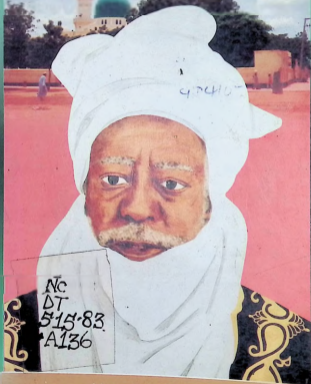


# ABDULLAHI BAYERO

*The Pre-Eminent Emir of Kano*



Usman Dalhatu

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Abdullahi Bayero  
The Pre-Eminent Emir of Kano.  
(1926-1953)



*Abdullahi Bayero, CMG, CBE*

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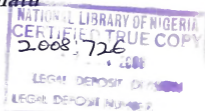
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## **The Pre-Eminent Emir Of Kano**

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*Usman Dalhatu*



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Published in Nigeria in the year 2005

ISBN 978-36643-6-0 (Hard Cover)

978-36643-7-9 (Soft Cover)

***Designed and Published By***

Woodpecker Communication Services,

No. 10.B, Theresa Bowyer Road, G.R.A/PZ,

P.O Box 1014, Zaria,

069-330750, 0803-4512826.

E-mail: Woodpeckercom @yahoo.com.

***Printed By***

Baraka Press and Publishers Limited,

No. 5, Ahmadu Bello Way, P.O. Box 171, Kaduna,

062-244931, 0803-6004606.

***Cover Design By***

Amazing Grace Graphics,

No. 88, Club Street, Sabon Gari, Zaria,

0802-8325028.



## **Dedication**

*This book is dedicated to His Highness  
Alhaji Ado Bayero CFR, LL.D, JP,  
The Emir Of Kano*



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## **Foreword**

*By*

**His Highness**

*Muhammadu Kabir Usman*

*OON, ONN, LL.D*

**Emir of Katsina**

In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Merciful. Peace and blessings of Allah be upon the noble Prophet Muhammad, his household, his companions and all those who follow his path.

It is a rare opportunity to be invited to write a foreword on a book written on such a great personality as His Highness, the late Emir of Kano, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. *San Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero lived an exemplary life worthy of emulation by all. He was a devout Muslim and leader of high repute whose subjects lived in absolute contentment, peace and prosperity.

I have known the late *San Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero since my childhood during the reign of my late grandfather *Sarkin Katsina* Alhaji Muhammadu Dikko. In fact, *San Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero and *Sarkin Katsina* Alhaji Muhammadu Dikko had an excellent and mutual relationship, which extended to my late father, *Sarkin Katsina* Alhaji Sir Usman Nagogo. Today, we share that brotherhood with the present Emir of Kano, His Highness Alhaji Ado Bayero. I am therefore, competent to state that this book, which highlights the legacies of the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, is more than its worth and indeed, a very welcome addition to the biographies of other great personalities, the world over.

The book had brought to the fore the selfless services of the late Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero to his subjects, which led to the laying of a solid foundation for the development of Kano in particular and Northern Nigeria and the Nigerian Nation in general. It is a well-known fact that Kano was blossomed as the leading commercial centre during his time. Other successive Emirs of Kano, particularly the late Alhaji Muhammadu Sunusi and the serving Alhaji Ado Bayero, left no stone unturned in upholding the legacies of their late father. That led to the greatness of Kano especially in the commercial, industrial and agricultural fields. Kano was famous in the cotton and groundnuts exports, which formed the backbone of the nation's economy at that time. Today, Kano is the industrial and commercial nerve center of Northern Nigeria.

I congratulate the author, and publishers of this book for a job well done. I therefore recommend this book entitled *Abdullahi Bayero, the Pre-eminent Emir of Kano* to all Researchers, Traditional Rulers, Government Officials, Academicians and the members of the public.



Muhammadu Kabir Usman.

*Emir of Katsina.*

May 2005

## **Preface**

*By*

***Muhammadu Munir Ja'afaru, OFR,***  
***Yariman Zazzau***

The writing of this book entitled *Abdullahi Bayero: The Pre-eminent Emir Of Kano* commenced after the successful launching of a book entitled *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku: The Great Emir Of Zazzau*, published by our company in 2002 and publicly presented in 2003, under the distinguished chairmanship of His Highness Alhaji Ado Bayero *CFR*. It should, however, be pointed out that the author of this book had gathered a lot of information about *Sarki Alhaji* since the time of his first fieldwork research on the book of biography of the present Emir of Zazzau entitled *Alhaji Shehu Idris: the 18<sup>th</sup> Fulani Emir Of Zazzau*, which was launched in 2001.

This book tells the story of the life, legacies and contributions of His Highness, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, CMG, CBE, the Pre-eminent Emir of Kano. He is by every standard a great Emir whose achievements were very significant to the extent that he is remembered today as a learned, pious, just, upright, gentle, devoted and dedicated leader. He is indeed an exemplary leader that dedicated his life towards the progress of people. His sound socio-economic and educational policies had remarkably led to the greatness of the country as a whole.

I took great interest as the Chairman of the company that published this book to carefully read through the entire book and discovered that the

... intelligently produced an elegant researchable work that chronicled the life and times of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. In a wider context, the study is organized in three parts, with each containing a number of chapters. Part One contains six chapters that cover the historical overview of Kano from its evolution to the present day. This shows that Kano emerged as a large political and religious entity prior to the Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. The information given by the author covers the economic, political, historical, cultural and diplomatic relations of Kano prior to the arrival of British. Kano emerged as an intellectual centre and a great emporium of trade. And the commitment of its rulers, most especially Abdullahi Bayero, further re-emphasized the direct influence of the outside world.

In Chapter Two of the first section, the author skillfully traced the emergence of religion in Kano and the 1804 Fulani Jihad, which reformed the teaching and practice of Islam and made it a state religion. Chapter Three traces the 1804 Jihad carried out in Kano as well as the establishment of the Fulani rule during which two ruling dynasties emerged, vis-à-vis the Mundubawa and Sullubawa ruling houses. The Sullubawa proved to be the most potent one, and successively produced 12 Emirs out of the 13 that have ruled Kano to date. The Mundubawa ruling dynasty established by *Sarkin Kano* Suleimanu bin Aba Hama remained dormant and is nearly extinct today when it comes to the issue of Emirship in Kano. Chapter Four evaluate the socio-economic life of Kano before the colonial conquest, while Chapter Five trace the

colonial conquest of the Emirate with what Lugard called Might Strike. Chapter Six conclude the first section with an analysis on the Sulluḅawa ruling family, a dynasty established by *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo bin Mahmud. *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero emerged from this renowned family of Sulluḅawa and he was the 10<sup>th</sup> Emir in the hierarchy of the Fulani Emirs. One interesting thing is that the author admirably acquaints the readers with sufficient leading facts on all the Emirs produced by the Sulluḅawa ruling dynasty up to the present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero.

Part Two forms the second section of the book and it contains five chapters. The section begins with Chapter Seven, which traces the birth and early life of Abdullahi Bayero based on the information available at present. Chapter Eight examines the public career of Abdullahi Bayero before his appointment as the 10<sup>th</sup> Emir of Kano. The chapter narrates the role he played during the period of the leadership of his father, *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas and the difficulties he encountered. In this regard, the author explores his efforts in resisting the colonial intruders and the western culture imposed by the British. Chapter Nine dwells on his ascension to the throne in 1926, after the British bypassed him, as soon as they killed his father, *Sarki* Muhammadu Abbas in 1919. His installation as the 10<sup>th</sup> Fulani Emir of Kano is also presented in the chapter. Chapter 10, however, analyse his leadership extensively, which clearly distinguished him as accomplished leader and shrewd administrator. The writing of this chapter alone is not a simple matter,

because the author covers the wide-ranging functions performed by the Emir at that time, which gave a clear picture on the role played by our royal fathers. The author also narrates the cordial and harmonious working relationship that exist between the Emir and some British officers he worked with, and how he systematically deal with those that seemed awkward towards his effort of making Kano a Great Emirate. Chapter 11 conclude the section with an analysis on the great attributes of the leadership of Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, which I hope Nigerian leaders would emulate in trying to make our country great. It is my ardent hope that the younger generation, who find it very difficult to emulate righteous qualities, would absolutely take *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* as a role model.

Part Three of the book contains nine chapters that center on the monumental contributions of *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* during his 27 years of leadership. In this regard, Chapter 12 trace the general contribution of the Emir to the religion of Islam while chapter 13 outline the educational foundation he set for Kano. There is no doubt that the concrete foundation laid by the Emir tremendously helped to develop Kano to a modern society that makes the *Kanawa* to acquire a rather unique spirit in the Nigerian economy and political landscape. Chapter 14 dwells on his contribution towards the provision of infra-structural facilities and illustrates how committed the Emir was towards the yearning of people. Chapter 15 analyses the socio-economic and rural development registered in the Emirate as a result of the

pioneering efforts made by the Emir despite colonial obstruction.

It should however be borne in mind that it was during his reign that local industries metamorphosed into large manufacturing industries in Kano. Today *Birnin Kano* as Salisu Jan Kidī called it became *Ingilan 'Yan Hausa* (England of Hausas), where several manufacturing activities took place similar to what obtained in Lancashire and Manchester. Chapter 16 examine the efforts of the Emir in resuscitating the rich culture and traditional values of *Gidan Rumfa*, the royal palace of Kano despite the struggles of the British to exterminate it. Chapter 17 give account on the meritorious awards given to the Emir including the post-humus Doctorate Degree awarded to him by Bayero University Kano in 2004, about 51 years after his death. More convincing is that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero is the first Emir to be awarded with such post-humus Degree by an ivory tower in Nigeria. Chapter 18 covers his visit to London and pilgrimage to Mecca by road in 1937, and visits to other Islamic countries. Chapter 19 looks more closely on his family and his transition to the Great Beyond while in Chapter 20, the author concludes with resounding summary of the book.

To write a biography on a personality like *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero within the historical perspective is not a simple job. But the author, Malam Usman Dalhatu provides a systematic and well-researched book that has relevance and contemporary significance to the present day generation of Nigerians.

The author assembles and organises facts according to the standard of an academic work, footnoting all his references on each page. The language used in the book is simple and would help to disseminate the information to the readers.

This book is indeed a challenge to our present day leaders. Verily, the present generation knows so little about this gentleman, but this book will contribute immensely to our knowledge about the life history of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. More interestingly is that the book extensively covers the fascinating history of Kano Emirate and its rich cultural heritage. The author, Malam Usman Dalhatu, makes an invaluable documentation with narrative style portraying the historical events of all the rulers that governed *Kasar Kano* from the Habe period to date.

**Muhammadu Munir Ja'afaru, OFR**  
*Yariman Zazzau*

## **Acknowledgements**

All thanks be to Allah, the Most High for His intellectual guidance in accomplishing writing this book entitled *Abdullahi Bayero, the Pre-Eminent Emir of Kano*. I must sincerely express my thanks and gratitude to His Highness, Alhaji Ado Bayero CFR, the Emir of Kano for the permission he granted to me to write this book. I highly thank *San Kano* Ado Bayero for the keen interest he had shown right from the beginning up to the successful completion of this book written on his late father *Sarki Alhaji*. I absolutely enjoyed the co-operation and encouragement of *San Kano* Ado Bayero who took me like his own blood son and the courtesy he had shown are indeed quite illuminating.

I am most grateful to His Highness, Alhaji Muhammadu Kabir Usman OON, the Emir of Katsina for providing a foreword to this book. I wish to thank the *Yariman Zazzau* Alhaji Muhammadu Munir Ja'afaru OFR, the Chairman of the company that published this book for his maximum support, co-operation and all necessary assistance towards the success of the book. The *Yarima* absolutely took a special interest right from the inception of the book project up to its successful completion. As the Chairman of the publishing company, the *Yarima* read the manuscripts and provided the preface to the book.

I also wish to thank the *Sallaman Kano* Alhaji Aminu Dako Kwaru, the Principal Private Secretary to the Emir for his coordination, suggestions and advise right from the beginning to the successful completion of the book project. The *Sallama*

deserve special commendation for the patience and understanding he had shown and his constant keeping touch about progress of the work. I am grateful to the members of the Kano Emirate Council for their encouragement.

I am therefore most grateful to the sons of Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero for their support and encouragement, which included the Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero, Dan Buran Kano Alhaji Sa'adu Bayero and Barden Kano Alhaji Idi Bayero. I shall also remain thankful to the daughters of Sarkin Kano prominent among which are Hajiya Saudatu Bayero (*Gwaggo*), Hajiya Hadizatu Bayero (*Fulanin Dan Da'ud*) and late Hajiya Sa'adatu Bayero (*Fulanin Karaye*) who died on Sunday, 13<sup>th</sup> March 2005.

I remained most grateful for the support and encouragement of the grandsons of Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero prominent among which are the Turakin Kano Alhaji Nasiru Ado Bayero, the Cirom Kano Alhaji Sunusi Ado Bayero and the Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida Alhaji Aminu Ado Bayero. I am also very grateful to Makaman Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Sa'adu Ibrahim and Dan Masanin Kano Ambassador Yusuf Maitama Sule for their encouragement.

I also owe appreciation and thank to Alhaji Abubakar Jibril, the Vice-Chairman of the company that published this book for perusing through the manuscript and making useful observations. I must also mention Malam Ja'afaru Magaji (*Senior Scribe of Harau District*), Alhaji Lamido Dikko and my brother

Alhaji Iliyasu Dalhatu and Nura Dalhatu for all their support and encouragement. I sincerely thank the efforts of Dr. Inuwa Dikko, a former Librarian of A.B.U. Zaria, for extensively reading and correcting the whole book. I also thank Malam Yusufu N. Ahmed and Hajiya Kubrah A. Ladan for editing the manuscript. I thank for the assistance of Salisu Aliyu and Umar Dahiru who proofread the manuscripts. I would like to express my gratitude to my research assistants who never failed me throughout the course of writing the book and these included Muhammed Garba Ahmed, Amina Fada Adamu and Dalhatu Iliyasu (*Dari*).

My greatest debt of course is to the management and entire staff of Woodpecker Communication Services and members of the editorial advisers of the company. I am indeed very grateful to the staffs of National Archives Kaduna, Arewa House Historical and Documentation Centre Kaduna, Kano Historical Bureau, National Museum Kano and Sir Kashim's Library of Ahmadu Bello University Zaria for their assistance during the course of my research. Among my friend, I am indeed grateful to Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim Gafatta, Aliyu Hamza Abubakar, Shehu Dauda (*Editor, Leadership Confidential*) and Musa Sani Sodangi. Finally, I ever remain thankful to my family for their wonderful patience, support and encouragements toward the success of this book.

**Usman Dalhatu**



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*PART ONE*

THE HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF KANO

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## **Part One**

### ***The Historical Overview Of Kano***

This book chronicles the life, personality and achievements of His Highness, the *Amirul Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero CMG, CBE, (1926-1953); the 10<sup>th</sup> Emir of Kano in the chronology of Fulani rule. He was born and bred in Kano and ascended the throne in his middle age. His leadership recorded significant events that greatly influenced and shaped the socio-economic and political developments of the present-day Kano. This Great Gentleman who ruled and administered *Kasar Kano* from 1926 to 1953, positively transformed the ancient Kingdom in many significant ways. His successors, particularly the present Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero, continue to build from where he stopped.

The achievements of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero on the exalted throne were of far-reaching significance, such that he is remembered today not only as an Emir, learned and just, but also as *Salih* (faithful) and *Jabir* (gentle). Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero entirely devoted his life to shaping the modern history of Kano. He is regarded as the most revered and exalted Emir without equal since the foundation of Kano.

To many people, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero is a Guardian Saint, a *Mujadid* and a renewer of Islamic society in Kano. He was an accomplished Islamic scholar endowed with great intelligence and profound learning. He was a powerful, dignified and charismatic Islamic leader in every sense of the word, who attained the highest pinnacle of respectability among millions of

Muslims the world over. He earned an excellent reputation of being a *Waliyyi* as a result of his learning, piety and ascetism. These attributes made him command a lot of respect among all his contemporaries. The reign of *Amir* Abdullahi Bayero was the most significant in the colonial history of Kano not only because it was the longest but also because of his success in negotiating modernity and tradition by ensuring a smooth transition from traditional to modern society based on Islamic precepts. He was the first Emir of Kano to visit Western Europe and the Islamic countries of the East and the first to perform pilgrimage to Mecca by road in 1937. The reign of this Great Gentleman who died over fifty years ago is indeed remembered as the "*Golden Era*" in the history of Kano

Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero was the 53<sup>rd</sup> *Sarkin Kano* in the chronological order of the *Sarakunan Kano* from the *Habe* period. This biography attempts to trace in detail the life history and legacies of this Great Emir who laid the foundation of modern development of *Kasar Kano*. The biography is intended to serve as a source book of the history of Kano from the pre-historical period of the foundation of the Kingdom before the first *Habe* ruler, Bagauda. The excursion into the history of *Kasar Kano* situates the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero within the general context of that history as a whole.

In a broad perspective, Part One of the biography is designed to supplement various studies of the history of *Kasar Kano* to the present day. It extensively dwells on the historical process and evolution of *Kasar Kano* and,

## *The Historical Overview Of Kano*

later, the Kingdom, which emerged as a result of the Bayajidda legend, in the history of the *Hausa* city-state formation. The section focuses on the religious practices of the state and the introduction of Islam by Arab Muslim immigrants. It also looks at the 1804 Jihad that led to the establishment of Fulani rule in Kano, which persists to date under the leadership of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Ado Bayero, the son of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. It sketches and examines how the British imperialists conquered the Emirate with what Lugard called "*Might strike*" in 1903 and provides the settlement pattern of Kano and its socio-economic development.

More fundamentally, the section traces the genesis of the ancestors of *Amir* Abdullahi Bayero, that is Sullubawa ruling family of Kano. It is very essential in the study to provide a brief history of the founding father of Sullubawa ruling dynasty, Malam Ibrahim Dabo as well his descendants that have been ruling Kano up to date. An attempt is made in this part to provide individual personality traits and political skills of each Emir from this renowned family. We note important events that took place during the rule of each Emir, events which tremendously contributed to the development of *Kasar Kano*. This historical analysis throws more light on the family relationship and affinity including intra-dynastic segments that existed within the same ruling family of Sullubawa as a result of tough competition over the coveted throne. It is, however, important to note that the *Sullubawan Dabo* split primarily between the direct descendants of *Amir* Abdullahi bin Ibrahim Dabo and *Amir* Muhammadu Bello bin Ibrahim Dabo. The division

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

of the family took place during the reign of *Amir* Muhammadu Bello. This family split is common among the ruling families because, even in Sokoto, the Toronkawa split between the direct descendants of Caliph Muhammadu Bello (1817-1837), who are known as *Bellawa* and the direct descendants of Abubakar Atiku (1837-1842), popularly referred to as *Atikawa*. In Kano Emirate, the family of *Amir* Abdullahi Maje Karofi successively holds and retains the mantle of the Emirship from Kano civil war to date. On the whole we give an insight into the family background of *Amir* Abdullahi Bayero, who succeeded in establishing his own ruling segment that runs Kano Emirate today.

## **Chapter One**

### ***Evolution Of Kano Kingdom***

Generally *Hausa* city-states popularly known and referred to as *Hausa Bakwai* seem to share certain historical origin dating back to the legend of Bayajidda. Available evidence shows that various ancient settlements that formed the nucleus of a state existed in a number of places within and outside the area that came to be known as *Birnin Kano* before the emergence of Bagauda as the first *Habe* ruler around 999 A.D. Among the better known of these places are Dala, Gwauron Dutse, Magwan, Fanisau, Jigirya and Tanagar. These ancient settlements were eventually brought under the leadership of *Bagaudava* either through conquest, coercion or persuasion.<sup>1</sup>

Earlier references to Kano Kingdom indicated that some group of hunters initially settled around *Dutsen Dala*, *Dutsen Magwan* and *Fanisau* hill in 635<sup>2</sup> much earlier than the emergence of the first *Habe* ruler of Kano, Bagauda. The historical evidence indicating from where these primitive communities of hunters came is yet to be established. However, some traditions show that these hunters seem to have emerged from the north of Kano and finally settled in the area for their hunting and gathering activities. It has been reported that these

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<sup>1</sup> Dokaji, Abubakar A. *Kano Ta Dabo Ci Gari* (Zaria: Northern Nigeria Publishing Company, 1978) pp. 1-5. See also Rufa'i, Ruqayyatu Ahmed. *Gidan Rumfa: Kano Palace* (Kano: Triumph Publishing Company, 1995) p.11.

<sup>2</sup> Fika, Adamu Muhammed. *The Kano Civil War And The British Over-Rule 1882-1840*, p.13.

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

hunters chased great mammals within and around Jakara pond, a place where the famous Kurmi Market is now situated. What later seemed to have favoured a permanent settlement in those areas was the condition of the soil, which further attracted a number of people in the region.<sup>3</sup>

Another tradition said that the earliest inhabitants of Kano descended from a blacksmith called Gaya, who first settled at *Dutsen Dala* in search of ironstone available in the area. Dala was said to have become the name of the present day Kano<sup>4</sup> in the ancient period. Yet another tradition emphasized that the earliest inhabitants of Kano were a group of people known as *Abagayawa*. This group of people were said to be originally blacksmiths and their ancestor was called *Kano*. He was said to have come and settled near *Dutsen Dala* from Gaya in search of ironstone.<sup>5</sup> And yet another tradition claimed that Kano derived its name from the first *Habe* ruler, Bagauda, who was nicknamed *Yakano*.<sup>6</sup>

Whatever might be the claims about the origin of the present day Kano, it is unanimously accepted that various ancient settlements existed in the early period before the arrival of Bagauda, the first *Habe* ruler of Kano in 999AD. Such ancient settlements include Dala, Magwan, Gwauron Dutse, Fanisau as well as Sontolo-Fangwai settlements located around river bend area to the

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<sup>3</sup> Dokaji, Abubakar, op. cit. p.5.

<sup>4</sup> Hogben, S.J. & Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. *The Emirates Of Northern Nigeria* (England: Oxford University Press, 1966) p.184.

<sup>5</sup> Dokaji, op. cit. pp.1-10. See also Kano Provincial Gazetteer: Kano Profile. File No. 2568 II, Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

<sup>6</sup> Hogben, S.J. op. cit. p.185.

## *Evolution Of Kano Kingdom*

north and northeast of Challawa river.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that a rock gong considered to be one of the oldest known musical instruments in the world was found in Challawa river bend, which proved and provided evidence of ancient ceremonial activity within Kano.<sup>8</sup>

These clustered ancient settlements of sedentary communities were periodically abandoned, but became important centres where transition from hunting and gathering, to iron-using technology and agriculture took place. There were probably many other such ancient settlements within the vicinity of the present-day *Birnin Kano*, that require archaeological study to be established in history.

But it is pertinent to note that most of these ancient settlements grew up around the hills and equally served as centres of iron-using agriculturalists and hunters. It can be suggested that the expansion in the use of iron-technology around *Dutsen Dala* and the growth of sedentary agriculture brought other ancient settlements under the authority of a single ruler who was called *Maigari*. This might be so because in the early period, the plains offered limited protection to human beings, which made people to settle more in hilly areas that gave them maximum protection.

Barbushe is presumed to be the first *Maigari* who exercised enormous power and authority around the *Dutsen Dala*, which became a religious centre. He is described as a very dark-skinned man of great physical

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<sup>7</sup> Darling, P.J. "Archeology And The Dating Of Historical Events In Kano" in Barkindo, M. Bawuro. (ed) *Kano And Some Of Her Neighbors* (Zaria: A. B. U. Press, 1989) p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

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stature and might who, the legend said, used to kill such great mammals as elephants and ferry them on his head for about nine miles.

Apart from his physical prowess, Barbushe was acknowledged to be highly accomplished priest in the cult of *Iskokai*, as we shall see later in Chapter Two. This apparently enabled him to exert a lot of power and influence over the communities living around him. Barbushe's leadership was not subject to selection or choice from members of the community, but he assumed power as a result of his skills in the pantheon of *Iskokai* cosmology. He had a number of assistants who appeared to be the heads of clans, whose interest they represented in his cultic centre of worship. These included Tungaza at Gwauron Dutse, Damburu at Jigirya, Jan Damisa at Magwan, Hambarau at Tanagar, Gumbar Jadu at Fanisau and some other clan heads at Dutsen Dambakoshi and Dankwai. Barbushe is reported to have told people that:

*I am the heir of Dala and you must follow me perforce whether you like it or not.*<sup>9</sup>

Thus, Barbushe assumed political control over the divergent communities through developing a religious hold on them during the medieval period as a result of his sorceries. He became an absolute, recognized god who could foretell future events and happenings to the people. He once prophesized that:

*A man shall come to this land with an army,  
and gain mastery over us.*<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Kano Chronicle (KC) in Palmer, H.R. *Sudanese Memoirs*. 3 volumes in one, 1928. (New Impressions, 1967) volume 3, pp. 63-64.

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It appeared that Barbushe died towards the end of the first millennium, leaving behind his successors to control the religious cult of Tsumburbura around *Dutsen Dala*. The death of Barbushe gradually eroded the power of the Tsumburbura cult, which made it difficult for his successors to exercise control over the communities. There is no record of another powerful man after Barbushe among all his successors. The lack of a paramount leader among the various communities gradually led to differences to emerge, and hostilities, which broke the divergent clans into pieces. The communities were seriously engulfed by crises and conflicts that mainly arose out of the attempts to control farmlands because at that time, man must have started practicing settled agriculture and animal husbandry. Lying, and all sorts of crimes, became widespread; the rule of the day was the strong lording it over the weak.

It was under these circumstances that the clan leaders began to send their emissaries to Daura in search of a paramount ruler. When such appeals reached a great height, Bawo, the son of Bayajidda assigned one of his sons, Bagauda to assume leadership in Kano.<sup>11</sup> This development was part of a sequence of events that took place in Hausa land, including Katsina, Daura, Zazzau, Kano, Gobir, Rano and Biram.

The legends of Bayajidda in Daura, and Bagauda in Kano were highly connected with *Hausa* city-states formation and the emergence of *Sarauta* system. Bagauda is reckoned as the first *Hafé* ruler of Kano who reigned

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*: pp. 98-99.

<sup>11</sup> Dokaji. *op. cit.* p.8.

from 999 to 1063. His real name is given as Dauda.<sup>12</sup> The *Habe* were originally referred by the Fulani as truly Hausa-speaking people, a language spoken by the majority of the people of *Kasar Kano*. Hausa is by far the most widely spoken member of the Chadic branch of Afro-Asiatic language used by millions of people all over Africa. It is perhaps the second most widely used in Africa challenged only by Arabic and Swahili.<sup>13</sup>

The coming of Bagauda from Daura to rule Kano signified the arrival of a new group of immigrants or conquerors. This development marked the era of new conflicts between the newcomers and the various communities that already settled within and around the area of the present *Birnin Kano*.<sup>14</sup>

Various traditions claim that Bagauda found it impossible to set up his rule around the ancient settlement of *Dutsen Dala*, which was then developing to a metropolitan status. At the initial stage of his arrival from Daura, Bagauda attempted to set up in Garazawa, a place between Jakara and Damargu, where he built a house.<sup>15</sup> The communities around Dala, who hitherto appealed to Daura, resisted this invasion and therefore drove Bagauda away. He later relocated to Dirani where he settled for two years.

After series of battles, Bagauda moved towards the area of Dala, where he was said to have conquered many settlements around the area. These included Gabusani,

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<sup>12</sup> Bahago, A. Ahmed. *Kano Ta Dabo Tumbin Giwa: Tarihin Unguwannin Kano Da Kofofin Gari* (Kano: Munawar Foundation, 1998) p.14.

<sup>13</sup> Phillips. John Edward. "A History Of The Hausa Language". in Barkindo, M. Bawuro. (ed) *Kano And Some Of Her Neighbors*, p.39.

<sup>14</sup> Fika. op. cit, p.14.

<sup>15</sup> Dokaji. op. cit. p. 12.

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Bauni, Gazauri, Dubgege, Fasataro and Bakin Bunu. He later moved to Burka before finally establishing himself at Sheme, a place between Damargu and Kazaure.<sup>16</sup>

Kano Chronicle indicates that Bagauda overcame many political conflicts in an attempt to establish himself as the paramount ruler among the communities of Dala. At this time, the *Sarauta* system had not been fully established in Kano. Bagauda, as it appeared, did not even move to Kano and his efforts at founding a state was only limited to Sheme.<sup>17</sup> He was tremendously assisted by those that accompanied him from Daura, who included Dan Kududdufi, Buram, Isa Babba, Darman, Akasan, and Goriba. At this juncture, it is interesting to note that the names of these people were later converted into the traditional titles of Dan Isa, Dan Buram, Dan Darman, Dan Kududdufi, Dan Akasan and Dan Goriba in the institution of *Sarkin* Kano<sup>18</sup> when the *Sarauta* system became fully established.

Kano Chronicle further shows that Bagauda and his son Warisi (1063-1095) died at Sheme in an attempt to establish their hegemony over the surrounding communities. The successor of Warisi, according to Kano Chronicle, Gajimasu (1095-1134), who was a grandson of Bagauda succeeded in establishing control on the settlement around the Dutsen Dala, which had been completely walled.<sup>19</sup> *Sarki* Gajimasu was the first *Habe* ruler who was credited with expanding the wall of *Birnin*

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<sup>16</sup> Rufa'i, R.A. op. cit. p.10. It should be noted here that some of the names of these ancient settlements are not in use today.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> Dokaji. op. cit. p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> Kano Chronicle. op. cit. pp. 65-66, volume 2, p.23.

*Kano* that subsequently developed into a full metropolis under his predecessors. Available evidence shows that he was also the first ruler to extend the *Ganiwa* of *Kano* after consulting the people. He then gradually began to augment his political influence with military power, by which he succeeded in subsuming other settlements within and around *Kano*. *Gajimasu* then extended his rule over other communities around *Kano* up to *Gano*, and laid claims to *Ringim*, which he ultimately subdued. The extension of his suzerainty made *Birnin Kano* to become well known and its population swelled with a number of new immigrants.<sup>20</sup>

*Sarki Gajimasu* died in 1134 and was succeeded by the twins, *Nawata* and *Gawata* (1134-1136), who ruled *Kano* at the same time. These twins had a short reign of two years and were succeeded by *Yusa* (1136-1194). *Sarki Yusa* was the son of *Gajimasu* and, like his father, he attempted to expand the territory of *Kano*. He started this by attacking *Karaye* and subjugating its fertile land. This territorial expansion continued in the reign of his immediate successor, *Sarki Naguji* (1194-1247). *Naguji* went further to subjugate *Kura* and *Tsangaya* in the west, and then moved beyond the boundaries of *Dutse* and *Gaya* chiefdoms in the east. He was succeeded by *Sarki Guguwa* who reigned from 1247 to 1290. *Guguwa* was the first *Sarkin Kano* to attempt destroying the ritual centre of the cult of *Tsumburbura* that constituted a place of native opposition to the *Sarauta* system in *Kano*, but failed. His successor, *Sarki Shekarau*, who reigned from

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<sup>20</sup> Smith, M.G. *Government In Kano 1350-1950* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1997) pp. 111-113. See also *Dokaji*, p.13 and *Hogben, S. J. & Kirk-Greene, A.H.M.* pp. 185-186.

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1290 to 1307, was also advised by his senior *Sarakuna* to destroy the centre of the cult of Tsumburbura by force. This attempt was thwarted by the indigenous *Maguzawa* through a series of diplomatic appeals to the *Sarki*. In fact these attempts by two consecutive *Sarakuna* of Kano to destroy the cult of Tsumburbura was aimed at strengthening the Kingship of Kano, which had been challenged by the indigenous people.<sup>21</sup>

This kind of constant political struggle persisted up to the reign of *Sarkin Kano Tsamiya* (1307-1343) who was the immediate successor of Shekarau. *Sarkin Kano Tsamiya* went directly and attacked the centre of the cult of Tsumburbura after refusing to accept a bribe of 200 slaves from the indigenous people. By this time, there appeared to have been more attempts at building larger polities in Kano by the rule. According to Bawuro M. Barkindo, there were two dominant states around Kano ruled by the descendants of Bagauda around Dala, while another one existed around Sontolo hill. Little is known about it at present.<sup>22</sup> However, Tsamiya attempted to unite and make them to become autonomous. It was in his days that the *kirari* or declamation of "*Zauna daidai, Kano garinka ne*" meaning "sit down firmly, Kano is your city" was first eulogized to the *Sarki* following his success over destroying the cult of Tsumburbura. It was also during the reign of Tsamiya that the instrument of royal paraphernalia began to appear in the institution of *Sarkin Kano*, where long horns were used for the first

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid: pp.112-116.

<sup>22</sup> Barkindo, M. Bawuro. "Kano Relations With Borno Early Times To C. 1880" in Barkindo, M. Bawuro, (ed). *Kano And Some Of Her Neighbours*. p. 148.

time. Following his victory in destroying the centre of the spiritual cult of the natives, Tsamiya went on to consolidate his political control and strengthen his authority over the entire *Kanawa*. At this time, the *Sarauta* system, which evolved around Bagauda, began to produce a more cohesive political community by encompassing several *Garuruwa* and *Birane*<sup>23</sup> far away from *Birnin Kano*.

In 1343, *Sarki* Tsamiya met a violent death at the hand of Usuman Zamna Gawa, who succeeded in taking over the throne in what appeared to be a palace coup. Usuman derived his popular *lakabi* of Zamna Gawa from his subsequent seclusion at the palace for seven days with the corpse (*Gawa*) of *Sarkin Kano* Tsamiya. In the reign of Usman Zamna Gawa, the *Bagaudawa* rulers succeeded in uniting all the communities in the areas around Dala. All those that resisted were forcefully thrown out of the city and during this period, Kano extended its territory in all directions, which made *Birnin Kano*, the capital city, to become well known and populous. The *Sarki* controlled not only the city but also some other towns that surrounded Kano. It was also during the same period that the palace of the *Sarki* began to appear as the focal point of authority where some of the royal paraphernalia became associated with *Sarkin Kano*.<sup>24</sup> Usuman Zamna Gawa died in 1349 after six years on the throne.

Thus, we can see that the period between the reigns of Warisi (1063-1095) and that of Usuman Zamna Gawa (1343-1349) was a time utilized by the Bagauda rulers to take over power successfully in the settlements

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<sup>23</sup> Rufa'i, Ruquayya Ahmed. op. cit. pp.10-13.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. See also Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp.112-119.

## *Evolution Of Kano Kingdom*

around Dutsen Dala. It was also within the same period that *Birnin Kano* emerged as a centre of power after many centuries of intermittent conflicts between *Bagaudawa* and other powers around the Dutsen Dala.

In 1349, Ali who was popularly known as Yaji succeeded *Sarkin Kano* Usuman Zamna Gawa. He was generally regarded as the son of *Sarki* Tsamiya, and a stern warrior who pushed his rivals including Ajawa, Warjawa and Arawa, southwards. *Sarkin Kano* Yaji made further conquests and consolidations over the areas already controlled by his predecessors. He attacked Sontolo and Warjawa and conquered all the tribesmen of Bere to Panda, and then went further to attack the Jukuns (*Kwararrafa*) for the first time, driving them away up to the rocks of Attagara. He was the first ruler of Kano to attack the territories under the control of Jukuns for seven months.<sup>25</sup> The whole period of the reign of Yaji (1349-1385) was taken up by military struggles in which Kano began to display her military prowess in the Western Sudan.

Bugayya, who reigned for five years, 1385-1390, succeeded *Sarki* Yaji. His notable acts on the throne included the dispersing of *Maguzawa* that began to cluster around the rocky fortress of Funkui. This was indeed an attempt by the *Sarki* to prevent what he considered as the growth of another centre of tribal resistance to the authority of the institution of *Sarkin Kano*.

In 1390, Kanajeji Dan Yaji, who ruled until 1410, succeeded Bugayya. He was reputed to be an aggressive ruler, who attempted to extend the suzerainty of Kano. He

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<sup>25</sup> Smith, op. cit. pp.116-119.

first attacked the Mbutawa, who had settled in the rocky area of southern Kano but was defeated. Kanajeji, who was certainly the contemporary of *Mai Usman Biri* of Borno introduced *lifidi* (quilted cotton armour), *kwalkwali* (iron helmet) and *sulke* (coat of mail) to Kano from Borno<sup>26</sup> All these military innovations were in consequence of the heavy loss he encountered during attack on Mbutu and Damagaram. He further strengthened his military capability by evolving a military reserve, which served as a special cavalry for spearheading the attack on enemy and for the defense of the capital city of Kano.<sup>27</sup>

Kanajeji Dan Yaji moved again to occupy the Mbutu farmlands for two years; hunger and starvation forced them to surrender. Encouraged by this military victory, he moved further south to attack Zazzau, and besieged its capital city situated then at Kufena. The forces of *Sarkin Zazzau* defeated him in 1396, which forced him to withdraw to Kano in annoyance. After returning home with heavy casualties, Kanajeji consulted his people in an effort to resume the war with Zazzau. He was then advised by the *Maguzawa* to re-establish the centre of the cult of Tsumburbura (*Cibiri*) earlier destroyed by his father and grandfather. The *Sarki*, who was disturbed, instantly re-established the Tsumburbura cult and sought for its support to overcome Zazzau.

In the following year, Kanajeji invaded the plains of Zazzau and camped at Gadas, a place southeast of the

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<sup>26</sup> Barkindo, M. Bawuro "Kano Relations With Borno Early Times To C.1880, p.151.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*: pp. 116-121. See also Dokaji, Abubakar A. op. cit. p.17. where he referred to Umbutu as Bumbutu.

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present-day *Birnin Zaria*. It was during this military encounter that *Sarkin Zazzau* was killed and his army scattered. It was in consequent of this war with Kano, which was immediately followed by the tragedy of the *Jukunawa* invasion of the plains of Zazzau's capital situated at Kufena that forced the rulers to established the new capital at Turunku.<sup>28</sup> *Sarkin Kano* Kanajeji then moved his forces southeast to Shika, devastating the region for about eight months. It was as a result of this military victory that the praise singers of the Kano court eulogized him as *Bankare Kanajeji ma sha ruwan Shika hana wankan Kubanni* which literarily means, Kanajeji, the hurler of Kere, who drank from the water of Shika, and forbade bathing in Kubanni.<sup>29</sup>

In the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century, Kano had certainly emerged in the western Sudan as a powerful state rapidly developing to an empire. *Sarkin Kano* Umaru (1410-1421) who was the son of Kanajeji Dan Yaji succeeded his father. As a *Haɓe*, *Sarki* Umaru was generally credited with being a great Muslim ruler who strictly observed prayers. It has been reported that Umaru abdicated the throne as a result of the influence of a friend, called Abubakar, who always advised him to relinquish the Kingship. The abdication of Umaru led to

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<sup>28</sup> Dalhatu, Usman. *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku; The Great Emir Of Zazzau* (Zaria: Woodpecker Communication Services, 2002). p. 78. However, some historians mentioned that the capital of Zazzau was by this time located at Turunku. See Barkindo, M. Bawuro cited above p. 151. But I am of the opinion that the capital city of Zazzau was at Kufena during the encounter between *Sarkin Kano* Kanajeji and Zazzau, which made it possible for him to camp between Kubanni river and Shika river bend.

<sup>29</sup> Smith M.G. *Government In Kano*; pp. 119-121. See also Dalhatu, Usman, *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku* p.10.

the ascension of Dawuda, who was assumed to be another son of Kanajeji. He reigned from 1421 to 1438 and it was during his reign that *Sarauniya* Amina of Zazzau became famous and well known throughout Hausa land and beyond. It was in this period that Amina conquered Nupe and Jukun Kingdoms, and gradually overcame most of the Hausa States. *Sarauniya* Amina went on to arrogantly stop the Jukuns (*Kwararafa*) from paying tribute to Kano at that material time.<sup>30</sup>

Abdullahi Burja (1438-1452) succeeded *Sarki* Dawuda. It is said that he was the first ruler in Hausa land to give periodic *Gaisiwa* (tribute) to Kanem Borno, in an attempt to court their support. This practice of paying tribute to Borno was soon copied by other Hausa States and was continued up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> Like some of his predecessors, Abdullahi Burja attempted to extend his suzerainty eastward where he conquered Miga. He further marched against Dutse, an independent and significant chiefdom situated between Miga and Kano. In addition to this, Burja almost brought the independent chiefdom of Gaya within the territory of Kano. He also raided Warjawa and other native tribes south of Sumaila with some recorded success.<sup>32</sup>

Following the death of Abdullahi Burja, a dumb prince, Dakuta, was appointed to succeed him. This deformed *Sarki* remained deaf and dumb until he was deposed after reigning for only seven days. Subsequently,

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<sup>30</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp.120-124. See also Kano Chronicle p. 75 and Hassan. A.S. & Na'ibi, M.S. *A Chronicle Of Abuja* (Lagos: African University Press, 1962) pp. 4-5.

<sup>31</sup> Barkindo, M. Bawuro. op. cit, p.153.

<sup>32</sup> Smith, op. cit, pp. 123-124.

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his son, Atuma was appointed and deposed on the following day.<sup>33</sup> The appointment of these two *Sarakuna* of Kano and their subsequent deposition within a few days of their ascension revealed how seriously and problematic the political situation was becoming within the institution of *Sarkin Kano*. The seven days of the deformed ruler was immediately followed by that of his son, who reigned only for a day and was removed for reasons, which are still unknown.

Subsequently, Yakubu, who was assumed to be the son of Abdullahi Burja, was appointed to the throne. He ruled Kano for a period of eleven years, 1452-1463. He was the first *Habe* ruler of Kano that started sending horses to Nupe Kingdom in exchange for eunuchs.<sup>34</sup> It was also during his reign that many Fulani came to Hausa land from *Malle* (Mali) including the Asbinawa who settled in *Gobir*. In addition to this, it was during his reign that Kano began to emerge in Western Sudan as an influential commercial centre within a network of trade between the major *Garuruwa* and *Birane*. Muhammadu Rumfa who ruled Kano from 1463 to 1499 succeeded Yakubu.<sup>35</sup>

It is however important at this juncture to note that there are conflicting reports about the origin and ascendancy of Muhammadu Rumfa to the throne. Kano Chronicle identifies him as the son of *Sarkin Kano* Yakubu, while Malam Adamu Muhammad argued that Rumfa, Yakubu and Abdullahi Burja were all brothers.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid; pp.125-126.

<sup>34</sup> Barkindo, M. Bawuro, op. cit, p. 153.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid; pp. 126-127.

<sup>36</sup> Kano Chronicle, quoted from ibid, pp.127-130.

In contrast, Abubakar Dokaji posited that Rumfa was a stranger who came from Daura and passed through Gaya before arriving Kano.<sup>37</sup> And also in another tradition, it has been indicated that Rumfa, the founder of a second *Habè* dynasty, came to Kano from Kula, a place located in the northern part of Gaya.<sup>38</sup> In yet another tradition, Palmer suggested tracing the origin of Rumfa to Borno and gave his mother's name as Fatsima Birana while East gave her name as Fadimatu, a woman of Rano.<sup>39</sup>

From the traditions enumerated above, we can clearly see that the origins of Muhammadu Rumfa remain obscure and ambiguous in Kano history. But whatever might be the factors regarding his origins, it is unanimously agreed that Muhammadu Rumfa ruled Kano for a period of 36 years (1463-1499) during which he firmly established his dynasty. In this study, we can venture to continue to assume his origin from the *Habè* of Bagauda. We reckon that by that time, it would have been quite difficult for a stranger to seize a throne by force, especially when we take into consideration the fact that there were many powerful and capable princes from the family of Bagauda waiting to succeed the throne. And yet there is no record to show that Muhammadu Rumfa used force to obtain the position of *Sarkin Kano*.

It is however on record that Muhammadu Rumfa made a significant impact on the Kingship of Kano during his reign. He was the architect of some significant innovations, which dramatically re-shaped and re-defined

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<sup>37</sup> Dokaji, op. cit; p. 20.

<sup>38</sup> Muhammad, M. Adam. *Tarikh Kano*, unpublished manuscripts, compiled in 1933.

<sup>39</sup> Palmer. op. cit, pp.40-44.

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the *Sarauta* system of Kano itself. It was from his attempt at facilitating the system of political administration of the state that the *Sarki* constructed a palace to accommodate the large number of royal slaves. The royal palace was initially situated at the site where the Madabo Mosque is located now. Rumfa was credited for constructing the palace firstly at a place known as *Gidan Makama* today, and shortly after, he constructed the present one, which is referred as *Gidan Rumfa*.

Apart from this, Muhammadu Rumfa instituted the Council of State known as *Tara Ta Kano*, which served as his consultative council. He also created many traditional titles and offices within the institution of *Sarkin Kano*, and extended the *gannwa* of the city in an attempt to accommodate the influx of migrants into *Birnin Kano*. In addition, he established the *Kasuwar Kurmi*, which gradually became a celebrated emporium of trade across the whole African continent.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to this, Rumfa attempted to make Islam the state religion in Kano with great success. It was during his reign that Sheikh Abu Muhammad bin Abdulkarim bin Muhammad Al-Maghili visited Kano. At his request, Al-Maghili composed an essay entitled: *Taj-al-din Fima Yajib alal Muluk* (The Obligations Of A Prince). A copy of this treaty was found in Katsina. In one place in it, he states that:

*Verily Kingly power is vicegerency from God and a stewardship from God Apostle.....Every prince must order his kingdom well both at home and abroad and must do all that in him lies for the welfare of his*

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<sup>40</sup> Smith, M.G. op cit. pp. 129-136, and Dokaji, Abubakar A. pp. 20-21.

## Abdullahi Bayero

*subjects. For this he has servants.....to do him service; men who give council; trusty men who collect and spend; ascribes as accountants who keep records; messengers, informants, watchers and patrols.... stronghold well fortified and provisioned, spirited horsemen and bold footmen ready for all emergency.*<sup>41</sup>

However, the eleven years of Rumfa's reign were spent in wars with Katsina. It was during the course of these wars that Rumfa introduced new military contingents known as *Dawakin Zage* to replace those that became weak at the battleground. This innovation confirms that cavalry was already a decisive arm of the Kano military force. It was also during his reign that Hadejia, which had been under Kano, presumably fell to Borno or became an independent chiefdom.<sup>42</sup>

Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa was succeeded by his son, Abdullahi who reigned from 1499 to 1509. Abdullahi pursued the war with Katsina, which started during the reign of his father. He further attacked Zazzau where he defeated its army. He clearly obtained considerable power, which enabled him to assert his influence over the affairs of Kano.<sup>43</sup> Ahmed A. Bahago says that it was during his reign that the Mai of Borno invaded the plains of Kano. A peace treaty was also agreed between Kano and Borno.<sup>44</sup> Many historians are in support of this assertion, adding that it was the *Mai Idris*

<sup>41</sup> Quoted from Usman, Y. B. *The Transformation Of Katsina 1400-1883* (Zaria: A. B. J. Press, 1981) p. 22.

<sup>42</sup> Smith, M. G. *op cit*, pp. 136-138.

<sup>43</sup> Kano Chronicle, *op. cit.* pp. 39-40.

<sup>44</sup> Bahago, A. A. *op. cit* p. 175.

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Aloma of Borno who attacked Gaya.<sup>45</sup> With the death of Abdullahi, Muhammadu Kisoke was appointed. He reigned from 1509 to 1565. According to Kano Chronicle:

*Kisoke was an energetic Sarki, warlike and masterful. He ruled over all Hausa land east, west, south and north. He waged War on Birnin Nguru...entered the town...and assembled its inhabitants.... Reducing them to terrified submission....*<sup>46</sup>

On the death of Kisoke, Yakubu, who was assumed to be his son, was appointed in 1565. He was overthrown by one of his subordinate chiefs, named Guli after four months on the throne. This created a lot of hot conflicts and disagreement among the kingmakers of Kano in which the Galadiman Kano attacked Guli and demanded for the re-instatement of Yakubu. The ousted *Sarki* apparently declined the offer,<sup>47</sup> and finally retired to Islamic studies. His son, Dauda Abasama, was selected within the same year (1565) to succeed to the throne. But the new *Sarki* faced a similar fate to that of his father, for he was also deposed after only 53 days on the throne.<sup>48</sup>

The deposition of two consecutive *Sarakuna* of Kano within just a few months of their appointments, created a number of complexities and internal contradictions within the institution of *Sarkin Kano*. This was to become manifest towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Before then the kingmakers selected and

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<sup>45</sup> Barkindo, M. Bawuro. op. cit. pp 153-159.

<sup>46</sup> Smith. op. cit., pp. 143-144.

<sup>47</sup> Bahago. A. A. op. cit. p.176.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid: See also Smith. M.G. op cit. pp. 144-145.

appointed Abubakar Kado, another son of Sarki Rumfa. As an elderly person, his appointment might probably be as a result of the decisive political consideration of the kingmakers for age, because he was already over 60 years old on his ascension. Abubakar Kado was quite an ineffective ruler who, apart from his age, had a number of personal disabilities. What rendered him even more incapacitated were the factions that emerged among the Kano kingmakers. That weakened his authority further and he, therefore remained pre-occupied with learning of the religion of Islam, leaving governmental affairs in the hands of those that appointed him.

During the reign of Abubakar Kado, Katsina launched an attack on Kano and took their forces up to the main entrance gates of *Birnin Kano*. The *Katsinawa* camped at Salamta and destroyed the whole area surrounding Kano. The government of Abubakar Kado became so weak and failed to mobilize an effective defense to the capital of the Kingdom.<sup>49</sup> This was probably what prompted his deposition in 1573 after reigning for a period of seven and half years.

The deposition of Abubakar Kado led to the ascension of Muhammadu Shashare who ruled Kano from 1573 to 1582. The internal political crises, which began during the reign of his predecessors, continued under him. Shashare did not relent his efforts in an attempt to provide solutions to the tense political atmosphere surrounding the *Sarauta* of Kano by making some new appointments. But first he attempted to mobilize the mutually hostile factions of the senior

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<sup>49</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 145-150.

## *Evolution Of Kano Kingdom*

titleholders, some of whom were in opposition to him.<sup>50</sup> He became the first *Habe* ruler of Kano who appointed women into some offices of the state. He appointed one of his concubines named Damu to the office of Wambai, another concubine, Dabba, was conferred with the title of Sarkin Dawaki, while yet another one called Mabayya was appointed as the Dagachi.<sup>51</sup> The *Sarki* further mobilized and sought the support of the Muslim *Ulama* by appointing one Musa Gero as the *Alkali* to the army on expeditionary campaigns.

After trying to resolve the prolonged internal political crises that led to the deposition of three consecutive *Sarakuna* of Kano, *Sarki* Shashere embarked on a military expedition against Katsina where the two forces engaged at Kankia. The numerical strength of the Katsina army made them to overcome the Kano forces that had to abandon their *Sarki* and run away. This defeat somehow indicates that both the officials and military commanders of Kano plotted to betray *Sarki* Shashere by deserting him at the battlefield, perhaps hoping that he would be killed. The *Sarki* was very aggrieved on this sad development and managed his way back to Kano with very few officials who stood by him. After narrowly escaping from this plot, the *Sarki*'s brothers treacherously planned to kill him at the mosque in the evening. This was their partial attempt to take over power from him in a coup d'état. The *Sarki* was marvelously saved by one of his officials, the Turakin Manya, who happened to intercept their plans and reported the situation to him. The Turakin Manya advised *Sarki* Shashere to avoid the

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Bahago, op. cit, p. 176.

mosque during the planned hour. Shashere remained under these threats throughout his reign. His rivals finally succeeded in deposing him in 1582.<sup>52</sup> Another tradition maintains that Shashere was overthrown in a coup plotted by Muhammadu Zaki.<sup>53</sup>

This situation clearly shows how rivalry among the *Habe* dynasties of Kano was becoming a serious problem to the *Sarauta* system. Following the consecutive deposition of four *Sarakuna*, the Council of Kingmakers decided to appoint Muhammadu Zaki, who reigned from 1582 to 1618. His appointment was largely due to those princes who assisted him in plotting to assassinate his predecessor in the mosque. Under these circumstances, the Kingmakers expected the newly appointed *Sarki* and his supporters to be loyal to them. But contrary to their expectations, *Sarki* Muhammadu Zaki ignored them and occupied himself with trying to avoid a repetition of the incidence that led to the overthrow of his predecessors. He believed that if such wicked attempts became frequent, it could lead to the destruction of the *Sarauta* system of Kano.

Therefore, Muhammadu Zaki came to heavily surround himself in the palace with armed slave contingents under the command of his trusted *Sarkin* *Lifida*, who were loyal to him personally. Such were his fears of his reign being cut short in a way similar to what he did to his predecessor. He further employed some *Ulama* to produce protective charms against the deposition of any ruler in Kano. Most of these charms were buried in the palace chambers and were believed to

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<sup>52</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-155.

<sup>53</sup> Bahago, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

## *Evolution Of Kano Kingdom*

have finally become ineffective in that period. Muhammadu Zaki also introduced into Kano Palace, the *Dirki* together with another fetish element known as *Cokana*. *Dirki* was a copy of the Qur'an wrapped once in goatskin, and then re-wrapped in cowhides. This practice gradually reached a ridiculous extent during the reign of the last *Habe* ruler of Kano, Muhammadu Alwali II.

During the reign of Muhammadu Zaki, an army of the Jukun invaded Kano around the year 1600. This invasion forced the *Kanawa*, including the ruler himself who was expected to provide defense to the Kingdom to seek refuge in Daura. The Jukuns remained in Kano city for some time before withdrawing homeward. This facilitated the returning of Muhammadu Zaki and his people to Kano. Apart from this devastation by the Jukuns, the Katsina army also invaded most of the western parts of Kano from Karaye through SHEME. These heavy military attacks posed a great deal of challenge to the survival of the *Kanawa* and Kano itself as a polity. It was at this time that Kano and Katsina were locked in intensive military conflicts up to the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Muhammadu Zaki made several attempts to confront the terrible situation but woefully failed.<sup>54</sup> He reportedly tried to retaliate by attacking *Birnin Katsina* early in the morning of a *Salla* day and a serious battle was fought between the two forces at a place known as Guraji. The *Kanawa* severely defeated the *Katsinawa* and besieged their capital taking many valuable items as booty. *Sarki* Muhammadu Zaki died in Karaye while on his way to Kano after this successful

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<sup>54</sup> Usman. Y. B, op. cit, P. 33.

military campaign.<sup>55</sup> M.G. Smith said that his long reign is often remembered as a "trouble era" in Kano, which was reduced to a parlous state during this time.<sup>56</sup>

The reign of Muhammadu Zaki immediately followed by that of his son Muhammadu Nazaki (1618-1623), who was appointed to succeed his father. The new *Sarki* started by sending emissaries to Katsina in an attempt to make peace. It was during this diplomatic mission to Katsina that one slave named Magami, who seemed to belong to a representative of the Kano government, was killed. The killing of this slave, according to Yusifu Bala Usman, came to constitute what, in modern diplomatic parlance, would be called "a grave act of provocation".<sup>57</sup> The Katsina government remained adamant and arrogantly refused the offer of peaceful negotiation with Kano. Later Katsina launched another military attack and was severely defeated by the forces of *Sarkin Kano*. It was as a result of this military victory that Wamban Kano, Giwa, started raiding Katsina from Karaye, which made the *Kanawa* to secure much booty.<sup>58</sup>

After the death of Muhammadu Nazaki in 1623, his son, Muhammadu Alwali I, who is popularly called Kutumbi (1623-1648), succeeded to the throne. Kutumbi is regarded generally as the founder of a dynasty that later came to bear his name, *Kutumbawa*. The Kutumbawa dynasty continued to rule Kano until it was exterminated by the Fulani *Jihad* of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in 1804.

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<sup>55</sup> Bahago, A. A. op. cit., p177.

<sup>56</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit, op. cit. pp.150-151.

<sup>57</sup> Usman, Y.B., op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, see also Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 150-151.

## *Evolution Of Kano Kingdom*

This retention of power by the Kutumbawa was at the expense of other branches of the family of Muhammadu Rumfa, who also had capable princes willing and anxious to rule Kano. This created a number of internal contradictions within the *Sarauta* system of Kano, which finally collapsed in 1804 during the reign of Muhammadu Alwali II. Like the reigns of Bagauda and Muhammadu Rumfa, that of *Sarkin Kano* Kutumbi signaled the beginning of a new epoch in the political history of Kano, a fact that has turned out to mark his dynasty very prominently.

*Sarkin Kano* Kutumbi was a ruler who cleverly appropriated a lot of power. He ruled Kano mostly through state officials of his own choice. Despite his sagacity Kutumbi faced a number of difficulties with his senior *Sarakuna* and army generals who felt alienated by his policies. These senior *Sarakuna* began to threaten the position of the *Sarki*, who, under severe internal pressure, steadily advanced his dominance and power by military and political means. Kutumbi successfully imposed a prolonged siege on *Birnin Katsina* from his military camp at Duguzawa.<sup>59</sup> He mercilessly ravaged *Birnin Katsina* for a period of nine months, but finally withdrew to march on the southwestern state of Gombe, from where he seized valuable booty. In the year 1648, his last on the throne, Kutumbi launched a fresh attack on Katsina, camping beside the present-day Kofar 'Yandaka. The *Katsinawa* came out *en-masse* at night and counter-attacked the Kano army, taking them unawares, dispersing the *Kanawa* before daybreak. Available evidence shows that Kutumbi was killed at Rurumawa, a

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<sup>59</sup> Usman, Y.B., op. cit., op. cit. p. 33.

place on the boarder between Kano and Katsina. It was this military defeat that brought to an end the military pre-eminence of Kano.<sup>60</sup>

Following the death of Kutumbi, his son, Alhaji Dan Kutumbi (1648-1649) succeeded him. He was deposed after spending less than nine months in office and was finally sent away on exile to the small village of Danzaki, on the outskirts of Kano. His son, Shekarau, succeeded him that very year. It was during the reign of Shekarau that the *Ulama* were invited to participate in the administration of Kano and a peace treaty was also signed with Katsina. The *Malamai* invited to intervene as "peacemakers" from Kano were Shehu Ataman, *Malam Bawa* and *Limamin 'Yandoya*. This development illustrates the influential position, which the *Ulama* came to occupy in the administration of Kano. The cessation of hostilities with Katsina ushered in a period of great prosperity for the Kingdom of Kano, which was later, dissipated during the reign of Muhammadu Sharafa 1703 - 1713. However, it is not certain whether Shekarau died or was deposed, but his long reign ended in 1651, when Kukuna Dan Alhaji was appointed to the throne, only to be deposed a few months later in 1652.<sup>61</sup>

Following the deposition, for which Madawakin Kano was said to have been responsible,<sup>62</sup> the Kingmakers selected and appointed Soyaki as a successor. But Soyaki was also deposed within the same year of his ascension (1652). This deposition led to the reinstatement of *Sarki* Kukuna, who spent another eight

<sup>60</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit., pp. 154-157.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, pp.157-158. See also Usman, Y.B., cited above pp. 33-40.

