date	

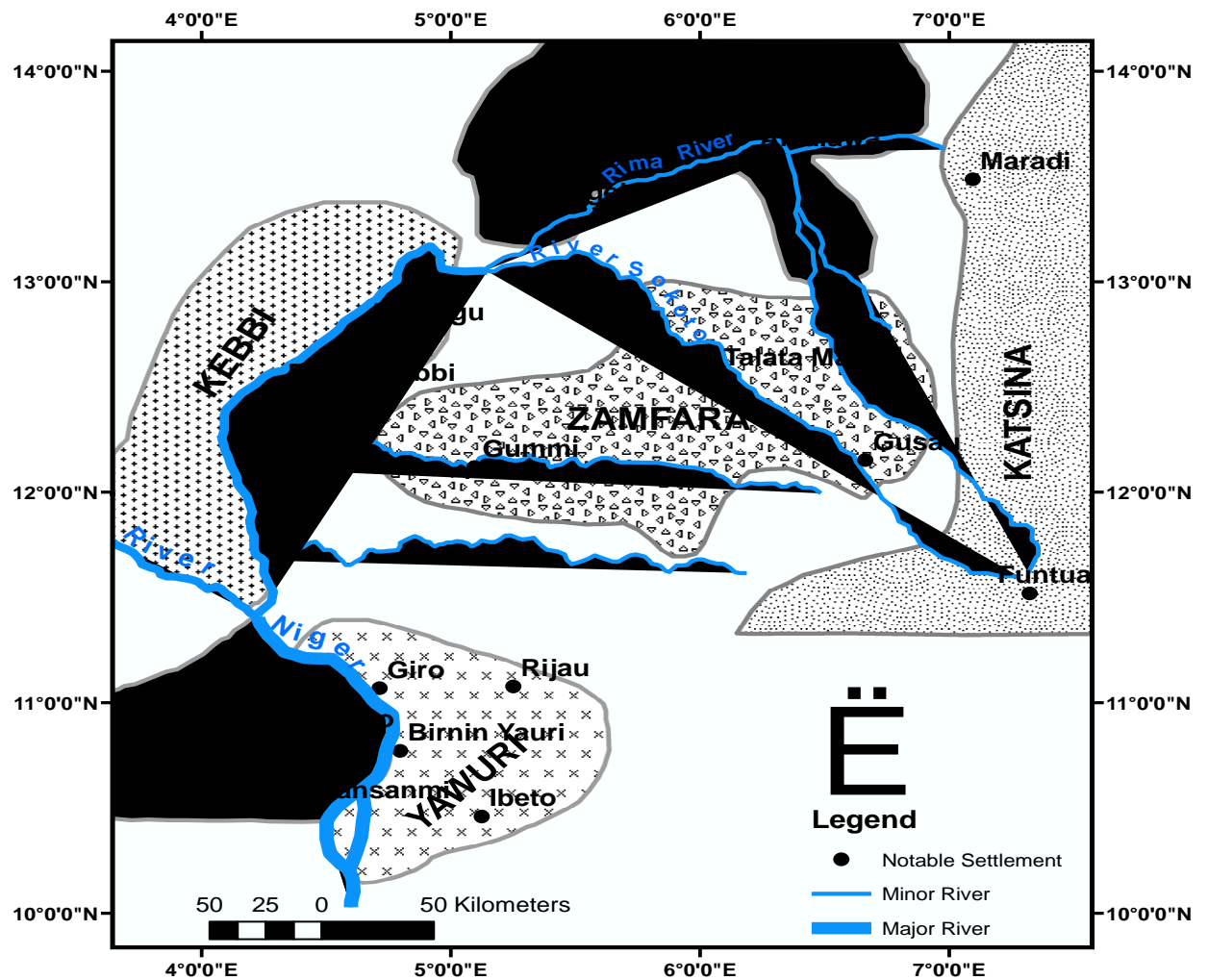
*Source: Adopted from H.A. Harris (Senior Residence), "History of Yauri Kingdom", p.34. The names are also available at Council Chamber, Palace of the Emir of Yauri, in Yelwa.*

## Conclusion

The chapter has examined the Sarakuna as well as the Sarauta System, of Yauri covering the span of three hundred and seventy nine (379) years of Yauri history. The next chapter examines the period from Abdullahi Abarshi who ascended the throne in 1890 up to 2014.



The Geneology of the *Sarakuna* Yauri

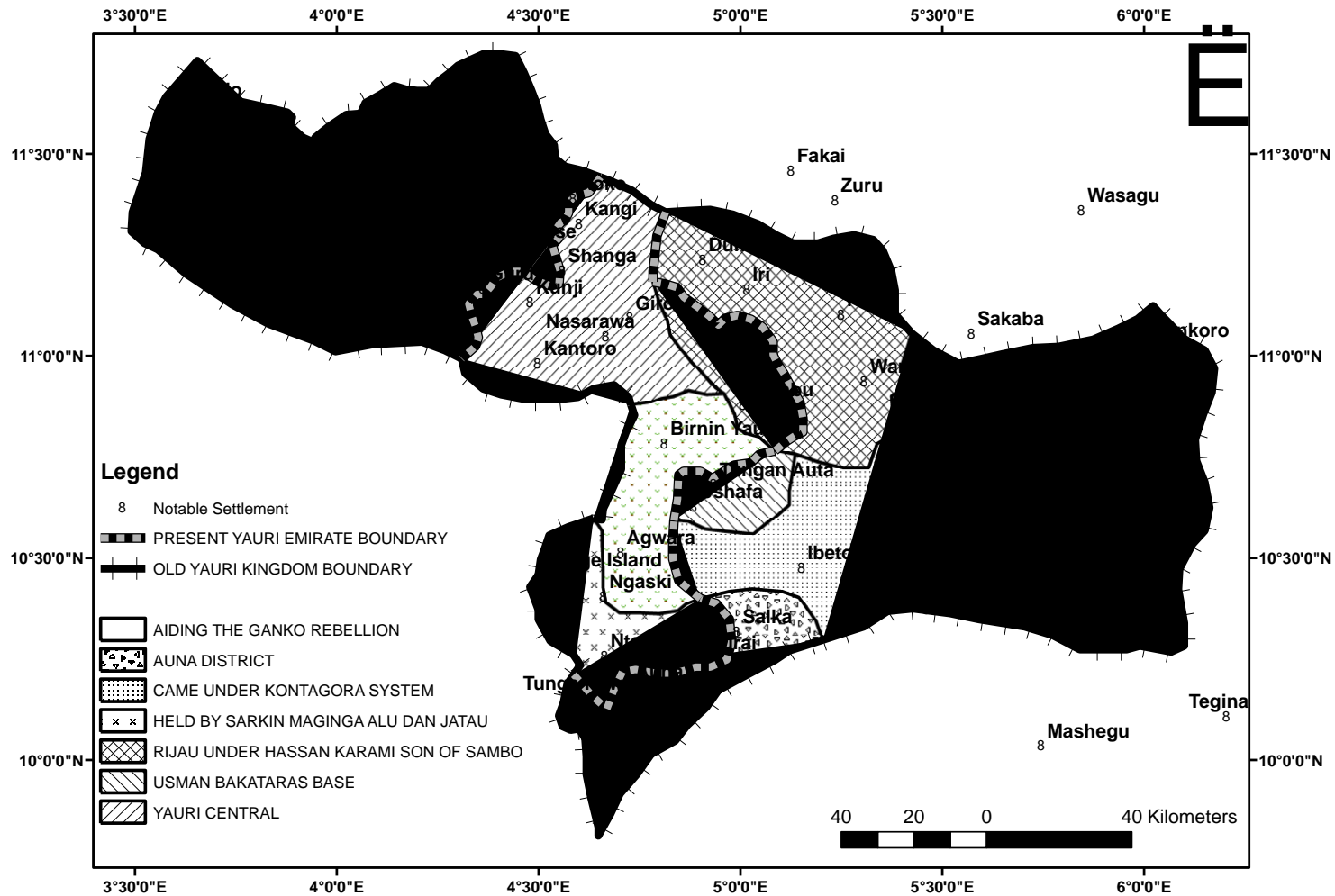


**Fig. 2**

Old Yauri Kingdom showing surrounding Kingdoms

Source: Shehu Shagari and Jean Boyd

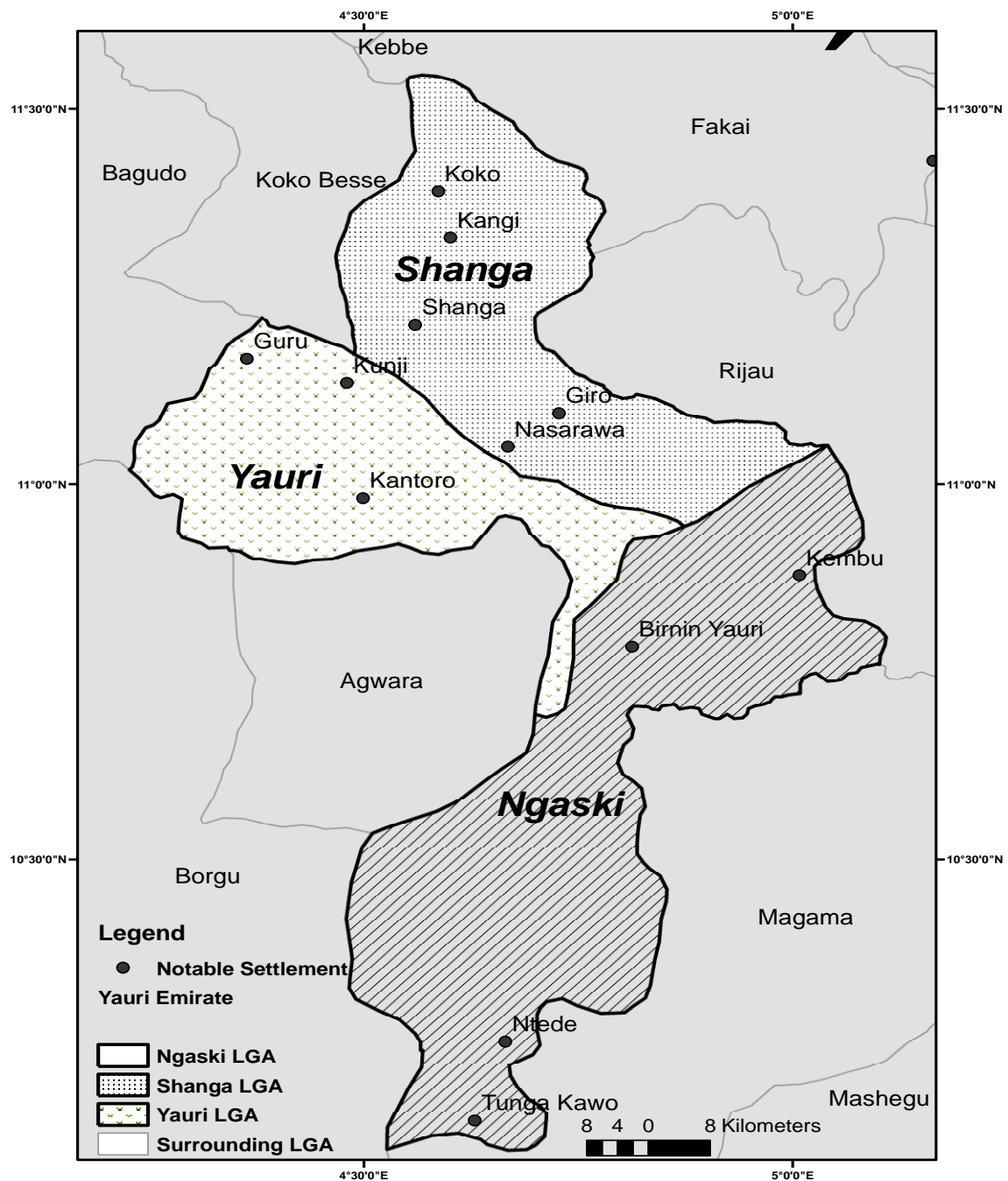
Reproduced by N. B. Eniolorunda, Geography Department, UDUS; 10-10-2014.



**Fig. 3**

Old Kingdom of Yauri and its Emirate Status. Source: S. Adamu, a *Brief History of Yauri*, Kaduna, Baraka Press, 2000. Redrawn by N. B. Eniolorunda, Geography Department, UDUS; 10-10-2014.





**Fig. 4**  
Present Yauri Emirate, showing her three Local Government Areas of Yauri, Ngaski and Shanga. Redrawn by N. B. Eniolorunda, Geography Department, UDUS; 10-10-2014.



## Chapter 4

### The Dynastic History of Yauri from Colonial Rule to Date

Usman Abubakar Daniya &  
Tukur Muhammad Mukhtar

#### Introduction

This chapter outlines the dynastic history of Yauri emirate from the ascension of Sarki Abarshi to the present. In essence, it portrays the genealogical background, administrative capabilities and the contributions of Yauri Emirs from Sarki Abarshi (d. 1904) to the present Emir - His Royal Highness Dr Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi in the development of the Emirate. The chapter further expresses the changing pattern of socio-economic developments of the Emirate based on the individual Emir's initiative and administrative expertise as the emirate passed through colonialism to the post-independence era.

#### Sarki Abdullahi Abarshi (1890-1904)

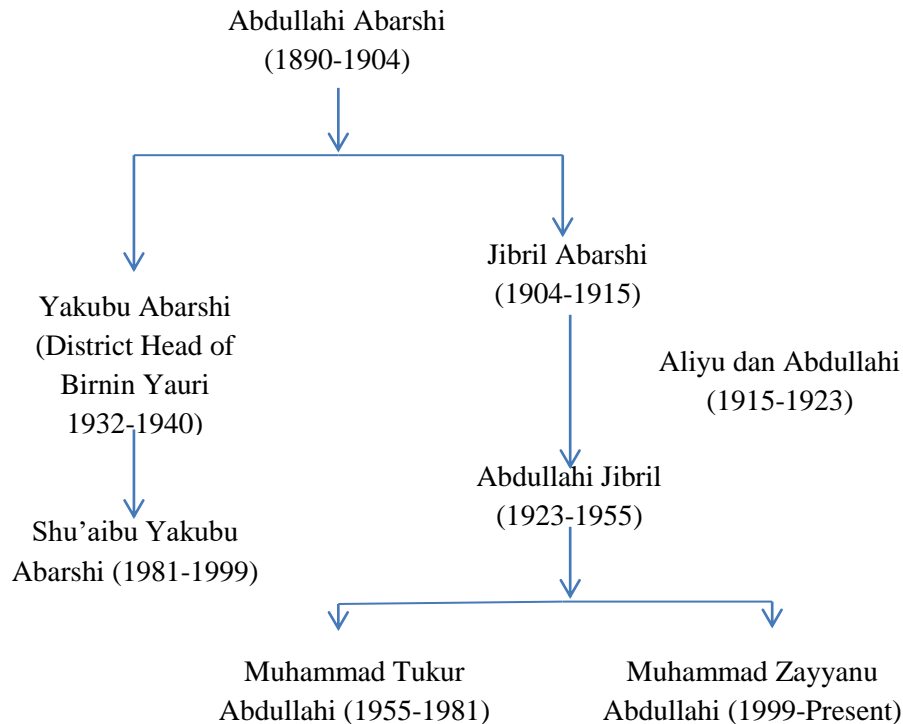
*Sarkin* Yauri Abdullahi Abarshi was a member of Jerabana dynasty that was recorded to have been the longest ruling dynasty in the history of Yauri Kingdom since its inception in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> The Jarabana dynasty came to the leadership in 1560 when Jerabana – a domiciled Hausa merchant from Katsina assumed the mantle of leadership in Yauri as *Sarki*.<sup>2</sup> The dynasty from the assumption of Abdullahi Abarshi to the throne in 1890 till date has been ruling Yauri except with an intercession of Aliyu dan Abdullahi from 1915 – 1923.<sup>3</sup> The Diagram below reflects this;

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<sup>1</sup>Mal. Ibrahim Ahmad, Aged 87 Years, Retired Civil Servant, Birnin Yauri, 12<sup>th</sup>, Nov. 2013

<sup>2</sup>See the geneology of *Sarakunan* Yauri in the Appendices for more on the chains of the Jarabana dynasty. However, the preceding dynasty was that of Tafiraulu that was first noticed around 1411 and terminated in 1536. It is interesting to note that these are the two major ruling dynasties known in the history of Yauri.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.



Before his ascension to power as Sarkin Yauri in 1890, Abdullahi Abarshi was the Dangkaladima (hair apparent) of the Yauri Kingdom during Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi Gallo (1880-1890).<sup>4</sup>On that position he had on several occasions commanded the army of the kingdom to subdue oppositions to Yauri's authority. Prominent among these were oppositions posed by Zugun Tene in 1882 and Gebe in 1885. He was also able to chase the Bussa army out of Gebe in 1888.<sup>5</sup>Abarshi's position as Dangkaladima, thus, served as the foundation for his administrative capabilities and the experience that impacted seriously in his performance as the Sarkin Yauri. With the death of Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi Gallo in 1890 at Ikun, Abdullahi Abarshi succeeded him as the new Sarkin Yauri in 1890.

Though, Yauri was under Caliphal authority of Sokoto, the period was characterised by weaknesses of the Caliphate which were openly visible. Yauri suffered from one of such major weakness which included the subversive

<sup>4</sup>NAK/Sokprof, 123/1919 – Yelwa Assessment Report, by Mr Ryn, Pp. 17-19

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

activities of Umaru Nagwamatse of Kontagora. In fact it was Abdullahi Abarshi's resilience against Nagwamatse that is being remembered for in Yauri till date. Abdullahi Abarshi brokered peace with Ibrahim, the son of Umaru Nagwamatse of Kontagora to stop raids on the lands and people of Yauri, otherwise called *Yawurawa* as soon as he assumed the *Sarauta* of Yauri.<sup>6</sup> This resulted in the transfer of the Capital of Yauri Kingdom from the historic Birnin Yauri to the Ikun Island for protection against the raids of Nagwamatse by the predecessor of Abarshi; Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi Gallo (d. 1890).<sup>7</sup> Thus, Sarki Abarshi instead of transferring back the Capital to the former commercial and administrative centre – Birnin Yauri, rather established a new capital called Yelwa along the Niger river, east of the Ikun Island within a visible distance from the Island.<sup>8</sup> The logic behind this act was the fear that, Sarkin Yauri Abarshi 'was doubtful as to whether or not Ibrahim would keep his promise' of not attacking Yauri again.<sup>9</sup>

On the other side, from the 1890s the lower Niger axis and to a large extent the whole of present northern Nigeria was experiencing European imperialists' encroachment that first settled in Lokoja. With the pursuit of their imperial mission, Lugard who was the head of the mission then declared the Northern Protectorate in 1900. Henceforth, the conquest of the North started and culminated with the deposition of Sarkin Sudan of Kontagora Ibrahim Nagwamatse in 1901.<sup>10</sup> However, oral sources have indicated that, even before the conquest of Kontagora and the deposition of Ibrahim Nagwamatse, Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi Abarshi had, in fact, already submitted to the Europeans since 1896 when a detachment of the British troops stationed at Jabba arrived and established a post at Yelwa. In this way, he was neither fought nor deposed.<sup>11</sup> Abarshi's submission

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<sup>6</sup>It is interesting to note that, not only the Yawurawa but both areas of the Lower and Upper Niger during this period were not safe from the raids of Umaru Nagwamatse, who relocated to Kontagora area after his deposition from the position of the Head of Gwamatse Ribat in Zamfara area by the Sultan of Sokoto, Abubakar Atiku in 1851 for his willed character on the people of the area and which resulted to his move to the Kontagora area to establish a new dominance. For more on this see M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, London, Longman, 1971, Pp. 85-86 and 158-159. However, this same character was maintained by Nagwamatse's son Ibrahim, in fact, he was the first to have been uprooted from the throne by the British imperial forces in the whole of Northern Nigerian area in 1901. For more on this see A. R. Augie, "Birnin Yauri and Kontagora", *Nigeria Magazine*, ..., Pp. 53-58

<sup>7</sup>P. G. Harris, "The History of Yauri Kingdom"..., P. 14; S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Green, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Tradition*, London, Oxford University Press, 1966, P. 257

<sup>8</sup>Yelwa which means "Abundance" is the present seat of power of the Yauri emirate, but it is synonymously called Yauri as was basically known by the outsiders.

<sup>9</sup>S. Adamu, *A Brief History of Yauri*, Kebbi, Yauri Emirate Council, 2000, P. 13

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., Pp. 14-15; P. G. Harris, "The History"..., P. 16;

<sup>11</sup>Mal. Ibrahim Ahmad Aged 87 Years, Retired Civil Servant, Birnin Yauri, 12<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013. Subsequently the British imperial forces had similar experience of submission in Katsina, where Emir Abubakar (d. 1905) and in Zaria also submitted without resistance to the British.

to the Europeans was based on experiences which have shown their successes in all their encounters with the local authorities, in addition to the superiority of their weapons over that of the local people. In fact, it was said that Abarshi advised Kontagora not to fight but rather submit like he did, but did not assent to his advice.<sup>12</sup>

Abarshi's submission to the British naturally, displeased the authorities in Sokoto. To this effect Ibrahim Nagwamatse was ordered by Caliph Abdurrahman (d.1902) to arrest Abarshi and merge his territory with Kontagora. However, this order laid the basis for a stronger relationship with the Europeans to an extent of giving Abarshi an offer to move to Kontagora as the new Sarkin Sudan of Kontagora after the deposition of Ibrahim.<sup>13</sup> Abarshi refused the British order but instead sent his eldest son Dungaladima Muhammadu Gani to be appointed as the new Sarkin Sudan of Kontagora in 1901. In 1902 Abarshi, however, recalled his son back to Yauri to his former position of a crown prince to enable him succeed him. This arrangement, unfortunately, was obstructed by the untimely death of Dungaladima Muhammadu five months before the death of his father.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, resistance to the British presence in Yauri did not only come from the Sokoto authorities but also from the locals, especially the riverine communities of the kingdom (Gungawa). The Hella clash between the Hella Islanders and the British officers was precipitated by another resistance to the Rofiya soldiers based at Lafagu by the Tillo Islanders who were said to have defeated the soldiers on their way down the Niger to their base at Lafagu. These events certainly, confirmed how open and serious the people of Yauri resisted the British in their midst.<sup>15</sup> Thus, at a point the resistance to the British took a violent dimension where a clash emanated when Lieut. Keating - the officer commanding the Rofiya garrison took 18 men with him to forcefully secure boats from the Hella Islanders to fight the Tillo Islanders after they defeated his men. In fact, the clash at Hella was said to have been the worst resistance with high casualties ever experienced by the British in northern Nigeria, where Lieut. Keating and 13 of his men were killed in the Island, while the Islanders on their side lost 35 men including their village chief.<sup>16</sup> These have already been recounted elsewhere.

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>P. G. Harris, "The History"..., P. 16; S. Adamu, *A Brief History...*, P. 14-15; S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Green, *The Emirates of...*, P. 258

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid. Tombs of the killed British troops are still visible within the premises of Kebbi State College of Basic and Advanced Studies, Yelwa-Yawuri.

However, despite this resistance to the British from both the locals and the Sokoto authority, Sarki Abarshi wisely managed himself well with the European and his people, and laid the foundation of his family's ascendancy to the rulership of Yauri to the present.<sup>17</sup> This is despite the fact that, he did not survive long with the British administration. In 1903, however, the British appointed a political officer in charge of Yauri emirate in person of Mr Dewar and Abarshi died in 1904.<sup>18</sup> The death of Sarkin Yauri Abarshi is historically credited as marking the end of Yauri kingdom and also the beginning of the Yauri Emirate with the colonial Administration under Kontagora province.<sup>19</sup>

### **Emir Jibril Abarshi (1904-1915)**

After the death of Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi Abarshi in 1904, the colonialists in their efforts to console the death of Sarki Abarshi, they ensured that Abarshi's successor came from his descendants.<sup>20</sup> This coincided with the death of Dangkaladima Muhammadu, who was the heir apparent and the traditional successor to the throne. It is on this basis that, the British colonialists approved the appointment of Jibrilu, who until then was the eldest son of late Sarki Abdullahi Abarshi (d. 1904). Jibril's appointment, however, did not earn the popularity of the Yawurawa. This is because, he was not prepared by his father to succeed him as a result he fell short of administrative experiences and capability.<sup>21</sup>

The initial anti-British feelings expressed by the Yawurawa during Sarki Abdullahi Abarshi (1890-1904) coupled with the appointment of Jibril by the British colonial officer – Resident of Kontagora Province as against the traditional process of being elected by the King makers, resulted further to the unpopularity of Emir Jibril Abarshi. Both the local council, the King makers and the Yawurawa were not in support of the new Emir Jibril as a result he found it very difficult to administer his domain properly. Instructions from the Resident, for example, were not conveyed to the Emir and even when conveyed, he would get no assistance to discharge the orders. At the height of all this, the three intriguers: Ubandawaki, Muta and Rikubu, who were traditionally mandated to

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<sup>17</sup>Cf the geneology chart of the Abarshi ruling house above.

<sup>18</sup>NAK/Sokprof,123/1919, Yelwa Assessment Report by Mr Ryan. See also Appendix I for the Grave of Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi Abarshi in the Yauri rulers' cemetery ant Birnin Yauri.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>This was however fulfilled and the wishes of Sarki Abarshi came to being where since his ascension to the rule for more than hundred years his lineage is in the tract of Emir ship of Yauri except for the coming of Emir Aliyu Abdullahi (1915-1923)

<sup>21</sup>P. G. Harris... P. 19

appoint an Emir, as they wielded much power, started intriguing to depose the Emir Jibril.<sup>22</sup>

In 1907, Besse – a sub-district under Yauri, was carved out and handed over to Sokoto province by the British High Commission in compensation of the land Sokoto lost to French colonial powers. Again, in 1911, Yauri Emirate was divided into six districts, probably for colonial administrative conveniences, in the area by the then Divisional Officer in charge of Yauri, Mr Dewar. These newly created districts are: Gungu, Ngaski, Birnin Yauri, Shanga and Dukku G70 including Yelwa as a separate district. The new district heads were placed on salaries by the colonial administration. But this did not ease the difficulty faced by the Emir, as the district officers themselves were not helping matters. Similarly, in 1912 Yauri lost Koko to Gwandu Emirate.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, the situation deteriorated as administration of the Emirate became loose by 1915 and the colonial officers were left with no option than to depose Emir Jibril, which was done on the claim of ‘mental incapacity’.<sup>24</sup>

### **Emir Aliyu Abdullahi (1915-1923)**

All the Emirs of Yauri from the Tafiraulu (1411-1433) to the jerabana (1560-1572) through the years to the present belong to the original ruling families of Yauri except Emir Aliyu Abdullahi.<sup>25</sup> He was said to have been a Fulani man from Jabo whose descent is traced to the Sarkin Jabo Usman. Today he is popularly known in Yauri as Sarki Bafillace.<sup>26</sup> The pedigree of Emir Aliyu Abdullahi is as follows;<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

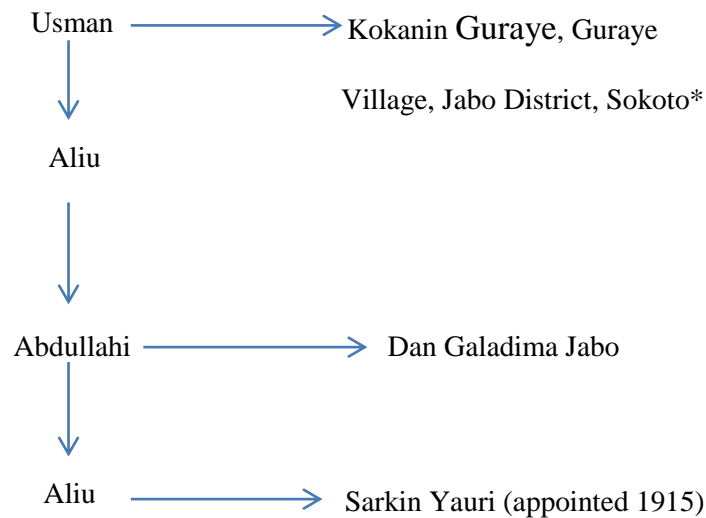
<sup>23</sup>Ibid., P. 18; M. Adamu, “A Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth Century”, MA Dissertation, ABU, 1968, P.328

<sup>24</sup>NAK/Sokprof,123/1919, Yelwa Asessment Report by Mr Ryan

<sup>25</sup> Few of these cases were recorded in the Northern Nigeria during the process of Colonisation. The only closest similar case is that of Durbin Katsina, who like the Emir Aliyu was first assigned by the Emir of Katsina Abubakar to welcome the Europeans to his palace in Katsina and subsequently the Durbi Muhammad Dikko was later appointed as Emir of Katsina in 1905 with the deposition of Emir Abubakar by the British. Since then however, the family of Dikko have been ruling Katsina to date. But one basic distinction between the two is that while Emir of Katsina Muhammadu Dikko lived peacefully with his people because of been just which resulted to his descendants been on the throne till date, Emir Aliyu of Yauri was completely the opposite, very unpopular to Yawurawa – deposed for embezzlement and mismanagement of the Emirate and to date none of his descent ever get so closed to the Emir ship of Yauri.

<sup>26</sup>Alhaji Musa Salihu Abarshi (Magajin Garin Yawuri)...., *Op.Cit.*

<sup>27</sup>; NAK/SNP 4118/1922 Kontagora Province – Pedigrees of the Principal Emirs



\*Aliu was not the son of Sarkin Jabo but Kokanin Guraye under Jabo (Field work by S.A. Jabo, 12<sup>th</sup> November 2014, at Jabo).

Emir Aliyu was brought up in the Yauri royal house by Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi Abarshi. He was said to have been brought to Yauri by his mother Nana and was raised in the house of Sarki Abdullahi Abarshi.<sup>28</sup> During the reign of Emir Jibril Abdullahi Abarshi, Aliyu was appointed as Tukura, an official whose responsibility in the Emirate was to convey messages to and from the Emir of Yauri to the British colonial officers in Yauri and Kontagora.<sup>29</sup>

The position of Tukura is believed to have laid the foundation of Aliyu's relations with the British Officers in the Province which earned him some respect in the administration of the division. Thus even before his appointment as the Emir of Yauri, Aliyu was first elevated to the position of District Head with the establishment of Districts in Yauri in 1911.<sup>30</sup> This was the first point when resistance to Aliyu's closeness to the Emirate administration of Yauri had been shown to block his chances of becoming an Emir. Thus, resistance on his appointment was not recorded probably for the organisational nature of the

<sup>28</sup>P. G. Harris, "The History"..., P. 19; S. Adamu, *A Brief History*..., P. 14-15; S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Green, *The Emirates of*..., P. 259; NAK/SNP 10, 150P:30/1918, Emir of Yelwa – Complaint against attitude of by Gungawa River Tribe. However, Nana (Emir Aliu's mother) was said to have been of Gimbana origin and was married by Sarki Abarshi of Yauri. A reason partly, why Aliyu was brought in the Abarshi's house, but however, written sources are silent about this information. For more information see Y. Abubakar, "History of the Baresha (Gungawa) People to 1968", M. A. History, UDU Sokoto, 2011, P. 102; Cf WJHCB/DNB/Bin Yauri/93/4/11, P. 31

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.; Cf NAK/SNP 10/150p – No 2/1915, p. 2; F. A. Salamone, "The Social Construction of Colonial Reality: Yauri Emirate", in *Cahiers d'études africaines*, Vol.25:98, 1985, Pp. 145-146

district as it comprised some Islands in the Niger River – Gungu District. But the resistance recorded while Aliyu was the *Sarkin Yamma* was about his attitudes towards the people he ruled in the district.<sup>31</sup>

Though, the motive of Mr Clarke's appointment of Aliyu was not known, even to the colonial office, but the appointment faced stiff resistance from the Yawurawa generally.<sup>32</sup> First, it was basically because of the fact that, he was a Fulani and non-member of the original ruling dynasties of the Emirate. Second and the worst of it was the Emir's attitude towards his subjects. Extortions, illegal arrests, embezzlement of public fund and debt shrouded his administration. Cases of milking cows and horses were clear examples.<sup>33</sup> This went to an extent when the Governor General himself at Kaduna, after several enquiries had to request for information on the amount of debt the Emir owed. These amounted to 192.8.6d. Pounds. Out of this around 17.17.6d pounds were paid off by the District Officer in advance of the Emir's salary of March, 1918.<sup>34</sup>

The maladministration of Yauri Emirate by Emir Aliyu further became open to the colonial officers as a result of which the former Bussa Emirate that was earlier in 1914 during Emir Jibril brought under Yauri's authority, had to be reconstituted back to its former status and made independent of Yauri like before in 1917. Later in 1919 the Dukku District was taken out of Yauri to Kontagora.<sup>35</sup> With these kind of developments, it became evident that the Emirate was not stable even territorially and the British realised the gravity of appointing Emir Aliyu. In one of the Divisional officer's comments to the resident, it was clearly stated that if the appointment of Jibril was a mistake by not respecting the traditional rights, then the appointment of Aliyu was a disaster'.<sup>36</sup> Thus, in the long run, and under curious circumstances, having been satisfied through a number of enquiries, the British deposed Emir Aliyu in 1923, for 'embezzlement of tax and general mismanagement of the Emirate'.<sup>37</sup> Thereafter his activities were diverted from upsetting the peace to the more useful occupation of repairing

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<sup>31</sup> NAK/SNP 10/150P/1918, No. 412/31/18 – Emir of Yelwa – Complaint against attitude of, by the Gungawa River Tribe

<sup>32</sup> S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Green, *The Emirates of...*, P. 258

<sup>33</sup> NAK/Sokprof, C4/0.9/1922 – Emir of Yauri Aliyu Deposed, 1923

<sup>34</sup> NAK/SNP 10/150P/1918, No774/66/1918 – Emir of Yelwa, ...

<sup>35</sup> Cf note 28, Pp. 145-148 and 29, Pp.259 above

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. and Cf notes 29 and 30

<sup>37</sup> NAK/SNP 10/150P/1918, No 37/1918, p. 4; NAK/Sokprof, C.4, Emir of Yauri ...



the roads in the Sokoto Native authority.<sup>38</sup> An oral source in Yauri has it that Ex-Emir Aliyu died in a train accident.<sup>39</sup>

### **Emir Abdullahi Jibril (1923-1955)**

On the deposition of Emir Aliyu Abdullahi, the British tried to restore back the leadership to the Yauri ruling dynasty with respect to its tradition to avoid the previous mistake and to facilitate the British administration in the area. In this respect, however, the recall for Jibril was not considered. Rather four aspirants including; Mallam Abdu (the eldest son of the ex-Emir Jibril); Dangaladima, Sarkin Gabas - Isa and Sarkin Kwanji, Yakubu, were passed for the process of selection.<sup>40</sup> Though, according to the table of voting, Mallam Abdu got the least marks, yet he was recommended for the throne by the Resident based on the outcome of his visits to the contestants individually. As a matter of fact what ended Emir Abdullahi to the British officials was the fact that he was the first Western educated Emir in the North having been schooled in Kano. In a letter to the lieutenant Governor of the Northern Provinces, the Resident categorically stated that;

I have the honour to report that after the closest enquiry I am still of the opinion that Mallam Abdu in spite of his comparative youth is the most suitable person for the position of the Emir of Yauri.<sup>41</sup>

The appointment of Abdullahi in 1923 at the age of 24 was with a view to restore the old Yauri ruling dynasty and stabilise the emirate administration after being in crisis since the appointment of Emir Abdullahi's father, Emir Jibril in 1904.<sup>42</sup> The hope of the colonial administrators of experimenting him was however, brought to lime light by Emir Abdullahi, who despite his young age proved competent to the task of restructuring and restoring back the glory of the Emirate of Yauri. In 1927 the Rofiya hinterland was handed back to Bussa Emirate but Kwanji district was maintained by Yauri to date. In addition, Emir Abdullahi also forwarded a request for the return of the earlier carved out Dukku district in Kontagora to Yauri Emirate where it was formerly known in 1930 which though approved but was later on withdrawn.<sup>43</sup> However, later in 1931, Yauri Emirate and Dabai Emirate were detached from Sokoto division to form the Southern division of the Sokoto Province. This experiment, which did not work resulted in to the split of

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Alhaji Musa Salihu Abarshi (Magajin Garin Yauri) ..., *Op.Cit*

<sup>40</sup> NAK/Sokprof, C.4, Emir of Yauri ..., p. 39

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., P.42

<sup>42</sup> S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Green, *The Emirates of...*, P. 259; P. G. Harris, "The History" ..., P. 292

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

the new southern Emirate where Yauri was passed to Gwandu Division while Dabai was returned to Sokoto Division.<sup>44</sup>

Harris who was the Divisional officer in Yauri a year after Emir Abdullahi was appointed in 1933 assessed him in the following words;

Abdullahi was born in 1901 and was educated at the provincial School Kano: he subsequently became a teacher at Birnin Kebbi School and held the position of Treasurer in Yauri Emirate. He is a good example of the young Nigerian Emirs who are now growing up and it may definitely be said that during the last decade the progress of the Yauri Emirate has advanced at least twice as rapid as it was hitherto rated.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, the relations between Harris and the Emir of Yauri Abdullahi were quite cordial. This was in much respect being attributed to the Emir's western educational background, as it eases a lot of administrative inconveniences that were earlier encountered by the colonial officers before the Emir's accession to the throne.<sup>46</sup> In fact, during that time Emir of Yauri Abdullahi was one of the few Emirs in the whole of northern Nigeria who were opportuned to acquire western education before coming to the throne. However, the extent of these relations is discernible in the Harris effort to clear Yauri's name and fame against the accusations for killing Mungo Park along the Niger River on the account of the information he gathered from Emir of Yauri Abdullahi. In this respect, Harris concluded that;

I suggest that it is not altogether certain that Park was wrecked at Bussa. It has never anywhere, as far as I am aware, been proved and the statements made at Bussa do not seem to be supported by satisfactory evidence... What I suggest really happened was that Park arrived at Tsulu Rapids where there is only one safe opening known to the local inhabitants through which canoes can pass. The local inhabitants now, as then, usually signal to persons coming down the river to show them this way through the rapids. Seeing a canoe in distress they doubtless waved to Park who, mistaking their well-meant signals for an attack, loosed off a gun at them and in

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<sup>44</sup>M. Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, Zaria, ABU Press, 1977, P. 329

<sup>45</sup>P. G. Harris, "The History"..., P. 292.

<sup>46</sup>F. A. Salamone, "The Social"..., Pp.148-150

doing so lost control of his boat and came to grief through not going down the proper channel.<sup>47</sup>

The reign of Emir Abdullahi became famous for his popularity among his people and the ability to initiate alternatives during stressful periods. For instance, he was recorded to have managed the affairs of the Emirate without the supervision of the Divisional Officer during the 1939-1945 war and at a point he managed the affairs of the Emirate without any of his council members on the grounds of either death or old age on the part of the council members.<sup>48</sup> In fact, Aliyu Dandawo, his praise Singer, addressed him as '*Mai Yauri Bangon Duniya*' in a song that portrayed his ingenuity to the world.<sup>49</sup> Consequently, Emir Abdullahi earned many awards. He was awarded three honors by His Majesty the King of England; the first of which was the King's Medal for Native Chiefs Award in 1936; then the Honorary Member of the British Empire (MBE) in 1950 and lastly the Honorary Officer of the British Empire (OBE) in 1955 few months before his death.<sup>50</sup> He died in 1955 at the age of 55 and was buried in the old Yelwa Royal house that part of which is presently submerged in River Niger.<sup>51</sup> But his tomb is still not submerged.<sup>52</sup>

### **Emir Muhammad Tukur Abdullahi (1955-1981)**

The death of Emir Abdullahi in 1955 led to the appointment of his 34 year eldest son, Muhammad Tukur Abdullahi, who before his appointment was educated at the Kaduna College after which he worked at the Marketing Board before proceeding to the University of London. After his return, he was appointed the Clerk to the Northern House of Chiefs. His last appointment which he gave up for the Emirship of Yauri was the Commissioner for Northern Nigeria in the United Kingdom.<sup>53</sup> Thus, being educationally sound, Emir Muhammad Tukur on his appointment was reminded by the then Divisional officer of Gwandu the outstanding services of his late father and advised him to hold on to justice among his people as it was the only means through which supremacy could be achieved

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<sup>47</sup>P. G. Harris, "A Note on Mungo Park and the Upper Niger", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. xxxv, No. cxli, 1939, Pp. 435-437

<sup>48</sup>NAK/SNP,520 – Emir of Yauri Abdullahi, Personal File, Nos. 2924/1936, p. 48 and 30/1955, p.7

<sup>49</sup>See Appendix II for Aliyu Dandawo's Song (*Mai Yauri Bangon Duniya*) and its translation.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> See Appendix III for the remains of the Old Yelwa Royal House

<sup>52</sup>On the course of this research, a research team was at Yauri on a field work and the team had an opportunity with the permission of the Emir of Yauri Dr Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi, to visit the Tomb of Emir Abdullahi of Yauri (d. 1955) in the old Royal House at the River bank just a few metres away by the west of the present Emir's Palace. See Appendix IV for the Picture of Emir Abdullahi's tomb.

<sup>53</sup>S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Green, *The Emirates of...*, P. 259

by the leadership, and in the event of the opposite, shame would be cast on the leader.<sup>54</sup>

Oral sources have confirmed that, Emir Muhammad Tukur was known for his firm decisions in administration and personal affairs to the extent that even his kins and associates were judged judiciously. In fact, he was said to have dismissed one of his Council members, Magatakarda, after being proven guilty of embezzlement of public funds.<sup>55</sup> In a similar vein, he was reported to have been firm for his support to the Great Nigeria Peoples Party (GNPP) led by Waziri Ibrahim, during the 1979 Second Republic electioneering campaigns, only for the fact that, they were called upon to support the party initially by the Sultan of Sokoto. Thus, even with the emergence of the presidential candidature of Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari on the platform of NPN, again the Emir stood firm that unless the Sultan further requested him to shift his support to NPN, he would not change his position.<sup>56</sup>

The wealth of administrative experience of the Emir prior to his appointment to the throne contributed in no small measure in his effort to administer the Emirate while on the throne. This is vividly clear in his position about the resettlement projects during the Kainji/Niger Dam project. While the government through the Niger Dams Authority was more inclined in the cash compensation policy, Emir Muhammad Tukur opposed cash compensation policy but rather opted that houses be built in all the areas under Yauri Emirate. His logic was the fact that, people could be paid compensation in cash to build houses but they might not build the houses rather they would expend the money paid them or move elsewhere. In addition, he further advocated for building the Gungawa resettlement houses close to Yauri in order for him not to lose them. As a result of this decision resettlement houses were built in Yauri including the present Emir's palace and Local Government secretariat of Yauri Local Government.<sup>57</sup>

In 1955, the then Emir of Yauri Alhaji Muhammadu Tukur initiated the title of "Wali" and incorporated the title holder into membership of his Emirate council. Alhaji Ahmad Hussaini was the first Wali in Yauri and he was charged with the responsibility of looking after the affairs of judiciary, native police (*'yan doka*) and prison in Yauri Native Authority.<sup>58</sup> Up to this time, Wali is a member of

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<sup>54</sup> NAK/SNP, 520 – Emir of Yauri ..., P.8

<sup>55</sup> M. S. Abarshi ..., 13<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Y. Abubakar, "History of the Baresha (Gungawa) People to 1968", MA Thesis, UDU Sokoto, 2011, P.110

<sup>58</sup> Y.H. Kontagora, *Who is Who in Yauri Emirate*, Kontagora, A&S Printers, 1996, p. 50.

Yauri Emirate Council. The present Wali of Yauri, Alhaji Shehu Ahmad Wali is a biological son of the first Wali.

Today, Emir Muhammad Tukur is reputed to have added fame that was earlier founded by his father to Yauri Emirate. The Emir served as the chairman of Boards of various governmental institutions including Local Government Reform Commission of Adamawa and Borno, Northern Nigeria Radio and Television Corporation and the National Universities Commission in 1962.<sup>59</sup> The Emir died in 1981 and was buried in the present Royal House. He is, still being remembered for the outstanding services he rendered to his people.

### **Emir Shu'aibu Yakubu Abarshi (1981-1999)**

Emir Shu'aibu Yakubu Abarshi was appointed as the 42<sup>nd</sup> Emir of Yauri after the death of his predecessor Emir Muhammad Tukur in 1981. He was the first Graduate Emir of Yawuri having been educated the famous Ahmadu Bello University Zaria which he attended between 1975 and 1978. The Emir was a grandson of Abarshi through his father, who though not opportuned to rule Yauri as an Emir, but contended for the throne in 1923 when Emir Aliyu was deposed. As at the time of that contest, Emir Shu'aibu's father was the District Head of Kwanji and was the third to Mallam Abdu in the results of the selection team and the second in the recommendation to Mallam Abdu.<sup>60</sup> Alhaji Yakubu Abarshi was a teacher at the Yelwa Primary School. Later he became an educational administrator and principal Government Secondary School Zuru, the position he held until his appointment as the Emir of Yauri in 1981.<sup>61</sup>

Emir Shu'aibu like his predecessors went on in line with the foundation laid on the administration of Yauri Emirate by Emir Abdullahi Jibril Abarshi and followed the footsteps of his immediate predecessor, Emir Muhammad Tukur. The Emir is, thus, credited with the support he gave to the launching of the Yauri Emirate Appeal Fund.<sup>62</sup> It is interesting to note that the launching of the Appeal Fund raised millions of Naira donated by prominent individuals both within and outside the Emirate (see Chapter thirteen). However, the death of Emir Shu'aibu did not let him see the developmental projects meant for the fund in 1999.<sup>63</sup> Among his major achievements are that he was the Director and Acting Chairman

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<sup>59</sup>S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Green, *The Emirates of...*, P. 259

<sup>60</sup>NAK/Sokprof, C.4, Emir of Yauri ..., P. 39

<sup>61</sup>M. S. Abarshi ..., 13<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013

<sup>62</sup>A. B. Zakari, "Tarihin Mai Martaba Sarkin Yauri Alh. Dr Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi", NCE Project, FCE Kontagora, 2001, p.22

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

Nigeria Dairies Company, Kaduna 1980-1983 and also Pro-Chancellor and Chairman of Governing Council University of Port Harcourt, 1981-1989.

### **Emir Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi (1999-Date)**

Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi was born in 1946 to the family of the then Emir of Yauri Abdullahi Abarshi (d.1955). A great grandson of Sarki Abarshi (d. 1904) who was a descendant of the Jerabana I, Dr.Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi was appointed as the Emir of Yauri in 1999 after the death of his uncle Emir Shu'aibu Yakubu Abarshi. His choice was very popular in Yauri.<sup>64</sup> Until his appointment he was a PhD holder and was in the services of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto where he rose through the ranks from an Assistant Lecturer in 1979 to the rank of a Senior Lecturer in 1990. In fact, he rose also through the administrative ladder of the University from the Acting Head of department of the Biological Sciences in 1988, the Sub-Dean in the Faculty of Sciences in 1982, to the Member of the Governing Council of the University, Deputy Vice Chancellor Administration and later between 1994 and 1998 the Vice Chancellor of Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.<sup>65</sup>

Before the Emir joined the University service, he was at the Institute of Veterinary Research, Vom – Jos from 1970-1974. He was a student at Kansas State University, USA for BSc Microbiology and M.sc Bacteriology between 1975-1978 and 1979-1981 respectively. In addition, he was at the Edinburgh University in the United Kingdom for his PhD in Bacteriology between 1984 and 1987. After he returned home he was contacted twice for appointment as a Commissioner under the then Sokoto State Government and twice he turned down the offers. He returned to the academia in the former University of Sokoto now Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto. While in the University service, he published widely in both local and reputable international journals. His research interests were in Bacterial Cell Surface Antigens and Vaccine Production. In addition, he was associated with the founding of the Microbiology Unit, of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.<sup>66</sup> Before leaving the University service for the position of Emir of Yauri Dr.Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi served in

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<sup>64</sup>Mal. Ibrahim Muhammad ..., 12<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013

<sup>65</sup>Citation on the Conferment of the Award of CON to the Emir of Yauri, 2003

<sup>66</sup> The rejection of his appointment was not a surprise to his friends, for, it was informed by his zeal to pursue education and ensure that his region benefitted from the wealth of his intelligence since college years. Interview with Alhaji Muhammadu Bawa (Mutan Yauri), aged 73 years at his residence in Yelwa, on Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> August, 2014.

different capacities including membership to many Ad hoc committees of the university and professional associations.<sup>67</sup>

On his appointment as the Emir of Yauri, Dr Zayyanu did not relent in making contributions towards the development of his state and country in general. On this ground, he was further appointed as the Pro-Chancellor of the Federal University of Technology, Minna from 2001-2004, Chairman Governing Council of the Kebbi State College of Basic and Advanced Studies, Yauri and in 2003 he was conferred by the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, with the award of the Commander of the Order of the Niger (CON). In addition, Emir Zayyanu was a member in the 2005 National Political Reform Conference and Chairman, Committee on Traditional Institution and Culture; the Chairman Jama'atul Nasril Islam Education Committee and was conferred with the Fellowship of the Nigerian Society of Microbiology in 2008.<sup>68</sup>

His Royal Highness Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi's numerous appointments and successes in life discussed above cannot be separated from his cute personality and character which manifest to a greater extent the home training inherent in the Abdullahi Abarshi's ruling family. University community where he rose from the rank of Assistant Lecturer to the Vice Chancellorship and the people of Yauri Emirate that he is currently heading as Emir. He is well known by these two communities (University community and the people of Yauri) and indeed even by other people who relate with him for his punctuality. He is, therefore, described by many as a man who stands by his words and keeps promises.<sup>69</sup>

Within his Emirate, Dr Muhammad Zayyanu on assuming the emirship of Yauri in 1999 embarked on a political reformation of the Emirate. Thus, with his style of carrying everybody along, Dr Muhammad Zayyanu is credited to have appointed several heads of occupational guild; *Sarkin Kifi*, *Sarkin Goro*, *Sarkin Kaji*, *Sarkin Samari*, *Sarkin Teloli*, *Sarkin Albasa*, *Sarkin Zabarmawa* etc. The logic of these appointments is to bring people closer to the leadership of the Emirate through these various heads.<sup>70</sup> In addition, this further, ease and enhance

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., and Curriculum Vitae of His Royal Highness, the Emir of Yauri Alhaji Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi (CON). The CV was obtained from His Royal Highness, the Emir himself

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., cf A. B. Zakara, "Tarihin Mai"...