<sup>62</sup> Bahago, A.A., op. cit., p. 178.

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years on the throne, 1652–1660. The supporters of the deposed Soyaki were provoked by the reinstatement of Kukuna, which led to a bloody civil war in Kano. Kukuna sought for military assistance from *Sarkin Gaya* while the Madawakin Kano, an active supporter of Soyaki, came out with his cavalry from *Cikin Birni*.<sup>63</sup> The battle was fought at Hotoro, then just outside the city wall. The forces of Soyaki, composed mainly of his die-hard supporters under the command of Madawakin Kano, were defeated, and Soyaki himself was driven out of the royal palace, and sent on exile to the Dukurawa farming estate by Kukuna, who was regarded as being very sympathetic to the ousted ruler.<sup>64</sup>

This prolonged internal political crises that led to fighting a bloody civil war in which hundreds of people were slain further weakened the foundation of the *Sarauta* system in Kano, and paved the way for its gradual disintegration and final collapse in 1804. The reinstated *Sarki* Kukuna continued to face a series of internal and external political problems. It was during his reign that the Jukunawa led by their Chief, Adashu, re-invaded Kano in 1653. Incapable of resisting this military invasion, *Sarki* Kukuna fled from the capital city and headed northeast to a place known as 'Yan-Magada from where, after spending only seven days he moved to Abewa, located in *Kusar Auyo*. He was to remain there as a fugitive ruler for 40 days until the withdrawal of the *Jukunawa* from *Birnin Kano*. The defeat of the Kano forces by the Jukuns clearly shows the absence of military preparedness of the Kingdom that was just

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid. p.179.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit., pp.157-158.

recovering from civil strife at then. *Sarki* Kukuna was deposed for the last time in 1660 due to failure to provide the required leadership to the large number of people that heavily depended on the institution of *Sarkin Kano*.<sup>65</sup>

With the deposition, Kukuna's son, Bawa was appointed. He reigned for ten years, 1660-1670. He was noted as a devoted Muslim ruler who spent most of his time learning Holy Qur'an and other religious books. *Sarkin Kano* Bawa evidently had a peaceful reign, during which Kano prospered greatly.

After the death of Bawa, his son, Dadi (1670-1703) was appointed to succeed him. During his reign, the Chief of Jukuns led his forces back to Kano for another war. *Sarki* Dadi was said to have completed all preparation for a battle outside the precincts of the city wall, but was strongly persuaded against fighting by his senior *Sarakuna*. He was forced to remain in the palace, a step that facilitated an easy entry into *Birnin Kano* through Kofar Gadon Kaya by the Jukuns. They killed several people while marching directly to *Bakin Ruwa*, the western end of Jakara pond and *Kasuwar Kurmi*. While this development was taking place, the Galadima of Kano, Kofakani, was busy persuading *Sarki* Dadi to reactivate *Cibiri*, the old pagan fetish. The *Sarki*, who became confused, instantly abandoned Islam, and went ahead to re-establish *Cibiri* the fetish shrine of the old Tsumburbura cult. He took the fetish in his right hand and faced the *Jukunawa*, who however ignored his advancements. They successfully drove him out of the

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid: pp.158-160.

capital city to Jalli, after slaughtering many of his fighters.<sup>66</sup>

In addition to this, it was also during the reign of *Sarki Dadi* that *Sarkin Gaya* Farin Dutse revolted. The *Sarkin Gaya* deliberately refused to pay tribute to Kano for three years. Consequently, *Sarkin Kano Dadi* summoned him to the royal court ostensibly to discuss the matter, but in the process killed him.<sup>67</sup>

After the death of *Sarki Dadi* in 1703, Muhammadu Sharafa, his son, ascended the throne. His reign lasted until 1731, during which he attempted to reform the *Sarauta* system. He made several appointments to various offices, which gradually enabled him to dominate the institution of the Kano Kingship with his supporters. It was during his reign that the people of Kiru revolted, and the Wamban Kano was assigned to deal with them. *Sarki Sharafa* was said to be a ruler who harshly suppressed the rebellions that arose from time to time. History has shown that Sharafa was a tyrannical and oppressive ruler. He introduced certain unjust innovations and practices, all of which were regarded as forms of extortions. Prominent among these include *Karo* (tax collected on a family land), *Murgun Budurwa* (tax collected on the first marriage), *Kudin Karuwa* (a tax collected from prostitutes), *Kudin Wankan Takobi* (money collected from titleholders), *Kudin Rangwame* (sales tax), *Kudin Yan Dawaki* (money collected from horse dealers in the market), *Kudin Rantsuwa* (money collected from taking pagan oaths), *Kudin Matan Fada* (money collected from free titled women of the palace),

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid: pp. 161-164.

<sup>67</sup> Bahago, op. cit. p.180.

and many other form of levies collected from *Kasuwar Kurmi* and other trade centres within and outside *Birnin Kano*.

These levies on the whole rendered Muhammadu Sharafa terribly unpopular. Available evidence shows that both the *Sarakuna* and *Talakawa* became highly disenchanted with his leadership, which made them to desert him at the battle of 'Yargaya when *Sarkin Gobir* Yakubu attacked Kano. *Sarki* Sharafa was left with only a few slave officials and managed to escape with some difficulty to find his way back to the city. This desertion of the *Sarki* by his people forced him to remain secluded within the palace,<sup>22</sup> saddled with a number of internal contradictions and external problems.

The reign of Sharafa was immediately followed by that of his son, Kumbari who reigned from 1731 to 1743. It has been reported that all the oppressive innovations of his father persisted under him. Kumbari further aggravated the situation by heavily increasing taxation in his attempts to augment state revenue. He also introduced cowries and made it the legitimate means of exchange. Consequently, this created a number of problems that forced many Arabs to flee to Katsina. But *Sarki* Kumbari was said to be loved by his councillors, while hated by the common people. Another tradition, however, said it was the *Sarki* who liked his courtiers but disliked the commoners. Evidently, Kumbari came to identify himself with the senior *Sarakuna* of the Kingdom against the interests the commoners. It was during his reign that the internal contradiction surrounding the *Sarakuna* system of Kano started showing dreadful signals of its collapse.

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* pp 164-166.

## Evolution Of Kano Kingdom

One of the most important of these was a serious revolt organized and led by a segment of the *Rumfawa* dynasty against Kumbari. He also faced a grievous revolt in Dutse, which he attacked but was persuaded against entering the town by his councillors, in an attempt to avoid mass slaughter of the people.<sup>69</sup> *Sarkin Ringim* Ada also organized another revolt and as a result, *Sarki* Kumbari employed a famous professional warrior, Baƙo Na Mashi against him.<sup>70</sup>

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano* Kumbari faced other difficulties arising mainly from the rapid growth of Gobir as a power extending her influence across the *Hausa* States. It was during his reign that *Sarkin Gobir* Soba attacked Kano, and the battles fought devastated the northern and western districts of the Kingdom. This state of affairs between Kano and Gobir further created untold hardship to the *Kanawa* who started migrating to the neighbouring state of Katsina. It was also within the same period that *Mai* Ali of Borno invaded Kano and camped for three nights at Fagge, a place just outside the walls of the *Birni* precincts. It was the intervention of some *Ulama* of Fagge that prevented a breaking out of a war presumably by negotiating the surrender of Kano to the forces of Borno.<sup>71</sup> Tradition says that it was during Kumbari's reign that the *Sarkin Nupe* Jibrilla introduced a Nupe shield (*Garkuwa*) and some guns to the armoury of Kano,<sup>72</sup> but this military hardware did not seem to have improved his fighting capacity or that of his forces.

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid; pp. 165-168.

<sup>70</sup> Usman, Y.B., op. cit., p.43.

<sup>71</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit., pp. 165-168.

<sup>72</sup> Bahago, op. cit. p. 181.

These internal and external problems generated by *Habe* rulers progressively eroded the strength of the *Sarauta* system in Kano, and portended to its downfall, which finally came about during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Alwali II.

After the death of Kumbari, Alhaji Kabe (1743-1753), who is usually identified as his son, succeeded the throne. He spent the whole of his ten years reign waging wars against many of the *Hausa* States and other principalities. He relentlessly tried to protect Kano from external attacks, and made several attempts at reasserting her influence in the central Sudan. He was credited with being an active warrior who never stayed in a palace for a stretch of five months without going to war or sending his contingents to fight one.<sup>73</sup> He was very ruthless in outrightly killing those that went against his interest and yet generous and benevolent to Islamic scholars. It was during his reign that the then newly appointed *Sarkin Gobir* Babari sent emissaries to make peace with Kano. Alhaji Kabe turned down the offer of peace, while expressing a desire to inflict damages on Gobir in retaliation for what it had been doing to Kano for many years. Eventually, the two forces clashed at Dami where Kano was defeated. This diminished the militarism of Alhaji Kabe. The *Gobirawa* and *Kanawa* continued to kill each other until Alhaji Kabe died.<sup>74</sup>

On the death of Alhaji Kabe, the pattern of succession to the kingship of Kano from father to son seemed to have changed. Muhammadu Yaji II (1753-1768), who was the son of *Sarkin Kano* Dadi, was

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<sup>73</sup> Kano Chronicle, pp. 90-92.

<sup>74</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit., p.169.

## *Evolution Of Kano Kingdom*

appointed to the throne, instead of Alhaji Kabe's son. Muhammadu Yaji II was said to be a peaceful ruler, which made people to refer to him as *Mailafiya* meaning "the peaceful one". Kano Chronicle reported that he regulated, reduced and finally suspended the obnoxious taxes introduced by his predecessors. He was described as a just and good ruler and very mild in his dispositions. The reign of *Sarki* Yaji was terminated after 15 years on the throne in 1768 by death as a result of natural causes. During his reign, many people immigrated into Kano city. These included the Fulani that fled from Zamfara and Katsina due to the internecine wars between Gobir and Zamfara. It has been reported that Yaji II was an old man at the time of his ascension to the throne, which made him to delegate much authority to his subordinates. His peaceful and prosperous reign enabled him to quietly build public confidence in his family. This was what facilitated the appointment of his eldest son, Babba Zaki, who was popularly called by the *Lakabi* of *Jan Rino Gasa Giva*, which literally means "a red fork that could roast an elephant". Babba Zaki quickly re-established the bad precedents of extortions and was said to have attacked Auyo, a small town that was assisted by *Sarkin Jahun*, Furtumi. He further attacked Burumburum where a number of people lost their lives<sup>75</sup> and built up a number of slave channels of communication known as *Wasi dodi*. This innovation tremendously assisted him in the administration of Kano. Babba Zaki was praised in the song of Bagauda thus:

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<sup>75</sup> Bahago. op. cit., p. 183.

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

*It was his sovereignty that has set the standard for Kano. It was in his time that horses were amassed. He had a strong force of cavalry, his protective quilt and of bodyguards. It was he who introduced remoteness into Kingship, setting bodyguards to rebuke people.*<sup>76</sup>

The reign of Babba Zaki was immediately followed by the reign of Dauda Abasama (1776-1781). The ascension of Dauda, whose name is omitted from most of the King list of Kano but appears only in some traditions, seemed to have marked another downturn in the history of Kano. Some traditions said that Dauda was the son of Yaji II and was very liked by the people.<sup>77</sup> But he certainly seemed to have been a weak ruler and it was quite possible that he relied mainly on his Galadima to deal with state matters. Various traditions related that Galadima, whose real name is given as Makama, became very powerful and this made him to over-shadow *Sarkin Kano* Dauda, who heavily relied on him in almost everything.<sup>78</sup>

It is not certain that Dauda died or was deposed, or indeed abdicated the throne, but all sources maintained that the council of the kingmakers selected Muhammadu Alwali II, who rule Kano from 1781 to 1805. He was another son of *Sarkin Kano* Yaji II and his choice and the subsequent appointment aggravated the problem of dynastic rivalry because it involves by-passing numerous capable princes from the descendents of Muhammadu Rumfa. This dynastic rivalry became the major internal problem facing the institution of *Sarkin Kano* and seemed

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<sup>76</sup> Hiskin, M. "The Song Of Baguda", part 11, p. 118.

<sup>77</sup> Bahago, op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>78</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit., pp. 170-171.

## *Evolution Of Kano Kingdom*

to have taken a serious dimension at this time, because it led to a revolt by other sections of the *Rumfawa*. It became very fierce and made some people to predict the outbreak of another civil war in Kano. *Sarkin Kano* Alwali II attempted to suppress these crises but failed. The most pressing of his concerns was the preservation of his power and position and the assertion of his authority within the central government, especially over the other princes of the *Rumfawa* dynasty. These crises of leadership persisted until the 1804 Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in Kano, which exterminated the *Habe* ruling class of Kano.

Matters continued to deteriorate when Alwali II tried to rigorously enforce the collection of taxes introduced by his predecessors. For instance, most of the extortionate trade taxes introduced by Sharafa continued under Alwali II, where a butcher was forced to pay a slaughter fee of approximately 1,000 cowries per animal to the institution of *Sarkin Kano*. The ruler completely ignored the issue of resolving the dynastic rivalries that seriously weakened the hold of the central government, and rather devoted most of his time accumulating a store of grains to contain the anticipated famine in Kano. This administrative paralysis of the sorts seriously gripped the government of Alwali II.

By this time, the corrupt practices of state officials under Alwali II and the spread of *Zalumci* (extortions) by the ruling class had produced an explosive political atmosphere in the whole Kingdom, signaling an imminent collapse of the government and change of leadership. It also created a feeling of *Tawaye* (revolt) among the ordinary people. Further more, the growth of

the *Ulama*, especially the Fulani who used to challenge government policies particularly on matters of the *Shari'a* as it related to the governed, also influenced and shaped the thought of the *Talakawa*.

Class hostilities within the society escalated over the years and made it to become quite complex and ungovernable, while the rulers were preoccupied with the immediate problem of survival of their power. Alwali II was finally swept away by the *Jihad* of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio at the time when the institution of *Sarkin Kano* failed completely to provide a framework of leadership to the Kingdom.<sup>79</sup> (The names of 43 *Hatfe* rulers of Kano and the period of their reign are provided in Appendix I).

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<sup>79</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 170-172.

## Chapter Two

### *Religion In Kano*

The earliest communities in Kano popularly referred to as *Maguzawa* (pagans) practiced what is commonly known as traditional religion. The legend of Barbushe illustrates dramatically the cultic practices of which the indigenous religion of the time consisted. The foundation of Kano Kingdom centred on the traditional religious practices of the ancient settlements of *Dutsen Dala*, where pagan rituals developed through the *Tsumburbura* cult. No one could dispute the fact that hilly outcrops were associated with powerful spirits (*Iskokai*), which were believed to have regulated man's life during the darkest period. *Dutsen Dala* was among the prominent hilly outcrops that gradually developed as an influential religious centre in its own right with Barbushe as the figure Priest performing important religious functions. These included mediating for all the communities in relation to the spirits, presiding over the periodical feast ceremonies, and the communication of oracles' prophesies to the communities.<sup>1</sup>

This mode of traditional religious system united the people and put them under the common bond of *Tsumburbura*. Barbushe was highly skilled in these pagan rites and lived in seclusion at *Dutsen Dala*, a place made sacred by the dame-deity cult of *Tsumburbura*. The dame-deity of *Tsumburbura* was considered to be in a

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<sup>1</sup> Gilliland, Dean Stewart. *African Traditional Religion In Transition: The Influence Of Islam On African Traditional Religion In North Nigeria*. Hartford Seminary Foundation. University Micro Films 1971, p.36.

tree called Shamus. A Priest known as *Mai Tsumburbura* was selected to strictly guard the Shamus tree at all times. The sacred tree of Shamus was located around the sacred grove of Jakara and *Kurmin Baƙin Riwa*. Some traditions said that Shamus was a huge baobab tree that served as an abode of *Iskokai*.<sup>2</sup>

The chief priest, Barbushe, periodically demonstrated the form of the religious worship of communities. Barbushe, who was secluded at *Dutsen Dala*, never came down from the hill except on the two annual festivities. During such festivities a ceremony was organised, where animals whose skin color is black such as dogs, goats, or fowls were used for sacrifices. These sacrifices were made in an attempt to obtain the goodwill of the spirits (*Iskokai*). Apart from this, there were highly unusual dances by naked men and women observed strictly around *Dutsen Dala* almost twice a year. After the sunset, Barbushe used to go forth from his house with drummers and the congregation of the people would look at him and say "look at Tsumburbura, you men of Kano; look towards Dala." Barbushe would then lead the people to Tsumburbura shrine. The shrine of Tsumburbura itself was restricted to Barbushe who used to go in alone leaving those following him outside. The tree of Shamus was surrounded by a wall, into which no one could step except Barbushe. Upon recognising the presence of Barbushe, Tsumburbura would then change to a human being and discuss with him. Whosoever dared to catch sight of this scene would die.<sup>3</sup> Barbushe would thereafter

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp.35-40.

## Religion In Kano

emerge from the shrine and then foretell future events that would affect the people's lives.

Thus, we could then see how these communities regarded such oracular prophecy as the most important thing that could touch their lives. These communities surrounding *Dutsen Dala* considered the hill not only as sacred, but also as the epicentre of the world that held their lives. This was what made the hill-top shrine of *Dutsen Dala* highly reputed and centre of pilgrimage in those days. It is significant to note that such notable hills, trees and *Dazuzzuka* (bushes) in Hausa land were highly associated with these pre-Islamic beliefs system. Among the better known of these ancient centres of fetish worship were *Dutsen Kufena* and *Turunku* in *Zazzau* which also served as centres of pilgrimage, and *Dutsen Kwatarkwashi*, where the *Magiro* served as the native deity. Other such popular centres emerged in *Katsina* that included the shrine of *Kukar Jangare* and the tomb of *Durfi Ta Kusheyi* for communities living within and around the area.<sup>4</sup>

The shrines around *Dala* and *Jakara* pond in *Kano* were typical *Wuraren Isafi*, which were regarded with fear as centres of concentrated magic. Strong belief in these centres formed part of what appeared later in Hausa land as the practices of *Bori* cult, which were identified with pre-Islamic pagan beliefs. These communities believed that such places generally were the abode of a number of *Iskokai*. For instance in *Kano*, the spirit of *Tsumburbura* later came to be identified as *Danko Dan Musa*<sup>5</sup>. In *Katsina*, *Inna*, which popularly evoked the

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<sup>4</sup> Dallahatu, Usman. *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku*. op. cit. p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Dokaji. A.A.. op. cit.. p.7.

image of a mother known as *Uwa*, came to represent the spirit of the earth in the *Iskokai*<sup>6</sup> religious system. Apart from this, prominent *Habe* rulers of Katsina such as Gozo for example became *Iskokai*, and the *Yan Bori* to this day invoke the *Iska Gozo*.

These forms of religious practices continued under the *Bagaudawa* rulers of Kano who had tried to resist the pagan practices of the indigenous people that persisted after the demise of Barbushe. As indicated earlier, the first *Habe* ruler of Kano, who attempted to destroy these ritual centres but failed, was *Sarki Guguwa* (1247-1290). This attempt was immediately followed by that of his successor, *Sarki Shekarau* (1290-1307) who moved to destroy the cult of *Tsumburbura* but was persuaded against doing so by the indigenous people who bribed him with numerous presents. By this time, the *Tsumburbura* was renamed as *Cibiri* and identified with the *Bori* cult, which held sway until the end of *Habe* rule in Kano. The immediate successor of Shekarau, *Sarki Tsamiya* (1307-1342) refused to accept the bribe of the natives. He invaded the sacred place with the help of one of his warriors, *Bajere*. The guard to the *Shamus* sacred tree, who held a snake in his hand, challenged them, but *Sarki Tsamiya* successfully destroyed the *Shamus* tree. His success in destroying the symbol and remnant of Barbushe was perhaps what made the praise-singers to eulogize him, as *Zauna daidai, Kano Garinka* meaning, "Sit Down Firmly, Kano Is Your City."<sup>7</sup>

It was under such circumstances that Muslim Arab traders introduced Islam into Hausa land. Available

<sup>6</sup> Usman Y. B., *Transformation Of Katsina* op. cit., pp. 67-90.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit p. 115.

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evidence shows that Islam was introduced into Kano during the reign of *Sarki* Usuman Zamna Gawa (1343-1349) prior to the arrival of *Wangarawa* scholars and traders. This tradition might be regarded as instructive since the name "Usuman" is the very first Muslim name that appeared in the list of Kano Kings. It can be argued that Islam was further reinforced in Kano during the reign of *Sarki* Yaji (1349-1385) whose real name was given as Ali. It was around 1380 that the people of Mali, who are popularly called *Wangarawa* (Madinka), came to Kano. Their migration to Kano was associated with the political and economic crises in Mali.<sup>8</sup> The Wangarawa consisted of a group of 40 people led by Abdurrahman Zaitte, Yakubu and Mandawari, all of whom later occupied important religious offices of the State. *Sarki* Yaji warmly received these groups of immigrants. They persuaded the *Sarki* to observe the daily prayers, which he accepted without hesitation. Subsequently, Yaji also commanded his subjects to accept and practice Islam by observing the daily obligatory prayers. One of his lesser Chiefs, Sarkin Gazarawa objected to the command of *Sarki* Yaji and it was said that he became blind.

To enforce the observance of Islamic Shari'a, *Sarki* Yaji appointed Abdurrahman Zaitte as the Chief Alkali of Kano, Gurdamasu as Liman and Malam Lawal as Mu'azzin. He also appointed Malam Mandawari as the Imam of all the *Wangarawa* residing in *Birnin Kano*.<sup>9</sup> With the help of these Wangarawa immigrants, *Sarki* Yaji

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<sup>8</sup> See Barkindo M. Bawuro "Kano Relations With Borno Early Times To C. 1880", *ibid.* p. 148.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* See also Loimeier. Roman. *Islamic Reform And Political Change In Northern Nigeria* (Northwestern University Press). p. 10.

snacked and succeeded in subduing Sontolo that served as a strong cultic centre of worship in Kano. This enabled him to establish the political supremacy of *Bagaudawa* in Kano and imposed Islam as a state religion, drastically coming down the stranglehold of the *Maguzawa* pagan and *Bori* cult. He was credited with constructing a mosque on the site of the sacred tree of Shamus, which further weakened attendance at the rituals of the *Tsumburbura* cult.

The successor of *Sarki* Yaji, Bugayya (1380-1390), attempted to maintain these Islamic practices in Kano. This was further clearly demonstrated by his request to be buried at Madatai when he died. Thus, at the time of his death, Bugayya was buried after observing Islamic rites.<sup>10</sup>

The spread and practice of Islam and its status as a state religion continued to flourish until it was dramatically distorted during the 20-year reign of *Sarki* Kano Kanajeji Dan Yaji (1390-1410). Kanajeji was hostile towards Islam as a result of heavy casualties suffered in war with Zazzau, at Kudan. This made him consult the high priest of *Cibiri* for help and assistance to overcome Zazzau. The *Sarkin Cibiri*, who was a titled official, advised Kanajeji to re-establish the *Tsumburbura* (*Cibiri*) cult earlier destroyed by his forefathers. The *Sarki* was made to evoke all the pre-Islamic rituals of *Barbusha*, which had been abandoned by his predecessors. To re-establish the cult, Kanajeji took a ritual walk to the site of the ancient tree of Shamus. The *Sarki* killed the snake, and made a pair of *huffi* shoes with animal skin, and proceeded to circumambulate the Dutsen Dal

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

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formally, the sacred abode of Tsumburbura.<sup>11</sup> Kanajeji explicitly went through all the rituals that were associated with Barbushe and apparently laid the basis of the rise of *Bori* cult in Kano. In the following year, the *Sarki* resumed war with Zazzau. Kanajeji finally defeated the forces of Zazzau during his second assault where he killed *Sarkin Zazzau*, who was assumed to be Mamman Abu, at Gadas.

Kanajeji was succeeded by his son Umaru (1410-1421), who was said to be a devout Muslim since his youth. *Sarki* Umaru abdicated the throne as a result of the influence of a friend called Abubakar, who considered Kingship as incompatible with the practice of the religion of Allah. Before *Sarki* Umaru left Kano for Borno, he assembled all the people and said:

*This high estate is a trap for the erring, I wish my hand off it.*<sup>12</sup>

*Sarki* Umaru left Kano and spent his life in studies at Borno. *Birnin Kano* further registered a massive influx of immigrants during the reign of Abdullahi Burja (1438-1452), who established close contact with Borno by sending periodical gifts known as *Gaisuwa*. It was at this period that camels became widely used in Kano. The ascension of *Sarkin Kano* Yakubu (1452-1463) also marked a new epoch in the rise of Islam in Kano. It was during his reign that many Fulani from *Malle* (Mali) came to Hausa land, bringing along with them Islamic books on Hadith, *Lugga* (Arabic language) and *Fiqh*.

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<sup>11</sup> Gilliland, op. cit. pp. 35-50.

<sup>12</sup> Smith, op. cit., pp. 121-123.

Further systematic reinforcement of Islam as a state religion took place under the immediate successor of Yakubu, that was Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499). It was during his reign that Sheikh Abu Muhammad Al-Maghili visited Kano. Al-Maghili, who was accompanied by some companions, was warmly received by *Sarkin Kano* Rumfa at Panisau. The *Sarki* escorted them from Panisau to *Birnin Kano* and comfortably accommodated them. He undertook the supply of all their needs and provided them with domestic servants. It was on the advice of Al-Maghili that Rumfa built a *Juma'a* (Friday) Mosque and went ahead to uproot the remnants of the Shamus tree. In its place, the *Sarki* constructed a mosque, portraying the city of Kano as belonging to the Islamic faith. Rumfa made strenuous efforts with great success to entrench Islam as a state religion in Kano.

The coming of Al-Maghili to Kano was as a result of a dream he had in which he was specifically instructed to visit Kano and strengthen Islam. On this mission, he was to recognize Kano by comparing its soil with that of Medina, a handful of which he had brought with him. Al-Maghili passed through many towns comparing their soils with his sample from Medina, but found no matches. He kept on moving from town to town until he arrived Kano, where he quickly compared its soil, which appeared to be the same with that of Medina. This made him to stay at *Birnin Kano* to fulfill his mission. He later departed for Katsina, leaving behind his three sons, among who was Isa, known as *Sidi Fari*.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* pp.133-136. See also. Yahaya. Dahiru, "Kano Intellectual History: Mapping The Intellectual Landscape" in Barkindo, M. Bawuro op. cit p. 22.

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Beside Al-Maghili, it was also during the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa that Shehu Suyudī came to Kano from *Masar* (Egypt). It was said that *Sarki* Rumfa requested As-Suyudī to pray to God that whoever was appointed to the throne of Kano should be identified by his name. And this prayer seems to have been answered, because whoever occupies the exalted throne of Kano has been referred to as *Magajin Rumfa* (Successor to Rumfa). He also requested other prayers for the development of Kano from this revered Islamic scholar.<sup>14</sup> Rumfa was generally credited with being the first *Hafe* ruler of Kano who introduced *Hawan Salla* during the two Muslim *Eids*.

In addition to this, *Birnin Kano* registered the arrival of other prominent scholars during the reign of *Sarki* Muhammadu Kisoke (1509-1565). These include a learned Sheikh from Tunis popularly called Shehu Atunashe, and Sheikh Abdussalam. These scholars brought books on Islamic Law such as *Jami'us-Sagir*, *Ashafa*, *Mudawwana* and *Samarkandi*. Within the same period, Shehu Kursiki, Kabi, Tama, Buduru, Koda, Dan Gwauron Duma and Shehu Magumi also arrived in the city. Indeed, *Sarki* Kisoke was said to have been greatly impressed in Shehu Kursiki and this made him to request the learned Shehu to become the Chief Alkali of Kano. Shehu Kursiki declined this offer and suggested his brother Shehu Magumi for the post. Magumi was said to be from *Saifawa* ruling group. This made the religion of Islam to be firmly established in Kano during this period. It was during this time that the Arab traveler, Leo-

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<sup>14</sup> Bahago. A.A.. op. cit., p. 174.

Africanus visited Kano and mentioned the presence of Fulani<sup>15</sup> mostly Islamic scholars. It was also at that period that a Maghribinian scholar, Abdurrahman bin Ali Al-Gasri stayed in *Birnin Kano*. Between 1504 to 1509, the Moroccan scholar, Abdurrahman as-Suqqain was reported to be in Kano followed by Makhluf bin Ali al-Balbali, who had visited Kano, Katsina and died in Timbuktu.

The immediate successor of Kisoke, Yakubu, who had a short reign of just few months before he was deposed, was reputed to be a devout Muslim. The policy of entrenching Islam as a state religion in Kano at this time was in many ways directly connected to the boom in Muslim immigration into *Birnin Kano* from the reigns of Dauda (1565) to that of Abubakar Kado. During the reign of Abubakar Kado (1565-1573), many Bornoans migrated to Kano under the guidance of Malam Gesu, Malam Sharif and Malam Wuri. Their coming was associated with much advancement of Islamic knowledge in Kano. Abubakar Kado was credited with being the leader who, in many ways, encouraged the study of the Qur'an among the princes of Kano. Reports said that the princes usually assembled every morning in a hall known as *Fagaci* built by the *Sarki* himself within the palace, for the purpose of learning. Evidently, he was the first *Haɓe* ruler in Kano who began to study *Jami'us-Sagir*.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, Abubakar Kado tried to make Islam the dominant religion among the royalty of Kano. The enforcement of certain Islamic practices by the *Haɓe*

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*: pp. 138-143. See also *Kano Chronicle* in H. R. Palmer vol. III, p. 160.

<sup>16</sup> Smith, M.G. *op. cit.*, pp. 145-150. See also Bahago A.A., *op. cit.*, p. 175

rulers of Kano continued under the successor of Abubakar Kado, Muhammadu Shashere (1573-1582), who started the practice of appointing some Muslim *Ulama* into sensitive positions in his administration.

Another political and religious process began to express itself rather strongly during the reign of Muhammadu Zaki (1582-1618). He was the first *Habe* ruler of Kano to start the practice of mixing Islam with pagan fetish elements of *Cokana* and *Dirki*. *Dirki* was an aspect of Bornoan culture associated with fetish *Mune* of the Saifawa. Muhammadu Zaki whose mother Hausatu, was said to be connected with Borno<sup>17</sup> introduced *Dirki* for fear of being overthrown, just like what he did to his predecessor. *Dirki* was a copy of the Qur'an wrapped in layers of sheepskin and finally re-wrapped in cowhide. It served as a source of spiritual assurance, which completely deviated from the true teachings and practices of Islam. The succeeding *Sarakuna* of Kano placed too much emphasis on this practice, which was regarded as having important influence at a royal level. The *Sarakuna* of Kano believed that *Dirki* had a strong magical power, capable of protecting them on the throne.<sup>18</sup>

Available evidence shows that some of the successors to Rumfa were serious Muslims and encouraged Islam while the majority of others continued to base their legitimacy on various pagan practices. *Sarki* Bawa (1660-1670), for example, instituted the office of Dan Lawan and conferred it on a scholar whose duty was to call Muslims to prayers at central mosque. In contrast

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<sup>17</sup> Barkindo, M. Bawuro. op. cit p. 161.

<sup>18</sup> Smith. M.G., op. cit., PP. 149-150. For more details see Gilliland. *African Traditional Religious*, pp. 62-64.

to this, *Sarki Dadi* (1670-1703) was accused of resurrecting the olden shrine of the Tsumburbura *Iskokai* cult when he could not contain the Jukun invasion of *Birnin Kano*. He became so desperate and agitated by this invasion that he instantly heeded the advice of his Galadima, Kofakani to re-establish the Tsumburbura cult.<sup>19</sup> In addition to this, most of the *Sarakuna* of Kano from the time of Kukuna up to the last *Habe* ruler, Alwali II appear to re-establish all the pre-Islamic cult system. Kukuna was said to have restored the famous *Maguzawa* cult of Zaku.

Therefore, we can see that the belief in the sacred power of the Dala hill was almost permanently a part of the *Habe* tradition of Kano. This is what accounts for certain rituals to develop and become associated with some trades among the *Habe* communities of Kano. For example the families of blacksmiths, leather workers, barbers etc, controlled the holding of certain ritual activities. The holding of such pagan practices was highly encouraged by the *Habe* rulers, who had controlled the apex of the cult system centred on belief in *Iskokai*. Just before the Jihad, the *Habe Sarakuna* of Kano as well as the masses of the people were steeped in the practice of the *Iskokai* pagan rituals. The rulers had become highly antagonistic to Islam and its spread in the kingdom, which they saw as a challenge to their power.

At this time, Islam seemed to be accepted by all including those who never practiced it, in the sense that they believed in its power and sought its blessing in the forms of charms and amulets. In spite of their paganistic practices, the *Habe* rulers themselves believed that Islam

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<sup>19</sup> Smith. pp. 161-162. See also Fika. Adamu Muhammed, op. cit. p. 21.

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had increased their political, economic and religious authority and advanced general development as well as contacts between Kano and the outside world.

The *Sarakuna* of Kano and the state officials aided the decay in the beliefs and practices of Islam more particularly during the reign of the last *Habe* ruler, Muhammadu Alwali II (1781-1805). This can be demonstrated by the attitude of the state officials, who demanded that Alwali II should provide 40 cattle for their fetish *Dirki*, which he refused. Although his refusal was not because of his support for Islam but because of the actual cost involved in making the sacrifice. Both the titleholders and the common people had expected sacrifice to be made for the *Dirki* by *Sarki* Alwali II on behalf of the kingdom. But he adamantly refused the request and the people intoned that, "If you stop this practice, evil fortune will befall you". Alwali II became furious and out of anger, he tore open the *Dirki* in which a beautiful Qur'an was found. Those who believed in this fetish then prophesied that he would be expelled from power as he had expelled the *Dirki* from its house.<sup>20</sup>

Undoubtedly, the *Habe* ruling elite under Muhammadu Alwali II openly deviated from the provision of the Shari'a legal code in many respects, and this alienated them all the more from the orthodox Muslims. In short, Islam was on total decline and its practices were mostly ignored in relation to political and social policies of the state. By this time, most of the Muslim *Ulama* in Kano, who were Fulani, had dissociated themselves completely from *Habe Sarkuna*. The society was by then in its highest abysmal of shame

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid. P. 187.

and degradation. The Fulani as well as their friendly Muslim *Hausas* remained withdrawn from the questionable Islamic status of their immediate environment. Polytheistic and paganistic practices became the order of the day, and people freely committed acts that were considered major sins under the Shari'a without remorse. This continued until the Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, which swept away the *Habe* ruling class and established a new class of Fulani rulers operating a system of government based on Islamic Shari'a.

## **Chapter Three**

### ***The 1804 Fulani Jihad In Kano***

By the beginning of 1800, there was a large number of Fulanis that had settled permanently in *Birnin Kano* while a larger majority still, were settled in the rural towns and villages. Apart from these, there were also the nomadic Fulanis who kept moving across the Kingdom with their herds. Within *Birnin Kano* itself, the Fulanis constituted a large group of *Ulama* who had become pre-occupied with religious activities that ranged from the learning to the teaching and preaching of Islam.

The Islamic Revivalist Movement that led to what came to be called as *Fulani Jihad* was declared and launched by *Mujahid Shehu Usman Dan Fodio* in 1804. This Jihad installed the Fulani rule in Kano, which had continued to date.

The Jihad was initially provoked by *Sarkin Gobir Nafata* (1800–1802) when he restricted preaching in his domain and forbade the conversion of anyone whose parents were hitherto non-Muslims to Islam. He also banned the wearing of turban by men and the veil by women. This generated a lot of heated disagreement between *Shehu Usman* and *Nafata*, and this situation was to persist up to the reign of *Sarkin Gobir Yumfa*, who was the successor to *Nafata*.

*Yumfa* declared his deep-seated hatred for Muslims and in December 1803, attacked and captured *Gimbina*, a settlement, which the Fulanis had founded and retired to, after their withdrawal from *Gobir*. It was composed of a large number of Muslims under the leadership of *Malam Abdussalami*, a *Hausa* and right-

hand man of Shehu. Then on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1804, *Sarkin Gobir* Yumfa commanded Shehu Usman and his followers to leave Degel, another settlement founded by the Shehu and his followers near *Birnin Kwonni*. This was what led the Shehu to migrate to Gudu together with his followers, who unanimously appointed him as the *Amirul Muminin* and paid homage to him. By March 1804, *Sarkin Gobir* Yumfa sent emissaries requesting the Shehu to return. Negotiations were then held, where some conditions were spelt out. These conditions were later to be subverted by the *Gobirawa* themselves, leading to the fight at Matankare. The Gobir forces directly attacked the Shehu and his followers on 21<sup>st</sup> June 1804, which led to the battle of *Tafkin Kwatto* and his victory against the attacking forces.<sup>1</sup>

This battle signaled the onset of the Fulani Jihad, which spread like a wildfire throughout the Hausa land and beyond. The Shehu and his followers moved to Magabci from Gudu, from where he sent out the manifestoes of the *Jihad*, through emissaries to the *Habe* rulers of the *Hausa* States, explaining his cause. The Shehu admonished the rulers to purify their practice of Islam and stop the practice of mixing pagan practices with the religion.

The *Habe* ruler of Gobir, Yumfa, had earlier dispatched an urgent message to his counterparts in the other *Hausa* states disclosing that:

*I have left a small fire in my country and failed to extinguish it, and now it has outgrown and burnt me.*<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit pp.186-187 and Dalhatu, Usman, op. cit. p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Arnett, E.J., esq., *Gazetteer Of Sokoto Province In Nigeria: Northern Province* (London: Waterlow And Sons Limited, 1920) p.20.

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He warned them that the same fire would consume them if immediate care were not taken. He ordered all the Fulanis in his domain to be arrested and killed. All these were steps taken by Yumfa to check the spread of the Jihad, which he saw as a serious challenge to the authority of the *Sarakuna* in Hausa land.

Both the messages of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio and that of *Sarkin Gobir* Yumfa reached *Sarkin Kano* Alwali II. Sultan Muhammadu Bello explained that Alwali almost accepted the Shehu's message, but in an attempt to keep faith with the other Hausa Kings, he turned to reject it.<sup>3</sup> Another tradition reports that Alwali II had intended to formally write to the Shehu accepting his message, but was persuaded against doing so by his Ciroma Dan Mama. Afterwards, the Ciroma secretly wrote to the Shehu offering to give his maximum support to the course of the Jihad, and ousting of the *Habé* rule from Kano. Alwali II seemed to be ignorant about this double-dealing and treachery on the part of his Ciroma, who was to remain in Kano peacefully throughout the period of the Jihad.<sup>4</sup>

At the onset of the Jihad, there were several important Fulani clans who had already settled in different parts of Kano. Adamu M. Fika says that there were at least 12 major Fulani clans who had settled in the Kingdom since the 16<sup>th</sup> century days of Muhammadu Rumfa.<sup>5</sup> To the southeast at Utai near Wudil, there were *Jobawa* under Malam Bakatsine and his brother Malam

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted from Smith, M.G. *Government In Kano*, p.188.

<sup>4</sup> Malam Adamu Na Ma'aji, *Tarikh Kano*, quoted from Ibid. p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> Fika, Adamu Muhammed, *The Kano Civil War And The British Over-rule 1882-1940*, p.39

Sa'idu; while in Kiru to the southeast, there were *Sullubawa* under Malam Jammo. From Kiru to Riccifa and Kwasallo in northeastern Zazzau, the *Sullubawa* under Malam Ibrahim Dabo were the more influential and dominant Fulani clans. A little to the northeast of Kiru, the *Danejava* congregated at Zuwo around Malam Yusufu, who was popularly known as Malam Dan Zabuwa. In Bebeji to the east of Kiru, there was a territorial Chief with the title of *Sarkin Fulanin* Bebeji. Further north, there were the *Ba'awa* also known as *Yolawa*, who settled at Tudun Yola. There were several other Fulani clans still that included *Dambazawa* under their leader Malam Dabo, who was known as Dabon Dambazau and *Yarimawa* who were under *Sarkin Fulanin* Dambatta. This group was later led by Dan Tunku.<sup>6</sup>

The Shehu's message was said to have been taken to the leader of the Danajewa, Malam Dan Zabuwa by Mu'azzin Goje and one Malam Adama, probably Moddibo Adama, the founder of Adamawa. This message propelled the rise of the *Jama'a* in Kano, who were in active support to the course of the Jihad. The leaders of the five clans decided to meet at Kwazazzabo to map out their strategies. They were at Kwazazzabo for four months, in the cause of which Malam Dan Zabuwa was sent to Shehu, to collect a flag that would signify the authority for Kano *Jama'a* to wage armed Jihad against Alwali II. This was around the middle of 1805.

On his return, Malam Dan Zabuwa deposited the flag with Malam Jammo, the *Sullubawa* leader at Kiru. This was what gave Malam Jammo the name *Mai Tuta*.

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<sup>6</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit, p. 188.

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But the Shehu did not appoint any single person to lead the Kano *Jama'a*, and the Jihad movement was thus left under the collegial leadership of the clans throughout the period of the struggle.

Meanwhile, Alwali II, having moved his base to Takai mini palace, which had served as a military base to his predecessors, dispatched Barde Bakori with sufficient forces to attack the Fulani *Mujahiduns*. This military force was repulsed and Barde Bakori had to turn back to report to Alwali II, who had in turn, fled to Kano city.

Alwali II then directed *Sarkin Dawaki* Ali to capture all the leaders of the important Fulani clans. Again, the Fulani vanquished these forces, and *Sarkin Dawaki* was only able to escape narrowly to report situation to Alwali II. This series of victory was to make many supporters of Alwali II to change sides and support the Fulanis with the notable exception of the *Sarkin Fulanin* Bebeji who remained loyal to the ruler throughout the period of the Jihad campaign.

After the battle of Kwazazzabo, the Fulanis advanced and attacked Karaye, and by the late afternoon of the day, they had succeeded in occupying the town.<sup>7</sup> Karaye was the first major town in Kano that fell to the *Mujahiduns*. At this point, Malam Musa Bamalli, the flag bearer in Zazzau, together with his party had already arrived from Sokoto on their way to conquer Zaria. It is said that from Karaye, Malam Dan Zabuwa was delegated to accompany Malam Musa Bamalli to Zaria. Thereafter, the forces of the Kano *Jama'a* set out eastwards to Gora, which is midway between Kano and Kiru.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid: pp. 188-193.

Meanwhile, Alwali II had collected a large number of troops from Damargu and Tatarawa. These combined forces with his own reserve attacked the Fulanis directly, who still repelled them, and marched forward to capture Bichi and Tofa. The Fulanis went on to attack Marke and Tatarawa. At this point, *Sarkin Adar*, Tambari Agumbil intervened and confronted the forces of the Kano *Jama'a*. He had been hired by *Sarkin Kano* Alwali II for the sum of four million cowries. After a prolonged battle, the Fulanis succeeded in killing Tambari Agumbil and dispelled his mercenary forces. They marched then on to the village of Tamas and destroyed it and proceeded southwards to Jalli and Madai.<sup>8</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Alwali II, who had suffered certain initial disadvantages, again attacked the Fulanis and in the course of the battle, Malam Dan Zabuwu lost his life. The formidable forces of *Hafse* ruler of Kano then attacked, and finally burnt Dawaki town. The Fulanis quickly re-grouped and concentrated their power against the forces of Alwali II by constant attacks with a rain of arrows. By this time, the Fulanis had also received some military reinforcements from *Sarkin Fulanin* Dambatta and one Mai Duniya, who was suspected to be the Ciroma Dan Mama. The battle became so fierce at this point, with Alwali II waiting for military assistance from *Mai Ahmed* of Borno (1791-1808). Having received none, he then turned his attention to Katsina and Daura.

From Dawaki, Alwali II moved to Danyaya 25 miles north of Kano. His army commander, Dan Tama, also moved his forces to nearby Beguwa, while the fighting contingents of the Fulanis proceeded to occupy

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 192-196.

### *The 1804 Fulani Jihad In Kano*

the town of Sabon Ruwa. While at Danyaya, Alwali II received military assistance from Daura and Katsina. At the same time, the Fulanis received further reinforcements from *Sarkin Ringim* and *Sarkin Jahun*, who had rebelled against Alwali II. These two military contingents camped at the nearby village of Gwarmai awaiting command from the Fulanis.

At this level, Alwali II personally led the attack on the Fulanis, who had already settled at Farin Ruwa. A fierce battle ensued in which the forces of Alwali II were put under a lot of pressure. While this battle was raging, Malam Bakatsine and his *Jobawa* were still fighting a separate campaign in the southeast of Kano, during which they succeeded in taking over Gogel and some nearby towns and villages.

At Danyaya, the Fulanis prepared for the last decisive attack on the Alwali II military contingents. The fighting continued uninterruptedly until the forces of Alwali II were severely defeated at Dawakin Girma, where many people lost their lives. However, the joint contingents sent from Katsina and Daura, were attacked and destroyed by Dan Tunku, who had camped around Dambatta on the Kano-Katsina boarder, even before they encountered the main Fulani fighting forces. Alwali II fled the battlefield in confusion, and headed for Kano with his sons, the Madaki and Ciroma Dan Mama, accompanied by Sarkin Shanu, Sarkin Yara and other royal officials.<sup>9</sup>

This great victory by the *Jama'a* of Kano finally turned the tide against Alwali II. Many major settlements throughout the surrounding area, beginning

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid: pp. 195-196. See also Usman. Y.B.. op. cit.. p. 107.

with Beguwa, which Dan Tama vacated, Damargu, Bagwai, Bichi and Tofa fell to the Fulani *Mujahiduns*. In *Birnin Kano* meanwhile, Alwali II having realized his critical situation, decided to send a delegation to the *Jama'a* through the *Ulama*, who included Malam Kabara, Malam Gabdo, Malam Jabo and one Dan Goron Duma Isma'ila. This appeal contained a virtual declaration of unconditional surrender, provided he would be allowed to remain in power. The *Mujahiduns*, who had by this time gained control of a large portion of the Kingdom, rejected this demand. The Fulani leaders jointly replied Alwali II thus:

*Initially, we commanded you to abandon paganism and practice Islam... which you refused to do. You attacked us (personally) until Allah inflicted on you a crippling defeat at Danyaya.<sup>10</sup>*

Alwali II was frightened by this reply and instantly set on a flight before the Fulanis attacked *Birnin Kano*. He moved to Rano from where he was to learn of the Fulani occupation of the capital city. This made Rano insecure and propelled him to flee further south to *Birnin Zaria* by then still under Muhammadu Makau, the last *Hafe* ruler of Zazzau. Here it was said that the *Zagezagi* asked Alwali II why he had fled his capital, to which he responded by prophesizing thus:

*The same cause that drove me out of Kano will inevitably drive you out of Zaria.<sup>11</sup>*

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<sup>10</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit., pp. 197-198.

<sup>11</sup> Hogben, S.J., & Kirk Greene, A.H.M., *The Fulani Emirate Of Northern Nigeria*, p. 197.

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M. G. Smith says that Alwali II spent few days in Zaria city before the last *Habe* ruler of Zazzau, Makau, drove him out homewards in shame and disgrace. He then moved to Burumburum, a place 30 miles south of Kano. He was to make numerous attempts to regain his throne by instructing *Sarkin Gaya* Gujabu to attack the Fulanis, who had occupied Wudil. Gujabu was severely defeated by the Fulanis, and it appeared that he lost his life during this encounter.<sup>12</sup> By this time, the Kano *Jama'a* had been gathering more and more support throughout the Kingdom as the people were ready to welcome anything that would lead to the downfall of what they felt was the exploitative *Sarauta* system.

Having already taken over, and being fully in control of *Birnin Kano*, the *Mujahiduns* then instructed Malam Bakatsine to attack Alwali II from Takai. Meanwhile, a large military contingent under Malam Goshi of *Yolawa*, and Malam Jammo *Mai Tuta* of *Sullubawa* had also moved south from Kano to join them. After several weeks of strenuous resistance, Alwali II was killed. His son, Umaru fled towards Damagaram, and was met with the ousted *Sarkin Katsina* Dan Kasawa and *Sarkin Daura* Abdu at a point beyond Daura. His other son, Ciroma Dan Mama secretly fled to Kano and surrendered to the Fulani *Mujahiduns*. It was during the last encounter at Burumburum that Malam Abdurrahman Goshi lost his life and this made Malam Jibir to become the undisputed head of the *Yolawa* clan.<sup>13</sup>

However, Adamu M. Fika adds that one of the sons of Alwali II, probably Ciroma Dan Mama had

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<sup>12</sup> Smith. op.. cit., pp.198-199.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 199.

personally gone and surrendered to Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in Sokoto. Consequently, the Shehu directed the victorious Kano *Jama'a* to give him and his relations "a part of their property". And that was how the son of Alwali II came to be appointed the *Mai Anguwar Kutumbawa* (ward head of Kutumbawa).<sup>14</sup> Some traditions show that Ciroma Dan Mama secretly assisted the *Mujahiduns* hoping that he would be allowed to rule Kano after the downfall of his father.

The success of the Kano *Mujahiduns* in killing *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Alwali II effectively eliminated the institution of *Sarkin Kano*, the core of the Kano *Sarauta* system. The elimination took place at a time when the government of *Sarkin Kano* lost control entirely over most parts of the Kingdom to the *Jama'a*, who, through series of campaigns from 1804, had established their authority over it. Having effectively conquered large areas of the Kingdom, the *Jama'a* focused their attention to subdue other towns, which included Rano, Dutse, Birnin Kudu, Gezawa, Girke, Babura, Gabasawa, Kumbotso and Kura. All these areas were not touched during the actual *Jihad* campaign. The Fulanis further subjugated a number of districts and towns which were scattered across the Kingdom in an attempt to bring them under the control of a single leader to be appointed by the *Amirul Muminin*, Shehu Usman Dan Fodio.

The 1804 Islamic Revivalist Movement, therefore, marked the beginning of Fulani rule in Kano under the leadership of triumvirate that constituted the institution of *Amirul Kano*. The *Jihad* provided a comprehensive

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<sup>14</sup> Fika, A.M., op. cit., p. 42.

political process, which incorporated Kano into a large and powerful political community under the central institution of the *Amirul Muminin* (Commander of the Faithful). The Jihad also produced the suitable framework for a new political order whose basis was obedience to the dictates of the *Shari'a* and *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) rather than the exercise of power by fiat.

What emerged immediately after the Fulani conquest of Kano was a collegial government run by the Fulani clan heads. This was, however, before the formal appointment of *Amirul Kano* (Emir of Kano) by the *Amirul Muminin*. All the heads of the five clans that played a significant role during the *Jihad* campaigns came to play important roles in the Emiral administration of Kano. The clans included the *Dambazawa*, *Sullufawa*, *Danejawa*, *Yolawa* and *Jobawa*.<sup>15</sup> Their heads attempted to develop an acceptable arrangement in running the affairs of the kingdom collectively, with the support of the remnants of the *Hafse*, who decided to contribute to the Jihad campaigns, such as Ciroma Dan Mama, *Liman Abdulkadir*, *Alkali Datuwa*, Barde Kerarriya, *Alkali Usman*, *Shamaki Muhamman Jifa* and other princes of the *Kutumbawa* dynasty who decided to remain in the city.<sup>15</sup>

The formal appointment of the *Amirul Kano* seems to have taken a long time after the Fulani conquest of Kano. There are several traditions on how the first *Amirul Kano* came to be appointed by the *Amirul Muminin*, Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. M. G. Smith says that Sokoto did not make any immediate move to appoint the

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<sup>15</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit., pp. 201-206.

*Amirul Kano* for two years, until Fulani themselves personally requested the Shehu to do so.<sup>16</sup> Abubakar Dokaji relates that when the Fulani sent a delegation asking the Shehu to appoint an Emir for Kano, he enquired about the person that served as their Imam. The delegates replied, "Suleimanu, but he is young". At that time, Suleimanu was about thirty years old, and they felt he was too young to administer Kano, but the Shehu made the final pronouncement in favor of Suleimanu, adding, "Your Imam is your Emir".<sup>17</sup>

In another tradition, Adamu Na Ma'aji relates that after the death of Alwali II at Burumburum, the leaders of the five Fulani clans requested the Shehu to choose a leader from amongst them and Shehu replied that whoever had remained in the city, without taking part in the struggle, should be the leader. At that time, only Suleimanu, who resided in the city as an Imam, fulfilled this condition. Therefore, Suleimanu was appointed as the *Amirul Kano*.<sup>18</sup> W. F Gowers narrates yet another tradition which states that:

*The five leaders of the principal clans went to Sokoto but none of them was selected. The Shehu appointed one Suleimanu of Modibava clan, ... owing to the rivalry among them... Suleimanu returned and was recognized as the leader. He eventually entered Kano without fighting. He was actually appointed by Shehu in 1809.*<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Dokaji, Abubakar A. op. cit. pp 36-37.

<sup>18</sup> Malam Adamu Na Ma'aji, quoted from Smith M.G., *Government In Kano*, p.210.

<sup>19</sup> Gowers, W. F., Esq., *Gazetteer Of Kano Province*, p. 12.

The Kano Chronicle reports that *Amir* Suleimanu faced a number of problems from the leaders of the five major clans who persuaded him against occupying *Gidan Rumfa*, the royal palace of Kano. This made the newly appointed *Amir* to remain in the compound of Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida, which was then vacant. The *Kanawa*, who sincerely welcomed and supported the *Jihad*, subsequently informed the *Amir* Suleimanu that if he did not enter the royal palace, he might not be able to exercise power and authority over the people of the Emirate.

Subsequently, Shehu Usman Dan Fodio granted Suleimanu permission to stay in the royal palace. The Shehu also gave him a sword and a knife, to execute anyone who rebelled against his authority on account of his moving into the royal palace.

In spite of his selection and confirmation by the Shehu, *Amir* Suleimanu continued to face a series of challenges from the powerful Fulani clans who were in control of substantial resources in the Emirate. It was under such prevailing circumstances that *Amir* Suleimanu was called upon by the Shehu to reinforce and assist Malam Musa Bamalli to liberate Zazzau. It appeared therefore that Malam Musa Bamalli had been facing some internal problems from the supporters of the *Habe* ruler of Zazzau, Makau, particularly from some Vassal Chiefs.<sup>20</sup>

*Amir* Suleimanu came to heavily rely on the Sullubawa clans under Malam Jammo Babba and his brothers Malam Dahiru Basulluŕe and Malam Ibrahim Dabo. These Sullubawa Fulanis stayed for some time at

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<sup>20</sup> Dalhatu, Usman, *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku*, op. cit., part II & I.

Riccifa and Kwasallo in northern Zaria and were very instrumental towards the success of the Fulani rule at the initial stage. In fact, Malam Jammo Babba was appointed member of the Emirate advisory council while Malam Ibrahim Dabo served as an intermediary between his senior brother, and *Amir* Suleimanu. A force was immediately assembled and marched towards Zazzau under the command of Malam Dahiru and Malam Ibrahim Dabo, who were very familiar with Zazzau State.

During engagements with the remnants of the forces of Maku, the ousted *Habe* ruler of Zazzau, Malam Dahiru was killed at Ifira, a place near Rigochikan. This made Malam Ibrahim Dabo, though, relatively young, to assume command of the Kano fighting forces. He led them to an impressive victory in Zazzau.

The contingent of fighters returned to Kano under the command of Malam Ibrahim Dabo, and reported the positive developments to *Amir* Suleimanu. The *Amir* of Kano was happy and grateful and after the death of Malam Jammo Babba decided to reward Malam Ibrahim Dabo by formally installing him as Galadiman Kano and member of Emirate advisory council. His appointment to the office of Galadima facilitated the revival of several other administrative offices in the Emirate.<sup>21</sup>

On the political plane, the position of Galadaman Kano Ibrahim Dabo had greatly strengthened the administration of the Emirate in what had been its weakest links. Galadima Ibrahim Dabo, who hitherto, served as the Imam of Galadanci ward in the city, occupied a very prominent position and became one of

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<sup>21</sup> Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 218-219.

the principal architects of the Fulani rule in the Emirate as we shall see in Chapter Six.

*Amirul Kano* Suleimanu was regarded as an idealistic Islamic leader. He was very simple in his tastes and had led a life of self-abnegation and poverty. *Amir* Suleimanu was said to be poor and that throughout his reign (1807-1819), he had worked his farm intensively to meet up his personal needs. At a time, he could not purchase the ram traditionally slaughtered on the *ʿīd-el-Kabir*, and had to be provided one by the leading Fulanis.<sup>22</sup> Anticipating his death, *Amir* Suleimanu wrote a letter to Caliph Muhammadu Bello (1817-1837), concerning the succession in Kano, and implored him not to appoint any of his immediate kin. At that time, *Amir* Suleimanu had a brother Sani, and his own son Shehu who was *Ciroman Kano*. But, he recommended Galadiman Kano Ibrahim Dabo as his successor based on personal merits of character such as sound Islamic knowledge, ability and sagacity, Suleimanu died in Kano in 1819, two years after the passing away of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. His death led to the ascension of Galadiman Kano Ibrahim Dabo from the *Sulluɓawa* clan as the second *Amirul Kano*. (For more details on Malam Ibrahim Dabo, see Chapter Six).

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<sup>22</sup> Dokaji, A. A., op. cit., pp. 38-39.

## **Chapter Four**

### ***Socio-Economic Life Before Colonial Conquest***

There are many indications that various ancient settlements existed within and around the present day *Birnin Kano* since around the 7<sup>th</sup> century. But the foundation of *Birnin Kano* as a major political power has been tentatively dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, a period where Gobirawa, Zamfarawa, Kabbawa and Adarawa did not even exist as a community of people.<sup>1</sup> The historical evidence shows that since the early reign of Bagauda (999-1063), there were some settlements founded by immigrants of diverse origins within the site of the present *Birnin Kano*, which includes Dala, Gwangwazo, Kankarofi, and some other places. Indications were that a city wall (*Ganuwa*) was constructed as fortification at the initial foundation of these settlements, which predates Bagauda.

The early communities in Kano composed hunting and fruit gathering group of people of the late Stone Age. The growth of permanent agriculture sequel to the introduction of iron-weapons and implements attracted a number of people to Kano and led to the emergence of a settled concentration of community. The communion of diverse people expanded eastwards and southwards and made the area a town in its own right. The fertile land, which was capable of supporting a growing population, provided the people with the incentive to settle around the

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<sup>1</sup> Barkindo, M. Bawuro, "Kano Relations With Borno Early Times To C. 1880", op. cit. p. 181.

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area.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, farming, as we shall see, continued to form the major preoccupation of the majority of the inhabitants.

The most fundamental aspect of the physical development of *Birnin Kano* took place during reign of Gajimasu (1095-1134), the third *Habe* ruler of Kano. With the considerable expansion, he began to construct the *ganuwa* of Kano that gradually appeared in its present form. The *ganuwa* was completed by his son, Naguji (1194-1247), the sixth *Habe* ruler of Kano. It is important to note that the *ganuwa* was not constructed with dried conical blocks known in Hausa as *tubali*, but with stockades or a combination of stockades and mud.<sup>3</sup> The 12<sup>th</sup> century *ganuwa* enclosed an area covering about 9.4 square kilometers and had eight *Kofofi* (Gates); Kawungari; Wambai; Mazugal; Ruwa; Lunkui; Dawanau; Waika and Kansakali.<sup>4</sup> But according to A. A Bahago, the first *ganuwa* of Kano had only seven *kofofi*: Mazugal, Adama, Gudan, Waika, Kansakali, Kawungari and Tuji.<sup>5</sup> All these *kofofi* were punched at convenient locations during the construction of the *ganuwa*.

These structural developments on the whole made the *Gari* or *Birnin Kano* to become a cohesive and large community. During the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499), the *ganuwa* was extended further to cover an area of about 14.5 square kilometers. Another

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<sup>2</sup> Fika. A. M., op. cit., pp. 1-6

<sup>3</sup> Sa'ad. Hamman Tukur. "Continuity And Change In Kano Traditional Architecture" in Barkindo, M. Bawuro (ed) op cit. p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Liman, A. Muhammad, & Adimu, Yusuf M. "Kano In Time And Space: From City To Metropolis" in Hambolu, M.O. (ed). *Perspective On Kano British Relations* (Kano: Gidan Makama Museum: 2003) Chapter x.

<sup>5</sup> Bahago, A.A., op. cit., p. 209.

expansion of the *gamuwa* also took place during the reign of Muhammadu Nazaki (1618-1622) as a result of military invasion from the neighboring states of Katsina, Zamfara and Borno. Nazaki who saw the need to enlarge the capital city assigned Wambai Giwa to supervise the work. The *gamuwa* was extended from *Kofar Dogo* to *Gadon Kaya* and from *Kofar Duka Wuya* through *Kabuga* up to *Kansakali*.<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that under the able leadership of the present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero, the *gamuwa* of *Birnin Kano* is presently under restoration.

The *Birni* seemed to have grown around the settlements centred on farming activities since the very foundation of Kano. These include the *Lambu* settlement complex of *Fangwai-Sontolo* and *Dala-Gwauron Dutse-Magwan* settlement complex. The settlement around *Dala* formed the nucleus of the present *Birnin Kano*. The vast farmlands within the *gamuwa* retained some importance for the cultivation of food, most especially during an emergency situation like war or siege. In addition to this, the empty land was used to provide accommodation for villagers fleeing from attack. This made it possible for the *Birni* to gain a reputation of being a metropolis during the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa.

Apart from agricultural activities taking place, various industrial and commercial undertakings were established in *Birni* in the 15th century. Prominent among these were dye-pits around the settlement of *Anguwar Dala*, *Kan Karofin 'Yar Magajiya*, *Karofin Zage*, *Karofin Kangiwa*, *Karofin Gangamau* and *Karofin Kofar Mata*.

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<sup>6</sup> Liman A.A. & Adamu, Y .M., quoted from Hambolu, M.O (ed). chapter x.

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Blacksmithing was among the ancient occupations established at Tudun Maƙera, Lokon Maƙera and Ririn Kira while local textiles were prevalent in almost every ward in *Birnin Kano*. Tannery and leatherworks were occupations known at *Mabuga*, *Takalmawa* and *Dukurawa*. The development of these local industries led to the emergence of the *Karabka* Market in *Birnin Kano* during the reign of Dawuda (1421-1438). This was the first market to appear in Hausa land in terms of a place designated specifically for business transaction to take place.

From the closing years of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, *Birnin Kano* began to develop into one of the major commercial and manufacturing centres in West Africa. For instance, during the reign of Abdullahi Burja (1438-1452), trade route was opened from Borno to Gonga in Northern Ghana, which for centuries continued to remain as the major route for the importers of kolanuts into Hausa land. At this time, Borno appeared to be in need of grains from Kano, which were exported to Takedda for onward distribution in the Saharan settlements. Historians argue that the economy of Kano during this period had been based on trade in grains especially *dawa* (corn) and *gero* (millet).<sup>7</sup> These contacts with Borno facilitated the appearance of camels for the first time in Kano. Subsequently, this mode of transport opened a new epoch for the movement of people and goods that linked various *garuruwa* and *birane* in Hausa land and beyond.

The reign of Abdullahi Burja was very significant in Kano because it was during the period that rapid socio-economic development facilitated direct links between

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<sup>7</sup> Barkindo, M. Bawuro. op. cit. P. 148.

Borno and Gwonja through Kano. By 1438, Agades was founded and supplanted Takedda as the entrepot of trade.<sup>8</sup> The development of trade further facilitated the establishment of *Kasuwar Kurmi* during the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499). This ruler decreed that any interregional commercial undertaking involving foreign merchants must take place in *Kasuwar Kurmi*, which transformed the market to a celebrated emporium of trade in central Sudan. The *Kurmi* market was well organized with defined rules and regulations governing all kinds of business transactions. Rumfa was said to have been the first Habe ruler that appointed the *Sarkin Kasuwa* (market head) and made him responsible for the conduct of affairs at the *Kasuwar Kurmi*.<sup>9</sup>

All these developments, ranging from regional, interregional and international trade at the Kano market, continued uninterrupted up to the middle of 16 century, when neighboring states began to wage long and destructive wars on Kano, in an attempt to seize control of the lucrative trade routes. This was to stall further progress for decades, until the middle of 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the cessation of hostilities ushered another period of great prosperity through trade.

Immediately after the cessation of these acts of warfare, Kano rapidly appeared to be one of the three major trade centres in Africa. The other two were Fezzan, which is now in Libya and Cairo. It has been stated that there was nothing in the world that could not be found in these three major centres of trade. This perhaps made

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. pp. 152-153.

<sup>9</sup> Dokaji, A. A., op. cit., pp. 20-23. See also Smith, M. G., op. cit. pp. 22-24.

## *Socio-Economic Life Before Colonial Conquest*

triangular trade relationship to be formed between Kano, Fezzan and Cairo.<sup>10</sup>

Apart from this, the open door policy of Kano towards immigrants and travelers accelerated the rapid socio-economic development of the Kingdom, and was to transform it into an economic nerve centre of Africa. The hard work of the Kano rulers at this period made the trade routes safer, which consequently boosted the economy. The economic growth attracted merchants, scholars and artisans from Borno, Mali, Songhai, Asben, and North Africa to Kano.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to this, the network of trade routes linking several *garuruwa* and *birane* of the central Sudan led to the emergence of new centres of wealth within and around *Birnin Kano*. Kano's reputation for wealth, commerce and development had undoubtedly attracted Muslim merchants. This led to the production and maintenance of strong trading contacts with many polities lying to the north and south. The *Birni* served as a terminus for caravan trade routes, which crossed the Sahara from Tripoli via Ghadames, Ghat, Tintellus, Agades and Katsina; and 300 miles to the east, ran parallel from Murzuk through Kawwar and Bilma to Borno. These enormous caravans known in Hausa as *Fatake*, who traveled long distance, were often referred as a 'state on the move'.

In addition to this, *Birnin Kano* remained for many centuries as the major centre of the trans-Sudanic traffic by which Kukawa and Wadai in the east were linked

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<sup>10</sup> Last. Murray. "Beyond Kano. Before Katsina: Friend And Foe On The Western Frontier". in Barkindo. M. Bawuro (ed) op. cit. p. 126.

<sup>11</sup> Barkindo, M. Bawuro. op. cit. p. 153.

commercially to Gonja in Ghana, and Timbuktu on the Niger bend, to Kumasi in Ghana, Bida in Nupe, the old Yoruba capital at Katanga, and to Zamfara, Kebbi, Katsina, Zaria, Zinder, and Agades. All these principalities were brought into a common intercourse in trade and commerce with Kano at the centre serving as the bonded warehouse through which exporters and importers passed.

The commerce in Kano went hand-in-hand with manufacturing, which made the *Birni* world famous in arts and crafts. It was during this period that Kano's indigo-dyed cloth became the standard articles for fashionable wear from Timbuktu and further west to Murzuk in the Sudan, Fezzan and Tripoli on the Mediterranean. For instance, well-organized and considerable supplies of cotton cloth and leather products were exported from Kano to Tripoli in North Africa. Extensive trade in these commodities, ironware and foodstuffs such as salt and grain, linked Kano not only to the rest of Hausa land, but also to such distant areas of Adamawa.

It is, however, important to note that by the 17<sup>th</sup> century Kano cloth industry served as a major centre of attraction in the world market and the standard strip of cloth of Kano, the *Takurdi* became an acceptable currency throughout the central Sudan. Weavers in the southern and central Kano as well as northern Zaria close to Kano produced these *Takurdi*. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Muhammadu Sherafa (1703-1731) introduced cowries in an attempt to destroy *Takurdi* in order to raise income through increase in taxation. Gradually, cowries became an accepted currency in Hausa land.

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From the reign of Muhammadu Sharafa to the Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, Kano lost completely its commercial leadership in the trans-Saharan trade to its rival state of Katsina. This loss was as a result of increase in the state taxation and other modes of extortions. Consequently, many Arab merchants were forced to flee to Katsina. The *Talakawa* also ran away from Kano to avert paying exploitative taxation and this made *Birnin Kano* to become under-populated. It was at this period that Katsina enjoyed an unprecedented prosperity and expansion of its territory. By the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, precisely during the reign of Alwali II (1781-1805), Kano had completely lost its leading position as a centre of commerce.<sup>12</sup>

However, with the establishment of Fulani rule in 1804, Kano began to regain its economic power by the removal of the burden of multiple taxes and other oppressive exactions. This set the Emirate on a course of rapid advance and to develop both socially and economically, to become the greatest trading emporium of the central Sudan. The *Birni* grew in size and population accordingly. The Sokoto Caliphate provided a larger and more secure market within which Kano became the main centre of commercial activities. With this relative security, the Emir's administration did not divert too much energy and resources to defense, and the peasantry were able to concentrate on farming and manufacturing activities, which further accelerated the economic prosperity of *Birnin Kano* and the entire Emirate.

The Fulanis also laid the basis for the rapid

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<sup>12</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit., pp. 20-30.

## Abdullahi Bayero

socio-economic development of the *Birni* making it an important urban and cosmopolitan centre. The *ganuwa* or wall fortification was re-constructed in the Fulani era with dried *tubali* (conical blocks) and mud, and also expanded covering an area of 22 kilometers. It was estimated to be between 30 to 50 feet high and about 40 feet thick at the base with a double ditch in front, having 13 gates. The gates (*Kofofin gari*) were Nasarawa, Mata, Wambai, Mazugal, Ruwa, Dawanau, Kansakali, Kabuga, Dan Agundi, Gadon Kaya and Na'isa. It is, however, important to note that most of the *kofofin gari* that existed during the *Habe* period were either renamed or exterminated by the Fulani Emirs of Kano while some were maintained. Apart from this, three additional gates were constructed during the reign of *Amir Abdullahi Bayero*, whose life is the subject of this study. These were Kofar Famfo, constructed in 1928 as a result of the supply of water and electricity into the *Birni*; Kofar Rumfa, constructed in 1930 to facilitate the easy passage of students into Kano Middle School (now Rumfa College); and the Kofar Alhassan Dantata constructed at the request of Alhaji Alhassan Dantata also in the 1930s.

By the beginning of Fulani rule in Kano, the *ganuwa* provided defensive role and maximum security to the *Birni* by making it inaccessible especially during an attack or at night. This allowed merchants to conduct business transactions with full confidence. At the same time, the *ganuwa* provided a psychological significance and gave the inhabitants of the *Birni* a clear sense of common identity. This made it easy to identify the real *Dan Birni* and *Bako* i.e. the stranger.

## *Socio-Economic Life Before Colonial Conquest*

The physical structures within the *Birni* were divided into *anguwanni* or wards that were named after the original settlers of the area. Most of these *anguwanni* traced their origins to groups of immigrants and were named on the basis of ethnic, or occupational identity of the settlers. Prominent among these were Chediya, Darma, Gwauron Duma, Jingau, Larabawa, Madabo, Sheshe, Mabuga, Dambazau and Masukwani. Others that emerged later included those founded by Barebari such as Gabari, Zangon Barebari and Bakin Zuwo. The founders of these *anguwanni* were originally tailors and traders mainly engaged in selling salt and dates, and at the same time acted as *Jangoma* (middlemen).<sup>13</sup> Other *anguwanni* established by migrants were *Agadasawa* (people from Agades), *Ayagi* (the Yoruba), *Daurawa* (people from Daura), *Kabawa* (people from Kebbi and Sokoto), *Tudun Nufawa* (people from Nupe) and *Yakasai* (the Jukuns). All of these *anguwanni* derived their names from the original settlers of the area who immigrated into *Birnin Kano* centuries ago.

Apart from these, there were *anguwanni* that came to be identified with the occupational specialization of the settlers, which include Dukawa (cobblers), Lokon Makera (blacksmiths) MasaKa (weavers), Rimin Kira (blacksmiths) and Soron Dinki (tailors). Another important settlement worthy of mention was Fagge, which seemed to have existed since around 1740. It has been said that immigrants who came mainly from Damagaram founded Fagge as their settlement with the consent of the rulers of Kano. The settlement was situated just outside the *Birni* to the east of Kofar Mata. In the

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<sup>13</sup> Barkindo, M. Bawuro, op cit p. 160.

past. Fagge served, as the final point of disembarking the trade caravans before middlemen traders ushered the imported goods to the famous *Kasinwar Kurmi*. This settlement was to gradually develop into a distinct *angirwa* in its own right.<sup>14</sup>

Within the first 50 years of Fulani rule, Kano became the most celebrated and the largest city in central Sudan with a highly sophisticated and well-articulated economy. The economy of the Emirate was based on a sound agricultural system, which produced not only foodstuff for consumption but also raw materials for its local industries. There was also a developed system of markets, taxation, credit, and local and inter-regional trade. Beside these, there was also considerable specialization, which made the system of production to evolve into a complex one.

The pre-colonial posture of Kano as the centre of international trade exposed it to diverse influences in the world. Foreign merchants, artisans, scholars and self-seekers came to Kano as Kano people themselves traveled outside Kano, which accelerates Hausa language to predominate all other languages in West Africa. The strength and success of these traders and artisans makes the Hausa to become famous and serve as a language of trade throughout the international commercial network in Africa and other parts of the world. Kano remained by far the largest city in the whole of Sokoto Caliphate, which made it possible for its Hausa dialect to form the basis of standard Hausa today in the world.

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<sup>14</sup> Liman, A.M. & Adamu, Y.M., op. cit chapter x. See also Uba, C.N., op. cit. pp. 173-174.

## *Socio-Economic Life Before Colonial Conquest*

Sadly enough, the colonialists whose naked exploitative tendencies were exemplified during their rule destroyed all these developments. Worst of all is the fact that the colonialists and their apologists have been deceiving generations of Nigerians into believing that the region practiced what they called subsistent economy. But it is obvious, based on our analysis, that Kano had possessed a complex market economy centuries back before the imposition of colonial rule and English as a lingua franca. In short, even the quality of life and roles played by the *Talakawa* in the former Sokoto Caliphate was much higher than those enjoyed by the average labourers in the colonial and post-colonial Nigeria today.

With the imposition of colonial rule in 1903, the British carved out *Nasarawa* as a settlement for the White people only, out of what used to serve as the *Gandun Sarki*. A military cantonment that would support the colonial exploitation was also established to the east of the *Birni* for camping of the troops. After the connection of Kano with the National Railway network in 1911, the British established *Sabon Gari* east of the *Birni* in 1912, which was completed in 1913. *Sabon Gari* served as a distinctive settlement for accommodating Nigerians of southern origins coming to work in Kano as clerks, lawyers, bankers, petty traders and employees of multinational corporations such as John Holt, U.A.C, G.B. Olivant etc. This was in line with the popular colonial policy of segregation, which sought to preserve cultural differences among various Nigerian ethnic groups. Those that first arrived and settled in this area were Yorubas and Nupes, although, most of their people, particularly those engaged in trade settled

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centuries back in *Birnin Kano* prior to colonialism. The Sierra Leonians and Ghanians immediately followed these groups of immigrants and were accommodated by the British in Sabon Gari. Among the late arrivals were Ibos and railway workers from different tribes in Nigeria and neighbouring republics of Niger and Cameroon. In 1940, *Tudun Wada* was also created, which was followed by *Gwagwarwa* in 1954 to accommodate the influx of migrants coming to Kano from northern part of the country.<sup>15</sup>

By 1960 when the colonial rule ended, Kano had greatly prospered, further attracting more to settle there for the many opportunities either in commercial sector or the new industrial establishments. The influx into Kano grew into a rush during the reigns of *Amir Abdullahi Bayero* (1926-1953) and that of his son *Alhaji Ado Bayero* (1963- *Illa Ma Sha Allah*) and was to lead into the emergence of the new industrial layouts of Challawa, Bompai and residential suburb such as Gandun Albasa, Gyadi-gyadi, Hausawa, Hotoro, Kawu, Giginyu, 'Yan-Kaba, Na'ibawa, Unguwa Uku, Kurnar Asabe, Rijjiyar Lemu, and many others such as Kundila, Gwammaja, and Kabuga modern settlements. These developments were to transform *Birnin Kano* into the largest and richest city in the Savannah belt of Africa South of Sahara.

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<sup>15</sup> Uba. C.N.. op. cit. pp. 170-180. See also Loimer. op. cit. p.30.

## **Chapter Five**

### ***Colonial Conquest Of Kano Emirate***

The military campaign to occupy Kano Emirate by the British colonial forces ended with the fall of Kano on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1903. It was the culmination of a long-standing British imperial plan actually set since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Emirate came to the attention of British government. The British agenda on Kano was inspired by the full description of the *Birni*, and the Emirate at large in the travel accounts of such 19<sup>th</sup> century British explorers as Hugh Clapperton and Heinrich Barth. Kano was depicted in their reports, as the great emporium of the Sudan because of its markets, industries and other potentials that could serve the capitalism in Western Europe.

These findings in fact led to the scramble for Africa that culminated into the Berlin Conference of 1885. The British government, which earnestly struggled to gain control over the Niger Coast as its sphere of influence, found George Dashwood Goldie-Taubman well entrenched as the leading merchant who had obtained trading concessions from the local Chiefs around Niger and Benue Rivers. Subsequently G.D. Goldie-Taubman was appointed as the official Consul of the British in an area that later came to be known as Nigeria. This man devoted a greater part of his life and wealth in the attempts to establish British imperial rule over the territory around the River Niger. The British government finally recognized his efforts by granting the Royal Niger Company, his own

business outfit, a charter. Initially, Royal Niger Company was a trading concern that bought hides and skins in exchange for European goods and weapons.

As a business outfit, the Royal Niger Company was not just a trading concern but had been empowered by the British government to serve as an apparatus responsible for the political administration of an area around the River Niger. The Company was also given authority to impose excise and custom duties, and to maintain contingent of armed forces. This gave the Company the opportunity to raise a standing military force called the Royal West African Frontier Force (*RWAF*).<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, the Company engaged in punitive war with Bida Emirate. With the defeat of the Nupe forces, Goldie arrogantly deposed the Etsu of Nupe and installed a person of his own choice that served his trading interests henceforth.

Later in 1898, Frederick Dealtry Lugard, who was initially an employee of the Company, was directed by the British government to take over Royal Niger Company and the administration of the Niger area. Lugard established his administrative base in Lokoja, and on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1900 assumed the title of the Higher Commissioner of Northern Nigeria. He was empowered by the British government to run the administration of the region by proclamation. The Higher Commissioner, who appeared in the image of humanitarian and messiah, penetrated deep into the hinterland and within a year,

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<sup>1</sup> See Dalhatu, Usman I. "Multinational Corporations In Nigeria: A Critical Appraisal Of Nigerian Tobacco Company Plc, Zaria". Unpublished B.Sc Dissertation submitted to the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Management Sciences, Bayero University Kano. 1994. pp.1-10.

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(1900-1901), the areas of Ilorin, Kabba, middle Niger, lower Benue, Nupe, Kontagora, Borgu and Zaria were effectively brought under British control.

In March 1902, Lugard addressed his infamous proclamation to all Emirs and Chiefs including those of Kano, Katsina, Daura as well as the Caliph in Sokoto. This proclamation was carefully worded with the specific aim of legitimizing British territorial claims and control of the resources. In Kano and Sokoto, *Amir* Aliyu and Caliph Muhammadu Attahiru Ahmadu I,<sup>2</sup> vehemently opposed this proclamation and jointly resisted the British domination. The assassination of Captain Moloney, the Resident of Abuja, by the representative of the Emir of Zazzau, the Magaji Dan Yamusa, in Keffi, a vassal state of Zazzau, sparked off the crises. The Magaji assassinated Captain Moloney on Friday, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1902, to prevent what he considered to be his arrest, but the British identified this act as an active opposition to British advancement into the hinterland.

Meanwhile, Magaji Dan Yamusa had fled and taken refuge in Kano avoiding the British military garrison stationed in Zaria. He was royally received and honourably entertained by the *Amir* of Kano, Aliyu who was a personal friend of *Amirul Zazzau* Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau (1897-1902). The heroic welcome given to Magaji by the *Amir* of Kano infuriated and alarmed the British on the consequences of their future presence in Northern Nigeria. Realistically, Lugard did not expect the Fulani Emirs to surrender their power and authority

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<sup>2</sup> Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu I. ascended the throne on 12<sup>th</sup> October 1903 while the Emir of Kano Aliyu Babba occupied the throne in 1898 after the Kano *Basasa* (civil war).

without a fight. The assassination of Captain Moloney and the royal reception accorded to the assassin in Kano, who was considered by the British as a first class murderer gave the Higher Commissioner the opportunity he had been looking for, to conquer Kano militarily through what he called "*Might strike*". In his numerous memoranda to the Colonial Office in London, Lugard heaped blames on the *Amir* of Kano considering his act of harbouring Magaji Dan Yamusa as a deliberate insult to the British. To express his anger, Lugard arrogantly moved and deposed the *Amir* of Zazzau, Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau, removed him out of the city in chains and placed the administration of the Emirate in the hands of Galadiman Zazzau Salmanu. But he continued to view Kano as a hostile power because of the determination of the *Amir* Aliyu to resist the British imperial domination at all costs. Lugard then went on to accuse the Emir of Kano of imprisoning a native Sergeant Major of the Royal West African Frontier Forces on account of being the servant and collaborator of the British government. He also suspected the *Amir* of importing great quantities of firearms from Tripoli and Lagos. The decision of the Emir to reward and honour all deserters from the Royal West African Frontier Force who crossed over to Kano with their rifles also inflamed Lugard's suspicions. It was finally glaringly clear to Lugard that even trade, the prime object and motive of British colonialism could not be fully pursued on a satisfactory basis until Kano had been brought under British rule.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Dallhatu, Usman. *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku* op. cit., pp.66-70. See also Muffett, D.J.M. *Concerning The Brave Captains* (London: Andre Deutsch

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Meanwhile, the *Amir* Aliyu Babba, who was in active opposition to imperial domination, was reported to have started very serious preparations for war with the British. He had been rebuilding the *ganuwa* fortress around Kano to strengthen its defenses for over a year. Indeed, all walled cities within the Emirate were directed to rebuild their walls fortress to strengthen their defenses with specific instructions to resist any advancement of the British. Reports said *Amir* Aliyu and the people became so anxious about the encounter with the British, just to demonstrate their determination to defend their religion and the territorial integrity of the state. In fact, the Emir, Aliyu decided to confront the British and therefore marched towards Zaria to attack the military garrison stationed there. What prevented his reaching Zaria was the arrival of news announcing the death of the Sultan Abdurrahman Danyen Kasko at Wurno on 12<sup>th</sup> October 1903. But as people in Kano had expressed open hostility against the British, the inevitability of a military confrontation was very imminent and clear.<sup>4</sup>

Other Emirates were of course fully aware of the great strength of the Kano forces who, by January 1903 had completed all preparations for the war with the British, who were considered as infidels. Kano was reputed to have excellent and invincible horsemen and courageous fighters. This was in addition to the protective cover the *Birni* enjoyed from the formidable fortification of the *ganuwa*. *Kasar Hausa* generally attributed the reputation of Kano forces of having tasted several battles,

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Limited. 1964) PP.1-32. Smith, M.G., PP. 381-383. and Hambolu, M.O. (ed). 15-52.

<sup>4</sup> Hambolu, M.O. (ed). Chapter Three.

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and were therefore quite experienced in the art of warfare. To many people, it was just a matter of time before the British would be defeated and driven away by Kano.

But then while all the preparations had been put in place, *Amir* Aliyu suddenly left Kano for Sokoto in February 1903 with a large army and ammunition. More than 2000 horsemen escorted him ostensibly to pay homage to the new Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu I (1902-1903) and to consult him on the type of action to be taken against the British. The *Amir* of Kano considered two options either war or emigration (*Hijirah*) towards the east as necessary. The Emir of Kano left the political leadership of Kano in the hands of the Sarkin Shanu Muhammadu Dan Gwari while Sallama Jatau took over as the military commander responsible for the defense of the capital city.

By the end of January 1903, the British troops in Zaria moved out to Kano under the command of Colonel Morland. To take over *Birnin Kano*, Lugard marshaled all the forces he could muster and left nothing to chance. The Higher Commissioner anticipated the possible defeat of the British in Kano because he was fully aware of its preparedness. The military expedition against Kano consisted 24 officers, 2 medical officers, 12 British non-commissioned officers, 722 rank and file, four maxim guns and 75mm guns. They marched to Kano from Zaria unopposed up to Bebeji, where they met with resistance at Bebeji town. Colonel Morland blew away the gates of Bebeji with artillery fire, sadly killed many people before proceeding to Kano, where he camped at the Chalawa River.

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At 8.00 a.m. on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1903, Colonel Morland attacked the *ganuwa* fortress of Kano around the old Kofar Nasarawa. He spent two hours fighting to force entrance without success. The artillery guns failed to penetrate the *ganuwa* fortification at the point of the entrance gate of Nasarawa. This forced him to retreat and attack the *Birni* again from the direction of Kofar Kabuga after stationing mounted infantry at Kofar Gadon Kaya and Duka Wuya. He succeeded in making a slight breach after heavy bombardment around Kofar Kabuga, which became accessible to the mounted infantry. At this point, the colonial forces directly attacked the defenders of *Birnin Kano*, who were retreating from the battlefield. The British army intentionally massacred hundreds of people expending more than 70 shells.

The defenders of *Birnin Kano* suffered severely in their disorderly retreat from both the shellfire and the charge of the British mounted infantry. The forces of the defenders were estimated to be 800 horsemen and some 5,000 footmen. More than 300 of these were mercilessly murdered during the assault. According to one historical account, the British massacred at least 1000 warriors all of them while retreating from the battlefield. The British troops then proceeded to the Emir's palace where they killed the leader of the slaves, Sarkin Shanu Muhammadu Dan Gwari who had bravely resisted the British advance. The last dramatic gesture took place when a girl, called Ramatu, attempted to set the palace arsenal on fire without thinking of the danger to herself. Ramatu, who was clearly a determined character, was furious to see the White man occupying the Emir's palace. She was prevented from setting the armory ablaze by the senior

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wife of the *Amir*, Kubura. The Sallama evacuated the family of the *Amir* Aliyu to Wasai farmhouse close to the *Birni* from where they fled westward to Sokoto.

After willfully committing the massacre, the British forces captured 80 horses, several rifles and hundreds of guns with thousands of cartridges. On 16<sup>th</sup> February, 1903, the colonial forces under the command of General Kemball and Colonel Morland took 600 rank and file and 34 European armies and marched towards Sokoto. About 254 garrison<sup>5</sup> troops were stationed in Kano, in case of any eventuality or resistance from the people who still looked down on the British with contempt and suspicion.

Meanwhile, *Amir* Aliyu Babba, having accomplished his discussions with Sultan Attahiru Ahmadu I, had set out homeward to Kano with his escorts. At Daba, the representatives of Sarkin Shanu who were coming from Kano reported to him about the occupation of the *Birni* and the death of Sarkin Shanu together with a number of people. The *Amir* appeared to have disbelieved this report but a little further on the way, he met the Sarkin Fada Bagarmi who repeated the same story. The *Amir* proceeded on his journey still, between Faru to *Birnin* Goga when the Sallama Jatau, in company of Emir's senior wife, Kubura met him and related the same story. This propelled the *Amir* to take counsel of his slave commanders that included Shettima Shekarau, Ciroman Shamaki MahaKurci and Liman Ahmadu. He then consulted privately with two other individuals, Mai Kano Buzu and Alhaji Babba, who offered to guide him

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid. See Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp.384-386 and Muffett, D.J.M., op. cit pp 80-126.

## *Colonial Conquest Of Kano Emirate*

to Istanbul. During the night, *Amir* Aliyu Babba directed the Shamaki Harisu to escort his family to Sokoto accompanied by his brother, Galadima Mamuda, his son Ciroma Abdullahi and the rest of his children. When the Shamaki and his party took to the journey to Sokoto, *Amir* Aliyu surreptitiously deserted his people and slipped away into the night in an attempt to make *Hijirah* to the east.<sup>6</sup>

The disappearance of the *Amir* and the members of his family was immediately noticed on the following morning. This created a lot of dismay and uncertainty, which certainly divided the Kano party into two groups. The Wazirin Kano Ahmadu and some people chose *Shahada* (martyrdom) while Wamban Kano Abbas and the majority others chose *Taqiyyah* (prudent submission without collaborating) as they decided to proceed directly to Kano. At Kwatarkwashi near Tsafe, a place known as Katsina Laka, the small British force on their way to Sokoto encountered the Waziri Ahmadu and his followers. For two hours, the British forces withstood twelve charges from the party of the Waziri, massacring more than 65 and dispersing the rest. Among those who died were Waziri Ahmadu, Sallama Jatau and some prominent palace officials. *Amir* Aliyu, who had set his course on a flight eastward, had already reached the territory of Gobir, where he was captured by the *Gobirawa*. Word was instantly sent to the British who dispatched military detachment to apprehend him. The *Amirul Kano* was finally removed via Sokoto and Argungu to Lokoja where he was held on forced exile until his death in 1926.

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<sup>6</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit., p. 386.

Wambai Abbas arrived Kano on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1903 with over 10,000 refugees, most of whom had fled away from their homes in the *Birni* and took to hiding in the bush for fear of the British. Wambai Abbas' party consisted of 2,500 horsemen and 5,000 soldiers who had accompanied him from Sokoto. He entered the *Birni* through the Kofar Kansakali, where he surrendered and handed 120 rifles to the British. Lugard arrived Kano on 24<sup>th</sup> February and summoned Wambai Abbas with six other leading titleholders to discuss with them. The Higher Commissioner observed that Wambai Abbas had been a most intelligent character with a humane face, and therefore appointed him the *Mukaddas* (Regent) in charge of Kano Emirate. Lugard then left for Sokoto on 7<sup>th</sup> March and returned to Kano on 2<sup>nd</sup> April, and formally installed Abbas on the following day as the eighth Fulani Emir of Kano.<sup>7</sup>

This was, in short, the sequence of events leading to the British' conquest of Kano. After the fall of Kano, the British forces marched onto Sokoto where they were to meet the forces under the command of Caliph Muhammadu Attahiru I on 15<sup>th</sup> March 1903. The British forces massacred thousands of people during the battle at *Hurumi*. The Caliph quietly retreated and fled away to an unknown direction carrying the flag of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in his hand. Many people including the senior officials of the Caliphate fled away from their homes for fear of the White men. It was at this point that the Majidadin Sokoto Usmanu, a grandfather to this writer, assembled the senior state officials including the Waziri of Sokoto, who ran to Dinawa, a village close to Wurno.

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 386-397

## *Colonial Conquest Of Kano Emirate*

The Majidadi courageously served as an intermediary between them and the British in an effort to make peace.<sup>8</sup>

The victory of the colonial forces made the Higher Commissioner to consider Britain to be very fortunate indeed. He made it glaringly clear that what the Fulanis had won hitherto by conquest, had been lost through defeat. He instructed the Waziri of Sokoto and other officials to find the fugitive Caliph or else he would be forced to appoint a successor at once. Nobody seemed to know in what direction the Caliph had fled, and therefore, a unanimous agreement was reached to appoint Attahiru Ahmadu II as the new Caliph.

Thus, we could see how the British succeeded militarily in subjugating the Sokoto Caliphate and literally sucking it into Pax Britannica, the British Empire in 1903. The Emirates, on the other hand, fought but lost, not because of the lack of will to defend themselves, but simply because they were overpowered by the superior military might and organizational ability of the British. The military defeat of Kano Emirate in 1903 created a lot of confusion with the attendant breakdown of law and order. What immediately followed after the defeat was mass confusion and disorientation on a great scale, which gave the British an opportunity to establish the foundation of their control over the territory. The confusion entailed massive displacement of masses of

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<sup>8</sup> Dalhatu, Usman, op. cit. p. 74, and personal discussions with late Alhaji Yusuf Usman Sokoto and Alhaji Abdullahi Usman Sokoto; the sons of Majidadi Sokoto Usman. 1996-2002. The Majidadi Sokoto Usman was a prominent personality in Sokoto Emirate and received the salary of £600 per annum, equivalent to that of *Sarkin Kabin* Argungu. See Gazetteer of Sokoto Province compiled by Arnett. E.J esq. (London. Waterlow And Sons Limited, 1920) p. 71.

individuals and the movement of slaves as well as the freeborn. This uncertainty in Kano forced many people to flee to the rural areas especially the neighbouring Emirates. Apart from this, matters were made worse by the arrival of Abdu Tukur, who was looking forward to be appointed Emir immediately after the British conquest of *Birnin Kano*. Abdu was the son of Tukur, the *Amir* who rushed out of Kano, was deposed and later died in the course of Kano civil war, known in *Hausa* as the *Yakin Basasa*. The family of ex-*Amir* Tukur were disgraced out of office and his son, Abdu Lele went into exile with his supporters to Damagaram. Abdu Tukur returned to Kano before the arrival of Wambai Abbas from Sokoto, with the hope of being appointed to the throne in succession to his ousted father. His supporters took advantage of the situation, to ravage and loot many households in *Birnin Kano*. The level of social insecurity thus engendered, coupled with the confusion generated by the presence of white men, led to the mass exodus of people to the rural areas and other Emirates that seemed relatively more secured.<sup>9</sup>

Many Fulani aristocrats and *Ulama* in Kano abandoned their homes to join the Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu I who had passed through southern Kano en-route to Burmi, where he was martyred in a massacre together with about 700 of his followers by the British forces. The names of the prominent people of Kano martyred with the Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu I,<sup>10</sup> at Burmi is provided in Chapter Seven.

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<sup>9</sup> Smith, M.G, pp. 396-398, and Hambolu, M.O. op. cit. chapter three.

<sup>10</sup> Dokaji, Abubakar A, op. cit. p. 63.

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This was the situation in which *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas was appointed the eighth Fulani Emir of Kano by the British in April, 1903. For the new *Amir*, his responsibility initially meant the defense and preservation of Islamic government, religion and law as maintained by his predecessors. Despite the constraints imposed by colonialism, *Amir* Abbas, with the help of his able son, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero carefully navigated through the troublesome proposals of the British in favor of his own people and religion of Islam. This created an uneasy relationship between the *Amir* and the first resident of Kano Dr. Cargill.

Poignantly enough, *Amir* Abbas was to meet his death at the end at the hands of a British political officer, which further triggered the hatred between his son, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero and the British. The incident happened when the *Amir* was summoned to the Residency at Nasarawa where he became involved in a bitter argument with the Resident over the colonial policies. Then at a certain stage, the *Amir* put his hand in a manner, which made the Resident to imagine that he was trying to draw his sword from his robe to stab him. The Resident quickly gave the *Amir* a ferocious kick on the stomach with his boot. The *Amir* stumbled and fell down and was carried away to Nasarawa mini palace by members of his council who had been looking on helplessly. He died few days later and this matter does not appear in any official record of the colonialists. *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas was the father of *Amir* Abdullahi Bayero, the subject of this biography.

## Chapter Six

### *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

The Sullubawa Fulani were among the earliest Fulfulde-speaking people who migrated from Futa Toro into *Kasar Hausa*. Their origin is highly connected and associated with the Madinka, Wakore and Toronkawa. History shows that the Sullubawa initially spoke the Wakore language before they were absorbed into Fulani, which made them to lose their original language, and adopt Fulfulde.

By the middle of 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Sullubawa had successfully established their Chieftdom at Zandam in Katsina territory with the *Sarkin Sullubawa* as their Chief. Most of them were leading Islamic scholars and their leader was *Liman Na Morai*, the son of *Liman Dan Bala* of Zandam. Towards the end of the century, their concentration at Zandam dispersed, making some clans and families to move westwards to the confluence of Sokoto Rima areas. Others moved southwards to the basins of River Kaduna. *Riccifa*, *Kwasallo* and *Birnin Zaria* in *Zazzau*, while some moved northwards to the areas of Garabi in the Gulbin Maradi area and others moved to various settlements in the vicinity of Katsina Laka such as 'Yan-Doto and Morai. In Kano, their main settlements were Kiru, Fagwalawa and Kanwa, a place where Modibbo Mahmud, the father of *Amir Ibrahim Dabo* is reputed to have come from.<sup>1</sup> The father of Moddibo Mahmud i.e. the grandfather of Ibrahim Dabo was called Abdulmalik Basulluŕe. He stayed at Yalwan

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<sup>1</sup> Usman, Yusifu Bala, *The Transformation Of Katsina*, op. cit. p. 65.

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

Danziyal, a place very close to Rimin Gado and<sup>2</sup> Abdulmalik died in 1779 at this village.

Thus, we can see that the Sullubawa Fulani were well established in Kano Kingdom prior to the commencement of the 1804 Fulani Jihad. In fact some tradition further shows that Sheikh Attahiru Basullube, the father of Halimatu, who married Moddibo Mahmud bin Abdulmalik and begot *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo, was among the *Malamai* that participated in pleading for mercy when *Mai* Ali of Borno invaded Kano in 1734.

Moddibo Mahmud, the father of Ibrahim Dabo, was a great Islamic scholar and also a personal friend to Moddibo Aba Hama, the father of *Amir* Suleimanu of Kano. Available evidence shows that Moddibo Mahmud stayed in many places before settling finally in *Birnin Kano*. During his stay in *Birnin Kano*, he was reputed to have constructed a mosque and Islamic school at Galadima quarters, where he served as Imam. He was blessed with three sons, namely Malam Jammo Babba as his eldest son, Malam Ibrahim Dabo and lastly Malam Jammo Karami.<sup>3</sup> Moddibo Mahmud died in 1794, leaving behind his three sons.<sup>4</sup>

At the beginning of the Fulani Jihad in Kano in 1804, the Sullubawa Fulani centered around Malam Jammo Babba bin Mahmud, the elder brother of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo bin Mahmud. Tradition shows that Malam Jammo was among the earliest Islamic scholars that paid allegiance to Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. It is in view of

<sup>2</sup> Gwangwazo, Maje Ahmed. op. cit. p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Fika, Adamu Muhammed. op. cit. p.35. See also Gwangwazo, Maje Ahmed. *Tarhin Sarakunan Kano 1805-2003* (n.d. 2001) pp. 5-10.

<sup>4</sup> Gwangwazo, Maje Ahmed. op. cit p. 17.

this that the leaders of the Jihad appointed him as a custodian of the flag collected for Kano from Shehu Usman Dan Fodio by Malam Dan Zabuwa, which at the onset of the Jihad made him to be referred as *Malam Jammo Mai Tuta*. During the course of the Jihad campaign in Kano, the Sullubawa Fulani fought the battle in western Kano while the Jobawa Fulani and others fought in eastern Kano for strategic reasons.

After the overthrow of the exploitative *Sarauta* system, the Fulanis established Islamic government where Shehu Usman Bin Fodio appointed *Amir Suleimanu bin Aba Hama* (1807-1819) as the first *Amirul Kano*. Subsequently, *Amir Suleimanu* appointed the principal Jihad leaders as members of the Emirate Council based on their knowledge in Islamic Law. Malam Jammo Babba bin Mahmud of the Sullubawa clan was among those selected to serve as Councillors in the Emiral Administration and when he died, Malam Ibrahim Dabo, his younger brother came to light as a prominent member of the Kano Emirate Council.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Amir Ibrahim Dabo Bin Mahmud (1819-1846)***

As earlier stated, *Amir Ibrahim Dabo bin Mahmud*, the second Fulani Emir of Kano was the founder of Sullubawa ruling family, who still hold the mantle of leadership in Kano. He was born in 1791, but another tradition suggested 1776 as the year of his birth.<sup>6</sup> He received early Islamic education during his childhood under the tutelage of his father, Moddibo Mahmud, who as reported was a very learned and pious Islamic scholar

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<sup>5</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, op. cit. p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p.17. See Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. (ed) op. cit. p. 2

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in Kano. His grandfather, Moddibo Abdulmalik died when he was three years old. At the age of twelve, Dabo proceeded to the popular *Makarantar Gidan Modibbo* Aba Hama, the father of *Amir Suleimanu*, where he studied various Islamic fields. He studied other fields of Islamic sciences in different parts of Hausa land, and his elder brother Malam Jammo Babba remained one of his most influential teachers.

Malam Ibrahim Dabo got married to A'ishatu, who was popularly known as *Shekara*, in 1793. A'ishatu, who was born at Chalawa in 1778, was a daughter to Malam Gwani Bukar, a trusted friend of Moddibo Mahmud.<sup>7</sup> It was after the marriage that Malam Ibrahim Dabo stayed at Gulu in *Nupe land* where he studied under a famous Islamic scholar of the time, Malam Bello. Ibrahim Dabo rose to the position of scholarship excellence and established a school and mosque, which remained a permanent legacy of his remarkable devotion to Islam at Gulu (*Nupe land*).<sup>8</sup> He proceeded to Kwasallo in northeastern Zaria, a place mainly inhabited by the Sullubawa Fulani, and established a Qur'anic school shortly before the onset of the 1804 Jihad. He remained in Zazzau region for three years at a time, which corresponded with the rule of *Hafse Sarkin Zazzau* Isiyaku Jatau (1782-1802). Traditions show that at this period, Dabo studied under the *Limamin Kona* of Zaria Malam Hamidu who was popularly referred to as *Mai Jan Riga*. It was at the residence of this *Limamin Kona* that Dabo met Malam Suleimanu who became the first Emir of Kano and Malam Musa Bamalli, who later became the

<sup>7</sup> Gwangwazo. *Maje Ahmcd.* op. cit. p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

flag bearer of Zazzau as well as Malam Abdulkarimu who subsequently became the third Fulani Emir of Zazzau (1834-1846). All of them studied at the same time under the tutelage of Malam Hamidu *Mai Jan Riga*.<sup>9</sup>

When the wind of the Jihad started blowing around Kuru in Kano, Dabo moved northwards to Kanwa, a settlement close to Karaye and remained under the command of his elder brother Malam Jammo Babba, the custodian of Kano flag. By that time, Malam Jammo was the leader of the Sullubawa Fulani of Kano as a result of the death of their father, Moddibo Mahmud. Malam Ibrahim Dabo actively participated in the Jihad campaign, which eliminated the tyrannical *Habe* rule in Kano and replaced it with Islamic governance. After the success of the Jihad in Kano, Malam Ibrahim Dabo personally paid allegiance to the Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in 1810 at Sokoto. It was at this time that Shehu referred to Ibrahim Dabo as '*Adab*' when he noticed the qualities of leadership in him and composure. This *Lakabi* of the Shehu perhaps made people to call Ibrahim as *Adabu* that subsequently changed to Dabo.

On his return to Kano, Ibrahim Dabo tremendously assisted the first *Amir* of Kano Malam Suleimanu in running the administration of the state and took active part during the military campaign in Zazzau. Available evidence shows that Ibrahim Dabo took over the command of Kano contingents when, Malam Dahiru, who was also a member of Sullubawa was killed at Ifira,

<sup>9</sup> Formal interview with late Limamin Kona of Zaria Malam Aliyu Ibrahim Kona on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1996. See also Dalhatu, Usman. *Alhaji Shehu Idris. The 18<sup>th</sup> Fulani Emir of Zazzau*. (Kaduna: Books Africana. 2001). p, 34

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a place near Rigachikun by the remnants of the forces of the last *Hafé* ruler of Zazzau, Makau.

Following this great victory, his brother Malam Jammo Babba, who was a member of Emirate Council, made Dabo *Malamin Majalissar Sarki*. At that time, Dabo served as the *Imam* of the venerated mosque at Galadima quarters, which was earlier built by his father, Moddibo Mahmud. Subsequently, the *Amir* of Kano, Suleimanu appointed him to serve as the Chief Imam of Kano Central Mosque when the *Limamin Kano*, Malam Ahmadu died.

Apart from this, Malam Ibrahim Dabo commanded several military expeditions against Shirra in 1808 and Gumel in 1812, which gave him practical experience in military warfare. On the death of his brother, Malam Jammo Babba, the *Amir* of Kano, Suleimanu appointed Ibrahim Dabo to succeed him as a member of Emirate Council with the title of *Galadiman Kano*. It was at this time that Galadima Dabo, who was endowed with great energy, assumed the responsibility of running the general administration of Kano Emirate that revolved around *Amir* Suleimanu. This made him a prominent figure among all the Fulanis of Kano that prompted *Amir* Suleimanu to recommend him to the Caliph Muhammadu Bello (1817-1837) as his successor. His nomination had been based upon his erudite scholarship, administrative experience and military prowess.

Following the death of *Amir* Suleimanu on Monday, 8<sup>th</sup> August 1819, Dabon Dambazau, then 55 years, was passed over by the Caliph Muhammadu Bello who was in favor of the appointment of Galadima Ibrahim Dabo who was just 28 years-old at that time. In a

letter to the Fulani *Mujahiduns* in Kano, the Caliph directed the head of Yolawa clan, Malam Jibril, to assemble all the people in the Central Mosque to make the *Mubaya'a* to the new *Amirul Kano*. On Monday, 21<sup>st</sup> September 1819, Malam Jibril faithfully executed the Caliph's directives, being the first person to make the *Mubaya'a*. He was followed by other State Officials in order of precedence in rank and official status in the Emirate government. However, Dabon Dambazau, the head of Dambazawa clan and one of the principal leaders of the Jihad, refused to make the *Mubaya'a* due to his strong claim on the throne. History has shown that Dabon Dambazau was a strong contender for the throne right before the appointment of the first *Amir* Suleimanu. He had sent many gifts and his personal request for the throne to Caliph Muhammad Bello after the death of *Amir* Suleimanu, which was ignored.

The public refusal of Dabon Dambazau to make the *Mubaya'a* was instantly remarked upon by two *Malams* who were present during the ceremonial coronation of the new *Amirul Kano* Ibrahim Dabo at the central Mosque. One cursed Dabon Dambazau that he would never become an Emir, while the other prophesied that the Emirship would remain with the family of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo forever. Apart from this embitterment, *Amir* Dabo faced resentment from Dan Tunku of the Yerimawa Fulani and Muhammadu Sani, a brother of the late *Amir* Suleimanu of the Mundubawa Fulani clan.<sup>10</sup>

All these challenges were attempts to weaken the authority and power of the new *Amir*. However, the

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<sup>10</sup> Gwangwazo, Maje Ahmed. op. cit., pp. 5-17. See also Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 215-225.

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newly appointed *Amir* Dabo remained in his compound after his installation for seven days receiving *Muhaya'a* from a number of people including those that trooped from villages and towns of Kano. Before he moved into the palace, *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo ordered a new entrance to be constructed for him and commanded all his successors to do the same on their first entrance to the *Gidan Rumfa*, the Kano palace. This innovation attracted public attention, but evidently, the new *Amir* did not intend to follow *Haife*'s footsteps by this act. On his entrance into *Gidan Rumfa*, Dabo remained in *Khalwa* (religious seclusion) for 40 days, fasting and praying for Allah's help and guidance in running the Emirate administration. Immediately afterwards, *Amir* Dabo consulted one of the leading royal slaves, Dan Rimi Baraka who assured him that he would never be able to govern Kano unless he adopted *Haife* administrative practices. This made *Amir* Dabo to write to the Caliph Muhammadu Bello seeking permission in which the authority of the *Amir* would be supreme. He explained that Islamic law could not be established in Kano unless this was done.<sup>11</sup>

Subsequently, the Caliph granted this permission because Kano was a very difficult state to govern. This permission made the *Amir* of Kano to revive certain symbols of Kano chieftainship by putting the *Takalmin Gashin Jimina* (Ostrich Feather Sandals) of Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499) and holding the *Tagwayen Masu* (twin-spears) of Nawata and Gawata (1134-1136). He instructed his courtiers and slaves to shield his rising up

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<sup>11</sup> Smith. M.G op. cit. pp.200-230. See also Fika. Adamu Muhammed. p. 45.

and sitting down from public view by spreading their gowns. He also revived the court ushers introduced by Babba Zaki (1768-1776) and enforced obedience to the throne with the assistance of royal slaves who compelled every one to prostrate before the *Amir* by sitting on the floor in the Emir's chamber. In addition to this, he innovated a distinctive style of wearing the double-eared turban that distinguished him from the rest of the palace and state officials. This turban served as a permanent reminder of Allah to him because it typifies the word *ALLAHU* in the Arabic script. The wearing of this distinctive style came to be associated with the Emir and the princes who are the only ones traditionally entitled to it in Kano royalty.

Apart from this, *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo reorganized the administrative structure of the Emirate according to the hierarchical chain of authority. He crowned his reorganization by creating a number of titles and reviving the ones that had existed during the *Hufi* period. He formally informed the Caliph, stating that effective administrative control could never be achieved unless power is delegated to subordinate officers of the Emirate. The Caliph Muhammadu Bello who was attributed to be a shrewd administrator instantly approved this and adopted such methods of reviving *Hausa* title offices as administrative policy of the Caliphate government in Sokoto.

*Amir* Ibrahim Dabo then appointed Muhammadu Sani, a brother of *Amir* Suleimanu to the highest office of the Galadima reserved for a prince. The post of Galadima was vacant after the ascension of Dabo to the throne. He conferred the title of Madaki on Umaru Nayaya of the

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Yolawa clan and appointed Mandiko of the Joḥawa as Makaman Kano. He also appointed his principal rival, Dabon Dambazau of the Dambazawa Fulani as Sarkin Bai and created a new title of Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta, which he conferred on his nephew, Jibril, the son of his elder brother Malam Jammo Babba of the Sulluḥawa clan. He further made Muhammadu Bashir Risku as Sarkin Dawakin Kano and made him to serve as the Commander of the Kano army. He created the office of Mai Anguwar Kutumbawa and conferred it on the son of Alwali, Dan Mama, who initially held the title of Ciroman Kano during his father's rule while Mai Anguwar Mundubawa was reserved for members of Munduḥawa clan.<sup>12</sup> He instituted the office of Sarkin Fulani Ja'idawa and made him responsible for other groups of Fulani nomads in Kano Emirate. Similarly, he innovated the office of Dokaji and made him to be in charge of public pronouncements and decrees by the Emir. All these appointments were made public and conducted at the palace according to traditional Hausa procedures.<sup>13</sup>

Apart from this, *Amir* Dabo also retained Shehu, the son of *Amir* Suleiman as Ciroma, a title hitherto reserved for a crown prince under the tradition of the *Haḥe*. By this appointment, the *Amir* publicly honoured the Munduḥawa dynasty by preserving their dynastic interest on the throne. As indicated above, *Amir* Dabo also tried to strengthen the power of all the Fulani clans that participated in the Jihad by appointing the eldest

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<sup>12</sup> Kurawa. Ado Ibrahim. op. cit. p. 7. See also Gwangwazo. Maje Ahmed. pp.15-16 and Smith. M.G. PP., 210-240.

<sup>13</sup> Smith. M.G.. op. cit. pp. 223-240. See also Fika A.M.. op. cit. p. 48.

member of the clans as members of the Emirate Council. He additionally reactivated the slave titles such as Shamaki, Dan Rimi, Sallama, Kilishi, Sarkin Hatsi, Maja Siddi, Sarkin Kakaki, Sarkin Dogarai, Sarkin Figini, Sarkin Zagi, Sarkin Lifidi, 'Yan Kwalkwali etc.<sup>14</sup>

As it was to turn out later, the Galadima Sani, who aspired to succeed the throne after the death of his brother *Amir* Suleiman, conspired to incite serious revolt in Kano hoping that *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo would be deposed by the Caliph in the face of widespread public protest. Kano Chronicle report that the Galadima seriously connived with the Vassal Chiefs of Kano to create disaffection against the *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo. While this development was taking place within and outside *Birnin Kano*, Dan Tunku of the Yarimawa Fulani clan, who had earlier made discreditable remarks against the installation of *Amir* Dabo, saw the opportunity he had been looking. Dan Tunku right away mobilized a multitude of soldiers from various regions for popular revolt against Dabo in 1819, which gradually spread into eastern Katsina. He further sought for the assistance of unbelievers (*Kuffar*) and other dissidents for his planned *fitna* (rebellion) and most of them responded in a positive way. The centre of the rebellion was Dambatta, a town close to Katsina border. Dan Tunku gained additional support from the pastoral Fulani of the Wadobe, the Hontorbe and other nomad Fulani communities that hitherto resisted the authority of *Amir* Suleimanu. These dissident elements made Dan Tunku their leader, which made him to become *al-Murtaddin* (apostate). The commencement of Dan Tunku's *fitna* led to widespread unrest in all

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid

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directions that consequently led to military revolt throughout the Emirate.<sup>15</sup>

Dan Tunku arrogantly claimed much territory that included Dabi and Sankara, but *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo replied that he had no intention of surrendering any territory that his predecessor ruled. The *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo quickly mobilized forces and dispatched Madaki Umaru Nayaya to march northeastwards from Dan Zabuwa and drive Dan Tunku back. Another force under Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida Ali moved against him at Mazangada while Malam Bakatsine from Dutse was summoned to reinforce Madaki Umaru. Dan Tunku skillfully evaded these military attacks and successfully besieged Ungogo and Fagge, very close to *Birnin Kano*. This made many Fulani Chiefs to conspire and take arms against *Amir* Dabo overtly. The attack on Kano forces by Dan Tunku, supported by other dissidents such as Galadima Sani, created widespread social unrest and general confusion in the whole of the Emirate.<sup>16</sup>

This unpleasant situation made *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo to enter *Khalwa* at his palace, which lasted 40 days,<sup>17</sup> and it was after this, that he established *Ribats*, (military frontier strongholds) at Panisau, Ungogo and Dawaki. He converted Panisau into a military camp and marshalling ground against Dan Tunku and other enemies of the Emirate. Later, Dan Tunku attacked Ungogo for

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<sup>15</sup> Usman, Y.B. *The Transformation Of Katsina*, p.134. See Smith, M.G., pp. 226-229 and Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O (ed) p.7. See also Nast, J. Heidi. "Space, History And Power: Stories Of Spatial And Social Change In The Palace Of Kano" p. 98.

<sup>16</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit p. pp. 230-231.

<sup>17</sup> Dokaji, A. Abubakar, *Kano Ta Dabo Ci Gari*, p. 42.

the second time but was defeated and retreated in disappointment and disgrace.

By 1820, *Amir Dabo* successfully completed all his military arrangement by up-grading military hardware and had started to press back Dan Tunku, who was forced to retreat into a highly inaccessible part of *Gulbin Gari* marshes outside Dambatta. It was at this place that some of the pastoral Fulanis who had joined Dan Tunku, fled eastwards in the direction of Borno. The determination and superior military power of *Amir Dabo* forced Dan Tunku and his people to completely abandon Dambatta and move to establish a stronghold in the rocky areas of Kazaure. Dan Tunku and his people withstood several attacks and kept control over the surrounding area of Kazaure.<sup>18</sup> By 1825, the Kano forces under the command of *Amir Dabo* heavily attacked Kazaure, which forced Dan Tunku to write to the Caliph Muhammadu Bello asking for forgiveness. He also sent *Arđo* Hunturbe with a message to *Amir Ibrahim Dabo* begging for his forgiveness and re-acceptance into Islam. The *Amir* of Kano forgave him and accepted his conversion to Islam.

Shortly afterwards, the Caliph Muhammadu Bello intervened and peace was made between Dan Tunku and the Emirs of Kano and Katsina by formally creating a boundary around Jekuradi River south of Dambatta. The Caliph formally appointed Dan Tunku as Emir of Kazaure as a result of the contributions he made initially during the Jihad in Kano. It was during the course of this war that the royal praise singers of Kano praised Dabo as *Gwauron Gwa*, meaning a Bull Elephant while his

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<sup>18</sup> Usman, Y. B. op. cit. pp. 135-136.