<sup>69</sup> Alhaji Umaru Musa (Tukuran Yauri), 64 years, at his residence in Yelwa, Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> August, 2014. This is also a popular saying among the members of the University community especially those who have worked with closely with him.

<sup>70</sup>Emir of Yauri, Dr Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi, Aged 68 Years, Conference Hall – Emir's Palace, Yauri, 19<sup>th</sup> April, 2014

administrative efficiency as these various heads of occupational guilds could, to some extent, settle certain disputes/problems where necessary within their respective guilds without referring to the Emir. Thus, within the Emirate council, his councilors enjoy free hand to propose, advise and discharge on their respective responsibilities, and he intervenes only when and where necessary.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, members of Yauri Emirate council (Galadima, Tukura, Muta and Wali) have attested to the fact that His Royal Highness, Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi undertakes wide range of consultations with his council members and relevant individuals or authorities before taking decision pertaining to the emirate.<sup>72</sup> He further, established a Board of Trustee to manage the fund derived from the YEDEF under the chairmanship of Col. Muhammad Inuwa Bawa Rtd.

On the social aspect, Dr Muhammad Zayyanu being a national figure used his influence to attract the two mobile communications service providers – GLO and MTN mobile Networks to Yauri which before his tenure as an Emir were not in Yauri but are now fully functional and operational in the area.<sup>73</sup> Not only this, while the Emir was on the CONFAB 2005, he cried out for his people through a presentation to the conference titled “The Impact of Kainji Hydro Electricity Dam Project on the People of Yauri Emirate in Kebbi State: A Cry for Justice”. This presentation portrays that 80% of the communities in which the lake is situated falls within Yauri Emirate, but receives the least benefits and the worst negative effects despite the enormous sacrifices made by the people to bring it about.<sup>74</sup> As a result of this presentation, Yauri Emirate was enlisted among the Hydro Electric Power Production Areas (HYPPADEC) and attracted a 132 KV Power Sub-station to be built by the Federal Government of Nigeria, capable of servicing the energy demands of Yauri Emirate, Koko, Nasko and Salka.<sup>75</sup>

As an academic by profession before being installed as Emir of Yauri in 1999, his passion for the educational development of his Emirate became open with his

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<sup>71</sup>Alh. Shehu Ahmad Wali, Aged 54Years, Walin Yauri and Councillor Yauri Emirate Council, Yauri, 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2014.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., this information was made available in interviews with Mallam Mu’azu Muhammadu Na’Malam (Galadiman Yauri) 57 Years; Alhaji Muhammadu Bawa (Mutan Yauri), , Op. Cit.; Alhaji Umaru Musa (Turakin Yauri), Op. Cit. The interviews took place in their respective residences in Yelwa between Saturday 9<sup>th</sup> and Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> August, 2014.

<sup>73</sup>Emir of Yauri, Dr Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi, ..., 19<sup>th</sup> April, 2014

<sup>74</sup>Dr Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi (Emir of Yauri), “The Impact of Kainji Hydro Electricity Dam Project on the People of Yauri Emirate in Kebbi State: A Cry for Justice”, Presented to the National Political Reform Conference, Abuja, 2005, P. 2

<sup>75</sup>This Electric Power Sub-Station was situated along the Yauri-Maraba Road. The authors of this Chapter while in Yauri for field work in November, 2013, were opportune to visit the site of this project, but the project is yet to be completed, otherwise ongoing.



accession to the throne.<sup>76</sup> Through YEDEF Dr Zayyanu championed the sponsorship of five students to study Engineering courses at the Federal University of Technology, Minna and are expected to graduate by 2014 as the first set of Engineers ever of Yauri origin.<sup>77</sup> The Emir further attracted some Ten Million Naira (#10, 000, 000) donation from a German based Organization GTZ, the fund used to rehabilitate and own an Emirate Boarding Primary School.<sup>78</sup> This is in addition to influencing the establishment of Government Technical College, Saminaka; construction of the permanent site for College of Basic and Arabic Studies, Yauri; and introducing a Matriculation Programmes in the same College. More about his efforts could be seen in chapter thirteen.

On the economic scene, the Emir's presentation at the CONFAB 2005 not only draws electrification benefit to the area but also led to the construction of an international fish market in Yauri. Unlike the electrification project that is ongoing, the international fish market has been completed but only awaiting commissioning any time. Before the accession of Dr Muhammad Zayyanu to the throne as Emir of Yauri, it was only Union Bank Plc. that was operating banking services in Yauri, but today because of the Emir's efforts four more banks are in Yauri. Viz; First Bank Nigeria Plc, Eco Bank Plc, Unity Bank Plc and Intercontinental Bank Plc and all of which are fully operational except Intercontinental Bank Plc. To date Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi is serving as the 43<sup>rd</sup> Emir of Yauri and currently serving as a chairman of the Immigration and Related matters in the ongoing National Reform Conference.

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<sup>76</sup>A. B. Zakari, "Tarihin Mai Martaba"..., Pp. 40-44

<sup>77</sup> Yauri Emirate Development Fund, Vol. 1

<sup>78</sup>Initially this School was called Sabon Gari Model Primary School, but with this fund the Emirate took over the School, built its fence wall, additional class rooms, Library, Computer Room, Students Hostels, Staff Quarters and rename the School to Makama Bawa Boarding Primary School. The School is situated within Yauri metro.



**Emir of Yauri, Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi standing on top of the carcass of a Hippopotamus, performing a traditional rite of any newly turbaned Yauri Emir.**

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, it is apparent to note that the 20<sup>th</sup> century was, indeed, a turning point in the history of Yauri kingdom. This is for the fact that, it marked the period when the kingdom enjoyed relative peace as it saw the end of the civil war on the one hand, and the down fall of their raiding neighbour, Ibrahim Nagwamatse of Kontagora to the British invaders on the other. More importantly, the period marked the transition of Yauri kingdom to Yauri Emirate with the coming of the British colonial powers in northern Nigeria generally. The colonial administration and subsequent political arrangements in Nigeria after independence, also, no doubt have a great impact on the traditions and values of leadership of Yauri in particular and the whole country in general. Finally it should be stated without any fear of contradiction that the greatest achievement, so far, of Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi, is the sponsoring of not only the research but publication of the present volume on the History of Yauri.

**Appendix I Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi Abarshi's Grave at the Yauri Rulers' Cemetery, Birnin Yauri.**



***Mai Yauri BangonDuniya*<sup>79</sup>**

<b>Hausa Version</b>	<b>English Translation</b>
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yauri the world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has exalted you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	That no one has in Hausa land
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yaurithe world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has exalted you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	That no one has in Hausa land
Sarkin Yauri taron Kaduna	Emir ofYauri at the Kaduna forum
Kun isheGwamnan mu nashawara	You were in consultation with provincial governor
Da sauranmataimakanTurawa	With other colonial assistants
Andaukokujeri an jera	Seating arrangement was in order
Kingin ‘yanNajeriyyaggadut	With other people in attendance
Goma shabiyu Sarkin yanka	Including twelve first class Emirs and
Ashirin da ukukowayakawoyazauna	Other twenty three traditional tittle holders
Sarkin Yauri daiassaura	With the exception of Emir of Yauri

<sup>79</sup>I wish to acknowledge the effort of Malam Yahaya Idris of the Department for Nigerian Languages (Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto) for going through my translation and offer useful suggestions.

Police were deployed on the roads	Anraba ‘Yan sanda ka titi
Manyan ‘Yan doka sun jera	Senior police officers lined up
Ana karfe tara sai gamota	At exactly 9 o'clock his car arrived
Masu sakawut sun buga kyalle	Boys Scouts were ready
Yan bigilakowayabusa	Trumpeters have all blown
Turawakowaya mike	Colonial officers all stood up
Sarkin Yauri nayaiso	Emir of Yauri has arrived
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yauri the world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has exalted you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	That no one has in Hausa land
Birnin Kaduna babba da yaro	In the city of Kaduna, every body
Mata da Maza sun azawaka	Men and Women were singing
Wanda aka jirashiyakkawo	The person waiting for has arrived
Wanda aka jiranayakkawo	The person waiting for has arrived
Shi abbabba da kowaannan	He is the senior of all present
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yauri the world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has exalted you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	That no one has in Hausa land
Sarki yakawoyazauna	The Emir arrived and sat down
Kingin Sarakuna sun taso	The rest of Emirs rose to him
Kun gamukun ba junahannu	They all shook hands
Kowayakomayazauna	They all took back their seats
Dukanhiddatakardunaiki	Documents were brought out
Sarkin Yauri yasahannu	Emir of Yauri signed
Yayankeshawara ta zauna	His approval was obeyed
Sarkin Katsina da Sarkin Gwandu	Emirs of Gwandu and Katsina
Sun saramaka ka daugirma	Have saluted to you
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yauri the world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has exalted you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	That no one has in Hausa land
Sakkwato Abubakar yaduba	Abubakar the Sultan of Sokoto looked

	through
Yacedaidaiyasahannu	He accepted and signed
ShehunBarnoshinagaisheka	Shehu of Bornosend his regards
Yaaika da batunbankwana	He is bidding you farewell
Sarkin Kano da Sarkin Zazzau	Emirs of Kano and Zazzau
Sun ka fito sui ma ban kwana	Came to bid you farewell
Sarkin Yauri sai watarana	Farewell Emir of Yauri
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yauri the world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has exalted you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	That no one has in Hausa land
Darajjar da Rabbanayayyomaka	The honour Almighty bestowed on you
Ba'aaikatagarinkowa ba	Was not granted to any body
Sakkwato Abubakar dan Shehu	Even to Abubakar son of Shehu, Sultan of Sokoto
Sai koBarnogidan Usmanu	Even Usman, the Shehu of Borno
ko Kano ga Alhaji Abdu	And Kano to Alhaji Abdu, the Emir of Kano
Nan dai na take sai Birnin sin	There is none than in China
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yauri the world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has exalted you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	That no one has in Hausa land
Sarkin Yauri ka zama jigo	Emir of Yauri you are a leader
Yamma ga Sakkwato kaiassaura	The only remaining in western of Sokoto
Kai abbajinikaiaggwarzo	You are strong and energetic
Kigobabuabokingumki	You have no equivalent no partner
Sai an ketarawajjenBidda	Unless in Bidda area
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yauri the world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has exalted you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	That no one has in Hausa land
Tunraddatakardatakkai min	Since I got aninvitation

In nashigakwananafalka	I wake up while sleeping
Sai natashi dare yaitsari	I wake up in the mid-night
Nattababegentorongiwa	I meditate the absence of a Mammoth
Sarkin Yauri ka zamazaki	Emir of Yauri you are the king
Bangaabokinkauradashi ba	He has no contesting partner
Bai da abokinkaura da kowa	Nobody can contest with him
Tun da lardin kudu har Adamawa	From southern province up to Adamawa
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yauri the world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has exalted you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	They want to contest but they can not
Maza na tsoron gamuwa da Abdu	Strong men are scared of meeting you
Suna son suja suna zullumi	They want to contest but contemplating
Maza na tsoron gamuwa da Abdu	Men are scared of meeting you
Sunason suja suna zullumi	They want to contest but contemplating
Maza natsoron gamuwa da Abdu	Men are scared of meeting you
Sarkin Yauri in sun ganai	When they see you Emir of Yauri
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yauri the world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has glorified you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	They want to contest but they can not
Mai Yauri bangonduniya	Emir of Yauri the world protector
Abdullahi sadaukinmaza	Abdullahi the brave of men
Allah yayo ma daukaka	God has exalted you
Da kowa ba shidaita Hausa dut	They want to contest but they can not



## Remains of the Old Yelwa Royal House



## **Chapter 5**

### **Yauri Emirate under British Colonial Rule**

M.T. Usman &  
A. Labbo

#### **Introduction**

Yauri Emirate was part of the British colonial central administration of northern Nigeria with headquarters at Kaduna. The Emirate was initially administered as a division under Kontagora Province up to 1924. With the dismantlement of Kontagora Province, Yauri and Dabai (Zuru) Emirates were placed under Sokoto Province as Southern Division. Later in 1939 Dabai was again transferred to Niger Province but Yauri continued to be under Sokoto Province and formed part of Gwandu Division. The Emirate was one of the four Native Authorities (N.As.) that made up the Sokoto Province up to 1960. Yauri was one of the emirates in northern Nigeria that suffered the impact of disruptive territorial adjustments by British colonial officers (see chapter two). The adjustments were made for administrative convenience and also to either appease one of the emirates surrounding Yauri or to resolve boundary disputes between Yauri and her neighbouring emirates. Colonial interference in this regard denied the Emirate some areas that were formally under it and shrunk Yauri Emirate to its present size. The broader British colonial social and economic policies in Nigeria were naturally extended to Yauri. The policies were designed to ensure the smooth running of colonial administration as well as the satisfaction of colonial economic interest. For example, Western education was extended to the area to train indigenous colonial personnel and so also modern healthcare facilities were established to safeguard the health of both colonial officers and the colonized to ensure maximum exploitation. The policies provided a formula for sharing funds generated through collection of taxes by the Yauri traditional rulers between the Colonial Government and Yauri N.A.

This chapter studies Yauri Emirate under colonial administration from the conquest of northern Nigeria, particularly Sokoto Caliphate in 1903 to the independence of Nigeria in 1960. The chapter discusses among other things; the British colonial occupation of Yauri; the restructuring and adjustment of the territorial extent of Yauri, the Yauri Emirate administration under colonial regime as well as the impact of the British social and economic policies in the area.



## Colonial Conquest and Resistance

Perhaps the first contact of Yauri people with the Europeans was in 1806 when Mungo Park visited the area. According to Clapperton, Yauri people welcomed him and the chief of Ngaski; the second town in Yauri Kingdom presented him with a sheep, some rice as well as kola nuts.<sup>80</sup> Since then, Yawurawa (people of Yauri) were not in contact with European until after the British and French signed an agreement (The Anglo-French Agreement of 5<sup>th</sup> August, 1890) to divide and make West Africa their spheres of influence. According to the agreement, Britain would acquire all territories up to the eastern portion of the region and including the Sokoto Caliphate, while the French would take the lands further to the north.<sup>81</sup> Consequently, rivalry between the two European powers to acquire colonies over the areas of River Niger began. It was this rivalry that brought about British interest in the area of Yauri Emirate. It is evident that the Royal Niger Company (R.N.C.) did not show any interest in establishing itself in Yauri until in 1895 when it became clear to the British that French was determined to colonize the area. The French mission of Tutees and Decour of 1885 that made treaty with Sarkin Yauri in 1895 left British in no doubt about the French interest to occupy the area.<sup>82</sup> In response to that, the British colonial occupation of Yauri began in 1896 with the establishment of a garrison of troops of R.N.C. at Yelwa. Before long, Sir. William Wallace (British military officer) passed through the town of Yelwa on his way to Sokoto and left two officers of the British soldiers to strengthen the garrison.<sup>83</sup>

Moreover, the defeat of Nupe and Ilorin in 1897 which were the first emirates to fall also signaled the British intent to conquer all the areas of the Sokoto Caliphate including Yauri Emirate. Bida and Kontagora emirates were taken over by the British in 1901 and 1902 respectively. Kontagora Emirate was conquered by the troops of West African Frontier Force led by Lt. Col. Kemball after the abrogation of the charter of the Royal Niger Company (R.N.C.). It is pertinent to note that the expedition for the conquest of Kontagora assembled at N'gaski District of Yauri Emirate and Yelwa was abandoned as a British military station

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<sup>80</sup> H. Clapperton, *The Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccato*, Frank Cass & Co. LTD, 1966, p. 131

<sup>81</sup> A.S. Kanya-Forstner, "French African Policy and the Anglo-French Agreement of 5<sup>th</sup> August, 1890" *The International Journal of African Studies*, Volume 12, No. 4, Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 1

<sup>82</sup> S. Adamu, 'A Brief History of Yauri' A Paper Sponsored by Yauri Emirate Council, 2004, p. 14

<sup>83</sup> S.J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the Islamic State of Northern Nigeria*, Ibadan Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 138 and E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer of Kontagora Province*, London Waterlow *Ibid*, p. 18

in 1903.<sup>84</sup> The annexation of Kontagora under British influence could be seen as taking away of large area of the former Yauri Kingdom by the British. This is because the territory on which Kontagora Emirate was established and now conquered by British was part of Yauri before the activities of Umaru Nagwamatse (founder of Kontagora).<sup>85</sup> With the final fall of Sokoto in 1903 as well as the consolidation of British rule over the whole of northern Nigerian areas, Yauri automatically became part of the British protectorate of northern Nigeria. Mr. Fergus Dwyer was the first British political administrator posted to Yauri in 1903.<sup>86</sup>

Naturally, the people of the Sokoto Caliphate did not stand idle and watch their emirates fallen without resistance. There were some major military encounters and skirmishes between the authorities of the emirates and the British troops. But in the case of Yauri Emirate, Emir Abarshi did not object to the British authority; since he allowed Yauri to be under the conquered Kontagora. Instead Abarshi was used to suppress some Yauri people that resisted the colonial incursion. The alien culture and characters of British made people all over the Emirate to be anti-British and in effect, some Yauri people resented and resisted the British encroachment.<sup>87</sup> Almost all the riverine people especially Gungawa resisted the presence of the British troops in their midst. A recount of what was discussed in chapter two is desirable. The first encounter of the Yauri people with British troops was in September of 1898 when the Gungawa people of Chulu Island refused to sell foodstuffs to the British troops from Rafiya Garrison at Yelwa. The Gungawa also attacked the troops and seized their carbines. Moreover, in October of the same year, the Gungawa of Tillo Island to the north of Yauri harassed and beat up some native soldiers of the Rafiya Garrison on their way to the Garrison by boat down the River Niger from the British fort of Lafagu.<sup>88</sup> Consequently, the commander of Rafiya Garrison, Lt. H.E.C. Keating requested Emir Abarshi to provide him with boats to attack Gungawa of Tillo Island. Abarshi in turn instructed the Gungawa of Hella Island to make the boats available but they refused. In effect, Keating went to Hella himself to secure the boats but he was not welcomed by the people and clash between Gungawa of Hella Island and Keating began on 10<sup>th</sup> October 1898.<sup>89</sup> The encounter resulted in the death of

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<sup>84</sup> R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906*, Longman Group Limited, 1971, pp. 222 and 228 and see also E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer of Kontagora Province*, London Waterlow and Sons LTD, 1920, p. 17

<sup>85</sup> Y. Abubakar, "History of Baresha (Gungawa) People to 1968" *M.A. History*, UDUS, 2011, p. 88

<sup>86</sup> S. Adamu, 'A Brief History....', p. 15

<sup>87</sup> S. Adamu, 'A Brief History....', p. 14

<sup>88</sup> M. Adamu, "Hausa Government in Decline Yauri ...", pp. 307-310.

<sup>89</sup> Y. Abubakar, "History of Baresha (Gungawa) People to 1968" *M.A. History*, UDUS, 2011, p. 87

Keating, Corporal Gale and thirteen other soldiers. On the side of the Gungawa about thirty-five people were killed including the village chief.<sup>90</sup> As a result of that, Col. Morland arrived in Yelwa some months after the incidence of Hella and ordered Abarshi to capture the whole village which was done and the culprits were shot.<sup>91</sup> This might be one of the reasons that, the British had good relationships with Abarshi to the extent of placing Kontagora under him after its capture. The British also gave Abarshi the authority over not only what constituted the 19<sup>th</sup> century *Kasar Yauri* (Yauri land) but of such other areas as Dakarkari towns and Bussa.<sup>92</sup> But according to Mahdi, in response to the death of British officers, Lord Lugard ordered British troops from Illo and Bussa garrisons to combine and dealt with Gungawa of Hella in order to forestall the recurrence of similar incidence. After six days of the encounter, precisely on 16<sup>th</sup> of October, the combined British troops reached Hella Island and made a brutal reprisal.<sup>93</sup>

Moreover, the opposition to the colonial administration continued even after the consolidation of British rule in the area. For example, Dukkawa continued to pose numerous problems to the colonial administrators. In 1912, during the time of Assistant Resident Clarke, the Dukkawa refused to pay taxes and even attempted to rebel against the British administration. This was one of the reasons why Clarke insisted on transferring the four towns of Dukkawa to Kontagora.<sup>94</sup>

### **Territorial Restructuring and Adjustment**

The occupation of Kontagora Emirate was the first instance in which the extent of Yauri Emirate under British administration was marked. It was also the first instance of restructuring as well as adjusting the territorial boundaries of Yauri by the British. After the fall of Kontagora and the flee of Sarkin Sudan of Kontagora, Ibrahim Nagwamatse; Kontagora was handed over to Yauri on the ground that the area was initially part of *Kasar Yauri* before the encroachment of Umaru Nagwamatse.<sup>95</sup> But it later became clear that the British officers handed over Kontagora to Abarshi in order to appease him and made him continue cooperating fully with British colonial administration. This became obvious when in 1904, Ibrahim Nagwamatse was reinstated again and Kontagora became independent of Yauri.<sup>96</sup> The transfer of Kontagora to and its separation from Yauri in 1902 and

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<sup>90</sup> S. Adamu, 'A Brief History...', p. 14

<sup>91</sup> E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer of Kontagora Province*, London Waterlow *Ibid*, p. 19

<sup>92</sup> S. Adamu, 'A Brief History...', p. 15

<sup>93</sup> M. Adamu, "Hausa Government in Decline:...", p. 311

<sup>94</sup> Y. Abubakar, "History of Baresha...", p. 87

<sup>95</sup> Mal. Mu'azu Muhammad (Galadiman Yauri), 57 Years, *Oral Interview* at Emir's Palace, Yelwa-Yauri, 15/01/2014

<sup>96</sup> E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer of Kontagora...*, p. 17

1904 respectively had a negative impact on Yauri territory. According to Galadima of Yauri, when Kontagora was conquered and transferred to Yauri, Emir Abarshi decided to send his son Muhammadu Gani to serve as a representative ruler of the Emir of Yauri at Kontagora. Before sending Gani to Kontagora, there was territorial reorganization and demarcation among the emirates in the area. Abarshi asked Gani to demarcate the extent of Kontagora he wanted to rule and Gani directed one of his guards to do so. In order to please Abarshi, the guard marked a large area of territory that was far beyond the extent of Kontagora Emirate before its transfer to Yauri. Abarshi allowed Gani to rule wherever he wanted as Sarkin Sudan of Kontagora believing that Kontagora would remain under Yauri forever. But unfortunately for Abarshi and Yauri as a whole when Ibrahim was reinstated in 1904 the whole area of Kontagora under Gani was given to Ibrahim independently of Yauri.<sup>97</sup> Consequent upon this, a very large area of Yauri territory was taken over by Kontagora. This was also the period when the British colonial officers formally recognized the territorial extent of the two emirates and made them independent divisions of each other. The area recognized by the British to be Yauri Division was from Libata in the south to the Gulbin Ka in the north. The extent of Kontagora on the other hand was from Mariga River to Malando River beyond Ipana.<sup>98</sup> Now the extent of Yauri Emirate which extended from Libata in the south to the Gulbin Ka in the north, including Besse District of modern-day Gwandu Emirate and Ibello of Kontagora in the east before the fall of Kontagora was greatly reduced.<sup>99</sup> In other words the area of *Kasar* Yauri stretched from River Fakku near Rara to Wushishi including Rijau before the activities of Umar Nagwamatse and colonial disruptive boundary demarcation.<sup>100</sup> This means that the territorial extent of Yauri before the activities of Nagwamatse and colonial administration, stretched from Kabi Kingdom to Kaduna and south to Nupe areas. But with the advent of Nagwamatse and his encroachment over Yauri, the Kingdom shrunk from about 17,000 square miles to 1,486 square miles. British colonial administration on the other hand reduced the Emirate to its present size.<sup>101</sup>

Moreover, Yauri suffered another loss of its territory with the activities of the Anglo-French Boundary Commission of 1906-1907. The Commission marked the demarcation of the territorial spheres of influence between British and French

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<sup>97</sup> Mal. Mu'azu Muhammad (Galadiman Yauri)...

<sup>98</sup> Y. Abubakar, "History of Baresha....", p. 88

<sup>99</sup> E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer of Kontagora Province* ..., p. 17

<sup>100</sup> Mal. Mu'azu Muhammad (Galadiman Yauri)...

<sup>101</sup> M. Adamu, "Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth Century" M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1968, p. 53-54

colonial powers. This demarcation affected the territory of the Sokoto Province in which some areas of the Province were taken to French colony of present-day Niger Republic.<sup>102</sup> Consequently, the territory of Yauri Emirate was affected in which Besse (Beshe) a sub-district of Yauri was transferred to Gwandu Emirate of the Sokoto Province by British High Commissioner. Again in 1912, Yauri lost another sub-district of Koko to same Gwandu Emirate. These transfers of two sub-districts that were formerly under Yauri were in order to compensate the territories that Sokoto Province lost to the French colony due to the demarcation of the Boundary Commission.<sup>103</sup> It was also a strategy of the Colonial Government to appease the Sultan of Sokoto and the Emir of Gwandu to continue cooperating with colonial administrators.<sup>104</sup>

Again in 1914 upon the deposition of Sarkin Bussa Gani (King of Bussa), the area of Bussa was merged with Yauri under the Emir of Yauri. Bussa had been under Yauri on a district status until in 1917 when it was again separated from Yauri and became independent. But some areas of Bussa, for example, Agwara and Rofiya were left under Yauri.<sup>105</sup> This subordination of Bussa to Yauri, with which it had been in hostility with since 1885, was made for administrative convenience on the side of the British.<sup>106</sup> But Yauri people might have considered it as a compensation of their lost territories to Kontagora and Gwandu Emirates. The British ulterior motive of subjecting Bussa to Yauri became clear to Yauri people firstly, when in 1918 Dukkun Yauri was transferred to Kontagora Emirate; Banya, Karula and Shinga Islands were reverted to Bussa and secondly, Agwara and Rofiya were transferred to Bussa in 1919 and 1927 respectively.<sup>107</sup>

There was again another territorial dispute between Yauri and Bussa over the District of Kunji in 1925. The origin of the dispute could be traced to the abolition of Borgu Province and its amalgamation with Kontagora Province in 1907. Ten years after the amalgamation precisely in 1917, Kunji became part of Yauri Emirate. Kunji was initially inhabited by Shangawa and Kalakala people from Gwandu before the Kambari people of eastern Niger moved to the area

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<sup>102</sup> NAK/SNP/7/1851/1911/Sokoto Province Summary of Principal Events and also see M. Bachaka, "The Impact of Colonial Administration on the Authority of Sarakuna of Kebbi, 1900-1934", *B. A. Project*, ABU, 1973, p. 13

<sup>103</sup> S. Adamu, 'A Brief History of Yauri'..., p. 14

<sup>104</sup> S. Adamu, 'A Brief History of Yauri'..., p. 15

<sup>105</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/18/3/1915/Kontagora Province Proposed Amalgamation of Emirates of Yauri, Bussa and Kaiama and P.G. Harris *Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer*, 1930, p. 290 and Y. Abubakar, "History of Baresha (Gungawa)...p. 90

<sup>106</sup> Y. Abubakar, "History of Baresha (Gungawa) ..., p. 90

<sup>107</sup> P.G. Harris *Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer*, 1930, p. 290 and Y. Abubakar, "History of Baresha,..., p. 90 and NAK/DOB/BOU/5/Boundary between Bussa and Yauri

during the activities of Nagwamatse. The District of Kunji was subdued by Sarkin Bussa who appointed one Barjebalo, a Zabarma man to rule the area on his behalf. The area had been under Bussa until its amalgamation with Yauri in 1917.<sup>108</sup> The people of Kunji were Kambarawa and Fulani, therefore, they were considered ethnically as Yaurawa not Bussawa by the colonial officers. Consequent upon this, Kunji District was considered as part of Yauri Emirate.<sup>109</sup>

Furthermore, it is pertinent to note that colonial officers drew various territorial boundaries that tempered with the extent of Yauri Emirate and also brought about territorial dispute between Yauri and her neighbouring emirates. Perhaps, the first territorial demarcation that caused trouble in the area was that of Mr. Tupper Carey. Carey drew territorial boundaries that marked the extent of Borgu, Yauri and Gwandu Emirates in 1932. This brought about territorial dispute over the villages of Tungar Boka, Dankaku and Tungar Abarshi among the three Emirates because the villages were not designated to any of the Emirates by Carey.<sup>110</sup> Moreover, there was another gazetting of artificial boundaries between the three Emirates in 1936 and this also led to the territorial dispute over the Islands of Ulakami, Ganka, Ushaba and Kumalla between Borgu and Yauri Emirates. The gazetted boundary description of 1936 placed Ulakami and Ganka under Yauri and the authority of Borgu claimed that the islands were under Borgu Emirate. According to the gazette Ushaba and Kumalla were part of Borgu but British officers left them under Yauri for reason of expediency and convenience. Borgu made claim of the four islands because Yauri Emirate introduced fishing tax on Borgu fishermen intending to fish in the Islands.<sup>111</sup> In addition to that there were many other demarcations including that of 1957 by Mr. V.T. Brokenshire and Mr. C. Rayner. This took Tungar Dogo away from Yauri and placed it under Borgu and the village of Gidan Dorawa on the other hand was placed under Yauri.<sup>112</sup>

The disruptive colonial boundaries affected people of Yauri in which relatives were separated; peasants were deprived of their farm lands and also their right to fish in some islands. For example, the problem of Bussa Kambari and their relatives, N'gaski Kambari or Yelwa Kambari is a serious problem that separated relatives. Colonial boundary demarcations also became a source of disagreement between Yauri and her neighbours. For instance, people left their place of origins

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<sup>108</sup> NAK/DOB/BOU/17/Bussa Territory Possible Transfer of

<sup>109</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/7925/Bussa-N'gaski Land Dispute

<sup>110</sup> NAK/DOB/BOU/20/Provincial and Boundaries: Borgu-Yauri-Gwandu Boundary/Aliyara-Yauri Boundary

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

and found new settlements on uninhabited bush. At new settlements they farmed the land and continued living there and later the authority of the emirate where the people hailed from claimed the possession of the settlements. On the other hand the emirate to which the settlements belonged according to the colonial artificial boundaries also made claims of the settlements. For example, Maiel-Kwarfa was initially uninhabited bush but later the Lafagu people of Ka'oje settled in the area and when the boundary was delimited in 1930 by Messrs Holme, the settlement was given to Yauri. This led to boundary dispute between Ka'oje and Yauri in 1932 when the District Head of Ka'oje made claim of the hamlet.<sup>113</sup>

### **Yauri Emirate Administration**

Yauri was one of the areas of northern Nigeria that were colonized and ruled by British under indirect system of administration. The Emirate was since 1901 recognized as one of the four divisions that made up the Kontagora Province. It was called Yelwa Division and the Emir of Yauri was recognized as a second class emir. The Division of Yelwa was made up of one Native Authority comprising five districts and Yelwa town as a separate unit.<sup>114</sup> With the disassembling of Kontagora Province and the incorporation of Kontagora Division into Niger Province on 31 December, 1924, Yauri was transferred to Sokoto Province. Under the province of Sokoto, the Emirate continued to be administered as a Native Authority under Southern Division but later it was made part of Gwandu Division.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, Yauri Emirate was ruled throughout colonial regime as a Native Authority (N.A.) with its own Native courts of various grades as well as various N. A. Departments like any other N.A. of colonial northern Nigeria.

Up to 1910, the administration of Yauri Emirate was under the Emirs of Yauri as well as their *Kofas* (agents). The Emirs ruled the whole Emirate from Birnin Yauri and later Yelwa and appointed their *Kofas* to rule different areas of the Emirate as their representatives. By 1911, the British colonial officers divided the

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<sup>113</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/S.260/Sokoto-Ilorin Boundary Gwandu-Borgu-Yauri Boundary

<sup>114</sup> E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer of Kontagora Province*, London Waterlow *Ibid.* p. 4 The other three divisions were Borgu, Dabai and Kontagora itself.

<sup>115</sup> After the partition of Kontagora Province, Yauri and Dabai (Zuru) emirates were transferred to Sokoto Province. The two Native Authorities were administered under Gwandu Division but before long, they were made Southern Division independently of Gwandu with headquarters at Yelwa and later moved to Zuru. Yauri was again removed from Southern Division in 1933 and merged with Gwandu. Dabai was again transferred back to Niger Province in 1939 and Yauri remained part of Gwandu Division up to 1960. NAK/KONPROF/20141/Ilorin Province Enlargement of on Partition of Kontagora Province; NAK/SOKPROF/S.260/Sokoto-Ilorin Boundary Gwandu-Borgu-Yauri Boundary and NAK/SOKPROF/S2824/District Administration of Yauri

Emirate into five districts of Gungawa, Ngaski, Shanga (Kwakwatte) as well as Dukku and Kainji during the time of J.O.C. Clarke as Assistant Resident.<sup>116</sup> The area of Birnin Yauri was called eastern Yauri and continued to be ruled by office holders of the Emir of Yauri from Yelwa. In 1912 eastern Yauri was made a district and its boundaries were clearly marked out. This made the number of districts in the Emirate to be twelve (12). The town of Yelwa (the headquarters of the Emirate) was treated as a separate unit. All the district heads were regarded as 3<sup>rd</sup> Grade Chiefs. District and Village Heads were now appointed by the Emir from Yelwa to administer the districts as well as various villages in the Emirate and the former were put on salaries. Village Heads were mainly responsible for the collection of tax and initially were not put on salaries but percentage of the tax collected.<sup>117</sup> This was to encourage them to collect as much tax as possible, but it is important to note that they were later put on fixed salaries.

### **Administration of Justice**

In the administration of justice, District *Alkalai* (judges, sing. *Alkali*) were appointed in all districts but Gungawa and eastern Yauri cases were heard by the *Alkali* at Yelwa. District *Malamai* were also appointed to assist the District Heads in the administration of their respective districts. The Emir presided at Yelwa Court and also assisted in his duties by a council that includes Madawaki and Tukura among others.<sup>118</sup> The judicial councils of the districts were presided by District Heads. Village Heads were charged at District Judicial Councils and District Heads were charged at Emir's Court while cases involving Emirs used to be decided at Provincial Court. It is also pertinent to note that appeals could be made to Provincial Court after the judgement of the above mentioned courts in the Emirate. The Provincial Court system ceased in the 1934 and replaced by Protectorate Court.<sup>119</sup> From 1912 after the division of Yauri into six districts to 1924 when the Emirate was transferred to Sokoto Province, the area had the following courts:

<b>Name of Court</b>	<b>Grade</b>	<b>Date of Establishment</b>	<b>Jurisdiction</b>
Yelwa Alkali Court	B	03/02/1912	Yelwa
Ngaski Alkali Court	C	03/02/1912	Ngaski District

<sup>116</sup> P.G. Harris *Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer*, 1930, p. 290 and Solamone, p. 55

<sup>117</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/2/19/Annual Report of 1919 Yelwa Division

<sup>118</sup> E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer of Kontagora* ..... Pp. 17- 18

<sup>119</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Annual Report on the Northern Province of Nigeria for the 1934



Ngaski Native Court	C	06030/1914	Ngaski District
Kainji Alkali Court	D	06/03/1914	Kainji District
Yelwa Native Court	B	15/07/1916	Yelwa
Shanga Native Court	C	24/07/1919	Shanga District

Source: E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer of Kontagora Province*, London Waterlow *Ibid.* p. 5

The N.A. possessed *Dogarai* (Native Police) under the headship of *Sarkin Dogarai* and their responsibility was to ensure peace and order. For example, by 1919 there were about twenty-one (21) *Dogarai* in Yauri. Among whom fourteen (14) of them and *Sarkin Dogarai* were at Yelwa in which six (6) *Dogarai* were assigned to Native Prison, six (6) were guarding the Native Treasury, one (1) was attached to *Alkali* and the other one (1) at Emir's palace. In the districts, there were two (2) *Dogarai* at Kunji, one (1) at Gungawa, one (1) at Birnin-Yauri, two (2) at N'gaski and one (1) at Shanga.<sup>120</sup>

The Yauri N.A. had specialized N.A. Departments that included works, medical, health, agriculture, veterinary and forestry among others. These departments were headed by Emir's councilors and also Native Authority officials. The councilors were Ubandoma, Tukura, Ma'ajin Yauri, Shantalin Yauri, Walin Yauri, Alkalin Yauri, Ubandawaki and Galadima.<sup>121</sup> For instance in 1950s, according Galadima, Walin Yauri was the serving departmental head of N.A. Prison, Police and Judiciary, Galadiman Yauri headed Education Department and Shantali/Madawaki was the head of Health Department. They assisted and advised the Emir in the administration of the Emirate as a whole. It is noteworthy, that there were some swapping and changes in posting of these departmental heads to manage the affairs of different departments.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>120</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/2/19/Annual Report of 1919 Yelwa Division

<sup>121</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Yelwa Town Hall and Outer Council

<sup>122</sup> The institution of Shantali was later changed to Madawaki with similar responsibility during the reign of Shantali Abubakar. When Shantali Abubakar (now Madawaki) resigned his son, Abdullahi Abubakar succeeded him as the new Madawakin Yauri. Abdullahi on the other hand relinquished the office of Madawaki in the early 1970s for civil service when he was appointed as Divisional Officer (D.O.). The institution of Madawaki was however, replaced by that of Ubandawaki by Emir of Yauri, Alhaji. Muhammadu Tukur. Emir Tukur appointed Alhaji Muhammad Sani Na yaya as the new Ubandawaki of Yauri and the senior councilor of Yauri Emirate Council. The most recent development with the institution is that the office of the senior councillor of Yauri Emirate is now given to Galadiman Yauri who was hitherto next to Ubandawaki in the Emirate Council. This happened after the removal of the immediate past Ubandawaki, Alhaji Musa Muhammad Na yaya by the State Government following financial misappropriations while he was the Councillor Incharge of the Emirate finances. For details of this see letter of the Ministry for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Kebbi State, of 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2013 with

The British officers often interfered in the administration of the Emirate especially in the installation of a new Emir upon the demise or deposition of the existing one. For instance, in 1904 after the death of Abarshi his surviving son Jibrilu was installed as Abarshi's successor by the Resident of Kontagora. This succession was completely against the local traditions and Jibrilu lack good virtue and ability to rule Yauri people. The three most important officials of the Emir's council and also king-makers, namely Ubandawaki, Muta and Rikubu felt offended by the British. In effect, they sabotaged his administration and that resulted in Jibrilu's dethronement in 1915.<sup>123</sup>

### **Outer and Town Councils**

Furthermore, in 1953 Yauri Native Administration moved toward more representative government than ever before. This was the period when Outer, Town, District and Village Councils were organized to form a democratic system. The Outer Council was for the entire Emirate; the Town Council was for Yelwa town (the Emirate Headquarters) and the District and Village Councils were for every district as well as village in the Emirate. The Councils were responsible for executive, legislative and even judicial affairs of the Emirate. Outer Council was the supreme governing council followed by Town, District and Village Councils.<sup>124</sup> By 1955, during political movement that ushered in the Nigerian independence, there was at every district; District Council, every village; Village Council, at Yelwa; Town Council and Outer Council for the whole Emirate.<sup>125</sup> The followings are the constituents of the councils:

### **The Outer Council**

The Emir, two of his council members, *Alkali*, work supervisor, Emir's Scribe; twenty-one elected members that included two district heads elected by themselves, two district scribes elected by themselves, one representative for every 5000 inhabitants in every district elected by district councils from among their own elected members. Eight nominated members that included three village heads, two Fulani, one southerner and two unspecified. The nomination was made by the Emir.<sup>126</sup>

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reference no. MLGCA/S/LGG/55/Vol. II, signed by Garba H. Mungadi, Director Personnel Management for Honourable Commissioner.

<sup>123</sup> E.C. Duff, *Gazetteer of Kontagora Province*, ..., pp. 17-18

<sup>124</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Yauri Emirate Council: Village, District, Town and Outer Council

<sup>125</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Yelwa Town Hall and Outer Council

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

### **The Town (Yelwa) Council**

Ubandoma of Yauri as chairman, Town Scribe, two ward heads of the town, eight elected members that included two members from Sarkin Jirgi Ward, four members from Zamare Ward, one N.A. official elected by Emir's councilors and one southerner elected by themselves. Four nominated members that included one trader, one representative of labourers and two unspecified. The nomination was a prerogative of the Emir of Yauri (Emir in council) which took place after three years.<sup>127</sup>

### **The District Council Election**

The District Head, the District Scribe, all the village heads of the villages that constituted the district and one elected member representing every 500 taxpayers in each village area and two unspecified members that were nominated from among the prominent people in the district, for example, headmasters, dispensary attendants and others. In a district with Fulani population, there used to be a Fulani representative. Election of members was to take place after every three years.<sup>128</sup>

### **The Village Council Election**

The Village Head, Village Scribe and one elected member representing every 100 taxpayers. The taxpayers included farmers; traders and educated men and for example, in a village of 600 people, there were 6 representatives.<sup>129</sup> It is also pertinent to note that all decisions taken by either Village or District Council must be approved by the Outer and Town Councils. The District Councils were responsible for preparation of annual estimate and expenditure of their respective districts but subject to the approval of Outer Council. With this development in the administration of Yauri, the revenue generated by the districts was shared between the districts and the N.A. The districts executed their public projects using their share of revenue with assistance from N.A.<sup>130</sup>

The N.A. administration in Yauri was one of such considered as progressive indirect rule in which traditional rulers strengthened their powers through cooperating with colonial officers to capture and pacify the peasantry.<sup>131</sup> This was also possible because of the fact that it was part of British strategy to rule in northern Nigeria through flexible traditional rulers. Indirect rule sought to maintain British economic interests in a caste-like structure in which local rulers

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<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>128</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Yelwa Town Hall and Outer Council

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>130</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Yelwa Town Hall and Outer Council

<sup>131</sup> Solamone, pp. 48-49

were to serve as allies. Capturing the peasantry means that all economic, political and socio-cultural independence is impossible for the peasantry.<sup>132</sup>

### **Colonial Socio-economic Policies in Yauri**

More on colonial socio-economic policies are discussed in chapter seven. However, as earlier noted, Yauri Emirate was ruled under one central colonial administration of northern Nigeria. The social and economic policies of the Emirate under colonial regime could be understood in the general socio-economic policy of the region. The policy tended to encourage production of cash-crops that were needed in Britain as well as the collection of taxes. Production of cash-crops served the purposes of making raw materials available for British industries and that of making money available in the hands of people to pay taxes and buy manufactured goods from Britain.<sup>133</sup> This situation gave way for the European merchants to determine the prices for the exports as well as the imports because they monopolized the means of both import and export trades. Export commodities included groundnut, cotton, cattle hides, sheep and goat skins, reptile and lizard skins as well as gold. Imports included luxuries such as tobacco and liquor and cotton finished goods (textiles).<sup>134</sup> According to Galadima, the emphasis on production of cash-crops at the expense of food crops had no much effect on foodstuff shortages in the Emirate as it was the case in other areas of colonial Nigeria.<sup>135</sup>

The policy provided a formula of sharing revenue generated by Yauri N.A. between the Colonial Government and the N.A. itself. The revenue was initially shared on 50% basis but however, the growing role of the N.As made the review of the formula necessary and this increases Yauri N.A's share to 70% in 1928 of the total revenue and later dropped to 60% during the period of Governor Bernard Bourdillon (1935-1943).<sup>136</sup> The share to be received by Yauri N.A. kept on fluctuating from up-ward to down-ward or vice-versa depending on the circumstances and the determination of the Colonial Government. For instance, by 1950 Yauri received 50% of her generated revenue.<sup>137</sup> It is equally important to note that, as any other N.A. in northern Nigeria, Yauri used to deposit large

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<sup>132</sup> Solamone, p. 56

<sup>133</sup> Galadiman Yauri

<sup>134</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Annual Report on the Northern Provinces of Nigeria for the Year, 1933

<sup>135</sup> Mal. Mu'azu Muhammad (Galadiman Yauri)

<sup>136</sup> A.M. Yakubu, *Emirs and Politicians: Reforms, Reaction and Recrimination in Northern Nigeria*, Kaduna: Baraka Press, Kaduna, 2006, p. 36 and also Mal. Galadiman Yauri

<sup>137</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Annual Report on the Northern Provinces of Nigeria for the 1932

amount of its share with Bank of British West Africa Limited (BBWA) and keep little amount at hand, under the instruction of the Colonial Government.<sup>138</sup>

The major sources of revenue in Yauri were land tax, jangali (cattle tax), game licenses, court fines, market dues and Zango. For instance, there were two Zangos in the Emirate. The Zangos were at Yelwa and N'gaski on the main trade routes and the earning of Zango for example by 1919, amounted to £75.4.5. The earning from Yelwa market dues by the same year was £46.1.1.<sup>139</sup> Sometimes tax was either removed or reduced because of certain problems, for instance, in 1930s during the great depression market dues were suspended, cattle tax was also reduced as well as other taxes.<sup>140</sup> The reduction as well as the suspension of other taxes also affected Yauri people in which the salary of staff was reduced and so also social services curtailed.<sup>141</sup> For example during the same depression of 1930s that led to the suspension as well as reduction of taxes; there was the adaptation of a new policy in which the conservation of reserve funds for the development of communication (roads and bridges) and agricultural extension for the production of export crops was encouraged.<sup>142</sup> This policy was supported by the Colonial Government in order to siphoned agricultural products to the depressed Europe. Agricultural extension services facilitated production of raw-materials for British industries while roads and bridges were to ease the process of transporting the products to Britain. It was during this period that some bridges were constructed over Molendo, Kanzaki and Kasanu rivers. The construction aimed at opening up trade communication between Jebba (Zungeru) and Western half of Sokoto Province and these projects were funded by Yauri, Argungu, Gwandu and Sokoto N.As. as directed by the Colonial Government.<sup>143</sup>

With its share of revenue Yauri N.A. was able to execute some social services designed and encouraged by the Colonial Government. Provision of social services was part of colonial policy in the area because colonial officers realized that such social services as healthcare delivery, entertainment and education were essential in the human and material exploitation of Yauri. In effect, there were diggings of concrete wells to provide drinking water, cinema show, dispensary and school construction. For instance, a number of wells were dug in Yelwa and Birnin-Yauri; there was cinema room in Yelwa. By 1933, there was one

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<sup>138</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/NAF/Yauri Native Treasury Annual Accounts 1958-1959 covering date 1955-1958

<sup>139</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/2/19/Annual Report of 1919 Yelwa Division

<sup>140</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Annual Report on the Northern Provinces of Nigeria for the 1932

<sup>141</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Annual Report on the Northern Province of Nigeria for the 1934

<sup>142</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Annual Report on the Northern Province of Nigeria for the 1934

<sup>143</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Annual Report on the Northern Province of Nigeria for the 1934

dispensary and one elementary school at Yelwa.<sup>144</sup> But toward 1960, there were dispensaries in Yelwa, Dugu, Warra, Takware, Birnin-Yauri and Giron-Masa and elementary schools were established at Yelwa, N'gaski, Birnin-Yauri, Takware, Rafin-Kirya, Dugu-Raha, Dugu-Tsoho and Kebbe.<sup>145</sup> A hospital was also established at Yelwa by Church Missionary Society (CMS).<sup>146</sup> A cemented bridge was constructed on the road from Shanga to Yelwa with taxpayer's money as well as community efforts that piled rocks and sand.<sup>147</sup> Drainages were also constructed by the N.A. and another bridge called Danzaki Bridge was constructed.<sup>148</sup>

It is also worth noting that British colonial officers encouraged gold mining in Yauri Emirate and there, they imported labourers from Jos-Plateau and Zaria and these people are still in Yauri around areas of gold prospecting. Colonial officers also employed labourers from within the Emirate to work in the mines. Gold mines were parts of the economic interests of British colonial officers in Yauri and this also provided a chain of social infrastructure in order to facilitate the mining industries in the Emirate.<sup>149</sup> Consequently, there was road networking in Yauri during colonial era. Some of these roads were specifically designed and constructed in order to connect the mining areas. The networks included: Yelwa-Zuru all season road, Yelwa-Besse dry season road, Yelwa-Kontagora dry season road, Yelwa-N'gaski road, Kimu-Tungan Tonko road, Kimu-Sabon Birni road and Yelwa-Koko road. Yelwa-Kontagora road led to gold fields on the Molende River, Kimu-Tungan Tonko road led to gold fields on the Uluma River and Kimu-Sabon Birni led to gold fields on Kasanu River.<sup>150</sup>

Moreover, it is pertinent to note that in the construction or execution of public projects; community efforts, wage and forced labours were employed in collecting sand and rocks. Every work to be established in a district or village, the community was responsible for collecting such local materials.<sup>151</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter has examined Yauri Emirate under colonial regime with emphasis on the impact of artificial boundaries created by colonial officers for

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<sup>144</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/1291

<sup>145</sup> Mal. Mu'azu Muhammad (Galadiman Yauri)

<sup>146</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Yelwa Town Hall and Outer Council

<sup>147</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Yelwa Town Hall and Outer Council

<sup>148</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/Yelwa Town Hall and Outer Council

<sup>149</sup> Mal. Mu'azu Muhammad (Galadiman Yauri)

<sup>150</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/1291

<sup>151</sup> Mal. Mu'azu Muhammad (Galadiman Yauri)

administrative convenience and expediency. The disruptive colonial boundaries demarcating the extent of Yauri and her neighbouring emirates have affected Yauri and made the Emirate loss wide area of its former territory and it is estimated that about two-third of the area was taken.<sup>152</sup> This also made it the smallest division in Kontagora Province up to 1924 and smallest N.A. in Sokoto Province to 1960.<sup>153</sup> Perhaps, it could be the reason why Yauri was not administered as an independent division under Sokoto Province but as sub-division of Southern Division and later of Gwandu Division. The study further believes that the economic and social policies of the colonial regime in Yauri were mainly designed to ensure the exploitation of economic potentialities in the area. This was the reason why a lot of Yauri funds were spent on such sectors considered to be essential for the maintenance of colonial rule rather than human and material development of Yauri. For instance, in 1950, Yauri N.A. spent £1,460 on police and £975, medical and health.<sup>154</sup> The amount spent on police affairs almost doubled the amount spent on the healthcare delivery of Yauri people. This is absolutely surprising because health is central to the existence of every society and it is evident that investing in health produces positive outcomes in human capital that have long term impact in the overall socio-economic development of every people, including the police themselves.



The old Emir's Palace at the river side

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<sup>152</sup> S. Adamu, 'A Brief History of Yauri'..., p. 15

<sup>153</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/2/19/Annual Report of 1919 Yelwa Division

<sup>154</sup> NAK/SOKPROF/44577/Yauri N.A.



Jerabana House: The present Emir's Palace



The Central Mosque at Yauri Palace





The Emir Muhammadu Tukur's Chamber



Inside Emir Abdullahi Majlis

## Some of the Past Emirs of Yauri



Emir Jibril Abarshi (1904-1915)



Emir Abdullahi Jibril (1923-1955)



Emir Muhammadu Tukur Abdullahi  
(1955-1981)



Emir Shu'aibu Yakubu Abarshi  
(1981-1999)

## Council Members of Yauri Emirate



Alh. Mu'azu Muhammadu  
Na-Mallam, *Galadiman* Yauri



Alh. Bawa Muhammadu Yelwa  
*Mutan* Yauri



Alh. Umar Musa Yelwa  
*Tukuran* Yauri



Emir Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi (1999-date)



Alh. Hassan Usman Tondi  
*Rukubun Yauri*



Alh. Shehu Ahmad Wali  
*Walin Yauri*



Alh. Aliyu Gado, Secretary  
Yauri Emirate Council

## District Heads of Yauri Emirate



Emir Abdullahi with his District Heads during The Presentation of Certificates to participants Of Adult Education (Yaki da Jahilci) workshop. The young boy standing near the Emir is Zayyanu The current Emir of Yauri Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi.



Emir of Yauri Malam Abdullahi and Emir of Gwandu Malam Yahya. The people at the back-Ground were some of the District Heads of Gwandu Emirate. The fourth District Head from right was Sarkin Gobir Kalgo Malam Ha-Runa Rashid (now late).



The Premier of Northern Nigeria and Sardauna of Sokoto, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello with Alhaji Aliyu Makaman Bida paying a courtesy call on the Emir of Yauri Malam Abdullahi (backing the camera) at his residence in Kaduna.



Presentation of 1<sup>st</sup> Class Staff of Office to His Royal Highness the Emir of Yauri, Alhaji Muhammad Tukur by the Governor of North Western State, Commissioner of Police, Alhaji Usman Faruk (1970). Emir was promoted from 2<sup>nd</sup> Class to 1<sup>st</sup> Class.



Governor General of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Sir James Robutson paying congratulatory visit to newly appointed Emir of Yauri, Alhaji Muhammadu Tukur (1956).



Governor of Sokoto State, Dr. Garba Nadama presenting the 1<sup>st</sup> Class Staff of Office to the newly appointed Emir of Yauri, Alhaji Shu'aibu Yakubu Abarshi at the Coronation Ceremony on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1982.



Presentation of 1<sup>st</sup> Class Staff of His Royal Highness Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi by the Executive Governor of Kebbi State, His Excellency Alhaji Muhammadu Adamu Aleiro On 17<sup>th</sup> June 2000.



Resident of Sokoto and District Officer of Yauri during the Ceremony of presentation of award of Officer of British Empire (OBE) to the Emir of Yauri, Malam Abdullahi.





Alh. Ibrahim K. Aliyu, *mni*  
Deputy Governor, Kebbi State  
(*Matawallen Yauri*)



*Bayawura*: Emir of Yauri's official boat

## Chapter 6

### Yauri and Her Neighbours

A.I. Yandaki,  
M.U. Bunza &  
Mansur Abubakar Wara

#### Introduction

This Chapter examines the relationship that transpired between Yauri Emirate and her immediate neighbouring emirates both before and after the 19<sup>th</sup> century jihad in Hausaland as well as before and after the colonial period. It will be shown in the chapter that while Bussa, Kebbi, Zamfara and Nupe Kingdoms neighboured Yauri Kingdom during the pre-19<sup>th</sup> century period, Gwandu, Kontagora, Borgu and later (from the colonial conquest) Zuru, have been the neighbouring emirates of the present day Yauri Emirate. The chapter also discusses the extent and stages of relationship between Yauri and some major Hausa and other non-Hausa States within and outside the Nigerian area.

#### Yauri at the Peak of its authority

The climax of Yauri's economic influence and political power could be dated back to the period between 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the kingdom was said to have succeeded in consolidating its political and military prowess by spearheading the wars of territorial expansion and enhancing its defence mechanism.<sup>1</sup> By the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Yauri territorial boundaries had enlarged. To the east, it had extended to as far as River Mariga, which was a tributary of River Kaduna. To the west of River Niger, it extended to as far as Lolo (in the present Illo District of Gwandu Emirate), and to the south, it was bordered with Nupeland within the area of Maza-Kuka village. To the north, the Yauri kingdom was bordered with Kebbi from around Rara and Shesu in the north of Danko town, in the present Zuru Emirate. It is added that both Rijau and Kontagora were once the subservients of Yauri kingdom who were respectively under the control of *Ubandawaki* and *Galadima* of Yauri.<sup>2</sup> Of course, this observation has featured elsewhere in this work.

#### Yauri and her Pre-19<sup>th</sup> Century Neighbours

Due to its prosperous economy, military strength and accessibility, Yauri inter-related with many territories and groups, among whom were its neighbouring and

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<sup>1</sup> See S. Adamu, *A Brief History of Yauri*, Kaduna, Yauri Emirate Council, 2000, P. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

far away allies. However, it needs to be noted that the nature of her relationships with most States were of two dimensions; firstly and in the early stage, through peaceful co-existence up to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and later, coercion on the other hand as well as relative peace that began to reign from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to date. These are sequentially discussed below.

### **Yauri-Zamfara Relations**

According to Mahdi Adamu, the Yauri-Zamfara interregnum was the first among the earliest noticeable links known to have taken place in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Sarkin Zamfara Burumburum whose reign was said to have begun in 1536 declared war within the area of River Niger until he reached Yauri. He further stated that by that time Yauri had no outstanding ruler. Moreover, no further explanation was given concerning the Burumburum's expedition in the Yauri area.<sup>3</sup>

### **Yauri-Kebbi Relations**

Another prominent link that occurred between Yauri and her closest neighbours in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was that of Kebbi Kingdom, which according to Argungu tradition, Sarkin Kebbi Muhammadu Kanta is said to have reached agreements of free and peaceful passage aimed at securing trade routes through Yauri to Nupeland. However, there was no reported case of waging wars between the two states even during Kanta's time but in return, Kanta agreed not to attack Yauri.<sup>4</sup>

Other sources have shown that one of the Jerabana rulers of Yauri was said to have led an expedition to Kebbi and succeeded in entering the capital after defeating Kebbi army at a certain battle fought outside the town. The fortune of the war soon took another dimension and the Yauri army was driven out of the Kanta capital, Surame almost immediately. Following the subsequent retreat, the Yauri army grabbed one of the doors of the city gates as evidence of their war victory over Kebbi. However, the Kebbi traditions remained silent on this development to date.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, Yauri is also said to have become militarily strong in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which helped the Yawurawa to challenge Kebbi in the same

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<sup>3</sup>Adamu, M., "The Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth century", M.A. Dissertation, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University, 1968, P. 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Pp.61-62.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.



century. Fearlessly, Yauri gave asylum to a deposed king of Kebbi, Muhammadu Dan Giwa (1700-1717).<sup>6</sup>

However, from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century up to the present time, peace reigned between the two states. There was influx of *Sarkawa* tribe into Yauri Emirate in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who appeared to be a group of fishermen mainly from Argungu Emirate. They increasingly migrated into the Yauri area in large numbers, and in different periods, along with their wives, relatives and children. They were not prevented from living in various parts of Yauri land. The vast majority of them have even succeeded in establishing their strongholds in Ngaski District, where they founded their own villages and towns like Tungan Haladu, Tungan Mairuwa, Bakari, Wawu and others, in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Their number had increased after the completion of Kainji Dam and resettlements in 1968, which opened up more fishing opportunities in the area. A considerable number of the Sarkawa fishermen live in Yelwa Wara, Gebe, Dilli, Cupamini, Utono, Pisabu, Zamare, Shanga towns and in other coastal towns and villages of Yauri Emirate.<sup>7</sup> This is also a boast to inter-group relations discussed in chapter nine.

### **Yauri-Nupe Relations**

Sources have shown that the level of Yauri-Nupe relations started as effort of Nupe rulers that was virtually aimed at territorial expansion on the part of Nupe kingdom. The first recorded campaign was that of Tsoede, the founder of Nupe kingdom. He was said to have invaded Maginga area of Yauri kingdom and even destroyed parts of the walls of Birnin Yauri itself, the then capital of Yauri Kingdom. After his annexation of Maginga, he was ambushed and shot in Maginga by some Maginga Kambari archers, consequent upon receiving directives from Sarkin Yauri to do so, at a place called Gwagwade in about 1591. Afterwards, some of the Tsoede's sons and successors planned to annex Maginga area of Yauri Kingdom, but were unsuccessful.<sup>8</sup>

From the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century up to its end, the relationship between Yauri and Nupe was entirely peaceful as both sought for each other's cooperation interms of war and other pursuits. For instance, it was reported that Etsu Iliyasu is said to have assisted one Sarkin Yauri whose name was not stated, to crush some Kambari rebellious communities near the Kontagora River in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Mahdi Adamu reported that Sarkin Yauri Ahmadu Jerabana

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> For more details about the flow, settlements and activities of the *Sarkawa* fishermen in Yauri Emirate, see: A. Mansur, "History of the Akimba Group of the Kambari People to the End of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century", UDUS, M.A. Dissertation, 2010, Pp. 103-104.

<sup>8</sup> Adamu, *Op.cit.*, Pp. 63-64.

(1773-1790) was a good friend of Etsu-Nupe Majia I and at various times had relations of mutual benefits between themselves.<sup>9</sup>

### **Yauri-Bussa Relations**

One of the most outstanding relations happened during the period of uncertainties in Yauri history, that is, the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the bitter Civil War was fought. Part of the outcome was emigration of many Yauri commoners to Bussa side of the Niger. It is reported that one of the groups of these emigrants occupied about seven towns in Kwanji District (now in Yauri Emirate). Of course, it has been reported that some oral traditions claimed that, wars had been waged against Yauri, but looking at the nature of how the events were reported by oral traditionists, the claim appears to be weak.<sup>10</sup>

Until the accession of Abdullahi Abarshi as Sarkin Yauri in 1890, Bussa and Yauri maintained good relationships.<sup>11</sup> The friendship of the two States culminated in the 1880s in the joint action of the then Sarakuna, Gallo of Yauri and Dantoro of Bussa, against the Kambari of Gebbe. Many Kambari had crossed the Niger from Yauri to Bussa because Gallo had been unable to afford them protection from slave raiding by Ibrahim Nagwamatse, Sarkin Sudan of Kontagora. Gallo was further hampered by the civil war. The Kambari settled on Bussa lands, in particular in the Kwanji, Agwara and Rofia areas. The Kambari soon asserted their independence, raiding canoes of both Bussa and Yauri. Sarkin Bussa Dantoro, led an expedition against them but had to call in Yauri forces to assist him.<sup>12</sup>

These combined forces were at first led by Dangaladima Abarshi of Yauri who had to withdraw on succeeding Gallo as Sarkin Yauri. Dantoro assisted by Mora Tasude I of Kaiama(1885-1912), successfully completed the war and installed his administrator, Barje Bello, to govern the recently subdued districts. Abarshi was however, allowed to appoint the village heads of Kalkami and Kawara to serve under Barje Bello.<sup>13</sup>

According to Bussa traditions, Abarshi tried to drive out Barje and re-assert Yauri control over its former Kambari subjects, even though they were settled on Bussa

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Pp.164 – 168. Also see, M. Adamu, as quoted in Ryan and Hoskyns Abrahall, History of Bussa and History of Agwara District NAK: 3029/1923, p. 242.

<sup>11</sup> See: Crowder, Michael, *Colonial West Africa: Collected Essays*, London, Frank Cass, 1978. P. 154.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Pp. 154-155.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

land. However, Yauri has it that Dantoro asked Abarshi to rid him of Barje Bello but that the latter subsequently made peace with Dantoro.<sup>14</sup>

Abarshi was ultimately unsuccessful in his attempt to remove Barje who remained in his position up till his death in 1912. Yauri and Bussa became bitter enemies with claiming that sovereignty resided in the origin of the people supported in the disputed area, while Bussa insisted that it consisted in ownership of the land. The British finally put an end to an open hostility between the two.<sup>15</sup>

### **Yauri and Katsina**

According to Katsina tradition, Yauri is said to have been once invaded and defeated by Katsina towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of Sarkin Katsina Aliyu Karya Giwa (died c. 1585). However, none of the Yauri traditions has mentioned this event and indeed, on any attack launched by Katsina.<sup>16</sup> However, Yauri-Katsina relations is a settled issue because, in the first place both the earliest founder of Yauri Tafiraulu ruling house and Jerabana ruling house-founders of modern Yauri, were of Katsina origin. Far later this relation resurfaced again during the reign of Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullah the 43<sup>rd</sup> Emir of Yauri who appointed Professor Mu'atasim Ibrahim, a Katsina personality from Unguwar Alkali as the Durbin Yauri.<sup>17</sup>

### **Yauri-Zazzau relations**

Sources show that Amina of Zazzau was the direct link between Yauri and Zazzau. During the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Amina is said to have swayed her influence over Birnin Yauri where she spent quite sometime to the extent of building a huge *Ganuwa* Wall around the big city of Birnin Yauri. Some traditions even claimed that she was the one that gave the name *Yawurawa* to the people of Yauri.<sup>18</sup> It would be recalled that Amina was very famous throughout Western Sudan and she built *Ganuwa* in the kingdoms she subdued. Along with her sister, Zariya, they formed a political axis in Yauri area with Amina holding firm on Birnin Yauri and Zariya her sister holding firm on Zariya-Kala-Kala an old town to the west of both old Birnin Yauri and the present Yelwa Yauri consequently Zariya the sister of Amina died at Birnin Yauri when she left Zariya-Kala-Kala to meet her sister who had gone on a campaign against Okene

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>16</sup> M. Adamu, *Op.cit.*, Pp. 62-63.

<sup>17</sup> He was turbaned as Durbin Yauri by His Highness the Emir of Yauri, Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi on 16<sup>th</sup> June, 2000. Interview with Professor Mu'utasim Ibrahim, Vice Chancellor, Ummaru Musa Yar'adua University Katsina, on 9<sup>th</sup> June, 2013, at his office.

<sup>18</sup> M. Adamu. *Op.cit.*, p. 62

but she died at Idah.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, two of Amina's legacies in this 21<sup>st</sup> century in Yauri are the *Ganuwa* and the *Munduwar* Amina the relics of which still exist.

Far later Sarkin Yauri, Abdullahi sought the assistance of his friend Sarkin Zazzau Jafaru, to send to Yauri a secretary (*Magatakarda*) because Yauri did not have qualified personnel. And one Malam Aliyu Danyari was brought to be the *Magatakarda*.



The site of the historic Munduwar Amina at old Birnin Yauri

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<sup>19</sup> U. Dalhatu & M. Hassan, *Alhaji Shehu Idris cfr the 18<sup>th</sup> Fulani Emir of Zazzau*, Kaduna, Books Africana, 2000 pp 4&5.

## **Yauri and other Hausa and Non-Hausa States**

Regarding the possible links between Yauri and other Hausa and non-Hausa States, within the Nigerian area, detailed accounts are still lacking but from the fragmented materials found in the course of research, records show that there were large scale of movements of people mainly from Katsina and Zazzau into the semi-circular, wide belt of land, within the River Niger in the Yauri area to the southern districts of the present Zaria Emirate, bordering the Hausa States. This area has been referred to as “southern marches of Hausaland” (also called *Kasashen Bauchi*).<sup>20</sup> Evidences showed that there was never existence of purely Hausa government in this wide belt, until after the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when many Hausa traders and adventurers penetrated the area in different groups and at different times. A noticeable political influence in the area was the establishment of Hausa chieftaincies in several places such as in Darazo, Karishen, Kumbashi, Kakihun, Mahoro, Kotonkoro, Yauri, Birnin Gwari, Udara, Mashegu and many others.<sup>21</sup> It needs to be noted that in Yauri like other mentioned areas, only the rulers and few migrants who reside mostly in the capitals were Hausa proper but the subject peoples belonged to different ethnic groups.

Moreover, Yauri had established contacts with many communities in the Nigerian area, being situated in the main *Gonja* trade routes to Ghana where the majority of the Hausa and non-Hausa kolanut traders, such as the Yoruba and Zabarmawa used to pass starting from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century up to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Bauchi is the term for the whole tract of land lying south of Hausaland up to the valleys of the rivers Niger and Benue. The term *Kasashen Bauchi* here stands for the whole of this territory with the exception of the Adamawa area which was not part of Bauchi. Also in present day political jargon, this area is referred to as the Middle Belt of Nigeria. People of the *Kasashen Bauchi* comprised of the Kambarawa, Gungawa, Dukkawa, Dakarkari, Bussa, Nupe, Laru, Lopawa, Kamuku among many others. According to Mahdi Adamu, it may have been into this area that the first Hausa migrations took place before the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and thereby spreading the Hausa-Muslim culture among the vast tribes living there. For more details, see: M. Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, Zaria, ABU Press, 1978, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> M. Adamu, *A Hausa Government...*, *op.cit*, p. 27.

<sup>22</sup> Gonja trade, according to Kano chronicle began in the 15<sup>th</sup> century was certainly flourishing by the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the gold and Kola of the Ashanti region in Ghana were exchanged for manufactured goods from North Africa, together with indigo dyed cloth, onions and most importantly of all, *Kanwa* the potash of Borno which was in the hands of people of Mande or Kanuri origin, and it was not until the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the ‘Hausa’ began to enter the trade in large number. See: I., Obaro, ed., *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books plc, 1984, pp. 205-206. Gonja routes: the main ferries over the river Niger were in Foghe district near Birnin Kebbi in the north, Chulu near Birnin Yauri in the centre, and Rabba in Nupe. Route through Yauri to Gonja was the most central and perhaps the most popular up to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Major centres of commerce were Birnin Yauri, Wawa,

## Yauri-Timbuktu/Niger relations and other North African Countries

After the fall of the Mali Empire in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, many of the learned men of Timbuktu, which was one of the ancient centres of Islamic scholarship in Western Sudan migrated further east along the Niger River to the prosperous kingdom of Kanem-Borno providing an impetus to Islamic learning in northern Nigeria, especially in Kano and Katsina. Some of these scholars frequent the neighbouring Borgu and Yauri areas, which served as their main routes into the Nigerian area.<sup>23</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a considerable number of these scholars from Mali went to Gwandu through Yauri. Many dwelled in Yauri town and in some other villages, along their routes where they engaged in Islamic teaching and little farming practices as well as in short distance trade. Some scholars who were mostly of *Zabarma* origin also fled Niger following the French colonial conquest and its aftermaths. They moved to the west into Niger River where they dwelled in various villages in Yauri Emirate, along with their students and assorted goods.<sup>24</sup>

The Lander brothers reported an incidence which perhaps could have shown the extent of Yauri's linkages with many far away neighbours that took place in between 1820 and 1830, as they witnessed during their adventurous visits.<sup>25</sup> They narrated on the established trade relationship that transpired between Yauri and Timbuktu, whose group of merchants used to come to Yauri on boat and foot.<sup>26</sup> However, there are no details on the commodities of exchange between the two States. Similarly, there was evidence of an established relationship between Yauri and some Arabs, probably from North African countries of Tunisia, Libya, Algeria, Morocco or even Egypt. It was not clear enough whether the Arabs were

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Bussa, Kaiama, Nikki and Djougou. Adamu, *Op.cit.*, p. 63. Imports from Hausaland were plain and embroidered Hausa garments which included the *Kwashe*, the *barage* and the *rigar gwanda* gowns for men, the *turkudi* and *arkila* for both men and women and *sanda rishi*. Horses were also imported, but mainly for the nobility. Adamu, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>23</sup> See Ahmed, Nazeer, "The Destruction of Timbaktu" in *History of Islam: An Encyclopedia of Islamic History*, sourced from <http://historyofislam.com>, 2011. Accessed 11/12/2013. The first Wali of Yauri, Alhaji Ahmad (d. 2007) and indeed the present one Shehu Ahmad traced their origin from Timbaktu (Mali). They are decedents of the great Islamic scholar of Mali origin, Ahmad Baba. For more on this, see M. Adamu, "A Hausa Government....", *op.cit.*, p.344.

<sup>24</sup> See the history of the settlement of Zabarmawa Muslim scholars in Maginga area, in Mansur, *Op.cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>25</sup> Hallett Robin, ed., *The Niger Journal of Richard and John Lander*, New York, Frederick A. Preager, 1965, p. 126.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

agents of Trans-Saharan slave trade that existed in between 14<sup>th</sup> up to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, between the Maghrebians and Negroes of Western Sudan.<sup>27</sup>

However, according to the explorers, some Arabs dwelled in Yauri with even their agent whose name was reported as Amadi Fatoumi.<sup>28</sup> This development must have taken place either during the reign of Sarkin Yauri Muhammadu Dan A'i Dan Ahmadu Jerabana (1799-1829) or during the reign of Sarkin Yauri Ibrahim Dan Muhammadu Dan A'i (1829-1835). These were the exact periods within which the European explorers visited Yauri and witnessed the occurrence of such developmental links with the Arabs. No further explanation was given about the presence and main activities the Arabs engaged in while at Yauri.

It has also been reported that there were some Arab travelers who spent many years in Yauri before they moved to some other places, including Sokoto.<sup>29</sup> To support this, one Arab man called Muhammad Gomsoo, is reported to have met and informed Captain Clapperton in Sokoto that, he spent many years in Yauri in the service of the king of Yauri.<sup>30</sup>

### **Yauri and her Post 19<sup>th</sup> Century Neighbours**

Before its partition by the British at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Yauri had a series of relationships with other societies or tribes whose traditions of origins are linked by a common descent and thereby sharing similar cultural setting.<sup>31</sup> Sources have shown that most indigenous tribes living within the boundaries of Yauri and her neighbours of Borgu, Zuru and Kontagora happened to have dwelled together as one. Indeed, it was the British and French colonial policies of boundary creation that separated them. This affected the settlements of people of same cultural background to live under a different autonomous area. However, this did not affect the people's harmonious social relationships as they keep on speaking same languages, maintaining similar cultures and traditions.<sup>32</sup> So, the Kambari, Gungawa, Laru and Lopawa of Yauri and the neighbouring Borgu are not different from one another despite the colonial boundary system imposed on them.

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<sup>27</sup> See; *ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> It was the Arab emissary, Al-Fatoumi that narrated the Lander Brothers on Park's arrival and his activities while he visited Yauri. Fatoumi witnessed the arrival of Park with some gifts that comprised of a musket and a Sabre, pieces of white baft to the king of Yauri. See: Hallett., *Op.cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>29</sup> M. Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline....", *Op.cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>30</sup> See: Denham and Clapperton, H., et al., *Narration of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa* (1822, 1823 & 1824), Vol. II, London, John Murray, p. 301. In an interview with Malam Musa Abdullahi (91 years), at his home at Cupamini Village, 27/3/2014.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Crowder, *Op.cit.*, p.157

The colonial intervention into the affairs of the people had brought about series of discontents and restlessness to date, which comprised land or boundary disputes with its neighbours as well as succession disputes among many others as have been discussed in the following paragraphs.

### **Yauri-Borgu Relations**

From as early as 1902 the British political officers in Borgu reported disputes between Yauri and Bussa over land, mostly centred over islands in the river, and land on Bussa side of the river in which Yelwa subjects were settling. In 1902, Kitoro Gani's predecessor had complained that Yauri was collecting 1/- tax ahead from villages in his districts. By 1910 a large number of Yelwa subjects had crossed over to Bussa land, in particular Kwanji, to farm, attracted in part by the better farm land, in part by the fact that the incidence of taxation there was 1/- as compared with 2/2d in Yelwa. The Emir of Yauri accused Bussa of enticing his subjects to settle in his land.<sup>33</sup>

There was call for the restoration of most lost Bussa land. For instance, in 1917, when Bussa was made independent of Yauri; Agwara, the Rofia hinterland and Kwanji in the present Shanga Local Government Area were left under Yauri largely on the grounds that the land, which Bussa claimed, was cultivated by the people of Yauri origin.<sup>34</sup> In 1919, Agwara, had been administered as a sub-district of Ngaski District of Yauri Emirate. It was however, later transferred back to Bussa. On the breakup of Kontagora province in 1923, while Bussa became part of Ilorin province, Yauri was made part of Sokoto province. Instead of land dispute between them being left to the same Resident to arbitrate, it was now a matter for negotiation between the two separate Residents as each of them had tours of their frontiers.<sup>35</sup>

Hermon-Hodge, Resident of Ilorin took up Bussa's case for the return of lands still lost to Yauri, namely Kwanji and the Rofia hinterland, since the lands were source of revenue. After protracted and acrimonious negotiations, the transfer of Rofia from Yauri to Bussa was approved. But Kwanji was to remain in Yauri.<sup>36</sup>

Despite all these unrests, recent oral traditions gathered from Maginga (which has been part of Yauri) showed that, some personal royal relationship reigned between the kings of Bussa (later Borgu) with the District Heads of Maginga (on

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<sup>33</sup> See: "The Restoration of Bussa's lost land", in Crowder, p. 171

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Pp. 171-172.

<sup>35</sup> The loss of Kunji, Illo, Ka'oje and other lands exercised from Bussa over the first 25 years of Colonial rule, however, still rankles in the minds of the Bussawa tribes to this day. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>36</sup> In an interview with Malam Musa Abdullahi (91 years), *Op.cit*, 27/3/2014.



behalf of Sarkin Yauri), until colonial departure. A reciprocal of a royal visitation exchange was maintained and exercised between the rulers of the two areas, where the king of Bussa would cross the river Niger to pay his friendly visit along with his entourage to Maginga District of Yauri Emirate in the first year and in the next year, the rulers of Maginga would reciprocate with same kind gesture to Borgu. This was maintained for some years before the personal kingly visit ceased to exist, as the District Head of Maginga had no strong and spacious canoe that would transport him to Borgu safely. Instead, the relationship took another dimension. They started sending their biological sons to each other annually to maintain the traditional royal ties, along with four horses as presents, which were accompanied with six people as escort. The District Head of Maginga maintained that friendly ties with Borgu, largely due to proximity factor, on behalf of Emir of Yauri as the Emir used to be in full picture of all that transpired between his District head of Maginga and the Emir Borgu. Reports have even shown that whenever there was such a friendly visit from Bussa in Maginga District, Muta, a member of Yauri Emirate Council is in attendance to represent the Emir of Yauri.<sup>37</sup>

In recent times, the relationship between Yauri and Borgu Emirates has become friendly with even an extension royal title. On 25<sup>th</sup> December, 2013, Alhaji Abubakar Umar Wara was turbanned by the Emir of Borgu as the *Tafarki Babba* of Borgu. Umar Wara is the son of late Ummarun Kaiama who was said to have left Kaiama and dwelled in old Wara before the 1968 Kainji Dam resettlement. *Tafarki Babba* is the current Chairman of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) of Katsina State.<sup>38</sup>

### **Sokoto-Yauri Relations**

The period 19<sup>th</sup> century was a turning point in the history of Hausaland generally, for the period had experienced the outbreak of religious revivalism (literally, *Jihad*) primarily led by Shehu Uthman Ibn Fodiyo, which later led to the establishment of a new Islamic Empire called Sokoto Caliphate. Consequentially, various societies in Hausaland and the entire Central Sudan, starting from the far northeast downward to the extreme end of northwest where the present Yauri Emirate is located, were affected.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> In interview with Aminu Umar Wara (44 years), at Wara town, 16/5/2014, 10:00 to 10:30 am.

<sup>38</sup> See: S. A. Balogun, "History of Islam up to 1800", in O. Ikime, (ed.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books Plc, 1980, p.217.

<sup>39</sup> Sokoto was a military base established at the end of 1809, following the capture of Alkalawa, the administrative capital of Gobir by Sultan Muhammadu Bello. The settlement later developed into a new administrative and religious capital of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate. See: Adamu, Mahdi, "General

Following the outbreak of the Jihad movement in 1804, almost all the societies have submitted their allegiance to Shehu, through force after having been defeated by the Jihadists while others surrendered without being fought. By 1826, the Jihadists had brought the principal towns in Hausaland under the firm grip of the caliphate. These areas included Kebbi, Gobir, Zamfara, Sokoto, Katsina, Zazzau, Nupe, Ilorin, Kano, Gwandu, Adamawa and Bauchi. In short, Northern States minus Borno. The movement led to centralisation of power in the Muslim community, educational reforms, and implementation of Islamic law. Uthman Danfodio and his followers also sparked a literary revival with a production of religious works that included Arabic texts and vernacular written in Arabic script (*Ajami*). His heirs continued the legacy of literary production and education reform to date in Nigeria.<sup>40</sup>

### **The Extent of Sokoto Jihad in Yauri Emirate**

It has been shown in some sources that the wars of the Sokoto Jihad of 1804 did not affect Yauri kingdom as it had affected other Hausa and non-Hausa states in the region. However, written evidence shows that in 1806, the Sokoto Jihadists launched an attack in Birnin Yauri, the first capital of Hausa colony in Yauri area but it was unsuccessful.<sup>41</sup> Since then, there had never been any war fought between Sokoto and Yauri throughout the glaring era of the Caliphate. It was a peaceful relationship that reigned between the two.<sup>42</sup>

### **The Impact of Sokoto Jihad on the People of Yauri Emirate**

For fear of further attack and to protect the integrity of large Hausa-Muslims settlement in the south of Hausaland among the non-Muslim tribes, Sarkin Yauri Muhammadu Al-bishir Dan A'i was believed to have made peaceful agreements of neutrality and free passage with Uthman Danfodio in 1807.<sup>43</sup> Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, both sides have honoured the agreements, until towards the end of the century when the two Sokoto princes, Umaru Nagwamatse of Kontagora and

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History of the Sokoto Caliphate", in Kani, A. Muhammad et al. (eds.), *States and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*, Sokoto, UDUS, 1990, p.4.

<sup>40</sup> In June 1804, the Gobirawa were defeated after a fierce battle that sent shockwaves around Hausaland. In December 1804, the capital of Gobir, Alkalawa was invaded by the Jihadists, which claimed the life of Yunfa. Birnin Kebbi suffered defeats on two occasions in April and finally, in October 1805. For more details on the successes of the jihad on the rest of Hausaland, See, *Ibid.*, Pp. 4-5. Also See: G. I. C., Eluwa et al (eds.), *Africa and the Wider World since 1800 A.D.*, Onitsha, Africana-Fep Publishers Ltd., 1996, pp. 6-14.

<sup>41</sup> See M. Bello, *Infāqul-Maysūr*, Sokoto, ND, p.139.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5. Also see: S. A. Balogun, "History of Islam up to 1800", in I. Obaro (ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books Plc., 1980, p. 217.

<sup>43</sup> See: H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu eds., *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*, vol.I, Zaria, ABU Press, 2006, p. 224.

Umaru Bakatara of Gwandu breached it by interfering in the activities of the kingdom, and executing their wishes like raiding the Kambari non-Muslim people and enslaving them. Those agreements of neutrality and passage meant a lot as for the first time, there was free movement of Muslims into these areas of Yauri Kingdom, which probably could have contributed to the influx of large number of Hausa *Mallams* and traders into the areas in the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Many of these itinerant *Mallams* settled in the heart of the kingdom, Yauri and in remote villages without fear of molestation or intimidation. This was because the Hausa-Muslim overlords in Yauri kingdom accorded them security and privileges of religious freedom. This no doubt gave rise to the spread of Islamic faith among the non-Muslim tribes in Yauri Emirate.<sup>45</sup> The resultant effect was that most *Mallams* moved downwards into the neighbouring Emirates of Zuru, Kontagora and Borgu, where they became courtiers and advisers to the indigenous rulers.<sup>46</sup>

For administrative stability in the vast geographical area, the Caliphate was divided into two provinces: eastern and western province, each under the control of a powerful Sultan on whom every society remained answerable to. It was out of this decision that Yauri fell under the control of Western Caliphate with headquarters at Gwandu, under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullahi Ibn Fodio, Uthman's brother. With or without the consent of the vast non-Muslim tribes in the area of Yauri, they became the vassals of an Islamic Empire and paid allegiance to Gwandu. The non-Muslims in Yauri kingdom were regarded as *Dhimmis*<sup>47</sup> and were accorded social justice and this enhanced social integration and political unity that eventually symbolized the Caliphate prowess. However, the treatment of the non-Muslims as *Dhimmis* slowed down the spread of Islam within the non-Muslim tribes, as the *Dhimmis* were guaranteed freedom of religious practices so long as they recognised the political authority of the

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<sup>44</sup> M. Adamu, "The Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth Century", M. A. Dissertation, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, pp. 165-166. Virtually, for those reasons the two princes were merely considered as slave raiders, not Jihadists or reformers as widely misconceived.

<sup>45</sup> The greatest achievement of the Sokoto Caliphate on Yauri that is worthy of mention was, the rise of Yauri as an independent Emirate. In discussion with Hassan Majidadi Libata (over 100 years), at his home in Libata town, 12/2/2011, from 10:00 to 11:30am.

<sup>46</sup> See: E. C. Duff, *Gazetteer of the Kontagora Province*, London, Waterlow and Sons Ltd., 1920, p.8. Also for details, See: Kani...*Op.cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Dhimmi* derived from Arabic word. Here, it refers to the Prophet Muhammad's charter or even agreement reached with the non-Muslims in the 6th year of his migration at Medinah. The Prophet granted to them a pact which is a monument of enlightenment toleration, ensuring them the right of religious practices, protection of life and properties, fairness and justice. In return, the non-Muslims living under such an Islamic government must never plan any treacherous plan against the Muslims. For more detailed information, see: A. Rahim, *Islamic History*, Lagos, Islamic publication Bureau, 1987, p.34.

Caliphate. According to Adeleye, the newly introduced British system had offered a supportive role to the non-Muslim communities who were living under Muslim emirates, to retain their un-Islamic cultural traits and pagan religions up till the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, consequent upon which many non-Muslim tribes were reluctant to accept Islam. So was the case in Yauri Emirate.<sup>48</sup>

According to Lovejoy, the Yauri resistance to the Jihad had a negative economic impact on Yauri and a positive impact in extreme western Hausaland that isolated Yauri, which had been for long on the main route to the Volta basin up to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It resulted in the shift of trade routes to the north through Gaya and Ilo and to the south through Bussa and the new town of Raba. This situation remained unchanged which had affected the economy of Yauri. However, Yauri had regained its economic supremacy after signing the agreement of peace and neutrality with Sokoto. The abandoned trade route was reinstated which later led to the expansion of markets and economic development in the emirate throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup>

From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Sokoto had also become a great centre for Islamic scholarship which attracted many people, including some youths from all parts of the Caliphate, including Yauri Emirate. For instance, Sokoto had consolidated its power in the prominent Hausa States of Zaria, Kano and Katsina that were recognised to be great centres of Islamic learning since in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and onwards. Those three Hausa towns had attracted scholars from the Maghreb, the Middle East, as well as from Western Sudan. Similarly, toward the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Caliphate succeeded in nurturing other areas like Gwandu, Kontagora and also Yauri that emerged as new centres of Islamic learning. Many people travelled to such Islamic centres for the pursuance of Islamic knowledge and later succeeded in converting many to Islam after returning home. By the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Yauri and Kontagora became prominent in Islamic activities due to the influx and settlements of Muslim scholars in the areas. Consequently, the newly indigenous converts in the two emirates abandoned taking distance journeys to either Sokoto or other areas of

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<sup>48</sup> R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies*, London, Longman Group Ltd., 1971. P. 73.

<sup>49</sup> See: Paul, E.Lovejoy, *Caravan of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900*, Zaria, ABU Press, 1980, p. 62. Evidence show that the main ferries of *Gonja* trade routes over the River Niger in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were in Foge District near Birnin kebbi in the north, Chulu near Birnin Yauri in the centre....Also route through Yauri to *Gonja* was the most central and perhaps the most popular throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The major centres of the trade were Birnin Yauri in the present Yauri Emirate, Wawa, Bussa, Nikki and kiamo in the present Borgu Emirate: See: M. Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, Zaria, ABU Press, p.114

Islamic scholarship and instead, diverted their attention to such places in search of Islamic knowledge.<sup>50</sup>

Therefore, it is important to know that what transpired in fostering the relationship between Yauri and Sokoto was a Jihad without war; almost similar to what happened between Sultan Muhammadu Bello and Shehu of Borno, Muhammad El-Kanemi, following an intellectual warfare between them.<sup>51</sup> It needs be to clearly stated that the Jihad and its political unit had led to large scale of conversion to Islam in all parts of the Central Sudan, including Yauri Emirate. Though conversion was not what the Jihad fought for; it was launched for Islamic revivalism.<sup>52</sup> Beside this, the Sokoto-Yauri relations had become a powerful booster to the economy of the Emirate and its neighbouring sister Emirates of Zuru, Kontagora and Borgu. Moreover, it instituted social and foremost cultural changes in conformity with Islam. No doubt, Sokoto has remained a source of greater inspiration in Yauri Emirate and beyond.

### **Yauri-Gwandu Relations**

During the Jihad, Sarkin Yauri Muhammadu Dan A'i was the Sarki. He was able to convince his war chiefs to pay homage or allegiance to the Jihadists and so, Yauri was really not fought and conquered. They however, requested autonomy and to continue to run their own affairs which was granted by the Shehu. In return for this semi autonomy, Yauri was made to pay *Jizya* in this case as an annual tribute to Gwandu.<sup>53</sup>

For a couple of centuries, a mixture of resentment and harmonious relationship continued to exist between the two neighbouring Emirates. By 1911, extract from the Resident of Kontagora Province, Major J.E.C. Blakeney showed the level of an established relationship that existed between Gwandu and Yauri, which was mostly, preserved through migration of people from each other side. He reported that in 1900, when Kassoma, the Takware Kassoma Village Head along with one Belko, Sarkin Besse were expelled from Besse, they obtained permission from the then Sarkin Yauri to settle at Takware Kassoma. It needs to be known that Takware had been administered by Gwandu. Records also showed that Koko village was formerly administered by Yauri and one of its village heads, called Mallam Musa was appointed Village Head by Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi Abarshi

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<sup>50</sup> See, A.M. Kani, *The Intellectual Origin of Sokoto Jihad*, Ibadan, Iman Publication, 1994, p.22.

<sup>51</sup> For more detailed information about the Sokoto-Borno relations which was termed as "Renewal without Jihad", see: I. Elizabeth, *History of West Africa since 1800*, London, Macmillan, 1977, pp. 34-40.

<sup>52</sup> M. Adamu "A General History.....", *Op.cit.*, P.16.

<sup>53</sup> Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria / Federal Ministry of Information and Culture/ National Archives Kaduna/Boundary disputes/File no. 2101/Sok Prof/ 2009.

(1888-1904). Then even Musa's father, Malam Dan Gindi got permission from Sarkin Yauri before settling there, after he agreed to follow Yauri.<sup>54</sup> Disputes continued to intensify over the mastery of Dutsin Koko. Finally Mr. Gowers suggested that Koko should be officially given to Gwandu and the matter stood to date. That did not stop inter-boundary emigration and settlement between the subject peoples of Yauri and Gwandu. Sarkin Yauri and Gwandu agreed that if subjects settled in either of the area for one reason or the other they should become tributaries of the place they settled. This is how the Yauri-Gwandu boundary disputes were amicably resolved.<sup>55</sup>

Nonetheless, it is evident that a considerable number of people living in some villages in Gwandu Emirate are rooted from Yauri Emirate. For instance, nearly the whole population of Faria village consists of Lopawa and Gungawa who are the former subjects of Yauri. Gantin Fadama and Gantin Tudu are entirely populated by Yauri subjects, mostly Gungawa and Lopawa. Karua is populated entirely by former Yauri subjects. Tugga is about half Gungawa and Raha Terro is populated entirely by Gungawa from Tsulu island.<sup>56</sup>

### **Yauri-Kontagora Relations**

Here Yauri appeared as one of the victims of destructive military campaigns which were undertaken by Umar Nagwamatse and his sons, Abubakar Modibbo and Ibrahim. That, too, occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Hostilities existed between the two Emirates throughout 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1844, the people of Yauri expelled their chief Jibrilu owing to the ill-treatment they experienced during his rule. Gajere fled to Rijau (in Kontagora Division) and Abubakar Jatau was installed in his seat. In 1814, Gajere secured the military aid of a Fulani leader called Muhammadu Maikarfi at Rijau against the newly installed Yawurawa Chief, Jatau. Consequently, a fierce battle was fought at Ipanna (near Birnin Yauri) in which Jatau was killed and his people were defeated. Since then, the Yawurawa fled from Birnin Yauri and the surrounding village to the Islands of the Niger near Yelwa. There is still evidence of Birnin Yauri's pristine glory in its great walls (Ganuwa). Gajere was later killed by the Jatau's son, Malam Tankwa in another fight. Following Gajere's death, his son

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<sup>54</sup> Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria / Federal Ministry of Information and Culture/ National Archives Kaduna/Boundary disputes/File no. 2101/Sok Prof/ 2009.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Yauri Quarterly Report for quarter ending June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1911, Paragraph 9.

<sup>57</sup> M. Adamu, "A Hausa government", *Op.cit.*, p.260.

Yakubu (popularly known as Dan Gajere) settled down at Masamabu near Kontagora and made himself head of the Kambarawa there.<sup>58</sup>

It is pertinent to note that the Umaru Nagwamatse's war base called *Sansanin kontagora* from 1864-1877 was situated in *Kasar Yauri*, from where he attacked more than half a dozen towns of *Kasar Yauri*. Umaru spent the rest of his time fighting the people of Gwari, Kamuku and Kambarawa groups, within and outside Yauri.<sup>59</sup> In 1875, Umaru started his military expeditions in *Kasar Yauri* where he began in raiding Sabon Birnin Jindane in the north and enslaved all the Kambarawa that he captured. He also dismissed the Yauri officials he found living in the town. Umaru is also said to have met one man called Umaru Majigi at the Gungawa town of Yabo very close to where Yelwa town was established. He succeeded in invading the Kambarawa town of Kambu in Yauri central after a short siege. He also attacked the neighbouring town of Anaba in March 1877.<sup>60</sup>

Even Umaru's immediate successors, his sons Sarkin Sudan Abubakar Modibbo and Ibrahim waged some wars of slave raids in Yauri area and vicinity. On Modibbo's rise to power, he attacked Kambu and Anaba towns that were by then all under Yauri.<sup>61</sup> Likewise, in between 1899 to 1900, Ibrahim too attacked and raided Mafonge, Kadabo, Makwando, Wara, Mazabo and also the Kambarawa stronghold of Macupa in Maginga District where he met great resistance. He however captured it losing his brother *Dangaladiman Dogon Gwari* in the battle. Resultantly, many Kambarawa in the neighbourhood fled to Bussa side of the River Niger and 200 people were captured as slaves.<sup>62</sup>

Following his touring assessment visits of Yauri, Dabai and Kontagora borders in 1934, Mr. L. H. Goble, Yauri District Officer confirmed that as a result of artificial boundaries designed by the colonial government in the Province, Yauri lost a considerable number of her villages to Kontagora. Most of the villages that were formerly known to be under the control of Yauri Emirate were given to Kontagora by the colonial administration. These villages included Libale, Nasko, Machirko, Sashi, Shabono, Anaba, Irana, Maragwasa, Hirya, Rigulo, Ipana, Raha,

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<sup>58</sup> C. E. Duff, *Gazetteer of Kontagora province*, London, Waterlow and Sons Ltd; London, 1920, p. 17.

<sup>59</sup> Adamu, "A Hausa Government.....", p. 261.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, Pp. 260-261.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* p. 262.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, Pp. 265-267.

Izallo, Gengi, Masanji, Ibelu, Ibeto, Matalengu, Lagam, Masumagu, Mapapu, Uchu, Majinga, Macupa, and Utachu among many others.<sup>63</sup>

By the time of colonial departure, only few were regained by Yauri that were mostly under Ngaski and Birnin-Yauri Districts. Some of these discussions also featured elsewhere in this volume.