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military troops were referred to as *Hazo Rufe Rana* (A Cloud that Shields a Sun).<sup>19</sup>

It was also during the course of this war and hostilities that *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo revived many *Habe* war titles such as Jarmai, Garkuwan Karfe, Madawakin Gawo, Barde, Sarkin Karma, Sarkin Baka, Ubandawaki etc. He organized and mobilized troops for military raids and defense of Kano Emirate. It was during this period that the Shehu of Borno Alhaji Laminu El-Kanemi marched towards Wudil in Kano with heavy military forces. By this time, the Caliph Muhammadu Bello wrote and instructed the *Amir* of Bauchi Yakubu to intercept the Borno forces. The success of *Amir* Yakubu of Bauchi during the military encounter with Borno saved Kano and other Emirates.<sup>20</sup>

The *Amir* of Kano Malam Ibrahim Dabo devoted much of his time in conquering the major towns of Kano Emirate that remained unconquered since during the reign of his predecessor *Amir* Suleimanu. He spent nine years campaigning consistently against those who stubbornly resisted the authority of Fulani leadership before he succeeded in subduing the whole Emirate. By the mid period of his reign, *Amir* Dabo had effectively quelled all resistance and consolidated his territory through comprehensive and costly military and diplomatic campaigns. He successfully established his supremacy and effective administrative control over the entire Emirate. Kano Chronicle shows that the people of Kano

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid. See Hogben. S.J & Kirk-Greene. A.H.M. p.198 and Gwangwazo. Maje Ahmed. op. cit. p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Smith. M.G. op. cit.. pp. 232-233. See also Dokaji. Abubakar A.. op. cit. p. 43.

submitted to him compellingly when they discovered that he would not leave any town unconquered. This made the people to praise him as *Dabo Ci Gari* meaning, Dabo, the Conqueror of Towns.<sup>21</sup> He became a very popular leader and was regarded with high honour and esteem.

By 1823, *Amir* Dabo had stout-heartedly established his predominance over Kano Emirate by the attributes of his leadership. He consolidated his leadership by associating the senior Fulani leaders with his government. The general administrative pattern that emerged by this time involved the ownership of almost every town and village under the central administration controlled by the Emir. The *Hakimai* were assigned to supervise the towns and villages while the *Dagatai* were charged with day-to-day administration of their villages. This administrative arrangement was with the exception of Rano, Dutse, and Birnin Kudu whose *Sarakuna* were made responsible for their administration and answerable only to the Emir of Kano.<sup>22</sup>

These administrative changes made the central government to become very strong and capable of ruling the Emirate of Kano without even the active support of the Fulani aristocracy. Apart from this, *Amir* Dabo further reorganized the four clan titles of Madaki, Makama, Sarkin Bai and Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta, and made them members of the Electoral Council of Kingmakers responsible for selecting and forwarding the name of nominees to Sokoto when the throne became vacant. He also reconstituted the Emir's Council known as *Tara Ta Kano* that included Wambai, Dan Iya, Sarkin Dawakin

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<sup>21</sup> Kano Chronicle, p. 95. See also Nast, Heidi, op. cit p. 98.

<sup>22</sup> Fika, Adamu Muhammed, op. cit. P. 49

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Tsakar Gida, Ciroma and five other members of the Kingmakers.<sup>23</sup> By these arrangements, Dabo had clearly established a new political constitution for Kano.

*Amir* Dabo was generally attributed to be a pious and just ruler who entrenched a sense of justice in the administration of the Emirate. He instructed his people to do good and prevented them from doing evil. He believed that the first principle of Muslim leadership is the establishment of a just order in the society through the implementation of *Shari'a* and obedience to *Sunnah* of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). He inculcated the spirit of justice among all the officers appointed to serve the Emirate government. He was credited with reviving the institution of state police and placing it under the Sarkin Dogarai, and creating the office of Hauni, the state executioner. The creation of these two offices and the *Shari'a* courts in Kano city and towns within the Emirate enabled him to effectively maintain law and order. Muhammadu B. Salih in his *Tagyid al Akbar* summarized that:

*He killed highway robbers, amputated the hands of the thieves and destroyed the houses of the fornicators. It reached an extent that men no longer closed their doors at night and animals moved freely without shepherds except during the rainy seasons. Allah opened routes, during his period. A lady could travel alone from Kukawa to Kwara without any harassment.....*<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 45.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted from Kurawa. Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu. M.O. (ed). p. 8.

*Amir Ibrahim Dabo bin Mahmud* was described in most historical literature as a saintly man of Allah and has been referred to as *Saifullah*, the sword of Allah. He was equally portrayed as a tall elegant personality with light complexion and was among those honoured by Shehu Usman Dan Fodio to be pious and well educated.<sup>25</sup> His complete achievements enabled him to establish precedents that determined the context in which Kano Emirate was governed and entrenched his family, who enjoyed an unchallenged predominance in Kano up till today. His dynamic action-oriented policies in his 27 years of leadership laid the basis for the growth and rapid development of Kano, making it the most important Emirate in the Caliphate. He died on Friday, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1846 after protracted illness. He was buried in the palace according to Islamic rites. It has been reported that at the time of his death, the people of Kano thought that the world would end because their hearts were so attached to him.<sup>26</sup> he was blessed with a number of children that include:

1. Usman.....3<sup>rd</sup> *Amirul Kano*
2. Abdullahi.....4<sup>th</sup> *Amirul Kano*
3. Bello.....5<sup>th</sup> *Amirul Kano*
4. Hassan.....*Sarkin Shanu*
5. Abdulkadir
6. Dahiru
7. Bashari
8. Abdussalami

<sup>25</sup> Dokaji, Abubakar A. op. cit. p. 41.

<sup>26</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, in Hambolu, M.O. (cd) op. cit. p. 8.

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### **Amir Usman Bin Ibrahim Dabo (1846-1855)**

The Waziri of Sokoto Abdulkadir was in Kano at the time of the death of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo. The Waziri served as a Caliph Special Minister in charge of Kano, Zazzau and Hadejia and maintained effective political control over the affairs of these Emirates on behalf of the Caliph. Therefore, he immediately wrote to Caliph Aliyu Babba (1842-1859), who directed the appointment of Usman to succeed his father in 1846. This appointment was apparently made without consulting the opinion of Kano Kingmakers, who however, despite their being passed over by the Caliphate welcomed the selection for fear of dispute that might lead to a crisis over the succession. He ascended the throne in March 1846.

*Amir* Usman Dabo was born in 1808 and he was renamed after Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. He held the title of Tafidan Kano under his father and on his ascension to the throne, he dismissed the *Hafe* Galadima Ango appointed by Dabo and conferred the title on his immediate brother Abdullahi. Initially, Dabo appointed Ango as Galadima in 1825 shortly after the death of Galadima Sani, a brother of *Amir* Suleimanu. In Kano tradition at that time, the Galadima served as the Waziri and was second in command in the whole Emirate.

*Amir* Usman was reported to be a weak leader in the Emirate administration. He was so weak to such an extent that highway robbery became prevalent in the Emirate. He was kindhearted and that made him unable to cut the hands of thieves or pass a death sentence on capital offences. Henry Barth, who visited Kano during his reign, remarked about pervasiveness of insecurity in rural areas due to inadequate police and military

arrangements. In fact, the Emir clearly refused to give his brother, Galadima Abdullahi, all the necessary power to organize an effective defense of the Emirate against criminals and destructive raids directed from Damagaram, Ningi, Gumel and other places.<sup>27</sup>

It was under such prevailing situation, that *Amir Usman* began to face organized revolts initiated by *Hausa Mulams*, which included Hamza, Maje, Ahmadu and Maimazari. Hamza was a famous magician who practiced magic to gain support of the people loyal to the Fulani-constituted authority. He was banished by Galadima Abdullahi and left Kano for Tsakuwa, a place 16 miles southeast of Kano where he decided to instigate a revolt (*Fitina*). He collected a large number of followers from Tsakuwa, Magami, Bashe, Duwa and Kuliki, most of whom were pagans. He freely raided the neighbouring provinces of Sokoto Caliphate without any fear, which created a number of problems that prompted *Amir Usman* to establish a military frontier at Rumo.<sup>28</sup>

Apart from this foray, the Ningi forces attacked and besieged Birnin Kudu in 1849 where a small force was sent from Kano under Barde Mande to confront them. The Kano forces were defeated and the Barde was killed, following which a combined military force of Kano and Bauchi jointly attacked the Ningawa. In addition to this, the *Haife Sarkin Katsina* MayaKi Dan Yakubu, who was based at Maradi, threatened the Emirate of Kano. At the same time the ruler of Zinder, Ibram attacked Kano and killed many people taking some freeborn into slavery.

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<sup>27</sup> Barth, Henry. *Travels And Discoveries* (1890 Edition) volume III. pp. 270-340.

<sup>28</sup> Smith M.G., op cit. p. 225.

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These series of military onslaughts severely destroyed farmlands, creating untold hardship to people.<sup>29</sup>

It was also during the reign of *Amir* Usman that Buhari of Hadejia repudiated his allegiance to the Caliphate. What seems to have created the seed of dissent was that the Emir of Hadejia, Buhari, forcefully acquired the throne against the wishes of his father, Sambo and Caliph Aliyu Babba. This exasperated the Caliph, who proclaimed Buhari as infidel and declared war against him. In an effort to defend himself, Buhari entered into an independent relationship with the *Shehu* Umar of Borno, who was the principal rival of the Fulani Caliphate. The Kanem Borno openly supported the Emir of Hadejia Buhari, which made him to attack Katagum, Kano and Bauchi Emirates. During such attacks, Buhari killed a great number of people including women and children. He also killed a number of Islamic scholars together with Hassan bin Dambo, a grandson of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. This provoked Caliph Aliyu Babba to assemble combined military forces of Zazzau, Bauchi, Daura, Katagum, Katsina and Kano for a full-scale war against Buhari of Hadejia. The Caliph directed *Amir* of Kano to take command of the combined enormous forces. The ensuing war was nicknamed as *Yakin Duniya* (World War). *Amir* Usman left Kano for Hadejia and was accompanied by his brother Galadima Abdullahi as well as some other officials of the Emirate. He reached Ringim where he fell ill and died on Sunday, 26<sup>th</sup> August 1855, leaving Galadima Abdullahi to assume field command. This was the only war that Kano was dragged

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid. pp. 255-256.

into at the behest of Sokoto during the reign of *Amir Usman*. Buhari of Hadejia resisted very successfully and on several occasions routed the Sokoto combined forces. It was during the course of this war that three sons of *Amir Usman* lost their lives.<sup>30</sup>

*Amir* of Kano Usman died at the age of 47 and was hence called post humously *Maje Ringim*. He had the following children:

1. Muhammadu Dikko....*Ciroma*
2. Ibrahim Malanta.....*Dan Lavan*, later *Galadima*
3. Mustapha.....*Dan Makwayo*

### ***Amir Abdullahi Bin Ibrahim Dabo (1855– 1882)***

Abdullahi Maje Karofi, the second son of *Amir Ibrahim Dabo* was the grandfather of *Amir Abdullahi Bayero*, the subject of this biography. He was born in 1810 and was named after Sheikh Abdullah Fodio, a brother to Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. He held the title of Ciroman Kano during the reign of his father and was promoted to Galadiman Kano by his brother, *Amir Usman*, and acted as his special assistant, a position hitherto equivalent to the post of Waziri. After the death of *Amir Usman* at Ringim, Galadima Abdullahi proceeded to Hadejia with the combined military forces under his command. On his return from Hadejia campaign, he continued to administer the Emirate government from the palace as a *Mukaddas* before the appointment of the new Emir.

In the meantime, the Caliph Aliyu Babba (1842-1859) and his Waziri Abdulkadir in Sokoto remained

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid. pp. 255-258. See also Fika, Adamu Muhammed, op. cit. pp. 50- 51 and Kurawa. Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu. M.O. (ed) op. cit. pp. 16-17.

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

occupied on whom to appoint Emir of Kano. Sokoto at this time monopolized the ultimate power in determining the succession to the Kano throne. Before the appointment of a successor by Sokoto, two factions emerged in Kano with one supporting the Galadima Abdullahi whilst the other supported his brother Turaki Muhammadu Bello. The Caliph Aliyu Babba finally dispatched the Waziri of Sokoto, Abdulkadir to Kano with a letter appointing the Emir of Kano, whose name remained undisclosed to the public.<sup>31</sup>

M. G. Smith indicates that on his arrival, the Waziri of Sokoto directed all the princes and titleholders to assemble at Kano Central Mosque for appointing and installing the new Emir of Kano. It was at this time that the *Kanawa* confirmed their suspicion of Sokoto appointing a stooge as Emir. The Galadima Abdullahi who was a strong candidate and the most popular choice of the people entered the Mosque amidst thousands of his supporters. He greeted the Waziri Abdulkadir, who directed him to take a seat of which he refused and just stood with his hand on his sword. Then someone nearby moved and cautioned the Waziri that if Galadima Abdullahi was not appointed as suspected by people, there would be serious crises in Kano. The Waziri of Sokoto, who was personally suspected to have been supporting the appointment of Abdussalami Bamundufe, instantly became afraid of the political repercussions that will follow in consequence of their early decision with the Caliph. The Waziri peeped out and saw that the *Kanawa* were already in arms awaiting for his decision.

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<sup>31</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit., pp. 271-272. See also Gwangvazo. Maje Almed, p. 35.

### *Abdullahi Bayero*

This made him to swiftly appraise the situation and its consequences and instantly took a wise decision by assuring Galadima Abdullahi that he was the person duly appointed by Sokoto.<sup>32</sup>

This was the sequence of events surrounding the appointment and public installation of Abdullahi as the fourth *Amirul Kano* on Sunday, 16<sup>th</sup> September 1885. He ascended the throne at the age of 45 and became highly committed to the yearning of his people, which made him to be well liked by the entire *Kanawa*. Regardless of his acceptability by the people, a tradition shows that *Amir Abdullahi*, who ascended the throne against the wishes of the Caliph, later came to face deposition threats by Sokoto. It has been stated that he was summoned by the Caliph Aliyu Babba to meet him at Katsina along with his forces. *Amir Abdullahi* obeyed the instructions and moved to Katsina with his military contingents anticipating for war because at that time Katsina was under heavy military attacks from Maradī. On arrival in Katsina, he directly proceeded to pay his respect to the Caliph at *Gidan Korau*, Katsina royal palace, where he was shown a hall to wait. He remained in that hall waiting for several hours where an order was sent to him directing him to move his troops to a nearby village. Three days after, the Caliph summoned him to come immediately without any escort. The *Amir* of Kano suspected something behind this but complied with the instructions and proceeded to *Gidan Korau* where he found the Caliph sitting in an inner chamber surrounded by his senior councilors. As a sign of respect, the *Amir* of Kano humbly presented himself by sitting down on the

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<sup>32</sup> Smith. M.G.. op. cit p. 272.

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

ground to greet the Caliph. The Caliph did not answer his greeting and rather remarked that "Abdullahi you seized the throne by force" to which he astutely replied "I took it with your blessings and approval". After deliberate discourtesy, the Caliph then summoned some people of Kano and consulted them about *Amir* Abdullahi's ascension to which they showed their perfect support, love and overt respect adding that he had played a leading role in the general administration of Kano since before his ascension to the throne.<sup>33</sup> This made the Caliph to become speechless and later he brought *Amir* Abdullahi very close to him as a sign of forgiveness. The Caliph even gave him his daughter, Saudatu to marry. She gave birth to a son that was named Aliyu, after the Caliph Aliyu Babba. Interestingly, Aliyu became the seventh *Amirul Kano*, as we shall see in this chapter.

*Amir* Abdullahi bin Ibrahim Dabo was an energetic ruler who spent many years on the throne repelling military attacks from Zinder and Gumel as well as Ningi. During this period, the *Habe* Chief of Ningi persistently attacked Kano Emirate and took much booty. The *Amir* of Kano ordered all the fortified towns in the Emirate to rebuild their *gamuwa* fortress for the security of their people. He further mobilized adequate forces for war with Ningi. The Kano forces under the command of *Amir* Abdullahi proceeded and camped at Falali before advancing to meet Bauchi military contingents. The combined armies of Kano and Bauchi later descended to Duwa under the command of *Amir* of Kano and destroyed the town of Daraja, a place that served as a stronghold of

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* p. 273.

the *Ningawa* and their *Kuffar* allies. They went further and attacked Tufai and Bunga where they destroyed them taking much booty as a result of desertion by inhabitants of the towns due to fear.<sup>34</sup>

The *Amirul Kano* returned to his capital after this great victory against *Ningawa*. It was at this time that Dan Baskore launched light raids most directly against Katsina, Kano and Zazzau. The *Maradawa* attacks under Dan Baskore spread fear and evoked a sense of insecurity to these communities. By 1870, Dan Baskore went and attacked Gwarzo, where *Amir* Abdullahi dispatched Madaki Hassan and Sarkin Dawaki Dan Ladan who lost their lives in his hand. Dan Baskore besieged Gwarzo for two days that surprise the inhabitants of the town. It was in this fashion that he attacked Karaye and Dumbulum in western Kano and Kudan in northern Zaria. He also attacked Karshi village, Godiya and Kiru in Kano. He struck so fast and swiftly that any likely assistance became difficult. Dan Baskore maintained his swift raids between Kano and Katsina borders attacking the settlements of people. The *Amir* of Kano Abdullahi personally led his army to Mawashi in Katsina against Dan Baskore, who turned his attention later to Zazzau, taking his mind away from Kano.<sup>35</sup> It was as a result of this that *Kanawa* praised *Amir* Abdullahi as *Dan Ibrahim, Dagi Maganin Kasa Mai Tauri*, meaning, the son of Ibrahim, a pickaxe, a remedy for hard ground.<sup>36</sup>

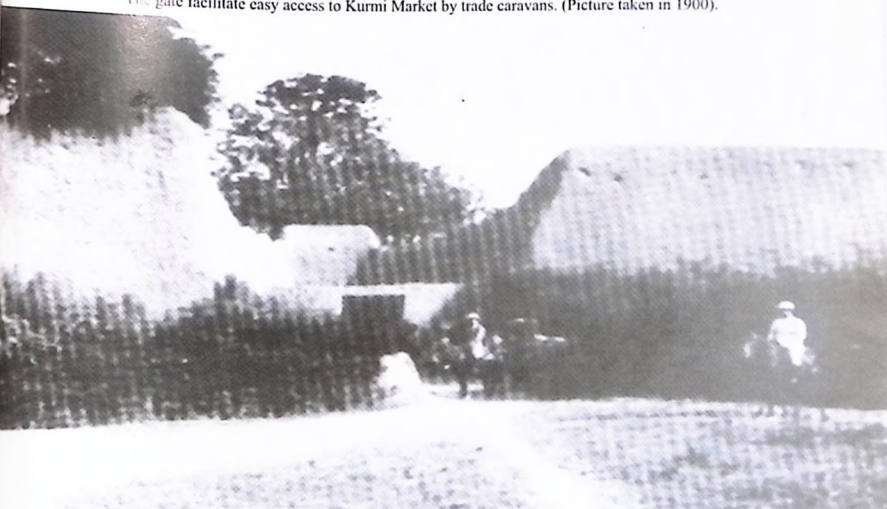
<sup>34</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, *Sulluƙawan Dabo*, p. 20.

<sup>35</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit., pp.274-282. For more details on Dan Baskore raids see Usman, Y.B., *Transformation of Katsina* pp. 164-176.

<sup>36</sup> Hogben, S.J & Kirk-Greenc. A.H.M., op. cit p. 202.



Kofar Na'isa: An entrance gate to *Birnin Kano*, the capital city. It was constructed by *Sarkin Kano* Sulaimanu (1805-1819), the first *Amir* of Kano after the Jihad of Dan Fodio of 1804. The gate facilitate easy access to Kurmi Market by trade caravans. (Picture taken in 1900).



Kofar Nasarawa constructed by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi (1855-1882), who used the gate for triumphal processions into *Birnin Kano* after successful military campaigns. (picture taken in 1903).



*Sarkin Kano Aliyu Babba (1894-1903). The picture was taken after his capture by Captain R. F. Foulkes in 1903.*



*The white missionaries presented themselves before Sarkin Kano Aliyu Babba at the royal palace in 1898. The Emir who did not accept their presence directed them to prepare their baggage and leave Kano within three days.*



*Sarkin Kato Usman Dan Isoho (1919-1926), an elder brother to Sarki Muhammadu Abbas and uncle of Sarkin Kato Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.*



*Sarkin Kato Muhammadu Abbas (1903-1919), the Father of Sarkin Kato Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.*



*Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayaro.*  
(1926-1953)

*Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Sunusi (1953-1963), the eldest son of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero and elder brother to the present Emir, Alhaji Ado Bayero. →



*Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Inuwa (1963-1963). He reined for six months and was a younger brother of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, and also an uncle ← to the present Emir, Alhaji Ado Bayero.



*Sarkin Kano Ado Bayero. (1963 to date)*

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

*Amir* Abdullahi bin Ibrahim Dabo dispatched military forces to support his namesake *Amir* Abdullahi Dan Hammada of Zazzau who ruled twice between 1857-1871 to be deposed and re-appointed to rule again by Sokoto in 1874 to 1879. Dan Baskore was said to have severely ravaged the plains of Zazzau Emirate at that period.<sup>37</sup>

Aside from this, *Amir* Abdullahi confronted Buhari of Hadejia, who invaded and annexed Kademi, a village in the territory of Kano close to Hadejia. Buhari met his unfortunate end when he forced himself into Birnin Babuje where he was defeated and seriously wounded by Kano forces. His followers managed and evacuated him to Hadejia where he died few days later without coming face to face with *Amirul Kano*, Abdullahi.<sup>38</sup>

*Amir* Abdullahi bin Ibrahim Dabo was generally attributed to be a shrewd administrator and stern warrior who spent the whole period of his rule defending Kano Emirate from all angles. It was out of this attempt that he established military strong holds at Takai and Falali. He was a very stern and energetic ruler that bravely commanded Kano forces against its enemies. He was reputed to spend most of the period of his leadership on the battleground that made the royal praise singers of Kano to eulogize him as *Shekara Tafe*,<sup>39</sup> which literally means he spent a year on the road. He remained

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<sup>37</sup> Smith. M.G op. cit. p. 278.

<sup>38</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, in Hambolu. M.O. (ed) op. cit. p. 19.

<sup>39</sup> Personal discussion with the Magajin Busa of Zaria Allhaji Abubakar, aged 90 years and was the grandson of Magajin Busa Keta Gora Sulcimanu. He said that this *Kirari* emanated from *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi. Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> February 2002.

## Abdullahi Bayero

throughout the period of his rule an able leader who discharged the responsibilities of his office diligently according to the *Shari'a*. He was a very learned and strong-minded ruler that strictly enforced the *Shari'a* law. He cut-off the hands of thieves and killed highway robbers, which made him to be popularly referred to as *Abdu Sarkin Yanka* meaning, Abdu, the Chief Executioner. He once stated publicly that he could cut his finger if it goes against the Supreme Law of Allah. Equally, he was a just leader, who instructed doing good and forbidding evil acts. He remained throughout the period of his rule very committed to the course of the Jihad and was inspired by Muslim ideals of law and justice. He institutionalized justice throughout the Emirate by establishing Alkali courts in major towns and villages.

*Amir* Abdullahi was also attributed to be a benevolent leader who, during the general distress, such as major famines of *Yunwar Banga-Banga* and *Yunwar Dagiya* of 1878, relieved and abetted the *Kanawa*. He opened the state granaries and food reserves for public relief, which was distributed to people through appropriate official channels. His qualities of leadership made him to be ranked second to Dabo among the Fulani Emirs that ruled Kano Emirate before colonialism. M. G. Smith summarizes the leadership qualities of *Amir* Abdullahi Dabo as:

*He was a judge, military leader, Head of State provider in times of famine, defender of pastoral*

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

*Fulani against extortions... and a devout Muslim...  
and outstanding son of Dabo.*<sup>40</sup>

*Amir* Abdullahi Maje Karofi was the first leader in Kano who attempted and succeeded in becoming independent of Sokoto manipulations. It was because of his reassertion of Kano independence and his refusal to comply with personal wishes of Sokoto that Caliph Mu'azu (1877-1881) attempted to depose him but failed. This attempt provoked the *Amir* Abdullahi who decided to abdicate the throne but was prevented from doing so by the *Malamai* and Council Members.<sup>41</sup> At this juncture, it is however important to note that the 27 years of *Amir* Abdullahi coincide with the rule of seven Caliphs of Sokoto some of whom were said to be weak. These seven Caliphs included Aliyu Babba (1842-1859), Ahmadu Zarruku (1859-1866), Aliyu Karami (1866-1867), Ahmadu Rufa'i (1867-1873), Abubakar Atiku (1873-1877), Mu'azu (1877-1881) and Umaru (1881-1891).

Adamu M. Fika stresses that the reign of *Amir* Abdullahi was the culmination of the development of Fulani government in Kano. Politically, the authority of the *Amir* and the palace slaves seems to have grown at the expense of other interest groups. His reign was marked by a series of depositions of state officials that became weak and corrupted. The most spectacular was the deposition of his son, Galadiman Kano Yusufu in 1870.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 200-290.

<sup>41</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 301. The same view on Abdullahi Maje Karofi's abdication was expressed by the late Limamin Kona of Zaria Alhaji Aliyu Ibrahim Kona during my discussions with him on the history of the Fulani Emirs of Zazzau and Kano. 20<sup>th</sup> October 1996.

<sup>42</sup> See Fika, Adamu Muhammed, p. 51. See also Nast, Heidi op. cit. p. 105.

Galadima Yusufu was falsely accused of attempting to overthrow his father by writing so many letters to Sokoto. What seemed to have happened was that the Secretary to the *Amir*, Malam Ibrahim Bazazzagi, who was a man of non-royal status from Zaria, wrote nine letters to the Caliph in the name of Galadima Yusufu stating that *Amir* Abdullahi must be removed from office on the ground of senility and unjust leadership. The Secretary signed all these letters using Galadima Yusufu's name. These documents were later given to *Amir* Abdullahi by the Caliph Ahmadu Rufa'i, which provoked him to depose his son, Galadima Yusufu from office and appointed Ibrahim Bazazzagi to his post. Others that were deposed included Sarkin Dawaki Abdu, Makaman Gado Da Masu, Dan Iya Alabirra, Ciroma Dikko and Alkali Ahmadu Rufa'i.

By 1882, *Amir* Abdullahi had succeeded in making Kano the greatest emporium of trade and the most important commercial centre in the whole of the Caliphate. Agricultural production, industry and trade grew in the Emirate leading to the transfer of merchandise activities to *Birnin Kano* from the nearby commercial centre of Katsina, then under constant military attacks from Maradī and Gobir. This development marked the evolutionary process of Kano's political and economic development under the Fulani era making it a famous centre of international trade.<sup>43</sup>

*Amir* Abdullahi bin Ibrahim Dabo died on 18<sup>th</sup> September 1882 at 72 years at Karofi village on his way to Kauran Namoda where he was to meet Caliph Umaru

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<sup>43</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 250-300. See also Fika, Adamu Muhammed, op. cit. pp. 51-54.

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

(1881-1891), after breaking the promise he had made earlier of not visiting Sokoto. He was therefore called post-humously as *Abdullahi Maje Karofi*. He left behind many sons and daughters. Some of his sons include:

1. Muhammadu.....*Tafida later Waziri*
2. Yusufu.....*Galadima*
3. Isiyaku.....*Galadima*
4. Shehu.....*Galadima*
5. Umaru.....*Galadima*
6. Musa.....*Ciroma*
7. Halilu.....*Ciroma*
8. Suleiman.....*Damburan*
9. Ali.....*Damburan*
10. Chigari.....*Damburan*
11. Haruna.....*Damburan*
12. Ayuba.....*Dan Lawan*
13. Unkulu.....*Dan Lawan*
14. Muhammadu Nakande.....*Wambai*
15. Malam Gajere.....*Dan Iya*
16. Ahmadu (*Mai Shahada*)... *Waziri under Aliyu*
17. Idirisu.....*Sarkin Dawaki*
18. Sa'adu.....*Dan Makwayo*
19. Salihi.....*Turaki*
20. Usman (*Dan Tsoho*).....*9<sup>th</sup> Amirul Kano*
21. Abbas.....*8<sup>th</sup> Amirul Kano*
22. Aliyu Babba.....*7<sup>th</sup> Amirul Kano*
23. Yahaya.....*Turaki*
24. Usaini.....*Dan Isa*
25. Umaru.....*Dan Isa*
26. Mamudu.....*Magajin Gari*
27. Muhammadu Dan Panisau...*Magajin Gari*
28. Mailafiya.....*Barde Kerarriya*

*Abdullahi Bayero*

29. Zakari.....	<i>Dan Maje</i>		
30. Lakwan Dare	50. Yahaya	Na	Zubairu
31. Abubakar Mai Bante	51. Lukman		
32. Ahmadu	52. Kwairanga		
33. Zubairu	53. Haliru		
34. Mu'azu	54. Isma'ila Karami		
35. Isiyaku	55. Isa Kurawa		
36. Ja'afaru	56. Zakari Kawokai		
37. Shehu	57. Cigari Sabon Aure		
38. Hashimu	58. Bello		
39. Na'aho	59. Badayi		
40. Abba	60. Abubakar		
41. Maude Kurma	61. Haruna		
42. Sufiyanu	62. Uwaisu		
43. Nuhu	63. Tajo		
44. Sa'adu	64. Sufiyan na Gwaram		
45. Ibrahim Dede	65. Salihu Na Kurawa		
46. Abdussalami	66. Ahmadu Rufa'i		
47. Adamu Gwaram	67. Abdulmumini		
48. Sule Harsa	68. Lawan		
49. Maikurawa			

***Amir Muhammadu Bello Bin Ibrahim Dabo  
(1882-1893)***

The Kano troupe proceeded with its journey to Sokoto after the burial of *Amir* Abdullahi bin Ibrahim Dabo at Karofi, a town in Katsina Emirate. The Kano group comprised some Kingmakers, titleholders and few princes and Turaki Muhammadu Bello led them. On their arrival in Sokoto, the Caliph Umaru (1881-1891) and the Wazirin Sokoto Abdullahi Bayero refused to consult the

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

Kano kingmakers that were traditionally supposed to be responsible for nominating a successor to the throne.

As has been stated, Sokoto initially manipulated the ultimate power in determining Kano's succession. Therefore, the Kano kingmakers remained silent while in Sokoto waiting for the decision of the Caliph and his Waziri to nominate a successor. According to Abubakar Dokaji, the Caliph Umaru selected the ex-Galadima Yusufu, the eldest son of *Amir* Abdullahi but the Waziri nominated Dan Lawan Yusufu.<sup>44</sup> In another tradition, it has been reported that the Caliph nominated Dan Lawan Yusufu while the Waziri nominated ex-Galadima Yusufu.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, the Caliph and his Waziri that completely neglected the Kano kingmakers remained at loggerheads unable to resolve their differences for several days. This prompted them to appeal to Nana Maryam, the respectable daughter of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio who was alive at that time, about the successor for Kano. However, Maryam intervened and selected Turaki Muhammadu Bello who was the third son of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo. Shortly afterwards, Dan Lawan Yusufu, a powerful contender to the throne died in Sokoto and was buried there.<sup>46</sup>

*Amir* Muhammadu Bello was born in 1812 and ascended the throne in September 1882 at the age of 70 years. He was named Muhammadu Bello in respect of the name of Caliph Muhammadu Bello. He was the last of Ibrahim Dabo's son to accede to the throne. M.G. Smith

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<sup>44</sup> Dokaji, A. A. op. cit., p.50.

<sup>45</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit., p.301.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. pp. 301-302.

narrates that at the time of his ascension his sight was failing although he had never become blind throughout the eleven years of his rule.<sup>47</sup> One of his remarkable deeds on the throne as reported was his success in curtailing the incursion of the *Ningawa* and their pagan allies into Kano Emirate. In his attempt at defending his Emirate, the *Amir* rebuilt the fortress town of Tudun Wada earlier destroyed by the *Ningawa* in 1870. He also defeated the *Habe* Chief of Ningi, Danyaya during a military encounter between Kano and Ningi that took place around Tsangaya and Kachako.<sup>48</sup>

*Amir* Bello instituted a series of unpopular measures that antagonized the communities within Kano Emirate. This made him to face a number of internal problems in the Emirate that consequently led to rebellion from his vassal states. Instances of this could be cited with Dutse, when the Chief Imam of Dutse intended to go to Mecca. The Emir of Kano, Bello suspected that the Chief Imam was mandated by *Sarkin Dutse* Ibrahim (Irema) to go and pray for his downfall. For this reason, the Emir, Bello opposed the Chief Imam's journey and instructed the *Sarkin Dutse* to stop him. By the time the messengers reached Dutse, the Chief Imam had already left for Mecca. The messengers however reported back to Emir of Kano that the Chief Imam made his way with the support of the *Sarkin Dutse* and further accused him of keeping 70 girls in his palace. On the strength of these allegations, the Emir of Kano, who had been looking for an opportunity to deal with *Sarkin Dutse*, summoned him to explain his despicable actions. The *Sarkin Dutse*

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid. p 303

<sup>48</sup> Kurawa. Ado Ibrahim op. cit. pp.32-33

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

arrived and vehemently denied all the allegations, which did not exonerate him in the long run. The Emir's courtiers then advised Bello to detain him in *Soron Ajiya*<sup>49</sup>, located in the palace. Bello kept *Sarkin Dutse Ibrahimu* in detention for a long time and finally dismissed him from office, which led to rebellion in Dutse. The Emir of Kano managed to suppress the revolts claiming that he dismissed *Sarkin Dutse Ibrahimu* ostensibly for tax abuses and other matters, and appointed his brother, *Abdulkadir* to that office.

Later, thorough investigations into the matter surrounding the *ex-Sarkin Dutse* revealed falsity of the accusation, which was found to be a mere fabrication by the messengers. However, it was too late to re-instate the *ex-Sarkin Dutse*, Ibrahimu. To appease him, the Emir of Kano Bello granted him the administration of Wurma village, which he declined. On seeing this, the Emir Bello requested him to forgive him over the ordeal he had been unjustifiably subjected, but the *ex-Sarkin Dutse* replied that since my family were made to shed tears, your family would shed tears of blood.<sup>50</sup>

In retrospect, this may have been the prediction of *Basasa* that erupted during the reign of Bello's son, *Tukur*. It is however important to note that *Sarkin Dutse Ibrahimu* was among those that married the daughters of *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Maje Karofi*, but he was forced to divorce her by Bello.

<sup>49</sup> See Maikano. Alhaji Abdullahi MFR. *Sarkin Dutse*. COAK/LG/ "Tarihin Dutse Gadawur, Kano". Jihar Kano, Nigeria. P.4.

<sup>50</sup> Dantiye. Nasiru Ibrahim. in Burkindo. M. Bawuro (ed) op. cit. p.94. see also Smith. M.G. *Government Of Kano* op. cit. pp.300-320.

Apart from this, the Emir of Kano Bello also dismissed Sarkin Gaya Sule for oppression and tax embezzlement in 1888, which was followed by the dismissal of Sarkin Kiru Ahmadu in 1891 for the same offence. This development made the *Amir* to face difficulties with several hereditary chiefs in eastern Kano, notably Gaya, Kila, Jahun and Gwaram, which was founded in 1827 by a Fulani man from Bauchi, Malam Lawan<sup>51</sup>.

The *Amir* further became deeply ingrained by his lust for power and greed to impose his son, Tukur as his chosen successor when he died. This made him to implement other unpopular policies in the administration of the Emirate. He systematically changed the *modus operandi* of the administration of Kano Emirate established by Dabo and Abdullahi Maje Karofi in an attempt to fulfill his personal ambition. He started with dismissing Galadima Ibrahim Bazazzagi, one of the loyalists to Abdullahi, who was appointed after dismissing Galadima Yusifu. In his place, *Amir* Bello appointed his eldest son, Tukur, as Galadiman Kano against the wishes of the *Kanawa*, who disliked him. Galadima Ibrahim Bazazzagi was banished to HunKuyi in Zazzau and was referred to as *Galadima na HunKuyi*. He further dismissed the triumphant Sarkin Yaƙin Kano Danwaire Gwanki Shabara for insulting his son, Galadima Tukur and sent him on exile out of Kano territory. The *Amir* of Katsina later appointed Danwaire as Sarkin Ruma in Katsina Emirate on special request of the Caliph.

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<sup>51</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp 306-319.

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In addition to this, Bello arrogantly dismissed his nephews Ciroma Musa, Dan Lawan Ayuba and his uncle Sarkin Shanu Hassan. He gave the offices to his own sons, Abubakar and Datti respectively. In fact, all the sons of Abdullahi that held various offices of the state were dismissed from their positions except Wambai Shehu and Dan Buran Mammam Mailafiya, who enjoyed some level of protection of the Caliph Umaru.<sup>52</sup>

Thus, *Amir* Muhammadu Bello's behavior with regards to the depositions of such large number of titled officials unjustifiably was a radical departure from the usual practice in Kano Emirate under the Fulanis. The Emir replaced the deposed with his sons and favorites and often used them to disgrace the senior state officials as well as the descendants of Abdullahi Maje Karofi. His biased policies and lack of political commonsense made his reign to become the most crucial political phase in Kano Emirate. The *Amir* became a creature of the circumstance and succeeded in creating many problems for himself. At this time, the hostile attitude of Bello compounded the intra-dynastic problem within the ruling dynasty of Dabo, which created nagging intra-dynastic rivalry that became so fierce and degenerated into a serious crisis shortly after his death.

In addition to this, *Amir* Bello installed his personal servant, Dan Gyatum, as Sarkin Fadan Kano, who gradually became his personal friend. Dan Gyatum exercised overwhelming power in the administration of Kano Emirate against the interest of the titleholders and princes. In the long run, Sarkin Fada Dan Gyatum

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, pp. 303-332. For more details see Dokaji, Abubakar A., op. cit. pp. 50-51.

became like a constitutional Waziri and stretched out his legs and acted like the ruler.<sup>53</sup> It was as a result of this that Dan Gyatum was referred to as *Mai Sarki*, meaning the owner of the ruler.

The obnoxious policies of Bello were further extended to the *Cucanawa* who were loyal to Abdullahi Maje Karofi. The most affected amongst such *Cucanawa* included Sarkin Gwaram Ado, Sarkin Tudun Wada Aliyu and Jakadan Garko Dan Kumatu. Others who resided within the Emir's palace included Sallama Baraka, who was blackmailed of revolting and the Lifidi Yi-Ga-Allah. Some of these *Cucanawa* were removed from their positions and killed on trumped up charges by the ruler.<sup>54</sup>

This dire situation further provoked disaffection and it was out of it *Amir* Bello ordered all the titleholders that married the daughters of Abdullahi Maje Karofi to either divorce them or relinquish their traditional titles. Prominent among the affected titleholders included Sarkin Rano Jibril who was marrying ex-Galadima Yusufu's sister, Sarkin Fulanin Jahun Modibbo and Madakin Makama Hamza. Most of these titleholders divorced their wives in an attempt to preserve their offices, but unfortunately lost their chore shortly after. It was only the Madakin Makama that willingly relinquished his title and maintained his wife Dije, who begot Muhammadu Dahiru that became Makaman Kano in 1925-1940.<sup>55</sup>

These harsh conditions made the relationship between *Amir* Bello and the sons of *Amir* Abdullahi Maje

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<sup>53</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 303.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. p. 304-310.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. pp. 301-310.

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

Karofi to become soured by rivalry and hatred. *Amir Bello* further aggravated the problem by bringing the sons of Usman Maje Ringim closer to him, willfully alienating the sons of Abdullahi Maje Karofi who were hitherto established in Kano. He appointed Ibrahim Malanta, the son of Usman Maje Ringim to the office of Tafida and Mustapha, who married his daughter, to the office of Dan Makwayo.

It was under this heated atmosphere that *Amir Bello* indicted the ex-Galadima Yusufu for devious conduct, which triggered further discontent in the whole Emirate. These provoked all the descendants of Abdullahi Maje Karofi to rally behind their elder brother and overtly identified him as their father.<sup>56</sup> The *Kanawa* also became exasperated and saw these acts of *Amir Bello* as total betrayal to his late brother that did so much to establish him. Sadly indeed, these episodes destroyed all the precedents established by Dabo by which Kano Emirate was governed and only needed time to explode. It was not long after the death of *Amir Bello* that civil war erupted in Kano, as we shall see in this chapter.<sup>57</sup>

Throughout the period of his rule, *Amir Muhammadu Bello* was deeply occupied on choosing his successor, which was nobody other than his son Galadima Tukur. He tactfully transferred the Emirate authority to Galadima Tukur who was generally hated and disliked by the *Kanawa* due to his exuberances and royal pride. In short, Galadima Tukur became the beneficiary of the mass depositions of titled officials that characterized his father's reign. It was out of Bello's

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, pp. 304-307.

<sup>57</sup> Fika, Adamu Muhammed. op. cit. p. 50.

attempt to secure the succession of his son that he doubled the rate of taxation and instituted *Jangali* to be paid in cash not in kind,<sup>58</sup> which was in consequence of heavy demand from Sokoto. These heavy exertions from the authorities created untold hardship and suffering to *Kanawa* as well as the Fulani herdsmen who began to flee from Kano to neighbouring Emirates. Bello's unprecedented reliance and obsequiousness to the central authority of the Caliph and the larger amount of tributes he sent to Sokoto made life far less comfortable for the entire *Kanawa*.

In 1891, Caliph Umaru died at Kauran Namoda, which consequently led to the appointment of Caliph Abdurrahman (1891-1902). Shortly after his ascension, the new Caliph ordered his Emirs to bring half of their armies to Sokoto for war with Argungu. The *Amir* of Kano Bello was unable to attend personally on the ground of health and age and therefore dispatched Galadima Tukur. During the encounter, the *Sarkin Kabin Argungu* Sama'ila besieged the combined forces of Sokoto and routed the Fulanis, taking them by surprise. The Fulanis suffered heavily and fled homeward to Gwandu, leaving the Caliph unshielded. It was at this crucial time that the Kano forces under Galadima Tukur rescued the Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko from the forces of *Sarkin Kabi*. This made the Caliph to assure *Amir* Bello that he would appoint his son, Galadima Tukur at all costs after his death.<sup>59</sup>

*Amir* Muhammadu Bello was attributed to be very generous to *Malamai*. The major beneficiaries of his

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<sup>58</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 308-311.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 322-332.

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

generosity included Malam Muhammadu Aminu and Alkali Baffa Bagyane. Available records showed that he was an Islamic scholar who supported and encouraged Islamic education. He died on Sunday, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1893 at the age of 81.<sup>60</sup> He left behind five sons that included:

1. Tukur.....6<sup>th</sup> *Amirul Kano*
2. Abubakar..... *Ciroma*
3. Datti..... *Sarkin Shamu*
4. Umaru..... *Ciroma*
5. Zakari..... *Turaki*

### ***Amir Muhammadu Tukur Bin Bello (1893-1894)***

The death of *Amir* Muhammadu Bello paved the way for intense competition to be waged among members of the ruling dynasty of Dabo. The 11 years reign of Muhammadu Bello intensively created a bitter rivalry between his sons and those of Abdullahi Maje Karofi, making the environment hostile, that consequently transformed into a costly civil war in Kano. Abubakar Dokaji asserts that before the death of *Amir* Bello, the Caliph Abdurrahman had assured him that he would appoint his son, Galadima Tukur to succeed him.<sup>61</sup>

The Waziri of Sokoto Muhammadu Buhari who, was in Kano at the time of *Amir* Bello's death immediately wrote to the Caliph narrating the situation to him. After the three days mourning period, the Waziri summoned Dan Rimi Yahaya, Shamaki Sa'idu and some other royal slaves where he discussed the issue of succession and carefully listened to their views and

<sup>60</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, in Hambolu, M.O. (ed) op. cit. p. 33.

<sup>61</sup> Dokaji, Abubakar A., op cit. p. 53.

opinions. He further made due consultation with the Kano Kingmakers and prominent *Ulama* and wrote again to the Caliph suggesting that the ex-Galadima Yusufu, who was the most popular and acceptable candidate, should be appointed to succeed to the throne. The Waziri further warned the Caliph that blood would flow in Kano if the ex-Galadima Yusufu was not appointed.<sup>62</sup> The Caliph, Abdurrahman popularly known by his *Lakabi* of *Danyen Kasko*<sup>63</sup> became furious on receiving this message and replied that Galadima Tukur must be appointed no matter what, even if intestines would flow let alone blood.<sup>64</sup>

Despite these warnings of danger, the Caliph Abdurrahman ordered the Waziri to install Galadima Tukur or else face the consequences. The Waziri, who was in support of the appointment of ex-Galadima Yusufu and the *Sarakuna* as well as *Malamai*, became afraid that such a choice would inevitably lead to *fitina* and killing of innocent people. The Madakin Kano, who was supported by many titleholders, protested vehemently to the Waziri against the Caliph's unwise decision. When the Caliph refused to change his mind, the Kingmakers and titleholders of Kano as well as the people boycotted the Mosque, which forced the Waziri Buhari, to summon Tukur privately in the night and secretly installed him at his residence.<sup>65</sup> The newly appointed *Amir* proceeded to

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<sup>62</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 339-341. See also Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, op. cit. p. 35 and Dokaji, Abubakar A., pp. 53-55.

<sup>63</sup> *Danyen Kasko* literally means unbaked pot, an appellation, which the Caliph derived in consequence of his unwise political decision and unreliability.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 339-341.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* See also Hogben, S.J and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. p. 203.

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the palace with few slaves accompanying him, which sharply contradicted the etiquette of Fulani tradition of Kano. It was only the sound of royal drums in the night that announced the coronation of *Amir* Tukur to the public. His appointment was highly unwelcome to the *Kanawa*, which made the *Birni* cloaked in grief. The assertiveness of the *Kanawa* against the imprudent decision of the Caliph was clearly expressed through their refusal to pay homage to the new *Amir* of Kano. Only few insignificant number of people paid allegiance to him.

The ex-Galadima Yusufu was a candidate initially for succession since the time his father, *Amir* Abdullahi died in 1882. Yusufu was born in 1837 and was the second son of *Amir* Abdullahi. Sokoto prevented his appointment at that period on the basis that he would be like his father and hence might become too independent and uncontrollable. Yusufu was accredited to be the most popular candidate for the throne and was more qualified for Emirship than any of his rivals such as Bello and his son, Tukur. He was attributed to be knowledgeable and intelligent, and had excellent qualities of leadership. He further possessed excellent military prowess that made him to gain the support and admiration of many important personalities in Kano.<sup>66</sup>

Available evidences show that in spite of this betrayal by Sokoto, the ex-Galadima Yusufu went and paid his homage to the new *Amir* Tukur. He further admonished his brothers to do the same but only Wambai Shehu and Dan Buram Mamman Mailafiya paid their

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<sup>66</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, op. cit. p. 37.

allegiance to the *Amir* Tukur. It was at this time that Sarkin Shanu Datti, a brother to the new *Amir* Tukur said, "Only five of us defeated one hundred". This statement provoked Wambai Shehu, who moved directly to the compound of his brother, the ex-Galadima Yusufu, where he met all his brothers converged, planning for the next line of action. According to M.G Smith, Wambai Shehu implored them that they must leave the city at once, otherwise *Amir* Tukur would finish them all.<sup>67</sup>

What triggered off the crises was the installation of Tafida Ibrahim Malanta, the son of *Amir* Usman as Galadiman Kano by *Amir* Tukur instead of restoring the office to the ex-Galadima Yusufu. This action demonstrated that the leadership of Tukur would strengthen alliance with *Amir* Usman's sons, which will consequently eliminate all the descendants of Abdullahi from the political arena of Kano. By this time, however, all the descendants of Abdullahi had grouped around the ex-Galadima Yusufu and left *Birnin Kano* to Nassarawa mini palace earlier built by Abdullahi Maje Karofi. They proceeded to Wudil, Kademi and finally settled down at Takai mini palace also built by Abdullahi Maje Karofi. It was at this mini palace in Takai that ex-Galadima Yusufu was made *Amirul Kano*, making him to become the leader of a powerful movement. He dispatched letters to all *Hakimai* and village Chiefs soliciting for their support, cooperation and assistance.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit pp. 340-341.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. pp. 340-352. For more details see also Fika, A. Mohammed, "The Political Re-Orientaton of Kano Emirate Northern Nigeria, circa 1882-1940". Ph.D. Thesis. S.O. and A.S. London. 1973.

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By these appeals, *Yusufawa* had succeeded in drawing many supporters from the east and southeastern Kano who are in search of leadership and direction. The *Yusufawa* further attracted many warriors to their cause, who believed the saying of Islamic scholars that *Amir Bello* had failed to follow certain Islamic injunctions and Allah will ordain the failure of his son, *Amir Tukur*.<sup>69</sup> Apart from this, *Amir Abdullahi Maje Karofi's* long residence and tireless efforts in defense of this area had endeared his name and his family, which lead to constant inflow of armed supporters from every direction.

During the opening months of the revolt, the *Yusufawa* gathered sufficient military strength against Kano. They also secured the support of North African merchants as well as Gumel, which was a rival of Kano.<sup>70</sup> By this time, the Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko, who threatened to dismiss Wazirin Sokoto Buhari for protesting the appointment of Tukur, was mainly occupied on how to maintain the latter in office. The Caliph ordered the Waziri to return to Kano and remain there as long as the rebellion continued. It was at this level that the Emir of Hadejia Muhammadu (1885-1906) invited the Waziri of Sokoto and Yusufu for dialogue suggesting that Yusufu should replace *Amir Tukur*.<sup>71</sup> The attempt by the Emir of Hadejia for peaceful resolution over the Kano crises failed woefully because the Caliph would not entertain it in any way.

The *Yusufawa* approached Kano and camped at Fagge with thousands of people ready for combat. On the

<sup>69</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim op. cit. p. 35.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. p. 38.

<sup>71</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 345.

following day, they launched a direct assault and succeeded in breaking through Kofar Mata where they killed Dan Iyan Kano. The Kano forces under the command of Sarkin Gaya Ibrahim Dabo surrounded the *Yusufawa* and slaughtered many people, and dumped them into the dye pits near the gate. About 340 people were slain during this encounter while the luckiest ones escaped to Takai through Kofar Dan Agundi under the command of Aliyu Babba. At Kofar Dan Agundi, the Magajin Malam Na Hausawa, Rabi'u was killed while trying to close the gate to *Yusufawa*. It has been estimated that *Amir* Tukur forces captured about 400 people that were subsequently killed.<sup>72</sup>

It was under this politically charged atmosphere that Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko directed *Amir* Tukur to kill all the captives without respect to their ancestry since they resorted to war. This direct order led to the unmerciful killings of the war captives at all Kano gates. The *Amir* Tukur further sought the assistance of Sokoto to accomplish this war, where the Caliph Abdu instructed *Amir* of Katsina to release his military forces. The Katsina forces under Kauran Katsina were sent by *Amir* Tukur against Minjibir, a town suspected to be loyal to *Yusufawa*.<sup>73</sup> This was what led the war to take a serious dimension that increased the active hostilities against *Amir* Tukur. It was during this period that Sir William Wallace visited Kano city in 1894 where he reported that:

*Civil war held the entire province in its grasp. Every few days' batches of prisoners were butchered in the*

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid. p. 346.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

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market place with the customary indignities of the dead...<sup>74</sup>

This indiscriminate slaughter of the war captives by *Amir* Tukur without leniency rendered him to be a tyrannical leader. Additional reports of his brutalities and terrors further destroyed his name, which made the *Kanawa* to pray for his downfall and the success of *Yusufawa*. Two months after, the *Yusufawa* gained additional supporters hitherto loyal to *Amir* Tukur. By the middle of the third month, the *Yusufawa* had completed all their preparations for second advance against Kano. They passed through Dawakin Kudu where they discovered that Jarmai Dila had gathered a sufficient support for them. It was at this point that the ex-Galadima Yusufu himself lead a military force against Gaya where strenuous fighting took place. Ex-Galadima Yusufu fell ill during this encounter where his health steadily deteriorated. He died at Garko and before his death, he instructed his personal slave, Shamaki Harisu to bring all the princes and senior slaves to him. On their arrival, Yusufu nominated Aliyu Babba as his successor, on the ground that he was the grandson of Caliph Aliyu Babba, which would probably make him to receive the support of many Toronkawa Fulanis in Sokoto when the war with *Tukurawa* was won. At this time, the Mother of Aliyu Babba, Saudatu, a daughter to Caliph Aliyu Babba was at Takai supporting the cause of the *Yusufawa*.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Wallace, Williams. 'Notes On A Journey Through The Sokoto Empire And Borgu In 1894' *Geographical Journal*. Volume 8. 1896. For more information see Junaidu, Wazirin Sakkwato, *Tarihin Fulani*, pp. 58-70.

<sup>75</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 349-350.

After his burial at Garko, Shamaki Harisu, Dan Rimi Nuhu and other senior slaves fulfilled the final instruction of ex-Galadima Yusufu without delay by crowning and installing Aliyu Babba as his successor. They handed to him the royal paraphernalia of Kano dating back to Muhammadu Rumfa, which included the twin spears (*Tagwayen Masu*), the ostrich feather shoes (*Takalmin Gashin Jimina*) and other symbols used by *Amir* Dabo. They further compelled all the princes to pay homage to him or else face execution. This display of power and loyalty (*Amana*) by the *Cucunawa* (royal slaves) who were sworn to die defending their master prevented the claims of ex-Ciroma Musa who was by then the most senior among *Amir* Abdullahi's sons. It also prevented internal division among the *Yusufawa* and united them under the leadership of Aliyu Babba.

The Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko, who overreached himself in an attempt to maintain Tukur in office, was very annoyed to learn that Aliyu Babba had assumed the mantle of *Yusufawa* leadership. The *Yusufawa* marched on Kano under the command of Aliyu Babba and camped at Anguwar Rimi, a place outside the city. Aliyu Babba courageously wrote to *Amir* Tukur announcing his arrival. The *Amir* of Kano, Tukur led his forces to Tudun Maliki, a spacious place now close to Rumfa College where the two armies fought a serious battle. The *Amir* Tukur forces were outnumbered and became frightened by the *Sango* guns used by Aliyu Babba's armed forces. After some little resistance, the *Amir* Tukur fighters fled and hid in the precincts city wall. Those reported to have lost their lives among the prominent people during this encounter include Galadima Ibrahim Malanta, Sarkin

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Dawaki Mamudu and Ahmadu, who was a grandson of Dabo. Aliyu Babba waited for five days at Fagge for reinforcements from Gumel while *Amir* Tukur remained in a command post at Kofar Mata gate. Thereafter, the *Yusufawa* advanced to take over the city, which compelled *Amir* Tukur to flee through Kofar Waika to Dawaki near Tofa. The *Yusufawa* drove *Amir* Tukur out of Kano by force on 19<sup>th</sup> August 1894. He proceeded to Bichi, Gurum and Kusada in Katsina.<sup>76</sup>

Meanwhile in Sokoto, the Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko remained restless and ordered the *Amir* of Katsina, Abubakar to mobilize his fighters in support of the renegade *Amir* of Kano, Tukur. The *Amir* of Katsina who was unwilling to do so forcefully had to obey the instructions of the Caliph and camp his forces at Yashi village. The Caliph further instructed the *Amir* of Zazzau, Usman Yaro (1888-1897), Kazaure and other Emirates to do the same, which they tactfully declined.<sup>77</sup>

By this time however, Aliyu Babba had already entered and settled in the royal palace of Kano. On their success, the *Yusufawa* supporters began to break into people's compounds plundering and looting properties, which is referred to as *Basasa*.<sup>78</sup> This *Basasa* was directly aimed at the compounds of people known to have supported *Tukurawa* as a punishment. In any event, Aliyu Babba's treatment of opponents differed considerably

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. pp. 340-360. See also Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim op. cit pp. 35-36 and Gwangwazo Maje Ahmed, op. cit. p. 64.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. See also Fika, A.M. cited above and other sources related to the history of Kano.

from that of Tukur, because he acted quickly to restore law and order in the whole of the Emirate.

On his assumption of power, *Amir* Aliyu Babba created the title of Waziri and conferred it on his senior brother Ahmadu, while Wambai Shehu was given the title of Galadima. He also awarded the title of Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida to his brother Abbas following the death of Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida at Salamta during the cause of the civil war. Abbas was reported to be a stern warrior who successfully commanded the *Yusufawa* forces against Buji near Birnin Kudu. Aliyu Babba further instituted Shatima, a title borrowed from Borno and conferred it on Shekarau, who was made responsible for the slave troops armed with elephant guns (*Sango*) and rifles.<sup>79</sup>

While these rapid administrative changes were taking place in *Birnin Kano*, the fugitive *Amir*, Tukur moved to Kamri from Kusada in Katsina Emirate. It was at this time Tukur appointed his son Abdu Lele to the title of Ciroma after the death of his brother Ciroma Umaru. At this point, the Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko had completed all his preparations and dispatched the Wazirin Sokoto Buhari to Katsina. The Caliph instructed the Waziri to direct Tukur to move from Kamri to Tafashiya, a place located at the boarder between Kano and Katsina. This clearly demonstrated the intention of the Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko of assisting Tukur to invade Kano by force.

Meanwhile in Kano, the *Amir* Aliyu was fully informed about this development by his spies who supplied adequate reports to him on a daily basis. He

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<sup>79</sup> Smith, M. G., *op. cit.* pp. 350-364.

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therefore set out with his army from Kano to Tafashiya on 19<sup>th</sup> February 1895 after occupying the throne for nine months. He arrived Bichi on that day and in the following morning proceeded to Dan Zabuwa thence to Tafashiya where he camped at Michinjim, a boarder between Katsina and Kano. During the preliminary skirmishes, Tukur left the fighting to his ardent supporter, Sarkin Gaya Ibrahim who drove back the *Yusufawa* forces. Later, the weight of *Yusufawa* cavalry forced the Sarkin Gaya back to Tafashiya. It was at this level that the fugitive *Amir* of Kano appeared well armed apparently determined to settle the issue himself by a single charge. Available evidence shows that Tukur headed directly towards the *Givan Sarki* (royal slaves contingent that surrounded the Emir) holding his spear intending to break through their ring circle. Unexpectedly, his horse tripped and fell where upon Aliyu Babba shouted, ordering that Tukur should be captured alive without any harm. Unfortunately, in this circumstance, a grandson of Abdullahi Maje Karofi, Dan Kade Abdu Na Gwangwazo moved swiftly and struck Tukur.<sup>80</sup> On seeing this, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida Abbas rushed quickly to save him. He took him to *Amir* Aliyu Babba bleeding from the wound he sustained by the strike of Dan Kade Abdu. *Amir* Aliyu Babba became so angry demanding why Dan Kade should do that to his brother. Shortly after, Tukur died on the spot on Saturday, 16<sup>th</sup> March 1895.