### **Yauri-Zuru Relations**

Like in her relations with other places discussed above, Yauri's relations with Zuru Emirate also involved a mixture of earliest resentment and later tranquility. There were reported cases of raids that took place between the two states. In about 1865, following the death of Sarkin Fakai Na-Allah, his son called Musa Dandunguzu who became the Sarki was on several occasions said to have embarked on wars of raiding his neighbouring communities. After his established alliance with Ibrahim Nagwamatse, he emerged as Dakarkari Chief of Fakai and embarked on raiding *Kasar* Yauri. The famous of such raids was in 1888, when Dandunguzu entered Yauri and captured a lot of slaves and horses. When the situation persisted for almost eight years, Dandunguzu and Sarkin Yauri Abarshi met at Kangi village and waged a ferocious battle.<sup>64</sup>

In 1898, Dandunguzu also attempted to attack Yelwa, following the military and logistic assistance Abdullahi Abarshi offered to the British, which led to the successful conquest of Kontagora. Dandunguzu finally had to flee Fakai along with his fellow warriors on 12<sup>th</sup> March, 1898 for fear of British attack.<sup>65</sup>

Today, political relationship has reached its peak between Zuru and Yauri. For instance, since the restoration of a democratic government in Nigeria in 1999, a political compromise was reached between the people of the two Emirates, as they are placed under one geo-political zone. One senatorial seat (Kebbi South Senatorial Zone) is apportioned to Zuru and Yauri, Emirates. The seat of Senator is always held by politicians from Zuru Emirate, with the ballot support from Yauri. However, from 1999 to date, Yauri has never produced a Senator, but held

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<sup>63</sup> These areas were formerly under the care of Ubandawakin Yauri. More additional list of names that were formerly owned by Yauri was also submitted to the Kontagora D.O. Mr. Goble by the Emir of Yauri Abdullahi, on 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1934. These names were Dukku, Iri, Shindiri and Ipaki. In Anthropological Investigations/Niger State Archives Minna/ File no. D.S.O.736/1930.

<sup>64</sup> Nagwamatse was a son-in-law to Musa Dandunguzu. He married Dandunguzu's daughter called 'Yar Fakai. See: Abdullahi, Yusuf, "A History of Kasar Fakai from the 1850s to 1996" M. A. History Dissertation, UDUS, 2014, P. 51.

<sup>65</sup> NAK/Sokprof/c.0446/operation against Dandunguzu, 4<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> March, 1899.



the Seat of Deputy Governor, with the majority ballot support from Zuru Emirate.<sup>66</sup> But before 1999 Yauri had produced Senator Bala Tafidan Yauri.

### **Conclusion**

However, despite the rankle that exist in the minds of the *Yawurawa* to this day over the loss of most of their lands to the neighbouring emirates; Yauri has maintained its cordial relationship with non-*Yawurawa* tribes. People from the neighbouring and far away areas always come to relate with Yauri. Among them are long distance traders, mostly engaging in agricultural and non-agricultural business. It is pertinent to note that Yauri Emirate is an important fish market that attracts far away traders some of whom have already considered Yauri as their second home (see chapter seven). No wonder that today Yauri has become a melting point with people of different cultural backgrounds (see chapter nine).

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<sup>66</sup> In discussion with late Alhaji Bala Umar Wara (over 70 years), at his house in Wara, 12/4/2014 , from 3:00pm to 4:00 pm.

## Chapter 7

### The Economy of Yauri

M.T. Usman &  
U. M. Jabbi

#### Introduction

Yauri Emirate falls within the Northern guinea savanna zone, with an annual rainfall of 40 to 60 inches<sup>1</sup>. The rain usually starts around April and ends in October. Rainfall as observed Udo, is the most important elements of climate affecting Agriculture and the provision of animal pasture.<sup>2</sup> The existence of a well watered environment supported the cultivation of a number of crops such as cereals, Cassava, sweet Potatoes, Ground nut, Cotton, Banana, Sugar cane Tobacco, Beans etc.

In terms of commerce, Yauri area as we have seen in earlier chapters, had in the early times served as a stopover station (Hau: *Zango*), for the Hausa and Arab merchants operating along Hausa Gwanja trade routes. In fact the early name of the place was *Zango* until later when the name was changed to Yauri after a prominent ruler of the kingdom.<sup>3</sup> The kings and their government provided security services to the merchants who in turn brought gifts, paid taxes and royalties.<sup>4</sup>

In Yauri Emirate like many other parts of Northern Nigeria, as has also been stated elsewhere, the British colonial administration instituted policies to ensure the maximum exploitation of the various sectors of the economy for the benefit of the British economy. Some of these sectors included Agriculture and Mining. Taxation was also instituted to push people into production of the desired crops as well as raise revenue for the running of the colonial administration. This chapter discusses the economy of Yauri emirate under the control of the British.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Adamu, "A Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the 19<sup>th</sup> century" M.A.(History) Dissertation, A.B.U. Zaria, 1968, P.25

<sup>2</sup> R.K. Udo, 'Environments and peoples of Nigeria. A geographical introduction to the History of Nigeria' in O.Ikime (ed, ), *Ground work of Nigeria history*, Ibadan, Heineman educational books plc. 1980. pp10-11

<sup>3</sup> Alhaji Mu'azu Muhammad Na Mallan, Galadiman Yauri, 55yrs, Yauri, 5/1/2014

<sup>4</sup> A brief History of Yauri, Kaduna, Kaduna Master prints, 2000 p.4.

## **Eco-Natural Environment and the Structure of the Economy**

Socio-economic life in Yauri emirate is intricately connected with the natural environment. The Niger is the major river in the area which influenced social life and economic activities of the inhabitants of the area.

Previous studies on the area of Yauri made references to the existence of many islands which as observed by Adamu' except for a stretch of about five miles between Zamare and Jijima islands on the western side of the Emirate, there is no stretch of more than a mile long within which an Island of any size does not exists'<sup>5</sup> These Islands, were mostly inhabited by the Gungawa ethnic groups. The riverine environment is significant in shaping the economic life of the people. The predominant economic activity in the area is fishing. The uninhabited islands provided fertile agricultural lands for neighbouring communities for a year round cultivation. Pastoralism is also important among the Fulani who graze their cattle in a vast green land.

Another significant natural feature that influenced the economic life of the people is the chains of low lying hills that run through the area in a north- south direction. It was on these hills that majority of the Dukkawa; Kambari and Shangawa settlements were established.<sup>6</sup> This has the effect of making these communities predominantly farmers.

Significantly too, the hills contained deposits of Iron ore, Gold and other mineral resources. The availability of these mineral resources provided a veritable environment for the flourishing of mining activities and the development of Mining industries.<sup>7</sup>

### **Early Economic activities**

Before the colonial era, agricultural production was geared towards meeting the demands of the immediate environment and the surrounding areas. The chief crops grown in the area as already mentioned above included food crops like Millet, Groundnut, Maize and Cassava. Cotton, Tobacco, Henna, Calabashes constituted the non-food crops. In the *Fadama* areas crops such as sugar cane, rice, mangoes pawpaw, onions were grown. Crop cultivation is undertaken both during the rainy and dry season depending upon the nature of the crop.

Fishing is another important early commercial enterprise in Yauri emirate. The various channels of the river Niger provided a favourable environment for the

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<sup>5</sup> M. Adamu, "A Hausa government in Decline: Yauri in the 19<sup>th</sup> century' M.A (History) Dissertation, A.B.U Zaria, 1968, p.22

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

flourishing of fishing business. Groups of fishermen from the upper reaches of the River Niger-the *Sarkawa* use to come to Yauri during the fishing season to undertake their activities in conjunction with the indigenous Gungawa Fishermen<sup>8</sup>.

Another early economic activity associated with the people of Yauri emirate was hunting .Traps, bows and arrows are the equipments commonly used. The Kambarawa and the Gungawa were the main communities identified with hunting as a supplement to their farming and fishing activities.<sup>9</sup>

Commerce both internal and external was also a flourishing economic activity in pre-colonial Yauri. Boats from the Southern Benin, Nupe and Borgu brought in goods from the coast to Birnin Yauri. Birnin Yauri was also said to receive goods from Timbuctoo<sup>10</sup>. In addition, the various local crafts and industries such as weaving, ,Tanning, Wood processing, Pottery, Iron working among others, provided numerous exchange goods and services among which were fishing equipment, Iron tools, textiles and Leather materials.

### **The colonial economy**

A major guiding principle in the minds of the British colonial officials had been that, the colony should be made to provide a source of primary commodities for British industries as well as market for British merchandise. In line with the French saying that, ‘the colony had been created for the metropole by the metropole’<sup>11</sup>, the colony was regarded as a place of exploitation to feed the metropolitan economy .

### **Agriculture**

A system of farm settlement scheme was introduced to teach the peasants, the specifics of the production of the type of crops demanded by the British industries, under the guise of ‘mixed farming methods’. The farm settlement scheme is a system whereby immigrant farmers or farmers from villages were encouraged to come and settle in particular places. Acreages of land were allocated to them in addition to some incentives, like ploughing cattle and other equipments and were taught on how to manage the farms.<sup>12</sup> In Yauri Emirate, the *Wakilin Gona* was charged with the marking of acreages for settled farmers.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.,p.27

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.,pp.28-29

<sup>10</sup> A brief History of Yauri opcit.,p.4

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by W. Rodney, *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*, Enugu, Ikenga publishers,1982, p.162

<sup>12</sup> WJHCB/YD/AGR/13 Tungan fana mixed farming settlement, November 1956, p.175

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

The expectations were that those who have been at the farm for sometime and have graduated could serve as extension workers among certain selected farmers that did not attend the settlement farms.<sup>14</sup>

The settlement farms were expected to be the spring board from where the technique of farming will grow and spread to other areas. Some of such settlement farms in Yauri emirate included the Shanga settlement scheme, and the Tungar Fana settlement scheme established in the early 1950s'.<sup>15</sup>

An important agricultural produce that attracted the attention of the colonialist was cotton. The fact that cotton growing in northern Nigeria had predated colonial rule is acknowledged by Sir William Wallace in a report to the colonial office in July, 1905 he attested that:

Cotton growing had been an indigenous industry in Northern Nigeria before the colonial period. The inhabitants had used locally grown cotton in the Manufacture of clothes of very high quality.<sup>16</sup>

It was in connection with cotton growing that we found the emergence of a number of crafts such as spinning and weaving in Yauri.

Since 1902 when the British Cotton Growers Association (BCGA) was formed to promote cotton growing in the colonies, efforts were made to study closely the potentials of the various colonies in order to promote cotton growing. In northern Nigeria, the association introduced the Allen variety of North America, to ensure that they produce the specific variety required by Lancashire cotton mills.<sup>17</sup> The 1948 district assessment report gave an estimated value of cotton grown in Yauri emirate during the year which was about £661.00<sup>18</sup>. To ensure that the seedlings were made readily available, cotton seed stores were established in a number of places, such as the Tungar Fana cotton seed store in Yauri emirate established in 1958.<sup>19</sup>

Another important crop to the British economy was Groundnut which was widely grown in Northern Nigeria for many years before the period of colonial era.<sup>20</sup> It is

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid p.173

<sup>16</sup> M.O. Odey, *The development of cash crop economy in Nigerians lower Benue province, 1910-1960* London, Aboki publishers, 2009 p.71.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Sok.prof/yAU/NA/7080, Brinin Yauri District Assessment report. , 1948

<sup>19</sup> WJHCB/YD/AGR/13 Yauri cotton tractor unit, 1955.

<sup>20</sup> M.O. Oey, *The development cash crop economy...* Opcit., pp 96-97

both a food crop as well as a cash crop. The colonial administration in Yauri emirate encouraged the cultivation of groundnut through the farm settlement scheme. A branch of U.A.C was established in Yelwa to purchase the surplus groundnut produced.<sup>21</sup> The 1948 Yauri District assessment report indicated that the value of Groundnut produced during the year was about two hundred and six pounds, six shillings and five pence (£206.6.05).<sup>22</sup>

Another sector of the economy that the British colonialist exploited in Yauri emirate was mining of mineral resources. Gold mining in Yauri emirate started in 1922 on the Malendo River and in Birnin Yauri by Mr. Clemens, and by 1923, Yauri and Minna fields produced about 450 Ounces of the total output for the year.<sup>23</sup>

Some European companies involved in the exploration of Gold in Yauri included Laka Company. S.P. Macries limited was quoted among the largest producers of Gold in Northern Nigeria with an output of 1,443 Ounces.

The recruitment of labour for the industry was the responsibility of the headman. Lawal reported that 'the headman invaded towns in grand style, riding on horses and escorted by drummers and singers luring able bodied men into the field'.<sup>24</sup> The need to be able to pay taxes and to acquire the European merchandise that has flooded the markets must have pushed considerable number of labourers into the fields. The labourers were further secured through cash advances and indebtedness. The wages paid to labourers and the field was reported to be very low. For example in the period 1931-35 a worker on gold mining field was said to receive an average of two pence a week.<sup>25</sup>

To ease the evacuation of goods from the colony to the Metropolitan capitals, the British colonial government embarked on infrastructural development such as opening of footpaths, roads, railway lines etc. In the case of Yauri Gold mines, in 1934 a bridge was built across Malendo river to open access road from areas of Gold mining in Yauri emirate to Zungeru.<sup>26</sup> This provided access to the railway line for the transportation of the gold to Europe.

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<sup>21</sup> Sokprof/YAU/NA/7080 Birnin Yauri District Assessment opcit.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> S.U Lawal, 'Imperial policy, capital accumulation and gold mining in colonial north western Nigeria, 1915-1955,' PhD (History) Thesis, UDUS, 1989. p.262 Footnote 31.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p.331

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pp 337-338.

<sup>26</sup> S.U. Lawal, 'Imperial policy...opcit, p.288

Another significant feature of the colonial economy was taxation. Taxation was the mode of operation and the fulcrum upon which the entire economic structure was based. It was a stimulus to production, and a source of revenue for the support of the colonial administration. Every adult male that was old enough to marry in every household was assessed and made to pay tax. All labourers working on the mines and their employer company were made to pay taxes<sup>27</sup>. In addition, every cattle, goat or sheep was counted for taxation; for example by the end of 1958-1959 year, a total of £12,425.15 was realized from cattle tax in Yauri emirate.<sup>28</sup>

### **The Economy of Yauri Since 1960.**

The relief and climate of Yauri provided a favourable environment for the continued predominance of agriculture as the most important occupation in the Emirate even after colonial rule. Farming in Yauri Emirate is categorized into the rainy season farming and dry season farming. Large quantities of agricultural products were cultivated and marketed every year. Such products as onions, beans, millet, guinea corn, maize and bananas are produced beyond consumable level. Particularly onions from Yauri is said to be of high quality and is exported to such places as Lagos, Onisha, Portharcourt, Lokoja, Ibadan etc.<sup>29</sup> The Kambari, the Shangawa, the Dukawa and the Hausa are predominantly farmers while the Gungawa, Yalawa and the Lopawa are mostly fishermen.<sup>30</sup> However, it has been observed by Abubakar that, the Gungawa apart from their fishing activities practice extensive farming both for sustenance and for commerce, onion and rice were noted principally as cash crops produced by the Gungawa.<sup>31</sup>

Fishing is another important economic activity in the history of Yauri emirate. Fishing equipments like *Homa*, *Taru*, *Unduruttu*, *Kawari* etc were locally produced. Some other fishing nets were purchased from Jankara market in Lagos.<sup>32</sup> A research carried out among the Gungawa fishing community indicate that, fishes were much more in abundance during the pre- 1968 period when Kainji Dam was constructed. This has been associated with the increase in the

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<sup>27</sup> YAUNA/Y43 Labarin Harajin Lebaran Zinariya, 1934-1944.

<sup>28</sup> WJHCB/Tax/28, Jangali.collection, Yauri Emirate, 1954-1962.

<sup>29</sup> Alhaji Muazu Muhammad Na Mallam opcit.

<sup>30</sup> Alhaji Muazu Muhammad Na Mallam. Ocpit.

<sup>31</sup> Y. Abubakar, 'History of the Baresha (Gungawa) people to 1968', M.A (History) Dissertation, UDUS, 2011 p.50

<sup>32</sup> A. Abubakar, 'A Study in the Economy of Kebbi state with Special Emphasis on Industries and Enterprises 2001 to 2007' M.Phil (History) UDUS, 2011. p.237

water level in the upstream of the dam, thereby making fishing a difficult activity.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to the fishes obtained from the River Niger and its tributaries, some other fishes were also brought in to Yauri from Burkina Faso and Mali by fish traders. The prominence of Yauri in Fish production and marketing has earned it the position of one of the international fish markets in Nigeria.<sup>34</sup> Another prominent fish market in the emirate is Wara market where various types of fishes both fresh and smoked ones are traded in a packed in locally woven containers such as *Kwando* or *mankara*.

Apart from fishing activities in the natural waters around Yauri, modern fish breeding ponds were established by the rich commercial fish farmers. Some of the prominent fish ponds in Yauri included, the ones established by Alhaji Bello Usman (Yariman Yauri), Alhaji Haruna maraba at Tilo area, late chief Michael (Eze Igbo of Yauri ) Atiku Rabakaya, Alhaji Sule Ibadan (Zannan Yauri), Umar short and that of Alhaji Mu'azu Muhammad na Mallam (Galadaman Yauri)<sup>35</sup> who is also the Patron of Yauri fish farmers association. Other fish pond breeding businesses included those run by Yakubu Isa and Ibrahim Isa established in Ngaski in 2007.<sup>36</sup> The business involved the purchase of fish finger lings that are reared for 6 to 9 months before harvest. Fish farming according to Alhaji Muazu, the Galadima of Yauri is a lucrative business and it also provided employment to significant number of people.<sup>37</sup>

### **Trade and industry**

As has been indicated earlier, the act of buying and selling is an old practice in Yauri kingdom. The founder of the settlement was said to be a trader from Katsina. Moreover, the settlement served as a place of stop over for merchants plying the Hausa- Gwanja trade route.<sup>38</sup>

The extensive agricultural production, fishing, the production of various articles of arts and crafts and the extraction of the natural resources of the area provided surplus goods and services that were traded with the neighbouring and far away communities. Today Yauri Emirate is a prominent commercial centre in Northern Nigeria most particularly in trading of items like fishes, boats and onions.

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<sup>33</sup> Y. Abubakar, ' History of the Baresha... opcit, p.52

<sup>34</sup> Alhaji Muazu Muhammad Na Mallam...opcit.

<sup>35</sup> A Abubakar, ' A study in the economy,...opcit, p.44

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Alhaji Muazu Muhammad Na Mallam, opcit.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.



During the period under study, the major articles of trade included Fish, Boats, Onions, Food stuff, Kolanut, Groundnut oil, Gold and livestock. People from different parts of the country come to Yauri to engage in trading activities. For example, in addition to the fishes available in Yauri, fish traders brought in fishes from Jebba, Niamey in Niger Republic, and from Mali through the river Niger to Yauri market.<sup>39</sup> Fish and some other agricultural items were transported from Yauri and sold at markets in Lagos, Calabar Portharcourt, Minna, Ibadan, Kano, Kaduna, Abuja, and Ilorin among other places. The varieties of fishes traded included *Karaye (cynodents)* *Bodami (Protopterus)* *Ramboshi (Heterobranchies)* *Giwar ruwa*, *Kullume*, *Gargaza* among others.<sup>40</sup>

The Yelwa - Yauri Market is a hub of commercial activities in the emirate, the market session is every four days like most other markets around. Abdullahi Musa Nainu (*Sarkin Kasuwa*) is the general overseer of the market affairs. The market also has an association of merchants headed by Alhaji Danjuma Illo.<sup>41</sup> Other market officials included *Sarkin Kifi* (in-charge of fish marketing), *Sarkin Albasa* (in charge of Onion marketing), *Sarkin Teloli* (Chief Tailor) and *Sarkin Alarun Yauri* (Head porter). Apart from the Yelwa/Yauri market, there were a number of other markets in the emirate which included, the Makirin, Toro, Gebe, Birnin Yauri, Wara and Tungan Giwa markets.<sup>42</sup> The *Kasuwar kambari* in Yauri is a Mini- Market where the trade goods were mostly Food items and the trading community comprises mostly of Women.<sup>43</sup> The name Kasuwar Kambari is meant to emphasize the fact that, the Kambari traders coming from the surrounding villages sell their goods in this place.

### Enterprises

Yauri emirate had a number of modern enterprises engaged in commerce and services. Some of this included those engaged in telecommunication services, health care and Drug distribution, Hospitality services tailoring, procurement and distribution of petroleum products among others.

One of the earliest telecommunication enterprises in Yauri emirate was the Munifaz Communication Limited opened in 1998.<sup>44</sup> The enterprise started with the sale of satellite dishes and accessories. It also sold Thurayya wireless telephone sets, cables and accessories for desk top telephone. In 2009, the Jihab

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<sup>39</sup> A Abubakar, 'A study in the economy...opcit.p.291.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.292

<sup>41</sup> Mal. Abdullahi Musa Nainu, Sarkin Kasuwa Yelwa, 53 years, Yelwa market, 5/1/2014

<sup>42</sup> Alaji Muazu Muhammad Na Mallam...opcit.

<sup>43</sup> Mal. Abdullahi Musa Nainu...opcit.

<sup>44</sup> A. Abubakar, 'Study in the economy... opcit, p.265

Global links was established as a major sub- dealer of recharge cards mobile telephone and their accessories.<sup>45</sup>

Prominent health care services enterprises in the emirate included clinics and drug trading stores. Nakowa clinic established in 1985 by Doctor N.A, Mamuda, Doctor Aliyu M.A.and Alhaji Sanda Mohammed appeared to be the earliest. Some other prominent private Health care centres included , the Royal clinic established in 1993 by Sunday Onifade, the Yelwa clinic owned by Alhaji Musa Kamba and established in 1994, the Alheri clinic established by Doctor S.D.Suleman in 1998 and the Nasara clinic established in 2008 by Mr. J.J.Kolo among others<sup>46</sup>. The Maginga pharmacy and Nakowa pharmacy are some of the major drug dealers in Yauri.

Important enterprises in the economic history of Yauri emirate are hotels and restaurants. Yauri is located on a major road linking the states of Sokoto and Kebbi to the western part of the country down to Lagos. In addition, the river Niger makes it an important tourist centre. Some prominent hotels in Yauri included Hill side Hotel established in 1985, Madonna Hotel established in 1989 ,Madonna Annex established in 1990 Yauri Tourist lodge established in 1995, Travelers Hotel and Acha villa guest inn among others<sup>47</sup>. These are meant, to provide accommodation to the visitors to the area. Madina restaurants, Alheri Restaurants and a host of other restaurants abound to provide catering services whenever demanded.

Tailoring is an important enterprise providing services to the populace in the emirate and beyond. The *Sarkin Teloli* (Chief Tailor) of Yauri, Alhaji Adamu, stressed that, Yauri is well known as a tailoring centre even before the creation of Kebbi state and that people from far and wide bring in textile materials for designing<sup>48</sup>. Various types of sewing machines were used to create the desired designs. The most common machines included the Butterfly, Phoenix, Sugar phoenix, and Chinko. Some prominent fashion designers operating in Yelwa market included Faruk Tela, Bala Tsini, Alhaji Muhammadu Mai Fada and Alhaji Adamu the Sarkin Teloli.<sup>49</sup> In addition for being a source of capital formation and accumulation, tailoring provided employment as well as skills acquisition training to the youth.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p263.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.,p.281

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.,p.278

<sup>48</sup> Alhaji Adamu Tailor, Sarkin Teloli yelwa, 62yrs, yelwa marker, 5/1/2014

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

The procurement and distribution of petroleum products is an important modern economic activity in Yauri. A number of petroleum stations were established through out the emirate. Some prominent petrol stations included Eleyele Petrol station, A.P station, MRS oil station, Modi Tambuwal station, Kabiru Wali station, Sani Mai damma petrol station. Individual owners of petroleum business in Yauri included, Alhaji Sani Maidamna, Dudu Ba'are, Salele, Garba Bullet, Abbas Gulma, Sani Serjent, Alhaji Isa Rasha Maiyama, Alhaji Adamu Ilyasu among others.<sup>50</sup>

Another modern enterprise of prominence in the emirate is the sachet water (Pure water) packaging enterprises. The sachet water producers provided packaged drinking water at the cost of five Naira per sachet of 50 or 60 Milliliters. Some sachet water producers included the Madonna Table Water, Firdaus Table Water, Shalam Table Water and Madina Table Water. This and some other enterprises mentioned above provided an important source of capital formation and accumulation for reinvestment in other economic ventures.

### **Industry**

Production of finished goods from locally sourced raw materials using hand tools, or the processing of agricultural or other natural items to improve their quality, is an old economic activity in Yauri emirate. However, with the introduction of modern machines the process became more efficient, resulting in the production of improved products at a faster rate.

In the discussion on the modern industry in Yauri, the Boat making industry, the gold mining industry and the groundnut processing industry need special emphasis. This is due to their dominance in the industrial activities in the emirate.

### **Boat Building Industry**

Boat making is an ancient industry in the history of the Emirate. This could be as a result of the location of the Emirate and the need for movement across river Niger and its tributaries in the satisfaction of the daily needs of the people. The Gungawa who had lived on the islands for long were said to have started the craft of boat building in the emirate.<sup>51</sup>

Materials used in the construction of boats included trunks of large trees such as *Madacci* (mahogany ) *Madobiya* (*petrocarpes erinaceus*) *kanya* (*Diospyrun mesph formis* ) *Gawo* (*Accacia albida*) *Kirya* (*prosopis arricans*) and *Doka*

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<sup>50</sup> A. Abubakar, 'A. Study in the economy...opcit., P.283.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p.228

trees.<sup>52</sup> The black Smiths produced the working implements as well as the nails to be used in knitting the splits of wood in case of large boats.<sup>53</sup>

The type of boats constructed were mainly *Kanke*, *Abara*, and a small canoe called *kwale* – *kwale* or *Tabo*. *Kwale kwale* is a small canoe made simply by scupping tree trunks to create a hollow side. The *Abara* and *Kanke* are bigger boats used to carry heavy loads and for long travels such as from Yelwa to the Niger Delta areas or to Niamey in Niger republic, a distance of about 500 kilometres which the boat usually covered in twenty four hours.<sup>54</sup> The construction processes of a *Kanke* and an *Abara* boats are somewhat similar. However, the construction of a *Kanke* type boat require additional skills and materials such as Aluminium sheets, Iron rods, cotton and coal tar to cover possible areas of leakages and improve the quality of the boats. High capacity engines were used to propel the *Kanke* and *Abara* boats.<sup>55</sup>

By around the 1980s, a new generation of boat builders who used wooden planks to carpenter boats emerged. Prominent boat carpenters of this category included Alhaji Tijjani, Baba Iyabo, Samaila Carpenter, Alhaji Musa, Abdullahi Takpa, Alhaji Lawal and Muhammad carpenter who is the current chairman of boat carpenter association.<sup>56</sup> The boat making industry has an over seer from the palace- the Sarkin Jirgi, who is presently Alhaji Abubakar Abdullahi<sup>57</sup>

The art of the modern boat building was said to have been introduced by the Yoruba of the South western Nigeria, who along with the people from Republic of Mali are the most predominant.<sup>58</sup> The Chairman of boat carpenters association Muhammad is a Malian. Boats produced in Yauri Emirate have a wide market that extends to as far as Niger and Mali Republics.<sup>59</sup>

The prices of Boats differ in relation to their sizes. A medium size *Kanke* boat canoe which is mostly used for long distance travels is the most costly of all boats and is sold at #20,000<sup>60</sup>. The average price of a large boat of the *Kanke* type was put at about six hundred thousand Naira (N600, 000).<sup>61</sup> All *Kanke* boats

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p.232

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.,p.231

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> A. Abdullahi, Sarkin Jirgi, 35 yrs, Yelwa, 5/1/204

<sup>58</sup> A. Abubakar, 'A. study in the economy... opcit.,p.230.

<sup>59</sup> Alh. Muazu Muhammad Na Mallam...opcit

<sup>60</sup> Alh. Abubakar Abdullahi, Sarkin jirgi ...opcit

<sup>61</sup> Abubakar', A study in the economy... opcit. P.232.

navigating the waters from Yelwa to Niamey to Timbuctu in the Republic of Mali or Kainji or Dole Kaina are constructed in Yauri.<sup>62</sup>

Boat making industry facilitated the growth of the economy of Yauri, as fisher men, farmers; traders used boats to carry out their business across the river. The industry also enhanced social integration, as people from the one side of the river could easily interact with those of the other side.

### **Gold mining industry**

As stated earlier, gold mining by European companies started in Yauri during early years of colonial rule. However, during the early 1950s, gold mining was abandoned due to substantial drop in output.<sup>63</sup>

After about three decades of inactivity, the Nigerian Mining Corporation in 1981 took interest in exploration activities in Yauri and other areas of Northern Nigeria, to determine the quality and quantity of the mineral deposits in the area. In 1986, a trial mining was carried out in various sites including Yauri by the corporation. The results of the trial mining tests indicated that the reserve was viable for commercial exploration.<sup>64</sup>

Furthermore, the Kebbi state government in 1991 sought to directly intervene in exploration and Mining activities in areas under its jurisdiction. The government entered into a joint agreement with Bass and Matts Company for the exploration of gold. In the proposed share holding arrangement, Bass and Matts Company was allotted a controlling share of 55 percent, the Kebbi State government 10 percent while the Nigerian Mining Corporation was to have 20 percent share holding. The proposed name of the company was Laka Gold Mining Company with an equity share of Ten million Naira (#10,000 000).<sup>65</sup>In 1998 the management board of the company was inaugurated, but since then nothing was done to actualize the idea<sup>66</sup>.

Recently, the savanna Gold Company secured prospecting rights for gold mining in Yauri emirate. The company is currently undertaking investigations and tests to

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<sup>62</sup> Alh. Muuzu Muhammad Na Mallam ...opcit.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted from P.G Harris, Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer by M. Adamu,' A Hausa Government in Decline.. op.cit footnote 18:p.29

<sup>64</sup> A Abubakar,' A study ine economy... Opcit. Pp. 1771-178

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, p.178

<sup>66</sup> Ibid

ascertain the quality and quantity of gold in the area. Alhaji Nura Wada, a Kano business man is a co-partner in the Mining business.<sup>67</sup>

Side by side with the activities of the mining companies, was the gold mining by local miners, such as Muhammadu Maiyaki, Atiku Maigari, Musa Abubakar, Muhammad Bello<sup>68</sup> etc the process of Gold extraction manually is a tedious one, requiring patience and commitment. It is however a lucrative business and is providing employment to a significant number of youths

The excavated rock suspected to contain pieces of gold, is crushed to smaller particles, the particles are then subjected to further grinding using a grinding machine to produce finer particles. The powder is poured into a *Jirgi* (Planks of wood placed in a sloping position, covered with a carpet) and water is poured gently to wash away the sand particles, while the gold particles cling to the carpet. White mercury is then rubbed over the carpet to attract the gold particles. The gold is then collected and put into a piece of cloth tied and pressed to eject the liquid Mercury, forming a block of gold. The gold block is covered with non flammable material and heated to remove traces of the foreign element, and a pure solid block of gold (*gunduwa*) is obtained.<sup>69</sup>

Places of gold mining are usually centres of socio economic activities. Markets emerge around the places to service the needs of the miners, gold traders, and other visitors to the area. The most common trades undertaken in these areas included, food selling, blacksmithing for the maintenance of digging implements, rope sellers for drawing the excavated rock, and even for entertainment and commercial Sex etc. Activities in the markets go for 24 hours.<sup>70</sup> In general, the Mining industry provided employment to a significant number of the population; it is also a source of capital formation and accumulation.

Gold obtained from mines in Yauri emirate is taken to places like, Sokoto, Gusau, Lagos Minna, Kano, Cotonou in Benin republic.<sup>71</sup> Some major Gold dealers in the emirate included Manu Yusuf Ibrahim Yauri Abubakar Yauri Sani Dealer Bashiru Kimo and Usman Makirin. Some of these dealers took their gold to far away places such as Dubai in United Arab Emirate and Saudi Arabia.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> A. Aliyu, company staff, 55yrs, Mararaba Yauri, 26-10-2013

<sup>68</sup> A. Abubakar, 'A study in economy...opcit.

<sup>69</sup> Yusuf Suleiman, Hakim in laka, 45yrs, Mararrabar Birnin Yauri, 17-9-2013

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> A Abubakar', A study in economy... opcit. P.179

## Groundnut Processing Industry

Groundnut processing is an old activity in Yauri emirate. The groundnut was peeled, fried, and crushed using mortar or grinding stone to extract the oil and prepare the cake (*kuli kuli*). However, in 2003 a modern groundnut processing firm was established in Yelwa by indigenous Groundnut dealers with the name Dawanau Groundnut threshing company. The name Dawanau was derived from Dawanau area in Kano, which is famous for groundnut trading and processing activities.<sup>73</sup>

The company was initially located at the city centre, but complaints of air pollution resulting from the dust from the threshed groundnut, necessitated the relocation of the processing activities to the present site, which is outside the town, along Yelwa- Kontagora road. The place later came to be known as Dawanau Area.<sup>74</sup>

The company is essentially owned by the indigenes of Yelwa, who were members of groundnut dealers association in Yelwa market, called *Kungiyar yan Gyada*.<sup>75</sup> There are about 10 functional machines for groundnut threshing and a visit to the site shows dozens of labourers engage in various activities in the industry. According to Malam Ishaqa the vice chairman of groundnut dealers association, about one thousand bags of groundnut are threshed on daily basis.<sup>76</sup>

The sources of the groundnut processed in the industry included Tungan Giwa, Dukkun Yauri, Borgu and even Benin republic. Traders also come from different places like Kano, Katsina etc.<sup>77</sup>

The threshed groundnut is transported to Kano by the owners for the extraction of groundnut oil. On the other hand the shells were sold to poultry, cattle and other animal rearers and animal feeds. The Dawanau threshing mills in Yelwa had regular buyers of the groundnut shells from a number of towns including Sokoto, Bodinga and Illela.<sup>78</sup>

A number of other enterprises and industries in Yauri emirate included, commercial banks, mechanic workshops, Business centres, whole sale and retail trading stores among others. Some other processing and manifesting industries

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p.253

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, p254.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid

<sup>76</sup> Malam Ishaqa, vice chairman, groundnut nut dealers association 35 yrs, Dawanau area, Yelwa, 5/1/2014

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> A Abubakar', A study in the economy.. opcit., pp 205-256.

are, groundnut oil extraction and *kuli-kuli* production, Furniture works, modern Dyeing, Bakeries and Chalk industry.<sup>79</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Business enterprises and industries, provided employment and the formation and accumulation of capital for reinvestment into other sectors of the economy. This had the effect of boosting the economy of Yauri, Emirate. The major factors militating against economic expansion, that many business proprietors are worried about, included, lack of government assistance in form of loans, bad roads, leading to the area and inadequate power supply.

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<sup>79</sup> The chalk industry was established by Majhass Artisanal minners cooperative society, the office is along Sokoto road.





The *Kanke* Canoes that ferry the River Niger from Mali to Yauri



Canoes under construction at the River side in Yauri



Gold fortune-seekers at Maraban Birnin Yauri



Large canoe factory at the River side in Yauri



Side view of the River Niger



Fish market at the waterfront (picutre was not shot on the market day)





A section of the fish market



Fresh fish section



Dry fish being loaded by traders



The Yauri fish market in session



Commercial boats and boats donated by the Kebbi State Govt, at the river side in Yauri



Groundnut processing at Dawanau in Yauri



A truck being loaded with Groundnut at Dawanau in Yauri

## Chapter 8

### Religion and Society in Yauri Emirate

Mukhtar Umar Bunza &  
Mansur Abubakar Wara

#### Introduction

This chapter examines the main ethnic groups occupying Yauri Emirate and their traditional religious belief systems. It also discusses the cultural and religious changes that occurred among the indigenous groups as a result of the penetration of Islam and Christianity into the area, through the efforts of various internal and external forces in the emirate, up to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It has also looked at the main factors that undermined the progress of Islam in the emirate.

#### Traditional Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Indigenous People of Yauri Emirate

The earliest known ethnic groups to have established their presence in the area of what is today known as Yauri Emirate were mostly pagan tribes of the Kambari, Shangawa, Lopawa, Baresha (popularly known as the Gungawa) and the Dukkawa.<sup>1</sup> Other ethnic groups like the Hausa-Muslims, Sarkawa, Nupe, Yoruba, Igbo and many others, with no claims of indigenesness, have periodically entered the area and worked out basic patterns of political, social and economic interactions with Yauri's indigenous ethnic groups. More interestingly, the interactions later led to changes in social, cultural and foremost religious characters among the native people, which have virtually affected their general lifestyles. Majority of the indigenous tribes accepted Islam and very few converted to Christianity. A few still, chose to remain animists.<sup>2</sup>

The dominant social institution that governed the affairs of the majority of the people of the area was religion. There were three forms of religious belief systems in the area and they are Islam, Christianity and Traditional forms of worship. Some of the indigenous people practice African traditional religion, which is the worship of idols.

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<sup>1</sup> Salmone A. Frank, *The Yauri Daybook: The Social Construction of Colonial Reality, Yauri Emirate*, London, 1987, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Like in the rest of the pre-Jihad Hausa States, *Bori* (Hausa, spirit possession) was given some prominence as the state religion in Yauri.<sup>3</sup> Each village had its own “*bori* shrine” and “local *masu bori* that comprised of males and females.” So all the indigenous tribes dwelling in the emirate, were *bori* practitioners who indulged in the worship of different spirits. For instance, annual *bori* and fetish (Hausa, *tsafi*) ceremonies used to be held at Birnin Yauri which produced a major role of integrating the varied ethnic elements of the community. At the fetish point, the sacrifice of a black ox contributed by the Tata, along with the congregational performances of the *bori* dances from various societies were displayed. The ceremonies were usually held at the end of the rains, and after the harvest.<sup>4</sup>

Another national festival in Yauri was *Wasan Wuta* (Dancing around the fire) which, however, was a serious traditional rite to welcome the beginning of the farming season and to pray for bumper harvest. This used to take place at the appearance of the moon in the seventh month (April and May), which initiate the sowing of crops. This festival was first performed by the Dalupe at Birnin Yauri. This practice was witnessed by Harris while at Tsulu Island, which according to him, was the original home of the Gungawa people. A goat sacrifice was made followed with offering of prayers led by *Wahunu*, (the village Chief Priest), imploring for rain and a good harvest. In the same vein, a yearly ceremony held in every village and Island to stave off smallpox. This ritual took place between April and June, where the *Wahanu* carryout the burial of a collection of cowries mostly gathered from the villagers.<sup>5</sup>

The Lopawa famous cults were *Saya* and *Daya* (compared with Adam and Eve), *Amo*, *Atar* and *Muran*. Worshipping of these deities brought about religious and ritual integration between the Lopawa and Kambari of Ngaski District of the Emirate.<sup>6</sup> *Magiro* cult was widespread in Yauri Emirate, mostly practiced by the Kambari in Birnin Yauri and Ngaski Districts. The most important deity which was traditionally worshiped by the Kambari was *Kameli*. The Kambari traditional practitioners worshiped in many places that included river banks, trunk of big trees, caves, mountains and on hill tops. The same spots were also used for rituals, festivals, and prayers. Initially, the Kambari from all parts of Ngaski District used to gather at *Kamburra's* shrine which was a nettle tree at Kwanga on

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<sup>3</sup> See: H. D. Gunn and P. F. Conant, *Peoples of the Middle Niger Region: Northern Nigeria*, London, International African Institute, 1960, p.20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Pp.20-21

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

Foge Island. In all ceremonies, *bori* dances, animal sacrifices and consumption of local beer called *maro* in Kambari language, were practiced.<sup>7</sup>

### **The Yauri Early Contact with Islam and its Further Spread into the Area**

The advent of Islam in Yauri is quite difficult to date. There are some indications from some names of individuals mentioned in the various oral traditions that by the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century up to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century some Islamic influence was present in the area. Some studies have shown that as early as the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Gungawa settlements on some islands on the River Niger in the Yauri area had received some Hausa-Muslim traders, some of whom even settled among the Gungawa people.<sup>8</sup> Those Hausa migrant traders were believed to have established their presence by peaceful means, increasing their hegemony over the Gungawa and later used force and brought the Kambari, Lopawa and Dukkawa people on the mainland under their control. By the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Kambari in the Maginga (Ngaski) District had also come under the rule of the Hausa-Muslim people. It was the Hausa people who established their political rule over the *Awunci* Kambari of Maginga District in the present Ngaski Local Government Area of Kasar Yauri, who later became the overlords of the indigenous people of the area.<sup>9</sup>

Considering the kinglists of most of the towns and villages in the area, many of the rulers bore Muslim names even though it could not be ascertained whether or not the people were practicing Muslims. It is a known fact that the time that a ruler was converted to Islam does not necessarily indicate the time that Islam first entered his territory, for the subjects could practice the religion privately and even secretly if need be. So the ordinary people could become Muslims before their leaders. The fact that *Kasar* Yauri is located between Muslim Hausa to the north

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<sup>7</sup> Among the Kambari deities of worship were Shende, Kukyewe, Lata, Kabori, Kayakaluwa, Magalla, Saipa, Bana etc. The Shende cult gained respect from across other ethnic groups living in the emirate. Apart from the Kambari, the Fulani, Gungawa, Lopawa used to worship it, imploring for childbearing.

<sup>8</sup> M. Adamu, "The Hausa Government in Decline: Yauri in the Nineteenth Century", M. A. Dissertation, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, pp. 46-47.

<sup>9</sup> Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, Zaria, ABU Press, 1978, Pp. 16-17. The establishment of Hausa influence and rule could be dated back to 14<sup>th</sup> century when Birnin Yauri was declared as the newly administrative headquarters of the Yauri Hausa Kingdom and before the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century large communities of Hausa *Mallams* were already established in both Birnin Yauri and Agwara, the only towns with highest Muslim population in Yauri Kingdom. See: *Ibid.*, p. 51. Apart from Birnin Yauri, which first appeared to be the melting point of the Hausa culture in the emirate, there were other settlements in the present Birnin Yauri District, majorly founded by the Hausa people. They are: Tungwani, Konono, Mai Kafo and Jindane. See: Lumamu, *Op.cit.*



and Muslim Nupe to the south may have probably paved way for the infiltration of Islam.<sup>10</sup>

As already observed, documentary evidence on the introduction and spread of Islam in the emirate is very scanty, and so it is necessary to use oral traditions to reconstruct how Islam reached different parts of the emirate. However, written records show that there was presence of Islam in the area of Maginga District long before the reign of Sarkin Maginga Aliyu son of Baza whose reign is dated 1597 to 1621. It is evident that a large number of Hausa Muslims, who were mostly *Mallams* lived in the towns of Agwara and Ngaski which were recognised as important centers for Islamic scholarship in Yauri Kingdom.<sup>11</sup> Another town that received much Hausa-Muslims attraction within the emirate was Utono.<sup>12</sup> But from that period up to date, all the reigning Emirs, District and Village Heads in the emirate have been Muslims.<sup>13</sup>

From the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century up to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Islamic influence became widespread in the area of the *Kasashen Bauchi*,<sup>14</sup> which Yauri Kingdom was one of them. The territory had experienced a vast influence of Islam through the efforts of Hausa and non-Hausa *Mallams* who became engaged in teaching the Qur'an, roving studentships (Hausa, *yawon almajiranci*), praying for people, divination, preparing charms, among several other things. Some of the *Mallams* were itinerant haberdashers (Hausa, 'Yan koli) who carried

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<sup>10</sup> S. F. Nadel, *A Black Byzantium: The Nupe Kingdom in Nigeria*, Oxford University press, 1965 reprint, p. 406. According to Nadel, Islam first reached the Nupe kingdom since in c. 1670-1679, during the reign of Etsu Muhammadu Wari. See *Ibid*.

<sup>11</sup> This shows that there were some resident Muslims before the arrival of such *Mallams*. However, Sources show that there was existence of Islam among the Kambari Awunci of old Agwara the parent-stock of all the kambari subcultural groups, which became prevalent during the reign of Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi son of Jibrilu (1923-1955). Agwara was the first founded and oldest town of the Kambari before their eventual dispersal. The town was blessed with many Muslim immigrant Mallams. In an interview with Malam Abubakar Barau, (Ngaski Village Head, over 70 years), at Ngaski, 22/4/2013, 9:30-12:00 p.m.

<sup>12</sup> See: Adamu, *The Hausa Factor...*, *op.cit*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>13</sup> Salamone A. Frank, "Becoming Hausa: Ethnic Identity Change and its Implications for the study of ethnic Pluralism and Stratification", in the *Journal of International African Institute*, vol. 45, No. 4, 1995, p. 414.

<sup>14</sup> Bauchi is the term for the whole tract of land lying south of Hausaland up to the valleys of the rivers Niger and Benue. The term *Kasashen Bauchi* here stands for the whole of this territory with the exception of the Adamawa area which was not part of Bauchi. Also in present day political jargon, this area is referred to as the Middle Belt of Nigeria. People of the *Kasashen Bauchi* comprised of the Kambarawa, Gungawa, Dukkawa, Dakarkari, Bussa, Nupe, Laru, Lopawa, Kamuku among many others. According to Adamu, it may have been into this area that the first Hausa migrations took place before the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and thereby spreading the Hausa-Muslim culture among the vast tribes living there. For more details, see: Adamu, *The Hausa Factor...*, *op.cit*, p. 23.

their assorted goods on their heads. The wealthy few operated as long-distance merchants (Hausa, *fatake*).<sup>15</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> century also marked the booming era of *Gonja* trade.<sup>16</sup> Routes through Yauri to Gonja was the most central and perhaps the most popular during this time and consequently Birnin Yauri along with Wawa, Bussa, Kaiama, Nikki and Djougou<sup>17</sup> became major centres of commerce that attracted wealthy traders from all walks of life.<sup>18</sup>

Those traders had pursued dual goals of trading with the inhabitants and the propagation of Islam, through several means. They mostly settled in those towns that were usually the seats of village governments. On account of their literacy and knowledge of Arabic, the Muslim traders carried out their commercial activities and also became advisers and courtiers to the rulers.<sup>19</sup> Among such

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<sup>15</sup> In Adamu's Hausa Factor..., *op.cit.*, pp. 16-17. See: M. R. Prothero, *Migrant Labor from Sokoto Province Northern Nigeria*, Kaduna, Government Printers, 1958. Amin, Samir, *Modern Migrations in Western Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1974. And Reuben "Migrations in Nigeria", in *Nigeria Magazine*, No.103, Dec.'69/Feb/70, Lagos, Henry Stephens & Sons Ltd., 1970. Imports from Hausaland were plain and embroidered Hausa garments which included the *Kwashe*, the *barage* and the *rigar gwanda* gowns for men, the *turkudi* and *arkila* for both men and women and *sanda rishi*. Horses were also imported, but mainly for the nobility. Adamu, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> See Prothero, *Op.cit.*, *In the Annual Report for Gwandu Division 1915*, p.18. Gonja trade, according to Kano chronicle began in the 15<sup>th</sup> century was certainly flourishing by the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the gold and Kola of the Ashanti region in Ghana were exchanged for manufactured goods from North Africa, together with indigo dyed cloth, onions and most importantly of all, *Kanwa* the potash of Borno which was in the hands of people of Mande or Kanuri origin, and it was not until the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the 'Hausa' began to enter the trade in large number. See: I. Obaro ed., *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. Plc, 1984, pp. 205-206. Gonja (also *Ghanjawiyyu*) is a kingdom in northern Ghana; the word can also refer to the people of this kingdom. With the fall of the Songhai Empire (c. 1600), the Mande Ngbanya clan moved south, crossing the Black Volta and founding a city at Yagbum. Under the leadership of Naba'a, the Ngbanya expanded rapidly, conquered several neighbours in the White Volta valley and began a profitable gold trade. By 1675, the Gonja established a paramount chief, called the Yagbongwura, to control the kingdom. The Ngbanya dynasty has control this from its founding to the present day, with only two brief interregnums. The current Yagbongwura, Bawa Abudu Doshie, has held his position since 2000. The pre-colonial Gonja society was stratified into caste, with a ruling class, a Muslim trader class, an animist commoner class, and a slave class. The Gonja language is a Kwa language with an estimated 230,000 speakers. See: Wilks, Ivor, "Wangara, Akan and Portuguese in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries: The Struggle for Tradse", *The Journal of African History*, vol. 23:4, 1982, Pp. 463-472. Retrieved from [www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gonja-2/23/2009](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gonja-2/23/2009).

<sup>17</sup> Gonja routes: the main ferries over the river Niger were in Foghe district near Birnin Kebbi in the north, Chulu near Birnin Yauri in the centre, and Rabba in Nupe.. See: Mahdi, *The Hausa Factor.... Op.cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>18</sup> For detailed information about the main areas in the Yauri Emirate, where the *Gonja* Muslim traders established their permanent settlements in Ngaski District, see: A. Mansur, "History of the Akimba group of the Kambari people to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century", Sokoto, UDU, M. A. History Dissertation, 2010, pp. 98-103.

<sup>19</sup> Seasonal immigrants were referred to as 'Yan Cin Rani. They moved comparatively short distances (20 to 40 miles) during dry the season from their home town or district, probably with their families and with small personal belongings. Their motive for traveling may be partly social-desire to travel, visiting



itinerant *Mallams* were those that established Qur'anic schools for the children of few resident Muslims in the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

### **Sardauna's Conversion Campaigns in Yauri Emirate**

Despite the intrusion of Islam in the Yauri territory, it was observed that Islam had not been fully integrated into the mainstream of the society. Up to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, some of the indigenous tribes in the emirate retained their traditional religious beliefs and practices.<sup>21</sup> The real mass conversion of the local people into Islam started during the period of mass propagation campaign of Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto and the Premier of the northern Region (1955-1966). Of course before Sardauna's time there were quite a number of Muslim scholars who were famous for their contributions to the development of Islam in the area. These include: Malam Suleiman Yawuri popularly known as Malam Yawuri, Malam Maitandu, Malam Hamidu and Malam Salka.

According to the Yauri indigenous informants,<sup>22</sup> one of the greatest factors that proved to be of much importance to the Islamisation of their societies, was the Islamisation campaigns of the late Sir Ahmadu Bello the Sardauna of Sokoto.<sup>23</sup> Written evidence show that long before Nigerian's independence, he embarked on a serious conversion campaigns in northern Nigeria, especially in the Muslim minority areas. The people of Yauri Emirate started benefitting from this campaign as early as 1956 when the Sardauna attended the installation ceremony of the Emir of Yauri, Muhammadu Tukur (1955-1981).<sup>24</sup>

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relatives and partly economic like practicing crafts such as weaving, pottery, mat making, to trade or to carryout dry season farming, while seasonal immigrants were referred to as '*yan tuma da gora* who mostly travel with only 3 essentials- a sword or bow and arrow, a bottle shaped gourd for drinking water. Many of them do not practice a specific trade in the areas to which they migrate but rely on their strength in the various labouring occupation which do not required any skill. See: M. R. Prothero, *Op.cit.*, p.17. Also see: Amin, Samir, *Op.cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> This shows that there were some resident Muslims before the arrival of such Mallams. See: A. Mansur, ....*op.cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>21</sup> See: *Ibid.*, p.121.

<sup>22</sup> Mamman Majidadi Libata, Garba Wakili, Attahiru Giwa, and Dan Gado, among the other eye-witnessed Kambari informants.

<sup>23</sup> Sir Ahmadu Bello was the Premier of Northern Nigeria. Beside this the Middle Eastern and Maghrebian countries of Libya, Jordan, Iran, Pakistan, Tunis, Morocco, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Sudan and many others conferred him with all sort of honour and sang his praises as a champion of Islam. Another crowning glory was his elevation as the Vice President of the World Islamic Council. For those reasons, those Arabs poured millions of dollars in Nigeria for the promotion of Islam through him. See: K. H. Matthew, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Ltd., 1993, p. 21.

<sup>24</sup> On December 15, 1956, the Premier attended the installation of SarkinYauri Muhammadu Tukur along with the Emir of Gwandu, Emir of Katsina, theLamido of Adamawa, the Ohinoyi of Igbirra, Emir of Fika and the representatives of the Sultan of Sokoto. For more information see: P. N. John, *Ahmadu Bello*

The native rulers of Yauri discussed extensively with the Sardauna during this time and they were persuaded to enjoin their subjects to follow their footsteps in this respect. Consequently, there was a large conversion into Islam by many communities like the Gungawa, Kambari, Dukkawa and Lopawa tribes. It is worthy to note that the Sardauna conversion campaign was not only in Yauri Emirate, but in other parts of Nigeria. Sardauna was supplied by monetary donations from Arab countries. He utilized the donations to dole out material gifts to new converts in the form of bales of cloths mainly supplied by the Kaduna textile factories, money, shoes, food, caps, kettle for ablution, *Tasbih* and many other things, all aimed at encouraging the local people.<sup>25</sup> Mosques were also constructed as part of the architectural plans in all the resettled towns and villages which existed at that time.<sup>26</sup>

It is also important to note that as the result of the 1968 Kainji Dam resettlement exercises, conversion to Islam had risen dramatically among the Islanders like the Gungawa, Lopawa and few Kambari of *Akimba* sub-group since they were moved to the mainland in 1968. Contacts have been precipitated among societies of different ideological and cultural orientations and some villages that had 37 percent of their people listed as Muslims before the resettlement later claimed to be almost 100 percent Muslims. Some of the major benefits accrued from such religious changes were that, court cases seem to be less fearsome for those who were Muslims; government jobs seem to be more easily secured by Muslims; taxes seem to be more fairly assessed in the case of Muslims; cost of renting equipment became lowered for the Muslims. These no doubt accelerated Islamic conversion in the emirate.<sup>27</sup>

As part of his Islamisation campaigns, Sardauna encouraged the spread of Islam by giving directives for the construction of Western secular schools in most of the resettled towns and villages of the Emirate. Most of the school teachers in the constructed schools were Muslims who were equally used for conversion missions. Consequently, many native pupils became Muslims through the efforts of the school teachers. In 1932, Yauri Elementary School was established where

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*Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Northern Nigeria*, Zaria, Hudahuda publishing Company, 1986, P, 195.

<sup>25</sup> Mr. Jack Muggeridge, a colonial Officer who worked in Northern Nigeria at the time reported that the Sardauna would go to a place and say '*Take money, you must have a mosque*'. See: Matthew, *Op.cit.* pp. 21- 22.

<sup>26</sup> Such mosques can still be seen in most settlements as clear evidences to prove the effort of Sardauna. Such mosques can still be seen in Yelwa, Rofia, Zamare, Wara, Libata, Kabirba, Kwanga, Karoliya, and Langwam among many others. Even in Borgu Emirate, in places like Bussa, Yumu, Malale, and Ganekasaye, among other several places.

<sup>27</sup> See: Salamone, in *Becoming a Hausa.....Op.cit.*, p. 415.

the majority of the Gungawa were enrolled and converted to Islam. The Gungawa mass enrolment into Western school was encouraged by the late Emir of Yauri, Abdullahi (1923-1955) who used to go out on his way to compel parents to send their children.<sup>28</sup> In 1946, Wara Elementary School was established with 2 classes. Similarly, Adult Education classes for Mondays and Fridays were opened at Wara and Libata in 1952. In 1948, 4 classes were extended and in 1957 Sardauna proposed for a second permanent block of 2 additional classes, built and opened in 1958. Also in 1957, a Primary School was opened at Birnin Yauri and enrolment of the Kambari began in January 1958. According to Aliyu Lumamu, those first intake embraced Islam through their Arabic teachers like Malam Adamu Karofi, Malam Umbaru Bahago Birnin Yauri, Malam Muhammadu Dantanin, Late Aliyu Uban Maginga (He became the first Imam of Juma'at mosque of Birnin Yauri), Malam Abubakar Muhammadu Nayari Birnin Yauri, Alhaji Garba Makera and Malam Sallau Abbas. Most were indigenous Kambari of Agadi group who accepted Islam earlier on.<sup>29</sup>

According to late Garba Wakili, the Village Head of Karoliya, an important factor that greatly assisted in the Kambari's and other tribes' enrolment into Western Education in Ngaski District was the outstanding role of District Head of Maginga, Jibrin (1957-1968), who supported the Sardauna's efforts by going out on his way to compel the enrolment of the Kambari, especially the Akimba and few Lopawa, into elementary school in Wara.<sup>30</sup>

Evidences show that Sardauna never showed abhorrence to the cultures of the native people, especially the Kambari who mostly by then used to appear before him half-naked. He used to shake their hands and exchanged cheerful discussions with them. The best tactful wisdom used by the Sardauna in winning the hearts and minds of the non-Muslims to Islam was through the conferment of traditional chieftaincy (Hausa, *Sarauta*) titles to them. Some indigenous people were conferred with traditional titles and turbaned with a long white cloth (Hausa, *rawani*) as the *Wakilai* (representatives) of their people in different

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<sup>28</sup> In discussion with Alhaji Aliyu Lumamu (63 years), interviewed in his house, Kambu Village, 13/8/2012, time- 11:00- 1:30 p.m.

<sup>29</sup> Few among those Kambari of Agadi group whose names were changed from traditional to Islamic names after accepting Islam from their school teachers were: Lumamu himself who was renamed Aliyu (our informant). He later became a supportive preacher. He went out on his way moving from house to house and farm to farm, calling his tribesmates to Islam. He succeeded in converting many. Silazae renamed Abubakar, and Gado became Isah. In discussion with Alhaji Aliyu Lumamu, *Op.cit.*

<sup>30</sup> Similar Western schools were also opened at Duga and Agwara in present Borgu Emirate where some Kambari, Gungawa and Lopawa were also said to have accepted Islam, from their Arabic and Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers. Late Garba Wakili was a good friend of Emir of Yauri Abdullahi (1923-1955) who was said to have spent most of his joyful period with him. See: Mansur, *Op.cit.*, Pp. 136-138.

capacities.<sup>31</sup> He gave clothes and shoes apart from the *rawani* which makes one feel superior like a king. According to Lumamu, the adoption of the *rawani* system as sign of conferment of political office was the first known social step used in introducing the Hausa-Muslim and Islamic culture among the Kambari, Gungawa and Lopawa ethnic groups, during the Sardauna era. One Maliki, the father of Aliyu Lumamu (our informant) was turbaned *Wakilin Avadin Maboro* and later he became Sarkin Maboro in BirninYauri District. Maliki played important role in encouraging his people to accept Islam and gave privileges and protection to the Hausa-Muslim strangers in his territory. There was also the case of turbaning a renowned Avadi Kambari singer called late Gugara from BirninYauri, who used to entertain the Sardauna political crowd as the *Wakili* of his people. In same vein, Sardauna was said to have visited many towns and villages that had vast Hausa settlements.<sup>32</sup>

## **The Emergence of Muslim Organizations and their Roles in the Spread of Islam in Yauri Emirate**

### **The Jama'atu Nasril Islam**

The first Muslim organization to have played important role in the spread of Islam in the emirate was The *Jama'atu Nasril Islam*<sup>33</sup> established in the 1950s in Yauri. However, its establishment in the emirate is recognised as the Sardauna's legacy. The Emir of Yauri, Muhammadu Tukur became the pioneer patron while Sheikh Abubakar Yusuf the current Sarkin Malamai of Yauri, was the Secretary of the organization. Sheikh Yusuf narrated that, in the 1960s, the organization had received a donation of 2 bicycles which is believed to have come from the former President of Libya, late Muammer Gadhafi (1969-2011) through the former Grand Khadi of northern Nigeria, late Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gummi

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<sup>31</sup> Some of the awarded traditional titles were *Uban Dawakin Kambari*, *Noman gari* and *Wakili*. See: *Ibid*.

<sup>32</sup> Other areas that gained from the Sardauna's Islamization mission in Yauri Emirate were, the towns of Utono, which he visited once, and old Wara, visited on two occasions through Zamare Niger water-way. The first Kambari known to have embraced Islam during Sardauna's visit at Utono was one called Sulaiman Makawa and his entire family. While at Old Wara, Hadiza mother of Agunu daughter of Macupa and *Wakilin* Ntade, Gero's father accepted Islam from Sardauna. Many later followed their footsteps and conversion had become a competitive phenomenon even among those that have not seen the Sardauna. Moreover, he severally had meetings with District and Village Heads, Mallams as well as the school teachers, encouraging them to enjoin their followers to accept Islam. *Ibid*.

<sup>33</sup> Jama'atu Nasril Islam (Society for the victory of Islam) is a renowned Muslim Organisation that has played a prominent role in the expansion and development of Islam in Nigeria. It was established by Ahmadu Bello Sardauna in January 1962 with its headquarters in Kaduna, and he became the grand patron of the organisation. Sardauna liaised with the traditional rulers like Emirs and Village Heads to achieve his goals. See C. B. Peter, *West Africa and Islam*, Scotland, Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1982, Pp. 243-244.

(d.1992).<sup>34</sup> The bicycles then were the only fastest means of transportation used in reaching the non-Muslims living in the remote areas for the propagation of Islam. The organization later received the donation of 1 Yamaha motorcycle and finally a Nissan Urban vehicle brand from the same source. The first areas penetrated during its Islamic propagation were Ngaski, Shanga and BirninYauri Districts among the non-Muslim Kambari, Gungawa and Lopawa. However, little successes were recorded. That was due to shortage of human and financial resources and the refusal of quite a number of indigenes to abandon their traditional religious beliefs at the expense of Islam.<sup>35</sup>

The 1950s witnessed the settlements of many *Tijjaniyyah* Mallams in Yauri and within the boundary of the emirate which later overwhelmed the number of *Qadiriyyah* Mallams.<sup>36</sup> Among the earliest leading *Tijjaniyyah* personalities in the emirate, was late Malam Amadu (popularly known as *Wali* of Yauri N.A.). He was the son of Malam Na Salka of Yelwa who studied at Birnin Kebbi, from a certain Islamic scholar, called Malam Belko. He was also sponsored by the Emir of Yauri Abdullahi (1923-1955) to study at Gwandu from a prominent Qadiriyyah scholar, Malam Marafa Gurdo, (grandfather of late A.A. Gwandu-businessman cum politician), and later attained his spiritual knowledge of *Tijjaniyya Sufi* doctrines from Shaykh Abubakar Atiku Sanka, Kano. On his return to Yelwa, Wali established a large Qur'anic school, where followers of *Tijjaniyyah* read the glorious Qur'an and conduct their daily *Wazifa* session. His school attracted scholars from many indigenous tribes and their vicinity. The son of the Wali Amadu, Malam Shehu Wali is the current *Wali* of Yauri.<sup>37</sup> This has already been mentioned elsewhere.

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<sup>34</sup> In an interview with Alhaji Abubakar Yusuf (Sarkin MalamanYauri, over 70 years), in his palace Yelwa town, 29/8/2012, from 12:00 to 2: 20 p.m.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> The town of old Utono become famous for its popularity in large number of Qadiriyyah scholars. To date, it is the only place with the highest number of the remnants of Qadiriyyah practising mallams in the emirate. Among the early settlers of Qadirawa Mallams in Utono were; Late Malam Salihu, Late Malam Abdullahi, Malam Bala Muqaddashi, and Late Malam Bawa. They were all from Katsina and died long before the Kainji Dam resettlement. Malam Jibo Utono (a retired Arabic teacher) was the only one alive. In Ngaski, there were Qadiriyyah Mallams like late Malam Adamu Dan Galadima, late Malam Mu'azu, late Malam Ali from Kano and late Malam Shehu from Sokoto. In an interview with Malam Jibo Utono (a retired Arabic Teacher, 85 years), at Utono town, 22/8/2012, 3:00-4:00 p.m.

<sup>37</sup> In an interview with Alhaji Usman (Shehu Ahmad Wali), present Wali of Yauri, aged 54 years, Friday 8<sup>th</sup> August, 2014. See also, SSHB/*Tijjaniyyah personalities/file No.c/380/1957*, p.18. There were evidences of the settlements of some *Tijjaniyyah* Mallams in others places in the emirate. For examples: in old Wara, there were such Mallams like late Malam Babba, Late Malam Mamman Na Kontagora, the father of the present *Wali* of Wara, late Ibrahim Na Gulu, former Chief Imam of Wara, late Liman Hamza, late Malam Sani Mai Ishiriniya who became the first to have founded his *Zawiyya*, gathering

## **The Role of the Izala Sect in the Revival and Further Spread of Islam in Yauri Emirate**

Despite the successes recorded in converting many indigenous people of the emirate to Islam through the Sardauna's effort, it was observed that Islam has a long way to go among the society in Yauri Emirate. Up to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many people still retained their traditional religious beliefs and practices even though Islam had been embraced by quite a number of people. This situation remained unchanged until the emergence of Izala Islamic sect in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, when a new form of Islamic revivalism became widespread.<sup>38</sup>

The movement was founded in 1978 by Sheikh Ismaila Idris in Jos, Plateau State of Nigeria and was formally registered on 11<sup>th</sup> December 1985; and from that year the sect swept across all corners of northern Nigeria.<sup>39</sup> Consequently, there was large turn up of people repenting and many took oath to leave *Tsafi* (fetish) permanently and threw away intoxicants and other unIslamic vices.<sup>40</sup>

Prior to the emergence of Izala group, there were some indigenous youths who were opportune to attend Western schools and equally became well acquainted with Islamic education as they attended Teachers' Colleges where Arabic and Islamic Studies were fully taught. When Izala began to manifest they acted as the front runners of spreading Islam through their divergent activities.<sup>41</sup>

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people, teaching them the songs of *Ishiriniyya* in Wara, and late Malam Barmo who became a renowned *Ishiriniya* singer that mentored many of his students till his death in the 1980s.

<sup>38</sup> Ramzi Ben Amara, "Development of the Izala Movement in Nigeria: its Split, Relationship to Sufis and perception of Sharia implementation" accessed in [www.sharia-in-africa.net/pages/staff/amara.php](http://www.sharia-in-africa.net/pages/staff/amara.php) on 9/6/2009. Also see: Yandaki, *Op.cit.*, pp. 7 & 32.

<sup>39</sup> The Izalah movement was generally named "Izalatil Bidi'ah wa Iqamatis-ssunnah" (Society of Removal of Innovation and Reestablishment of the Sunnah) and became popular when it established many branches in the Nigerian Northern States. See: A. I. Yandaki, *Matsayin Izalah a Nigeria*, Kaduna, Fisbas Media Services, 1992, p. 7. More about Izala movement, see: Sulaiman, Khalid, "Izala Movement and religious reform in Northern Nigeria: A case study of Sokoto", *B.A. Dissertation*, UDUS, 1985.

<sup>40</sup> Mal. Garba Liman, *Op.cit*

<sup>41</sup> Most of them attended schools like Giginya Memorial College, Sokoto Teachers' College, Sultan Abubakar College, College of Arts and Arabic Studies, all in Sokoto. Some indigenous informants were of the view that prior to this time, Islam was spread as a result of the tireless efforts and great role played by the resident Mallams and indigenous youths who undertook long journeys to Hausaland and settled among the Hausa people in search of Islamic knowledge. The major areas they travelled to included Zaria, Kano, and Katsina as those areas were recognized to be great centers of Islamic learning in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and onwards. Those three Hausa towns had attracted scholars from the Maghreb, the Middle East, as well as from Western Sudan. See: K. A. Muhammad, *The Intellectual Origin of Sokoto Jihad*, Ibadan, Iman Publication, 1994, p.22. From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Sokoto had also become a great centre for Islamic scholarship which attracted many people, including some youths from the Yauri emirate who

Most of the native Mallams in Yauri who had supported *Izala* established Qur'anic schools in their houses, teaching children Qur'an and *Hadith*. Some of them used to organize morning classes for children and evening classes for women. These practices remained to date. In spreading Islam, those Mallams used their local language dialects (Gunganci, Kambarci, Lopanci etc) to their fellow tribesmates as this method would help in persuading large numbers of people living in villages who did not understand Hausa language. To date, those Mallams maintain the practice of reaching out to remote villages particularly during the month of Ramadhan to educate people on what they were expected to do during the month.<sup>42</sup>

### **General Problems on Islamisation of the Indigenous People of Yauri Emirate**

The effort to Islamise the area as discussed in the pages that follow encountered challenges that to some extent undermined the progress of Islam in the area. It needs to be known that that the *Qadiriyyah* brotherhood which guided the formation of the Sokoto Caliphate has pre-dated *Tijjaniyyah* in Yauri Emirate for almost a decade. Similarly, the former had gained a widespread acceptance in the defunct Sokoto Caliphate including the Yauri Emirate. An informant had argued that it was soon after the signing the agreement of neutrality between the caliphate and rulers of Yauri Emirate that some Nupe and Hausa *Mallams* started bringing *Qadiriyyah* to Yauri. Yauri, Birnin Yauri, Ngaski, Wara and foremost, Utono towns were among the leading areas that witnessed the settlements of *Qadiriyyah* scholars in the emirate. Few of them settled in Libata and Kwanji areas.<sup>43</sup>

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traveled to Kontagora and Gwandu, towards the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and later succeeded in converting many to Islam after returning home. *Ibid*.

<sup>42</sup> In an interview with Sheikh Ibrahim Musa Kwanga (69 years), interviewed at Wara, 5/8/12, from 10:00 to 1:45 p.m.

<sup>43</sup> In discussion with Jibo Utono, *Op.cit*. There was evidence of *Tariqa-Tijjaniyyah* conflicts in Birnin Yauri town in the 1980s during the reign of Sarkin Gabas of Birnin Yauri, Nawando. Up to the end of the 1980s, the Shirfai family was the only home known with *Tijjaniyyah* practices in Birnin Yauri. The crises took double dimension; one over the practices of *Qablu* and *Sadlu* (folding and unfolding hands) during prayers, and on the other hand, there was a dispute over the succession of *Imamship* of central mosque between the members of the two brotherhoods, when the District Head had attempted to return the mantle into the hand of the Qadirawa Imam. It was later resolved and overruled by the Emir of Yauri and be given to a *Tijjaniyyah* Malam, late Malam Abubakar. Similarly, another crisis broke out in 1986 between the followers of *Izala* and *Tijjaniyyah*. By 1986, the *Izala* movement became tough enough in Birnin Yauri engaging themselves in all Islamic activities, consequent upon which they demanded the control of the central mosque, against the *Tijjaniyyah* wishes. Disputes escalated and which later generated arrest of the anticipated *Izala* Malam, late Abubakar and other followers from both parties. On his return, Malam Abubakar guided his followers to build an *Izala* mosque where he became the first Imam there. In

During the 1950s and the 1960s there happened to be an intensification of ideological warfare between the two major brotherhoods of Tijjaniya and Qadiriyyah and this did nothing good in raising the glorious respect of Islam, but hindered its progress in the emirate and its vicinity. On the other hand, when the *Izala* groups came they have also remained staunch enemies to the *Tijjaniyyah* and other Muslim groups in the emirate.<sup>44</sup> This did not auger well for the Muslims.

Earlier on the Nagwamatse slave raiding activities had also brought serious setbacks in uplifting the glory of Islam in the area. Thus, the conversion was slowed down because of the series of military attacks and consequently the non-Muslim tribes in the emirate and their environs developed a negative thought about Islam, perceiving it as the religion of slave raiders and exploitative merchants. It is worth noting also that the relaxed attitudes of the early Muslim missionaries mostly Hausa immigrant *Mallams* and frequent raids of the Nagwamatse ruling family rendered the area a fertile ground for the plantation of Christianity. Many of the indigenous people fled the country in search of a

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discussion with Lumamu, *Op.cit.* For more additional details on bones of contention between the two major brotherhoods, See: A. Gumi, with T. Ismaila, *Where I Stand*, Ibadan, Spectrums Books Ltd., 1992, p.134. One notable disagreement between the Qadiriyyah and Tijjaniyyah followers concerns the position of the hands while standing up for prayers. The Qadiriyyah keep hands hanging straight by the sides (*sadlu*), while Tijjaniyyah fold hands together on chest (*qablu*). On these particular issues and alike, sufi Mallams wrote many books clarifying the manners in which each should be practised, unfortunately, subsequent violent clashes continued to spark off especially in the middle and late 1950s. Fatal incidents were reported every year for many years running, which led the Sardauna of Sokoto to summon religious leaders in Kaduna for dialogue, leading to the establishment of the first Islamic Advisory Committee in 1963. *Ibid*, p.135. Another serious round of conflicts that arose was during the emergence of Izala in the 1970s. The Izala movement seems to be even more radical in extending its religious matters than the other two brotherhoods, as it intensified its opposition against many doctrinal views propounded by these brotherhoods. On the other hand, it went against the northern traditional rulers and their traditionalism. These led to a number of sectarian clashes in the country. Consequently, in 1979, a meeting was organised by Jama'atu Nasrul Islam at its headquarters in Kaduna inviting the Emirs of kano, Borno, Muri, and Zaria with the Sultan of Sokoto, Abubakar Siddiq III as the Chairman. At the meeting, Izala approach to Islam was declared as impatience and enjoined them to renew their approaches. Also See: *Ibid*, P. 159. Also see: "Islam in Northern Nigeria", retrieved-<http://www.Nigerianwiki.com/wiki/islam-26/6/2011>.

<sup>44</sup> Right from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to date, there was rise and influx of more Muslim organisations like Jama'atu Nasrul Islam, Muslim Students' Society, Izalatul Bid'ah wa Iqamatus Sunnah among others in Nigeria. They all played vital role in the continuous Islamisation and, in educating the Muslim populace. According to many of the native informants, had it not being for the efforts of these organisations, Islam would have by now remained a forgotten history in the non-Muslim areas of Nigeria.



secured environment. Thus depopulated the area and when the Christian mission set in during the 1920s many tribes were taken cheaply into Christianity.<sup>45</sup>

It needs to be mentioned also that despite the Sardauna's effort towards Islamisation in the area which succeeded in producing thousands of Muslim converts, no further attempts were made in fostering Islamic knowledge among the Muslim converts in the emirate until toward the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The new converts were left ignorant as regards the proper observance of the general principles of Islamic teachings. Moreover, since the assassination of the Sardauna there had never been an active attempt from the Sokoto Sultanate family to continue relating with the "pagans" who were converted to Islam, and consequently, many remained in miserable condition and some later were said to have returned to paganism.<sup>46</sup>

However, the rise of Islamic Education Trust (I.E.T) in 1969 was a breakthrough that greatly helped in re-awakening the glory of Islam in the area. The organisation provided training to some few indigenous Muslims who were later employed and sent out for elaborate preaching expeditions into the remote areas calling people to Islam, and also partaking Islamic knowledge.<sup>47</sup> In 1970, IET opened its Branch in Yauri at the premises of Wali Primary School, aimed at providing adequate Islamic awareness and services in the non-Muslim tribes

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* Similar issue to that of the Nagwamatse was, the case of Sarkin Yauri, Aliyu bafillace and his brutalities over his subjects, which had undermined the progress of Islam in Yauri Emirate. Eventually, many of his *Talakawa* fled the country. For more details, see: A. Mansur,... pp.45-46.

<sup>46</sup> IET was a non-governmental Charity Organisation established in 1969 by Sheikh Ahmed Lemu, his wife Hajiya Aisha Bridget Lemu and the late Alhaji Ashafa Sulaiman. Its first administrative headquarters was at Sokoto and now in Minna. See more details on IET in...Ndagi, Umar M., "Muslims in Niger State: A Survey", Nigeria Research Network, Paper No.6, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 2012, P.9.

<sup>47</sup> Malam Musa Salihu Abarshi was the IET Branch Coordinator and also a supervisor, Alhaji Sule Takware: Accountant Yauri Native Authority, Malam Danjumma Illo: Tutor, Late Alkali Hamidu Gebe: Supervisor and also a preacher (A retired judge who died as Chief Imam of Cupamini Village in Ngaski District). Students that received training on Islamic Missionarism at IET Branch in Yauri were: Late Alkali Hamidu Gebe (Kambari) Alhaji Sheikh Abubakar Salihu Wara (Hausa, now Director Bureau for Islamic Education, Ikoyi Lagos. Also an Islamic teacher and Qur'an *Mufasssir* whose preaching is being heard on the Voice of Nigeria, Ikoyi Radio Lagos during Ramadan period, from 10:00 p.m. daily) Alhaji Tukur Maidoki, the *Galadima* of Sarkin Maginga (Hausa) Late Muhammad *Limamin* Shabanda (Balope from Shabanda), Malam Dodo (Hausa from Wara), Malam Haruna Bussa (Bussa. He was sponsored by the Emir of Borgu Musa Muhammadu Kigera III (1968-3<sup>rd</sup> February 2000) to attend the programme for the benefit of his people), Late Yunusa Abdullahi (Hausa from Utono) and Malam Amadu Dandare (Bagunge) now the Deputy Imam of Bussa Central Mosque, Kainji. The monthly salary given to the preachers was ₦4.00 only. In a discussion with Alhaji Abubakar Salihu Wara, over 70 years, interviewed at New Wara, house No. 274, 6/5/2012, 8:00-12:00 p.m.

dwelling in Yauri, Borgu, Kontagora and Zuru Emirates. The Branch had received students from different areas.<sup>48</sup>

### **The Introduction and Expansion of Christianity in Yauri Emirate**

Like Islam, the period in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was a turning point in the history of Christian evangelism in the emirate. The emirate was strategically surrounded by the forces of various European evangelisms mostly coming from the neighbouring emirates where Christianity was said to have first intruded. To the eastern part of the emirate, there was influx of Christian activities in Zuru Emirate. Tungan Magajiya was made centre of Christian evangelism where Dakarkari youths who were trained at Advanced Bible College Tungan Magajiya, established in 1953, were sent for elaborate missionary expeditions to Yauri Emirate.<sup>49</sup> To the west of Yauri, Shabanda, Galla and Papiri villages in the former Ilorin Province became centres of Christianity. Lately, the town of Agwara in the present Borgu Emirate became another great centre of Christianity.<sup>50</sup> To the southwest, Kontagora Emirate has become another influential area of persuing Christian scholarship. In 1951, a Hausa Bible Training School was established at Salka town, in the present Magama Local Government Area.<sup>51</sup> Finally, to the north in the present Gwandu Emirate, a Christian School known as ECWA Theological School (popularly known as *gidan mission*) was established at Kalgo, all aimed at spreading the gospel and winning converts in the non-Muslim areas in the extreme end of northwestern Nigeria. In order to achieve this, the school at Kalgo was relocated in 1997 to Pisabu village in Yauri Emirate, and upgraded to ECWA Theological Training Institute aimed at targeting the Gungawa, Kambari

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<sup>48</sup> See: Manana, Francis, "Biography of Rev. Magaji Sule", in *The Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, Nairobi, Pan African Christian College, 2000, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> The Guffanti Home Mission Field was the first Christian mission founded in 1971 in the present Agwara and Galla Local Government Areas, among the Kambari of Borgu Emirate. In 1978, the Society of African Mission (SMA) had founded its mission station at Papiri liaising with Our Lady of Apostles, which became the first group of women Religious in Nigeria since its arrival in Nigeria, in 1878. Since then, The OLA engaged in mobile evangelism outreach programmes in Villages within Borgu and their neighbours. Also in 2006, the Global Missions Board came into the area working hand –in-hand with the Field. Presently, there are 40 mission churches as preaching stations targeting the Kambari, Gungawa, Laru and Bussawa. See: Sr. Dunka m. Felicia etal. "History of the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Apostles", in *the History of the Society of African Mission in Papiri*, 2008, Pp. 1-3.

<sup>50</sup> In 1923, The UMCA opened its first mission station in Salka targeting the Kambari ethnic group. In 1951, it established a Vernacular (Hausa) Bible Training School there in trying to energize their evangelical mission. By 1954, the missionaries succeeded in spreading the gospel message in all the corners of the Kambari, in Yauri, Kontagora and Borgu Emirates. See: D. I. Nciniya, "The Role of Bible Translation and its Effects in Mission and Evangelism: A case study of Kambari Language Project", Igbaja-Kwara, ECWA Theological Seminary, 2005., p. 34.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

and few Dukkawa dwellers in the emirate.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, infiltration of Christianity was plausible in the areas of Yauri and vicinity.

In 1957, the Roman Catholic Mission (R.C.M.) succeeded in building a hospital along with their mission centre in Yauri town.<sup>53</sup> From the beginning of the 1960s up to the end of 1970s, there was massive flow and reinforcement of other Christian denominations such as the United Missionary Church of Africa (UMCA), Evangelical Church of Africa (ECWA), Assemblies of God, Cherubim and Seraphim, Baptist, SUM-CRC, COCIN, Deeper Life, The Assemblies of God, Grace Foundation, The Roman Catholic and Christian Missionary Foundation who became very active in the Yauri emirate. They established their stations and built churches in different parts of the emirate.<sup>54</sup>

Few Gungawa in Zamare (Pisabu) and Gebbe (Shabanda) Districts and Kambari, mostly of Awunci sub-ethnic group of Ngaski District were the most submissive group of Kambari into Christian faith.<sup>55</sup> However, presently Islam is preponderating due to the efforts of the Emir through the *Da'awah* Committee that he instituted with the help of Sheikh Ahmad Lemu and the Islamic Education Trust (IET). Part of the successes achieved by the committee is the several conversions of whole churches and their members in places like Kasoshi, Wasa da Karya (Kwanji District), Burkutu and Hantsi (Giron Masa District), Sabon Birni and Asabo in Kambuwa District.<sup>56</sup>

The fact that remarkable progress had been achieved in the spread of Islam through the conversion of both traditionalists and Christians in the emirate does not mean there was any use of force or coercion. As a matter of fact there is a lot of goodwill to the Christians from the Emir. This has in turn bred mutual respect between the Christian community and the Emirate Council. Because of the equal treatment and goodwill they enjoy from the Emir, the Chairman of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Shanga Local Government Branch, Pastor Musa Paul and its Secretary Mr. Yakubu Ayuba Shabanda, had course to write and congratulate and acknowledge the leadership style of Doctor Muhammad

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<sup>52</sup> In interview with Rev. Abdullahi Hassan (49 years) at ECWA Theological Institute, Pisabu, 24/4/13, 11:00 to 12:30 a.m. He was the current Principal of the college.

<sup>53</sup> The establishment of Roman Catholic Christian Mission station was approved by the Yauri Native Authority in 1957. However, the proposal was made since in the 1956. See: *SSHB/YD/BMD/4/VolI, 1977 file, P.88*.

<sup>54</sup> See: Joshua Nuhu, "the People", in Kambari Cluster Project Profile- 1&2. Accessed from [www.profile\\_kambariclustet.pdf](http://www.profile_kambariclustet.pdf), - 23/01/2009.

<sup>55</sup> See: Lumamu, *Op.cit*

<sup>56</sup> Group Interview with Sarkin Malamai Malam Abubakar Yusuf and eight others, Yawuri Emir's Palace, 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 2015.

Zayyanu Abdullahi on his ten years anniversary in office in 2009 in a letter signed by them, they stated:

We are over whelmed with joy to be associated with you on your ten years of eloquent leadership service to the people of Yauri Emirate, Kebbi State and Nigeria in general. We are indeed proud of your exemplary leadership that show love to all irrespective of tribal, religion or social affiliation. You indeed & infact treat all people equally which is resulting into peace and development of Nigeria in general. Your practical love for us was shown in several perspective especially, you indeed fought injustice that resulted in the destruction of a Church at Shabanda by ensuring that actors of disrupt were made to reconstruct their destructions. You indeed went round to see that no religious disharmony happened etc. It is our sincere prayers that God Almighty will continue to crown you with wisdom same that God gave to King Solomon of the old (Amen). Accept our congratulation please. Happy returns long life & prosperity.<sup>57</sup>

As in the case of Islam, much of the effective modern Christian evangelization in Yauri Emirate was carried out by the indigenous tribes of the emirate. The expatriate priests of the UMCA, Roman Catholic and ECWA denominations, for instance, were essentially the native Kambari and Gungawa mostly found in Yauri and Ngaski Districts. They succeeded in converting a considerable number of their tribemates to Christianity. They also adopted the method of using their local languages in spreading Christianity. Christianity has gained prominence in most Yauri native tribes. For instance, at Pisabu in Yauri and Ngaski Local Government Areas, there were large number of Gungawa priests that comprised of Pastors and Reverends.<sup>58</sup>

It is pertinent to note that the impact of Christian missions in Yauri Emirate was limited up to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Christian missions were mostly successful in the remote areas, where the majorities, abruptly torn from their traditional cultures, were most responsive to their teachings. Such are found elsewhere, in some villages such as Kambuwa, Gadan Uduku, Dan Maraya, Takali, Tungan Tankwa, Shagiya, Filin Jirgi, Tungan Boka and Falu, in Binin

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<sup>57</sup> A Congratulatory Letter written by the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) Shanga Local Government branch, Kebbi State on the ten years anniversary of HRH Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi, the Emir of Yauri, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2009.

<sup>58</sup> The leading indigenous Gungawa Reverend is Apollos Agamalafiya. Similarly, in Ngaski District there are indigenous Kambari Reverends and Pastors such as Reverend Ayuba, Rev. Michael Sakwalkwale, all at Farin Ruwa. Also there are pastors like Ganau Bulus, Bawa Kurwo John, Anthony and Daniel Ayuba, all at Guguwa village.

Yauri District and, in Guguwa, Farin Ruwa, Ntade, Abuta, in Ngaski District. Many societies remained attached to their traditional religions in some remote areas. Among the remnant of villages with large number of staunch adherents of traditional religions in the emirate are Bambiri, Tungan Baleri, Zakin Rawa, Baduku, and Kambu in Birnin Yauri District. Ngaski District also has similar people, in places like Macupa, Makata'i, Ntade, Mara'a, Ketaren Gidan Sakali, Lata and Gidan Kwano, among many others.<sup>59</sup>

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, it is important to note that despite the major problems faced by Islamic evangelism in pre and post-colonial era that fraught and slowed down conversion, Islam has later regained its strength and has now become a dominant practiced religion among the indigenous people of the emirate. This prestige could be given to the greater roles played by Muslim *Mallams* and some Muslim Organisations that frequented the territory in the middle of the 20th century, spreading the religion, to date. There was increasing number of the evangelical activities of some vibrant Muslim organisations like *Fityanul Islam*, *Jama'atu Nasril Islam*, Islamic Education Trust (IET), *Izalatul Bid'a Wa Ikamatus-Sunnah*, Muslim Students' Society (MSS), Federation of Muslim Women Associations of Nigeria (FOMWAN) and Muslim Sisters' Organisation (MSO) in the area. And on the other hand, the increasing flow of vast Christian denominations like Winners Chapel (Living Faith Church), Apostolic Church, Assemblies of God Church, Lords Chosen Church, Deeper Life Church, are becoming prevalent in all the corners of the emirate. This no doubt has brought about tension and enormous religious interplay and complex competitions between the two greatest religions, in the process of drawing new converts. In a critical analysis, considering the work force of the new religions in the emirate, traditional religions will no doubt have to give way to either of the two major religions.

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<sup>59</sup> In an interview with Magaji Ango (Chief *magiro* custodian, over 100 years), at Kambu village, 27/12/2012, 11:00-2:00 p.m.

## Chapter 9

### Inter- Group Relations in Yauri Emirate

A.F. Usman,  
Z.S. Sambo &  
A.U. Alkammawa

#### Introduction

An essential feature of inter-group relations is its dynamic nature. It is the degree at which this dynamism takes place that is different from one society to another. Generally speaking, it has been established that different forms of inter-group relations took place among the Nigerian people during the pre-colonial times. Scholars have shown that various instances of these relations and interactions abound and that they accelerated migrations and settlement of peoples in different areas distant from theirs. Quite a number of Historians have demonstrated how Nigerian peoples of pre-colonial era interacted and expressed themselves through diplomacy, inter-marriages, sharing of ideological accomplishments and cultural diffusion among others.<sup>1</sup>

Buttressing the above fact, for example, Afolabi has shown how the Niger-Benue confluence became a melting point of people and cultures: the Tiv, the Nupe, the Igala, the Idoma, the Jukun and many other diverse people inhabited the area freely.<sup>2</sup> In southern part of Nigerian area also, the Yorubaland in particular has witnessed wave of migrant and settlement of Hausa and other ethnic groups from northern region. Pre-colonial empires, kingdoms and chiefdoms also played significant roles to a reasonable extent in creating and strengthening inter-group

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<sup>1</sup> See for example J. F. A. Ajayi and C. J. Alagoa, "Nigeria Before 1800: Aspect of Economic Development and Inter-Group Relations" In O. Ikime (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books, 1980, pp. 224-234, Y. B. Usman, "The Formation of the Nigerian Economy and Polity," in A. Mahadi and G. Kwanashe, e tal, (eds.) *Nigeria - The State of the Nation and the Way Forward*, Arewa House, Kaduna, 1994, pp. 35-50, A. Obayemi, "The Recurring Preamble Cultural and Historical Foundations and the Modern State of Nigeria," in A. Mahadi and G. Kwanasshe, e tal, (eds.) *Nigeria - The State of the Nation and the Way Forward*, Arewa House Kaduna, 1994, pp. 53-63.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. Afolabi, "Inter-Group Relations in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Nigeria: A Historical Survey," in O. Akinwunmi, O. O. Okpeh and J. D. Gwamna (eds.) *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Aboki Publishers, Ibadan, 2006, p. 146

relations. They came to harbour people of different ethnic backgrounds all welded together under a single polity.<sup>3</sup>

Since history is not static, in the colonial and post-colonial periods, inter-group relations among the peoples also continue. At these periods, however, there was a significant change in the pattern of the relations owing to the factors of colonialism which dictated a great deal of these relations and the Nigerian independent nation which unified the people under a single territorial entity. In both periods certain policies were formulated which also encouraged inter-group relations. Instances could be cited in the case of creation of structures that attracted people from diverse ethnic groups. The economic, educational and social infrastructures that were created all encouraged the coming of people together.<sup>4</sup> It is in the light of the above that this chapter examines the processes of inter-group relations in Yauri. The chapter takes into cognizance that different peoples from diverse origins and backgrounds not only co-existed but also mingled with one another in the emirate. To achieve this, the chapter is structured in parts for better understanding of the discourse. This introduction is followed by economic, socio-cultural, religious relations and conflicts discussion of inter-group relations.

### **Economic Relations**

The earliest settlers of Yauri – the Kambari, the Gungawa, the Dukkawa, the Shangawa, the Hausawa and the Fulani<sup>5</sup> established the first trade contacts and relations known in the area. These contacts and relations were made possible by geography considering the fact that Yauri itself was located near the river Niger which provided water for fishing and allied activities as well as a fertile landmass for sustainable agriculture. The Gungawa, the Kambari, the Dukkawa and the Shangawa engaged in fishing most especially in the dry season and equally engaged in farming in the dry season. The latter was made possible by the receding waters of the Niger which was used to irrigate farmlands. On their part, the Hausa and the Fulani predominantly practiced farming and cattle rearing respectively.<sup>6</sup> It was therefore, the different economic engagements of these groups that necessitated trade contacts. The contacts must have started in non-

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<sup>3</sup> M. Wada, "Emerging Trends in Inter-Group Relations and Ethno-Religious Crises: Some Implications for Survival of Democracy in Nigeria," In O. Akinwunmi, O. Okepeh and J. D. Gwamna (eds.) *Inter-Group Relations...*, *Op cit*, p. 534

<sup>4</sup> A. Okpaga, "Resolving Ethno-Communal Conflicts in Nigeria Through Enhanced Inter-Cultural Relations," In O. Akinwunmi, O. Okepeh and J. D. Gwamna (eds.) *Inter –Group Relations...*, *Op cit*, p. 782

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>6</sup> Malam Ibrahim Maginga, aged 75 years, interviewed at Gungun Sarki in Yauri, on 08-10-2013

formal market institutions in the forms of trade by barter among the different groups. For example, the Fulani pastoralists exchanged dairy products for grains with the Hausa and the Gungawa. Also the Hausa exchanged grains and vegetables for fish with the Kambari and the Gungawa.<sup>7</sup> Gradually, as years passed and as the groups became well acquainted with one another, the trade relations shifted to formal market institutions.

The markets were established at strategic areas where they were easily accessible to patronize not only by the settler groups but by different peoples from far and near. The contacts increased rapidly later when Yauri became an important trade centre on the long-distance trade route of Hausa-Gwanja kola nut trade. Therefore, Yauri became a significant *zango* (a resting place after long-distance journey and in preparation for crossing the river Niger).<sup>8</sup> Such markets as those of Yelwa-Yauri, Ropiya, Toro and Birnin Yauri were established to serve the purposes. The markets were patronized at alternate days of four days in rotation. These markets also served as perfect places for promoting inter-group relations with members of other groups and foreigners who frequented them. In contemporary times the economic engagements of the people have not changed much, economic activities continue to draw together individuals of every local group. There has been a great deal of diversification of these economic activities. For example, individuals now employ a whole range of people from other groups into their businesses. This has further cemented relations between them. Of note is the business acumen of *Sarkin Noman Yauri*, a Maginga, who engaged almost all groups in Yauri in his agricultural ventures-cultivation of hundreds of sacks of sorghum, rice, maize, beans, millet and groundnut. His economic ventures provide a wide range of trading, apprenticeship and wage jobs for Yauri people from different ethnic groups.<sup>9</sup> It was in recognition of his feat that Sarkin Yauri in 1997 turbaned him as *Sarkin Noman Yauri*.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed looking at other migrant settlers' economic activities in Yauri, it was discovered that there are four ethnic groups that have greatly impacted effectively on inter-group relations. These are the Sarkawa, the Nupe, the Yoruba and the Igbo. Each of these ethnic groups settled at different times and played different roles in the history of ethnic relations in Yauri and thus shall be discussed briefly below.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>8</sup> I. Mukhtar, *Some Reflections on Hausa Language and Culture Among the Yauris*, Kano Studies, New Series, Vol. 1. No. 2, 2003, p. 113

<sup>9</sup> Tanimu Suleiman, Sarkin Noman Yauri, aged 70 years, interviewed at his residence in Yauri on 09- 10- 2013

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.,



### **The Sarkawa**

According to Abubakar,<sup>11</sup> the early Sarkawa settlers in Yauri were fishermen who slowly occupied the whole length of the middle Niger purposely to carry out their occupation – fishing. They were professional fishermen who were revered by their hosts, the people of Yauri. They extensively carried out their occupation on the banks of the river Niger and its tributaries in Yauri Emirate. He further stated that, the Sarkawa settlers in Yauri were believed to have come from Argungu Emirate in large numbers, migrating along with their wives, children and properties. They then occupied the eastern banks of the dam and what remained of the Hoga Island. Available evidence has shown that most of them migrated from Argungu as a result of pressure of limited fishing grounds. Initially their major occupation was fishing but later some of them engaged in other occupations of higher value like water transportation or ferrying (Hausa *fito*) where they possessed large canoes operating within their vicinity. It was these economic activities and mutual interactions that necessitated Sarkawa fishermen to establish towns and villages like Tugan Mai Ruwa, Bakari, Tugun Halidu, Wawan Sarkawa in Ngaski district along the river Niger. Other settlements established by the Sarkawa include: Bunzawa, Yeldu Karama, Kan Gungun Hoge, etc.<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that only the Sarkawa group partake in serious fishing activities at present in the whole of Yauri Emirate. Some of these issues have already been mentioned previously.

### **The Nupe**

The early Nupe settlers in Yauri were canoemen who transported goods and passengers on and across the river Niger.<sup>13</sup> They were experts in canoeing and ferrying whose occupation became the basis of their social interrelation with indigenous Yauri ethnic groups. Quite a number of Yauri businessmen are so confident in Nupe canoemen to the extent that they frequently entrust their goods to these Nupe canoemen to help deliver to places of long distances without accompanying the goods.<sup>14</sup> It was these mutual trade transactions that necessitated some of the Nupe canoemen to decide to permanently settle in Yauri. Gradually, the population of the Nupe canoemen grew in Yauri and they concentrated themselves at unguwar Illela. In appreciation and reward of their long-standing efforts at canoeing in Yauri, Sarkin Yauri formally turbaned one of the Nupe settlers as *Sarkin Jirgin* Yauri (Yauri Head Canoeman). The title is

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<sup>11</sup> M. Abubakar, "History of the Akimba Group of the Kambari People to the End of 20<sup>th</sup> Century," M.A. Dissertation, Dept. of History, UDU, Sokoto, 2010, pp.103-104.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>13</sup> Alhaji Aliyu Adamu Jibrin, Sarkin Kudu Illelan Yauri, aged 57 years, interviewed in Yauri on 10-10-13.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.,

equivalent to that of a hakimi. Ever since then, more Nupe people irrespective of whether they are canoe men or not migrated and settled in Yauri thereby further enhancing inter-group relations with their hosts.