By the time the final battle broke out at Tafashiya, the Wazirin Sokoto Buhari had allowed the *Amir* of Katsina to pull out his forces on the pretext that

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 350-360.

*Maradawa* were about to attack *Birnin Katsina*. It was at this time that the supporters of Tukur abandoned him and prudently escaped to Sokoto and settled there. The successful *Yusufawa* returned to Kano after the death of Tukur. Shortly after, the Waziri of Sokoto Buhari returned some fugitives to *Amir Aliyu Babba* with a letter from the Caliph requesting that their compounds should be returned to them. The Waziri also brought back to *Amir Aliyu* the royal paraphernalia of Kano, which had been removed after the death of Tukur at Kamri.<sup>81</sup> That is how the reign of *Amir Tukur* who is post-humorsly referred as *Maje Kamri* came to an end abruptly. Tukur had the following children:

1. Muhamnadu .....*Ciroma* at Kamri
2. Bello
3. Abdu Lele
4. Dibgau

#### ***Amir Aliyu Babba Bin Abdullahi (1894-1903)***

*Amir Aliyu Babba* was born in 1864 at the royal palace of Kano during the reign of his father *Amir Abdullahi Maje Karofi*. He was named after his maternal grandfather, Caliph *Aliyu Babba*, which made him to be referred to as *Malam Babba*. He was very knowledgeable and charismatic leader among the sons of *Amir Abdullahi Maje Karofi*. History has shown that he was a deeply learned Muslim scholar who strongly adhered to Islamic injunctions. He had been exceedingly close to ex-Galadima *Yusufu* and served as his Waziri. His ascension to the throne was planned and masterminded by ex-

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

Galadima Yusufu, which was skillfully stage-managed by the *Cucanawa*. After his installation at Garko, Aliyu swore to fulfill all the promises and undertakings earlier made by Yusufu to his supporters when *Amir* Tukur was defeated. Aliyu Babba triumphantly entered Kano on Wednesday 19<sup>th</sup> August 1894 after the defeat of *Amir* Tukur, who was forced to flee to Katsina Emirate. The effort made by the Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko to reinstate Tukur failed woefully while Aliyu Babba consolidated his position as seventh *Amirul Kano*.

With Tukur's defeat, *Amir* Aliyu Babba turned his face away from Sokoto and rejected the Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko's authority. This was the first time when Kano openly cast off the authority of the Caliphate and asserted its full independence. This act seriously weakened the position of Sokoto and taught Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko a great lesson. But instead of learning from his political miscalculations, the Caliph became deeply determined to punish *Amir* Aliyu Babba. He therefore resorted to intrigues and collaborated with the *Hafe* of Damagaram to constantly attack Kano.<sup>82</sup>

Despite these threats, *Amir* Aliyu Babba remained independent and terminated Kano's political and external relationship with Sokoto. He was said to be a brave and industrious warrior. He therefore prepared the military forces at his disposal and faced the aggressiveness of *Sarkin Damagaram* Ahmadu Maje Rinji. The Damagaram forces successively attacked Kano Emirate and invaded Malikawa town in 1894, taking Kano forces by surprise. Consequently, the *Sarkin Damagaram* was

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid. pp. 358-381.

repulsed by the Kano forces commanded by *Amir Aliyu Babba*. These constant military attacks continued up to 1897 when *Sarkin Damagaram* attempted to invade *Birnin Kano* itself but failed. Again in 1899, the Damagaram forces under the command of Ahmadu Maje Rinji returned to Kano in which a serious war ensued at Fage. The Kano military forces were directly under the command of *Amir Aliyu Babba* who disguised himself like the Damagaram people. During this military encounter, *Amir Aliyu Babba* slew many people of Damagaram that forced them to retreat in defeat.<sup>83</sup>

Apart from this, *Amir Aliyu Babba* was able to withstand several military invasions from Ningi who were defeated several times. He continued to press the *Habir* Chief of Ningi, Dan Yaya who carefully avoided the superior military firepower of Aliyu Babba. In addition to this, Kano faced a threat from Rabeh, who attempted to conquer the Emirates surrounding Borno Kingdom. This made Aliyu Babba to seek more firearms from Lokoja and Nupe against the anticipated attack. Fortunately, however, the attack on Kano was never launched because the combined forces of Misau, Gombe and Katagun halted the forces of Rabeh.<sup>84</sup>

The reign of *Amir Aliyu Babba* was brought to an end by the colonial invasion after strong resistance by the Kano forces on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1903. The colonial forces crushed the brave opposition mounted by towns and villages on their way to Kano from Zaria. The colonialists were further confronted by courageous resistance of *Kanawa*, which they crushed with brutality and

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 361-384.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

barbarism. Over a 1000 people were killed while the British suffered only 14 casualties, of whom only two were British officers. At that time, the *Amir Aliyu Babba* of Kano had gone to Sokoto for the first time to pay homage to the new Caliph Muhammadu Attahiru I (1902-1903) and discuss the issue of impending colonial penetration. He was captured on his way back to Kano and exiled to Lokoja where he died in 1926. *Amir Aliyu Babba*, who is popularly referred to as *Alu Mai Sango*, is highly remembered in Kano as an intelligent and excellent military commander. He had a number of sons that included:<sup>85</sup>

- |                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Abdulkadir Mujeli... | <i>Ciroman Kano</i> |
| 2. Bello.....           | <i>Turakin Kano</i> |
| 3. Dalhatu.....         | <i>Turakin Kano</i> |
| 4. Isa                  | 17. Abbas           |
| 5. Balarabe             | 18. Nasiru          |
| 6. Garba I              | 19. Mamuda          |
| 7. Ahmadu               | 20. Cigari          |
| 8. Abdulmumini          | 21. Hamisu          |
| 9. Ado                  | 22. Aminu           |
| 10. Musa                | 23. Bashari         |
| 11. Datti               | 24. Dauda           |
| 12. Kasimu              | 25. Garba II        |
| 13. Habibu              | 26. Haruna          |
| 14. Mahe                | 27. Mahmud          |
| 15. Hussaini            | 28. Autan Inna      |
| 16. Sani                |                     |

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. See also Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim op. cit pp. 40-41.

**Amir Muhammadu Abbas Bin Abdullahi (1903-1919)**

The reign of *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas is very important in the socio-economic and political history of Kano principally because he was the first Emir appointed by the British after the military conquest of the Emirate in 1903. The period was also an epoch when Kano was adjusting and reconciling itself to colonial rule. It is interesting, however, to note that Abbas was the father of *Amir* Abdullahi Bayero, the subject of this biographical study.

*Amir* Muhammadu Abbas was born in 1856 at the royal palace of Kano when his father was barely a year on the throne. He was among the sons of *Amir* Abdullahi Maje Karofi that had not held any title during the reign of his father because he was young at the time. He was awarded the traditional title of Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida during the reign of his brother *Amir* Aliyu Babba and was later promoted to Wambai. During the colonial invasion of Kano, Wambai Abbas was together with *Amir* Aliyu Babba at Sokoto and spent several days with the new Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu I (1902-1903) as to whether the Muslims should go on *Hijrah* to avoid European rule. After due consultation with the Caliph, *Amir* Aliyu Babba headed home and on his way, learned that Kano had fallen to the colonialists. It was at then that *Amir* Aliyu Babba disappeared to an unknown destination between Faru and Goga village. Following his disappearance the Kano party ran into confusion that consequently led into its division. Wambai Abbas and a number of people opted for *Taqiyyah* (prudent consciousness) while his brother Waziri Ahmadu chose

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

*Shahada* (martyrdom). The Waziri Ahmadu and some others that were determined to fight, clashed with the British forces at Kwatarkwashi near Tsafe on 25<sup>th</sup> February 1903 where a serious fight ensued. The Waziri and 65 people were mercilessly killed by the British forces, which made him to be referred to post-humorsly as *Mai Shahada*.<sup>86</sup>

Meanwhile, Wambai Abbas with more than 10,000 people, arrived Kano on 7<sup>th</sup> March 1903 and entered the *Birni* through Kofar Kansakali unknown to Lugard, who had arrived on 24<sup>th</sup> February, 1903. Later, Lugard learned of Wambai Abbas' arrival and personally summoned him and requested him to ask his people to surrender their riffles and guns, which he did successfully without any protest. It was at this time that Lugard appointed Wambai Abbas in an acting position as *Mukaddas* (Regent) in charge of the Emirate on 7<sup>th</sup> March 1903 and left for Sokoto.<sup>87</sup>

It must be understood that at the time of the colonial conquest of Kano, there was no effective leader left except *San Kurmi*, who was in charge of Kurmi central market because Aliyu Babba had traveled to Sokoto with all the senior office holders. Therefore, the appointment of Wambai Abbas to act in managing the affairs of the Emirate was politically necessary at that crucial moment because what immediately followed the colonial conquest was instability and total confusion on a great scale. This gave the British an opportunity to

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<sup>86</sup> Smith. M.G op. cit. pp. 380-386. Many sources on Kano history related that Waziri Ahmadu performed ablution and put on white dress before the outbreak of the battle with the British that led to his death.

<sup>87</sup> Hambolu. M.O. (cd) op. cit. pp. 36-36.

establish the foundation of their control over the vast territory of the Caliphate.

In Kano Emirate, a clear testimony of this mix-up was the arrival of Abdu Lele, the son of ex-*Amir* Tukur from Zinder claiming to be appointed Emir of Kano. In fact, Abdu Lele was in the British military contingent that captured *Birnin Kano* where he told them his own stories about Kano civil war and solicited for their support to occupy the throne. Abdu Lele assumed that he would be appointed and therefore started ransacking the houses vacated by people following the British conquest and took away many valuable properties. It was the resident Arabs who bitterly complained to Lugard that Lele had no supporters in Kano and his appointment would inevitably lead to another crisis beyond the capacity of the British to contain. It was this remonstrance that prompted Lugard to turn out Abdu Lele, and Wambai Abbas became the only candidate for appointment, enjoying unalloyed support of the *Kanawa*.<sup>88</sup>

Lugard, who placed Wambai Abbas in an acting capacity in order to test his ability, finally discovered that he was the most intelligent and popular among all those vying for the throne. It was in this light that on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1903, Lugard, after his return from Sokoto, personally installed Wambai Abbas as the eighth Fulani *Amirul Kano*. The ceremony took place publicly, where thousands of people attended and pledged their allegiance to him. During the ceremony, Lugard in his long speech, reaffirmed that the Colonial Government will respect the spiritual leadership of the Caliph and Emirs, and uphold

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<sup>88</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit, pp. 370-386. See also Hambolu, M.O. (ed), pp. 55-58.

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

Islam within the Muslim community of the new Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. He had already made a similar statement during the installation of Caliph Attahiru Alu II(1903-1915) at Sokoto, where he emphasized that the powers hitherto enjoyed by Sokoto had passed to the British.<sup>89</sup>

Thus, the defeat and surrender signified the end of sovereignty of the Emirate system of government under the control of the Caliphate in Sokoto. But to *Amir Muhammadu Abbas*, his cardinal responsibility was the preservation of Islamic government, religion and *Shari'a* as observed by his predecessors whether the British liked it or not. The guarantee he extracted from the invaders not to interfere with the religion of the people, enabled him to assume leadership without having the feeling of betraying the Muslim *Umma*. He further reasoned that his declining the offer would give the British an opportunity of installing a puppet in Kano who could destroy the Islamic etiquette, custom and tradition of the Emirate.<sup>90</sup>

After his installation, *Amir Abbas* in turn appointed his relations and supporters to important state offices to fill the vacancies created by the colonial conquest. He appointed his nephew *Abdu Sarki* as *Waziri*, while his younger brother, *Umaru* was appointed *Galadima*. He appointed *Abdullahi Bayero*, his eldest son, as the *Ciroma*, who was later promoted to *Waziri* in 1904 after *Waziri Abdu Sarki* was deposed for

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. See also *Dalhatu. Usman. Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku*, p. 75.

<sup>90</sup> *Smith, M.G. op. cit* pp. 370-386 and *Hambolu. M.O. op. cit.* p. 7. The same view has been expressed by *Malam Dan Alkali* aged 99 years during my interview with him on Saturday, 9<sup>th</sup> August 2003 at his residence in Kano.

insubordination. After the promotion of Abdullahi Bayero to Waziri, *Amir* Abbas appointed his second son Abdulkadir to the office of Ciroma. He further appointed some of the descendants of *Amir* Usman and Bello to various offices in his attempt to restore unity and peaceful coexistence within the family of Dabo. He also recalled Madaki Kwairanga and Sarkin Bai Abdussalami, who had abandoned their posts and joined the fugitive Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu to Burmi. Sarkin Bai Abdussalami obeyed the order and returned to his post which made him to escape death at Burmi. *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas was credited with recalling and rehabilitating the *Tukurawa* faction who were exiled and based at Maradi as a result of the Kano civil war.<sup>91</sup>

*Amir* Muhammadu Abbas, who owed his appointment to the British, refused to comply with their personal wishes. Rather, he became a man of his own and attempted to run the state affairs according to the Islamic principles of administration as practiced by his forefathers. He disliked the British, which compelled him to commission 100 *Malams* to continually pray for the end of colonialism.<sup>92</sup> His open hatred for the British created a number of problems between him and the first Resident of Kano Dr. Cargill as we shall see in our analysis.

The problem became compounded when his opponents, who initially had wished to secure his dismissal barely a year after his installation, realized that

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<sup>91</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 390-407. See Kurawa, AJo Ibrahim, op. cit. p. 45. See also Uba, C. N. "Administration Of Kano Emirate Under British 1900-1930", p. 136.

<sup>92</sup> Ibrahim, Omar Farouk, *Prince Of The Times: AJo Bayero And The Transformation Of Emiral Authority In Kano* (Eritrea: African World Press, 2001) pp. 50-53.

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the Emir had a crisis with the British. What further encouraged his enemies and detractors was the removal of the Emir of Katsina, Abubakar by the British. This gave them an opportunity to orchestrate considerable resentments against him through blackmail and intrigues believing that he held the throne by the grace of the British. They designed rumours in their attempt to destroy British confidence in him that would consequently lead to his dismissal from office. Rumors were spread by his enemies that the Emir was planning to mount attack against the British. The situation became tense, which made Amir Abbas to visit Zungeru, the headquarters of Lugard's administration to prove to the public that such rumors were false. At the time he left Kano for Zungeru, his opponents never believed that he would come back. But to their surprise, he was well received with honour at Zungeru and returned to Kano safely. The Higher Commissioner, Lugard, was much gratified by this visit, which served as a mark of confidence and was indeed a great triumph to the Emir that silenced the vilification and evil machinations of his opponents.<sup>93</sup>

Some years later, the Resident of Kano, Dr. Cargill, who was commonly known as *Mai Gunduma*, became dissatisfied with the attitude and loyalty of Emir Abbas to Europeans. He therefore resorted to introducing administrative changes aimed at curtailing the power of the Emir. The Resident expected that the Emir would blindly follow the dictate of the British, which to his disappointment, Abbas refused. This made the Resident annoyed and planned to take away all his power. The

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<sup>93</sup> Smith. M.G op. cit., pp. 400-410.

Resident began with creating the administrative units and sent away the *Hakimai* to the outlying Districts to collect taxes directly from the peasants instead of the normal practice of collection through slave officials. This move offended everyone including the *Talakawa*, who openly resented it. The new policies introduced by the Resident became terribly unpopular and succeeded in creating revolts and massive protest in some major towns of western Kano such as Bagwai, Yanako, Dan Zabuwa, Dunbulun, and Getso.<sup>94</sup> All these took place at a time when Lugard left Nigeria in 1906 and the office of Higher Commissioner was converted to Governor.

In spite of this, Abbas showed the White man that his immediate concern was to preserve the powers and prerogatives of the office of *Amirul Kano* against the British expropriation. This made the Emir to empower the palace slaves and rule the Emirate through them, which terribly annoyed Cargill to move arrogantly and dismiss the two sons of the Emir from office, Waziri Abdullahi Bayero and Ciroma Abdulkadir. The move of the Resident was a partial attempt to remove *Amir Abbas's* designated heirs from competing for the throne when it became vacant. The Emir who was so intelligent, swiftly manoeuvred around this move by moving the job of the Ciroma to Abdullahi Bayero and made him responsible for newly created Districts around the city, while Abdulkadir, the younger one was sent to Nasarawa school. It was at this time that Cargill began to look at the possibility of removing and replacing the *Amir Abbas* with a non-Fulani dynasty like *Habe*, which was an experiment that has taken place in Daura.

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<sup>94</sup> L.H, vol. 2, pp. 72-73. See also Smith, M.G. op cit. pp. 417-425.

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Matters became highly despicable when the Resident, Dr. Cargill appointed a slave of the Emir, Dan Rimi Ala-Bar-Sarki to the senior state office of Waziri. The designation of Ala-Bar-Sarki as the principal Councillor and senior personnel of the British further curtailed the power and influence of the Emir, which in effect, encouraged some officials to flout his authority. Cargill also suspended the power of the Emir's judicial court and made the Alkali to discharge this function. This destroyed much of the historical traditions of the administration of Kano Emirate that made Cargill to become terribly unpopular.<sup>95</sup>

It was at this time that *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas, who was undoubtedly endowed with profound learning and great intelligence cut himself off from the entire administration and withdrew to his palace, telling the British to do everything themselves or ask the Waziri to do so. This ignited a serious breakdown of law and order, which was near to the state of anarchy in Kano Emirate. The situation became very embarrassing to the British government and ushered the removal of Cargill from office.

Later, C.L. Temple was appointed the Resident of Kano to replace Cargill who, the British found to be mentally sick. The appointment of Temple, a person considered to be an apostle of Indirect Rule, became a personal victory to *Amir* Abbas. Temple received elaborate instructions on the future of the Emirate administration and the policy to be pursued that would make the Emir independent. He was also instructed to

<sup>95</sup> Smith, M.G.. op. cit. pp. 400-450. See also Uba, C.N. cited above and Hambolu, M.O. (ed) pp. 58-72.

restore the power of the Emir in Native Administration within a reasonable period of time. On his assumption of office, Temple bitterly criticized his predecessor and his first step was the deposition of Waziri Ala-Bar-Sarki. It has been stated that when the Governor Girouard visited Kano, Amir Abbas received him at a point nine miles from the city. Shortly after the Emir asked the Governor whether it was he personally or the Waziri the British recognized as the Emir of Kano. The Governor, who was disturbed by the whole gamut reassured the Emir that a free-born would be immediately appointed Waziri by the Emir himself. They rode to the European quarters of Bompai, where Waziri Ala-Bar-Sarki was shamefully removed to his former slavery position of Dan Rimi. The Governor reaffirmed to all office holders in the Emirate that the British would no longer tolerate any act of disloyalty and disobedience to the Emir. The first indication to the public that Waziri Ala-Bar-Sarki had fallen from power, was that he came back to the city barefooted, holding Emir's horse, enchanting 'Lafiya' on that day.<sup>96</sup>

The survival of Abbas was ascribed to the wisdom and sagacity of his son, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero, who became the greatest asset to the Emir in his dealing with the British. He was a very powerful and sagacious leader who slept over his problems and struck at the right time. The coming of Temple, who was nicknamed *Dogon Lamba*, was generally popular in Kano, although he was

<sup>96</sup> Uba, C.N. op cit. pp. 122-126. See also Dokaji, Abubakar, *Kano Ta Dabo Ci Gari*, p. 66 and Hambolu, M.O. (ed) *Perspective On British-Kano Relations*, pp. 58-74. For further information see SNP/6/5 No. 44/1909 Report No. 39 for March, 1909, Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

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bitterly hated by Abbas' enemies. By 1908, Abbas had achieved a measure of power in his central role in the Native Administration. He successfully eradicated all the European officers that created confusion in the affairs of Kano. With his powers restored, *Amir* Abbas assisted towards the creation of District Administration scheme in Kano. Under this arrangement, each District Head had a *Mukaddas* that represented him in the capital and matters related to the administration was communicated to the Emir daily through slave intermediaries known as *Kofofi*. It was also at this time that *Bait-el-mal* (treasury) came into full operation.

*Amir* Abbas appointed Malam Gidado, a renowned Islamic scholar, as Wazirin Kano, while Magatakarda Abdulkadir was appointed as the new Alkali. In addition to this, the Chief Imam of Kano Central Mosque was co-opted into the Emir's Council, which made the new appointees to become the main advisers of the Emir in administrative and judicial matters. These administrative changes made the Emir the sole Head of the Native Authority in charge of public order in his territory with complete jurisdiction over the people. He was empowered to appoint and depose *Hakimai* and their subordinate *Dagatai* of the villages and also raised the Native Police (*Dogarai*).<sup>97</sup>

Subsequently, the Emir, who was very active and energetic, began the sanitization exercise by removing inefficient *Hakimai* and those attached to Cargill. He deposed Ma'ajin Watari for embezzlement of the tax he collected. The Turakin Manya Salihi, a brother to the

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. pp. 350-450. See Hambolu. M.O. op. cit. pp. 55-74.

Emir was suspended, ostensibly for interfering with the affairs of his Village Heads. The Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta was also dismissed on charges leveled against him by his subordinate Chiefs. At that time, the Turakin Manya and Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta were among the most influential *Hakimai* whose dismissal from office served as a deterrent to others that might otherwise misbehave.

Many significant events took place during the 17 years of *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas that made him very popular in Kano. It was during his reign that work began in the construction of the railway from Lagos to Kano in 1907 at Governor Girouards' recommendation, which was completed in 1911. The first Railway station was located at the site of the present Rumfa College, but it was subsequently moved to its present site. He was also the first Emir to ride in the train, which made the *Kanawa* that assembled at the station to become agitated, lamenting that *Nasara* (Europeans) have taken the Emir away. The mind of the *Kanawa* was put at rest when they saw the Emir disembark safely from the train.<sup>98</sup>

It was at this time that Morel, the Railway Engineer who intended to evangelise Kano visited the Emir in his palace and asked him his views about the coming of the railway to Kano, the settlement of Europeans and other Africans as well as the activities of Christian Missionaries. The Emir responded that he welcomed foreign merchants, both natives and Europeans into Kano, adding that it was better they settled outside

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<sup>98</sup> Skinner, Neil (ed). *Alhaji Muhammadu Koki: Kano Malam* (Zaria: A.B.U. Press, 1977) pp. 50-51.

## *The Sullubawa Ruling Dynasty*

the city. As for the activities of Christian Missionaries, he said 'Islam is the matter at Heart'.<sup>99</sup>

This was what led to the establishment of Sabon Gari, a place outside the city wall in 1912 to house the migrants from many parts of the country and Africa at large. In 1914, Sabon Gari market was established in the outskirts of Sabon Gari township, which gradually took over trading activities from famous Kurmi Market. Sabon Gari Market was moved to its present area in 1918, which facilitated Kano to prosper economically from that time to date. History has shown that many people settled permanently in Kano during his reign among the indigenes and the most notable one is Alhassan Dantata, who was born in 1877 at Bebeji. Dantata came and settled in 1903, and by 1922 was regarded as the wealthiest trader in Kano. The prominent foreigners that settled in that period included the first Lebanese trader, Ferris George, who came and settled permanently in Kano in 1912. Ferris George had earlier settled in Lagos in 1902 but later discovered the economic prospects of Kano. He was to be followed by Saul Raccah, a Tripolitanian Jew and Joseph Elias, both of whom worked for British companies. By 1914, about 14 Lebanese were living in Kano and by 1980 their number had increased to about 6,000.<sup>100</sup>

In addition to this, silver currency was imposed on the peasant community in 1904 and was made the legitimate means of exchange by the British. The introduction of silver currency by the colonialists eliminated the local currencies hitherto used by the

<sup>99</sup> Hambolu, M.O. op. cit p. 63.

<sup>100</sup> Loimeier, op. cit. p. 85-90.

## Abdullahi Bayero

people. It was also during his reign that *Dan Hausa* school was established by Hanns Vischer at Nasarawa in 1907, the first western oriented school in Northern Nigeria. The Emir contributed £1000 annually to the school from the treasury.

*Amir* Abbas was the Emir known to have remarkable ability of managing the exploitative tendencies of the British. He was very powerful and dignified and it is said that he never rode out with less than one thousand people amidst the acclamation of his *Talakawa*. He was also the first Emir in the defunct Sokoto Caliphate who escaped the disgrace of deposition. He worked with many British Residents during his reign and their names are supplied in Appendix Two. He died on Friday, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1919 at the age of 63 and left behind many sons as follows:

1. Abdullahi Bayero.....10<sup>th</sup> Amirul Kano
2. Abdulkadir.....Galadiman Kano
3. Muhammadu Inuwa.....12<sup>th</sup> Amirul Kano
4. Hashim.....Turakin Kano
5. Ibrahim Cigari.....Galadiman Kano
6. Yusifu.....Sarkin D. Tsakar Gida
7. Isan Nasarawa.....Sarkin D. Tsakar Gida
8. Bashar.....Sarkin D. Tsakar Gida
9. Shehu.....Dan Darman
10. Garba.....Dan Lawan
11. Hamidu.....Wakilin Yamma
12. Sani.....Wakilin Arewa
13. Isan Panisau.....Dan Ruwata
14. Ahmadu Tijjani
15. Hassan
16. Badayi
17. Muhammadu
18. Zubairu

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### **Amir Shehu Usman Dan Tsoho Bin Abdullahi (1919-1926)**

Amir Shehu Usman Dan Tsoho was also a son of Amir Abdullahi Maje Karofi. He was born in 1843 and was the most senior to Amir Abbas and Amir Aliyu Babba. He ascended the throne at an old age of 76 years after the death of Abbas. Oral tradition shows that he was among those that went to Sokoto during the wedding ceremony of his father, Sarki Abdullahi Maje Karofi to Saudatu, the daughter of Caliph Aliyu Babba, who begot Aliyu Babba.<sup>101</sup> He held the title of Wambai, the District Head of Ringim during the reign of Abbas. He was appointed Emir in May 1919.

At the time of his ascension, Amir Usman Dan Tsoho was generally disliked and regarded as a villager by the entire *Kanawa*. He was an incapacitated leader due to old age and constant illness. But in spite of his physical condition, the Emir appeared to like much obeisance and pomposity. He spent two and half years of his rule unable to even handle the administrative responsibility of the Emirate. This made his slave intermediaries to acquire maximum power and freedom in running the administration of the Emirate.<sup>102</sup>

Like his predecessor Bello, Amir Usman also attempted to do away with the sons of Abbas, namely Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero and Dan Iya Abdulkadir in his attempt to establish his own sons to succeed him. Kano Chronicle reports that Usman remained very hostile to the

<sup>101</sup> Personal discussions with Alhaji Abubakar Jibril. Zaria. 29<sup>th</sup> June 2002.

<sup>102</sup> Smith. M.G. op. cit. pp. 449-450. See also Nast, J. Heidi "Space. History And Power". p. 90.

sons of Abbas throughout the period of his reign.<sup>103</sup> Some traditions indicate that he attempted to dismiss them from office but was restrained by the British. He initially appointed his first son Abdullahi as Wambai and sent him to administer the District of Ringim. He increased the salary of Wambai to that of Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero in an effort to prepare him for the struggle for succession when he died. The Emir dismissed Turakin Manya Abubakar, a grandson of Abdullah Maje Karofi and installed his second son Abubakar in his position and made him responsible for the District administration of Kura. It has been reported that within twenty months of his ascension, *Amir* Usman had appointed his three senior sons to the highest royal titles invested with territorial authority in order for them to gain political prominence. All this was an attempt by the Emir to promote the fortune of his sons in the succession bid when the throne became vacant.<sup>104</sup>

Throughout the period of his reign, *Amir* Usman was isolated in the palace as a result of age and physical indisposition, which made him totally incapable to govern Kano. The affairs of the Emirate was left to Dan Rimi Sambo, Shamaki Salihi and the Sallama. It is related that he had an agent named Tanko Barzo who used to sell the houses and land of the people and bring the money to the Emir. When the Europeans discovered this, they sent him to jail for two years. It was during his reign that the aeroplane first landed in Kano. In addition to this, Prince Edward visited Kano in 1925, where a Grand Durbar was organized and participated by all the Northern Emirs.

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<sup>103</sup> L.H. vol. 2, p. 73.

<sup>104</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 450-451.

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This was his last public appearance and he died in the palace on Friday 26<sup>th</sup> April 1926 at the age of 83 bequeathing a lot of money to his sons.<sup>105</sup> He had the following sons.

- |                               |               |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Abdullahi Mai Bindiga..... | <i>Wambai</i> |
| 2. Abubakar.....              | <i>Wambai</i> |
| 3. Muhammadu                  | 7. Bello      |
| 4. Mahmudu                    | 8. Tijjani    |
| 5. Ibrahim Cigari             | 9. Datti.     |
| 6. Dahiru                     |               |

### ***Amir Abdullahi Bayero Bin Abbas (1926-1953)***

*Amir* Abdullahi Bayero who ascended the throne after the death of *Amir* Usman Dan Tsoho in 1926 is the subject of this study. His appointment was approved by the British because he was the only competent candidate among all the contestants at that time. The details of his selection among the numerous princes vying to become Emir of Kano is presented in Chapter Nine. Abdullahi Bayero was the eldest son of *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas and the grandson of *Amir* Abdullahi Maje Karofi, and indeed a great grandson of *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo. More will be discussed in Parts Two and Three about his life history and the general contributions he made during his 27 years on the throne. Some details about his family in general are also presented in Part Three.

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<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* pp.449-455. For more details see Dokaji, Abubakar A. *Kano Ta Dabo Ci Gari*, pp.71-72

**Amir Muhammadu Sunusi Bin Abdullahi (1953-1963)**

*Amir* Muhammadu Sunusi, who is popularly referred to as the *Halifa* of Tijjaniyya in Nigeria, was the eldest son of *Amir* Abdullahi Bayero. He was born in the year 1905 in Kano and acquired Islamic education at his young age. He also attended western school in Kano and was ahead of his colleagues due to his brilliance. He was appointed Ciroman Kano by his father and was sent to administer the District of Bichi, a place where his father earlier served before his ascension to the throne. Later, he was given the responsibility of coordinating the rural Districts in the Emirate while still serving at Bichi. His office was very influential in the Native Authority administration.<sup>106</sup>

*Amir* Muhammadu Sunusi was made *Mukaddas* immediately after the death of his father. At that time, he was among the powerful contenders for the throne and competed with other candidates that included Wambai Abubakar Usman, the District Head of Kura; Tafida Muhammadu Usman, the District Head of Ringim; Dan Iya Aminu Bayero, the District Head of Dawakin Kudu, who was his brother and Turakin Kano Hashim Abbas, the District Head of Kiru. He emerged as the successful candidate and was publicly installed on Friday, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1954 as the eleventh Emir of Kano. The training and experience he had gained from his father in the Native Authority tremendously assisted him in running the Emirate.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim. op. cit. p. 63.

<sup>107</sup> Mbata, Rose Adaku Obi. *Alhaji Ado Bayero And The Royal Court of Kano* (Kano, Capricorn Limited, 1994) p. 44.

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On his ascension, *Amir* Muhammadu Sunusi immediately replaced the old people with the younger ones in the administration of the Emirate. This enabled him to initiate a number of policies aimed at curtailing social evils in the society like robbery, prostitution and begging that had bedeviled Kano during the reign of Usman Dan Tsoho. He was a very charismatic leader who was feared by the entire *Kanawa*. He was a powerful leader who never tolerated any act of disrespect or indiscipline in the society. Above all, he was a very learned Islamic scholar who led Friday prayers in the Central Mosque.

It was during his reign that Queen Elizabeth II of England visited Kano in 1956 where a durbar was held in her honour. He was the first Nigerian appointed as Acting Governor when the Colonial Governor was on leave in 1958. He was an Emir who strongly believed in maintaining the power and prestige that for centuries had been associated with the office of *Amirul Kano*.<sup>108</sup> This was what created a series of confrontations between *Amir* Sunusi and Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, which began immediately after self-government was granted to Northern Nigeria in 1959. These conflicts became heightened when Sardauna wished to be recognized as the Grand Emir of the North after his claim to the office of Sultan had misfired in 1938. In 1952, the Premier of the Northern Region, Ahmadu Bello finally

<sup>108</sup> Ibrahim. Omar Farouq. *Prince Of The Times: Ado Bayero And The Transformation Of Emiral Authority In Kano*. pp. 54-56. For more details on the life of *Amir* Muhammadu Sunusi. see Zawiya. S. & Sadauki. T. *Jigatau Dan Bayero: Sir Muhammadu Sunusi, KBE, CMG*. (Kano, Zawiya Enterprises, 1991).

*Abdullahi Bayero*

succeeded in using an Administrative Board of Inquiry against the alleged financial irregularities of Kano Emirate. This is what led to the abdication of *Amir Muhammadu Sunusi* in 1963 and was exiled to Azare. He died on Tuesday, 5<sup>th</sup> April 1991 at the age of 86 at Wudil. He was blessed with the following sons:

1. Tijjani.....*Dan Darman*
2. Abubakar.....*Wamban Kano*
3. Aminu.....*Dan Iyan Kano*
4. Ado.....*Dan Iyan Kano*
5. Abbas.....*Wamban Kano*
6. Abdullahi.....*Dan Riwata*
7. Umaru.....*Dan Buram Karami*
8. Abdulkadir.....*Galadima*
9. Haruna.....*Dan Buram*
10. Kabiru.....*Barde*
11. Mamu
12. Rufa'i
13. Ibrahim Cigari
14. Muhammadu Munir
15. Zubairu
16. Sarki Aliyu
17. Nura
18. Bashir
19. Ujudud
20. Kasim
21. Mahmud
22. Mustapha
23. Mukhtari
24. Abdul'aziz
25. Idris
26. Nasiru
27. Mu'awiyya
28. Musa
29. Sayyu
30. Hafizu
31. Isa
32. Shehu
33. Gali
34. Akilu
35. Yahaya
36. Kamilu
37. Yazid
38. Ja'afaru
39. Nuhu
40. Dauda

**Amir Muhammadu Inuwa Bin Abbas (1963-1963)**

*Amir* Muhammad Inuwa was born in 1901 and was a son of *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas. He held the title of Turakin Kano, the District Head of Ungogo from 1927 to 1939. He was later promoted to Galadiman Kano by *Amir* Abdullahi Bayero after the death of his brother, Galadima Abdulkadir in 1939, and was posted to Dawakin Kudu. He was a member of the Northern Region House of Assembly from 1952 to 1963. He once visited United Kingdom in a British Council sponsored tour. He was appointed the twelfth Emir of Kano after the abdication of his nephew, *Amir* Muhammadu Sunusi in March 1963 and was publicly installed on Monday, 8<sup>th</sup> April 1963. He had a short reign and died on Tuesday, 8<sup>th</sup> October 1963 at the age of 62, after reigning for seven months. He had the following sons:<sup>109</sup>

- |              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Abdullahi | 2. Shehu    |
| 3. Hassan    | 4. Hussaini |
| 5. Wakili    | 6. Yahaya   |

**Amir Ado Bin Abdullahi Bayero (1963-illah Ma Sha Allah)**

The biography of *Amir* Abdullahi Bayero, the subject of this study, would never be complete without dwelling on the reign of his son and successor, *Amir* Ado Bayero, who has continued to build from where his father had stopped. *Amir* Ado Bayero was born on 15<sup>th</sup> June 1930 at the royal palace of Kano barely four years into the reign of his father. He was named Adam but was popularly called Ado, in *Hausa* language. He was the

<sup>109</sup> Kurawa. Ado Ibrahim. op. cit. p. 68.

eleventh son of *Amir* Abdullahi Bayero, and the second to be named Ado, because the first Ado had died five years after his birth. His father called him *Mulam*, which was a singular honour the Emir bestowed on him. He closely resembled his father in many ways and was the second son of his mother, Hasiya Asabe Bayero (*Mai Babban Daki*) who was a Fulani woman of Borno.

Right from his childhood, Ado seemed to have endeared himself so much to his father, who took an exceptional interest in him. There is no doubt that Abdullahi Bayero saw the inherent qualities of leadership in Ado, which made him to give him a special training as a person who will live by example. Available evidence shows that during his childhood, his father used to tie a piece of cloth around his head like a turban, which in effect was proclaiming him as his future successor and temporal leader, a role he plays today all over the world.<sup>110</sup> He was groomed under the watchful eyes of his father, from where at the age of seven, according to palace tradition, he was sent to one of the Emir's slaves, *Mai Kano Zagi*, to be brought up.<sup>111</sup>

Ado was sent to Kofar Kudu primary school within the palace while at the same time attending Qur'anic school. He also attended Kano Middle School (now renamed Rumfa College) in 1942, which he completed in 1946. He also attended School for Arabic Studies, Kano in 1947 and Zaria Clerical Training Centre

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<sup>110</sup> This information was obtained during my field work at Emir's palace Kano. I confirmed the story from His Highness the Emir of Kano during my personal discussions with him. 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>111</sup> Ibrahim. Omar Farouq, *Prince Of The Times* and personal discussion with *Sallaman Kano* Alhaji Aminu Dako Kwaru, the Principal Private Secretary to the Emir Ado Bayero. 28<sup>th</sup> August 2004.

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(now Institute of Administration Ahmadu Bello University Zaria), where he received a Certificate in Public Administration in 1952. It was at this period of training that Ado received great admiration from people as a result of his courage, loyalty, charisma and religious knowledge.

*Amir* Ado Bayero began his public career at Bank of British West Africa (now First Bank of Nigeria) and moved to Kano Native Authority in 1949 where he served as an Accountant. At this time, he attended several courses both in Nigeria and abroad. It was from here he contested election to the Regional House of Assembly from Kano city under the banner of NPC in 1954 and won against Malam Aminu Kano of NEPU. He made positive contributions during his brief period in the House that made him to stand out as very intelligent young man. In fact, Ado Bayero was branded by his NPC colleagues at the House as radical while some party leaders schemed to get him out because he was too close to the masses. During his stay at the House, he served as member of the Northern Region Development Corporation and the defunct Northern Region Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).

Ado Bayero voluntarily resigned from the Northern House of Assembly to enable him perform his new job of *Wakilin Doka* (the Chief of Kano Native Police Authority) in 1956. He attended various Police courses at Ryton Dismore College and Scotland Yard, both in the United Kingdom. His principled handling of the N.A. Police in very difficult times under intense political pressure of the NPC, endeared him to many NEPU leaders in Kano. The NPC, which strongly

depended on misusing the powers of N.A. Police finally accused him of being a secret agent of NEPU and maneuvered him out by giving him the post of Nigeria's Ambassador to Senegal in 1962.<sup>112</sup>

The appointment of *Amir* Ado Bayero as the thirteenth Emir of Kano in October 1963 was a grand design of Allah, the Most High, Who gives power to whom He desires. He did not actually seek for this esteemed position and was the least expected at that time, because he did not contest for the throne. He was in London at that moment attending a course when he received the message from the Nigerian Higher Commissioner Alhaji Abdulmalik Okene to return home; and that his uncle and father-in-law, *Amir* Muhammadu Inuwa had died. He arrived Kano Airport in his suits where his friend, Barrister Michael Agbamuche informed him that he had been appointed Emir of Kano.

*Amir* Ado Bayero was publicly installed on Sunday, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1964 at the age of 32 and was the longest reigning Emir of Kano who generally contributed to its development in many ways. His appointment was highly welcomed and jubilated by the *Kanawa* entirely who knew those good attributes of his leadership right from the time of his school days to the time he served as *Wakilin Doka*. His ascension to the throne opened a new vista in modern leadership because he was a product of modernity who received the best education from various

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<sup>112</sup> For more details on the life of His Highness *Amir* Ado Bayero see Ibrahim, Omar Farouq, *Prince Of The Times : Ado Bayero And The Transformation Of Emiral Authority In Kano* and Mbata, Rose Adaku Obi, *Alhaji Ado Bayero And The Royal Court Of Kano* (Kano, Capricorn Limited, 1994).

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institutions in Nigeria and abroad. He was therefore equipped with necessary wherewithals of modern leadership which helped him to bring enormous changes in the principles and practice of modernity not in Kano but the country at large. For example, the Emir responded positively to the Local Government reforms of the Gowon and Murtala/Obasanjo regimes with high level of understanding and diplomacy. He was also credited with taking over traditional land allocation hitherto handled by the Waziri office where he tried to satisfy the less privileged in Kano.

To crown it all, *Amir* Ado Bayero has maintained the Islamic influence of the office of *Amirul Kano* by giving support to Islamic projects such as building schools and mosques. Available evidence shows that the Emir opened more than 300 mosques from 1988 to 1999<sup>113</sup> and has been involved in the propagation of Islam in Nigeria and abroad. He was also involved in the affairs of Jama'atu Nasril Islam and Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs and is a Patron of many Islamic societies in Kano and other parts of the country.

In conclusion, Kano as a whole has blossomed commercially and industrially and is now a centre of trade in Nigeria and the world at large under the able leadership of *Amir* Ado Bayero. He has been particularly involved in the development of Kano; he is a father to all. His leadership style has made him the most exalted, the most revered and the most respected Emir in the whole world. He is blessed with a number of sons which include:

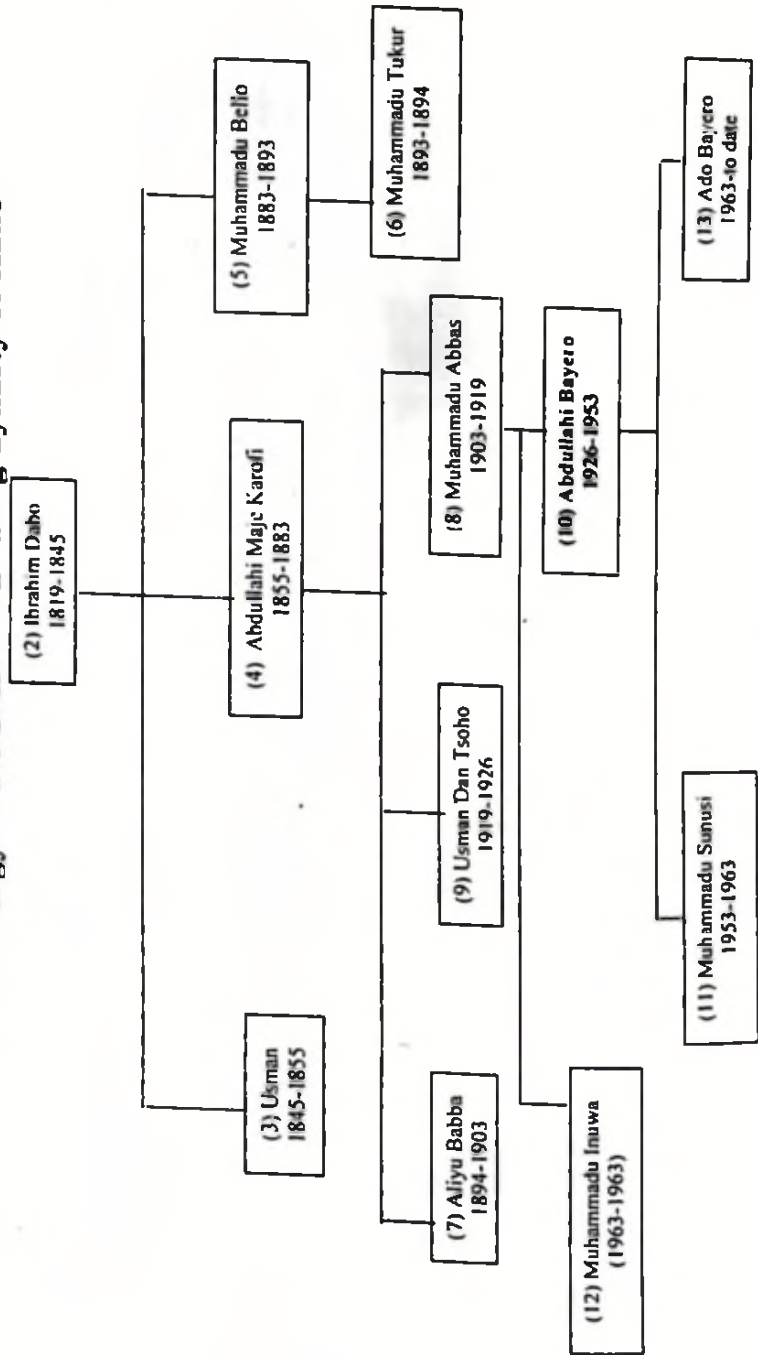
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<sup>113</sup> Gwangwazo. Maje Ahmed. op. cit. p.168

*Abdullahi Bayero*

1. Sunusi Lamido.....*Cironan Kano*
2. Aminu.....*Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida*
3. Nasiru.....*Turakin Kano*
4. Ahmadu.....*Dan Lawan*
5. Mahmud
6. Ibrahim
7. Shehu
8. Abdullahi
9. Bello
10. Aliyu
11. Abbas
12. Inuwa
13. Usman
14. Kabir
15. Umar
16. Ahmadu
17. Awwalu
18. Ado
19. Salisu
20. Zubairu
21. Sadiku
22. Sani
23. Rabi'u
24. Abubakar
25. Hamidu
26. Yusufu
27. Tijjani
28. Mustapha

## Geneology of the Sullubawa ruling dynasty of Kano



**Note:-** The name of the first Fulani Emir of Kano, Malam Sulciman (1807-1819) is not included in this genealogy because he hailed from Mundubawa dynasty. He was the first and last Emir that emerged in Mundubawa family so far.



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*PART TWO*  
THE LIFE AND LEADERSHIP OF  
ABDULLAHI BAYERO

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## **Part Two**

### ***The Early Life And Leadership of Abdullahi Bayero***

The *Amirul Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero sprang from a renowned family of Sullubawa ruling dynasty established by *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo bin Mahmud who reigned from 1819 to 1846. Bayero was the eldest son of *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas who reigned from 1903 to 1919 and indeed the great grandson of *Amir* Abdullahi Maje Karofi that reigned from 1855 to 1882. This celebrated family of Sullubawa consecutively produced 12 out of 13 Emirs of Kano to date.

The first section of this book deals extensively with the important aspects in the history of Kano and traces the ancestral origin of Abdullahi Bayero. This section forms the second important part of the book that exclusively deals with the noble birth, early life and ascension of Abdullahi Bayero to the exalted Kano throne. The section traces his charismatic leadership, which made him to stand out as the most illustrious leader among all the Sullubawa Emirs of Kano.

Chapter Seven of this section traces his family and noble birth in 1884. Most of the information contained in this chapter is derived mainly from oral information obtained from memories of elders particularly those that were closer to him during his lifetime. It is however important to note that at the time of writing this book, all the contemporaries of Abdullahi Bayero have long

been dead, and therefore we have to rely on the people who closely lived with him. The chapter vigorously traces the mode of training, which he underwent, that enabled him to acquire vast knowledge in Islam and that tremendously assisted him in his later life. The chapter concludes with the conscious efforts made by Abdullahi Bayero in opposing and resisting the alien rule and domination as they affected religion, politics and economic aspects of the *Kanawa* and the country at large.

Chapter Eight of the book is designed to acquaint the reader with the grooming of Abdullahi Bayero under the watchful eyes of his father, *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas. Bayero began to hold public appointments during the reign of his father, which enabled him to acquire practical experience and wisdom in the Native Administration. An excursion into the public appointments of Bayero from 1903 to 1919 is very important because, the epoch was a very crucial phase of his life that helped in shaping and moulding his personality, which makes him to emerge as a "Great Prince". The chapter further dwells on the staggering difficulties and challenges he encountered during the reign of his uncle, *Amir* Shehu Usman Dan Tsoho who ruled Kano from 1919 to 1926. At this time, Bayero faced a number of problems associated with intra-dynastic rivalry and strong opposition from the colonialists. This period of his life formed what apparently became his grooming phase of life before Allah the Most High elevated him to the highest pinnacle of respect.

Chapter Nine explicitly provides the success of Abdullahi Bayero in the royal battle fought among strong contenders after the death of his uncle, *Amir* Shehu

## *The Life And Leadership Of Abdullahi Bayero*

Usman Dan Tsoho in 1926. The chapter traces the historical relevance of the traditional council of Kingmakers of Kano and the important issues surrounding his ascension to the throne.

Chapter Ten dwells on the leadership and administrative style of *Amir* Abdullahi Bayero. He was selected in his middle age and reigned long on the throne and proved to the world that he was a selfless and dedicated leader. Chapter Eleven concludes this section of the book with his great attributes of the leadership. He was generally acknowledged as a powerful Emir that distinguished his leadership with transparent honesty and full submission to Allah *Subhanahu Wata'ala*. These qualities perhaps made him to contribute a lot in his life time, which enabled him to cast a great landmark in the annals of Kano history as a whole. His administrative style created conducive atmosphere that became a source of pride to *Kanawa* and the country at large.

## **Chapter Seven**

### ***The Birth And Early Life Of A prince***

A detailed history of the progenitor and founder of Sulluḥawa ruling dynasty in Kano. *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo and all his descendants that ruled Kano to date has been elaborated in Chapter Six. But since the major focus and theme of this study is on an individual personality, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, more will be discussed in this chapter about his birth and early life in order to get a clearer embodiment of his formative years and the socialization process he underwent that helped in building up his personality.

*Amir* Abdullahi bin Muhammad Abbas bin Abdullahi bin Ibrahim Dabo, popularly known as *Abdullahi Bayero*, was the eldest son of *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas. As stated earlier, Muhammadu Abbas was one of the numerous children of *Amir* Abdullahi Maje Karofi who did not hold any traditional title during the reign of his father mainly because he was too young at the time. But most of his seniors held various traditional titles of state.

Muhammadu Abbas got married during the lifetime of his father, *Amir* Abdullahi Maje Karofi. It was a family marriage arranged unknown to him by his father to Mariyatu, the daughter of Dan Lawan Ibrahim Malanta, a second son of *Sarkin Kano* Usman Maje Ringim. This family marriage was an attempt by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi to integrate the extended family of *Sulluḥawan Dabo*.

## *The Birth And Early Life Of A Prince*

At this juncture, it is however important to note that family marriage served as a powerful tool in submerging descent line particularly royal family. Apart from this, it also bound the fracas that might exist among the extended dynastic members in their competition for the coveted throne. In the royal family of *Sullubawan Dabo*, cross-cousin marriages were much encouraged by their founder, *Amir Dabo* and his son and successor, *Amir Abdullahi Maje Karofi*. This made the family marriage to become central among members of the Sullubawa ruling dynasty of Kano, a practice, which is to persist and encouraged up till today by the present Emir, Alhaji Ado Bayero. Such family marriage alliances tremendously helped in uniting the family members and further bridged the bitter rivalry that may likely exist among extended family members.

Oral tradition shows that all the descendants of *Amir Usman Maje Ringim* supported the marriage between *Muhammadu Abbas* and *Mariyatu*, which took place in May 1879. Abbas was then 20 years while his wife was just 14 years old, thus making the marriage to be referred to as *Auren gata*, which literally means a preferential marriage. Early marriage between a boy and a girl was a cherished Muslim tradition in Hausa land and the royal family, which is still maintained.

*Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Maje Karofi* gave his son, *Muhammadu Abbas* a section in the large compound reserved for the princes at Gwangwazo quarters where he lived peacefully with his wife. His wife, *Mariyatu* was generally attributed to be a woman highly learned in Islamic religion. She was very obedient and respectful to her husband and was a responsible

housewife in spite of her age. The family compound they stayed in was very large, and was occupied by some of the sons of Abdullahi Maje Karofi that were married. Every person had his own separate section and was attached with domestic servants mostly old women slaves. This very aspect of traditional family life still exists in the royal family of Kano.

It is however interesting to note that two years after the marriage, Allah in His infinite Mercy blessed Muhammadu Abbas and his wife Mariyatu with a fascinating son. This son was Abdullahi Bayero destined by Allah, the Most High to become *Amirul Kano*. Oral tradition shows that many marvelous things happened at the time of his birth, which remained indelible in the mind of family members who believed that there would be a great event associated with his life. What happened was that at the time when his mother, Mariyatu was on labour in the night, some extraordinary things transpired within her room. She was at that moment together with one old woman called Mamu, when they began to hear some reverberations of voices from an unknown direction echoing, "A great person is about to arrive". This made them to become petrified and scared. Mariyatu sent immediately for her husband who was at that moment together with his father, *Amir* Abdullahi Maje Karofi at the palace. He immediately returned home where she narrated the whole story. Her husband waited in the room for some time, where he testified to what his wife was saying. He immediately took his praying beads and intensively prayed to Allah for protection for both the mother and the child she was about to deliver. He also wrote some portions of the Qur'an on *Allo* (wooden

slate), washed it and gave her to drink. He then assured her that Allah, the All-Seeing and Omniscient would not allow anything terrible to befall the family. He cautioned her and the elderly women around to remain silent adding that Allah decreed what He so wished at His desired time.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the completion of his prayers, Muhammadu Abbas hurried to the palace and narrated the story to his father, who reassured him to put his mind at ease and to thank Allah, for His bountiful blessings. He added some *Du'ah* (prayers) to him and advised him to go home and do it for his wife as well as the baby she would deliver. Abbas hurried home, performed ablution and sat on his praying mat for many hours. He completed the *Du'ah* and yet remained sleepless up to the time he heard the calling for *Subhi* prayers, when he left for the mosque. He was at the mosque performing morning prayers in congregation when the newly born child arrived into this world.

Muhammadu Abbas did not stay long in the mosque after the prayers on that day, which was his custom. He hurriedly returned home where he received the good news that his wife, Mariyatu, had safely delivered. The *ungozoma* (traditional midwife) immediately took the baby and announced ecstatically to household members "it is a baby boy". This made the old women in the compound to give a prolonged shrill cry (*Guda*), which served as a signal to all members of the

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<sup>1</sup> Oral discussion at Emir's Palace Kano with Abdullahi who is popularly known as *Mai Ingila*. 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003. The same statement was confirmed on Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004 from Hajiya Saudatu Bayero who is called as *Gwaggo* in deference to the name of the mother of *Sarkin Kano* Alu. Saudatu. *Gwaggo* is among the surviving daughters of *Sarkin* Abdullahi Bayero, born in 1920s.

household that a male child was delivered. The *gudā* gives women a chance to express their joy and happiness for important events such as birth or marriage. The *ungozoma* washed the newly born child amidst the exclamations of *gudā* of the women in the compound that converged to welcome the baby into the family. He was born during the period of the *Damana* (rainy season) on the date that tallied with 22nd August 1881.

An urgent message was immediately dispatched to the palace to announce the birth of a new child. The *Jekadiya* went and informed the grandfather to the child, *Amir Abdullahi Maje Karofi*, who mused to himself, "My friend and successor has arrived". The *Jekadiya* became highly flabbergasted to hear this statement from the Emir, and that this was not his first grandson; for he had many of them. With some hesitation, the *Jekadiya* asked the Emir the meaning of what he just mentioned. The Emir simply told the *Jekadiya* that any grandchild is a friend to an old man. But the *Jekadiya* noticed that the Emir was very happy, despite his poor health and old age. This was precisely how the birth was received in the royal palace of Kano.

Both parents highly welcomed the birth and gave thanks to Almighty Allah for blessing them with a fascinating son. His father, Abbas was so gladdened and immediately began to arrange for his son's naming ceremony according to Islamic tenets and Hausa traditional culture. At the same time, his grandfather, *Sarki Abdullahi Maje Karofi*, had already made up his mind to name the child after him. Four days after, the *Sarki* directed one of his sons, Malam Ahmadu to go and perform the *Hudūba* to the newly born child and

## *The Birth And Early Life Of A Prince*

pronounce his name as **Abdullah**. *Hud̄iba* is the whispering of prayers into an infant's ear, where a name given to him is also pronounced. *Abdullah* means the *Servant of Allah*, but the Hausa-speaking people usually call such name as *Abdullahi* or *Abdu*. Six days after, the elder brother to Abbas, Malam Ahmadu who subsequently became the Wazirin Kano during the reign of Aliyu Babba invited all members of the extended family of Sullubawa and well-wishers for the naming ceremony of the child on behalf of the Emir. At that moment, the Emir was at loggerheads with his eldest son, Galadima Yusifu, whom he had deposed following the intrigues of his Secretary Ibrahim Bazazzagi. Therefore, Malam Ahmadu, who was among the grown-up sons, handled all the responsibilities of the inner family members of the Emir such as arrangement of marriages and naming ceremonies.

On the following morning barely one week after the birth, relatives from far and near including friends and acquaintances converged at the main hall of the Emir's Palace for the naming ceremony of the child. The Emir, Abdullahi Maje Karofi, who was ill at the time managed to come out on that early morning to witness the naming ceremony of his grandson. His presence at the occasion highly surprised the *Hakimai* and the people because he had spent several weeks indoors as a result of his fragile health. What further astounded the people present was the fact that the Emir did not usually attend the naming ceremonies of his sons or grandsons, but he appeared so early on this one. After paying homage to the Emir and the normal exchange of greetings, the hall became quiet, except for the sound of the royal praise songs

of the palace.

The Emir afterward assigned Babban Malami Na Madabo, Abubakar to pray for the child and revealed to him that the boy was named *ABDULLAHI*.<sup>2</sup> The Babban Malami and all the *Malamai* that assembled for the naming ceremony offered proper prayers in the name of Allah, the Most Compassionate for the newly born Abdullahi to follow the footsteps of his parents and noble ancestors whom he was named after. The *Sankira* (professional town crier) was mandated to publicly announce the name of the child as Abdullahi to the people, but he failed to mention the real name in reverence to the name of the Emir, who was seated at the chamber. Rather, the Sankira announced to the public that "*Sunan Yaro Mai Kano*", meaning the child was named after the Emir. The *Makadan Fada* (royal drummers) and *Maroka* (praise-singers) responded by saying "*Allah ya raya Mai Kano ya gaji mai sunan*", which literally means May he live long to follow the footstep of his ancestor (Abdullahi). They chanted and beat their royal drums in praise of the child where people lavishly gave them money and clothes. The Emir and his relatives also distributed additional gifts to the needy to express their happiness and gratitude to Almighty Allah.