### **The Yoruba**

The history of Yoruba settlement in Yauri can be traced to Mallam Sahabi who came to Yauri from Ilorin over one hundred years ago.<sup>15</sup> He was said to be a renowned Islamic cleric who was patronized by Sarkin Yauri Abdullahi.<sup>16</sup> After a short sojourn in Yauri, Mallam Sahabi invited other Yoruba from his home town and Ogbomosho to come and settle at Yauri. He became their leader and host, and consequently interaction with the indigenes of Yauri became inevitable. Oral evidence indicates that majority of these early Yoruba settlers were long-distance traders who bought products from Yorubaland like kola nuts, brooms and coconut and sold them at Yauri. In return, they bought pots, onions and sorghum in Yauri and took them back to Yorubaland for sale.<sup>17</sup> During the colonial period many more Yoruba traders from Ilorin were frequenting Yauri, to benefit from the new forms of commercial activities that developed during the period. Alhaji Oloko Oba was one of such traders. He was a well-known merchant who dealt in onions. As the trade during the colonial was more diversified, Yoruba traders established themselves mostly at unguwar Illela where they own shops and stalls<sup>18</sup> selling kola nuts, assorted fruits such as oranges, bananas, coconut and walnuts. In addition, they became middlemen between the Yauri people and Yoruba traders who came to Yauri for a day or two to purchase onions and rams especially during eid festival periods.

Apart from traders, other categories of Yoruba migrants especially artisans also settled in Yauri during the colonial era. Quite a number of those Yoruba artisans such as late Muhammad Lawal, a Yoruba carpenter from Ogbomosho worked in the civil service. He served as a foreman in the construction of the bridges in Tondi, Giron Masa and Ganwa.<sup>19</sup> After retiring from the colonial civil service, he permanently settled in Yauri and continued to practice carpentry as a contractor. Apart from Muhammad Lawal, there was Jimoh Ajayi, a popular gold smith from Abeokuta who independently set up his own business during colonial rule.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, many of the children of these Yoruba artisans in Yauri inherited their

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<sup>15</sup> Alhaji Sa'adu Idris, Sarkin Yarbawan Yauri, aged 61 years, interviewed at Emir's Palace Yauri, on 08-10-2013

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>18</sup> Alhaji Aliyu Adamu Idris, Sarkin Kudun Illela..., Op cit.

<sup>19</sup> Alhaji Tunde Lawal, aged 70 years, interviewed at Tondi Tsamiya, Yauri, on 08-10-2013

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.,

parents' occupations and continue to practice them up till today. Prominent among them is Mustapha Adigun the current official tailor of Sarkin Yauri. His father, Alhaji Adigun, from Ogbomosho was also the official tailor of the children of Sarkin Yauri before his death.<sup>21</sup> Expectedly, since the trade contacts of the Yoruba in Yauri with their hosts have been largely symbiotic and beneficial to both sides, the settlement of Yoruba did not cease to this date. There are, among others Yoruba vehicle transporters, drivers, merchants, rewires, fashion designers, furniture makers, mechanics and bricklayers. Many Yauri indigenes enrol their children and wards as apprentices with some of these Yoruba artisans. This has further cemented cordial relationships between the hosts and the settlers.

### **The Igbo**

The earliest Igbo settlers arrived Yauri in the 1940s.<sup>22</sup> As traders, they became engaged in the local trade of palm oil and coconut. The number of Igbo traders in Yauri continued to increase until the period of the civil war between 1967 and 1970 when they were forced to relocate to their homelands for their safety.<sup>23</sup> When the civil war ended in 1970, some of the Igbo settlers in Yauri who had gone back home returned to their businesses. According to Abdulaziz,

After the civil war we see the second emigrational pattern of the Igbo, they started (their journey) with railway and completed that journey by road. Some of them came back to claim their landed properties and others for jobs and business outlets.<sup>24</sup>

Among the early post-war Igbo settlers and returnees was Emmanuel Okafor from Enugu Agede. Others include Moses Onwudiegu from Anambara and Peter Udolor.<sup>25</sup> Like the Yoruba, the Igbo settlers in Yauri have increased in population over the years consisting of both traders and artisans. Some of the occupations of the Igbo include sales of electronics and vehicle spare parts, trade in building materials, hotel management and sales of liquor. The economic activities of the Igbo in Yauri have been promoting inter-group relations. This is because apart from the fact that those activities bring them together on a daily basis, both groups and others have also been striking one form of economic deal or the other. For example, some of the indigenes of Yauri are enrolled as shop attendants at the business ventures of the Igbo while others are serving as apprentices. At the

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<sup>21</sup> Mustapha Adigun, aged 40 years, interviewed at Emir's Palace Yauri, on 08-10-2013

<sup>22</sup> A. Abdulaziz, "The Role of Migrant Communities in the Socio-Economic Development in Yauri Town: A Case Study of the Igbo," B. A. Project, Dept. of History, UDUS, 1994, p.17

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.18

<sup>25</sup> Chief Anthony Azubuike Nwanze, aged 52 years, interviewed at Yauri central market, on 10-10-13

present moment, a prominent Igbo, Fabian Eizuke, is the Chairman of Igbo-Yauri Traders Association. The association is responsible for settling quarrels and disputes as well as overseeing the general management of the Yauri Central Market.

### **Socio-Cultural Relations**

Socio-culturally, the major groups as well as the minority groups shared a number of things in common such as language, religion, ceremonies, inter-marriages among others. One of the noticeable sources of inter-group relations in Yauri is Hausa language. Hausa language enhanced interaction among ethnic groups to a large extent. This is because according to Mukhtar,<sup>26</sup> these ethnic groups are independent and have a common language used to achieve mutual intelligibility. It should however be noted that some amongst the groups were Christians or have adopted the Christian religion and beliefs. Even the Kambari group have submitted to either of the major religions – Islam and Christianity, but others still worship idols at a place called *Macupa* in the southern part of Ngaski area.<sup>27</sup> In a similar vein, the minority speaking groups allow Hausa language to be used in many other contexts. For example amongst the Gungawa and Kambari in the courts, proceedings are conducted in Hausa; and nurses and doctors in hospitals communicate with patients in Hausa, and campaigns either for political or other purposes such as vaccination, or education are conducted in Hausa.<sup>28</sup> There are also cultural and festivals links across the ethnic groups and each group host another. The annual festivals performed by the Gungawa were *anipwa* (wrestling, or *kokuwa* in Hausa), *udusa* (small pox festival, *udusa* is the Hausa word for small pox), *izanahe akikwa* (millet festival) and *inzanhe tsuriya* (guinea corn festival).<sup>29</sup> The Kambari performed *dambe kayi* (boxing), *rawan gwaninta* (*leku* dance), *malangwam* (millet festival), *rawan galma* (*masanga* dance) and *ugunu* dance.<sup>30</sup> In fact, these socio-cultural festivals of Gungawa and Akimba have now been replaced to a great extent by Islamic practices where the Gungawa and Akimba Muslims are predominant, and by Christian practices in the few places where there are considerable number of Christians like Shabanda, Pisabu and Ujiji.<sup>31</sup> There are various associations that also continue to enhance inter-group relations in Yauri. Such associations include Yoruba Parapo Association, Igbo

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<sup>26</sup> I. Mukhtar, *Some Reflections on the Hausa...*, *Op cit*, pp.106 - 117

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>29</sup> Y. Abubakar, "History of the Baresha (Gungawa)," M. A. Dissertation, UDUS, 2011, pp. 64-66

<sup>30</sup> M. Abubakar, "History of the Akimba Group of the Kambari People to the End of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century," M.A. Dissertation, Dept. of History, UDUS, 2010, pp. 91-92

<sup>31</sup> Y. Abubkar, "History of the...", *Op cit*, p. 67

Community Association, Miyetti-Allah Association, Okada Riders' Association etc.

### Inter-Marriages

Another important noticeable source of inter-group relations is inter-marriages. Inter-marriages have not only been enhancing interaction but have been making the different ethnic and cultural groups to see themselves as one. Some of the tribal groups in Yauri had even changed the nature of their marital system because of interaction with immigrant groups. The Kambari for example, do not conduct marriage ceremonies until after they started interacting with migrants. Formely, their men just practically acquire their wives with the latter's consent. But nowadays due to their interactions with other groups their marital system became completely transformed. They now invite people to wedding *fatiha*, which promotes inter-group relations.<sup>32</sup> There are other groups like Fulani and Igbo that do not engage or inter-marry with either the major or minor groups for one reason or the other. According to a Fulani informant,<sup>33</sup> they hardly inter-marry with any group because of culture barrier, and this tradition is still maintained among the Fulani ethnic group. Azubike<sup>34</sup> and Abdulaziz<sup>35</sup> unanimously asserted that other groups in Yauri are not willing to marry the Igbo. This necessitated Igbo people to go outside Yauri Emirate and get married. There has never been a case of the Igbo marrying from any other group in Yauri either because of ethnic, religious or cultural barriers.

**Table 1: Cases of Inter-Marriages across Ethnic Lines are so much in Yauri Emirate. Below are just a few samples.**

S/No	Name	Ethnic Group	Married To	Ethnic Group	Place
1.	Adamu	Gungawa	Fatima	Hausa	Yauri
2.	Alhaji Garba	Kambari	Rahamu	Hausa	Yauri
3.	Alhaji Sama'ila	Yoruba	Aisha	Hausa	Yauri
4.	Abubakar	Hausa	Hadiza	Yoruba	Yauri
5.	Bello	Yoruba	Rabi	Hausa	Yauri
6.	Dan Bala	Hausa	Murjantu	Gungawa	Yauri
7.	Yusuf Adigun	Yoruba	Hamamatu	Hausa	Yauri
8	Yusuf Adigun	Yoruba	Jummai	Gungawa	Yauri
9.	Labbo Bagaruwa	Yoruba	Rahamu	Gungawa	Ngaski

<sup>32</sup> Abubakar Barau, Hakimin Ngaski..., Op cit

<sup>33</sup> Muhammadu , Sarkin Fulanin Yauri, aged 80 years, interviewed at Gwalango in Yauri, on 10- 10 - 2013

<sup>34</sup> Chief Anthony Azubuike Nwanze..., OP cit

<sup>35</sup> A. Abdulaziz, "The Role of Migrant Communities...", Op cit, pp. 35-36

10.	Labbo Bagaruwa	Yoruba	Hassana	Kambari	Ngaski
11.	Yakubu	Gungawa	Rukkayya	Yoruba	Ngaski
12.	Garba Nakoko	Gungawa	Hauwa'u	Zabarma	Yauri
13.	Tunde	Yoruba	Mairamu	Hausa	Yauri
14.	Lawali	Hausa	Ramatu	Yoruba	Yauri
15.	Isiyaku	Yoruba	Jamila	Hausa	Yauri
16.	Mallam Umaru	Maginga	Ai'isa	Hausa	Yauri
17.	Bashir Libata	Kambari Akimba	Kuburat	Yoruba	Wara
18.	Yusha'u Hassan	Hausa	Yasirat	Yoruba	Wara
19.	Sulaiman Hassan	Hausa	Mansurat	Yoruba	Wara
20.	Alhaji D/Jumma	Nupe	Bummi	Yoruba	Wara
21.	Alhaji D/Jumma	Nupe	Rakkiya	Yoruba	Wara
22.	Malam Muri	Yoruba	Salamatu	Hausa	Wara
23.	Abu Naira	Hausa	Rakkiya	Gungawa	Yauri
24.	Abu Naira	Hausa	Maryam	K/Akimba	Libata
25.	Alhaji Na'Allah	Fulani	Balkisu	Yoruba	Wara
26.	Alhaji Na'Allah	Fulani	Zainabu	K/Akimba	Libata
27.	Alhaji Na'Allah	Fulani	Nabara	Lopawa	Lopa
28.	Garba Tahiru	K/Akimba	Lubabatu	Gungawa	G/Tagwaye
29.	Ahmed Abubakar	Hausa	Rabi	Lopawa	Gipamini
30.	Isa Cupamini	Lopawa	Balki	Yoruba	Wara
31.	Ibrahim Aliyu	Hausa (Utono)	Amina	Yoruba	Wara
32.	Umar S. Wara	Agadi Kambari	Fatimah	Dakarkari	Wara
33.	Ahmed Yauri	Hausa	Fatima	Fulani	Kainji
34.	Bello Kisi	Yoruba	Aisha	Hausa	Wara
35.	Garba Hassan	Hausa	Hadiza	Fulani	Gipamini
36.	Bala S. Wara	Agadi Kambari	Jamila	Yoruba	Wara
37.	Aliyu Lumamu	Agadi Kambari	Ai	Fulani	Yauri
38.	Atiku Aliyu	Agadi Kambari	Hadiza	Bussawa	Wara
39.	D/jumma Waziri	Yoruba	Lami	A/ Kambari	Wara

*Source: Field Work in Kasar Yauri September to December, 2013*

The above-table shows the examples of the extent of inter-marriages among different ethnic groups in Yauri Emirate. Another important thing worth mentioning with respect to inter-marriages in Yauri is that all the marriages contracted were blessed with quiet a number of children.

### **Religious Relations**

In the years before colonialism, it is a known fact that the early settlers of Yauri viz; the Kambari, the Gunguwa, the Dukawa and the Shangawa practiced traditional religions as against the Fulani and Hausawa who practiced Islam. The extensive trade contacts between the adherents of the different religions brought

about, to some extent, the conversion of the traditionalists to Islam. This happened as a result of combining of trade transactions with proselytizing mission by the Hausa and Fulani Muslims especially after the Jihad of Sokoto in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In other words, a relatively few of the people who practiced traditional religions were converted to Islam through daily commercial interaction. The fact that the Hausa traders are learned and are more prosperous must have had a great influence on the non-Muslims who saw the qualities of Muslim worth emulating. During the colonial and post colonial periods, there was a further conversion of the non-Muslims of Yauri into Islam. This time the conversion became more apparent and accelerated as a result of the activities of religious organizations especially the Jama'atul Nasril Islam, and the Izala Movement whose religious and socio-cultural activities attracted adherents from the non-Muslim groups of Yauri.<sup>36</sup> Some Islamic religious organization among the migrant groups, such as Ansarudeen and NASFAT also play key roles in fostering religious intermingling among the people.

It is also noteworthy that Christian missionaries penetrated and converted quite a number of non-Muslim indigenes of Yauri. At present apart from immigrant communities who are predominantly Christians quite a number of indigenous groups are also adherents of the Christian faith.<sup>37</sup> They established churches of different denominations that include the United Mission Church of Africa (UMCA), the Baptist Church (BC), the Christ Church (CC), the Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA) and the Assembly of God Church (AGC). Another important thing worth mentioning about the indigenous adherents of the different churches in Yauri is that periodically they observe ecumenical services. For example, every Sunday which falls at the end of every month, adherents of different denominations assemble at a designated church to offer joint church service. In addition every year end the adherents also converge at a different designated church to give a special thanksgiving service where all the church leaders from different denominations officiate.<sup>38</sup>

### **Conflicts in the Course of Inter-Group Relations in Yauri**

Many conditions have been attributed to the rise of conflicts in any given society. Among the major conditions are the competition and contestation for political and economic posts and resources.<sup>39</sup> The increasing awareness among different

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<sup>36</sup> Alhaji Aliyu Lumamu Kambu, aged 63 years, interviewed at Kambu town, on 13-08-2012

<sup>37</sup> Reverend Haruna Magana, aged 62 years, interviewed in Yauri on 15-01-14

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>39</sup> See: A. Usman and A. A. Badmus, "The Undercurrent of Eethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges" in I. O. Albert and O.N. Olarinde (eds.) *Trends and Tensions in Managing Conflicts*, 2010, Ibadan, John Archers, p.139

ethnic groups of their conflicting political and economic interests normally further divide the society along tribal, cultural and religious lines, resulting into disputes and clashes. In Yauri Emirate, unlike in many parts of northern Nigeria, widespread armed conflicts with political, religious and tribal undertones leading to the destruction of lives and properties are non-existent. This is in spite of the cosmopolitan nature of Yauri society. This, perhaps, may be as a result of the absence of antagonism from the indigenes towards themselves and the settlers. It may also be as a result of their accommodative inclinations as being their brothers' keepers coupled with Sarkin Yauri's role in strengthening and promoting inter- ethnic relationship. The major conflicts experienced in Yauri among the different ethnic groups usually borders on land. And this is essentially on the management and control of the land resources. This happen often considering the fact that Yauri is predominantly an agrarian society where farmlands are fortunes. Different ethnic groups often lay claims on the same land leading to the conflicts. A good example is the conflict between Gungawa of Tungar Magaji and their Kambari neighbours. This conflict has been in existence for quite a long time and is yet to be resolved till today.<sup>40</sup>

In addition, there are also instances of conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and farmers from other ethnic groups. The conflicts emanate from the disagreement over control and utilization of land. Whereas Fulani herdsmen seek the land for grazing their cattle, the farmers lay claim to the land for farming purposes. A good example of these kinds of conflicts occurred at Gwalango an outskirt of Yauri in 1999 when a dispute over a fertile land led to clashes between the Fulani herdsmen in the area and some Gungawa farmers. The incident turned violent and the Nomadic Primary School there was burnt down. Consequently, the Sarkin Fulanin Yauri, Malam Muhammadu, and his son were detained by the police for two weeks.<sup>41</sup> There were also a few instances of conflicts emanating from political patronage among the ethnic groups living in Yauri. A case in point is the conflict which divided the Ilorin and Ogbomosho Yoruba on who among them should present a candidate to serve as the Sarkin Yarbawan Yauri. Two contenders contested the title each from the opposing sides. Eventually, the contender from Ilorin won and was officially turbaned by Sarkin Yauri Shuai'bu in 1994.<sup>42</sup> This development led to a long-term litigation instituted by the party that lost out. After many years of deliberations and consultations among the Yoruba community in general, the issue was amicably settled out of court and the

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<sup>40</sup> Mumini Noman Sanginna, aged 102 years, interviewed at Tungar Magajin Yauri, on 08 -10- 2013

<sup>41</sup> Malam Muhammadu , Sarkin Fulanin Yauri..., Op cit.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.



status quo remained.<sup>43</sup> There were instances where inter-marriages were contracted or held with a lot of conflicts. Some parents from the migrant groups were not ready to give out their daughters husbands from the indigenous groups. Consequent upon that, the village heads often acted as parents of the would-be bride and ordered for the contraction to take place. A good example was the conflict between Danmaliki (Hausa) and Sadiyat (Yoruba) at Ngaski town during the reign of Sarkin Maginga Hussaini (1976-2001) who contracted the marriage on behalf of the parents' couple. Another example was the conflict between Bashir (Akimba) and Kuburat (Yoruba) at Wara town during the reign of the present Sarkin Maginga Alhaji AbdulMalik Nuhu Ngaski (2003 to Date)<sup>44</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Having examined the phenomenon of inter-group relations in Yauri emirate, it can be said that it reveals not only an understanding of the historical preoccupation of the people of the emirate but also points to the dynamism of this preoccupation over time. The focal point of this chapter is the fact that varying forms of inter-ethnic relations went on and is still going on among the different inhabitants of the emirate. This development was largely kick started by geography, cemented by economy and consolidated by socio-economic activities. Suffice it to say that inter-ethnic relations in Yauri emirate are largely based on confidence, trust, and peaceful co-existence and social harmony. There are indeed some emerging issues as regards intergroup relations in the emirate. These for example, include the rate of indigenization into Yauri citizenry by the immigrants. This has also largely triggered a process of integration in the Yauri society. The result which emanate from the processes of inter-ethnic relations in Yauri, at both the macro and micro levels, is quiet exemplary in the Nigerian context. This is because the emirate has not known any violent ethnic or religious disagreement between the different peoples that cohabit there in recorded history. Also, the emirate to a large extent played significant role in promoting peaceful co-existence, trust and pluralism among the different people inhabiting *Kasar* Yauri for a long period of time.

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<sup>43</sup> Alhaji Sa'adu Idris, Sarkin Yarbawa..., Op cit.

<sup>44</sup> Alhaji Attahiru Giwa, Wara Village Head, aged 70 years, interviewed at his palace, on 27-11-2013

## Chapter 10

### The Native Authority System in Yauri Emirate

Abubakar Sama'ila

#### Introduction

The British interference in the traditional structure of colonized peoples ultimately strengthened traditional ruling classes. Lord Lugard, first Governor of Northern Nigeria, established a system of 'indirect rule' through the native administration, for which the Nigerian Emirates should become famous in colonial history. During his period as Governor-General of Nigeria, 1912-1918, Lugard embarked on amalgamation of some provinces in Northern Nigeria. The provincial structure as well as the native authority system created by Fredrick Lugard, formed the bedrock for the role of traditional rulers during colonial period. In other words, by a reinterpretation of their traditional power structure, the traditional rulers especially in Northern Nigeria, were assisted and guided by colonial administrators in consolidating their position. This they did through the Native Authority structure which empowered them by a combination of military, political, economic and judicial rights. One cardinal question is how did the N.A. function?

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

A.D. Yahaya clearly described the Native Authority in the following words;

From the early days of British administration, the emirates were developed in to units of local government based on Emirs and chiefs. By the end of the Second World War the emirates had developed in to powerful political force. The Native authority as the unit of local government was supported by a bureaucratic organization known as the Native Administration. Since the N.A. was constituted under chief, the legal authority for local government in the emirates during British rule was vested in the office of emir and emirs thus became recognized as the authorities responsible for local government.<sup>1</sup>

The Native Authority system has some of the following features; the presence of an effective executive chief, possessing a considerable degree of centralized power; the regular collection of taxes; the regularization of the expenditure of

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<sup>1</sup>. A.D. Yahaya, *The Native authority System in northern Nigeria, 1950-1970: A study in Political Relations with particular reference to Zaria Native Authority*, A.B.U. Press, Zaria, 1980,P.3.

these taxes through a Native treasury; the residence of the District Heads in their districts rather than in the capital.

The top in the hierarchy of administrative organization in Yauri Emirate was the Emir. Although he received orders from the District Officer, theoretically he was the chief administrator of the Emirate. At the period just before independence, the emir was assisted by a staff of Native Administration officials, notable among whom were the *Galadima* and *Tukura* who also formed his judicial council.<sup>2</sup> The *Galadima* was the channel of communication between the *Talakawa* and the Emir and Council. The *Shantali* (which was equivalent to 'majidadi', was the emir's confidential representative, and report to the District Officer daily-except on Sundays and statutory holidays.<sup>3</sup> The business of the day which was to be transacted was recorded by the Emir in a book.<sup>4</sup> The district officer records his opinion or advice where necessary. All reports from the districts and courts were sent directly to the emir. Whenever the District Officer visits Yelwa frequent meetings are held with the Emir in order to discuss administrative matters. The emir's office was under the charge of the Magatakarda while all the Native Administration activities in the districts were under the District Heads' control and was kept in touch with whatever was happening. Similarly personnel such as members of the central administration and Dispensary attendants serving in any district were under the control of District Heads. However, the Emir was the overall head of administration of the entire districts as the order follows the hierarchy down to the district heads. The role of the institution of the Emir in Yauri became prominent and consolidated during the reign of Abdullahi the 38<sup>th</sup> Emir of Yauri. He was said to earn the title of *Mai Yauri Bangon duniya* due to his kindness and generosity to his people<sup>5</sup> and most fundamentally due to his close attachments with the colonial authorities of the period,(see chapter four).<sup>6</sup>

When Abdullahi died in July 1955, he had already placed Yauri Emirate on the path to social and political development. He died after a lengthy and debilitating illness. He was said to have had good administrative talents and played it well. He

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<sup>2</sup> . These are the two most powerful Officials in the Emirate.

<sup>3</sup> . SOKPROF/2824 'District Administration: Yauri Emirate, 1933.

<sup>4</sup> .This is mostly referred to as 'Yauri Day Book'. It served as an important source material for reconstructing the history of the Yauri Emirate. Frank Solomone used substantial part of the book to write an article 'Thé Social Construction of Colonial Reality: Yauri Emirate' *Cahiers d'études Africaines*, Vol.25:98, 1985.

<sup>5</sup> . Alh Musa Biro Yauri, 62 yrs, Politician, interviewed at his residence in Yauri, 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2013.

<sup>6</sup> . The title of *Mai Yauri bangon duniya* have its origin from the song of Aliyu Dandawo, the Emir's singer. In the song he portrayed Abdullahi as brave, indefatigable, untiring and the most popular among all the Sarakunan Hausa of the period. The song was first made in Kaduna during the meeting of Emirs of the Northern region.

was given an award of O.B.E. by his Excellency the governor Sir, Bryan Sharwood Smith.<sup>7</sup> Abdullahi proved a tower of strength in the past and was able to give Yauri the characteristics of independence and self reliance which his son was able to consolidate up to the period of independence and even beyond.<sup>8</sup> Immediately after the demise of Abdullahi, his son Tukur was elected the new emir of Yauri. Solomone, correctly defines the reign of the two Emirs as complete success of the typical British indirect rule system in Northern Nigeria. According to him;

The other set of rulers (Abdullahi (1922-1955) the son of Abarshi and Muhammadu Tukur (1955- the son of Abdullahi) provided model of indirect rule: in general peace prevailed and the operation of daily administration proceeded smoothly and peacefully. The efficient set of rulers significantly led to the increase of centralization which provides empirical and theoretical data for the extension of the concept of 'working misunderstandings'.<sup>9</sup>

In 1956, when installing the Emir of Yauri, Muhammadu Tukur, the Governor of the Northern region glorified the Emir in the following words:

Your people are fortunate to have you as their ruler one who has been blessed by God with qualities that led to his selection as the representative in England of the Northern regional government. I pray that you will apply these qualities to the advancement of your people and that your Emirate may become a model of good administration and foremost in the war against ignorance.<sup>10</sup>

Emir Tukur introduced new traditional title holders in the Emirate to help in complementing the works of Native Administration council.<sup>11</sup> There were considerable changes in the Emirate by the 1955 with the widening of the council and appointment of more representatives to supervise task and responsibilities. Malam Ahmadu was appointed *Wali* and Mallam Muhammadu was made *Galadima*, the former with judicial duties and the latter supervising district councils.<sup>12</sup> The *Galadima* has been put in charge of district councils with the

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<sup>7</sup> . NAK/SOKPROF/C.147/3/1 'Yauri N.A. central Administration Reports', 1923.

<sup>8</sup> . Ibid. P.123

<sup>9</sup> . F.A. Solomone, 'The social construction of Colonial Reality: Yauri Emirate', *Cahiers d'etudes Africaines*, Vol.25:98, 1985, P. 141.

<sup>10</sup> . WJHCBS, Yauri N.A.Council, 1956, 'installation of the Emir of Yauri' Address of his Excellency, Governor of the Northern region, Sir Bryan Shawood Smith, May, 1956.

<sup>11</sup> . 'Sokoto Province; Provincial Annual Report', 1956, P. 141

<sup>12</sup> . NAKSOKPROF/ Yauna 1510, 'Notes on Southern Division Sokoto province', 1940

specific duty of modernising them. To carry out this important task the *Galadima* was sent to the United Kingdom to undergo a course at the institute of administration to enable him have the necessary experience.<sup>13</sup> The N.A under the emir Tukur was able to undertake the administration of the Emirate admirably with very little administrative help from the government. In fact the emir has played prominent part and it is his intense interest and enthusiasm which provided the vital spark in Yauri affairs.<sup>14</sup>

Yauri Emirate continued to forge slowly ahead under the capable leadership of the emir, Muhammad Tukur. In fact most of the political developments in the Emirate at the period of independence were consolidated during his reign. Born in 1921 and son of Emir Abdullahi, Tukur was educated at Yelwa elementary school, Birnin-Kebbi and Sokoto middle schools and later Kaduna college. His work with the Groundnut campaign office in Kano in 1945, gave him an opportunity to tour extensively to some of the Emirates in Kano, Katsina and Sokoto provinces. In November 1945, owing to some re-organization in Gwandu Emirate Malam Tukur was posted to Birnin Kebbi to work as a clerk under Gwandu Emirate N.A. He remained in Kebbi until the beginning of 1948 when he was recommended to go to the U.K. to teach Hausa at the school of Oriental and African studies in the University of London for three years. He stayed in England for five years and three months. During his long stay at the UK, he was joined by his wife who has incidentally, became the first northern woman to visit England or to travel by aeroplane. In 1954 Muhammad Tukur was appointed Clerk to the house of Chiefs and in 1955 appointed as the first commissioner for Northern Nigeria in the United Kingdom. However on his way home to bid farewell to his father he found the father Emir Abdullahi seriously ill. Abdullahi died two days after and Muhammadu Tukur was elected to succeed him. He was appointed as 39<sup>th</sup> Emir on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1955.<sup>15</sup>

For the rest of his life Muhammad Tukur came to play a prominent role not only in the social and political development of Yauri Emirate but in the entire Northern Region. He was a member of the Northern House of Chiefs and of various government committees. Some of them include; Public accounts committee, Northernization implementation committee, Hausa language Board and the Gaskiya Board of control. He attended the Summer Conference at

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<sup>13</sup> . SOKPROF/Y.252 'Scholarship to British Universities, 1945-56'.

<sup>14</sup> . See especially the *Provincial Annual Report*, 1959, P.139.

<sup>15</sup> . The installation ceremony took place on 15-12-1956. During the installation the Emir was presented with some traditional items by his Excellency Sir Brayan Smith, which are the insignia of office, namely; the letter of appointment; the staff of office; the Knife; the sword of Abarshi, and the Alkyabba. WJHCBS/338/1491' installation of Muhammad Tukur, 39<sup>th</sup> Emir of Yauri'.

Cambridge in 1958. He was also chairman of the commission which recommended the future administration of the Northern Cameroons under the UK trusteeship. He was awarded the coronation medal and was made an O.B.E in 1960. By his profile, it is clear that Emir Muhammadu Tukur was able to consolidate the reputation of the Yauri Emirate in the region which it had enjoyed for many centuries. There is no surprise therefore, that the memory of Emir Abdullahi (*MaiYauri Bangon Duniya*) and his son Muhammadu Tukur is still fresh in the mind of the people of Yauri Emirate.<sup>16</sup>

Most of the social and political achievements recorded in Yauri Emirate were during the period close to independence through the activities of the Native Authority.<sup>17</sup> Although the law for the establishment of the local government was enacted since 1916,<sup>18</sup> it was not until the 1940s that the native authority system became fully consolidated in Yauri Emirate. The overall relevance of the native authority regulation was that it recognized the primary duty of the system in maintaining law and order as well as issuing legal orders on a wide schedule of matters bearing on the welfare of the community.<sup>19</sup> Subject to the sanction of the Governor, the N.A. could also make rules for the good order welfare of the persons within the area of its authority and penalties were stipulated under the law for any breach of such rules and orders.<sup>20</sup> The next section examine on the working and function of Native Authority in Yauri Emirate taking into cognizance the transformation accompanying it.

### **Functions of the Native Authority system in Yauri Emirate**

In discussing the role of the Native Authority system in Yauri Emirate, some background information on *kasar Yauri* during and after the colonial conquest, is necessary. It would be recalled that the military occupation of Kasar Yauri which culminated into the final takeover of the administration in 1890 by the British Government from the Royal Niger Company resulted in the loss of substantial part of its territory.<sup>21</sup> In 1907 Besse was given to Sokoto Province in compensation of the land Sokoto lost to the French Government in the North. In 1912 also Koko was transferred to Gwandu and the Dukkun Yauri was given to Kontagora in 1918. Therefore by the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Kasar Yauri

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<sup>16</sup> . The conclusion is based on the interviews conducted between the month of June and November 2013, in Yauri Emirate.

<sup>17</sup> . Alh. Abdullahi Madawakin Yauri..... 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2013

<sup>18</sup> . D. Kingdom, *Laws of Nigeria*, 1923, Vol.1, Government Printer, Lagos, 1923, Pp. 800-806.

<sup>19</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> . S. Adamu, *A Brief History of Yauri*, Kaduna Master Prints, 2000,P. 15.

was reduced by one third of its original size.<sup>22</sup> The Emirate was initially under the old Kontagora province before it was transferred to Gwandu Division with a touring officer directly under ancillary to the District Office Gwandu. With the recommendation of the senior resident, Mr. C.A Woodhouse, Yauri and Dabai Emirates became the southern division of the Sokoto Province with their Headquarters at Zuru in 1932.<sup>23</sup> In this arrangement, the basic staff for each division would be District Officer or Senior Assistant District Officer assisted by a Junior Administrative Officer. The resident also suggested that Cadets Officers would be posted as available and under the suggested regime should be able to receive a useful administrative training in the division. The Emirate is divided into five districts Bin Yauri, Shanga, Gungawa, Kwanji and Ngaski.<sup>24</sup> Until 1950s British colonial administration run the entire Emirate through the D.O and the A.D.O with whose assistance the Emir through the Native Authority system ruled the Emirate.<sup>25</sup> By the 1950s however, structural changes were put in place to suit the transition of the country's political activities of the period.<sup>26</sup>

The Native authorities were the general overseer of the entire political activities of the Emirate. The system was headed by the Emir of Yauri assisted by a council. The Emirate was divided for administrative purposes in to five districts each under the control of a district head. These in their turn were assisted by a council in carrying out some of their delegated responsibilities. The central administration was headed by the Emir assisted by the council of four prominent people who are also assigned responsibilities for various portfolios in addition to a specified touring area. The council's portfolio include; the *Ubandoma* responsible for the town and district administration; the *Madawaki*, oversee works and Natural resources; the Wali, is in charge of Prison and Police and the *Dangaladima* is in charge of Finance.<sup>27</sup> During the year (1961), the Native Authority, to its own design and with its own resources, built a central office. Altogether this building and its furniture cost £6,800.<sup>28</sup> Visitors who did not know would guess that the building had cost twice as much. The premier of Northern Nigeria opened this new office in August.

The five district councils and the one town district council all had certain powers delegated to them by the native authority and were responsible for carrying out

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<sup>22</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> .NAKSOKPROF/ Yauna 1510, 'Notes on Southern Division Sokoto province', 1940, P.3.

<sup>24</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> NAKSOKPROF/1482/ 'Sokoto Province Administrative Divisions', 1931.

<sup>26</sup> . NAKSOKPROF/Y.190, 'Peopling of Yauri Emirate', 1943-1951.

<sup>27</sup> . D.A. Pott, 'Sokoto Province', Provincial Annual Report, 1956.

<sup>28</sup> .L.T. Steveson, 'Sokoto Province; Provincial Annual Report' 1961, P.124.

various duties within the district. For this purpose they have revenue allocated to them which was normally a proportion of the various taxes and fees collected from within the district. Up to the period of independence these councils not only had executive responsibilities but they were also training grounds for local government and the powers delegated to them were being increased.<sup>29</sup> The district councils consist of the following; district head (chairman), the village heads as members, other officials who were elected by the taxpayers from all constituent villages. However elected members were always in a majority (See Appendix A).

### **The N.A. at Independence**

The Native Authority in Yauri at the time of independence was very effective to the extent that it was adjudged as one of the best in the country. Some informants who also happen to be active participants in the N.A. Administration believe that N.A was the most effective administrative instruments ever had in the history of Nigeria.<sup>30</sup> The Yauri Native authority was entirely responsible for their own revenue and expenditure. It was estimated that in 1960 the local revenue collected by the Native Authority was £44,000.<sup>31</sup> *Jangali* was one of the important sources of revenue and by the time of independence in 1960, jangali has contributed to more than 60 per cent of estimated figures for the year due to the unexpected influx of cattle into the Emirate. The estimated expenditure for the Emirate during the same period was £46,536 on recurrent item with a further £11,430 as part of the capital investment programme. Another significant development in the Emirate at the period of independence was a five year plan on an expenditure of £84,685, in the period between 1959 and 1964. Major items in this plan were the construction of six new junior primary schools, the building of a new dispensary, the creation of a new central office and treasury and the rebuilding of the Yelwa market. All these projects mentioned were undertaken and successfully completed by the Native Authority within the period stipulated in the plan.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, at the time of independence, Yauri Emirate had already built a reputable position in the economy of the region due to the favourable communication system that was established by the Native Authority. The Native Authority maintained roads to Shanga and Dugu Tsoho and from Birnin Yauri, 11 miles from Yelwa. There was also Post Office at Yelwa with a once weekly postal service to and from Kontagora and there was also the telegraph line

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<sup>29</sup> . AlhMusa Salihu Abarshi, Magajin Garin Yauri, 84 yrs, at his residence in Yauri, 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2013.

<sup>30</sup> . Alh Musa Salihu Abarshi....Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> . The Main item of the estimated revenue in the year 1960 were; General tax, £26,710;Jangali, £10,000; Native Courts, £2,450; Miscellaneous, £4,950, Total estimate: £44,090.

<sup>32</sup> . Alh Abdullahi Madawakin Yauri, 78 Yrs, at his residence in Yauri, 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2013.



connecting the two towns. In addition to the role of N.A. in Yauri to improve the social conditions of the people, special cattle tracks were demarcated from town to town and along all the principal trade routes.<sup>33</sup> This with a view to facilitates the easy movement of cattle across the Emirate. Also to encourage the nomad Fulani to settle, the Native authority has reserved grazing areas for them and digging wells to ensure an all season water supply.

By the same period also, the Native Authority has shown serious concern on education sector of the Emirate. The importance attached to this by the Native authority became reflected from the huge recurrent expenditure on education during the 1960/61 financial year. During the period the N.A. Yauri had one senior primary school at Yelwa and six junior primary schools in different towns in the Emirate.<sup>34</sup> Another important area of priority to the N.A. was the traditional style of education where the adult education classes played an important part in increasing the total number of literate people. These classes were held in practically every village while there were also special classes for women in *purdah*.<sup>35</sup> The result of this was the development of education generally and western education in particular in the Emirate. This could be used to explain why after independence Yauri Emirate was among the few Emirates in the region that produced educationists who played vital role in the different sectors of civil service.<sup>36</sup> There were also five courts in the Emirate as at 1960. The most important of these courts was that of the Emir which had the powers to hear all cases excluding homicide. There were also two *Alkalai* courts and two mixed courts which host cases in their appropriate areas of Jurisdiction.

Part of the wider political development in the province was the coming in to force of the revised constitution which was marked by general celebrations on 1<sup>st</sup> October.<sup>37</sup> During the last three months of the 1954, elections to the new House of Representatives occupied much of the time of the N.A. staff. Through the help of the Senior Native Authority officials and by touring officers to explain the purpose and procedure of the election, some progress were made.<sup>38</sup> The rest of the

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<sup>33</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> . There were six junior schools and one senior school in Yauri in the 1960. The School population in Yauri in the 1960 are as follows; Junior; Boys 357, Girls 168. While Senior school has the following figures; Boys 67, Girls 17. See, Steveson, L.T., 'Sokoto Province; Provincial Annual Report' 1960, PP.140-2.

<sup>35</sup> . Alh Abdullahi Madawakin Yauri, 78 Yrs, at his residence in Yauri, 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2013.

<sup>36</sup> . Most of the Emirs that came later since 1922 obtained higher certificates in different educational cadre. The present Emir was one time Vice chancellor of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto. Magajin Gari, had his higher Degree in education in the 1980s.

<sup>37</sup> . R.J. Purdy, 'Sokoto Province', Provincial Annual Report, 1961, P.164.

<sup>38</sup> . 'Sokoto Province', Provincial Annual Report, 1954, P.125.

story in the Emirate was the preparation for the eventual election of the members of the provincial council as an instrument for the Emirate council. This later transformed to Yauri Outer Council.

### **The Yauri Outer Council**

One major political development in Yauri on the eve of independence was the establishment of the Outer Council to serve as the governing body for the Yauri Local Government Authority. The transition of the electoral procedures in the name of Outer Council was one of the most outstanding political reforms ever had in the history of Native Authority system in Northern Nigeria (for the numbers of representatives constituting the Yauri Native Authority Councils see Appendix A). This is because it came along with a wider representation accommodating different groups with different backgrounds. It was initially the Emir Abdullahi who requested for the establishment for the outer council for Yauri in April 1953.<sup>39</sup> However, the Resident initially turned down the demand on the ground of the grave shortages of administrative officers to run the Outer Council.<sup>40</sup> But in June of the same year, given the dire need for an outer council, both Yauri and Gwandu Emirates decided to revise the constitution of their villages and districts and the then Resident approved the constitution of the committee for the election of the outer council in August, 1953.<sup>41</sup> The district councils of the Emirate were assigned to play the role of electing the members of the provincial council of the Emirate. They were also to elect two members to the Sokoto Provincial Council. One candidate to be elected by the elected members of the Shanga, Kwanji District councils and the Yelwa town council. One candidate to be elected by the elected members of the Ngaski, Gungu and Birnin Yauri District Councils.<sup>42</sup> The term of office of the elected members should be three years from the date of the first sitting of the council.<sup>43</sup> The total number of elected seats in the council who also elected the representations for Sokoto Provincial Council are; Ngaski, 20, Gungu, 15, Kwanji 10, and Birnin Yauri 10.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> . WJHCBS, Yauri N.A. Council 'Touring Notes Sokoto Province, 22<sup>nd</sup> -27<sup>th</sup> April, 1953, P.1

<sup>40</sup> . Ibid. P.2.

<sup>41</sup> . The approval was given under the following conditions and guidelines; that only two of the district heads should be members of the constituted committee ; 2 district scribes; one village head from each of the five district in Yauri Emirate; 1 mai Jirgi from each of the five district; 1 mai Jirage from Yelwa town council; 1 mallam from each district; 1 mallam from Yelwa town council; 1 Dankasuwa from each of the district; 1 Dankasuwa from yelwa town; 1 farmer from each districts and Yelwa town council; 1 southerner from Yelwa town council; 5 fulani (choosing by Emir); 4 unspecified nominations. This altogether brings the committee members to 43. WJHCBS, Yauri N.A. Council 'Touring Notes Sokoto Province, 22<sup>nd</sup> -27<sup>th</sup> April, 1953, P.1

<sup>42</sup> . Northern Regional Public Notice, 'The Native Authority Law No. 4., 1954, P.167.

<sup>43</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> . See 'The result of Yauri Native Authority Local election' Ibid.

The inauguration of the council's committee was conducted in September and the election for all the councils in the Emirate was held between 1956 and 1957. The elected outer council was also inaugurated on march 16<sup>th</sup> 1957 with its 36 elected members. The following were the representatives of the respective councils that made up Yauri Emirate Outer Council;

<b>District/Population</b>		<b>Total Members</b>
Shanga	23,500	32
N'Gaski	16,000	27
Kwanji	7,500	21
Gungu	11,600	25
Bin Yauri	6,500	16
Yelwa	Town	18
Outer Council		36

*Source: Yauri N.A. NAC/2/ 'Yauri Outer Council Composition and Proceedings', 1953-1966, P. 15.*

The Yauri Outer council now came under the Native Authority Law, 1954. The council later came to be known as the Yauri Outer council instrument, 1957. It was given the status to exercise the power over native authority subsidiary legislation and to make recommendations regarding it. In fact the establishment of Yauri outer council was part of the general political reforms initiated by the colonial government for a gradual self rule. The Outer council was also divided into two major divisions; the Yelwa town council which is the headquarters of the Emirate as the N.A. bench and the Districts councils which were elected members. The elected member was one person out of every 1000 inhabitants on each district. The districts have the following representatives; Shanga 5, Ngaski 4, Gungawa district 5, Kwanji 5, Birnin Yauri 5, Yelwa 1.while the Nominated members include; two district Heads, two village heads and two district scribes.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> . NAKSOKPROF/Y68 'Re-organization of village, District, Town and Outer councils', Oct. 1953, Pp. 49-51.

Following the discussing with the resident, Sokoto Province at Birnin kebbi, it was agreed that the reorganization of the councils should be worked out on the following basis; Village councils, District councils, Yelwa town council, and the Outer council (see also Appendix A).<sup>46</sup> The village councils consisted of the village head and one elected member for every hundred tax payers. The village head was the chairman and village scribe (the secretary). The councils meet every month. The district councils on the other hand consist of a district Head as the chairman, the district scribe as the secretary, the village heads and one elected member who should come from every village area. The bigger village area however has two members. The council also met every month. The Yelwa town councils also have the following members; the Ubandoma, the wakilin Jirgi and Hakimmin Zamare (being the two village heads in Yelwa town area), one *Dankasuwa* and one southerner, one farmer, one *Mai mota* and one elected member for approximately every two hundred taxpayers.<sup>47</sup> The outer councils consist of the Emir of Yauri and the council and the heads of Native Authority departments. It is sometimes referred to as the N.A. 'bench'. The function of the 'bench' was to answer questions from the floor and to ensure that action is taken on majority decisions.<sup>48</sup>

However, seven years after the establishment of Yauri Outer council, it was abolished in 1965.<sup>49</sup> It was felt that the functions of the council would be more efficiently carried out by the provincial councils and the elected members of the Native Authority councils. With independence in 1960 and the subsequent electoral reforms in the country, local elections took up. The 1965 election result shows NPC with overwhelming majority as the only political party that swept all the seats in the District council. The Yauri district councils numbering eighty were elected unopposed under the NPC.<sup>50</sup>

The reorganization of Yauri Native Authority Council to Outer council had a lot of political and social implications in the Emirate. Firstly it had drawn people closer to the central administration of the Emirate council through their various representatives.<sup>51</sup> Secondly, it accommodated wider community based

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<sup>46</sup> WJHCBS, Yauri N.A.C/2/1953, 'Local Government in Yauri Emirate: proposal for Re-organization' 1953, P.12

<sup>47</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> The floor members are; 2 district heads, 2 District scribes, 5village heads, 5 farmers, 5 masu jirgi, 5mallams, 5 yan kasuwa, 1 southerner (town council), 5 fulani (chosen by Emir), 4 unspecified nominations, totalling

<sup>49</sup> . WJHCBS, 'Revocation of Yauri N.A. Outer council electoral rules and instrument', 1965, P.74.

<sup>50</sup> . Alh Musa Na Yelwa Yauri, Former Secretary NPC, Yelwa, interviewed at his residence in Yauri, 12-11-2013.

<sup>51</sup> . Alh Abdullahi, Madawakin Yauri....12-11-2013

participation of different groups of people with different occupational specialization. This was in view of the fact that the various occupational guilds that engaged in one social or economic activity were allowed to be represented. Thirdly, the migrant communities who settled in the area for one reason or another were also accommodated. Groups of artisans such as *masu Jirgi*, *Masu mota*, *mutanen kudu* (southerners), *filani* e.t.c. who came for either commercial or civil service purposes were allowed to participate in the outer council within the general framework of political reform towards independence. The result was the development of heterogeneous society with diverse socio-cultural set-up yet embracing one another in a peaceful manner. The peaceful coexistence and friendliness among the diverse communities in the area has attested to the role of the Native Authority Council in the Emirate in cementing the inter-group relations as discussed somewhere in this work. This can be appreciated if one considers the fact that despite all the inter-religious conflicts that dominate the post-colonial Nigerian polity, there had never been any serious inter-communal or inter-religious conflict in Yauri Emirate.<sup>52</sup>

The reform also resulted into a tremendous progress in the field of education. Initially, one of the major problems faced by the colonial government in the Emirate and Sokoto Province in general had been lack of local manpower to man the Native authority system.<sup>53</sup> This became apparent when the Divisional offices were closed down in 1956.<sup>54</sup> It has been reported in one of the Provincial Annual Report that ‘...one of the biggest obstacles is the lack of native administrative staff that can read English and be capable of correct filling’. The constant pressure of the regional government for staff had made it difficult for the Native authorities to man their offices sufficiently under the new conditions. In fact up to the period of independence trained personnel were badly needed in the Emirate to serve as teachers and to man the central offices and in particular the treasury. Under Emir Tukur, Education and infrastructural development in Yauri Emirate gained upper hand. According to 1958 annual report on Sokoto Province, ‘sound progress had been made in Yauri Emirate concerning the spheres of education and social infrastructures’. In 1958 a Senior Primary School Yelwa was opened along many other junior primary schools.<sup>55</sup>

Yauri became one of the few Emirates whose traditional leaders have acquired an enormous western type of education. This makes the Emirate as one of the most

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<sup>52</sup> . Alh Abdullahi Madawakin Yauri...

<sup>53</sup> .D.A. Pott, *Provincial Annual Report: ‘Sokoto Province’*, 1956, P.141.