Many people who witnessed the naming ceremony attributed the birth of Abdullahi Bayero to be one of the important events that took place in the Sullubawa ruling dynasty because it received various interpretations. What was more astounding was the mammoth crowd of people

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<sup>2</sup> This statement was gathered in the course of my fieldwork at the Emir's palace Kano Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa, who was an elderly man in the palace, expressed the same view on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

that converged to witness the event, who prophesized that there would be a wonderful glory in the future of young Abdullahi. Within the inner circle of the family, the birth was highly greeted with enthusiasm and was generally ascribed to signify many positive events in the life of the newly born Abdullahi and the Emirate as a whole.

But there were some among the inner circle members that remained jealous and felt dissatisfied with the manner in which the Emir expressed his happiness and personally attended the ceremony. They believed that the Emir had never shown this kind of preference to any of his grandchildren. Nobody knew at that time that the baby was destined to serve Islam and humanity in general. But Allah, the All-Knowing, knew better about the destiny of the newly born Abdullahi.

Oral tradition shows that the grandfather to the child, *Sarki* Abdullahi Maje Karofi had a kind of vision or dream two days before the birth of young Abdullahi that the boy would be among those in his lineage that will succeed him and reign long. The child would in future establish a strong base among the family of Sullubawan Dabo that would ever occupy the exalted throne of Kano. He would further beautify his leadership with natural justice and pilot the Emirate to perfection. This vision made him to consult some Islamic scholars after the birth to make *Istahara* in an attempt to know about the future of the boy. It has been stressed that these Islamic scholars performed the *Istahara* as requested and became flabbergasted when they saw that the newly born Abdullahi would rule Kano in time to come. They finally reported their findings to the Emir who became happy and thanked Allah. He lavishly gave these *Malamai*

presents and finally requested them to pray to Allah for the protection of young Abdullahi against any evil.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, on the date of the naming ceremony, women from faraway and near trooped into the large compound of Muhammadu Abbas to cheerfully grace the occasion. The naming ceremony is a tradition in Hausa land for many centuries, which formally marked the admission of the newly born child into the society and the world at large. The occasion also gave relatives, friends, neighborhoods and acquaintances an opportunity to rejoice with the parents.

The parents of Abdullahi invented the nickname of *BAYERO* in an attempt to shield his real name in deference to the Emir Abdullahi Maje Karofi, whom he was named after. Apart from this, it is also a tradition among the Hausa and Fulani to conceal the real name of the first child, which made parents to enjoy calling him with the nickname of Bayero. Bayero is a Fulani nickname normally given to the first or second son in the family. This was what made the nickname of Bayero to become a badge of identity to all members of Sulluƙawa extended family in Kano and the world at large. Today, Bayero is a commanding name associated with the fame and royalty of Kano.

Therefore, Abdullahi grew up with this popular nickname and was generally called Bayero throughout his lifetime. The present Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero is the first son of Abdullahi Bayero that used Bayero as surname since his elementary school days. This popularized the name to the present day generation who

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<sup>3</sup> Hajiya Saudatu Bayero (*Gwaggo*). formal interview. Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

## *The Birth And Early Life Of A Prince*

were not born during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.

Abdullahi Bayero was nursed and nurtured by his mother, Mariyatu for his first two years, although taken care of by another woman called Hawwa'u. His mother always prayed for him against any evil that might befall him in his lifetime. His grandfather *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi developed strong interest in him, but he died on 10<sup>th</sup> August 1882, barely when he was one year. He died at Karofi town in Katsina on his way to pay annual homage to the Caliph at Sokoto, which made him to be post-humously referred to as *Maje Karofi*.

Abdullahi Bayero was weaned at the age of two and taken over by his paternal uncle, Malam Ahmadu who throughout his lifetime served as his foster-father (*Uban Goyo*). It was at this time that his father, Muhammadu Abbas married a second wife, Zuwaira who was known as Baba 'Yar Ma'kera. His mother, Mariyatu subsequently begot a daughter four years after his birth who was named Rabi'atu. Rabi'atu suddenly died in Kano, during the reign of her father Muhammadu Abbas, shortly after giving birth to a child that also died at the same time with her.<sup>4</sup>

Sadly, the reign of the immediate successor to his grandfather, *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Bello was a difficult period for all the descendants of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi. It was an era in which intra-dynastic rivalry became so fierce that subsequently metamorphosed into bloody civil war (*basasa*) shortly

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<sup>4</sup> Formal interview with the Daughters of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. Sa'adatu Bayero (*Nanan Karaye*) and Hadizatu Bayero (*Fulanin Dandago*) at Emir's Palace Kano. Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004

after the death of *Sarkin Kano* Bello. The ruler, Muhammadu Bello condescendingly dismissed all the descendants of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi from their respective offices with the exception of only two who were protected by Sokoto. He further brought the sons of *Sarkin Kano* Usman closer to him by promoting Ibrahim Malanta, the maternal grandfather of Abdullahi Bayero from the office of Dan Lawan to the office of Tafidan Kano. To the Emir, such bewildering elevations would undoubtedly make Malanta to become so loyal and dependent upon him.

Oral tradition shows that Bello also attempted to persuade Tafida Ibrahim Malanta to dissolve the marriage between his daughter, Mariyatu who was the mother of Bayero, and Muhammadu Abbas, avowing that all the descendants of *Sarki* Abdullahi Maje Karofi were their principal enemies. His total failure made him exasperated and he threatened to demote Tafida Ibrahim Malanta to his former position of Dan Lawan, but the palace slaves cautioned him against doing so. This spurred *Sarki* Bello to initiate, out of anger, the marriage between his own daughter to Mustapha, a junior brother to Malanta whom he finally appointed to the office of Dan Makwayo.

All these were not enough for him. The ruler went further and decreed that all title holders married to the daughters of Abdullahi Maje Karofi must divorce them or relinquish their offices. Trumped-up charges were levelled against the descendants of *Sarki* Abdullahi Maje Karofi with the aim of imposing his own son, Galadima Tukur as his successor to the throne. These developments created nagging intra-dynastic rivalry and established explosive precedents in Kano. But in spite of these

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wranglings, all the descendants of Abdullahi Maje Karofi strove and survived the test of the time with full submission to Almighty Allah, their Creator.

Malam Ahmadu, the foster father to Abdullahi Bayero, who was a noted Islamic scholar, began to put him in the path of Allah. He lived very closer to him at his tender age where he began to learn simplicity and modesty as a symbol of good life. Bayero was very obedient to his uncle and his foster mother, Hawwa'u, whom as a child, he had assumed, were his real parents. He enjoyed their true love and affection and lived happily with them at home. As he began learning how to talk, his foster mother, Hawwa'u began to teach him how to recite some *Ayats* from the Glorious Qur'an. At the age of four, she used a wooden slate, *Allo*, to write for him and teach him the Arabic scripts. As a toddler, he was not troublesome and remained very reserved and quiet. He took lessons very seriously from her day and night and as he grew-up, his uncle became responsible for most of his studies at home. He usually accompanied his uncle, whom he called *Baba*, to the mosque for congregational prayers. He gradually developed the habit of going to mosque even in the absence of his uncle because it was not very far away from their home.

The family of his uncle, Malam Ahmadu was polygamous and highly associated with the palace norms and culture. For that reason, Abdullahi Bayero was brought up in accordance with the palace culture and discipline, which was very strict. His early childhood was generally marked by distinguished qualities very rare to find among children of his age. The older women that stayed in the compound of Malam Ahmadu identified

such noble quality (*Hali*) of Abdullahi Bayero and transmitted it to his sons and daughters. They said that at childhood, Bayero was generally quiet and withdrawn among all his peers. He never indulged in fighting or quarrelling with his mates and by no means ate outside his home except within the extended family circle. At that time, children were encouraged to eat with their brothers in order to gain the *albarka* (blessing) of each other. Bayero treated his seniors with full respect and referred to them as *Yaya*, which literally means senior.<sup>5</sup>

This culture of respect and obedience still persists in the royal family of *Sullubawan Dabo* and all members strictly adhere to it. The family lays much emphasis on observing their children's behaviour and restricts their movement except to important places like going to school or mosque and some occasional visits to family members. Appropriate behaviour is generally encouraged while inappropriate manners are forbidden.

Thus, we can see that the extended family of *Sullubawan Dabo* is a truly traditional African family where children were brought up under strong moral code that gave them values and a sense of direction. Apart from providing protection to the younger ones, the family remains the most authentic social institution that instills a sense of belonging to all its members. It was equally vibrant in its emotions and highly compelling in its loyalty. In this family, the children of sisters and brothers are all considered to be the children of the same person and are treated equally. The family renders moral and

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<sup>5</sup> Interview with *Nanan Karaye Sa'adatu Bayero* and *Fulanin Dandago Hadizatu Bayero*. Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

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material help to all its members and continue to respect the values inherited from their shared ancestry.

Abdullahi Bayero received his early training in this extended family. He became highly socialised into its custom and morals that embodied the strong system of the community where the religion of Islam determined every aspect of life. His foster parents brought him up like every ordinary child in the society without pomp and pageantry associated with *'Yan Sarki* (princes) despite his noble birth. He wears the simple *Gwado* (hand-woven cotton coverlet) commonly used as a piece of cloth in those days by children as well as adults. He occasionally wore *Guke* (thick gown), a type of clothing material prevalent to members of the ruling family and merchant class.<sup>6</sup>

After his circumcision at the age of seven, his uncle, Malam Ahmadu took him to the famous *Makarantar Allo* of Malam Tsoho at Shahuci (Durumin Iya) quarters where he thoroughly studied the Glorious Qur'an with a number of children. Among them were children of his uncles most of them ahead of him by age. This school was a very prominent Qur'anic school in *Birnin Kano* at that time, which registered and accommodated more than one hundred students from within and outside Kano. It was also among the oldest registered schools in Kano that still exist in *Birnin Kano*. The classrooms were located at the three main *Zaure* (round entrance halls) of the *Malam's* large compound.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Formal interview with the Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero. the District Head of Dawakin Kudu. 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003

<sup>7</sup> *Fulani Dandago*. Hadizatu Bayero confirmed this statement during our interview at the Emir's Palace. Kano on Monday. 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

The younger children were placed at *Tafarfara*, which is a small-thatched hut in the compound of the *Malam*. A leading *Gardi* was normally assigned to supervise the children and assisted them in their writing on *alluna* (slates). The *allo* was made from the woods of desert trees such as *Kanya* (*Diospyros Mespiliformis*/African Ebony) or *Giyayya* (*Mitragyana Africana*).<sup>8</sup>

Fortunately, Abdullahi Bayero learnt all these at home. He was therefore placed in the senior students' class directly supervised by *Malam Tsoho* himself, which made him to be far ahead of his contemporaries. The tutor appeared to develop a strong interest in him as a result of his obedience and brilliance. This made the tutor to bring him close and usually sent him to bring some things in his room as a result of his transparent honesty. Gradually, the *Malam* used to assign him to assist the *Gardis* at junior classes despite his younger age.<sup>9</sup>

As tradition demands, all the students ordinarily sat on *Zama* mats while the *Malam* sits on his *buzu* (sheepskin) attending his pupils. In those days, the school training was very tough and the level of discipline was much higher than what obtains today. The child normally left home to *Makarantar allo* straight away after the *Subhi* (morning) prayers from Saturday to Wednesday every week and returned home only to eat in the midday. The school hours reconvened immediately after *Zuhr* (afternoon) prayers up to *Magrib* in the evening, and the grown-up children were further required

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<sup>8</sup> Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero. formal interview at Dawakin Kudu. 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003.

<sup>9</sup> Formal interview at the Emir's Palace Kano with *Nanan Karaye Sa'adatu Bayero*. Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

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by the tutor to come back to school in the night after *Isha'i* (night) prayers.

The parents normally remunerated the schoolteacher with *Sadakan Laraba* every Wednesday, which in those days were cowries. Only members of the ruling class and merchants donated clothes, millet or guinea corn and other foodstuff items to the *Malam* as additional *Sadaka*.

Abdullahi Bayero accomplished the study of the Glorious Qur'an at the age of eleven and completed the *Tishi*, a second time revision at the age of thirteen. He immediately embarked on *Hadda* (memorization of the Qur'an) at this stage to the amazement of those around him including his teacher Malam Tsoho. He became well known indeed for Qur'anic studies and succeeded in memorizing it by heart. At this stage, Bayero completely devoted his time to learning and writing the Glorious Qur'an.<sup>10</sup>

Available evidences show that Abdullahi Bayero valued studies very much. He inherited this trait from his noble ancestors, most of whom were noted Islamic scholars. Apart from regular attendance at school, he also took lessons at home from his uncles, Malam Ahmadu as well as Malam Babba,<sup>11</sup> who subsequently became the seventh Emir of Kano after the Jihad. Aliyu Babba was generally attributed to be a prominent Islamic scholar of

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<sup>10</sup> Alhaji Yusifu Bayero. Dan Iyan Kano. formal interview at Dawakin Kudu. 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003.

<sup>11</sup> *Sarkin Kano* Aliyu Babba is generally referred in the family as Malam Babba. He was a junior to Waziri Ahmadu and also *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas.

his time that made him to be referred to as *Malam Babba* by his nephews who took extra lessons from him at home.

Many people in Kano attributed the brilliance of Abdullahi Bayero to the early home training he received from his foster parents. He was accredited to have written the Glorious Qur'an with his own hand at the age of sixteen. The paper he used in writing the Qur'an at that time was known as *Ruzuma* and *Mai Wata* imported from Tripoli. The inks he used were locally produced from *Dnya* (*Vitex Cienkowskii*) tree, which produce black color, while *Koya*, a red ink made from earth was used to write the vowels in red. There were no imported pens at that time and hence *Tsaure* (*Cymbopogon*) tall coarse grass or *Gamba* (*Andropogon Guyanus*) stalks were used as his pens. He spent much time in the night studying with a locally produced candle made from bees wax known as *Ashama'a* or *Karama* as the people of *Hadejia* used to call it.<sup>12</sup>

Abdullahi Bayero was extremely enthusiastic in his search for knowledge and therefore proceeded to follow his own interest in Higher Islamic studies. He personally enrolled himself in a famous *Makarantar Malam Ahmadu*, the son of Malam Muhammadu, a Fulani man of Zaria who stayed and taught at *Birnin Kano*. This was his first encounter with advanced Islamic learning system soon after graduating from memorization of the Glorious Qur'an. He further studied Qur'anic exegesis (*Tafsir*) and other legal aspects in this school. He also studied *Tauhid* (Unity of Allah), *Ahalari*, *Iziyya*,

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<sup>12</sup> Oral interview with Malam Dan Alkali of Gwangwazo quarters. Kano. 25<sup>th</sup> June 2003. The same view was expressed by Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero at Dawakin Kudu on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2004.

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and *Risala*. All these books are necessary for proper of understanding of Islamic religion.<sup>13</sup>

Abdullahi Bayero's learning process at his youthful age was highly self-motivated, which was encouraged and supported by his uncle and foster father, Malam Ahmadu. His quest for knowledge made him to attend other Islamic schools within and outside *Birnin Kano*, which included *Makarantar Babban Malami Na Madabo* and *Makarantar Na'ibin Limamin Kano* at Anguwar Daneji. The Madabo School was an ancient intellectual centre established by Wangarawa scholars during the reign of Hafe *Sarkin Kano* Ali (1349-1385), who is popularly referred to in the literatures as Yaji. Ibrahim Gurdamasu, who was a companion of the founder of the school, Zaghaiti, sustained the school. The Madabo Mosque and School attracted a number of scholars and students from all over the world and hence remained a centre of intellectual activity in Kano, which by modern standard qualifies it to a university status. A large number of visiting scholars from all over Sudan especially the Fulani who came to Kano from Mali intensified the study of *Tauhid* and Arabic language, which enriched the existing higher educational base of *Fiqh, Hadith* and *Mukhtasar*.<sup>14</sup>

Abdullahi Bayero studied *Mukhtasarar-Khalil* in this famous school. It was also at this period he studied

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<sup>13</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, oral interview on 25 June 2003. The Dan Iyan Kano, Alhaji Yusifu Bayero confirmed this statement. 30<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

<sup>14</sup> Personal discussion with Malam Dan Alkali and Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusifu Bayero. 25<sup>th</sup> June 2003 and 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003. For more information on Madabo School, see Adamu, Abdallah Uba, "Sunset At Dawn: Colonial Policy And Muslim Hausa Education In Northern Nigeria, 1900-1910" in Hambolu, M.O. (ed) op. cit. pp. 184-219.

about 300 works of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, Sheikh Abdullahi Fodio and Caliph Muhammadu Bello written in Hausa, Arabic and Ffulde. Their works highly influenced and shaped his thought in religious studies. He extensively used the reference library of this school, which contained collections from East and North African Islamic centres and augmented his knowledge in *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence), *Tauhid* (Theology) *Tasawwuf* (Sufism), *Adab* (Manners) and *Tarikh* (History). It was at this time that his brilliance became well known to many people in Kano.

During the period of his studies, Abdullahi Bayero was said to be extremely questioning in his religious understanding because he questioned, with respect what he did not understand from his teachers. He seems to appear to break the traditional relationship between teacher and his student in Islamic schooling system. The traditional perception of Islamic educational system was so strict, but Bayero requested further elaboration of what he did not understand or what he read from some books. This made all his tutors to develop strong interest in him and willing to answer questions from the young scholar. It was at this level that his tutors began to notice his inherent leadership traits and feared that his opponents might harm him when they see his righteous qualities.

What appears to be the first challenge in the life of Abdullahi Bayero was the Kano civil war fought immediately after the imposition of Tukur in succession to his father, Muhammadu Bello. As it turned out, Tukur and his father became creatures of the circumstance by creating harsh condition within the Sullubawa ruling dynasty. The accession of Tukur after several warnings to

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Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko by Wazirin Sokoto and Kano Kingmakers triggered off the crises within the *Sullufawan Dabo*. It was at this time that the Sullufawa sharply divided into two hostile camps of *Yusufawa*<sup>15</sup> and *Tukurawa*.<sup>16</sup>

The Kano civil war or *Basasa* provoked a strong fear in the mind of all the descendants of *Amir Abdullahi Maje Karofi* that forced many of them to flee to Takai. Many people directly approached Malam Ahmadu and Muhammadu Abbas suggesting that Bayero should immediately leave Kano to a neighbouring place for his safety and security. But Abdullahi Bayero, who was certainly too young to have participated in the civil war, continued with his studies at *Birnin Kano* despite the impending danger to his life.

When *Amir Tukur* learnt that Abdullahi Bayero was quiet in the town, he set some people to scout and kill him. He was pursued on several occasions and narrowly escaped. This made prominent Islamic scholars of the time to arrange some of their students to escort him in the night out of the city. He left the territory of Kano through Daura and proceeded to Agadas, in the Niger Republic. He stayed there with a famous Islamic scholar, Malam Ali Agadas and spent one year studying from 1893 to 1894. His stay at Agadas made him to nurture his contact with some Islamic scholars of international repute

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<sup>15</sup> All the descendants of *Amir Abdullahi Maje Karofi* rallied behind ex-Galadima Yusifu and formed the *Yusufawa*.

<sup>16</sup> The supporters of *Amir Tukur* that descended from *Amir Bello* including a few territorial chiefs formed the second group referred to as *Tukurawa*.

that visited from famous Al-Azhar and Sudan. This trip reinforced his qualities of piety and knowledge.<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile in Kano, the *Yusufawa* inflicted a severe defeat on the *Tukurawa*. But the success of the *Yusufawa* came after the death of ex-Galadima Yusufu and Aliyu Babba was installed to succeed him. The *Yusufawa* expelled Tukur who fled to Tafashiya. They entered Kano where the new Emir, Aliyu Babba instantaneously appointed his brothers to various state offices vacated by the supporters of the fugitive *Amir* Tukur. These appointees included the foster father to Abdullahi Bayero, Malam Ahmadu as Wazirin Kano, Muhammadu Abbas (his father) as Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida and many others promised earlier to be rewarded by ex-Galadima Yusufu when Kano was conquered.

The new rulers attempted to bring the fugitive *Amir* Tukur back to Kano peacefully but failed due to the intemperance of Caliph Abdu Danyen Kasko of Sokoto. The Caliph made unsuccessful attempts to re-install Tukur, which hastened the final battle at Kamri. At the battlefield, the Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida Muhammadu Abbas was among the princes that insisted on Tukur's capture alive. But unfortunately, *Amir* Tukur died as a warrior at Gurin when he charged his horse into *Amir* Aliyu Babba's contingent. His horse was said to have hit a stone and fell, where Barde Abdu Na Gwangwazo struck him with arrow. It was at this point that Sarkin

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<sup>17</sup> Formal interview with Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero at Dawakin Kudu on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003. The same information was obtained during my interview with *Fulani Dandago*, Hadizatu Bayero and *Nanan Kuraye Sa'adatu Bayero* at Emirs Palace Kano on Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

Dawakin Tsakar Gida Muhammadu Abbas (the father of Abdullahi Bayero) moved quickly to save Tukur, who at that point was terribly wounded. He was able to speak with him, where the renegade *Amir* Tukur cursed *Amir* Aliyu Babba and prayed for Abbas who was helping him with his injury.<sup>18</sup> Thus, Tukur died in the hands of Abbas who was trying to save his life. At this point, it is important to note that many people attributed the success and prosperity of the Abbas' lineage over that of Aliyu Babba due to the sympathy he expressed towards Tukur.

When the dust settled finally, Abdullahi Bayero returned home in December 1894 and remained under his foster father, Wazirin Kano Ahmadu. He continued with his educational pursuits and rapidly progressed intellectually. He became an energetic youth during the reign of his uncle *Amir* Aliyu Babba and remained unconcerned with worldly affairs. He began to teach both young and adults Islamic education in the compound of Waziri Ahmadu. Some of his students were the sons and daughters of Waziri Ahmadu whom he grew up with in the same household. The daughters of Waziri Ahmadu that took lesson from him included Maimunatu, Yelwa, Asiya, Dudu, Magajiya, Hafsatu Zuwaira etc., while the sons were Musa, Umaru, Isa, Sa'adu and Mahe.

It is interesting at this juncture to note that Abdullahi Bayero married Maimunatu, the eldest daughter to Waziri Ahmadu in 1902. She was his first wife and the marriage took him unawares because it was arranged by the family. (*The details of his family life are presented in Chapter Nineteen*). Like his great grandfather *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo, Abdullahi

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<sup>18</sup> Hambolu, M. O. (ed). *Perspective On Kano-British Relations*, p. 86.

## Abdullahi Bayero

Bayero was made to serve as the Chief Imam of the famous mosque of Galadanchi quarters established by his ancestors. This took place shortly after his first marriage. He served as the Imam of this respected mosque up to the time when the British forces conquered Kano in 1903.

We can therefore see that the birth and early childhood of Abdullahi Bayero was shrouded with predisposition of noble qualities found among great personalities. Some of the qualities noted in him at this time were truthfulness (*Gaskiya*), fulfillment of promise (*Cika alkawari*), self-restraint (*Wadatar zuci*), courage and fortitude (*Kwazo da Juriya*), gentleness of speech (*Sanyin magana*), intelligence (*Basira*), sagacity (*Kaifin hankali*) and generosity (*Kyauta*).

These qualities made him the best-loved son to his father, who never openly expressed it to him as a result of traditional shyness accorded the first son. His father, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida Abbas was later promoted to Wambai. It was at this time that his father married the third wife, Sharifiya `Yar Sidi and took the fourth one, Rakiya in 1904 when he became the Emir. His father, Sarkin Kano Muhammadu Abbas had a number of sons presented in Chapter Six and his daughters were Maidaki, Gandi, Mummunai, Hindatu, Hasiya, Rabi`atu, Ummul Hairi, Runa, Turai, Takau, Issa, Itta, Amina, Rahinatu, Nafi`atu, Hawwa`u, Sa`adiyya, Hadizatu, Aminatu II, Sarai (Saratu), Karimatu, and Mummunai II.

Available records show that Abdullahi Bayero participated fully in the resistance to British occupation<sup>19</sup> of Kano in 1903. His educational background made him

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<sup>19</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, "The Reign Of Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero (1926-1953)" cited in *Ibid.* p. 86.

to become very hostile to the colonial intruders and stood firm in his principles and belief of the Omnipotence of Allah. At that point in time, he was a youthful, energetic, progressive, and courageous young man. He firmly stood on his principles. He had never been to a war front, nor did he have any experience in the art of war, but yet decided to participate in the confrontation.

At the time of the British conquest of Kano, the Emir, Aliyu Babba had completed all arrangements to defend his capital but hastily set out to Sokoto to pay homage to the new Caliph, Attahiru Ahmadu I. He went to consult the new Caliph on the pressing issues surrounding the British territorial aggrandizement, and whether the Muslims should migrate or not. The Emir left Kano with his leading Chiefs that included the Waziri Ahmadu, Wambai Muhammadu Abbas and many other princes. He therefore left Sallama Jatau and Sarkin Shanu Muhammadu Dan Gwari to defend Kano.

Abdullahi Bayero who was very determined in the confrontation with the British worked closely with Sallama and Sarkin Shanu. These two military generals co-operated with him because they knew he was potentially radical in his general outlook. Bayero mapped out the necessary strategies for the defense of *Birnin Kano* that became acceptable and further assigned some people to spy on the British advance to Kano. Some days after, news arrived that the British were at Chalawa and would possibly attack Kano on the following morning. Bayero wasted no time in making the finishing touches and personally decided to defend the Kofar Nasarawa (now old Nasarawa) where the British were expected to penetrate into the city from Zaria. It was

at that moment the Sarkin Shanu was mandated to defend the Emir's palace and Kofar Gadon Kaya while Sallama was made responsible for the defense of Kofar Kabuga and Duka Wuya.

In the early morning hours of 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1903, Bayero mounted his gallant horse at home and appeared well armed commanding a strong cavalry and headed to Kofar Nasarawa. To him, defense of Kano against infiltration of the British and their religion was equally a defense of Islam, which became an obligation to every Muslim, and that whoever lost his life in its course, died as a martyr.<sup>20</sup>

In the meantime, the expeditionary forces under the command of Colonel Morland approached Kofar Nasarawa and shelled it with two maxim guns, but failed to break the gate. The attempts to shell the *Ganuwa* fortress around Kofar Nasarawa also failed because it was so thick. Abdullahi Bayero bravely commanded his horsemen and courageous foot soldiers to strike back through the holes made on the *Ganuwa*. He succeeded in resisting and keeping the expeditionary forces at critical point for more than two hours, which forced the British to retreat to Kofar Gadon Kaya and thence to Kofar Kabuga. Many casualties were recorded from both sides during this encounter. Eventually, the British succeeded in forcing entrance through Kofar Kabuga into the *Birni* after heavy bombardment and the massacre of thousands of people who were retreating from the shellfire. The British forces marched directly to the Emir's palace and killed Sarkin Shanu Muhammadu Dan Gwari who

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<sup>20</sup> Personal discussions with Shamakin Kano Alhaji Muhammadu Inuwa at Emir's palace. 25<sup>th</sup> February 2004

resisted stubbornly. The British took over the palace and destroyed the Emirate armoury and finally disarmed the city. The Sallama Jatau fled eastward to join the Emir, Aliyu Babba.

Abdullahi Bayero was disturbed at the fall of Kano and the manner in which the British forces willfully committed massacre against the defenders of the *Birni* with heavy military armaments. The inhabitants of the city were also not happy about the presence of the British in the *Birni* who began to enter houses and loot properties of the *Kanawa*.

However in Sokoto, three factions emerged among the leaders on the next line of action to be taken. The Emir of Kano Aliyu Babba and the Caliph Muhammadu Attahiru I opted for *Hijrah* (emigration) to the east to escape from the British, and possibly seek the assistance of Mahadi of Sudan. The Waziri of Sokoto Buhari and Wamban Kano Muhammadu Abbas opted for the *Taqiyyah* (prudent consciousness) whilst the Wazirin Kano Ahmadu and some others chose the *Shahada* (martyrdom). Those who opted for the *Taqiyyah* used the Qur'anic injunctions and further contended that resistance or total war would inevitably result in mass tragedy. They believed that Allah bestowed authority on whomever He pleased, and that to resist the British would equate to opposing the Divine Will.

After concluding their discussions, the Emir of Kano, Aliyu and his party marched homeward. News arrived on their way that *Birnin Kano* had fallen. The Emir who decided for *Hijrah* silently withdrew in the night leaving his people without a central leadership. The Wamban Kano Abbas who decided on

*Taqiyyah* led his party homeward while Wazirin Kano Ahmadu that chose *Shahada* proceeded to Kano via Kwatarkwashi. The British confronted the Waziri Ahmadu whose military contingents comprised 1000 horsemen and 2000-foot soldiers, some of them armed with guns. The majority of the foot soldiers carried bows and arrows, shields and spears.

Just before his encounter with the British troops on 25<sup>th</sup> February 1903, the *Wazirin Kano* Ahmadu performed ablution and put on his white clothes. He was performing supererogatory prayers when the British forces suddenly emerged. After the completion of prayers, the Waziri commanded his contingent to hold their ground with perfect steadiness. The two forces collided for two hours where the British inflicted severe defeat on the Waziri's contingents. The Kano forces retreated in disarray when the British brutally killed Waziri Ahmadu, Sallama Jatau and other traditional office holders. It was as a result of this merciless massacre that the Waziri Ahmadu is often referred to as *Mai Shahada*.

Those that escaped among the followers of the Waziri hurriedly moved and joined Wambai Muhammadu Abbas to Kano. The Wambai arrived Kano with several thousands people and surrendered to the British who disarmed them. It has been argued that the option for the *Taqiyyah* was not merely to support the abrogation of the *Shari'a* as the British wanted, but to prevent merciless slaughter of the people. This was clearly proven by his attitude because he remained strongly committed to the *Shari'a* and religious

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obligations throughout the period of his leadership of Kano Emirate.

Abdullahi Bayero was much worried when the news arrived that the British martyred his uncle, foster father and father in law, Waziri Ahmadu at Kwatarkwashi. He thought deeply over this great loss and wiped the perspiration from his forehead. He remained seriously disturbed throughout the mourning period, thinking about his next line of action.<sup>21</sup> He also reminisced the time when the missionaries under the leadership of W.R.S. Miller visited the Emir of Kano, Aliyu Babba at the palace in 1899, where the Emir humiliated them and responded that:

*We do not want you: You can go: I gave you 3 days to prepare your load and we never wish to see you here again.*<sup>22</sup>

It was at this moment that Abdullahi Bayero began to contemplate about the *Hijrah* in an attempt to escape infidel rule. He thoughtfully considered the prophecy of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, which dealt with the *Hijrah*. The *Hijrah* prophesized by the Shehu symbolized a mass migration of people eastward to *Hijaz* (Mecca). The prophecy was earlier made known to the public by the two children of the Shehu, namely Caliph Abubakar Atiku and Nana Maryamu after the demise of Shehu. After the death of the Caliph Abubakar Atiku in 1842, many people began to move eastward, which prompted his grandfather, *Amirul Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi (1855-1833) to write to Nana Maryamu for more

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<sup>21</sup> This information was collected during my fieldwork research in the palace. September 2003.

<sup>22</sup> Personal discussion with Malam Dan Alkali. 25<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

explanation about the *Hijrah*. Nana Maryamu advised that people should remain in their towns because it was not yet the time.

Abdullahi Bayero who was resolutely anti-British deeply thought about the consequences of remaining under their rule. He made up his mind and became so determined on the *Hijrah*. He therefore abandoned his family and fled without letting anyone know about his intention. He joined the large mass following of the ex-Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu I who passed through the villages of Kano Emirate and pulled along large following among the peasantry and many members of the ruling class. Some of them included Sarkin Karaye, Sarkin Dutse, Sarkin Derki, Sarkin Kafin Musa, Dokaji, Ciroma Musa, Dan Buran Mamman Mai Lafiya, Limamin Tsangaya, Limamin Wudil and Alkalin Kano Sulcimanu. The ex-Caliph skirted all the areas under British control and each town he passed by, the people were told to follow him to *Hijaz* or else they would die as *Kuffar* (unbelievers). They headed eastwards and remained uncompromising in their own mission and belief. The British Colonial forces obsessively chased them with their sophisticated military might and on numerous occasions attempted to prevent people from migrating but failed.

However at home in Kano, his father, Muhammadu Abbas who was made *MuKaddas* remained worried and disturbed due to the absence of his best-loved son, Abdullahi Bayero and the number of people who deserted their towns and villages for the *Hijrah*. But as a leader, he tried to conceal all his worries over the absence of his son, ignoring even those that emphasized

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about bringing him back. Instead, Abbas dispatched messages to all towns and villages advising his people to remain calm in their homes.

Meanwhile, the ex-Caliph headed towards the terrain of Bauchi with several thousands of people. He approached Bima Hills and thence to Burmi where on 4<sup>th</sup> June 1903, Captain Sword was commanded to pursue him. The ex-Caliph was meet later by some of the deposed Emirs who escaped the British; these included Sarkin Bida Abubakar and Sarkin Misau Ahmadu. On 13<sup>th</sup> August 1903, Major Barlow was also directed by the Resident of Bauchi to harass the Burmi people and cut off their food supply.

At this time, Abdullahi Bayero was with his collogues at Burmi experiencing a lot of hardship, close to starvation, but he was highly determined to remain in that condition hoping to gain Allah's Mercy. Oral tradition shows that Bayero resorted to fasting and broke it with the little food he could obtain. Many people in the town died as a result of hunger, which prompted the fugitive Caliph to write to the Resident of Bauchi requesting that he should be left alone and allowed to travel out of the country.<sup>23</sup>

The British callously ignored his request and kept on putting more pressure with their military prowess, which added to untold suffering to the people. The brutal killings and torture of innocent people who merely intended to emigrate prompted the ex-Caliph to write again seeking to peacefully surrender. The British Colonial powers that have their own mission willfully ignored this peaceful offer. In short, no mercy has

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid

been shown to the ex-Caliph who did not wait for a reply, but a real opportunity to personally surrender. This opportunity was never granted to the ex-Caliph.

The British Colonial forces finally attacked Burmi town in the early morning hours of 27<sup>th</sup> July 1903 where they met the entrance gates to the town shut. A prayer was immediately called at the mosque when the hour of the battle drew closer. The Muslims who were ready to die as martyrs, fearlessly held their ground. The atmosphere became tense with the echoing of *Allahu Akbar* (Allah is the Great) and the neighing of horses.

The Colonial intruders began firing their machine guns directly on the town where the Muslims resisted valiantly. The British forces uninterruptedly stormed the town with their artillery weapons and broke the entrance gate to the town. At this time, the ex-Caliph bravely came out from the mosque when he heard that the expeditionary forces had broken the entrance gate. He was seen holding the hands of two of his sons heading towards the gate where he was mercilessly hit on his forehead together with his two children<sup>24</sup> and died a great warrior.

Abdullahi Bayero was among the gallant soldiers who bravely participated in the resistance at Burmi. He was among the few survivors of the British massacre that took place on the 27<sup>th</sup> July 2003 and narrowly escaped death. The British mercilessly exterminated thousands of people during this military encounter. Those that survived left the town after the death of the ex-Caliph. Prominent

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<sup>24</sup> For more details on the circumstances faced by the ex-Caliph and his followers, see Muffett, D.J.M., *Concerning The Brave Captains*, op. cit. pp. 143-210.

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among them was the son of the ex-Caliph, Mai-Wurno who made his way with several people to the Sudan and founded a town that is called Shehutalha.

Abdullahi Bayero finally returned home undetected by the British. He faced a number of problems during his long distance march through the rocky areas and wild bushes. He suffered tremendously from thirst and from hunger. His return safely to Kano in the month of September 1903 was highly jubilated by the entire *Kanawa* who saw him as a **Great Hero** due to his struggles against the British.

Few days after his arrival, the *Kanawa* trooped to the palace and congratulated his father, *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas, and requested him to appoint Abdullahi Bayero to traditional office as required by tradition and custom. At first, Bayero refused to accept the traditional title in a bid to avoid participating in the affairs of the state because of his belief in the moral aspect of the *Hijrah*. The *Ulama* of Kano persuaded him to accept the title and office, which according to them would give him more opportunity to serve Islam and his people. This made him to accept title and office, as we shall see in Chapter Eight.

Therefore, we can see that the mass exodus of people and their support for the ex-Caliph Attahiru indicate that the British were not welcomed contrary to their assumption that there was a widespread discontent with the Fulani rule. Available evidences show that Abdullahi Bayero remained uncooperative to the colonial rule throughout his life and resorted to covert method of anti-British moves through the radical *Tijjaniyya* order, as we shall see in Chapter Thirteen of the book.

## **Chapter Eight**

### ***Public Appointments Before Ascension***

The public appointments and roles played by Abdullahi Bayero before his ascension to the throne could be assessed within the range of the leadership of his father, *Amir* Muhammadu Abbas (1903-1919). The 16 years of *Amir* Abbas' leadership and those of his immediate successor, *Amir* Usman (1919-1926) were the most trying phase for Abdullahi Bayero's experience in leadership and public administration. This period would be used as a yardstick in evaluating the roles and responsibilities of Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero who was promoted to Wazirin Kano and later demoted to his former rank of Ciroman Kano by the British over-lords in 1908. It is however important to note that at the initial stage of the British rule, Kano Emirate was not subdivided into a compact District until the period between 1905-1906. Therefore, most of the titleholders remained in the capital city before they were posted to various District Headquarters to handle local administration from 1909 to 1915.

As indicated earlier, the British colonial administration installed Muhammadu Abbas on Friday, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1903 as the eighth Emir of Kano. He was made responsible in manning the Native Administration of Kano as well as maintaining public order. He was empowered to appoint and depose subordinate Chiefs and officials of the Emirate with the approval of the Resident. Abbas accepted the appointment principally because the Colonial Government gave him assurance that they would

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not interfere with the religion of Islam. This made him to assume leadership without having the feelings that he had betrayed the Muslim *Umma*.

But under the Indirect Rule system initiated by Lugard, the power and prerogatives enjoyed by the Emir were highly curtailed. Abbas was no doubt aware of this situation but determined to regain his power gradually, which created a lot of uneasy relationship between him and the Colonial Government, as we shall see.

Immediately after his installation, the Emir, Abbas appointed some members of the ruling families of Kano into offices of the state vacated by those who died at Kwatarkwashi or followed the ex-Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu I to Burmi. Some of the appointees included his nephew, Abdu<sup>1</sup>, as Wazirin Kano to succeed Waziri Ahmadu who died at Kwatarkwashi; Hussaini as Madakin Kano in succession to Madaki Kwairanga that was killed at Burmi, Umaru as Galadiman Kano, and Idrisu as Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta while Salihu, a man from Gwarzo was made Magajin Malam Na Chedi. In addition to this, Malam Gidado was made the new Alkalin Kano<sup>2</sup> when the previous holder, Malam Suleimanu who narrowly escaped death at Burmi declined to continue holding the office. It is interesting to note that Alkali Suleimanu was a brother-in-law to Emir Abbas as well as a maternal grandfather to the late General Murtala Ramat Muhammed.

All these public appointments were highly supported and encouraged by the British Colonial officers

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<sup>1</sup> Abdu was the son of Tafida Muhammadu, who was a senior brother to Amir Abbas.

<sup>2</sup> See Gwangwazo. Maje Ahmed. op. cit p. 86.

who at that time were busy attempting to establish their legitimacy and political control. While this development was taking place, Abdullahi Bayero, the eldest son to the Emir unexpectedly returned in the month of September 1903. His sudden appearance seems to change the mood of the relationship existing between the British and the Emir as well as the entire *Kanawa*. The British assumed that he was among those killed at Burmi because they were fully aware of the roles he played. His arrival was highly jubilated by the entire *Kanawa*, who were just recovering from traumatic experience and demoralization caused by the British annexation. It became the talk of the town simply because the *Kanawa* seriously took the stand of ex-Caliph Attahiru I. This perhaps made Bayero to be considered as a *Great Hero*. People trooped into his house to seek the blessings of *Bayin Allah* (true servants of God). The way and manner in which Abdullahi Bayero was received seriously agitated the British Colonial authorities.

At this time, Abdullahi Bayero was a rising young man with strong courage in his own conviction of the religion and that made him to join the *Hijrah* of ex-Caliph Attahiru to Burmi. Before the annexation of Kano, he was generally noted to be radical and totally against *Annasara* (Europeans), and openly opposed what he considered to be evangelical mission when W.R.S. Miller visited *Birnin Kano* in 1898. His strong religious commitment on issues surrounding the British made him to systematically withdraw from Kano basically in

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reaction to the imposition of an alien rule and domination.<sup>3</sup>

These made the *Kanawa* to hold him in higher esteem. They approached Emir Abbas, en-masse, imploring him to appoint his son, Abdullahi Bayero to any traditional office as required by custom and tradition. In addition to this, some *Malamai* (Muslim clerics) met and requested the Emir to appoint him expressing that it would be beneficial to the entire Muslim community. The Emir was very pleased but told them that his son was totally against the British rule. These *Malamai* assured the Emir that they would convince him to accept title and office.

The *Malamai*, who precisely knew that Bayero's action was directly linked with his religious beliefs met and discussed the issue with him at home. He was very frank in telling them what was in his mind and therefore responded that he was in doubt and uncertain about the future direction of the British rule. He stated that:

*The presence of the Europeans in our land is very unfortunate development to our religion. I consider them as infidels because they will undermine Islam. Their presence in this land should not be considered temporary. They would rule and amass wealth at the expense of our people. They will strike people so fast with poverty, which I fear would perpetuate, if care is not taken. They will make the country so dreary where life would become very difficult. These are my reasons for being anti-Colonialists and I hope you would forgive me if I wronged you.*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Interviews with Malam Dan Alkali and Shamakin Kano Inuwa. 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Dan Buran Kano Alhaji Salihi Bayero, the District Head of Nasarawa confirmed this statement on 22nd October 2003.

## Abdullahi Bayero

This statement clearly proved that Abdullahi Bayero was strongly anti-colonialists. On hearing this, the *Malamai* streamlined the *Taqiyyah* by means of Qur'anic injunctions emphasizing that Allah bestowed power on whomever He so desired. They told him that his acceptance of the public office would enable him to assist the *Talakawa* who were in need of his inestimable services and also defend the religion.

It was at this level that Abdullahi Bayero was convinced. The *Malamai* reported to the Emir the outcomes of their discussions with his son. The Emir was happy about this development, but he precisely knew that the British would not welcome such appointment on the ground that his son participated in the resistance against the colonial forces.

Yet, in spite of this, the Emir was determined to install him at all costs, whether the British liked it or not. To avoid unnecessary delay, the Emir silently made all arrangements for the turbaning ceremony and took the British by surprise. It was merely announced at the Central Mosque on Friday, 27<sup>th</sup> September 1903, that Abdullahi Bayero would be turbaned immediately after the Friday prayers at the palace. The name of the title was concealed at the mosque. The people who converged for Friday prayers became cheerful and trooped to the palace to witness the grand occasion. Tradition shows that while on that Friday, the palace was full to capacity, only titled officials proceeded to the *Soron Hakimai*, the hall where the actual turbaning took place.

In accordance with the tradition, Emir was seated at *Rumfar Kasa* at the palace, formally directed the ceremony. The Kilishin Kano unrolled the new *Tabarma*

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(mat) upon which the recipient of the title would sit while being dressed with the special gown of his office. The Madakin Kano, Hussaini then directed the Sallaman Kano, Habu to lead Abdullahi Bayero to the *Soron Hakimai* for the actual ceremony. Sallama then asked the Dan Riman Kano for the *Riga* (gown), *Rawani* (turban) and other items given by the Emir and the wearing of which would symbolize the actual turbaning. The Sallaman Kano having dressed the new titleholder with the turban and gown then pronounced thus, "You are hereby conferred with the traditional title of *Ciroman Kano*". The palace praise singers then broke into shouting the eulogies or *Kirari* of the Ciroman Kano, which made all the people to understand the actual traditional title he was conferred with. The royal musicians of *Gidan Rumfa*, the Kano palace, took over and began to beat the royal songs of Ciroman Kano.

The new Ciroman Kano Abdullahi Bayero was then told to stand up while the *Alkyabba* (bumouse) was downed on his shoulders. He was thereafter taken to Madakin Kano, who blessed him, from where he proceeded to greet all the other *Hakimai* (titleholders). The Wazirin Kano Abdu then lead the new Ciroma to *Rumfar Kasa* where Emir Abbas and some other officials who did not go to *Soron Hakimai* were seated. They greeted and paid homage to the Emir. According to the tradition of *Gidan Rumfa*: Kano Palace, the Emir then shook the hand of the new Ciroma for the first and the last time. The Emir informed him of the tasks and responsibilities ahead of him, particularly at that crucial time when the British were consolidating the colonial rule and Kano was in dire need of

dedicated and enlightened minds who could steer her affairs honestly. The Waziri then showed the Ciroma his position in the palace in conformity with tradition. The Emir directed the Waziri to escort the newly turbaned Ciroma to his house in order to receive greetings from well-wishers.<sup>5</sup>

Tradition shows that Ciroman Kano Abdullahi Bayero was the last person appointed by Abbas in that year.<sup>6</sup> At the time of his appointment, the title of Ciroma was the only one available and it was in view of this, the Emir's Council recommended it to Abdullahi Bayero. It has been shown that Abdulkadir Mujeli, the son of ex-*Sarkin Kano* Aliyu Babba who went or withdrew back to Sokoto from Birnin Goga, vacated the title. He had been instructed by his father, the ex-Emir, Aliyu to accompany his family back to Sokoto when he confirmed from Sallama Jatau that Kano has fallen.<sup>7</sup>

"Ciroma" was a hereditary title reserved for the Crown Prince since the *Habe* or pre-Jihad period. The last prince to hold the title during the *Habe* epoch was Dan Mama, the eldest son of Alwali II, who was conferred with the title on the day of his naming ceremony.<sup>8</sup> The title is normally conferred on the favorite son of the ruler who was also assumed to be the heir apparent to the throne.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid. and also interviews with Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003 and Sallaman Kano Alhaji Aminu Dako Kwaru. Monday, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2004. For more information on the culture of Gidan Rumfa, the Kano palace concerning the turbaning ceremonies of Hakimai, see Rufa'i. Ahmed Ruquyyatu. op cit pp. 121-122.

<sup>6</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Alhaji Inuwa. 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, M.G., *Government In Kano*, op. cit p. 405.

<sup>8</sup> Dokaji. Abubakar A., op. cit p. 41

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The British colonial officers of Kano were seriously disturbed by the award of this prestigious traditional title on Abdullahi Bayero, who was the eldest son of Abbas. What provoked the then Resident of Kano, Dr. F. Cargill was the fact that the Emir did not consult him before effecting the appointment as provided in the laid down procedures of the newly entrenched British rule. For this reason, the Resident rejected the appointment, more so as Abdullahi Bayero overtly challenged British over-lordship at the initial stage.

In point of fact, the Resident exerted himself further by going to the Emir to openly express his resentment against the appointment of Abdullahi Bayero to the office of Ciroman Kano. He emphasized that he knew Bayero was the eldest son of the Emir, but also underlined the fact that Bayero was their worst enemy because he had gallantly fought them both in Kano and Burmi. The Resident argued that the British Government did not have any guarantee that the new Ciroma would not continue to be anti-British and therefore the Emir must revoke the new appointment immediately in the interest peace.

The Emir, Muhammadu Abbas patiently listened to the hard and dry statements of the Resident. He however responded without any trace of fear. but in an enlightened spirit that the appointment could never be reversed because it was in line with the laid down traditions and customs of the people they conquered. He told Cargill that it was the people of Kano who demanded for the appointment, which was approved by the Emir's Council and that it could not be changed because there was no reason for doing so. The Emir

concluded by calling the attention of the Resident to the fact that it was not only Abdullahi Bayero who had tried to resist the British, pointing out that at different times, other Emirates also expressed their resentment in different ways.

The responses of the Emir Abbas hit Dr. Cargill so hard and confirmed to him that Abbas did not really care to remain in office, when he felt Islam and the interest of his people would be touched. This stunned the Resident much, and he was left with no choice other than to keep quiet and ignore the matter completely. Dr. Cargill saw that further agitation on the issue was politically dangerous to the British, who were then trying to establish their control on the conquered people, and he must have thought it unwise to take any hasty decision.<sup>9</sup> He simply stood up, removed his bow hat, bowed respectfully, and bade farewell to the Emir, while requesting that he would be glad to personally see the new Ciroma.

The following day, the Emir told Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero that the Resident desired to see him and advised him on how to handle the Resident. Later in the evening, the Ciroma visited Dr. Cargill at his personal residence. At that time, the Resident was staying at *Gidan Shettima*, close to the palace. Cargill was acknowledged to be a very difficult colonial officer. He was a haughty personality who paraded himself on the streets in a pompous manner. People often used to see him with someone holding an umbrella over him whether on a

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<sup>9</sup> Personal discussion with *Mai Ingila*. Abdullahi at Emir's palace Kano on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003.

horse or walking along on foot.<sup>10</sup> This made people to fear him and called him *Zaki*, which means "a lion". Beside this, he was a quarrelsome personality and never cares to exhibit respect for the dignity of Hausa man.

This was the kind of character that Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero was about to meet. When the Ciroma reached Gidan Shetima, his courtiers went forward, and announced his arrival to the servants of the Resident who rushed to inform him. After some unnecessary delay, the Resident directed them to usher him in. The Ciroma went in to find Dr. Cargill reclining lazily in an armchair smoking a pipe. Ciroma moved to shake hands with him while the Resident told him to take a seat. For some little time, the Ciroma looked at him thoughtfully trying to understand the nature of the person he was and blankly announced to him in a deep rich tone "The Emir told me that you wished to see me and that is why I am here". The Resident turned his face and looked at the Ciroma. He noticed that the Ciroma looked courageous, and was determined in his general outlook. This surprised Cargill, who tactfully responded by saying that the main purpose of wanting to see him was to get acquainted with him for the first time. Cargill, who was fluent in Hausa tried to explain the legitimacy of the presence of the British, adding that their mission was not to destroy Islam or the customs of the people, and finally prayed that he could get the cooperation of the new Ciroma in running the affairs of Kano.

The Ciroma listened attentively and afterward, responded that his first obligation was to Allah, his Creator and then people. The Resident should note

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

that the British victory in war should not be taken as the acceptance of their rule, and that a time would definitely come when natives will fight for their own independence. He elucidated that the colonialists will subject the peasantry to unprecedented economic difficulties and then assured him that they would do anything possible to please their people above every other thing. The new Ciroma concluded that their second mission of imposing the Christian religion would never materialize in Kano.<sup>11</sup>

The responses of the Ciroma shocked the Resident, who totally became dissatisfied and restless. Cargill was over confident that this attitude of Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero would definitely become destructive to Colonialism and believed that he would do many damages to them when an opportunity was given to him. The Resident tried and concealed his dissatisfaction and displeasure and with an appalling expression like that of a terrified child, he bade farewell to the Ciroma.

At this time, the Ciroma, Bayero was just aged 22. He was tall in stature, handsome and charismatic in appearance. He was humble and highly self-contained in his manner and appearance. Above all, he was full of dignity and courage, and had a commanding personality. Given his educational background, he was placed among the intellectuals of the time. Apart from Hausa, Ciroma fluently spoke classical Arabic and Fulfulde languages. These qualities made him very popular among the title-holders in the Emirate and earned him the trust and confidence of his father, *Amir* Abbas. He was to remain

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<sup>11</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, oral interview, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003 and *Mai Ingila*, Abdullahi, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003.

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very close to the Emir, as a Personal Assistant in the administration of justice in the whole Emirate.<sup>12</sup>

This is so because at that time, District units of Administration were not established in Kano Emirate. According to Muhammadu Mustapha Gwadabe, the administration of Kano after 1903, which started with Resident Cargill was charged with the sole responsibility of initiating a process for consolidation of the British imperial conquest over the economy and society of Kano. Such efforts began with the execution of some colonial programs on territorial re-organization with a view to curtail the powers exercised by the Emir. But Abbas felt uncomfortable with these developments and succeeded to some extent, in thwarting the efforts of the British.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, all titled officials of the Emirate remained in Kano, and continued to discharge their traditional responsibilities through representatives or *Jekadu*, a practice, which predated colonialism. The *Jekadu* were messengers or envoys of the *Hakimai* that served as intermediaries in the collection of tax within the respective communities. The *Jekadu* permanently resided in the fiefs under their own supervision and only reported matters of importance to the *Hakimi*. It is through them the *Hakimai* conveyed orders to *Lawanai* or village Chiefs. The *Jekadu* and *Lawanai* performed wide-ranging functions that included maintenance of law and order and

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<sup>12</sup> This information was gathered during my personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali, Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa, *Mai Ingila* Abdullahi as well as some elders in the Emir's palace Kano in the month of August 2003.

<sup>13</sup> Gwadabe, Muhammadu Mustapha "Anglo-Kano Relations 1903-1926: The Conquest Of An Emirate" quoted in Hambolu, M.O. (ed) op. cit. pp. 70-71.

collection of taxes. They exerted tremendous influence throughout the Emirate administrative machinery from the beginning of Abbas' rule.<sup>14</sup>

It is important to note that the British military occupation of 1903 had led to devastating famine by 1904. This famine was caused by the mass flight of people who had abandoned their farms to follow the ex-Caliph Attahiru I, which led to a poor harvest. The famine was very well known in Kano and was often referred to as *Babbar Yumwa*, which created a lot of suffering and led to the deaths of thousands of people. The *Kanawa* generally accused and hated the British for causing it.

However, the Emir took immediate action and ordered supply of food from other Emirates in Northern Nigeria like Zazzau and Katsina for distribution to *talakawa*. He further required the British colonial government to import additional 1200 tons of rice from Britain. The Emir mandated Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero to set up distribution points for the limited supply of food for the relief of the *talakawa* all over the Emirate. At this time, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero endured a great hardship in an attempt to serve his people diligently. He spent several months on horseback touring the Emirate and setting up distribution channels for the distribution of food to people and tried to ensure that people generally received the needed assistance of the Emirate. His tangible efforts were to elevate him to a high degree of respectability in the eyes of people. He was reported to be very sympathetic to all those who were in need of

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<sup>14</sup> Dantiye, Nasiru Ibrahim. "Taxation And Hakimai's Envoys" quoted in Barkindo, M. Bawuro (ed), op. cit. pp. 79-85.

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assistance at this desperate time. It was during the course of this mission that Ciroma Bayero settled some skirmishes that had occurred between the British infantry and the rural peasants, which had happened as a result of the killing of two villagers by the soldiers. The villagers retaliated and killed two soldiers in the western part of Kano.<sup>15</sup>

While these developments were taking place in the Emirate, the detractors of *Amir* Abbas and his son, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero remained busy searching for the ways and means that would lead to their downfall from power. The stage was loaded with furtive betrayals, followed by subtle blackmails. Most of Abbas' detractors were the *Hakimai* closely related to him. In fact, they completely deserted him in an attempt to secure his removal from office. They believed that Abbas held office by the grace of the British, and the attitude of his son towards the British was enough to secure his removal from the throne.

What seems to encourage their machinations was that the British removed the Emir of Katsina, Abubakar and replaced him with Muhammadu Dikko. Therefore, they openly blackmailed the Emir of Kano by spreading the rumour that he was planning to attack the British garrison in Kano. These intrigues created tension and nagging disaffection among the *Kanawa*, which made even those initially loyal to Abbas to become afraid and they deserted him.

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<sup>15</sup> This information was communicated to me by Shamakin Kano. Inuwa at the Emir's palace Kano on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003. M.G Smith also gave narration of the famine known as *Babbar Yunwa* in his book. *Government In Kano*. p. 407.

The Emir thought of abdicating, but by the foresight of the Ciroma, Abdullahi Bayero, he was prevented from doing so. The Ciroma candidly advised his father to visit the Higher Commissioner at Zungeru, the colonial Headquarters, which would automatically disprove the allegations of his detractors. The Emir accepted the advice and publicly declared his intention to undertake the long march to Zungeru. He instantly began to prepare. He left Kano with his eldest son, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero and was accompanied by his royal slaves and palace courtiers.

When the Emir and his party left Kano, his enemies thought he would never come back to his throne. They anxiously awaited the announcement of either his removal or death and the appointment of a new Emir among them. But to their dismay, Abbas was warmly received by Lugard at Zungeru. He spent a week with the Higher Commissioner discussing crucial issues on the administration of Northern Nigeria. The Higher Commissioner was much gratified by this mark of confidence.<sup>16</sup>

To the disappointment of his enemies, the Emir returned home safely. He instantly deposed the Wazirin Kano Abdu who had become the principal detractor, for acts of insubordination and betrayal. He re-organized the office and concentrated all administrative activities of the Emirate around it. He promoted his son and able assistant, the Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero to the office of Wazirin Kano. The title of the Ciroman Kano was

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<sup>16</sup> Personal discussion with *Mai Ingila*. Abdullahi at Emir's palace Kano. 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003. See also Smith, M G. op cit p. 409

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henceforth given to Abdulkadir, a younger brother to Bayero.

As it turned out, the promotion of Abdullahi Bayero to the highest office of Waziri in 1905 gravely upset the *Hakimai* and other princes that were at odds with the Emir. Therefore, they surreptitiously went and discussed the matter with the Resident, Cargill, who assured them that he would remove him at any given time. The irritated Resident confronted the Emir arguing that a prince must not occupy that office. Cargill contended that Bayero as son can never become an impartial adviser to his father.