<sup>54</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> . *Provincial Annual Report: ‘Sokoto Province’*, 1960, PP.140-2.

rapidly developing Emirates in northern Nigeria. From being one of the most backward Emirate in Sokoto province, it rose to the position of prominence especially when Abdullahi (1923-1955) the son of Abarshi (1888-1904) assumed the throne in 1923. His performance was remarkable and was able to run the entire Emirate with higher sense of competency.<sup>56</sup> Muhammad Tukur who was 34 years when he succeeded his father Abdullahi, was an important figure whose performance placed the name of the Emirate in silver.<sup>57</sup> After his brilliant career as a Hausa Language teacher at the University of London, and clerk to the Northern House of chiefs, he was appointed commissioner for Northern Nigeria in the United Kingdom. This he gave up in order to return to the service of his Emirate. This was corroborated by the governor of Northern Region's recommendation during the installation ceremony of Muhammad Tukur as the 39<sup>th</sup> Emir of Yauri. According to him;

...you are the Emir of Yauri and you have been chosen to succeed your illustrious father, Abdullahi, who will long be remembered as strong, honest and able ruler. It is your duty to emulate your father's virtue of character and to put to good use the training and experience in other spheres which he was so careful to ensure that you should obtain.<sup>58</sup>

Since then Yauri had continued in the stable path of progress that was first brought to it by Emir Abdullahi. Emir Muhammad Tukur added lustre to the name of Yauri by his appointments as chairman of the local Government Reforms Commission in Adamawa and Bornu, of the Northern Nigeria Radio and Television Corporation and in 1962 of the National Universities Commission.<sup>59</sup> He was also member House of Chiefs since 1955 along with Bawa Yelwa who was also a member in the House of Assembly.<sup>60</sup>

One of the important topical issues that dominated the politics of Yauri during the 1950s and indeed Nigeria at large was the debate on self rule. Traditional institutions in Yauri had played important role in propagating the course for independence. In the early fifties the Yauri Emirate council share the opinion that

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<sup>56</sup> . See for instance; A.A. Gwandu, 'Mai Yauri Bangon Duniya: Emir of Yauri Abdullahi', 1899-1955,

<sup>57</sup> . H.R.H. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi (Emir of Yauri), interviewed, 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2013.

<sup>58</sup> . WJHCBS, Yauri N.A.Council, 1956, 'installation of the Emir of Yauri' Address of his Excellency, P.2.

<sup>59</sup> . S.J.Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Green, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A preliminary survey of their historical Traditions* , Oxford, London, 1966, P.259.

<sup>60</sup> . See, House of Assembly, Executive Council, February, 1952, P.18; House of Chiefs, Executive Council February, 1952, P.25.

the north was not matured enough for self rule in 1956 as proposed by the Western and Eastern regions. This is contained in the letter on the position of the people of Yauri Emirate on the issue of self rule. According to the letter the entire Emirate councils of sokoto province agreed that it was not yet time for self rule in the Northern Region given the disadvantaged position of the region educationally. According to the council;

Based on the extreme problems bedevilling the administration of this country (Nigeria), the people of the South want to rush to self rule and we feel that we are not matured enough for self rule which they ignored, despite the fact that all the regions have the right to voice their opinion and be considered'<sup>61</sup>

Accordingly, the council has suggested that;

The current arrangement which amalgamated the three regions requires amendment. There is need to look into possibility of making some changes through peaceful means so that each region has the individual right to run its affairs while retaining their confederate union.<sup>62</sup>

Furthermore in continuation with the preparation for self rule, the council of the traditional rulers of Northern Region proposed that laws concerning respective regions should not be made in Lagos instead each region should be allowed to formulate its laws.<sup>63</sup> However, issues that concerned national security, relations with other countries and import-export revenue generation should be left to the central government to handle. In the same vein, the Council also proposed that each region should have its own civil servants. The north should have its own people as those who will man its administrative institutions along with other Europeans before the region is able to train the desired working force. However, they want to also retain the southerners who were already in the service and hoped that by the time it train its people in the next few years they would be able to occupy most of the positions of authority in the Region. With this, the Northern Region was able to consolidate the position of its people politically in the region and after independence the bulk of the working force in the region were northerners.

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<sup>61</sup> . NAK/YAUNA 411/10/ Correspondences between Sarkin Yauri and District Heads, 1953, P.8

<sup>62</sup> Northern Regional Council: *House of Chiefs Debates, Fourth Session, 1949*, Government Printer Kaduna, 1950, P. 10.

<sup>63</sup> . Ibid.

### **The NPC and NEPU Political Activities in Yauri**

The major parties that dominated the political activities of Yauri Emirate at the period of independence were the Northern People Congress NPC and NEPU. Continuing discussion on politics can be seen in the next chapter. The two parties not only became the two rival parties in the North but have different ideologies with one another. Consequently serious enmity and suspicion was built between the politicians in Yauri Emirate which had continued up to the period when the first republic collapsed. Like in most parts of the North, other parties were not allowed to penetrate in Yauri. The history of the origin and development of both NPC and NEPU has been well known and does not require any detailed explanation here. However a passing comment needs to be made. The NPC like all other earlier political parties followed the pattern of regional politics. The party was organized through a curious amalgam of mild radicals and ultra-conservative autocrats. This can be traced back to about 1939 when the Katsina College Old Boys Association (KOBAs) was organized to challenge threats that included southern visions of post-colonial hegemony.<sup>64</sup> However, it was not developed to become a strong political umbrella until 1940s when some important associations sprang up to take up the challenge. Some of these were the Zaria Provincial Progressive Union, the Bauchi Discussion Circle, the Kano Citizens Association, and the Citizens Welfare Association of Sokoto.<sup>65</sup> In 1948 these various associations came together to form two major organizations that later in the year became one. The two groups were the *Jami'yyar Mutanen Arewa* (Northern People's Congress) and the *Jami'yyar Mutanen Arewa A Yau* (Association of Northern Peoples of Today). As a result of the initiative of Dr.R.A.Dikko and M.Abubakar Imam, who were of conservative bent, and Sa'ad Zungur and Aminu Kano, both of easy radical temper, the two organizations merged to form the NPC described as a 'cultural' organization with the purpose of affording 'Northerners the opportunity of meeting together to discuss common social problems'.<sup>66</sup>

In 1951, the NPC proclaimed itself a formal political party and, true to its descriptive reference, its objectives were northern. They included: (i) 'Regional autonomy within one Nigeria (ii) Local government reform within a Progressive Emirate System based on tradition and custom (iii) The voice of the people to be heard in all councils of the North (vi) Drive for education through the whole of the North... (v) Eliminate bribery and corruption in every sphere of Northern life

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<sup>64</sup> C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Tradition: Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria: 1946-1966*, Princeton 1970, pp.355-56.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p.357.

<sup>66</sup> *Nigerian Citizen*, 18 September 1918.



(vi) Eventual self-government for Nigeria with dominion status.... (vii) Membership of the NPC was opened to all people of Northern descent whether as individuals or as a union or as a Political Party (viii) Industrial and economic development of the Northern Region; (ix) One North, One People, irrespective of religion, rank or tribe'.<sup>67</sup>

NEPU was revolutionary in nature. It came up with a political orientation that challenged the existing traditional institutions in the entire northern Nigeria. It had tried to inculcate into the mind of the masses an opposition against traditional power structure in place for many hundreds of years consolidated later by the colonial rule. Whitaker has rightly described the situation during the period in the following words:

... an indelible image of those years are evenings outside Aminu Kano's compound, with row upon row of people seated on their haunches, being "lectured" by Aminu Kano, or perhaps Lawan Danbazau, the master weaver of Koran, Hadith, and Sunna with popular legend and current affairs. Deeply felt injustices of the native authority system had created an audience with a taste and spirit for zealotry, and NEPU unhesitatingly built upon that foundation. Yet, in retrospect both these two parties, NPC and NEPU, mirrored and contended with two faces of the same devotional community, as opposed to exploiting or manipulating two classes of people whose enmity was supposed to transcend their Muslim identity.<sup>68</sup>

Not only that the community work through *Gandayen sarki* was abolished but also dismantled the thorough respect of the masses on the traditional power. The power of the traditional institution therefore began to be eroded since that time. The activities of NEPU against the Native Authority system in the entire Northern Region at the period can be depicted from the opposition song usually performed at the party's campaign rally which subsequently spread to every nook and cranny of the region;

*Bamu damu da mai kandun baka ba*  
*Sai mai salla da yawan zikiri.*  
*Muka ce haka, sukace ba haka ba,*

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<sup>67</sup> .Legislative Council Debates', *Nigeria*, 4 March 1948, p.227.

<sup>68</sup> . C.S. Whitaker,.....Op. Cit.

The excessive desire of the NEPU to overthrow the NPC which was considered to be a political party of the emirs and other traditional institutions can also be captured in the stanza below:

*Ga doki ga filin sukuwa,  
Ga yan kallo sun taru kuwa,  
Sai ga doki bisa kan rawani,  
Sai ga iko bisa kan rawani.*<sup>70</sup>

Despite the fact that other parties apart from NPC were not allowed to penetrate deeply in Yauri Emirate during the 1954 election, NEPU has made a significant landmark in the politics of the Emirate. For the first time in the Emirate, NEPU began to display itself as a tool for fighting oppression and injustice. Prominent NEPU supporters in the Emirate were intimidated and abused as ‘*munafukai*’ (the hypocrites) and the ‘*Yan Mahaukata*’ (the sons the madmen).<sup>71</sup> Some of the prominent figures that featured in NEPU in the period include; Alh. Muhammadu Barmo, Alh. Manu Gatsa, Bagobiri, Malam Bukar Babarbare, Musa Kirgi and Malam Adamu Dan Alkali.<sup>72</sup> Most of them reside in the unguwar Agna in Yauri town which was predominantly Hausa ward.<sup>73</sup> By the time of the 1959 election, the Yauri Native Authority began to adjust itself politically. The emir and his councils were very careful during the period with the activities of NEPU. They gradually retreated from intervening in to the political activities of the Emirate. Although NEPU has never been able to secure a single seat in the Emirate throughout the period, it was able to sanitise the political activities of the Emirate and the entire northern region at large. This can be understood from their well articulated political statements during campaign rallies;

*‘Zabe guda, rana guda, falle guda cikin asiri kan balaga’  
‘Mun tafi London mun yi petition ba asake cutarmu’.*<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> . The song was made available by late Alh Musa Salihu Abarshi, Magajin Garin Yauri, in our interview at his residence in Yauri, 12<sup>th</sup> September, 2013.

<sup>70</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> . Alh Musa Salihu Abarshi.....12-11-2013.

<sup>72</sup> Alh Sani Aliyu Dandawo, Yauri, Emirate Praise Singer, Sabon-Gari, Yauri, Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup> November, 2013.

<sup>73</sup> . Alh Abdullahi Madawakin Yauri, 77 yrs, at his residence in Yauri, 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2013.

<sup>74</sup> . Alh Musa Salihu Abarshi.....12-11-2013.

In spite of the political conundrums that the period of the independence, many believed that, the Native Authority in Yauri had played important role in the social and political transformation of the Emirate. The N.A. in Yauri is described as everything to people of the Emirate because those who administer it work with sincerity and truthfulness. For instance, Emir Tukur the 39<sup>th</sup> Emir of Yauri Emirate had to send one of his brothers to jail because he misappropriated £2.<sup>75</sup> The people relied so much on N.A. because their life had been ran entirely by the Native Authority. In fact all the public services ran by the N.A. were of higher quality and most of them even survived to the present. It therefore appears that the politicians of the period though were under the direct control of the Yauri N.A. were highly trusted by the public given the officers' trustworthiness. Some of the elected members of the House of Representatives under NPC from Yauri Emirate include: Labbo na Malam Isah, Mamman na Titi among others. Other prominent politicians that contributed immensely to the development of political activities in Yauri Emirate include Sarkin tasha Anaruwa, Alh Garba Yala and Alh Dudu.<sup>76</sup>

### **Conclusion**

What had been discussed in this chapter reflect a gradual process of socio-political transformation in the Yauri Emirate up to the period of independence. The nature of traditional institutions in the Emirate created a favourable condition for the colonial political reform after 1940s. The centralized organization of the Yauri kingship with a hierarchical order from top to bottom has made it possible for the reforms to become more effective. The series of reforms initiated in the Native Authority structure later also empowered the traditional rulers of the Emirate a combination of military, political, economic and judicial right which they used to strengthen the Emirate political position in the region. The two prominent emirs of the time; Abdullahi *Mai Yauri Bangon duniya* and his son Muhammadu Tukur were not only seen as important political figures in the independence struggle period but are widely recognized as major pillars of the entire Northern Region. The transition to Yauri Outer council was more or less the result of the effort of Abdullahi and later took over by Emir Tukur, which came into law in 1953. The concomitant result of the establishment of the Yauri Outer council was the wide range of participation of various groups of people living in the Emirate. In fact, the transition of the electoral procedures in the name

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<sup>75</sup> . His Royal Highness, Dr. Zayyanu Abdullahi, Emir of Yauri, 68 Yrs, Interviewed at Emir's Palace Yauri, 13<sup>th</sup> November, 2013.

<sup>76</sup> . Alh Musa Salihu Abarshi.....12-11-2013.

of Outer Council was one of the most outstanding political reforms ever had in the history of Native Authority system in Northern Nigeria and Yauri in particular. The result of all these political reforms was the peaceful atmosphere that prevailed among the diverse socio-cultural groups that inhabited this ancient kingdom.

## Appendix A

### **The Village, District, Town and Outer Councils in Yauri Emirate, 1957-1965**

1. **The Village Councils**
  - The Village Head
  - The Village Scribe
  - One elected member representing every 100 tax payers
2. **District Councils**
  - District Head
  - District Scribe
  - All village Heads
  - One elected member representing every 500 tax payers in each village
3. **Yelwa Town Council previously known as Yelwa District**
  - Ex-officio members (5)
    - Ubandoma (chairman)
    - Town scribe (secretary)
    - Ward Heads(2)
    - Works supervisor
  - Elected members (6)
    - Farmers' and Fishermens' representatives (2)
    - Traders Representatives (2)
    - Educated men's representatives (2)
  - Nominated members (5)
    - Southerner
    - Trader
    - Motor Driver
    - Unspecified (2)

TOTAL= (16)
4. **Outer Council (Constituted as follows)**
  - a. **N.A. Bench**
    - Emir
    - Councillors
    - Native treasurer
    - Works Supervisor
    - Chief Scribe (secretary)
  - b. **Elected Members;** one for every 5000 inhabitants in each district choosing by the district council amongst its own elected members; Shanga District (5), Ngaski (4), Gungawa (3), Kwanji (2), Bin Yauri(2), Yelwa town (1) .

c. **Nominated**

- District Heads (2)
- Village Scribe (2)
- Village Heads (3)
- Fulani (3)
- Southerners from Town Council (2)
- Unspecified (3)

Notes: Elections to be held every three years. Members from N.A. bench not to vote and meetings are to be held every six months. Source; Yauri N.A. NAC/2/ 'Yauri Outer Council Composition and Proceedings', 1953-1966, Pp.13-15

## Chapter 11

### Partisan Politics, State Creation and Leaders of Yauri Since 1960

A.I. Yandaki &  
M.L. Arabu

#### Introduction

This chapter examines some important developments in Yauri emirate since 1960. These developments have to do with politics right from the first republic, the second republic, the military interregnum, state creation and so forth.

#### First Republic Politics in Yauri

It all started with the effort of some prominent Nigerians from North and South to fight for their country's independence. They include Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Sir Ahmadu Bello (Sardauna of Sokoto) to mention but a few among them. One of the major parties during the first republic was Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). Its founding members were splinter group from NEPA (Northern Elements Progressive Association) founded in 1947.<sup>1</sup> The pioneer president of NEPU was Malam Abba Maikwanu and other founding members include Bello Ijumu, Magaji Danbatta, Abdulkadir Na Adamu Danjaji, Musa Kaula, Baballiya Manager, Mudi Spikin and Alhaji Salihu Garba Bida. Malam Aminu Kano who was a teacher at Maru by then, in the present Zamfara State had later become the Secretary of the Northern Teachers Association.<sup>2</sup>

Although not a founding member, but Aminu Kano however, was a full member of the NEPU and even contested under the party to challenge his friend Alhaji Maitama Sule (the Danmasani of Kano) under Northern Progressive Union (NPC).<sup>3</sup> Sir Ahmadu Bello and his colleagues like Makaman Bidda, Isah Kaita etc also joined a cultural group that later transformed into a political party called Northern People Congress (NPC).<sup>4</sup> Sir Ahmadu Bello and other members of his group were regarded as the rightists while Aminu Kano and his friends in NEPU

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<sup>1</sup> . A. Feinstein, *African Revolutionary: The Life and Times of Nigeria's Aminu Kano*, Fourth Dimension Press, Enugu, 1987.

<sup>2</sup> . Ibid

<sup>3</sup> . Nura Muhammad's first edition Media interview with Nigeria's Minister in the First Republic, Alhaji Maitama Sule (Danmasani of Kano) entitled *'ICON: A NEW PERSONALITY SHOW ON PYRAMID: the Programme featured Important Personalities that are Seen as Role Models in the Society.*

<sup>4</sup> J. N. Paden, *Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria*, HudaHuda Publishing Company, Zaria, 1986.

were considered to be leftists. Chief Obafemi Awolowo on the other side established the Action Group (AG)<sup>5</sup> and Nnamdi Azikiwe became the leader of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)<sup>6</sup>. These latter parties were predominantly in the Southern part of the country.

According to an informant, during the time of Sarki Abdullahi of Yauri, the town of Yauri in particular and Yauri emirate in general became almost a second home to the Premier as it was the most suitable and convenient place for him to rest; the two other homes being Sokoto and Kaduna. Even late legend, Alhaji Mamman Shata captured this in one of his songs (Sardauna Bahago Dan Hassan). He said: *Nasan Yauri don Dan Hassan, nasan Kontagora don Dan Hassan*. That is, *'I knew Yauri because of Dan Hassan (Sardauna) I also knew Kontagora because of him*. After the death of emir Abdullahi (1923-1955), he was succeeded by his son Tukur and the Sardauna still maintained the same gesture to the people of Yauri. The reason for this gesture of the Sardauna was to reciprocate the singular honour the late Emir Abdullahi had done to him by nominating and supporting him as a candidate for the Premiership of Northern Nigeria in the Northern House of Chiefs. At that particular time in question, there was stable peace not only in Yauri but the whole of Nigeria when compared with the present. Sardauna used to go to Yauri by road or with the helicopter and spend days there. He used to spend three, four or even seven days in Yauri with his entourage, eating and drinking and associating with the people. There was even one popular soup that he so much like called *miyan toka* which they usually prepared for him.<sup>7</sup>

Sardauna also used that opportunity during his usual visits to Yauri and converted many people to Islam. The Islamic conversion campaigns led by the late Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto and Premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria (October 1954-15<sup>th</sup> January 1966) played vital role in the conversion of the Gungawa to Islam. Between 1963 and 1965, Sir Ahmadu Bello was believed to have led series of campaigns in different parts of northern Nigeria, converting non-Muslims to Islam. By 1966 the Islamization campaign of Sardauna along

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<sup>5</sup> . E. Madunagu, *The Making and Unmaking of Nigeria: Critical Essays on Nigerian History and Politics*, Clear Line Publications, Calabar, Nigeria, 2001.

<sup>6</sup> . Ibid

<sup>7</sup> . M. Baniya, the Sarkin Dawaki of Yauri, 90 years, interviewed at emir's palace Yauri on Tuesday 08/10/2013.



with the NPC, his political party was believed to have converted over 187, 000 persons to Islam.<sup>8</sup>

One of the areas that benefited from the Sardauna's conversion campaigns was the Gungawa territory in Yauri. It is also important to note that prior to the period of conversion campaigns, Sardauna along with the Emirs of Gwandu, Katsina, the Lamido of Adamawa, the Ohinoyi of Igbirra, Emir of Fika and the representatives of the Sulan of Sokoto were both in Yauri, in December 1956 to attend the installation of the then Emir of Yauri, Muhammadu Tukur 1955-1981).<sup>9</sup>

Subsequently Sardauna paid several other visits on his conversion expeditions where he converted to Islam many Gungawa along with other non-Muslim communities in Yauri especially the Kambari, Lopawa and Dukkawa. The strategy that Sardauna adopted in Islamizing different communities in Northern Nigeria was the communal method in which an entire community was encouraged to proclaim the *Kalimat Shahada* and gradually became practicing Muslims. He also made sure that the Gungawa had accepted to change their mode of dress especially their women to a more decent one.<sup>10</sup>

Sardauna supported all the new converts with some token material benefits including cash and materials (*Atamfa*) and white clothes that were very difficult to get during the time. But Sardauna was consistently clear in his campaigns that he was urging people to accept Islam for the sake of Allah and not for his sake or for the material benefit he was presenting to them. He was therefore able, through the struggle he adopted, to persuade many people in Yauri to forsake their traditional religion for Islam. The massive conversion of the Gungawa of Yauri therefore started during the Sardauna's Islamization campaigns. It was however, in order to ensure continuity in the spread of Islam that Sardauna ordered the inclusion of Mosques in the architectural plans for all the Gungawa resettled villages.<sup>11</sup>

The Sarkin Dawaki of Yauri Malam Baniya was a police constable during Sardauna's time and was responsible for looking after Sardauna's helicopter and ensuring its safety. According to him, people of Yauri had also severally crushed

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<sup>8</sup>Y. Abubakar, 'The Spread of Islam among the Gungawa people of Yauri and Borgu Emirates in Northern Nigeria', A Journal of Islamic Sciences and Muslim Development, Series 6, Dept., of Islamic Studies, Sokoto, UDU, P. 20, 2012.

<sup>9</sup> . Ibid, p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> . J.N. Paden, op cit, p. 72.

<sup>11</sup> . ibid, p. 73.

down any move by the Sardauna's opponents in their effort to see that no party won Yauri apart from Sardauna's party; the NPC.<sup>12</sup>

Alhaji Sani Aliyu Dandawo (a popular Hausa Musician in Yauri) knew Sardauna when the former was about twelve to fourteen years of age. Whenever Sardauna visited Yauri, the father of Alhaji Sani Dandawo i.e. Alhaji Aliyu Dandawo was invited by the Sarki Abdullahi to come and entertain the august visitor. Many times Sani Dandawo slept in the palace before they would return home. Alhaji Sani Dandawo could recall that, during the time of Sarki Tukur: "Whenever his father Alhaji Aliyu Dandawo switched over from the song of Sardauna to that of Sarki Tukur, the latter would quickly send to Aliyu Dandawo that he should continue with that of Sardauna because of his respect and loyalty to the Premier."<sup>13</sup>

The most popular Yauri politicians during the first Republic include: Alhaji Labbo na Malam Isah, Mamman Yelwa, Muhammadu Makurdi, Sarkin Tasha Anaruwa and Alhaji Garba Yala. However, Alhaji Labbo, Muhammadu Makurdi and Mamman Yelwa were both members of the campaign team for Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna. They both played important role to ensure that the NPC had won the entire Yauri emirate. In fact Alhaji Labbo was the Chairman of the NPC. in Yauri and he was a very wealthy person and thus contributed immensely to the progress of NPC. Muhammadu Yelwa was the Secretary of the NPC and he had been in politics since the first republic. He was also the party chairman of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) during the second republic. Both of them therefore used to have direct contact with Sardauna whenever the latter visited Yauri.<sup>14</sup>

Other important politicians were Alhaji Dudu who was accused of sabotaging the NPC in the area, however, it was later discovered that people were only malicious against him because he was a very wealthy person. He played important role by assisting the party with money and many other NPC supporters rallied behind him. Some civil servants from Yauri emirate also joined the politics. They include Malam Sha Tambaya, Maajin Yauri Usman, Alhaji Aminu Dansarki (Baraden Yauri), Sarkin Alaru Mamman and one Alakwaba who is a Yoruba man that got absolutely assimilated into Hausa. Business men were also not left behind like Bubun Bulama, a prominent business man in Yauri. On the other hand NEPU as

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<sup>12</sup> . ibid

<sup>13</sup>A. S. Dandawo, 65 years, interviewed at his residence, anguwar Sabongari, Yauri, on Wednesday 09/10/2013.

<sup>14</sup> A. M. Na Yelwa, 92 years, interviewed at his residence, anguwar na Yelwa, Yauri on Tuesday 08/10/2013.

an opposition party was faced with serious challenges that only courageous people could join it.<sup>15</sup>

According to oral sources from both *Magajin Garin Yauri* and Mamman Na Yelwa, many Nigerians had been playing partisan politics since the first republic in favour of their parties. Various some had to use money to achieve their goals. Some got beaten up and some went to jail. One of our respondents had admitted that he and others had beaten someone seriously during the first republic because of Sardauna and the man said even if they would kill him, he would continue to hate Sardauna (even in his grave)<sup>16</sup>. Many respondents believed that there was politics of bitterness during the first republic but they confessed that it was far better than the present. The Magajin Gari of Yauri has this to say:

Having mentioned all the problems and crisis that engulfed the first republic in Yauri, perhaps one cannot dispute the fact that they have done well and much well when compared with the present situation. By far, theirs is better than the present system of party bureaucracy. This is because the eye witnesses had it that they at least saw people voting for their choices with minimal interference when compared to present. Politics of Nigeria in general today and Yauri in particular is not showing the real meaning of politics. It is rather monarchical. It is a question of suppressing people to do what they don't want to do. People being forced to select persons that are incapable sort of forcing (a square peg in round hole).<sup>17</sup>

Alhaji Aminu Abdullahi, a brother to the current emir of Yauri, Dr. Zayyanu Abdullahi was elected to represent Yauri at the Federal House of Assembly Lagos for four years and won again for the second term 1959 and 1954 respectively under the platform of NPC before the first republic came to an end in 1966. Alhaji Adamu Sha Tambaya represented Yauri for the first time at Kaduna before he was later replaced during the second election with Alhaji Labbo Na Malam Isah who was the party chairman of the NPC.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Second Republic**

Sources during interview revealed that during the first term of the second republic from 1979 to 1983 the Great Nigeria Peoples Party (GNPP) was the leading party

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<sup>15</sup> M. S. Abarshi, the Magajin Gari of Yauri, 67 years, interviewed at his residence anguwar Magajin Gari on Thursday 10/10/2013.

<sup>16</sup> . M. Baniya, op cit.

<sup>17</sup> . ibid

<sup>18</sup> M. S. Abarshi, op cit.

in Yauri and this may not be unconnected to the support Sarki Tukur had given to the party. However, the NPN later became the dominant party because of directives from Sokoto. However, Sarki Tukur of Yauri decided not to break the earlier promise of supporting the GNPP. Consequently, Alhaji Labbo Na Malam Isah was again elected as the Yauri Local Government Chairman under GNPP and NPN was defeated.<sup>19</sup>

However, later Alhaji Labbo had under pressure from prominent politicians particularly Alhaji Bawa Rijau decamped to the NPN. This made him more influential because of the dominance of NPN in both Sokoto State as well as Federal Constituencies. Alhaji Labbo Yauri was however, a good politician of his time whose leadership style was in favour of commoners. The second term of the second republic although short-lived by the Military coup had changed the politics of Yauri from GNPP to NPN. NPN candidates won the majority in all posts within Yauri emirate.<sup>20</sup>

Alhaji Mamman Yelwa became the party chairman of NPN. The youths chairman was Alhaji Danjuma mai Kifi while Alhaji Alu Biro was the Assistant Youth's Leader I and Alhaji Umaru Tambuwal took the position of Assistant Youth's Leader II. At that period, it was the party supporters that contributed money for all the campaigns and the whole of Yauri by then was one Local Government, that is, Yauri Local Government comprising 15 wards. Alhaji Yusuf Tondi was the Local Government Secretary by then before he was elected as the member of the State House of Assembly in Sokoto during the second term. Malam Mamman na Titi an old Secondary School Principal represented Yauri at Lagos. Yauri and Zuru were jointly represented at the senatorial level by one Hassan Zuru under NPN while Alhaji Bala Tafidan Yauri occupied the position of the State Commissioner at Sokoto. Other prominents people are Alhaji Saleh, Alhaji Kaka and Alhaji Dudu. Traditional rulers themselves from Yauri emirate had supported NPN during the second term.<sup>21</sup> Second Republic ended in December 1983 with the military coup that brought General Muhammadu Buhari into power up to August 1985 when he was overthrown by General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, whose eight years tenure as discussed in the next section nurture new form of party political activities in the country.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>A. Y. Tondi, 64 years, interviewed at his residence at anguwar Ahmed Dugu, Yauri on Wednesday 09/10/2013.

<sup>20</sup>. ibid

<sup>21</sup> A.U. Tambuwal, 60 years, interviewed at his residence anguwar Magajin Rafi, Yauri, on Thursday 10/10/2013.

<sup>22</sup>. Ibid

### **Military Regimes and Other Transitional Developments**

It was From 1989 General Babangida's administration started preparing the country for transition to civil rule. The outcome was the creation of two political parties by the federal government. The parties are National Republican Convention (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP).<sup>23</sup> In Yauri, Alhaji UmaruTambuwal became the ward Chairman of NRC while during General Abacha's regime; Alhaji Tambuwal headed CPC at local government level in Yauri. In 1999 he was the first Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) Chairman of Yauri Local Government. As party Chairman and a business man he sponsored Alhaji UmaruAliyu Maye who contested and won Yauri Local Government Chairmanship under the platform of the PDP. During that election PDP won five councilors in Yauri leaving only two to All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP). While in the whole of Kebbi State, PDP won sixteen local governments while ANPP won only five.<sup>24</sup>

However, at state level, PDP faced serious problem of having two aspirants. They are Alhaji Garba Koko and Bello Khaliel. The results of their primary election showed that Alhaji Garba Koko won the primaries. Later, other PDP supporters that were not from Garba Koko's side tried to replace him with another candidate. The supporters of Garba Koko like Danladi Bamaïyi from Zuru, Alhaji UmaruTechnical Yauri, late Alhaji Dantani Babba and Alhaji UmaruTambuwal raised alarm that it must be Garba Koko or none. As a result, there was serious misunderstanding within the PDP at state level at the time.<sup>25</sup>

In their campaigns of calumny against Khaliel, the supporters of Alhaji Garba Koko frightened people that if Khaliel became the governor he would definitely seize all their farms. Already the agreement was that if Aleiru won the election then, Garba Koko would be given a chance to contest for the senate. However, he was again being deceived, because the chance was given to Abubakar Na-Amo Abdullahi (a former Rector of Kebbi State Polytechnic). As a result of that, the PDP supporters from Yauri became reluctant. They were not happy with the development, but having realized that they lost both the governorship and senate at the same time and it meant that they only had Yauri local government alone as the single seat they won. They therefore, quickly accepted the invitation of

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<sup>23</sup> . L. Joseph, *Nigeria Shadow of a Great Nation*, Great Britain, The Bath Press Publishers, p. 314-315, 1995.

<sup>24</sup> . A.U. Tambuwal op cit.

<sup>25</sup> . ibid

Adamu Aleiru who had requested them to finally join the ANPP along with him which they did.<sup>26</sup>

One of the PDP caucus members that Governor Aleiru invited was the former PDP Chairman of Yauri Alhaji Umaru Tambuwal who stated his condition that if they were invited only to be deceived the same way that they did to Garba Koko, then he would not join because he has his business going smoothly. But Aleiru pledged that, that would not happen. And according to Alhaji Tambuwal they were lucky to follow Aleiru because as of today they do not have any political figure like him in Kebbi State and Nigeria at large. And that they could go to any length to support him as he, Aleiru, had fulfilled all the pledges which he made to them and hence they have no reason to reject him.<sup>27</sup>

On the issue of Aleiru's decamping to the PDP, Alhaji Tambuwal used his PDP experience to warn Governor Aleiru vividly to be careful with the 'wickedness' of PDP to the extent that according to him Aleiru himself admitted to him that "really, Alhaji Umaru you know PDP well, but don't worry there will be no problem". However, when Aleiru insisted Alhaji Tambuwal still asked whether they were not going to be deceived by Obasanjo but Aleiru told him that both Obasanjo and Yar'adua who was to become the president had agreed that the Aleiru's side would produce the governorship candidate under PDP who is today, Saidu Dakingari.<sup>28</sup>

At the constituency level, Alhaji Garba Bullet was the member representing Yauri, Shanga and Ngaski under ANPP since the time Aleiru was in ANPP. Although, at the first going, Bullet refused to follow Adamu Aleiru to PDP which made Aleiru to support Hajiya Halima to contest under PDP and she won as the first female member of the House of Representatives in Abuja from Kebbi State. However, Garba Bullet used Aleiru/ Dakingari differences as an opportunity to decamp to PDP later moving to Governor Dakingari's side. At the 2011 polls, Aleiru/ Dakingari clash was no longer a story because Aleiru had decamped to CPC again and contested for the senatorship against the incumbent Atiku Bagudu which Aleiru lost. Again, Aleiru supported his old friend and colleague in the customs service Alhaji Gari Malam under the platform of CPC which he lost also against the incumbent governor Saidu Dakingari.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> . A.Y. Tondi op cit.

<sup>27</sup> . ibid

<sup>28</sup> . A.U. Tambuwal op cit.

<sup>29</sup> . ibid

With regard to Yauri emirate, during the 2011 polls, both Alhaji Bullet (the former member) and the incumbent Hajiya Halima had met again to contest at PDP primaries. Alhaji Garba Bullet won the primaries but was later disqualified by the PDP primary election committee for reason that was not made public. As a result, the PDP committee found both second and third positions incompetent according to their interpretation. To that effect, Hajiya Halima who got the fourth position now emerged as the PDP candidate and won the final election. This however gave her opportunity to represent Yauri emirate at the lower house in Abuja for the second time which she did not complete as a result of court ruling that withheld her election and replaced her with Garba Bullet who had earlier on taken her to court.<sup>30</sup>

When Adamu Aleiru was defeated at the senatorial level in Kebbi State during the 2011 polls, he later returned to PDP which meant he had been in APP, PDP, CPC and later PDP again. According to former PDP Chairman of Yauri, Alhaji UmaruTambuwal, he and others like him that believed in Aleiru's political ideas are still with Aleiru and they never regret that. They said when Aleiru was appointed as the Minister of Federal Capital Territory, Abuja by the late President Yar'adua, he did not forget them and thus they are now ready to support him.<sup>31</sup>

With regard to Aleiru's conflict with Governor Dakingari, one of Aleiru's supporters in Yauri had said that he witnessed a quarrel one time at Government House Birnin Kebbi between Governor Dakingari and Aleiru's younger brother and his political front that the latter who is their boss was angry. Since that time which is more than two years now, that Aleiru's supporter did not go back to government house up to now. This showed the level of their commitment and trust to their master i.e. Adamu Aleiru. Other informants also revealed that, whenever one visited any local government in Kebbi State he would see many well-to-do and hard line supporters of Adamu Aleiru. The popular Katika of Yauri, whom it was said had benefited large number of people, was cited as one example.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Creation of Kebbi State and Politicians in Yauri Emirate**

Kebbi State was created out of former Sokoto State in 1991 by the Military administration of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida. It can be recalled that General IBB created more States twice during his regime (two on the first

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<sup>30</sup> . *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> . *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> . M. Muhammadu, 38 years, interviewed at Yauri Market, on Tuesday 08/10/2013.

occasion and nine, including Kebbi State on the second occasion.<sup>33</sup> Some indigenes of Kebbi State believed that prominent people from Sokoto had strongly supported the creation of Kebbi State. They mentioned former Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki in particular. And according to them this might not be unconnected with the fact that the Gwandu emirate of Kebbi State and the Sultanate of Sokoto are from the same grandparents.<sup>34</sup>

No matter how it happened, it is believed that it came to be at a very crucial period when the bell was rang for the national politics particularly the governorship elections. It happened when campaigns were at the top stage for candidates to meet at primary elections. It can be recalled that National Republican Convention (NRC) as a political party had dominated the former Sokoto State by then.<sup>35</sup>

Notwithstanding, the creation of a new Kebbi State had still proved their claim because *Abu Musa* won the governorship election. And therefore, Yauri emirate had produced the first Executive Governor of Kebbi State.<sup>36</sup> Yauri emirate still is one of the two emirates of all the emirates in old Sokoto State that produced two Vice Chancellors of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.

### **Yauri and Kebbi State Creation**

The most popular song that people of Kebbi enjoyed very much when Kebbi State was created in 1991 (*ANBAMU JIHAR KEBBI STATE*), was song by a popular Hausa musician from Yauri Alhaji Sani Aliyu Dandawo. The last secretary to the Sokoto State Government when Kebbi State was created is Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu from Yauri emirate. The first Executive Governor of Kebbi State Alhaji Abubakar Musa (Garkuwan Yauri) is from Yauri emirate. He was also very influential at national level before he retired as the Controller General of the Nigerian Customs and then joined politics. Alhaji Aliyu Jibril Yelwa (Sardaunan Yauri) was a one time Director in the Nigeria's apex Bank, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) and former Minister. He is presently the Chairman of Revenue Mobilization and Fiscal Policy Commission. He is also from Yauri emirate.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> L. Joseph, *Nigeria Shadow of a Great Nation*, Great Britain, The Bath Press Publishers, p. 314-315, 1995.

<sup>34</sup> . A.U. Tambuwal, 60 years, interviewed at his residence anguwar Magajin Rafi, Yauri, on Thursday 10/10/2013.

<sup>35</sup> . ibid

<sup>36</sup> . ibid

<sup>37</sup> I. K. Aliyu, Kebbi State Deputy Governor, 66 years, interviewed at his official residence in Birnin Kebbi, Saturday 12/10/2013.



As a pioneer Secretary to the Kebbi State Government, Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu and still some other prominent people from Yauri emirate such as Professor Mahdi Adamu Ngaski, former Vice Chancellor of Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Dr. Zayyanu Abdullahi present emir of Yauri and also former Vice Chancellor of Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto are among the indigenes of Kebbi State who worked tirelessly and contributed immensely to see that Kebbi State had achieved greater success after its creation. And even before the creation, they are active members in the processes of the creation itself with other prominent Kebbi State indigenes. Some of them had occasionally experienced sleepless nights with typewriters and other writing and communication facilities inside their vehicles to achieve the creation of Kebbi State.<sup>38</sup>

All these and many others had contributed greatly to the development of Kebbi State in addition to the large number of youths from Yauri emirate that are studying in different Tertiary Institutions in Kebbi State and beyond. These teeming youths had since 1991 been contributing greatly to the political development of Kebbi State. Yauri emirate thus provided greater manpower to the general development of Kebbi State.<sup>39</sup>

### **The New State and the Problems of Take Off**

With the new Kebbi State, most of the infrastructural developments were already in Sokoto and to be left there; and the new State had a great task of development before it. Then, there was need to work hard to improve the physical and infrastructural facilities for a befitting State Capital. At the same time there was need also for people (workers) to move to other emirates or local governments of the new state. After the state creation, Kebbi ended up with only sixteen (16) local governments out of thirty seven (37) in the former Sokoto State. Therefore, Kebbi started with sixteen (16) local governments but later, additional ones were created in 1996 including Dandi from Arewa Dandi, Maiyama from Jega, Shanga from Yauri, Sakaba from Danko Wasagu and Suru. Later there was Kalgo from Birnin Kebbi, Aleiru from Jega and Fakai from Zuru local government. So today, Kebbi State is made up of twenty one (21) local governments. Developments had also reached all these local governments and of course the emirates had improved.<sup>40</sup>

Other indigenes of Kebbi State were also excited with the new development and they contributed immensely in other areas such as giving free accommodation

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<sup>38</sup>. ibid

<sup>39</sup>. ibid

<sup>40</sup> ibid

like government offices and the staff houses. Still there was problem of acute shortage of accommodation which made some civil servants to stay in Sokoto and go to work everyday including the satellite towns such as Argungu, Jega and Bunza. These problems had made the first civilian governor Alhaji Abubakar Musa, Garkuwan Yauri to construct a number of houses and allocate them to staff.<sup>41</sup> More on infrastructure can be found in the next chapter.

Alhaji Abubakar Musa constructed houses, roads and improved other infrastructures in Kebbi State. Later on, Alhaji Muhammadu Adamu Aleiru also embarked on construction of additional houses for both senior and junior staff. And in 2007 Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu was opportune again to become the deputy governor of Kebbi State with Alhaji Sa'idu Nasamu Dakingari as the State Governor under the platform of PDP.<sup>42</sup>

### **Yawurawa in the Administration of Kebbi State**

Certainly there are many people from Yauri emirate without whom the history of Kebbi State cannot be complete. As the pioneer Secretary to the Kebbi State Government, Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu and the Military administrator had worked day and night with only five commissioners in making sure that the goal was achieved. And the total number of civil servants was twenty two thousand (22,000) and that came from the former Sokoto State. Yet, they made sure that the State services started on a very sound footing and had to rely on the existing infrastructures available at Birnin Kebbi, the State headquarters before they later began to construct additional ones.<sup>43</sup>

His eminence, the emir of Yauri Alhaji, Dr. Zayyanu Abdullahi had contributed immensely particularly in maintenance of peace and harmony in Kebbi State through his vast experience as a teacher and a University leader for years. In fact, historical records showed that all the rulers of Yauri had been peace builders that believed in maintaining peace as the bedrock of all developments. One can find this from many records particularly considering the nature of their peaceful resolution with the jihadists from Sokoto during the jihad of Sheikh Usmanu bn. Fodiyo which made the Jama'a not to fight the Yawurawa. This is why up to now, Yauri and Sokoto maintained that peaceful relationship.<sup>44</sup>

Other important Yawurawa include the late Tafida of Yauri, who before his death was the former National Vice Chairman of PDP (North-West). Alhaji Umaru U.A.

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<sup>41</sup> ibid

<sup>42</sup> ibid

<sup>43</sup> . ibid

<sup>44</sup> . A.Y. Tafida, 50 years, interviewed at his residence in Birnin Kebbi, Gesse Area, on Friday 11/10/2013.

Technical, Chairman and Chief Executive of U.A. Technical Company. Alhaji Umaru Babale D.G. presently Permanent Secretary and the most senior permanent secretary in Kebbi State. Alhaji Bello Usman, Yariman Yauri, Chairman and CEO of Yauri Tourist Lodge in Yauri who single handedly built the Jumuat Mosque near Tashar Garkuwa in Yauri. Others are Alhaji Yakubu, the present Tafida of Yauri and a son to the late Tafida. He was one time the Secretary to the Kebbi State Universal Basic Education Commission and also the former Sole Administrator of Yauri Local Government. One of his achievements was his determined effort to resolve the problem of non-payment of nine months salary of Yauri Local Government staff which his administration inherited. He personally met the emir for advice. And that enabled him to pay all the outstanding salaries before he vacated office.<sup>45</sup>

Others are Alhaji Amadu Dugu (Talban Yauri), former Local Government Chairman, Commissioner and currently Special Adviser to Kebbi State Governor. Alhaji Garba Hammani, also Former Director General (D.G.) in Kebbi State during military regime and currently, S.A. to Governor Sa'idu Nasamu Dakingari of Kebbi State. Alhaji Sani Rukubalo and Alhaji Hussaini Raha are all Commissioners also currently working with Governor Dakingari. Alhaji Hassan Tukur (Late) a former Permanent Secretary in Kebbi State while Alhaji Abubakar Warra, was also a onetime SSG and now Federal Electoral Commissioner, Katsina State. Alhaji Abubakar Sadiq Yelwa (Katikan Yauri) was a Commissioner in Kebbi State and former Chief of Staff to the former FCT Minister Alhaji Muhammad Adamu Aleiru. Katika was also a onetime Senatorial Aspirant of the CPC. Alhaji Aminu Mazawaje is currently serving as Permanent Secretary while Alhaji Jibrin Bagaruwa and Alhaji DG Danganwo had both served as Permanent Secretaries.<sup>46</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Yauri emirate had since independence produced renowned politicians, public servants and traditional rulers of repute who had contributed their quota in various ways in the development of both the Yauri emirate, Kebbi State and Nigeria in general.

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<sup>45</sup> . ibid

<sup>46</sup> . ibid

## Chapter 12

### Infrastructures and Other Social Services in Yauri Emirate Since 1960

A.A. Kware

#### Introduction

For healthy and qualitative livelihoods among the people of any society, infrastructures and other social services are necessary. These are media for achieving individual and societal peace, stability, progress and development all over the world across all epochs. Infrastructures provide ample opportunities to citizens for self and governmental employment, which ensure sustainable growth and development.

Yauri Emirate, just like any other part of today's Nigeria witnessed a chequered developmental experience since Independence. The focus of this chapter is on the provision and role of infrastructures in societal development in Yauri Emirate. These have been discussed with a view to understanding what, how and why the Emirate is what it is today. The infrastructures examined in the chapter are education, health care facilities, water supply, roads and electricity supply.

#### Education

Western education had existed in Yauri Emirate many years before 1930s. The boost in the spread of Western Education had been more spectacular in 1976 when the area was first constituted as a LGA, but up to 1991 when Kebbi State was created and beyond the nature and the level of education was such that it was inadequate and the little that was there was not affordable to many people. There is no doubt that between the 1970 and 1984 Governments provided many things such as food, uniforms, detergents, journey money, etc to students, but very few of the students were able to acquire the education. The main reasons for their failure to acquire the education were outright rejection by some of them while other people in many areas of the Emirate were not provided with it. The Gungawa were more enlightened than the Kambari because the former were closer to, and have been mixing with the Hausa than the latter.<sup>1</sup> Very few females went to post primary schools in Yauri LGA compared with the males, a situation similar to such in other parts of northwest of Nigeria. The first Primary School in Wara was established in 1946 and was now under water submerged due to the construction of Kainji Dam.<sup>2</sup> The school was however, relocated to its new and

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with Alh Tanimun Sulaiman, Sarkin Noman Yauri, aged 65, on Thursday, 29/1/2009

<sup>2</sup> Interview with Abdulmalik Nuhu, Sarkin Maginga, aged 64, on Friday, 30/1/2009, in Wara town

present site before the old building was submerged by the flood. The school produced a Professor, a State Governor, a Deputy Governor, a Director-General of Customs, etc. There was a VTC established in the town in the early 1980s but later transferred and merged with that of Bunza.<sup>3</sup> The VTC was replaced by a Government Day Secondary School in 1984. Earlier in 1982 a similar Secondary School was established in Ngaski town. Despite the early start of Western education in Yauri Emirate, the spread of Western education was still inadequate because up to 2009 many people were not able to go to schools especially in the villages.<sup>4</sup>

### **Health Care**

According to the Emir of Yauri, serious health problems in Yauri emirate existed ever since. This is because the problem of inadequate health personnel such as nurses and doctors and even equipment persists; as well there is the wide circulation of fake drugs especially from 1990s almost everywhere. Many pregnant women were not attending the routine pregnancy checks.<sup>5</sup> Worthy of note at this juncture is the fact that the Kebbi State Government has from 2009 not delivered the devidence of democracy in the health sector. The General Hospital Yauri was renovated between 2008 and 2009. This effort however, has not adequately solved the problems of health care in the area because greater part of the Emirate was facing the problem.

It has been asserted that quite a number of patients from Shanga District died on their way to Yelwa where there was the only General Hospital in the Emirate before 1991. This was mostly affecting pregnant women on labour. That was also the case up to date, 2012, where all serious health problems from Shanga were taken to Yauri for medical attention.<sup>6</sup> It was almost the same thing in both Ngaski and Wara Districts particularly before 1991. Later Kebbi State Government established a General Hospital in Wara and upgraded the Dispensary in Ngaski to BHC in 1992 and 1993 respectively.<sup>7</sup> Despite these health facilities in Yauri Emirate many more communities were not provided with any health facility. Up

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<sup>3</sup> Ibiden

<sup>4</sup> Ibiden

<sup>5</sup> Emir of Yauri, Dr M. Z Abdullahi, aged 63, on Thursday, 29/1/2009, Before 1976, there was a mission Hospital in Yelwa, which was taken over by the new Government of Sokoto State in that year. Apart from this Hospital there were some Dispensaries established in Wara, Takware, Dugu Tsoho and Birnin Yauri, which were not equipped and never adequate for the people of the LGA.

<sup>6</sup> Interview with Ibrahim Ngaski Magatakardan Kwakutai, aged 80 years , on Sunday, 1/2/2009

<sup>7</sup> It was a PHC in Wara town that was upgraded to the status of GH while a Dispensary in Ngaski town was upgraded to the status of what they called Basic Health Care Centre. The upgrading of these facilities, to some extent, improved health care delivery in the areas.

to 2012 serious health care problems must be referred to far away Hospitals including Sokoto and Birnin Kebbi towns among others.

It must be mentioned here that, as a supplement to the efforts of Governments in the area of medical services, there were many private clinics, hospitals and patent medicine stores where people who could afford the costs visited for their drugs and medical services. There was a Christian Mission Hospital in Tungar Magajiya in Niger State, which the people of Yauri and Zuru LGAs patronized.<sup>8</sup> The situation depicted above on the nature of health care facilities has been the case since independence with some incidences of improvement in some areas.