This time around, the Emir did not respond to the Resident, Cargill. Rather, the Madaki, Mamuda resolutely retorted that in Kano, the tradition proves that many princes had occupied this particular office of Waziri since its creation by the *Sarkin Kano* Aliyu Babba who installed his senior brother, Malam Ahmadu to the office. The second Waziri was Abdu, who was installed and deposed by Abbas. He disputed the contention of the Resident arguing that even the deposed Waziri was a prince. The Madaki told him there were some justifications for installing Bayero to occupy that office because as a son, he was the only able assistant to the Emir that would never betray him. He concluded that Abdullahi Bayero was knowledgeable enough to hold that office and that can be proved by his unique personal qualities of leadership.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Personal discussions with Shamakin Kano Inuwa and Mai Ingila Abdullahi, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003. For some information concerning the promotion of Abdullahi Bayero to the office of the Waziri, see Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim. "The Reign Of Abdullahi Bayero" (1926-1953) in Hambolu. M.O. (cd) op.

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

These statements silenced the Resident who left the palace imagining how the Emir and his son were dribbling him. He therefore resolved that he would unavoidably turn the new Waziri, Abdullahi Bayero out from that office. But in spite of these challenges, the new Waziri handled the herculean task of administering the whole Emirate from this office, which relieved his father of much of the burden. He co-ordinated all routine administrative responsibilities and applied his learning to dealing with the crucial issues as they affect the people. He remained uncompromising on matters that negatively affected the *talakawa*. He harmonized the flow of communication between the Emir, Abbas and senior titled officials of the Emirate. The titled officials, who had hitherto communicated directly with the Emir, now channeled their routine administrative matters through the Waziri. This development made some of them annoyed because they were older than him. But in spite of this, the Waziri's relationship with them was much more favourable as he accorded them their due respect.

Apart from this, Wazirin Kano Abdullahi Bayero was charged with the responsibility of handling all communications between the Emir and the Provincial Administration. He was extremely cautious in his relationship with them and pondered on matters before passing them over to the Emir for approval. He bought time and put any proposed scheme under consideration in an effort to protect the interest of the *Kanawa* and this used to annoy the British officials who usually interpreted such as mere delay tactics. He was noted to be a shrewd

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cit. p. 90. Dokaji. Abubakar A. op. cit p. 86. and Smith. M.G. op. cit pp. 411-423.

## *Public Appointments Before Ascension*

administrator and normally accepted major reforms proposed by the British after expressing his reservations. He asked questions on any unpopular policy introduced by the British and could outrightly reject such new proposals. This always set him at loggerheads with the colonial authorities.

Waziri Abdullahi Bayero recorded and kept important communications such as reports on population, tax assessment and other significant matters for reference. It is however important to note that in those days, most of the communications were done in *Ajami*. This is because even after the colonial conquest, the Emirs were using Arabic and *Ajami* to communicate with the new overlords. The tactful policies of Wazirin Kano Abdullahi Bayero this time made the British officials to perceive him as the most radical and would become an intellectual reformer when a chance was given to him. What further made the British to become frightened of him was that he was a religiously inclined and foresighted traditional titleholder and second to none among all the *Hakimai* in the entire Emirate. His unique qualities endeared him so much to the *talakawa* and made him to become pre-eminent in *Kasar Kano*.<sup>18</sup>

The roles played out by the Waziri Abdullahi Bayero in this office compelled the British to become increasingly dependent on the Emir and his staff for information and guidance on Native Administration. It also made Emir Abbas to establish a firm control over the entire Emirate. The Emir extensively used the office of the Waziri to negotiate with the British. The Waziri

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<sup>18</sup> Formal communication with the office of the Private Secretary to the Emir of Kano 2003-2004.

handled all the situations and managed to control the entire colonial policies in tax collection and assessment. This development made the Resident of Kano, Cargill to see the office as a threat to the survival of Colonialism. Cargill also found the attitude of the Emir and his son extremely irritating and indeed a challenge to His Majesty's constituted authority.

Cargill tried to regain his power by manipulating the situation. He first planned to set out the District boundaries in a bid to send out the *Hakimai* to duty post outside Kano. To him, this would reduce the power of Emir Abbas. Unfortunately, Cargill lacked the knowledge of the individual histories of these communities and their political affiliations with one another. This forced him to rely on the Emir for guidance concerning the pre-conquest political arrangements of the communities. He implored the Emir to give him a hard-working and reliable person who had first hand information on the histories of these communities, adding that such a person must be familiar with the territorial arrangements of the Emirate.<sup>19</sup>

Emir Abbas, who was very intelligent, became suspicious of this move. He instantly considered the issue very carefully and finally resolved to assign Waziri, Abdullahi Bayero, whom he believed was the only person that could contain the Resident. The Resident was not happy with the selection because he knew him very well and that Waziri would not allow him to do what he so

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<sup>19</sup> This information was gathered during the course of my interviews with many people in Kano in the year 2003. M.G. Smith in his book *Government In Kano* made mention of this tour in pp. 414-419.

## *Public Appointments Before Ascension*

wished. The Resident was left with no alternative than to depend on the Emir's final decision.

Soon enough Waziri Abdullahi Bayero and Resident Cargill set up and took their domestic servants and clients with them. The Resident also took some British officials from the Provincial Office. But the mission came to a crisis almost immediately on their way when the Waziri saw that the White men were maltreating their servants. This abuse, obviously racist, aggravated the anger of the Waziri who earnestly cautioned the Resident that in Hausa land, people's self-respect and dignity were supposed to be protected by their leaders. He threatened that if the British officials did not stop maltreating their servants, he would withdraw from the mission. This statement wounded the pride of the Resident who casted a ghastly glance at the Waziri, but decided to keep quiet and precede with the journey.

One more conflict occurred when the Waziri informed the Resident that the time for prayer was due and they should halt a little to allow him say his prayers. But the Resident said he would not stop until they had arrived their intended destination. Without waiting for an answer, the Waziri dismounted and set for his prayer, which forced the party to pause because they did not know the routes precisely. Whilst the Waziri was performing his prayers, a dreadful animal likely to be a lion emerged and approached towards the position of the Europeans. The Resident nervously turned his face and looked at it and then gave a loud cry. The other Europeans quickly brought out a riffle and fired at it several times before killing it. But to their amazement, the Waziri and his men were still in full

concentration in their prayers, without being moved to even blink. This was to terribly shake the arrogant nature of the Resident, who henceforth quietly obeyed the Waziri without argument throughout this journey.<sup>20</sup>

Waziri Abdullahi Bayero tremendously assisted the British and showed them the boundaries between Kano, Katsina, Kazaure, Gumel, Katagun, Bauchi and Zaria. The mission became successful and the Resident was quietly impressed by the ability and courage of Waziri despite the fact that he did not like him. It was after this tour that District units of Administration were created in Kano Emirate containing a number of villages and this gave Cargill the common epithet of *Mai Gunduma*, which literally means a Territorial Re-organizer.

When this succeeded, Resident Cargill made another effort of undertaking a field assessment to Gaya and its environs, aimed at increasing the tax generated in the Emirate. This time around, the Resident himself requested the Emir to release Waziri Abdullahi Bayero to accompany him. The Emir granted the request instructing the Waziri to watch all the moves of the Resident and adding that he would not allow any form of heavy exactions to be imposed on people. At Gaya, the Resident appeared so domineering and haughty to the Chief pointing out that he personally came to assess the traditional methods of tax collection. He said that the British desired to eliminate the *Jekadu* system and

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<sup>20</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa at Emir's palace Kano on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003. The father of the Shamaki was among those that accompanied Waziri Abdullahi Bayero during this tour.

## *Public Appointments Before Ascension*

herefore directed Sarkin Gaya to summon all the 12 ward heads in the area.

When the Ward Heads arrived, Cargill asked each of them to state the amount he collected in the previous year as *Zakkat*, *Kudin Kasa*, *Kudin Shuka*, *Jangali* and so on.<sup>21</sup> The Ward Heads precisely mentioned what they collected but the Resident was not satisfied. He therefore instructed them to call all household heads in the town to answer questions on the payments they made. It was at this level that the Waziri Abdullahi Bayero intervened and advised the Resident that it was unwise to assemble all people in one place. Rather, the Waziri suggested that it would have been better for them to go along with Ward Heads and conduct house-to-house assessment. The Resident rather boisterously agreed with this and moved from house-to-house asking questions to household heads.

At a point, the attention of the Waziri became diverted when he noticed some villagers carrying a boy who seemed to be suffering from smallpox. He quickly dispatched one of his servants to go and call the agitated villagers. The traumatized villagers quickly reported when they heard that the Waziri himself wished to see them. The Waziri then held the boy sympathetically, his body felt so hot. He examined him thoroughly to the bewilderment of people around. This enraged the Resident who told off the Waziri to leave the folks to mind their own affairs. The Waziri ignored the Resident and assigned one of his servants, Mamman Sarki, to collect some clean sand and have it heated immediately. When the sand was heated, the Waziri from this,

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<sup>21</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit p. 411.

he took a little, added some water to it, which he gave to the boy to drink. He assured the parents that the boy would soon recover after informing them that the internal infection would flush out in a form of diarrhea. The Waziri then advised the villagers to collect the leaves of *runhu* (Cassia goraten tree), have it boiled and give to the boy to drink after it had cooled. He directed the parents to sprinkle the boiled ones all over the body of the boy.<sup>22</sup>

The concern and sympathy shown by Waziri Abdullahi Bayero elevated him very highly in the eyes of the *talakawa*. When he had finished attending to the patient, he moved to the Resident and explained to him that it was unethical to allow a fellow human being to die when one has a solution that can save. But the Resident considered such expression of concern as a deviation from the primary objectives of their coming to the town. The Resident knew that he had been issuing warnings to the Waziri, which failed to reform the Waziri's attitudes.<sup>23</sup>

It was after these tours that Dr. Cargill attempted to implement the 1906 Revenue Proclamation Act designed to control the administration of taxes. Apparently, the British intended to raise *Kudin Kasa* from its pre-colonial 3000 to 5000 cowries per household head. But the Emir and his son maneuvered the situation as it unfolded in favour of the people. What further assisted the Emir was continuous arrival and departure of new Residents due to leaves, illness and retirement. For instance, from February 1903 to October 1906, about five men acted as Resident of Kano, but only Cargill

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<sup>22</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Inuwa, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

## *Public Appointments Before Ascension*

exercised the substantive powers of the office, which enabled him to exercise unchecked power. Acting Residents only served as caretakers and were restricted, which curtailed their effectiveness.<sup>24</sup>

In October 1907, Cargill returned from one of his annual leaves and was to become dissatisfied with the loyalty of the Emir and his son Waziri Abdullahi Bayero. He seemed to think that the Waziri Abdullahi Bayero somehow embodied a potential threat to the survival of colonialism and in as much as he remained in that office, the British would never realize their objectives. Therefore, the Resident thought he could not allow things to continue moving in this way, and took it up as a challenge to him as the first Resident of Kano. Something definite must be done immediately he must have thought, before the Emir and his son, the Waziri, did much damage to the plans of the British.

This was what led Cargill to initiate some administrative changes generally aimed at curtailing the powers of the Emir. Without any form of consultation, the Resident hastily removed the Waziri Abdullahi Bayero from office in 1907, despite the fact that he had never been found wanting in discharging the responsibilities of his office. At the same time, his brother, Ciroma Abdulkadir was also removed by fiat. Abdulkadir had to wait until 1916 when he was appointed Dan Iyan Kano and posted to Dawakin Kudu as a District Head.

To further frustrate the Emir, Cargill summarily elevated a palace slave, Dan Rimi Ala-Bar-Sarki to the position of Waziri, a step, which publicly

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<sup>24</sup> Smith. M.G. op. cit p. 418.

demonstrated that the Emir was politically helpless in the face of the British. But the Emir who was so intelligent quickly reacted and out maneuvered the situation by conferring the title of Ciroma to Abdullahi Bayero in an effort to preserve his prospect and prominence. He also sent Abdulkadir to *Makarantar Dan Hausa* (Hans Vischer School) located at Nasarawa. This counter-move of the Emir took Cargill by surprise. The new Waziri, Ala-Bar-Sarki was given overwhelming power by the Resident, which was deliberately aimed at subverting the prestige and authority of the Emir among his people.

At this time, the Resident began to study the possibility of replacing Emir Abbas with non-Fulani dynasty, which according to him was successfully done in Katsina. This development compounded the problem and led to uneasy relationship between Cargill and Emir Abbas that persisted up to the end of the tenure of former.<sup>25</sup>

The moves gave Ala-Bar-Sarki substantial prestige and political status and made those seeking for N.A. appointments to patronize him. Many Kano titleholders as well as Princes, deserted the Emir and started courting the Waziri, Ala-Bar-Sarki during this period. Of the few that had remained loyal to the Emir was his younger brother, Galadima Umaru and therefore when he died his son Bello was appointed to succeed him. Rival songs of ridicule were composed against the Emir, Abbas, by

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<sup>25</sup> Constructed from personal discussions with Shamakin Kano Inuwa, and Malam Dan Alkali in June 2003. For information on this, see Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 418-425 and Hambolu, M.O. (ed) op. cit p. 58.

laves loyal to Ala-Bar-Sarki in an effort to disgrace his status. Ala-Bar-Sarki continued to enjoy unprecedented support while his courtiers praised and legitimized his appointment, suggesting that he could even ascend the throne when the British deposed the Emir. These developments further enhanced and encouraged intrigues against the Emir and his sons by those wishing to see their downfall. It was on the basis of this that Waziri Ala-Bar-Sarki finally moved out from his large premises inside the palace and established a house at *Anginvar Daneji* in *Birnin Kano*. More than 150 persons from the *Kofar Arewa* area in the palace followed him including his large extended family.<sup>26</sup>

It should however be noted that the appointment of Ala-Bar-Sarki as Wazirin Kano was aimed at advancing British prospects in Kano, which was nothing more than brutal exploitation. Resident Cargill used Ala-Bar-Sarki to re-organise the structure of the Emirate in line with the British policy especially the new District Administration structure. To clearly demonstrate his ability to over rule, Cargill set aside Emir Abbas and his son, Ciroma Abdullahi. It was at this time that Resident Cargill sent the *Hakimai* to Districts to collect taxes themselves and abolished the former method of *Jekadu* system. He directed the District Heads to establish permanent places of abode in their new places of assignment. This development generated revolts and protests in many important towns of the west and eastern parts of Kano who contended that the position of District Head should

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<sup>26</sup> Ubah, C.N. "Administration Of Kano Under The British: 1900-1930," Ph.D Thesis, University Of Ibadan, 1973

not be abused by asking him to collect tax for Europeans.<sup>27</sup>

Cargill also suspended the power of the Emir's judicial court and empowered the Chief Alkali with the final authority on court matters especially on issues of appeal in the native court system.<sup>28</sup> He further attempted to decentralize the Native Administration of Kano and gave power to the Emir's cabinet members to head the respective departments such as native police, prisons, and health. And he further encouraged the *Hakimai* to report directly to him as against the former method of reporting to the Emir.

Thus, the actions of the Resident Cargill advanced and encouraged acts of disloyalty and subversive tendencies against Emir Abbas. It was at this time that the Emir intended to abdicate the throne for the second time during British rule. His son, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero prevented this and advised him to remain in the palace. Ciroma went on to request the British to do everything themselves or ask the Waziri Ala-Bar-Sarki. The withdrawal of the Emir Abbas from the administration produced an explosive political situation and led to anarchy in Kano Emirate for which the British were directly responsible. It also made the administrative machinery to almost collapse, which revealed how serious the situation might become in future concerning colonial rule in Nigeria.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Interviews with Shamakin Kano Inuwa, and Malam Dan Alkali in June 2003. See also Smith, M.G. op. cit pp. 418-425 and Hambolu, M.O. (ed) op. cit p. 58.

<sup>28</sup> Gwadabe, Muhammadu Mustapha quoted in Hambolu, M.O. (ed) p. 72.

<sup>29</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano, Inuwa on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003. See also Gwadabc, Muhammadu Musatapha quoted in *ibid* pp. 72-73.

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This development seriously disturbed the Colonial Office, which led to the timely removal of Dr. F. Cargill in June 1908; he had seemed to be mentally sick. To further prove senility and mental imbalance, Cargill burnt all the colonial correspondence before he left Kano, which made it difficult to obtain full information on the period. Mr. H. P. Hewby, who served as Acting Resident from 29th July to November 1908, replaced him. Subsequently, C.L. Temple was appointed in January 1909 as a Substantive Resident with the directive to restore Emir Abbas' power and prestige within the shortest period of time.

The Higher Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, Girouard and the Secretary to the Colonial Government, Major Adler Burdon, instructed Temple to correct all the mistakes of Cargill. The coming of Temple, popularly known as *Dogon Lamba* in Kano, enhanced the prospect and eventual success of Emir Abbas. The new Resident revised nearly all Cargill's reforms with a view to safeguard the interest of Emir, Abbas. Temple, who was committed to Lugard's theory of Indirect Rule, was in favour of retaining Abbas in his office. He straight away assembled all the British officials and *Hakimai* and plainly informed them that the Colonial authority would never again tolerate any act of disloyalty or show of disaffection towards the Emir. It was in this context that all the Native Authority officials were barred from having direct contact with any European without the consent of the Emir.<sup>30</sup>

The full powers and authority of Emir Abbas were restored by Resident Temple. The British

<sup>30</sup> Gwadabe. Muhammadu Musatapla, p. 74.

encouraged the Emir to remove all those found to have committed acts of insubordination or financial abuses. This development took place at the European quarters of Bompai during the visit of Governor Girouard. Emir Abbas instantly removed Waziri Ala-Bar-Sarki to his former slave status of Dan Rimi. Ala-Bar-Sarki was publicly made to strip down to his underclothes and was brought to the city wearing only a *bante* (loincloth). He was made to lead the Emir's horse, trekking back to the city barefooted, which showed that he had reverted to his former role, and fallen from power that further exposed him to public ridicule.

The position of the Waziri was given to Alkali Malam Gidado, who was a noted Islamic scholar. Magatakarda Malam Ibrahim was made the new Alkalin Kano. The Emir attempted to bring sanity into the Native Administration system and appointed Ma'aji Badamasi to replace Babari Dan Sidi as senior treasury clerk. Later in 1910, the Emir dismissed Sarkin Dutse Haladu and his brother Dan Isa Mamman Mai Ruwa for embezzlement of tax. He also dismissed Turakin Manya Salihi, Dan Buran Ibrahim Ci Gari and Dan Iya Mujeli for illicit exactions and oppressing the peasantry.<sup>31</sup>

By the time Temple left in 1910, after serving for one year, Emir Abbas had regained all of his powers and established firm control over the affairs of Kano. In 1914, the Emir assigned Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero to be in charge of administration of ten Districts surrounding *Birnin Kano*, which included. Kunya, Kiru, Minjibir, Gezawa, Gabasawa, Zakirai, Tsakuwa, Dawaki Ta Kudu, Kumbotso and Ungoggo. This elevated and enhanced the

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<sup>31</sup> See Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 435-436.

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Ciroma's status and political prospects and further exposed him to the wirewithal of leadership in the Native Administration. He also transferred some of the executive authority of Waziri Gidado to Ciroma Bayero.<sup>32</sup>

Subsequently, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero was appointed the first District Head of Dawaki Ta Kudu. He was posted and briefly stayed there where he established the official residence of the District Head in town, which is maintained up to date.<sup>33</sup> Later on, his father, Abbas, moved him to Panisau. In 1916, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero was moved to Bichi to assume special responsibility for the administration of the District. It was after this that Emir Abbas assumed personal responsibility for the administration of the small Districts surrounding *Birnin Kano*.

The assumption of leadership of Ciroman Kano Abdullahi Bayero made Bichi to become well known. His arrival had aroused popular interest in the town that brought material benefits to its inhabitants.<sup>34</sup> Bichi was among the ancient towns situated on the border with Katsina. Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero was charged with the following responsibilities:

- 1.Maintenance of law and order
- 2.Reporting public disaster and educating the people on government policies.
- 3.Reporting disturbances and subversive activities that has bearing on security.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 437.

<sup>33</sup> Formal interview with Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusifu Bayero. the District Head of Dawakin Kudu. 1<sup>st</sup> August 2003.

<sup>34</sup> Sarkin Bichi Abubakar and Limamin Bichi Abdurrahaman Suyuti quoted in Ubah. C.N. op. cit. p. 181.

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4. Reporting outbreak of diseases, crops prospects and good harvests.
5. General assessment of developmental projects such as N.A. buildings, roads, forestry, veterinary and other activities.
5. Implementation of the decision of local Alkali court.
6. Nominating suitable candidates for village Chieftaincy.
7. Regulating the pastoral Fulani.
8. Supervising the collection of tax, *Zakkat*, and other dues.
9. Arresting all miscreants and those breaking law and order.
10. Settling immigrants.

Ciroman Kano Abdullahi Bayero was generally acknowledged to be a purposeful leader who tremendously contributed to the development of Bichi District. He encouraged self-help development in the areas mostly neglected by the colonial government such as feeder roads, schools and dispensaries. In fact, during such community development activities, the Ciroma actively participated, which made people to dedicate themselves to such activities in the Districts. It was with his assistance that footbridges for the use of people and animals such as horses, camels and donkeys were constructed, linking many villages and towns under his jurisdiction. This development facilitated trade and markets improvement. He regularly toured and observed the progress of villages under his District and created the conducive atmosphere for mutual accommodation among people. Oral tradition showed that during his ten years tenure as District Head, many people from the neighboring Emirates of Katsina and Daura settled in Bichi.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Formal communication with the District Head of Bichi. Alhaji Idi Bayero on 10<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

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Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero also mapped out an impressive town planning in Bichi Township. This made other District Heads to copy his example. He was also the first District Head to encourage western education by personally establishing an elementary school in the town. He directed all his Village Heads to enroll their children in the school<sup>36</sup> because to him it was only through western education that people could regain their freedom from the clutches of Europeans.

Abdullahi Bayero was able to build a new administrative organization with a loyal and dedicated staff. Most of those employed to serve the people in the District were not employees of the N.A. The Ciroma personally employed and paid them from his own salary because at that time he was earning £1000 per annum, which placed him among the more highly paid officials of the N.A.

Apart from this, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero was credited with constructing the official residence of the District Head during his stay in Bichi. He also constructed an open edifice in which he normally sat and received complaints from the people particularly during the evening hours. He established a religious school in his official residence where he personally taught both young and adults. He gained sufficient experience in rural administration in Bichi until the year 1926 when he was appointed the Emir of Kano in succession to his uncle Emir Usman Dan Tsoho, as we shall see in the next chapter. A confidential report on him in 1921 stated that

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<sup>36</sup> Gwangwazo. Maje Ahmed op. cit. p. 104.

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero had a good reputation. He was generally a good and gentle titleholder.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, Abdullahi Bayero faced staggering challenges that made him to become the most powerful triumvirate among all the eligible princes contesting for the exalted throne of Kano. He was not among those princes born with silver spoon in their mouth. Rather, he worked hard and faced many ups and downs before Allah made him the Emir of Kano.

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<sup>37</sup> Sec SNP/15/1/ No 225, Report on office holders and District Heads, 1920-1921.

## **Chapter Nine**

### ***His Ascension To The Throne***

Ascension to the exalted throne is highly connected with royal birth in the dynasty that produced Emirs of Kano. In Kano Emirate, only one potent ruling dynasty has produced the Emirs when the throne becomes vacant. This ruling dynasty is the *Sullubawa* ruling house, which has consecutively produced 12 out of the 13 Emirs of Kano from the inception of the Emirate system of government to date. The *Mundubawa* ruling house produced only one Emir, Suleimanu bin Aba Hama at the beginning of the conquest of Kano by the Fulani in 1907. The Mundubawa ruling dynasty is now virtually extinct in terms of competing for the coveted throne. Therefore, the Sullubawa ruling dynasty since its establishment by its founder, *Amir Ibrahim Dabo bin Mahmud* has consistently produced the Emirs of Kano as enumerated in the previous chapters.

Successions to the throne in any Emirate arose mainly after the death or deposition of the Emir. The death of the Emir of Kano, Muhammadu Abbas in the evening of Thursday, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1919<sup>1</sup> took people by surprise because, he had left home hale and hearty amidst the traditional pomp and pageantry to visit the European quarters at Bompai for discussions with the Resident. A few days later, his death was announced, which sent the

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<sup>1</sup> Some scholars usually gave the month of May 1919 as the month in which Emir Muhammadu Abbas died. But available evidences proved that he died on Thursday evening of 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1919. For more details see Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna (NNAK) SNP/10/119P/1919. *Sarkin Kano Muhammadu Abbas*.

*Kanawa* on to mourning for their beloved Emir. In fact, the whole town felt aggrieved that night. People tried to find out the real cause of his death but failed because the circumstances that led to his demise were never allowed to be made public by the Europeans. Everyone within the city walls knew that the Emir was quite healthy and he had never complained of any illness. He was in good spirits when he left the palace to the Residency, but was to be announced later on that day that he was not quite so well and had stayed at Nasarawa mini palace.

The British became terribly confused when Emir Abbas died, after having received a kick at his ribs from the Acting Resident of Kano, Mr. F. Beckles Gall. He instantly fell having sustained severe internal injury, and was to be helplessly carried away by his courtiers to the Nasarawa palace where he died a few days later. This incidence followed a misunderstanding on policy that had ensued between the Emir and the Resident. The Europeans were frightened at the expected consequences that would accompany the announcement of his death. Therefore, they quickly found and appointed a *Mukaddas* to act in that capacity before making the announcement public in an attempt to contain the anticipated breakdown of law and order.

The late Emir Abbas was buried on the following day at the Nasarawa palace in the early morning of Friday, 4<sup>th</sup> April 1919. Hundreds of people attended the funeral prayer from inside the *Birni* at Nasarawa. The transition to the great beyond created a vacuum on the throne, which led to the emergence of two powerful candidates vying to succeed him. One of the most popular and leading candidate was his son, Ciroman Kano

## *His Ascension To The Throne*

Abdullahi Bayero, the District Head of Bichi. He was so much loved by the entire *Kanawa* as a result of his nobility of character and qualities of leadership and was the person expected to become the next Emir after his father. But the Ciroma personally did not contest or show interest for the throne because he was still nursing the grief of the circumstances that led to the death of his late father. The other candidate who was quickly made to serve as the *Mukaddas* was his uncle, Wamban Kano, Usman who was the District Head of Ringim. The Wambai was not quite popular, and was considered unexposed and inexperienced by the entire *Kanawa* who at this time needed radical transformation in the Emirate.

In the Kano Emirate, there is established traditional Council of Kingmakers normally expected to select a successor when the throne becomes vacant. Historically, the composition of the Council traced its origin to the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499). Available evidence shows that Rumfa was the first ruler who initiated a council of state known as *Tara Ta Kano*. This might be an attempt by the ruler to prevent the use of might to obtain the throne by over-ambitious princes. The *Tara Ta Kano* includes Galadima, Wambai, Madaki, Makama, Sarkin Jarmai, Sarkin Bai, Barde, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida and Turaki. Later, Turaki was displaced and replaced by the Ciroma. During the *Haŕe* era, these officials shared power with the *Sarki* and such titles were normally given to the non-royal blood. The composition of the council debarred princes of the royal blood from serving as members. The *Tara Ta Kano* selected the new *Sarki* when the throne became vacant. The council was augmented later during the

reign of Muhammadu Kisoki (1509-1565) where Barde was expelled and was replaced by Dan Iya.<sup>2</sup>

During the Fulani era, the composition of the Council of Kingmakers of Kano was changed. Available evidence shows that *Amir* Ibrahim Dabo bin Mahmud (1819-1846) re-organised the Council after consultations with Caliph Muhammadu Bello. The Council at this time was composed of four principal clans of the Fulani who participated in the Jihad. They included Madaki, Makama, Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta and Sarkin Bai. The holders of these titles were charged with the responsibility of forwarding the names of nominees to Sokoto for the approval of the Caliphate whenever the throne became vacant. *Amir* Dabo apparently attempted by this to make succession to follow Islamic principles of leadership. The attempt also restrained assertive princes from taking over power through coup d'état as happened during the reign of the *Habe Sarakuna* of Kano. But in spite of this effort, Sokoto seemed to hijack the ultimate power to determine succession, which in consequence directly led to the bloody *Basasa* or civil war in Kano.

With Colonialism, the composition of the traditional Council of Kingmakers was augmented by the admission of the Wazirin Kano Gidado. The Waziri had never acted in that capacity and the people saw his inclusion in the Council as a violation of the traditions and customs of Kano. Yet, despite the inclusion of the Waziri in the Council, the British retained the ultimate authority in determining who would succeed to the throne.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Fika, Adamu Muhammed, op. cit. pp. 26-55

<sup>3</sup> Ubah, C.N. op. cit. p. 162.

## *His Ascension To The Throne*

On the death of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas, the British became cautious on the issue of succession. Therefore they did not rush to appoint the new Emir in succession to Abbas since his senior brother, Shehu Usman Dan Tsoho was appointed as the *MuKaddas*. The British bought time and critically studied and analysed the situation before making their final decision. At first, the British authorities in Kano studied the proposal made by Resident Cargill, which stated that Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero should ascend the throne after the demise of his father, Abbas. Thus, we can clearly see that Cargill precisely knows that Bayero would be a good leader despite their initial conflicts and misunderstandings on issues surrounding the colonial rule. In addition to this, the successor to Cargill, Resident C.L. Temple also recommended that Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero would make a good Emir when his father died.<sup>4</sup>

The Resident of the time, Mr. F. Beckles Gall hesitated over these proposals and remained doubtful to recommend the appointment of Ciroman Kano Abdullahi Bayero. He precisely knew that Bayero was the most popular and acceptable choice of the people. But he was very afraid and uncertain about him. Thereafter, the Resident summoned all senior British officials of Kano Province and tabled the issue before them. It is assumed that the British officials contemplated being against the appointment principally for the following reason:

1. That Bayero was very knowledgeable in Islam, which made him to be potentially radical in his outlook; there was no doubt that he detested British rule.

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<sup>4</sup> See S.N.P. 15/3, A2. Report No. 35 and S.N.P. 7/10. No. 3635/1909. Report No. 40. June 1909. Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

2. He was among those that seriously offered early resistance and fought both in Kano and Burmi and as such he might continue to be anti-British throughout his life.
3. That Ciroma would never forgive the British for killing his foster-father, uncle and at the same time father-in-law in the person of Wazirin Kano Ahmadu *Mai Shahada*, who was martyred at Kwatarkwashi by the British forces in 1903 and he would never forgive the recent killing of his own father, Emir Abbas.
4. He would live and continue to remember the mass slaughter that took place in Kano and Burmi where thousands were mercilessly killed.
5. That it would be difficult for the British officials to control him because he identified fully with his people.

In view of all these, the colonial authority summoned all the Kano Kingmakers at the Residency and dictated to them what they wanted. By this measure, it can be said that the British undertook full control over the traditional electoral Council. The British openly opted for Wambai Usman who was then very old against the youthful age and dynamism of Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero. To make sure that Wambai succeeds the throne, the British quickly gave important consideration to the vote of the Waziri among all other members of the electoral Council. The British were very tactful since they understood that Gidado had certain misgivings with his placement under Abbas. Although Abbas appointed the Waziri, the latter was not satisfied with the manner in which the former handled him. The contention of the

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Waziri was that the late Emir delegated most executive power to his son and when he left for Bichi, the Emir centralized everything to himself. Therefore the Waziri strongly backed the candidature of Wambai Shehu Usman hoping that he would give him an opportunity to re-assert his position.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, Waziri Gidado made strenuous efforts to ensure that the Kingmakers unanimously selected Wambai Usman. But in spite of his efforts, the Kingmakers were unable to unanimously agree on any candidate. The Council emerged with divergent opinion with majority backing Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero while others were in support of the position of the Europeans. The Resident finally intervened and settled the deadlock by recommending Wambai Shehu Usman Dan Tsoho to Lieutenant-Governor of Nigeria as the ninth Fulani Emir of Kano. The recommendation was consciously made in consideration of the economic importance of the Emirate to the British. The British wanted Wambai Usman to succeed because they wished to continue with their re-engineering of the society, which was only possible when the ruler was weak. Perhaps, all the British officials in Kano supported the recommendation of the Resident and believed that the new Emir would feel favoured and reciprocate by way of submitting to their dictates.

Thus, the British rejected Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero as a result of his outstanding attitude of being against their rule and domination. There is no doubt that the British had seen in him the tendencies of being an uncompromising ruler who would not be subjected to

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<sup>5</sup> Ubah, C.N. op. cit p. 135 and personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

their whims and caprices. The British reasoned that the bypassing of Abdullahi Bayero this time would be a great lesson to him for his future opportunities when the throne became vacant. It would also show him that Europeans were the only power to enthrone him and therefore deserved respect from him or else he might lose to someone again when the newly appointed Emir Usman died.

Fortunately, the rejection of Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero added more to his popularity in Kano and other neighboring Emirates and negatively affected the public image of the British. People openly uttered abusive words against the Europeans by composing songs of ridicule '*Nasara Asaran Dangi*', meaning the Europeans are a misfortune in the family.<sup>6</sup> At that time, people massively trooped to his house in Bichi and prayed for his late father who had dedicated his life to the services of the *Kanawa*. They offered special prayers for his success in life generally, and protection against any of the evil machinations of the *Nasara*.

But Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero was not worried about his rejection by the British overlords. He therefore continued to administer the District of Bichi with justice, equity and transparent honesty. He held the people of Bichi like his blood brothers, which made them to hold him with a very high esteem. His official resident was always full of people from Bichi and its surrounding environment.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Inuwa at the Emir's Palace Kano 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2003.

<sup>7</sup> This information was obtained during my fieldwork research at Bichi town. The inhabitants of the town particularly elders who knew the time

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Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero faced a number of problems during the reign of his uncle, *Amir* Shehu Usman Dan Tsoho. This was as a result of an attempt of the ruler to eliminate the sons of Abbas particularly Ciroma Bayero and his brother Dan Iya Abdulkadir. M.G. Smith indicates that the Emir was occupied with advancing the fortune of his own sons because of his constant ill health, which made him to lose confidence in living long. Immediately after his ascension, Emir Usman appointed his eldest son Audu Mai Bindiga as Wamban Kano and sent him to administer the District of Ringim. The title of Wambai was vacated following the ascension of the Emir to the throne in 1919. He simultaneously increased the salary of the Wambai to that of the Ciroma to enable him obtain fortunes to compete for the throne when it became vacant. By the end of 1919, the Emir dismissed Turakin Manya Abubakar, a grandson of Abdullahi Maje Karofi and appointed his second son Abubakar to that office and sent him to administer the District of Kura. He further dismissed Tafida Aliyu that administered Ungogo in 1920 and appointed his other son Muhammadu as Tafidan Kano and the District Head of Ungogo.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, within twenty months of his ascension, the Emir had appointed three of his senior sons to higher-ranking titles with territorial power. It was at this time that the Emir attempted to remove Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero but was prevented by the British because he was not found guilty of any offence. The failure of the Emir

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when Bayero was a District Head still respect and honour him as the most popular District Head.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, M.G., *Government In Kano*, p. 449.

propelled him to remain hostile to the sons of Abbas and therefore subjected Ciroma Bayero to all forms of intimidations.<sup>9</sup> For instance, Alhaji Dawaki of Gwangwazo quarters, pointed out that there was a time when palace courtiers harassed Ciroma Bayero during one *Eid* celebration until his younger brother, Dan Iya Abdulkadir came to his aid.<sup>10</sup> These developments forced the Ciroma to declare his intention of relinquishing his traditional title and office. He was restrained from doing so by a number of people including some British officials that began to realize the mistake they made in appointing Emir Usman. The palace courtiers seemed to be acting according to the wishes of the Emir who was propping up his son Abdullahi Mai Bindiga to succeed him when he died.

The sudden death of Wambai Abdullahi Mai Bindiga in 1924 terribly shocked Emir Usman to give up his bid for a successor. When the Emir regained his strength, he renewed his efforts and tried to manipulate the situation by promoting Turakin Manya Abubakar to the office of late Wambai and made him to still remain at Kura. He promoted his second son Tafida Abubakar to Turakin Manya and left him to continue administering Ungogo. He took his title and gave it to his younger son, Mamudu (Malle) and sent him to administer the District of Ringim. At first, the British opposed this appointment because Mamudu was then only 16 years old and still a schoolboy at Kano. But the Emir insisted, which made

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 450.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted from Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. (ed) op. cit. p. 91. Malam Dan Alkali communicated the same information to me on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

the British to finally give off and agreed for the appointment of Makaman Wambai Tanko to act as *Wakili* or acting District Head. Two years later, the Emir directed his son Mamudu to assume full responsibility of the District administration of Ringim.<sup>11</sup>

However, the British were disappointed by the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Shehu Usman Dan Tsoho, which was generally characterized by a breakdown of law and order. Such rough experience was largely said to have been a consequence of the Emir's chronic ill health and general administrative weaknesses. The Emir allowed hangers-on and royal slaves to take over the control of the Native Administration, while the Emir's favorites usurped all official duties.<sup>12</sup> Waziri Gidado who attempted to assert his power found himself opposed by the royal slaves who were much better informed on administrative matters. This was also the case in the judicial sector where innocent people were subjected to scores of injustices. Embezzlement, defaulting in payment of taxes and general increase of crime rate were daily reported.

These fundamental difficulties disturbed the British officials that found it necessary to change the unsatisfactory state of affairs. It was at this time that all the British officials in Kano spoke in favour of Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero. At first, the British officials opted for the change of the Emir, but the Resident, Gowers argued that he would not recommend the deposition of a person

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<sup>11</sup> For more information, see Smith, M.G. pp. 452-453 and Ubah, C.N. op. cit. p. 190.

<sup>12</sup> Gwadabe, Muhammadu Mustapha quoted in Hambolu, M.O. op. cit. p. 79.

he had chosen to fill the vacant of Emirship. The Resident contended that the Emir was indisposed and incapacitated by ill health, and he was still loyal to British government.<sup>13</sup> He concluded that the continuous ill health of the Emir offered a hope that he would soon pass away and thus provide the British with another opportunity of what to do.

It was at this point that the British felt the need for the Resident to play the leading role in the administration of the Emirate even if it means reducing the size of the province. This was what led to the transfer of the Emirate of Katsina to Zaria Province in the early 1926 and Katagum, Misau and Jam'are Emirates to Bauchi province. It was also at this period that the Residency was moved from Bompai to Nasarawa, which was closer to the city.<sup>14</sup>

In an attempt to arrest the deplorable situation, the British also set up a new council of advisers consisting the Waziri, Madaki and Sarkin Bai. Madaki Mamuda who was the District Head of Dawakin Tofa and Sarkin Bai Abdulkadir, the District Head of Dambatta were recalled from their Districts for this purpose. Waziri Gid'ado was placed in charge of judicial matters while the Madaki was made responsible for general affairs pertaining to the Districts administration in the Emirate. The Sarkin Bai was assigned with the handling of routine activities of Kano city and its various institutions such as schools, prison, health, N.A. police etc. All this was aimed at checking the power of royal slaves.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ubah, C.N. op. cit. pp.139-140.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 161.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p. 141.

### *His Ascension To The Throne*

The ill health of *Sarkin Kano* Usman continued to deteriorate in the early 1926. But before his death, his successor had become apparent to every one living in Kano. The new Resident of Kano, Mr. E. J. Arnett who took over from Gowers had critically reviewed the whole situation, made up his mind and awaited for development. Before he left for his annual leave, Arnett directed the Acting Resident, Mr. John H. Carrow his decision on the succession and implored him to appoint the Ciroma when the throne was vacated. On Friday, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1926, *Amir* Shehu Usman Dan Tsoho died at the royal palace of Kano. Immediately after his death, rumors were spread around in Kano in connection with the appointment of a new Emir. Intrigues and uncertainty crowded the atmosphere for those wishing to be appointed. This time around, it appeared that the Resident did not waste his time in looking for a *Mukaddas* that would act in that capacity for fear of any breakdown of law and order.

Two days after, the Council of Kingmakers headed by the Wazirin Kano Gidado, the Madaki and Sarkin Bai went down to the Residency at Nasarawa and intimated their desire to deal with the nomination of the successor. The Acting Resident Mr. John H. Carrow did not say anything but rather sent for the other two members that included Makaman Kano and Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta. The Resident openly informed them that Arnett advocated that if the electoral Council decided in favour of any other candidate than Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero, the decision should be set aside. He further informed them that it was not his wish to subvert the decision of the

Council, but must consider the popular choice of the people.<sup>16</sup> It was finally agreed at the Residency that the Kingmakers would intimate the Resident about their final decision.<sup>17</sup>

In the meantime before the appointment of the new Emir, various measures were taken at the palace in the maintenance of law and order throughout the Emirate. The Council members and the Alkalin Kano promptly assumed full control of the vast property of the deceased Emir in the palace. They made a separate list of the Emirate properties and the personal property of the deceased Emir. A considerable sum of £17,735 belonging to the late Emir was promptly lodged at the Bank and a comprehensive list of the royal slaves residing at the palace was also made.<sup>18</sup>

Four candidates emerged for the exalted throne. The first and the most popular was Ciroman Kano Abdullahi Bayero who did not openly declare his desire to contest. He was said to remain quiet while some people among the nobles presented his name among the contestants vying to become Emir of Kano. The other three candidates were the sons of the deceased Emir, which include Wamban Kano, Abubakar the District Head of Kura, Turaki Muhammadu and Tafida Mamuda (*Malle*), the District Head of Ringim who was twenty years old at then.

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<sup>16</sup> Personal discussions with Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sulc. 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2004 and Malam Dan Alkali 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>17</sup> Smith, M.G., *Government In Kano*, p. 455.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*. See also *Sarkin Kano* Usman. Kano Profile No. 4164, N.N.A. Kaduna.

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The Council of Kingmakers studied the qualities of the individual candidates and discovered that Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero possessed all the qualities of leadership required of the Emir of Kano. These are the ability to perform, acceptance by the people, knowledge in Islam, physically fit and not a deformed person, sterling qualities of character, sound judgment, refined and sincere personality.

Apart from these, the Kingmakers considered the excellent performance of Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero in the general administration of Bichi District and his efficiency toward the development of the area. He was rated as the best District Head that excelled in terms of the provision of structural facilities in his District such as roads, schools, hospitals etc. Above all, he was credited with being an upright personality who was devoted to religion.

It was based on these considerations that all members of the electoral Council unanimously voted for Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero. The members of the Council visited the Acting Resident of Kano on Thursday, 29<sup>th</sup> April 1926 and informed him about their decision of selecting Malam Abdullahi bin Muhammadu Abbas, known also as Abdullahi Bayero, as the new Emir. He was the eldest son of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas. Adamu Muhammed Fika says that the nomination of the Ciroma suited the Acting Resident and all the British political officers at Kano that were practically praising his qualities. The Acting Resident of Kano was not only too glad to recommend the confirmation of Bayero's nomination to the Governor of Nigeria but also argued

that his confirmation would satisfy the wishes of the *Kanawa* as well as the Kano ruling elite.<sup>19</sup>

Subsequently, the Acting Resident summoned Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero and informed him that his name has been forwarded to the Governor of Nigeria for approval as the new Emir of Kano. The Resident used the occasion to obtain some promises from him particularly on the abolishing of royal slaves that exercised overwhelming power in the Emiral administration. The Resident also sought for his co-operation for decentralizing the Native Administration and to forgive what happened in the past between him and the Waziri. The new Emir, Abdullahi Bayero promised that he would look into the matter immediately and gave him assurance that he had forgiven the Waziri. He promised to do everything possible that would facilitate rapid development of the Emirate.<sup>20</sup>

The Acting Resident was very much satisfied with the gentility, collectiveness and manners of the new Emir, Abdullahi Bayero. News of the approval of Abdullahi Bayero came on Monday, 10<sup>th</sup> May 1926, from the Governor of Nigeria Sir Graeme Thomson. It stated that:

*I have the honour to inform you that ....I have approved the appointment of Abdullahi Bayero....the son of Muhammadu Abbas. He has for the first nine years held the District Head of Bichi; previously he was for three years in charge of various small Districts in the vicinity of Kano, and for five years was the*

<sup>19</sup> Fika, Adamu Muhammed, op. cit. pp. 350-352.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. pp. 351-352. See also Sarkin Kano Usman, Kano Profile No. 4164. N.N.A. Kaduna.

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*Waziri of Kano. His election is in accordance with the wishes of the people.*<sup>21</sup>

Abdullahi Bayero ascended the throne at the youthful age of 45, relatively younger if compared with his predecessor, *Sarkin Kano* Usman that ascended at the age of 76. It is interesting to note that he was the first *Ciroma* in the long history of Kano who ascended the throne with that traditional title. There was a popular legend in Kano that made Princes to detest the title of *Ciroma*, which dated back to the time of the last *Habe* ruler, Muhammadu Alwali II. Alwali was said to have conferred his eldest son, Dan Mama with the title of *Ciroma* on the day of his naming ceremony. Dan Mama grew up as a haughty Prince whose conduct was generally hated by people. There was a time when he mounted with his cavalry and headed to the farm of Shehu Abdullahi Suka at Gwale. His cavalry arrogantly went and destroyed all the farm produce in the farm, which made Abdullahi Suka to curse Dan Mama, adding that no *Ciroma* would ever ascend the throne with that title. Shehu Abdullahi Suka was generally seen as a *Waliyyi* (saint) and it was in view of that people strongly believed *Ciroma* could not become Emir. But the ascension of Abdullahi Bayero to the exalted throne broke this old-age tradition.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Sarkin Kano Usman, Kano profile No. 4164, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>22</sup> Dokaji, A. A. op. cit. p. 41 and oral interviews with some elders in Kano. June 2003.

### **Installation Of Abdullahi Bayero**

The installation of the Emirs of Kano was associated with prescribed ritual practices that did not contradict Islamic etiquettes. The Fulani rulers of Kano destroyed all the pagan rituals associated with *Habe Wankan Sarauta*, which was strictly adhered to before a new *Sarki* was enthroned. During the Fulani era, the representative of the Caliph in the person of Wazirin Sokoto usually conducted the traditional installation of Emir of Kano at the Central Mosque. History has shown that the first Emir coronated traditionally by Sokoto was the second Emir of Kano Ibrahim Dabo bin Mahmud (1819-1846), the great grandfather of Emir Bayero. It was during such ceremony that all the royal regalia of Kano were normally handed to the new Emir, most of which as we shall see, dated back to the Habe epoch.

This tradition has persisted to date with slight modification. With British rule, the appointment and traditional coronation of the new Emir changed. The British seized the ultimate power of the Caliphate in appointing and deposing the Emir. In Kano, Emir Abbas was the first to be installed by the British followed by Emir Shehu Usman Dan Tsoho. Abbas was appointed and installed by the Higher Commissioner of Northern Nigeria Sir Fredrick Lugard. This was similar to his immediate predecessor, Shehu Usman. Abdullahi Bayero was the third Emir of Kano installed by the British, a practice that persisted up to the end of their rule and which was taken as a carry over by Government of the day.

On receiving the approval of Abdullahi Bayero, the Acting Resident made a public announcement in the



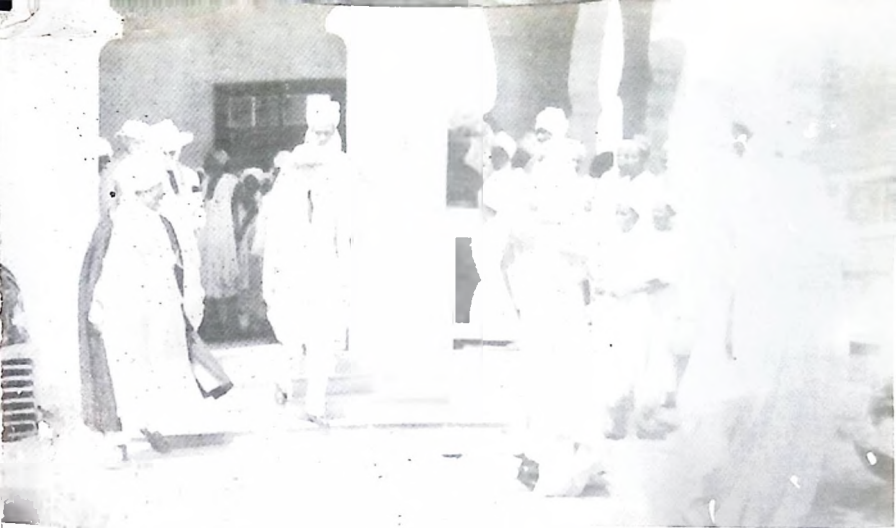
His Highness, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero,  
the 10<sup>th</sup> Fulani Emir of Kano.



His Highness, the Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero demonstrating the project plans of Kano Craft School to a Senior British Officer in 1928.



The Senior British Officer chatting with *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero over administrative matters at the British Residency, Nasarawa, Kano in 1930. Emir Abdullahi Bayero looks at him with an inquiring mind.



*Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero receiving one of the Governor  
Generals of Nigeria at Kano Railway Station. (1930s)*



*His Highness Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero being received at a public function by the senior  
British Officer and other Senior Councillors of Kano Native Authority (Emirate) in 1930s.*



*Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero in full traditional regalia exchanging greetings with the Resident of Kano Province at Gidan Sheuma during the Sallah Celebrations. (Picture taken in 1933).*



*Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero in pomp and pageantry during *Hawai Nasarawa* in 1936. He was on his way out of the palace.*



*Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero wearing the Takalmin Gashin Jimina  
(Ostrich Feather Shoes), holding the Staff of Office.*



His Highness Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero welcoming the Governor General of Nigeria Sir Author Richards and his wife in 1943



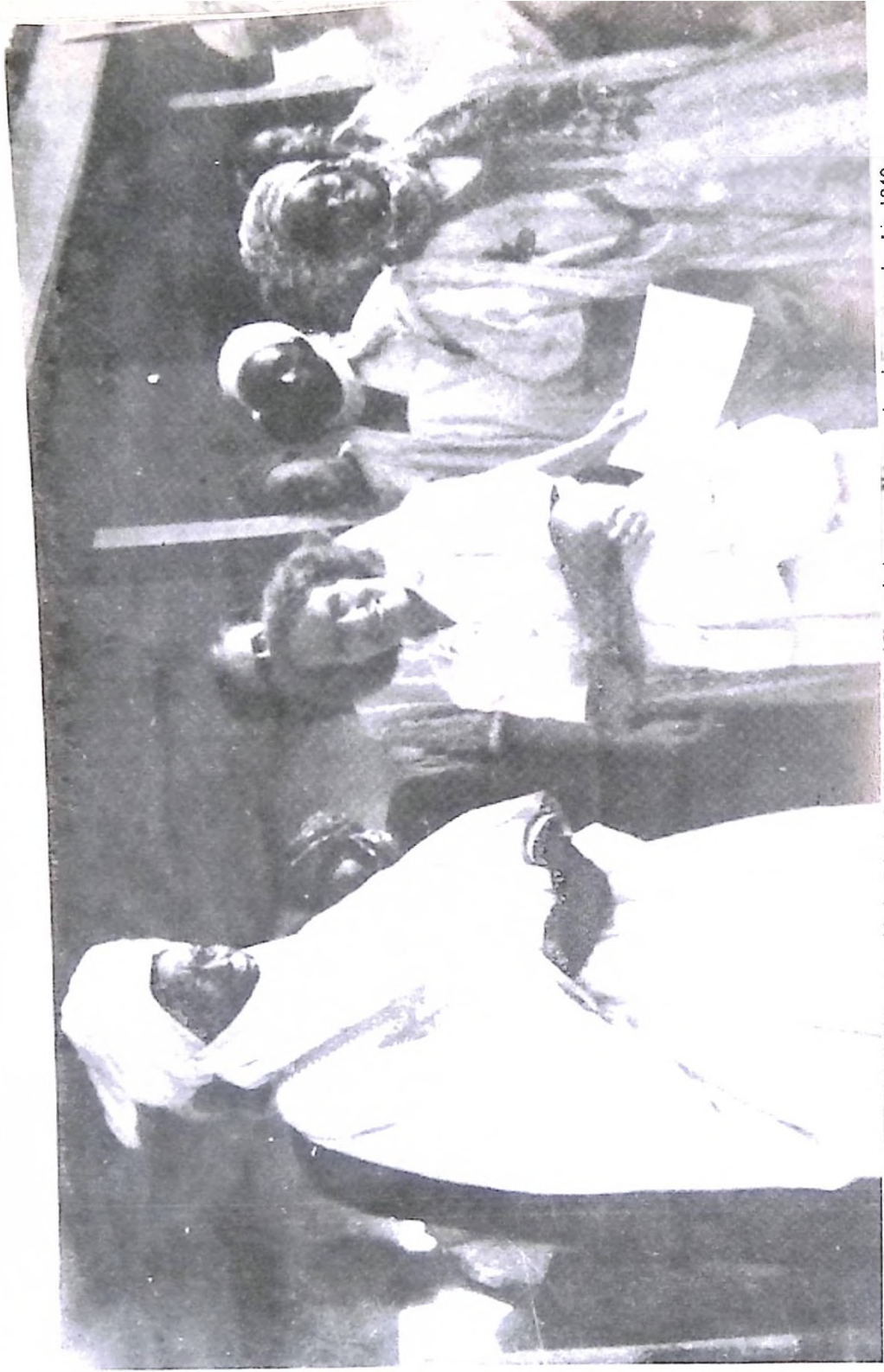
The Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero receiving a Senior British Official from Lagos at *Ramfar Kasa* in November 1943.  
The Emir is holding one of the twins spears (*Tayayyen Masu*) of either *Nawata* or *Gawata* (the twins who ruled Kano  
at the same time from 1134 to 1136. The *Tayayyen Masu* has since been accepted as part of Royal regalia of Kano.



Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero with the Principal of the School for Arabic Studies Kano, Sheikh Awad and other British Officers



Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero at Sudan with prominent lecturers of Arabic and Islamic Studies. The picture was taken in 1937 after the pilgrimage. Standing behind the Emir wearing a cap, is Abdullahi Mai Kano Zigi, Wadim Kano Suleiman and Galadima Abdulkadir, a younger brother to the Emir.



*Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero with the Principal of Waziriyah School Kano during one of his surprise visits to the school in 1940s*



Sitting right: **Saridin Kano Alhai**, **Abdullahi Bayero** and **Sheikh Sa'ad Bin Umar Tijani** (middle) who visited the Emir from Morocco  
Sitting left is the then **Curo**, **hano Muhammed Sunusi**, the eldest son of the Emir, who succeeded his father in (1949).



*Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero holding the Staff of Office during one of his surprise visits to the School for Arabic Studies, Kano. Standing left is Wali Kano Suleiman and Galadiman Kano Abdulkadir, the Senior Councillor in charge of Central and Departmental Administration of Kano Native Authority. The son of the Emir, Iate Kabiru Bayero, and also an elder brother to the present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero who became Bardc Keramiya was part of the entourage as he stood looking at his father.*



*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero with Ciroman Kano Muhammadu Sanusi, the Senior Councillor in charge of Central and Departmental Administration, who took over after the death of his uncle, Galadima Abdulkadir. The Ciroma meets the Emir inside the palace, and sits on the ground to read a letter that requires prompt attention.

His Highness Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero during the award of the Commander of the Order of the British Empire (C.B.E). conferred on him by His Majesty, King George IV, the King of England in June 1934. Standing was the Lieutenant Governor of Nigeria delivering a speech while the Emir is seated, wearing a white turban and black burnous. →



The Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero decorated with the insignia of the Commander of the Order of the British Empire (C.B.E.) in 1934. ←

## *His Ascension To The Throne*

evening, which was greeted with enthusiasm by the entire *Kanawa*. At that moment, the new Emir, Abdullahi Bayero was at his District Headquarters, Bichi. Lots of people from Kano so imbued with his love and respect trooped to Bichi to congratulate him. He remained at Bichi to allow his family and household members to prepare their personal belongings. He left the town on Saturday morning of 15th of May 1926 in his lorry, amidst a number of people that converged to say their farewell to him. A tradition says that the people of Bichi had such mixed feelings of happiness and sorrow for his departure as most of them were seen shedding tears. Many of them escorted him to Kano either on horses or on foot to demonstrate their sincere affection to him. He arrived Kano in the midst of thousands of people that assembled in the streets to welcome him.<sup>23</sup>

The new Emir proceeded directly to the Residency where he met Mr. Carrow, who warmly received him. The Acting Resident was together with the Kingmakers, Princes, *Hakimai* and a number of people that visited the Residency to witness a small ceremony in honour of the appointment of the new Emir.<sup>24</sup> The new Emir then proceeded to the Nasarawa mini palace and spent a night before proceeding to *Gidan Rumfa*, the Royal palace of Kano. This tradition of spending a night at Nasarawa palace established by Abdullahi Maje Karofi (1855-1884) is strictly maintained by the succeeding *Sarakuna* of

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<sup>23</sup> Formal Interview with Alhaji Idi Bayero, the District Head of Bichi. 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2003 and Dan Rimi Kano. Abdulkadir. Wednesday, 21<sup>st</sup> May 2003. It is interesting to note that the Dan Rimi was the son of Dan Rimi Ala-Bar-Sarki.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* For some explanation, see Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 456.

Kano. On the following day, the Kingmakers and *Hakimai* escorted the new Emir to the royal palace. According to the tradition of the Fulani, the new Emir should not enter the palace through the main entrance. Therefore, Shamakin Kano of the time, Salihi directed Sarkin Magina to make a new entrance by breaking the inner palace wall around Kofar Kudu section for the new Emir, which was immediately rebuilt.<sup>25</sup>

On his entrance into *Gidan Rumfa*, the new Emir, Abdullahi Bayero straight away went to *Soron Malam* where according to tradition, he was expected to stay for seven days. *Soron Malam* was established by Dabo as his room for religious studies and meditation. It was after his death that the succeeding Emirs began to spend seven days in this room. But the new Emir Abdullahi Bayero spent only two days at *Soron Malam* engaged in reading the Holy Qur'an. People from within and outside the *Gidan Rumfa* were allowed to go there and congratulate the new Emir.<sup>26</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero immediately commenced day-to-day administrative work before the actual installation took place. He adjusted himself to the norms of the palace because he was very familiar with it. The Emir's Council advised him to write an appreciation letter to the Governor of Nigeria. Below is the abstract of the letter dated 15<sup>th</sup> May 1926.