### **Water Supply**

Potable drinking water in Yelwa town, its surrounding areas and other parts of the Emirate was equally a serious problem for a long times. The little amount provided by the Semi Urban Water Scheme was grossly inadequate due to increasing nature of population of the area coupled with the problem of management. This forced the majority of the people in the town, and indeed in the larger parts of the Emirate, to drink and use water from the River Niger and other sources such as ponds, hand pumps and local wells.<sup>9</sup> It has been said that initial plans, during the construction of Kainji Dam, included drawing water from Zamare, the deepest part of River Niger, for use in the towns of Yelwa and Birnin Yauri.<sup>10</sup> As a result of the inadequate supply of water in Yelwa-Yauri, wheel barrows packed with jerry cans became a common sight in the town. These were used by many seasonal migrants to hawk the water fetched mostly from the nearby River Niger. This has been the case for a number of years, during which period each jerry can full of water was sold at between N 10 and N 20 only up to 2013. The water was very dirty, untreated and had to be purified by the consumers using a soluble substance.

Due to extreme scarcity of water in Birnin Yauri, an earth dam was constructed to preserve water for the livestock as well as for the people of the town. However, guinea worm disease affected many people of the town and its surrounding areas as a result of the intake of the water from the dam.<sup>11</sup> In place of the dam, three

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<sup>8</sup>Interview with Hakimi Abdullahi Birnin Yauri, aged 80 years, on Saturday, 31/1/2009, Indeed by 2009 many people were relying on private health institutions for medical care due to gross inadequacy and ineffective services in public health centres across the State.

<sup>9</sup>Interview with Dr. M. Z. Abdullahi, Emir of Yauri, aged 63 years, on Thursday, 29/1/2009

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, he added that it was to mount a tank at Birnin Yauri which was on a high plain, but was not done yet.

<sup>11</sup> This led to the abandonment of the dam and in its place some local wells and hand pumps were constructed in the 1980s. Some of the villages provided with the hand pumps as a result of the problem of guinea worm included Laka, Kambu, Birnin Yauri, etc.

local wells were constructed in Birnin Yauri located at Dankita, Unguwar Sarki and Unguwar Majema.<sup>12</sup> The people from the villages drank water from the ponds and other local wells in their respective areas. An informant said that up to the 1990s, there was no house in Birnin Yauri without a victim of guinea worms.<sup>13</sup>

Local wells, hand pumps and rivers were the main sources of water supply in Shanga town and its villages ever since. Ganwo and Dugu Raha villages used rivers and some local wells to draw water for domestic use, while Dugu Tsoho used local wells only. Before 1991, pipe borne water was not made available to the people of Shanga District.<sup>14</sup> The use of rivers and wells was also the case in both Wara and Ngaski Districts. Many of the wells were constructed by the people themselves to solve their water problems. Some of the wells in Wara and other areas were constructed by the Governments since the 1960s.<sup>15</sup> It has been said that up to 1991, there were no boreholes in many parts of both Wara and Ngaski Districts.

### **Roads**

The Federal roads in the Emirate were Sokoto-Yauri-Kontagora-Ilorin-Lagos road and had been so since the colonial period. However in 1975 it was tarred. Then there is the Birnin Yauri-Zuru-Daki Takwas constructed between 1977 and 1984.<sup>16</sup> The roads were on many occasions dilapidated causing serious hardship to motorists up to the present time. Before 1997, travelling to Wara and Ngaski was a terrible thing to do from Yelwa. Before 1997 only Nasco-Salka-Wara road was constructed. Apart from this road all other roads in the area were either feeder roads or foot paths as at 2009. That was also the situation in Ngaski District. The State road from Ngaski to Yauri of about 42 kilometres, whose construction started as late as 2008, was only completed in 2010.<sup>17</sup> Ngaski to Wara road itself was also terribly bad as it was only a feeder road up to 2008. The road was however, tarred in 2009. There were many other areas in the two Districts that would not be reached without much difficulty. For example, up to 2012 going to Makurdi village on the north-east of Ngaski was a serious thing to do because the village was not provided with good motor-able road. It was also

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<sup>12</sup> Interview with Hakimi Abdullahi BirninYauri, aged 80 years and Adamu Muhammad Waziri, a farmer, aged 65, on Saturday, 31/1/2009

<sup>13</sup>Ibidem

<sup>14</sup>Interview with Aliyu Muguwa Shanga, Sarkin Fadan Kwakutai, aged 70 years and Muhammadu Maccido Gwalango, aged 50, on Sunday, 1/2/2009

<sup>15</sup>Interview with Amadu Shaba, District Head Scribe, Maginga, aged 70 years, on Friday, 30/1/2009 in Wara town

<sup>16</sup> Engr. Steve Oluwadun, Federal Ministry of Works, Sokoto State

<sup>17</sup>The people of Ngaski who wanted to travel to Yauri must go to Wara town pass through Auna, Salka, Nasco and then to Yauri, a distance of more than 140 kilometres.

difficult to travel to many other areas in Yauri Emirate especially before Kebbi State was created. For example, before and indeed up to some years after 1991 when Kebbi State was created, the road from Tungar Makera to Shanga town was a feeder road earlier constructed through community efforts.<sup>18</sup> The communities concerned used hands, hoes, cutlasses, etc to construct the road to Shanga town. Another road from Tungar Giwa to Takware village was also a terrible place to travel on until the year 2000 when it was constructed.<sup>19</sup>

### **Electricity**

Up to 1991 Yauri LGA was not connected to the national grid. In Yelwa it was the REB, which initially supplied electricity to the town. It was later that NEPA came in when it extended power from the Shiroro Dam instead of Kainji Dam.<sup>20</sup> For the people of Shanga District to drink refrigerated water, they had to go to Yelwa.<sup>21</sup> According to the Business Manager, PHCN Yauri, it was only in 2003 that the town of Shanga was provided with electricity, which was extended from Yelwa.<sup>22</sup> The rest of the District lacked electricity as at 2009. Electricity was provided to Wara by the REB before 1991 and much later in 2000 NEPA provided the town with electricity. During both times, the supply was inadequate in the town and was totally absent in the villages of both Shanga and Wara Districts. Before 1999 there was no electricity in Ngaski District. An informant has said that many people in Ngaski had not known the advantages of electricity due to its absence, though some privileged ones had generators for their personal use.<sup>23</sup> In 2000, however, Ngaski town was provided with electricity extended from the national grid in Wara town.

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<sup>18</sup>Shanga, Tungar Makera was the junction on the main road Sokoto-Yauri, to Shanga town. A great number of people suffered on the road before it was constructed in 2005.

<sup>19</sup>Many other roads in Shanga District were still feeder roads and in bad condition through which people passed and suffered greatly especially before 1999.

<sup>20</sup>Interview with Alh Abdullahi Ibrahim Yelwa, Chairman NURTW, Yauri LGA, aged 50, on Saturday, 31/1/2009. The supply from Shiroro was very low and that is how it was used in Yelwa-Yauri town. In Birnin Yauri electrification of the town started before 1991 but was only completed much later after the creation of Kebbi State. Shanga town was without electricity throughout 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

<sup>21</sup>But people of Shanga had their traditional ways of cooling their water for drinking such as using new pots and jars, which cool water within some minutes especially when put under thick shadows

<sup>22</sup> Information from Lawal Muhammad Shinkafi, Business Manager, PHCN, Yauri, aged 52, on 20/2/2012

<sup>23</sup> District Head of Ngaski, op, cit



### **Brief about the Kainj Dam**

The Kainji Dam was the oldest and largest single project of the first National Development Plan of 1962-1968.<sup>24</sup> The source says it was completed in 1968 with 8 turbines and a generating capacity of 760 mw. The source further said that the dam had a storage capacity of 11.5 billion cubic metres of water and was 136 km long and 30 km wide at the widest part.<sup>25</sup> Kainji Dam was constructed at a village bearing its name in Niger State but 80 percent of the Lake was within Yauri Emirate of the former Sokoto State.<sup>26</sup> The main objectives of the Kainji hydroelectricity project were, among others, to create the main source of electric power supply to Nigeria; to increase fishing and agricultural output around the reservoir area, which most of it was in Yauri Emirate; to improve tourism potentials of Nigeria; to improve navigation facilities of the Niger River from sea coast to Niamey, Republic of Niger; and to establish a national water port at Yelwa-Yauri.<sup>27</sup>

### **Kainji Dam and Development in Yauri Emirate**

Before the construction of the Kainji Dam, Yauri people were navigating the River Niger in their boats and reaching as far as the Delta area in the south of Nigeria.<sup>28</sup> This was confirmed by Abubakar<sup>29</sup> who mentioned that the Gungawa people used to ferry up to Onitsha before the construction of the Kainji Dam in 1968. In that period, there were in Yauri Emirate abundant livestock and a large population, including the dwellers of the islands.<sup>30</sup> Fish was also abundant in the area. But with the construction of the Kainji Dam, the water of the newly created lake submerged all the islands and what they contained. Among the people of Yauri Emirate were the Gungawa who were fishermen and farmers at the same time. They lived mostly on the islands, which were quite fertile. The islands,

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<sup>24</sup>*The Impact of Kainji Hydroelectricity Dam project on the people of Yauri Emirate in Kebbi State: A cry for Justice*. A memorandum presented to National Political Reform Conference (NPRC), Abuja 2005. P, 3 It was presented by the people of Yauri Emirate comprising Yauri, Ngaski and Shanga Local Government Areas in Kebbi State. The document was however, a propaganda one compiled to win some favours from the Federal Government for the areas affected by the construction of the Kainj Dam

<sup>25</sup> Ibid

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, this estimate was also given by the present Emir of Yauri, Dr Muhammad Zayyanu, in an interview with him on Thursday, 29/1/2009 in his palace in Yelwa Yauri town

<sup>27</sup>Ibid, P, 4, Also see *Kainji Dam and the People: Story of the Dam-Its Economic and Social Significance to the people of Nigeria*, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, it is not dated. See also V.I.O Modo, "Agricultural Under-Development in Nigeria; A Case Study of Maradun Peasants of the Bakolori Dam" in *Studies in Humanities*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October, 1988 pp, 78-92). See also Jega, A. M. Published PhD Thesis

<sup>28</sup> Ibid

<sup>29</sup> Y. Abuabakar, "A History of the Baresha (Gungawa) to 1968" M. A. History Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu University, Sokoto, 2011

<sup>30</sup>Ibid

which had existed before the Kainji Dam was commissioned in 1968, included Hoge Island that was 37 kilometres in length and 15 kilometres wide.<sup>31</sup> This famous and fertile island was no more there as it has been submerged by the water of the Kainji Lake. Before the construction of the dam, the islands had local industries such as weaving, textile, dyeing and iron working among other economic activities of the people.<sup>32</sup> These things were however, submerged by the water from the dam. It has also been said that the activities of the dam forced many inhabitants of the area to migrate to different parts of Nigeria and elsewhere. Many of them were in Kwara and Niger States engaging in agricultural activities such as livestock production. This has been confirmed by Abubakar.<sup>33</sup> It has always been said that Kainji Dam was both a blessing and a curse to the people of Yauri Emirate, adding that occasional flooding from the dam has been causing loss of farm produce, which pauperized many people.<sup>34</sup> Sometimes the water receded to the extent that water to drink became a problem to the people in Yelwa town. Local wells to draw water for consumption must be deep enough to get the water otherwise people would suffer seriously. In Shanga District, River Ganwo has been overflowing and destroying farm lands and houses annually, especially in Tungar Dariya, Tungar Dandije, Ganwo and Dugu Raha villages and Kainji Dam was to blame.<sup>35</sup> It is the case of feeding River Niger with water by the many tributaries in the area such as Ganwo River. The water would then retreat after the Niger has filled up due to blockage at Kainji. It is the retreating water that filled up farmlands and houses to the extent of damaging farmlands and houses.<sup>36</sup> For example, in 1979, there was a very serious flood in Shanga which was as a result of too much water in the River Niger that led to many deaths as well as the loss of properties including livestock worth hundreds of thousands of Naira.<sup>37</sup> The Executive Director, State Emergency Management Agency could however, only confirmed the flood incidence of 2003, which occurred in Shanga.<sup>38</sup> In Wara area the Kainji Dam was seen as a mixed

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<sup>31</sup>Interview with Magajin Garin Yelwa-Yauri, Alh Musa Abarshi, aged 73, on Sunday, 1/2/2009, also see the above cited memorandum on Kainji Dam for details.

<sup>32</sup> See Y Abubakar, M. A. Dissertation, op, cit

<sup>33</sup> Ibid,

<sup>34</sup>Interview with Alh Abdullahi Ibrahim Yelwa, Chairman NURTW, Yauri Local Government Branch, aged 50, on Saturday 31/1/2009 in Yelwa-Yauri town, some people must however be blamed for cultivating lands up to the edge of the lake. This was contrary to the instructions given to the farmers by the authorities of the Niger Dams. It was and still the fact that the flooding of the lake was an annual affair. Therefore any farmer that ignored the warning and cultivated the areas liable to flooding his crops would be destroyed.

<sup>35</sup>Interview with Ibrahim Ngaski, Magatakardan Kwakute, aged 80, on Sunday, 1/2/2009 in Shanga town

<sup>36</sup>Ibiden

<sup>37</sup>Ibiden

<sup>38</sup> Executive Director, State Emergency Management Agency, op, cit

blessing. Many people blamed the Management of the dam for releasing water when it was not needed.<sup>39</sup> Another serious problem of the Kainji Dam in Wara, was the frequent boat mishaps recorded yearly when the lake filled up.<sup>40</sup> Wind also contributed in the frequent boat accidents in the area. In most of the accidents, which occurred almost every year, lives and properties worth millions of Naira were normally lost.<sup>41</sup> Ngaski District was the area most affected by the effect of the Kainji Dam.<sup>42</sup> Hoge Island noted above was part of Ngaski District and 80 percent of the Island is covered by water of the Kainji Lake.<sup>43</sup> It has been said that Makurdi area was given to Ngaski District as compensation to the great loss the District incurred. The compensation, they noted, was not satisfactory.<sup>44</sup> Apart from the loss of Hoge Island, which the Kainji Dam had led Ngaski District to incur, the dam waters have also been washing away farmlands and occasionally houses in the District almost every year. The farmers in the area have been planting rice after the wet season, and on several occasions it was when the crops germinated, that the water would overflow and destroy many portions of the rice farms.<sup>45</sup> The tributaries of the River Niger have also been affecting the District on a yearly basis. These tributaries included Rivers Malando, Wawu and Yimbi. When water from the River Niger retreats back into these tributaries, they cut off Ngaski area from outside areas such as Wara in the south and other sides in the north.<sup>46</sup> Ngaski town usually remained cut off for at least three months from all sides and this was aggravated by lack of access roads in the area until 2009 when roads and bridges were constructed linking the town with Wara. The conclusion being made always in Ngaski town is that, the people of Ngaski would have been better without the Kainji Dam.<sup>47</sup> Commenting on the

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<sup>39</sup>Interview with Abdulmalik Nuhu, Sarkin Maginga Wara, aged 64, Amadu Shaba aged 70 and Muhammad Dala Wara aged 54, on Friday, 30/1/2009 in Wara town, they added that it was when the Management blocked the water that it would retreat back to the upstream parts when it is not needed and when the farmers were not ready for the water. The control point was at Kainji village in Niger State which made the water to retreat back into farm lands and houses in Wara and its villages destroying crops especially those planted lately causing losses worth millions of Naira

<sup>40</sup> Ibiden

<sup>41</sup>Ibiden, it is however, according to several informants, a way of life of the people to use the River to reach certain areas. They feel comfortable on the boats as if they are on the land despite the risks of accident

<sup>42</sup>Interview with Aliyu Ibrahim Tanko, District Head of Ngaski, aged 52, Umaru Yusuf Galadima, aged 72 and Hamidu Yahaya, village head of Guguwa, aged 70, on Friday, 30/1/2009

<sup>43</sup> Ibiden

<sup>44</sup>Ibiden

<sup>45</sup> The three informants on footnote 45 have said that it happened several times in the past

<sup>46</sup> Ibiden

<sup>47</sup> Ibiden

impact of Kainji Dam on the people of Yauri Emirate, Robin Atkinson said, “This upheaval is momentous”<sup>48</sup>

### **Business Activities in Yauri Emirate**

The dominant ethnic groups in Yauri Emirate have been the Gungawa and the Kambari people. The two groups were in the past not business conscious. But from the 1990s, the Gungawa people engaged in businesses especially of grains.<sup>49</sup> For details on the life and activities of the Gungawa people, reference could be made to the M. A. History Dissertation of Y. Abubakar.<sup>50</sup> It has been said that the name Yauri was synonymous with fish and that was why many people engaged in the business activity, which has been very lucrative in the area.<sup>51</sup> Fish was transported from Yauri Emirate to various places in Nigeria and beyond such as Birnin Kebbi, Sokoto, Gusau, Minna, Kaduna, Suleja, Abuja, Lagos, Benin, Onitsha, etc.<sup>52</sup> With the availability of fast moving vehicles from the 1990s fresh fish from Yauri market reached faraway places such as Gwagwalada, Abuja, Keffi, Nassarawa, etc towns before sunset.<sup>53</sup> Many people also engaged in other fishing related business activities in Yauri Emirate.

It should be noted that most of the immigrants in Yauri Emirate came for the purpose of doing business particularly trading activities. This is because the Emirate has several flourishing businesses. One of the flourishing businesses was constructing canoes in Yelwa.<sup>54</sup> Many people of non-Yauri origin, particularly the Yoruba people engaged in the business of constructing canoes.<sup>55</sup> Some people from Mali Republic were also residing in Yelwa engaging in boats making.

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<sup>48</sup> *Kainji Dam and the People: Story of the Dam-Its Economic and Social Significance to the people of Nigeria*, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, it is not dated, op, cit, p, 34

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Alh, Tanimu Sulaiman, Sarkin Noman Yauri, aged 65, on Thursday, 29/1/2009 in Yauri town

<sup>50</sup> Y. Abubakar, “History of the Baresha (Gungawa) People to 1968”, M. A. History Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Sani Abacha Maikifi Yelwa-Yauri, aged 47, on 29/1/2009 in Yelwa-Yauri town

<sup>52</sup> Ibid

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Magajin Garin Yelwa-Yauri Alh Musa Abarshi, aged 73, on 1/2/2009 in Yelwa-Yauri town

<sup>54</sup> The canoes are of different types, sizes and qualities. The prices of the canoes range from 12,000 to 50,000 Naira per one. Many people particularly Youth engage themselves in the industry. There were about 20 senior officers and more than 50 Youth on apprenticeship in the canoe making industry in Yelwa-Yauri as at January 2009.

<sup>55</sup> In 1969 when Nigerians must-go-episode took place in Ghana, one Alh Tijjani, a Yoruba man left Ghana for Yauri in Nigeria, where he started the business of canoe carving. He arrived in Yauri in 1970 and continued canoe carving, which he was doing in Ghana before his deportation to Nigeria

Canoes made in Yauri were purchased by people from various places including several LGCs in Sokoto State such as Gummi and Kebbe.<sup>56</sup>

Many of the Kambari people were now not only farmers but also businessmen. Some of them engaged in commercial motor cycle operation, provision of mechanical services, such as motor vehicle repairs, etc to make a living.<sup>57</sup> Thus, the Kambari people were in the farm and in the town, cultivating and transacting business.<sup>58</sup> Shanga town was a centre of the sales of grains where Hausa people from many parts of Hausa land have been coming to buy the grains.<sup>59</sup> Other kinds of trading, mainly petty, going on in the area were extremely insignificant.<sup>60</sup>

Fish, grains and livestock were the main items of trade in Wara District with some petty trading springing up gradually especially in recent years.<sup>61</sup> In fact, trading in fish was more significant in Wara than the livestock trade. Wara market holds every four days. Just like Yelwa, Wara market traded in fish in large quantities. Transportation services were also important economic activities in Wara District involving a fair number of the people. Many small and large vehicles shuttled between Wara and other places of the Emirate and beyond.<sup>62</sup> That was also the case in Ngaski District. Apart from the business of grains and livestock, there were petty trading activities such as hawking of *kayan ruwa*, and a significant volume of transportation services, mainly commercial motor cycle operation to various villages in the District and to Wara town.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Interview with Alh Tijjani, Chairman Canoe Carvers Association, Yauri, aged 70, on 29/1/2009, some people also from Mali Republic came to Yelwa to construct big canoes known as *kanke*. The Hausa people constructed *abara* canoe. These two types of canoe were big enough for long distance travels and capable of carrying large consignment of goods. The two canoes were however, few now due to the availability of motor vehicles that carried large consignment of goods and were also faster and safer than the canoes. Another type of canoe constructed was called *tabo*, which replaced *abara*. Several informants said that canoe carving industry in Yauri was a very important business activity in Yelwa and that the *tabo* type of canoe was used by the Sarkawa to conduct fishing activity, interview with Sani Abacha Maikifi, op, cit in Yauri fish market, at the canoe carving point

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Alh Abdullahi Ibrahim Yelwa, (agro), aged 50, on Saturday, 31/1/2009 in Yelwa Yauri town

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem he however, added that *Bagunge* was more socialized than *Bakambare* to this moment

<sup>59</sup>Interview with Ibrahim Ngaski, Magatakardan Kwakute, aged 80, on Sunday, 1/2/2009

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Abdulmalik Nuhu, Sarkin Maginga, aged 64, on Friday, 30/1/2009 in Wara town

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, he added that some housewives in Wara town pound millet, corn and maize, etc to make flour for sales in the market. Some of them used engines to grind the grains for that purpose while many others engaged in one form of business or the other to generate income.

<sup>63</sup>Interview with Aliyu Ibrahim Tanko, District Head of Ngaski, aged 52, on Friday, 30/1/2009 in Ngaski town

### **Seasonal Migrations into Yauri Emirate**

Seasonal migration involving the people of Yauri Emirate was very low. Those that migrated on seasonal basis were not many among the Gungawa and the Kambari of Yauri Emirate. Most of those that left home were in their various destinations, mainly in parts of Niger State, as permanent settlers. The Kambari people in particular engaged in cultivation where ever they found themselves.<sup>64</sup>

With regard to seasonal migrations into Yauri Emirate, investigations have shown that the places of origin of the migrants included Kamba, Gulma, Bunza, Jega, Ambursa, Bodinga, Tambuwal, Kware, Gwadabawa, Gada, Goronyo, Rabah and Isa.<sup>65</sup> Other places included some parts of Niger Republic. The people of these areas came to the Yauri area owing to the availability of jobs and businesses that earned them income. The Kambari and Gungawa people as mentioned earlier were historically farmers and not business-like. The area was historically agrarian in nature cultivating large amounts of food crops. This paved way for the seasonal migrants, mostly Hausa people, to dominate businesses. The seasonal migrants in Yauri town and its villages, engaged in various trades including hawking and shop keeping of essential commodities.<sup>66</sup> Some people from Kiri village of Gada LGA in Sokoto State were also in Yelwa engaging in the business of motor vehicle washing.<sup>67</sup> It has been asserted that some seasonal migrants in Yauri Emirate were wealthier than some indigenous people because the former engaged in what the latter could not do to earn money.<sup>68</sup> Many of the seasonal migrants also engaged in commercial motor cycle transportation in Yelwa town and the surrounding villages. Seasonal migrants were also frequenting Birnin Yauri on a yearly basis. Many of the migrants were from the north in the areas mentioned on this page above. Also in Birnin Yauri were some Zamfara people, some of whom engaged in various trades and service providing such as building or constructing houses using mud, firewood gathering and selling, hawking of orange, meat selling, dealing in groundnut leaves and making of beds using millet stalks.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Interview with Alh Abdullahi Ibrahim Yelwa, Chariman NURTW Yauri LGA, aged 50, on Saturday, 31/1/2009

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, many other informants told me this fact including informants in Birnin Yauri town

<sup>66</sup> I met one Abubakar Shehu Masu of Tambuwal LGA in Yelwa hawking oranges in a wheel barrow who said that they were 15 in number from Tambuwal hawking oranges and related items. He said that some of them were selling tea and bread and that many of them were living in Yelwa permanently while some were on seasonal migration. Interview with Abubakar Shehu Masu, aged 22, on Saturday 31/1/2009 in Yelwa town

<sup>67</sup> Alh Abdullahi Ibrahim Yelwa, op, cit

<sup>68</sup> Ibid

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Hakimi Abdullahi Birnin Yauri, aged 80, Adamu Muhammad Waziri, aged 65 and Arzika Garba Sarkin Fada Birnin Yauri, aged 50, on 31/1/2009 in Birnin Yauri town

At Mararraba junction in Birnin Yauri District, the migrants have been selling meat and had engaged in other businesses. Most of the migrants return back to their various homes at the beginning of wet season, only to come back after harvests. Many among them have decided to remain and have settled permanently in Birnin Yauri District.<sup>70</sup>

Many seasonal migrants came to Shanga District from Hausa. Hausa in this context refers to villages and towns in the former Gwandu and Sokoto Divisions.<sup>71</sup> Wara District also attracted a number of seasonal migrants from various parts of the Sokoto region especially Gada, Gwadabawa, Goronyo and Silame.<sup>72</sup> Wara was noted for its agricultural and water related activities such as fishing, which attracted seasonal migrants almost throughout the year. Seasonal migrants from Argungu and Gwandu Emirates were almost everywhere in Ngaski District trying to make as much income as they could before the end of the dry season. The people engaged in fishing activities and initially on seasonal basis but many of them now became permanent residents in the District. Other seasonal migrants from Goronyo, Gwadabawa, Kware and some other Districts in the Sokoto area have also been coming to Ngaski.<sup>73</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The foregoing discussion has been able to highlight the place of infrastructures and some social services in societal development with reference to parts of Yauri Emirate. All the five infrastructures mentioned have been seriously inadequate in the Emirate. Though, the Emirate is known to have produced many educated citizens, they are however few in terms of the largeness of the Emirate. In the area of health care facilities, not much progress has been made in the Emirate compared with vastness of the area and the large population in the Emirate. The same situations obtained in the areas of the provision of potable drinking water, roads constructions and electricity supply. The most surprising development in the area is the refusal of the Government to connect the Emirate with the National Grid from Kainji Dam despite the fact that 80 percent of the Kainji Dam water is in Yauri Emirate. The Emirate receives electricity from the Shiroro Dam, which

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<sup>70</sup>Ibidem

<sup>71</sup>Interview with Ibrahim Ngaski, aged 80, on 1/2/2009 in Shanga town, he added that While in Shanga District, some of the migrants involved in weeding while others came with camels to provide transport services of agricultural produce. Some of the migrants still engaged in selling women make-ups and other decoration items. These things were hawked in the various villages of the District. Some of the migrants stayed for few days, weeks or months mostly during the dry season period.

<sup>72</sup>Interview with Abdulmalik Nuhu, Sarkin Maginga, aged 64, on 30/1/2009 in Wara town

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Aliyu Ibrahim Tanko, Sarkin Ngaski, aged 52, on 30/1/2009 in Ngaski town, they told me that in Wawu village of Ngaski District, there were Garba Gwadabawa and Adamu Goronyo who came as migrants

provides half current supply. It is however, worthy of note that Yelwa, Ngaski and Wara have been major markets in the Emirate attracting participants and migrants from far and wide especially from the North i.e. Sokoto and Gwandu areas.



## Chapter 13

### Unity in Diversity, Progress and Development for All through Yauri Emirate Development Association (YEDA)

A.I. Yandaki &  
Yasin Abubakar

#### Introduction

Yauri Emirate is a cosmopolitan emirate comprising various groups including Hausa, Gungawa, Kambari, Dukkawa, Lopawa, Shangawa, Nupe, Kanuri and of course other Nigerian groups like Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Urohobo and Ibibio, (see chapter nine). It is pertinent to state that people know very well that there must be unity in diversity if the society is to progress and develop. The vehicle for this is usually an association. The people of Yauri thought it wise to come together through such association. The founding association was Yauri Emirate Development Association (YEDA). Talking about YEDA is talking about 42 years of long history. Three remarkable issues to note about the history of YEDA are: one, its humble beginning and long history; two, visionary nature of the association which was like a movement that aimed at bringing societal development of its members; and three, this has to do with commitment of Yauri elites in unity of purpose and sustained aspiration for unity among them and others. All of these, in order to achieve social development.

#### Origin/foundation of YEDA

The origin of Yauri Emirate Development Association (YEDA) can be traced way back in the early 1970s, precisely in 1972, when some civil servants of Yauri origin residing in Sokoto, the then headquarters of North-western State, agreed to come together and peruse a common goal i.e. come together for mutual benefit.<sup>725</sup> It started, to quote Mutawalle and Iyan Yauri,<sup>726</sup> like *ajo*<sup>727</sup> where a group of civil servants of Yauri origin living in Sokoto who whenever there was a ceremony like naming ceremony, weddings etc affecting an indigene of Yauri would not only attend; but also contributed what they could afford, present it to the affected

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<sup>725</sup>. Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu (Deputy Governor, Kebbi State), aged 67 years, at his official residence in Birnin Kebbi, on Thursday 21<sup>st</sup> August, 2014.

<sup>726</sup>. *Ibid* and Alhaji Haliru Umar (Iyan Yauri), aged 60 years, at Deputy Governor's House Birnin Kebbi, on Thursday 21<sup>st</sup> August, 2014.

<sup>727</sup>. "Ajo" is a Hausa word which according to Kamusun Hausa, Wallafar Cibiyan Nazarin Harsunan Najeriya, Jami'ar Bayero, Kano, (2006), means "taron nuna farin ciki yayin bikin aure don tarawa ango gudumuwa"; meaning a joyous gathering on account of marriage, naming ceremony, etc to assist the individual with some donations. See p. 7.

person and discussed issues of common concern. That was how the idea of forming an association of civil servants of Yauri indigenes came about. Meeting for realization of this objective (forming association), was started at the house of Late Malam Bawa (Makaman Yauri) who happened to be the most elderly person among Yauri civil servants in Sokoto. The meetings were later rotated to take place at houses of the most senior civil servants of Yauri origin in Sokoto. It was this association which was registered as Yauri Emirate Development Association (YEDA) in 1976. Its pioneer leader was late Malam Bawa (Makaman Yauri).<sup>728</sup> One can therefore argue that YEDA was initially formed as an umbrella of socio-cultural and non political developmental association for the benefit of the people of Yauri Emirate, comprising the present day Yauri, Ngaski and Shanga Local Governments Areas.

### **Aim & objectives**

The main aim of forming YEDA was to serve as an avenue for cementing the bond of relationship among the people of Yauri Emirate through uniting the people of the emirate for the common good of all. It was in pursuance of this aim that shortly after the association was formed it embarked on massive enlightenment of the youths to seek for both Islamic and western education. Other objectives of YEDA include ensuring that the citizens of Yauri Emirate are not marginalized, in all spheres of life such as school enrolment at all levels, civil service (especially at the state and federal levels) and in politics. It is also among the key objectives of the YEDA to ensure that Yauri Emirate is not left behind in terms of provision of social and economic infrastructure by either government or private organisations. Finally, at its inception YEDA, pledged to honour any Yauri indigene who excelled in his/her place of work especially those that attain key or peak positions in their professions like Professor, Vice Chancellor, Permanent Secretary, Head of Service, Commissioner of Police, Governor etc.<sup>729</sup>

### **Organizational structure**

Structurally, YEDA is led by its Grand Patron, the Emir of Yauri. It has an executive committee headed by a National President. Since its formation between 1975 and in 1976 important Yauri Emirate indigenes were nominated to serve the association in different capacities (President, Member and Secretary). Apart from its pioneer President late Alhaji Bawa (Makaman Yauri), many have led the association since its inception to date. They include Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu, mni (Mutawallen) Yauri, Alhaji Abubakar Sadiq (Katikan Yauri) and Alhaji Muhammad D. Dantani T/Fana (Magayakin Yauri). There was election of the

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<sup>728</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>729</sup>. YEDA Draft Constitution, pp. 2-3.

executive members of the association in December, 2004 and the following personalities were returned elected.

1.	Alh. Muhammadu D. Dantani T/Fana (Magayakin Yauri)	National President
2.	Alh. Shehu Aliyu DCP (Danmalikin Yauri)	National Vice President
3.	Alh. Maigari Ibrahim (AESA) (Sardaunan Ngaski)	Secretary General
4.	Alh. Umar Sa'idu Zamare	Assist. Secretary General
5.	Alh. Shehu Aliyu (Marafan Yauri)	Treasurer
6.	Alh. Adamu Muh'd B/Yauri (BB)	Assist. Treasurer
7.	Alh. Muhammad Bako Ngaski	Financial Secretary
8.	Alh. Bala Ibrahim Dugu	Assist. Financial Secretary
9.	Alh. Abubakar Salisu Takware	Organising Secretary
10.	Alh. Muh'd Umar Libata (MTT)	Assist. Organising Sec.
11.	Alh. Musa Usman Aliyu Tondi	P.R.O
12.	Alh. Musa Usman Aliyu Tondi	Assist. P.R.O
13.	Alh. Bala Baba	Auditor <sup>730</sup>

Presently, YEDA carries out its activities through an ad hoc and standing committee, nominated by Yauri Emirate Council to address specific problems or challenges affecting the Emirate. Membership of current YEDA executives is made up of the following personalities:

1.	Alhaji Abdullahi Umar Yelwa (Ajiyan Yauri)	Chairman
2.	Alh. Halidu S. Libata	Member
3.	Alhaji Shehu Aliyu DC	Member
4.	Alhaji Aliyu Jibrin Bagaruwa	Member
5.	Alh Hussaini Raha	Member
6.	Prof. Nasiru Musa Yauri	Member
7.	Prof. Hussaini Muhammad Tukur	Member
8.	Alh. Ibrahim Aliyu Yelwa (Bulaman Yauri)	Secretary <sup>731</sup>

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<sup>730</sup>. "Introduction of Newly Elected Yauri Emirate Development Association Committee", Yauri Emirate Council, Dated 19<sup>th</sup> December, 2004.

Under the leadership of Ajiyan Yauri, a new form of administration has been introduced into the management of the affairs of the association. This encourages the people of Yauri Emirate to take their destiny into their hands rather than wait persistently for the government.<sup>732</sup>

### Activities

Since its inception, YEDA had undertaken numerous advocacy activities in the defence of the interest of Yauri Emirate people. The most important role of YEDA is however, in the area of mobilising people of the Emirate to undertake self help projects for community development. At the governmental level, it regularly acts as the voice of the people of the Emirate, especially on political issues and public office holders who appear reluctant or unwilling to speak for themselves. Similarly, YEDA propagates public policies especially those that have direct bearing on the lives of the greater majority of Yauri people. This line of advocacy coincides with the pivotal role of traditional institutions as major agents of policy advocacy and implementation. The most important work of YEDA is however in the area of mobilising the people of Yauri Emirate to undertake self help projects for community development.<sup>733</sup>

It was in pursuance of last of its set objectives that when Lt. Colonel Muhammad Inuwa Bawa, a Yauri indigene, was appointed by the Abacha Military Administration as a pioneer Military Administrator of the then newly created Ekiti State on 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1996; the late Emir of Yauri Alhaji Shu'aibu Yakubu Abarshi (d. 1999) sent a delegation to congratulate him. The delegation was under the chairmanship of the then YEDA National President Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu (Mutawallen Yauri). In his remarks after the delegation of Yauri Emirate delivered the message, Lt. Colonel Muhammad Inuwa Bawa, pledged to organise a fund raising as a mark of his contribution to his beloved Yauri Emirate. The pledge finally became a reality in 1998 when the occasion attended by well meaning Nigerians like Major General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd), then Chairman of the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF), serving Military Administrators, Business Men, Politicians and Civil Servants gathered at Yauri river side (*bakin ruwa*) under the chairmanship of Chief Aresikola Alao (the Baba Addini of Yorubaland) who was the chief launcher. About #22,000,000 to #24,000,000 (twenty two to

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<sup>731</sup> Alhaji Abdullahi Umar Yelwa (Aiyen Yauri), aged 58 years in a telephone conversation Monday 16<sup>th</sup> June, 2014.

<sup>732</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>733</sup>. *Ibid.*

twenty four million Naira) was donated under the name of Yauri Emirate Development Fund (YEDEF), popularly known in Yauri as *Kudin Bakin Ruwa*.<sup>734</sup>

The late Emir, Alhaji Shu'aibu Yakubu Abarshi did not live long to witness how the fund realised from the fund raising was expended as he died in March, 1999. When the new Emir, Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi was appointed, he inaugurated a Board of Trustees to manage the affairs of the fund. Initially membership of the YEDEF Board of Trustees was made up of the following personalities:

1. Colonel Muhammad I. Bawa (Rtd) (Makaman Yauri)	Chairman
2. Alh. (Dr.) Aliyu Jibrin Yelwa (Sardaunan Yauri)	Vice Chairman I
3. Alh. Shehu Salihu Dugu	Vice Chairman II
4. Late Dr. Muhammad Sa'idu B/Yauri	Vice Chairman III
5. Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu, mni (Mutawallen Yauri and National President YEDA)	Member
6. Justice Sani Adamu	Member
7. Alh. Abdullahi Z. Ngaski	Member
8. Alh. Jibrin Muhammad Raha	Member
9. Alh. Abubakar Salihu Takware	Member
10. Alh. Abubakar Sadiq Yelwa (Katikan Yauri)	Member
11. Hon. Chairman Yauri Local Government	Member
12. Hon. Chairman Ngaski Local Government	Member
13. Hon. Chairman Shanga Local Government	Member
14. Alh. Haliru Umar (Iyan Yauri)	Secretary <sup>735</sup>

At one of its meetings held on 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2002 the YEDEF board of trustees constituted a sub-committee named: "Investment Committee". It was vested with powers to:

- (a) Generally and continuously advice the board of trustees on all matters pertaining to investments.
- (b) Look at the possibility of diversifying investment.

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<sup>734</sup>. Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu, *op.cit*.

<sup>735</sup>. This list is obtained from Yauri Emirate Council YEDEF File, "Oath of Trust, Board of Trustees, Yauri Emirate Development Fund" Dated 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 2000. Also in a group interview with Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu, *op.cit* and Alhaji Haliru Umar (Iyan Yauri)..., *op.cit*.

- (c) Explore other areas of minimal or risk free investment.
- (d) Periodically appraise the strength and weakness(es) of all investments.<sup>736</sup>

Membership of the sub-committee was made up of the following personalities:

- |    |                                  |                       |
|----|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Late Alh. Hassan Tukur           | Chairman              |
| 2. | Late Dr. Sa'idu Muhammad B/Yauri | Member                |
| 3. | Alh. Shehu Salihu Dugu           | Member                |
| 4. | Alh. Ibrahim Aliyu Yelwa         | Member <sup>737</sup> |

In a letter of resignation dated 21<sup>st</sup> December, 2004 forwarded by Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu mni, the then Chairman, YEDEF Board of Trustees to HRH the Emir of Yauri Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi, he explained that the Board had since its inception carried out the following projects, programmes and investments, totalling about ₦21,779,000.00 (twenty one million, seven hundred and seventy nine naira only):

S/No	Project	Amount (₦)
1	Construction of Yauri coronation stadium	6,000,000:00
2	Contribution to hosting of dignitaries during the installation of HRH Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi as the 43 <sup>rd</sup> Emir of Yauri	1,750,000:00
3	Rehabilitation of 3 classroom blocks at Makama Bawa Model Primary School	683,000:00
4	Sponsorship of study on the impact of the construction of Niger Dam on Yauri Emirate	2,500,000:00
5	Upgrading of transformers at Yabo and Wali Model Primary School in Illela District	1,460,000:00
6	Sponsorship of construction of wells in some Districts of Yauri Emirate	900,000:00
7	Sponsorship of reception for HRH for the 2003 National Honours Award	500,000:00
8	Purchase of 3 Peugeot 505(station wagons) for mass transit	1,500,000:00
9	Establishment of business centre	1,800,000:00
10	Cement dealership	1, 584,000.00
11	Loan to defunct Gungu Area Development	250,000:00

<sup>736</sup>. Yauri Emirate Development Fund Board of Trustees, "Investment Committee", Dated 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2002.

<sup>737</sup>. *Ibid.*

12	Purchase of complete set of computer	140,000:00
13	Sponsorship of YEDA executive council election in 2004	279,000:00
14	Sponsorship of 10% contribution of Kebbi State Poverty Alleviation Projects for community based associations in Yauri Emirate	1,733,000:00
15	Medical assistance to a member who was on 2-year sick bed	100,000:00 <sup>738</sup>

Three days after the resignation of Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu mni, as YEDEF Chairman Board of Trustees it appeared there were some misunderstandings between executives of Yauri Emirate Development Association (YEDA), the mother association and members of YEDEF Board of Trustees. This led to dissolution of the latter (YEDEF Board of Trustees) by the Yauri Emirate Council. In a memo dated 24<sup>th</sup> December, 2004 with reference number: YEC/YEDEF/177/VOL.1 Alhaji Adamu Musa Koliyo, the then Secretary to Yauri Emirate Council served the notice of dissolving the board to all members. HRH the Emir of Yauri Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi has in the memo thanked all members of the board for their enormous contributions and commitments toward the development of Yauri Emirate. The memo further directed that members of YEDEF Board of Trustees should hand over all necessary documents to the National President, YEDA.<sup>739</sup>

However, in March 2005, the Emirate Council constituted a fresh committee called “elders committee” to advice and assists both executives of Yauri Emirate Development Association (YEDA) and Yauri Emirate Council on all matters affecting the Emirate. The Elders Committee which is still functioning was at the time of its constitution, made up of the following members:

- |    |  |                      |
|----|--|----------------------|
| 1. | Prof. Mahdi Adamu Ngaski               | Chairman             |
| 2. | Alh. A.Z. Abdullahi (Barden Yauri)     | Vice Chairman        |
| 3. | Alh. Mu’azu Muhammad (Galadiman Yauri) | Emirate Council Rep. |
| 4. | Alh. Yusuf Imam Warah                  | Member               |
| 5. | Alh. Umaru Technical (Wamban Yauri)    | Member               |
| 6. | Alh. A.G. Isma’il (Dallatun Yauri)     | Member               |

<sup>738</sup>. Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu, who is currently the Deputy Governor, Kebbi State confirmed the execution of these projects by YEDEF before and during his tenure as Chairman Board of Trustees.

<sup>739</sup>. YEC/YEDEF/177/VOL.I, “Yauri Emirate Council, Office of the Secretary”, Dated 24<sup>th</sup> December, 2004.

7.	Alh. Abubakar Umar Warah	Member
8.	Malam Mamman Birnin Yauri	Member
9.	Alh. Garba Gunabi (Hakimin Kestu)	Member
10.	Alh. Sule Takware	Member
11.	Alh. Isyaku Inugu	Secretary <sup>740</sup>

### **Achievements**

The activities of YEDA received a big boost with the appointment of His Royal Highness Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi as the Emir of Yauri. Under his leadership, YEDA became the true mouthpiece of the people of the Emirate. His background as an academic became the launching pad for the educational transformation in the Emirate. For the first time in the history of the Emirate, an appeal fund was launched to raise funds for the promotion of education. Through the use of the proceeds of the fund, the Makama Bawa Model Primary School, Yelwa was rehabilitated and made to be one of the best primary schools in Yelwa town.<sup>741</sup>

Financial assistance and scholarship are also granted by the association to deserving students of Yauri Emirate indigenes who are in tertiary institutions. These are being carried out by the association to assist the students with their academic pursuit. Still in the area of education YEDA is looking in to the deplorable condition of the only tertiary institution situated in the Emirate, College of Basic and Advanced Studies (COBAS), Yelwa. The association has not only been making effort to ensure that permanent site of the college is completed and movement to it is enforced by the State Government, but also is vigilant to see that indigenes of Yauri Emirate are well represented in the management team of the college and they are the ones occupying key positions. Of course the people of Zuru Emirate are the ones currently occupying key positions, however, YEDA is doing everything possible and to ensure justice, equity and fairness prevail.<sup>742</sup>

YEDA also assists the teeming youth of Yauri Emirate indigene to secure jobs, especially at federal level. Within the state, YEDA regularly intervenes to ensure that its members who are civil servants are treated fairly and receive what is due for them. The welfare of Yauri communities is central to the work of YEDA. Since its inception, it had led efforts to combat the injustice meted out on the people of Yauri Emirate as a result of hydro power generation from the Kainji Dam. It was largely due to YEDA's persistent advocacy and struggle that the

<sup>740</sup>. YEC/ELC/176/VOL. 1 "Elders Committee", Dated 13<sup>th</sup> March, 2005.

<sup>741</sup>. Alhaji Abdullahi Umar Yelwa..., *op.cit.*

<sup>742</sup>. *Ibid.*



Hydroelectric Power Producing Area Development Commission, (HYPPADEC) bill was signed into law. The association is still heavily engaged in the struggle to ensure that the commission takes off and its activities and managerial structure reflect the level of sacrifice of the people of Yauri Emirate who on daily basis suffer from environmental degradation and diseases.<sup>743</sup>

Another critical area of achievement of the YEDA is in case of the Warrah Irrigation Project which was once a major source of income generation for the people, but which has now been leased out to a Chinese firm by the Kebbi State Government. The firm has been engaged in unwholesome practices which aim at exploiting people of that part of the Emirate. The association however, is doing everything possible to ensure that the affected communities of the Emirate are not in any way exploited by the firm.

YEDA is also engaged in the ongoing negotiation between the Dangote Group of Companies and the Kebbi State Government to establish a sugar plantation and processing firm. To ensure that the interest of Yauri people is well protected, YEDA led a high powered team of major stakeholders from the Emirate to visit His Excellency, the Executive Governor of Kebbi State, Alhaji Saidu Nasamu Dakingari to discuss the worries of the people of Yauri Emirate regarding some aspects of the project. YEDA's proactive approach on the issue is to prevent the repeat of the ugly experiences with Kainji Hydroelectricity generation where large number of communities of the Emirate and towns were promised certain social amenities as compensation but were never executed. The assurances given to the association by the Governor and his officials have helped enormously in redressing the fear of the concerned communities. YEDA has set up a public mobilization committee to educate the public and sensitise them on the need to support the project.<sup>744</sup>

YEDA is also concerned with the insensitivity of elected and appointed public servants to the plight of the people. Because of the culture of imposition of political office holders for elective offices, Yauri communities often suffer poor representation and advocacy of what really concerns the people. To address this problem YEDA is currently liaising with political stakeholders in the state, especially sister associations like Gwandu Emirate Development Association (GEDA), Argungu Emirate Development Association (AREDA) and Zuru Emirate Development Society (ZEDS), to ensure that people of Yauri Emirate are well represented at both state and national level. The aim of all these efforts is to

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<sup>743</sup>. Alhaji Ibrahim K. Aliyu *op.cit.*

<sup>744</sup>. Alhaji Abdullahi Umar Yelwa..., *op.cit.*

forge a common consensus and standard on quality of representation desired for good leadership.<sup>745</sup>

Another area in which YEDA recorded some successes is in the Emirate has to do with provision and tariff of electricity, especially in Yelwa, the Emirate capital. Yawurawa Youth Development Association which is a subsidiary and youth wing of the YEDA has recently compelled the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) to reduce its exorbitant and high tariff which it charges the people of the Emirate in the face of poor and epileptic power supply. The youth wing in conjunction with the Emirate Council have also been at the fore front and in the vanguard to see that the work of 2x30 40 MVA 132/133KV substation currently under construction in Yelwa town is completed and commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Power and Steel Development. This is with a view to improve the quality and quantity of power supply not only in Yauri Emirate but also in the neighbouring Zuru, Kontagora and Gwandu Emirates.<sup>746</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The Yauri Emirate Development Association (YEDA) as an umbrella association of the people of Yauri Emirate has over the years been in the vanguard for the defence of the interest of the generality of the people of Yauri Emirate. It has enjoyed a robust working relationship with His Royal Highness Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi CON, who has been giving total support for the activities of the association. The much progress the association has so far achieved being its Grand Patron, are directly attributed to his leadership and sincere dedication to the welfare needs of his people. As a pioneer emirate based association in the old Sokoto State, YEDA has gradually served as a role model to other emirate-based associations in today's Kebbi State like GEDA, AREDA and ZEDS.

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<sup>745</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>746</sup>. *Ibid.* See Business Section of Peoples Daily Newspaper of Friday 17<sup>th</sup> January, 2014, p. 21.

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