*From the Emir of Kano Abdullahi Bayero to His Excellency the Governor. Greetings of friendship and*

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<sup>25</sup> Oral interview with Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa who witnessed the event. Wednesday, 21<sup>st</sup> May 2003.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid See also Rufa'i. *Ruqayyatu Alimcd. op. cit.* p. 107.

### *His Ascension To The Throne*

*esteem. I thank you and honour you. I am pleased and delighted that you have appointed me Emir of Kano. I succeed, as did my father, my grandfather and great grandfather. I have entered the palace and I am now the head of the executive and President of the Council. I thank you exceedingly. May God prolong your life..<sup>27</sup>*

The Governor of Nigeria was very pleased and responded in the following words:

*This letter comes from the Governor Sir Greame Thomson. Greetings and friendship to Abdullahi Bayero, Emir of Kano, son of late Emir of Kano Abbas son of Abdullahi Dan Dabo- May God have mercy on them. Amin. After salutations, know that I have seen your letter and I am well pleased. May God increase your health and prosperity. May God prolong your life. Peace be unto you.*

*Dated this 29-day of Zulkhida 1344.<sup>28</sup>*

For the first nine months, the British authorities were occupied in making necessary arrangements for the installation ceremony of the new Emir, Abdullahi Bayero. The Resident initially slated the month of August but the Governor did not approve it because of constant rainfall while the people were engaged in the farm. The Governor advised the Resident to find appropriate time for the occasion that would enable him to come personally and conduct the ceremony.<sup>29</sup> For this reason, the ceremony was delayed until Monday, 14<sup>th</sup> February 1927. The

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<sup>27</sup> N.N.A. Kaduna, K/1361. Installation, 1926.

<sup>28</sup> See Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Shaniakin Kano. Inuwa. personal discussion, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

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Resident of Kano in collaboration with members of the Emir's Council selected the open space in front of the palace at Kofar Kudu for the ceremony. This spacious location was expected to accommodate the mammoth crowd anticipated at the ceremony.

Two stands were erected at this installation square. One of the stands directly facing Kofar Kudu was reserved for the Governor of Nigeria, the Acting Resident of Kano Province and senior British officials. The other stand meant for spectators was placed at the east of Kofar Kudu and a reserved box was made for the wife of Lieutenant Governor, Lady Thompson. The Lieutenant Governor of Northern Nigeria arrived at 9.00 a.m, accompanied by senior British officers. They were received by the Acting Resident who led them to the stairway to the seat reserved for them. The new Emir Abdullahi Bayero who waited at Kofar Kudu advanced with a lot of pomp and pageantry and seated himself at a special seat made for him. The Emir accompanied by his *Hakimai* and other princes moved directly in procession to the stand. Behind them were royal slaves and hundreds of Dogarai, 'Yan Sulke as well as 'Yan Kwalkwali. All the senior British officials assembled were highly amazed with the looks of scene. The Governor of Nigeria stood and exchanged greetings with the Emir and delivered his address in English, which was translated into Hausa by the Acting Resident of Kano. The address is as follows:

*The Chiefs and people of Kano,  
You will remember that it is now nearly two years  
since the King of England sent his son, the Prince of  
Wales, to see you and all the Chiefs of this country at  
Kano, so that you could see him and salute him. Since*

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*then your Emir (May God pardon him) has passed away and you have chosen the only son of Emir Abbas, (May God pardon him) to be your Emir.*

*During the last two years also you have begun to improve your town in a way which gives me great pleasure and satisfaction, and I am sure that if His Royal Highness could now come back again he would be astonished at the differences between the narrow and dirty streets he saw at the time of his visits, and the broad roads which your rulers have made, and the filling up of holes and spits which are all bad for health and are great causes of sickness.*

*During the last two years also, the Emir was directed to remove the power from the hands of the servants who live in the palace and entrust it to the descendants of the great men who have ruled Kano in the past, and the Mallams and other people who have knowledge and are of distinguished birth. These people could assist the Emir to govern the country.*

*I am glad to see all this and I am glad to hear that your Emir, whom I have come to install today in the seat of his fathers, is taking interest in the improvement of his country and people. It is the wish of the government of this country that you should do all you can to improve your own country. The government will always help you to do that and if there is anything you cannot do the government will assist you to do it...*

*We expect that you, the Emir of Kano, will endeavor to fill the post of the Emir as well as your father filled it, and that you will see that justice is done to everyone whether he is rich or not, whether he is*

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*poor or whether he is a native of Kano or not, or whether he is a native of some other country. You must remember also that the world today is the same world in the days of your fathers. We give you the power to rule your people as long as you rule well and we are satisfied you are ruling justly.*

*One of the things I want to say to you today and not to you but to all the people and Mallams of Kano, is this: that it is necessary that your children should be taught reading and writing and arithmetic (counting), and all other knowledge that is necessary in the present day. If you chiefs do not educate your sons it is quite certain that some day children of the Talakawa will become educated and you will lose your place. I am to add that the Mallams in Kano do not help the government and send their sons; if that is so, they are very foolish and some day they will regret it when it is too late.<sup>30</sup>*

The new Emir listened to the address very carefully and deeply thought that the British only wanted to advance the fortune of the ruling class at the detriment of the masses. It was because of this that the Emir in his address assured that his government would provide a favourable atmosphere for rapid development to the generality of people irrespective of their class or affiliation to the ruling class. He then requested the people of his Emirate to give him maximum cooperation in the enrollment of children to the western oriented school and concluded that no society could survive without knowledge.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> N.N.A. Kaduna. K/1361, Installation, 1926.

<sup>31</sup> The Emir, Abdullahi Bayero was an orator who did not write speeches. This makes it impossible to obtain the speech at the time of writing this

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As the tradition of Kano demanded, the new Emir wore his turban since nobody was expected to touch his head during the ceremony. On the completion of the Governor General's address, the Emir, Abdullahi Bayero was made to take an oath of office, which was conducted by the Chief Imam of Kano Central Mosque. Subsequently, Bayero accompanied by three members of his Council ascended the dais in front of the Governor General who rose and spoke with the new Emir before presenting the *Kayan Sarauta* (royal regalia) to him. Before the presentation of *Kayan Sarauta* by the Governor General, the Madakin Kano Mamuda put *Alkyabba* (burnouse) on the shoulders of the Emir and handed to him *Takalmin Gashin Jimina* (ostrich feather shoes). This *Takalmin Gashin Jimina* dated back to the rule of Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499). Then the Governor of Nigeria presented *Tagwayen Masu* (twin spears) and the *Sandar Sarauta* (Staff of Office). The *Tagwayen Masu* dated back to the period of Nawata and Gawata (1134-1136) while the *Sandar Sarauta* was innovated by the British. The Governor General also presented to him a letter of appointment. Other *Kayan Sarauta* were presented by the Limamin Kano, which included *Takobi* and *Wuka* (sword and knife) dated back to *Sarkin Kano* Suleimanu (1807-1819), *Kwari* and *Baka* (Bow and Arrow) dating back to the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Dabo (1819-1846). The *Takobi* was hung up on Bayero's right shoulder while the Emir held the *Wuka* with his left

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book. However, the Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule who learnt what happened at the time from his father vividly recalled the content of the Emir Bayero's speech. 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2003.

hand. These items were the clear symbols of royalty of *Gidan Rumfa*, the seat of power of the ruler of Kano.

The Governor then shook hands with the Emir and returned to his seat. The Emir proceeded and sat close to the Governor where all the titleholders of Kano, *Alkalai* (judges) and other leading officials of the Native Administration paid homage (*Mubaya'a*) to the Emir with the exception of his rivals Wambai Abubakar, Turaki Muhammadu and Tafida, Mamuda. All these three contestants were the sons of the late Emir Usman.

After the *Mubaya'a*, the Emir stood up to depart after shaking hands with the Lieutenant Governor. He descended the stairway and moved towards his palace. This gave the signal for palace slaves to start praising the new Emir while the beating of *Tambura* (Royal hemispherical drums) commenced. Dane guns were also fired in the air at the top of the roof of Kofar Kudu.<sup>32</sup>

The presentation of these *Kayan Sarauta* to the new Emir, Abdullahi Bayero signified his actual turbaning and formal installation. They were collected and were kept at Soron Sarki. Apart from this, the Emir inherited other *Kayan Sarauta* by virtue of his exalted position, which were not publicly presented during the coronation ceremony. These items included *Karaga* (throne), *Buzun Dabo* (Dabo's praying skin), *Malfar Dabo* (Dabo's hat), *Laima* (ceremonial umbrella), *Tambura* (Royal drums), *Kakaki* (royal trumpets), *Algaita*

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<sup>32</sup> Shamakin Kano. Inuwa, personal discussion on 10<sup>th</sup> June 2003. The Sallaman Kano Alhaji Aminu Dako Kwaru shed more light on this historical aspect during my interview with him on Friday, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2004. For more details, see Rufa'i. Ruqayyatu Ahmed, op. cit. pp. 107-109. See also N.N.A. Kaduna. K/1361. Installation, 1926.

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(reed musical instrument), *Bindigogi* (armour), *Hatimi* (royal seal), *Tuta* (royal flag), *Sulke* (coat of mail), *Lifidi* (quilted cotton armour) and *Kwalkwali* (iron helmet). The possession of these regalia also signified him as the legitimate owner of the throne invested with power and authority in the running of the administration of Kano Emirate.

The new Emir Abdullahi Bayero mounted his horse and re-appeared from Kofar Kudu surrounded by royal slaves. He moved in slow procession towards the main road and headed for Kofar Kwaru, the eastern gate located at the Emir's palace. All the *Hakimai* and titled officials of Kano mounted and followed the new Emir in order of their precedence. The Emir who was surrounded by the Traditional *Givan Sarki* received *Jafi* from all his *Hakimai* and titled officials at Kofar Kwaru.

The few people that witnessed this event of the turbaning ceremony said that it was one of the most significant events that happened in the history of Kano.<sup>33</sup> A colonial record shows that an unexpected massive turn out of the people was so overwhelming to such an extent that people broke through the *Givan Sarki* in their effort to congratulate him, which led to the girths of his saddle to break and compelled him to mount another reserve horse.<sup>34</sup> Oral tradition shows that the thought of the Emir was enkindled by the true love expressed to him by

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<sup>33</sup> Personal discussions with Shamakin Kano Inuwa, Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir and Malam Dan Alkali who witnessed the occasion. 10<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>34</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Inuwa who witnessed the occasion. 10<sup>th</sup> June 2003. For some information, see N.N.A. Kaduna, K/1361, Installation, 1926.

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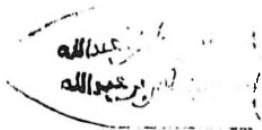
people, which even led him to weep at this moment.<sup>35</sup> His letter of appreciation to the Governor, which was translated to English by the Acting Resident further, illustrates this. The letter is presented below:

*From Abdullahi Bayero, the Emir of Kano, to His Excellency, the Governor Sir Greame Thomson, the Representative of His Majesty, the King of England.  
All possible greetings and friendship,*

*I write to you in order to thank you and to inform you that I am overwhelmed with joy in that you have installed me in the rank of my father and grandfather and ancestors; that with the will of Allah you have placed me in the house of my father and grandfather; that you have given me the staff of office and royal regalia. Truly I greatly rejoice and proffer you many thanks. May God prolong your life and preserve your health and increase your power; may He add to your counselors and increase your honour and fame; may He also increase your pleasure and prosperity.*

*Written in friendship on Tuesday, the 11<sup>th</sup> day of Sha'aban in the year 1345, which is the 15<sup>th</sup> February 1927.<sup>36</sup>*

*Signed.  
Abdullahi Bayero*



<sup>35</sup> Shamakin Kano, personal discussion, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>36</sup> N.N.A. Kaduna, K/1361. Installation, 1926.

## **Chapter Ten**

### ***The Leadership Of Abdullahi Bayero***

The ascension of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero to the throne in 1926 opened a new epoch for modern leadership in Kano Emirate. Although the Emir did not receive formal Western education, yet, he was adequately equipped with the wherewithal of modern leadership, which enabled him to transform Kano Emirate in many significant ways. Bayero used his accumulated reservoir of erudition in manning the administration of the Emirate despite the difficulties and complexities of the British. His exposure in the Native Administration during the reign of his father *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas, and the practical experience of rural life he acquired at Bichi tremendously assisted him in bringing enormous changes in the practice of leadership.

These qualities made *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to become the most respected and celebrated Emir not only in Kano but the world at large. To many people in Kano, his ascension was a turning point in the socio-economic and political development of the *Kasar Kano* as a whole. But to some others outside Kano Emirate, his ascension was the decisive moment in the history of Northern Nigeria. This is because it was during his reign that Kano became the melting pot of political development in Northern Nigeria overshadowing Kaduna, the capital of the North.

In short, this is what made *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to be remembered today as a pre-eminent Emir whose great success during his 27

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years of leadership made Northern Nigeria to become exposed in the world. Bayero ascended the exalted throne at the youthful age of 45. He did not contest for the throne because he precisely knew that the British would not support him due to his hostile attitudes against colonialism. But Allah the Most High Who bestows and withholds power on anybody He desires destined him to become the 10<sup>th</sup> Emir in the hierarchy of the Fulani. The British just confirmed his appointment because there was nothing they could do about the wishes of Allah *Subhanahu Wata'ala*.

But *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero acceded the exalted throne with complete dislike of Europeans (*Nasara*) for killing his uncle Waziri Ahmadu *Mai Shahada*, his father *Sarkin Kano* Abbas and the massacre of innocent people both during the battle of Kano and Burmi. These unsettled issues were still fresh in his mind, which marked a new era of tense relationship between him and the British. But the British who knew him very well were clever enough and did all they could to avoid direct confrontation with the Emir.

Instead, the British appeared so apologetic and quietly advised the Emir, not openly directing him as they did to his predecessors. And the Emir, who was so shrewd and intelligent, accepted the reasonable advice rendered to him by the British. He made sure that such advice was not injurious to his people.

Throughout his leadership, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero strongly preserved his spiritual and temporal power by being the *Sarkin Gari* (Emir), the *Limamin Gari* (Chief Imam) and the *Alkalin Gari* (Chief Judge).

### **Kano Provincial Administration**

With the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903 by the British, Northern Nigeria was divided into 13 Provinces. This was for administrative convenience to the British who lacked manpower and resources. Initially, Kano Province consisted of several Emirates that included Kano, Missau, Katsina, Katagum, Kazaure, Daura, Gumel, Hadejia, Jam'are and Dambam. It was the largest Province in the whole Protectorate of Northern Nigeria that covered an area of more than 30,000 square miles.<sup>1</sup> The Provincial administration, which was termed as "Emirates", were sub-divided into Native Authorities, each administered directly by the Emir.

Shortly before the ascension of Abdullahi Bayero in 1926, Kano Province was considerably reduced due to the constant ill health of *Sarkin Kano* Usman Dan Tsoho. It was at this time that Katsina and some other Emirates were removed from Kano Province in order to make the administration of Kano Emirate convenient for the Resident.

Regardless of this reduction, Kano Province was still large and had to be sub-divided again into two Administrative Divisions to contain one or more Emirates. These Administrative Divisions that came into effect in 1925 included Kano Division and Northern Division. Kano Division covered the area of 12,217 square miles with the population of about 2 million. It only comprised the Emirate of Kano alone. The second Division termed "Northern Division" covered the area of

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<sup>1</sup> Saeed, G. Asma'u. "The Establishment Of British Colonial Rule In Kano During The Reign Of Emir Abbas B. Abdullah 1903-1919" in *Hambolu*. M.O. (ed) op. cit. p. 57.

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5,385 square miles with a population of 440,000 and comprised the Emirates of Hadejia, Gumel, Daura and Kazaure. The two Divisional Headquarters were respectively situated at Kano and Hadejia supervised by Senior District Officer (S.D.O). The S.D.Os were assisted by Assistant District Officers (A.D.Os), which depended on the need of each Native Administrative unit or Emirate. It should be noted that Emirates at that time were termed as "Native Authorities" or "Native Administration" administered directly by the Emirs. Therefore, Kano Emirate was synonymous with Kano Native Authority or Native Administration and these terms are conventionally used interchangeably in this book.

The British Resident was the supreme head of the entire Provincial Administration. He served as the political officer rather than administrative official, and was responsible and answerable to the Higher Commissioner, a post that was re-named "Lieutenant Governor of Nigeria". The Resident served as the link performing mediatory duty between the British authorities and the Emirs. The Resident remained outside direct administration of people and exercised his power indirectly as required by the popular Lugardian policy of Indirect Rule.<sup>2</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero dealt with successive British officials who were outwardly set to achieve their mission of colonization. This always put him at loggerhead with the British because he had to defend the interest of his people. The Emir succeeded in

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<sup>2</sup> See Kano Provincial Gazetteer. Kano Profile 2568 Volume I&II, N.N.A. Kaduna.

pushing the British outside the whole system of the administration of *Kasar Kano* and shrewdly made the prestigious post of the Resident to become redundant and irrelevant<sup>3</sup> in Kano Emirate.

This victory enabled *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to establish new administrative machinery that accelerated rapid development of the Emirate. He was forward-looking and intolerant to the British. He did not allow the British to damage the religion or welfare of the people. The British were too afraid to confront him for fear of instigating crisis that would be worse than the *Basasa* or civil war fought shortly before the conquest of the Emirate in 1903.

In the course of working relationship with the British, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero exchanged occasional visits with the Resident. At the same time, the Resident also visited the Emir constantly in the Palace. During such visits, disagreements and misunderstandings on the general affairs of Kano were ironed out at least or accommodated by the two parties. At the palace, the courtiers boosted the morale of the *Sarki* when the Resident visited by enchanting the *Kirari* of *Lafiya mai horo a bi Allah, lafiya kashe kafiri, ki kafiri gaba da ma'ki Salla, yardan Allah dama da hauni dan Abashe jikan Abdu. Zauna daidai da karfin Allah.*<sup>4</sup> This literally means peace, the exhorter to the way of Allah, peace, the infidel killer, the infidel hater, the enemy of the one that

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<sup>3</sup> Fika. Adamu Muhammed. op. cit. p. 354 and personal discussion with Professor Abdullahi Mahadi, former Vice-Chancellor of Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, who is an authority in Kano history. 20<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Personal discussions with Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa and Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir at the Emir's palace Kano. 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2003.

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does not perform prayer, Allah's acceptance right to the left the son of Abbas and grandson of Abdu. Sit firm with the might of Allah.

This kind of *Kirari* always reminded *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero of his religious obligations to the society and made him to appear very firm in his beliefs and convictions. But in spite of this, the Emir was a leader who partially accepted modernity that goes along with the preservation of traditional values and norms of the society. He was highly principled and always accepted the good advice given to him by the British officials. He did not hate the British in their human nature, but hated their tendencies and exploitative policies. In fact he was said to be very friendly with Commander J. H. Carrow who supported and facilitated his appointment when he was the acting Resident in 1926.

### ***The General Administration Of Kano Emirate***

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was the overall leader of *Kasar Kano* (Kano Emirate) that consisted of a number of District administrative units and technical departments. The Emir wielded a lot of power, authority and influence because he did not allow the British to control him like a puppet. The colonial government Ordinances clearly spelt out his duties and responsibilities. But the Emir heartedly used to tell the British that the Divine law of Allah has provided him with what to do, and what was expected from him as the Islamic leader. In fact, there was a time when he told Resident C.W. Alexander in 1927 that he did not accept his appointment just because he wanted to become an

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Emir. He firmly said, "I purified my intention to accept leadership of my own people even if what happened to my father Abbas would befall me. Rest assured that I am prepared to die in defending the interest of my people".<sup>5</sup>

To *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, both the religion and politics were controlled and regulated by Islamic legislations. Therefore no one needed to remind him that he was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in his domain. Leadership did not only affect human beings, but also animals and other creatures of Allah. The Emir who was very learned openly challenged the British law that said he was the "Sole Chief Executive" of the state, adding that Islamic injunctions set limit on what he should do and what he must avoid. He once told his friend, Acting Resident Carrow in 1926 that in Islam, sovereignty belongs to Allah only and everyone from the Caliph to the most humble member of the community must submit to the rule of the Shari'a. Caliph is just a divine representation conferred on man by Allah.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero administered the Emirate in accordance with Islamic law. He ruled the Emirate through his four Councils namely the Executive Council, the Judicial Council, the *Majalis-Ash-Shura* and the traditional *Majalisa* that consisted of members of *Tara Ta Kano*. Only two of these Councils exercised real executive power. The traditional *Majalisa* however differed from the former Council of state known as *Tara Ta Kano*. The Executive and Judicial Councils were the backbone of the general administration and the

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<sup>5</sup> Personal discussion with Malam Dan Alkali 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

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cornerstone of Kano Native Authority. These two Councils served as the advisory bodies to the Emir, who was at liberty to set their advices aside. The Emir presided over the Councils and enjoyed veto power.

From the very early period of his ascension, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero began to introduce significant changes into general administration of the Emirate. These changes were aimed at arresting the paralysis in government that cropped up during the reign of *Sarki Usman*, as we shall see.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero divided the executive function of the two Councils into three segments, namely, Territorial Administration, Central Administration and Judicial Council and bestowed honour by appointing any individual to a top administrative position within the N.A. He therefore appointed the best among his titled officials and gave them portfolios of Councillorship. These included the Waziri Muhammadu Gidado in charge of the Judiciary, the Madaki Mamuda in charge of territorial and District administration, and the *Sarkin Bai* Abdulkadir, who was responsible for Kano Metropolitan administration and Departments under the Native Administration.

The portfolios Councillors were employees of the Native Authority appointed by the Emir, and retained their offices at his pleasure. They were answerable to the Emir not to the British, and also liable to dismissal if the Emir wished. The portfolio Councillor took the responsibility for seeing that the policies of the Council were implemented. In those days, the Councillor was an important functionary in government, a post similar to the status of a Minister today.

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*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero empowered his Councillors to take decisions on matters, and also see to the day-to-day administration of their areas of responsibilities. He closely monitored their daily activities and retained the exclusive right over all appointments in the N.A. as well as District and Village Heads in the Emirate. The Emir was also responsible for staff promotions, dismissal, discipline, suspension, salary increases and the like. All the Native Authority staffs were regarded as the employees of the Emir and not the British. This made them to be referred to as *Ma'aikatan Sarki*. In those days, public servants were proud to be associated with *Sarki* because it carried a lot of prestige and honour. At that material time, every act in the state was performed in the name of the Emir.<sup>7</sup> Nobody could dare flout his orders because such was regarded as a punishable offence.

Available evidence shows that the *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero recruited all the Native Authority staff impartially. He allocated Departmental Headship to competent people irrespective of their family or social background and checked their conduct. His administrative style endeared him so much to the British authorities, who, undeniably allowed him to do what he wanted. The non-interference of the British enabled the Emir to effectively control the entire administrative apparatus of the state and that facilitated rapid

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<sup>7</sup> Ubah, C.N. op. cit. p. 150. See also Nigerian Ordinance, 1916 (Lagos, 1917), pp.142-145.

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development not only within Kano metropolis but the Emirate as a whole.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, he was the first Emir that initiated welfare package to Native Authority staff. Such packages included payment of allowances, leave grants, pension scheme and gratuity for workers who either retired or died. A tradition has it that in 1927, the Emir paid the family of Malam Dikko who died on the job at Challawa River in the process of restoring water pump machine that spoilt.<sup>9</sup> He equally introduced health schemes for the workers and charged them to go to Shahuci Hospital and receive treatment. To this extent, the Emir passed an edict that compelled all the staff to abide by the medical advices of the Doctor. A sick leave of 28 days working days was given for those suffering from chronic illness. In the case of prolonged illness, a worker was entitled to his full salary. Problems beyond this were forwarded to the Executive Councils for consideration.<sup>10</sup> He was so compassionate and sympathetic in handling problems as it affected N.A. staff.<sup>11</sup>

In 1930, the Executive Council was augmented with the inclusion of Ma'aji Abdullahi, the son of Alhaji Abandi, who was by descent, a Tripolitanian Arab. Before the coming of Europeans, the Ma'ajin Watari served as the Treasurer and the Treasury was located at Mandawari. But during the reigns of Emirs Abbas and Usman, the Treasury was attached to the office of the

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<sup>8</sup> Formal interview with Dan Masanin Kano. Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2004.

<sup>9</sup> Personal discussion with Malam Dan Alkali, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003

<sup>10</sup> See Kano Profile, 2953. Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

<sup>11</sup> Dan Masanin Kano. Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule, formal interview, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2004.

Waziri and were headed by Ma'aji Auta and later, Ma'aji Sadi.<sup>12</sup>

But as part of his administrative changes, the Emir, Abdullahi Bayero converted the Treasury to an independent department under his own control. He put Ma'aji Abdullahi in charge of the Treasury,<sup>13</sup> responsible for receipt and disbursement of the revenue in the Emirate. As the custodian of Emirate account, the Ma'aji prepared the annual budget of the Emirate. Based on his long experience in the Treasury, the Ma'aji also became the financial adviser to the Emir.<sup>14</sup> The Treasury was regularly checked under the supervision of the Emir<sup>15</sup> to avoid official fraud. These administrative changes facilitated rapid development in the Emirate and consequently created favourable economic atmosphere for the *Kanawa*. It has been stated that the Emir was equally successful from the beginning up to the end of his administration in Kano Emirate.<sup>16</sup>

### ***Routine Administrative Activities***

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero normally set out everyday at 6.00 a.m. and began his administrative activities. He first sat at *Soron Makaranta* and received greetings from the royal slaves that resided within the palace. It was at this moment that the Emir received reports from royal slaves about the entire members of the

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<sup>12</sup> Skinner, Neil (ed) *Alhaji Muhammadu Koki: Kano Malam*, (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1977), p. 72.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 460-461.

<sup>14</sup> Sec Ubah, C.N. op. cit. p. 148.

<sup>15</sup> Sec 1928 Annual Report, N.N.A. Kaduna SNP 17/9043, 1928. See also Fika, Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. p. 412.

<sup>16</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 503.

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royal palace. The palace occupants that had problem directly approached the Emir at this time. He was normally cheerful at this moment and joked with his royal slaves in order to understand their problems. It was also at this point in time that the *'Yan Labari* (spies) normally reported important happenings affecting people in the society. The Emir patiently listened to whatever they said, which later in the day, he further briefed his Councillors and took appropriate action.

The Emir normally retired for his breakfast at 7.30 a.m. and set out for office at 8.30 a.m. to meet his Councillors. He first presented pressing issues at stake and the information he received from *'Yan Labari* that required immediate action or further inquiries. The Councillors as well briefed the Emir about recent developments and sought further directives from him. Henceforth, the Emir issued necessary instructions after which the Madaki and the Sarkin Bai, who was succeeded later by the Galadima, withdrew to their offices. The Emir would be left with the Waziri to discuss legal issues<sup>17</sup> such as appeals from the Districts Courts in the Emirate. After concluding their discussions, the Waziri departed to his office to attend to important administrative matters and return to the palace later in the day for sitting at the Emir's Court.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero would then proceed to *Soron Cafe* and received greetings from titled officials mostly *Hakiman Karaga*, composed of some members of *Tara Ta Kano*. Also at *Soron Cafe*, the Emir

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<sup>17</sup> Formal communications with the Principal Private Secretary to the present Emir of Kano, the Sallaman Kano Alhaji Aminu Dako Kwaru at the Emir's Palace Kano. June 2003.

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mostly received important guests that constantly paid visit on official engagements. Most of the guests at that time were Europeans who paid official visit both from Kaduna or Lagos and also international visitors. The Emir stayed at Soron Cafe, which was a large reception hall for a while and thereafter, proceeded to the outer chamber or *Majalisar Waje*.

The Emir mostly sat at remodeled *Rumfar Kasa* or *Soron Fadanci*, a chamber located between the north of the palace and Takon Giwa. The Rumfar Kasa was a very large chamber and had an extremely large entranceway that faced southwards towards the gate. The sitting at Rumfar Kasa allowed the Emir when seated on his throne to see the southwards and *Soron Gwabjeje*, a mini chamber that was later renamed *Soron Takalma*. The sitting at Rumfar Kasa was very colourful because it was conducted purely in the traditional comportment dating back to the period of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Rumfa. All the royal slaves surrounded the Emir chanting the *Kirari* of “*Lafiya*”, meaning peace. The *Hakimai* and titled officials present sat on the rugs. The physical appearance of the Emir at this chamber cultivated his public image and exposed the allusion to his inherited greatness. At this time, the towns’ people who constantly trooped to pay their homage were ushered in by the royal slaves. They greeted the Emir, and their meeting with him provided the *talakawa* a channel to express their grievances against any state officials or problems that worried them. The Emir enjoyed sitting at this chamber because it enabled him to directly receive complaints of the people. As a mark of respect and loyalty, everyone in this *Majalisa* reclined his head whenever the Emir

spoke.<sup>18</sup>

Around 11.00 a.m., the Waziri joined the Emir along with prominent Islamic scholars. *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero would then mount a horse, which became a symbol of power and royalty of *Gidan Rumfa*, and ride to the outer chamber that served as the Emir's Court. It was at this Court that appeals or capital offences were entertained by the Emir and his Judicial Council members. Like every ordinary Court, the sitting at Emir's Court was conducted at an open space for general public to see what was happening and how judgments were passed. Oral tradition shows that many people who wished to catch sight of Bayero and lack the courage of moving to the inner chamber easily saw him at this time. Therefore the Emir's Court was always full to capacity with people coming from every direction.<sup>19</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero remained at this Court and attended all cases presented before the Court. Most of the sittings at this Court were conducted twice in the week i.e. every Tuesday and Wednesday. But on some instances, the Court sitting was conducted on daily bases. The Emir retired home for his prayer and lunch after the judicial session. He remained in up to 5.00 p.m.

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<sup>18</sup> These statements were gathered from interviews during the course of my fieldwork research in the royal palace of Kano. Prominent among my informants are Sallaman Kano Alhaji Aminu Dako Kwaru, Sarkin Hatsin Kano Alhaji Muhammadu Sani, Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa, Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir and many elders in the palace. 2003-2004. See also Nast, J. Heidi "Space, History and Power: Stories Of Spatial And Social Change In The Palace Of Kano Northern Nigeria 1820-1890."

<sup>19</sup> Ibid and personal Communication with the Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero, the District Head of Dawakin Kudu who was born in 1933 at the palace and started his career at Kano N.A. in 1951. 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2004

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and came out for evening session with his Councillors. The Waziri, Madaki and Galadima returned to the palace and met the Emir. They gave him feedback on actions initiated at their morning session and the matters that arose, which required prompt action.<sup>20</sup>

The Emir mostly remained with his Councillors and some other state officials up to *Magrib* (sunset), where they departed after performing their congregational prayer. In some events, especially when there were pressing problems, the Emir remained with his Councillors up to 12.00 midnight. On some occasions, the Emir was of the habit of inviting one of the Councillors and privately went out with him to see for himself what was happening in his government. He paid such unexpected visits to hospitals, orphanages, water works, turbines generating house at Challawa and other significant places whose activities directly affected the life of people. At the hospital, the Emir freely spoke with the patients and asked them how they were fed and the type of drugs given to them by the Doctor. He asked similar questions to hospital workers to hear their problems or views and took immediate action.

Such surprise visits by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero seriously made public servants to be conscious and committed to their duties. It also made them agitated for they did not know when he would visit since it was always unannounced. This policy made the Emir to be feared by all people, as he was always the man of action that acted upon what he pronounced. It also elated the

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* For some explanations related to this, see Smith, M.G. *Government In Kano*, 456-481.

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Emir to the highest pedestal of respectability since the masses realized that he was out to protect them.<sup>21</sup>

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero paid annual *Rangadi* to the Districts and some villages in the Emirate to see his people. The *Rangadi* according to the notion of the British was for *I'asa Haraji*, but to the Emir, it served as an avenue to assess the developments registered in rural areas. It was during the course of *Rangadi* that the Emir advised the rural communities on health, agriculture and education. He normally educated his people on the impact of producing cash crops as the Europeans wanted to the detriment of food crops that sustained life.

### **Emancipation Of Royal Slaves**

Kano Palace, which is popularly known as *Gidan Rumfa*, served as a seat of power to the Emirs that ruled Kano from the epoch of *Sarki* Muhammadu Rumfa to date. The royal palace is a very large compound that housed the Emir and number of royal slaves. These royal slaves were functional in the administration of the Emirate since before the conquest of the Emirate by the British. Apart from this, the royal Palace served as the Secretariat and handled the internal administration and external relations of the state.

At the time of the ascension of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero in 1926, the royal slaves, popularly referred to as *Bayin Sarki* controlled all the administrative activities of the Emirate. This happened as the result of frequent illness of the Emir Shehu Usman Dan Tsoho

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<sup>21</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, personal communication, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003.

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(1919-1926) who was said to leave the business of the government to be controlled by the royal slaves. In actual fact, this tendency destroyed the proper administration of the Emirate as District Heads were compelled to communicate with the Emir through a particular slave intermediary known as *Kofa* (gate). The royal slaves were so powerful, fearless and unrelenting that the colonialists found that they had to be removed if the Emir was to remain loyal in executing their wishes.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, the metamorphosis of Usman's rule sharply contravened the initial arrangements made by Emir, Muhammadu Abbas in running the Emirate. Faced with this serious problem on ascension, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero had to devise immediate solution in an attempt to restore sanity in the administration. Traditionally, these *Bayin Sarki* were very instrumental in the Emirate and to eliminate them completely as the British wanted would inevitably destroy the image of the cherished traditions and the *Amana* (trust) that bound the Emir and the royal slaves.

Armed with vast experience on the palace culture since his youthful days, Emir Bayero appeared so tactful in dealing with this crucial matter. He first announced the liberation of all the royal slaves and shrewdly avoided the destruction of the cherished *Amana* by maintaining them. This shrewd act served the dual purpose both to the Emir and the royal slaves.

Consequently, the emancipation of *Bayin Sarki* led to their removal from the administrative activities of the

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<sup>22</sup> Ubah, C.N. op. cit. pp. 120-135. See also Abubakar, T. Ayuba, *Maitama Sule: Dukkanin Kano* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 2001) p.

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Emirate. *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero devised what seemed to fit the immediate situation by telling the royal slaves to choose either to withdraw into the wider society or remain in the palace and maintain their traditional relationship with the throne with full freedom. This made some of the *Bayin Sarki* to withdraw, leaving the majority of others in the palace despite their changed status. The Emir benevolently compensated those that pulled out by giving them substantial amount of money as their gratuity. He maintained those that remained and treated them like his own blood relations.<sup>23</sup> One of the royal slaves narrated that it was simpler for one to touch the Emir's son than to maltreat one of the royal slaves.<sup>24</sup>

Also against the wishes of the British, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero deployed the ex-slaves into the services of the N.A and selected some of them as his domestic servants, messengers, *Dogarai*, prison warders, city gatekeepers and large number of courtiers that formed part of the royal entourage. The Emir further selected the most competent ones among the ex-slaves and made them spies that constantly monitored the daily happenings in the society. These spies were commonly known as '*Yan Labari*' and reported directly to the Emir problems affecting the society for prompt action.<sup>25</sup>

The '*Yan Labari*' who were sworn to report the truth served as secret agents of the Emir. What was

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<sup>23</sup> Smith. M.G. op. cit. pp. 456-457 and Fika. Adamu Muhammad, op. cit. p. 414.

<sup>24</sup> Shamakin Kano Inuwa, interview. 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003.

<sup>25</sup> Formal Interview with Malam Dan Alkali, Shamakin Kano Inuwa and Sallaman Kano Aminu Dako Kwaru 2003-2004. For information concerning slaves manumission, see Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 456-457 and Fika. Adamu Muhammed, op. cit. p. 414.

particularly distressing to the British was the fact that these *'Yan Labari* closely kept an eye on the activities of European officers and the *Hakimai* who courted them and reported directly to the Emir. This scared the *Hakimai* particularly the ambitious princes from conniving with the British since the Europeans could not prevent the Emir from taking drastic action against them. Equally, the activities of *'Yan Labari* was so injurious to the British colonial interest as it prevented them from having a field day in the Emirate.

Apart from this, the *'Yan Labari* tremendously helped the Emir in monitoring the public conduct of the people, which made both the public officials and the people to be frightened of them. It has been narrated that there was a time when some unscrupulous businessmen in Kano engaged in unfair commercial practices like adulteration and hoarding to amass wealth. The *'Yan Labari* simply reported to the Emir who subsequently investigated and took prompt action against such people.<sup>26</sup>

A lot of haggling took place when the British demanded that the Emir must completely eliminate the ex-slaves in the mainstream of the palace and other activities in the Emirate. However, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero ignored the British and went ahead and maintained the traditional offices of Shamaki, Dan Rimi, Sallama, Sarkin Hatsi, Sarkin Dogarai and Kilishi. He redesigned their roles and responsibilities in the palace according to their historical importance, which persisted up to date. He made them to handle both his personal and

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<sup>26</sup> Formal Interview with Shamakin Kano. Muhammadu Inuwa. 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003.

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official matters in the palace. Some of their descendants today maintain such titles and serve as the Secretaries to the present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero.

It should, however, be noted that since the beginning of the leadership of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, all the royal slaves were treated as freeborn at *Gidan Rumfa*. But the term "*Bawan Sarki*" is still used objectively to assert individual identification in palace.<sup>27</sup>

The royal slaves held titles and responsibilities in the palace administration up till today. Currently, they share the overall power and prestige associated with Kano royalty. Therefore it can be said that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero's leadership marked a new era for the historical continuity of *Bayin Sarki* in the royal palace of Kano, which made them to remember him with full respect and dignity.

### **Central And Departmental Administration**

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero re-organised the central administration to handle both the administration of Kano metropolis as well as the Native Authority Departments. He retained the power of the appointment of Heads of Department and disciplined those that erred and redeployed them. He issued strict warnings to public servants against taking the property of the masses.

At the time of his ascension, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero met the *Sarkin Bai* Abdulkadir, as the Councillor in charge of the Central Administration. The

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<sup>27</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 456-457 and personal discussions with the Shamakin Kano Inuwa, Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir, *Sarkin Hatsin Kano* Sani and Sallaman Kano Aminu Dako Kwaru, 2003-2004.

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Sarkin Bai was initially recalled in 1925 from the post of District Headship of Dambatta when *Sarki* Usman was incapacitated by constant illness. Abdullahi Bayero therefore allowed Sarkin Bai to continue heading the Central Administration.

Two years after, the administrative responsibilities became so challenging for the ageing Sarkin Bai and that his District had been in bad state since his leaving. It was therefore considered that Sarkin Bai should be relieved and re-posted to his former District where he could do more work. Hence in 1928, the Sarkin Bai Abdulkadir was redeployed to his former District of Dambatta and was replaced by the younger brother to the Emir, Dan Iya Abdulkadir Abbas. The Dan Iya was very energetic and served as the District Head of Dawakin Kudu since 1916. After the death of Galadima Mamman Bello in 1928, Bayero promoted Dan Iya to Galadiman Kano<sup>28</sup> and recalled him to take over the councillorship from Sarkin Bai.

The new Galadima Abdulkadir was a product of *Makarantar Dan Hausa* and his educational background tremendously assisted him in handling the administration of Kano metropolis and Native Authority Departments. All the Heads of Department who exercised considerable power within their departments were directly responsible to him. The Departments included Prisons, Sanitary, Police, Buildings, Markets, City Wards, Sabon Gari, Education, Medical, Works, Veterinary, Survey, Printing, Water, Light and Roads.

The Yarin Kano administered the Prisons unit and exercised the power of executing the punishment of

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<sup>28</sup> Ubah, C.N. op. cit. pp. 148-149.

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prisoners. The Yari referred the most serious problems to the Galadima, who also referred those beyond his own power to the Emir. In 1928 there were two Prisons and one remand home in Kano City, which accommodated about 1,000 inmates.<sup>29</sup>

The Sanitary Department was headed by Malam Sani, who was called *Duba Gari* and later *Wakilin Tsabta* when the titles of *Wakilai* (deputies) became associated with all Heads of N.A Department in Kano Emirate. He reported offenders to the Galadima particularly those who defied several warnings about cleaning their premises. One interesting thing in those days was that householders cleaned their premises for fear of being taken to the Galadima. Although the Galadima did not levy fines, still people feared the *Hukuma* (government). By 1934, a brand new Albion vehicle was procured for urban refuse disposal<sup>30</sup> by the Emir Bayero. All these efforts helped in a lot of ways in controlling malaria and outbreak of airborne diseases.

Malam Hamidu headed the Public Buildings Department. The Department was responsible for new constructions and maintenance of public buildings in the Emirate. Malam Hamidu was responsible for payment of laborers and other casual workers and reported directly to the Galadima. In those days, most public constructions

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<sup>29</sup> See C.W. Alexander, 1928 Annual Report of Kano Province. SNP/17 9043. N.N.A Kaduna and Skinner, Neil (ed) op. cit. p. 75.

<sup>30</sup> Personal discussions with the Shamakin Kano Inuwa, Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir, Sarkin Hatsin Kano Sani and Sallaman Kano Aminu Dako Kwaru, 2003-2004. See also Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp 466-477, Ubah, C.N. op. cit. p. 168 and Abubakar, T. Ayuba op. cit p. 9.

were executed through direct labour, which minimized the expenditure of Native Authority.<sup>31</sup>

The metropolitan markets in the city were placed under the headship of Sarkin Kasuwa. Before the coming of Europeans, San Kurmi was in charge of Kurmi Market. But with colonialism, when the Sabon Gari market was established, the office of San Kurmi was abolished, which facilitated the emergence of the office of Sarkin Kasuwa during the reign of Abdullahi Bayero. The Sarkin Kasuwa was assisted by a number of people in allocating stalls to traders both at Kurmi and Sabon Gari Markets and later Kantin Kwari. But despite the emergence of Sabon Gari Market, *Kasuwan Kurmi* market continued in greater style to dominate the international North African trade and other indigenous commerce that formed the landmarks for historical fame and glory of Kano. The Sarkin Kasuwa collected rents on behalf of the Treasurer and issued official receipts. The Market unit took care of markets maintenances and referred the serious cases to the Galadima. It was during this period that shops in these Markets were numbered to make identification easier. This development boosted commerce, local industry and agriculture in the Emirate.<sup>32</sup>

The Education Department was divided into two sections, which composed of Kano Middle School and Elementary schools. Malam Abubakar, the son of Wazirin Kano Gidado, headed the Middle School and the elementary schools were under Malam Inuwa. These two unit heads administered the educational sector and jointly

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid and Abubakar. T. Ayuba, op. cit. p. 5.

worked in harmony for the development of education in Kano.<sup>33</sup>

The Public Works known as PWD was headed by Malam Gwadabe. The department handled all road constructions in the capital city and liaised with the District Heads in carrying out new constructions or maintenance work throughout the Emirate.

The Veterinary was placed under Malam Hussaini known as *Malam Dabbobi*. The department was responsible for animal husbandry and inoculation throughout the Emirate. The unit head was assisted by a number of *Malaman Huji* who constantly toured the Emirate for vaccination of herds.<sup>34</sup>

With regard to the administration of *Birnin Kano*, the Galadima Abdulqadir served as the District Head. But in view of the rapid population growth and mass emigration of people into the *Birni*, the Emir, divided the city into four units of administration in 1932. The four divisions were north, south, east and west. That division led to the emergence of traditional titles of *Wakilai*, which was later copied by other Emirates in Northern Nigeria. It was in the same year that all houses in the city were numbered for easy identification and any statistical purposes.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero appointed capable princes with titles of *Wakili* and the first of these were *Wakilin Arewa* Malam Sani Abbas, *Wakilin Kudu* Malam Nasiru, *Wakilin Gabas* Malam Ibrahim and

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* Note that Malam Abubakar, the son of Wazirin Kano Gidado was awarded with the title of *Dokaji* and later Wazirin Kano during the reign of Sarkin Kano, Malamantudu Sumata.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

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Wakilin Yamma Malam Hamidu Abbas. Each of them was responsible for a group of Wards within the city. The Wakilai assisted the Galadima and referred most important issues to him. The Wakilai henceforth reduced the workload of the District Head of Kano, which enabled him to concentrate on day-to-day administration of Native Authority Departments.<sup>35</sup>

By 1937, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero regained the control of the administration of Sabon Gari, initially placed under the Provincial Office. Sabon Gari was created by the British to house migrants from Southern Nigeria. The British prevented Emirs Abbas and Usman to exercise control over the settlement, which made it to become so complex.<sup>36</sup> But Abdullahi Bayero maneuvered and reclaimed the administrative control of Sabon Gari from the British. He told Resident H.O. Lindsell that for him to adequately maintain law and order, he must personally regain control of Sabon Gari, a place suspected to be harbouring criminals. The Resident said he would look into the matter, but without waiting for any formal reply, the Emir appointed Alhaji Ahmadu with title of Wakilin Waje and posted him out to take charge of Sabon Gari administration. Without any waste of time, the new Wakilin Waje established his office and began handling the administration of this complex settlement inhabited mostly by clerks, artisans and railway workers.<sup>37</sup>

The swift action of the Emir surprised the British who began to wonder what type of person Abdullahi

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ubah, C.N. op. cit. p. 175.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 151-175.

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Bayero was. The taking over of Sabon Gari illustrated how serious the Emir was in his endeavor to arrest moral degradation that had become rampant in this settlement. Oral tradition shows that the Emir was worried about the spread of alcoholism, which he could not control without taking administrative control of Sabon Gari.<sup>38</sup> In retrospect, the Emir with the assistance of Galadima and Wakilin Waje checked the spread of alcoholism by restricting land allocation to beer parlours and cancelling the license of beer parlours issued by the British. The Wakilin Waje supplied security reports to Galadima and subverted the activities of hooligans and criminals.<sup>39</sup>

In 1937, The Galadima Abdulkadir died. This enabled the Emir Abdullahi Bayero to bring his eldest son, Ciroma Muhammadu Sunusi from Bichi, which at first was opposed by the British. The British finally gave up when they discovered that the Emir had quite made up his mind. From then on, the Ciroma remained permanently in the city and assumed greater responsibilities that facilitated his ascension when his father died in 1953. The title of the Galadima was then given to another younger brother to the Emir, Muhammadu Inuwa,<sup>40</sup> who held the title of Turaki. The Emir transferred him from the District of Minjibir to Dawakin Kudu as the District Head.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Malam Dan Alkali. oral discussion. 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003.

<sup>39</sup> Personal communication with Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa. 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003.

<sup>40</sup> Galadima Muhammadu Inuwa became the 12<sup>th</sup> Emir of Kano after the abdication of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Sunusi in 1963 following his misunderstanding with Premier of the Northern Region Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto.

<sup>41</sup> Smith. M.G.. op. cit. p. 481.

### **The Territorial Administration**

The territorial administration was the main element in the administrative structure of Kano Emirate. The Emirate was composed of Districts administered by *Hakimai* (District Heads). Every District unit of administration consisted of a number of small towns and villages headed by Village Heads or *Dagatai*. These village units comprised several hamlets placed under *Masu Anguwanni*.

The vast experience acquired by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero in Native Administration before his appointment broadened his outlook and helped him to introduce many changes in the territorial administration. His ascension as seen by many people set off a model for rapid development in the District administration because the executive authority within the Kano Native Authority was exercised at four levels vis-à-vis: the Emir, the Executive Council, the District and, Village Administration. To bring government closer to the people, the Emir said in 1926 that there was the need to create more Districts in the Emirate. The then Districts had emerged during the 1907 reorganisation under Resident Cargill. According to the Emir, the District units were supposed to be like local government administration, which would steadily improve the living condition of the *talakawa*. He lamented that the *talakawa* were customarily excluded from participation in government and therefore arrangement had to be made to bring them closer.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Formal Interview with Dan Buran Kano Alhaji Salihu Bayero, the District Head of Nasarawa. 15<sup>th</sup> September 2003.

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To justify his action, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero informed the British of his desire to create additional 13 Districts, based on their historical importance in the Emirate. He argued that the 14 Districts units he met were inadequate owing to the rapid population growth. This initiative was welcomed and supported by the British because it would provide a more comprehensive system of administration in the Emirate. But the British delayed the decision until 1933. This led to the creation of additional Districts raising it 27. The 27 Districts were as follows:<sup>43</sup>

<u>Districts</u>	<u>Title of District Head</u>	<u>Total population</u>
1.Kano	Galadima	89,162
2.Babura	Dokaji	36,036
3.Bichi	Ciroma	144,653
4.Birnin Kudu	Sarkin Kudu	67,116
5.Dambatta	Sarkin Bai	93,419
6.Dawakin Kudu	Dan Iya	92,715
7.DawakinTofa	Sarkin Shanu	174,387
8.Dutse	Sarkin Dutse	90,082
9.Gabasawa	Dan Amar	46,923
10.Garki	Dan Makwayo	26,321
11.Gaya	Sarkin Gaya	101,760
12.Gezawa	Mai Ang Mundubawa	53,468
13.Gwaram	S/ D Tsakar Gida	41,811
14.Gwarzo	S/D Mai Tuta	121,518
15.Jahun	Barde Kerarriya	67,489
16.Karaye	Sarkin Karaye	65,960
17.Kiru	Dan Lawan	4,919
18.Kumbotso	Dan Buram	4,085
19.Kura	Wambai	79,226

<sup>43</sup> See Kano Provincial Gazetteer. Kano Profile 2568/II, NNA, Kaduna

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20. Minjibir	Turakin Manya	50,330
21. Rano	Sarkin Rano	89,496
22. Ringim	Tafida	53,215
23. Sumaila	Dan Darman	83,334
24. Taura	Magajin Malam	35,123
25. TudunWada	Dan Kadai	44,668
26. Ungogo	Dan Isa	36,753
27. Wudil	Makama	<u>98,244</u>
<b>Total population =</b>		<b><u>1,992,263</u></b>

*Note: Ang = Anguwar*

*S/D = Sarkin Dawaki (n)*

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero appointed Madakin Kano Mamuda as the Councillor in charge of the territorial administration. But when Madaki Mamuda died, Ibrahim was appointed to succeed him. The successive appointments of the Madaki as Councillors by Bayero enabled the Yolawa clan to acquire a unique position in the modern administration of *Kasar Kano*. The Madaki deals directly with the District Heads and every act performed in the Emirate was precisely done in the name of the Emir. The Madaki toured the Districts regularly to ensure everything was moving smoothly. Such tours allowed him to keep in touch with local affairs and reported matters of importance to the Emir for prompt action.

The Madaki relayed all instructions and orders of the Emir to the District Heads on policy matters. Such instructions and orders were commonly known as *Umurnin Sarki*. And every communication from the District Heads to the Emir were referred to the Madaki. The Madaki was empowered to handle matters and refer those that were beyond his power to the

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Emir for further directives. The Madaki could summon the District or Village Heads to answer questions after obtaining approval from the Emir. But he had no power to punish or dismiss District or Village Heads. Only the Emir exercised such power.<sup>44</sup> Complaints against the District or Village Heads by the *talakawa* were forwarded to Madaki for onward transmission to the Emir for prompt action.

One interesting thing in those days was that all the District Heads had their *Muƙaddas* (representatives) in the capital city. The *Muƙaddas* permanently lived at *Birnin Kano* and facilitated communication between the Central Government and the District Heads at the local levels. The *Muƙaddas* accommodated the Messengers from the District and Village Heads who came to *Birnin Kano* to deliver messages. Also the *Muƙaddas* normally accommodated people from his particular District who came to the *Birni* for their personal errands.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero charged all the District Heads with maintaining law and order and suppressing crime within the sphere of their influence. He always enjoined them to settle minor disputes that arose from time to time in their communities, and supervised the activities of the *Alkali* Courts. Within the particular District, the Emir placed the District Prison, Native Police, Schools, Public Buildings, Feeder roads constructions, Markets, Hospitals and other public amenities under the control of the District Heads.

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<sup>44</sup> Formal Communication with the office of the Principal Private Secretary to the Present Emir. 20<sup>th</sup> March 2004. See Smith, M.G., op cit. pp. 466-480.

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In addition to this, the District Heads served as the representatives of the *Sarki* and acted accordingly on his behalf on every matter that affected the people. The Emir also tried to ensure that all his District Heads promptly received their salary without delay at the end of the month. The salary paid to District Heads depended on the size and population of the District and the responsibilities he discharged. The salary ranged from £180 to £1000 per annum.<sup>45</sup>

With regards to village administration, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero inaugurated the Village Councils and gave Village Heads autonomy. Still, they were answerable to District Heads. The Village Councils composed of *Dattijan Gari*, *Malamai* and *Sarakunan Sana'a* who sat and shared opinions on policies initiated by the government. The Emir guided the villagers on how to make necessary observation with regard to the policy initiated and their priority areas that would accelerate rural development. This was the first time when the views and opinions of the *talakawa* were represented in government.<sup>46</sup> In 1930, there were about 1,536 village units in Kano Emirate with the average population of 1,600.<sup>47</sup> The *Masu Anguwanni* served as the final link between the government and *talakawa*.

Similarly, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was the first Emir to make the *Dagatai* and *Masu Anguwanni* salaried officials under the Native Authority. This was to stamp-out extortion, oppression, bribery and corruption

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<sup>45</sup> See Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile, No. 2568 N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>46</sup> Formal interview with Shamakin Kano, Inuwa 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003. See also Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile No. 2568/II, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>47</sup> Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile No. 2568/II, N.N.A. Kaduna.

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among *Hakimai*, *Dagatai* and *Masu Anguwanni*. In 1936, the Village Scribes were also put under fixed salary, as against the customary practice of only giving them *Goro* (honourarium).

The Emir also took other measures to reduce the extortion of the *Hakimai* by personally appointing all the Village Heads. Before appointing any Village Head, the Emir ensured that such candidate hailed from the hereditary family that claimed the headship of the village. It was only in the absence of a competent candidate that another person could be appointed to Village Headship after endorsement by the Village Council. The Emir, who regarded leadership as a trust and a means for the realization and protection of the general welfare of the people, tried to avoid appointing incompetent people.

The District and Village Scribes prepared monthly reports to Madaki, which included population statistics, births and deaths reports, immigrants register, statistics of cattle, prisons register, *Jangali* and tax receipts.<sup>48</sup> To facilitate communication between the Central government and local communities, the Emir instructed the District Heads to employ messengers. In those days, communications and transport facilities were nearly absent. The state officials had to endure long journeys either by trekking or on the saddle.

Moreover, it was during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero that tables and chairs were introduced into government offices. Before then, government business was conducted in a traditional way by sitting on the rugs. But the modern facilities provided by the Emir elevated the status of *Ma'aikatan Sarki*. It has been said

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<sup>48</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 477.

that people became astounded to see *Ma'aikatan Sarki* seated comfortably on the chair and writing on the table decorated with green yards. This perhaps made people to become curious just to watch government officials at work.<sup>49</sup>

Subsequently, the Emir made the District Heads to become sub-accountants to the Treasurer, and responsible for the supervision of all departmental activities in their Districts.<sup>50</sup> Altogether, these innovations facilitated rapid development in the rural areas especially in the field of education, sanitation, agriculture, forestry, health, road construction and the like.<sup>51</sup>

### **Taxation Under Abdullahi Bayero**

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero ascended the exalted throne at the time when taxation became an evil element under the colonial administration in the Emirates. Before the colonial conquest, Kano Emirate was much concerned with how to source funds that would enable it to run its affairs. But with the advent of colonialism, the British forcefully decreed its right to certain proportion of the tributes or taxes paid by the people to the Emirate government. This tax was used for the provision of adequate security on the life and property of the people. Such taxes included *Kudin Kasa*, *Kudin Shuke* as it was called, *Kudin Karofi* and *Jangali* paid by the Fulani pastorals for their livestock.

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<sup>49</sup> Formal interview with Shamakin Kano. Inuwa, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003.

<sup>50</sup> Sec Kano Provincial Gazetteer. Kano Profile No. 2568/II. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* p. 178.

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With the imposition of colonial rule, the Emirs lost their right over taxation. Neither the Emir nor his Council members had the right to determine how much tax was due from his Emirate. The British forced the Emirs to collect whatever amount was imposed on the people. And because of the importance of tax, the British placed every District unit under close supervision of the European Touring Officer who annually assessed the tax to be paid by the people. For example, it has been observed that on the eve of colonial occupation of Kano, a household was assessed 4,000 cowries. But five years later, the rate was increased to 10,000 cowries. The British also introduced the male adult taxation, which by definition adulthood started from the age of 10 to 13.<sup>52</sup>

To justify its action for claiming certain percentage, the colonial government enacted a law, which was known as Native Revenue Proclamation Act, No. 2 of April 1906. This obnoxious law legalised the appropriation of 50% of all tax generated to the colonial government. Therefore, the tax paid by the *talakawa* was then going to be used by the British for the development of colonial superstructures. Worse still, the British gradually multiplied the amount paid by the *talakawa* based on the assumption that Kano was the richest and wealthiest Emirate in Northern Nigeria. Matters connected with tax assessment and collection deteriorated during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Usman Dan Tsoho where heavy exactions was imposed on the people. More irritating was that the British collaborated with the District and Village Heads in the assessment of tax to be

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<sup>52</sup> For more information about the colonial taxation, see Skinner, Neil (ed) op. cit pp.66-74 and Ibrahim, Omar Farouk. op. cit. 49-52.

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paid by the *talakawa*. The British officers however prepared the detailed assessment report annually based on their close investigation of the selected areas. The District and Village Heads were just informed what they must generate from their own areas mostly far beyond the capacity of the *talakawa* to pay.

It was under such circumstances that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero ascended the throne. The Emir, who was guided by religious injunctions, seriously considered the resounding outcry of the *Talakawa* about the issue of taxation. This became a source of disagreement between the Emir and the British authorities. The Emir was very sympathetic and felt that something urgently must be done to arrest the situation.

Emir Abdullahi Bayero therefore swiftly maneuvered the situation and comfortably controlled tax assessment and collection from his palace. This seriously aggravated the British, who attempted to frustrate and weaken the position of the Emir, but failed. Instead of expected *Fasa Haraji* during his annual tour of the Emirate, Bayero used to tell his *Hakimai* and *Dagatai* to tax people according to their capacity. The Emir strictly warned his entire District and Village Heads against the arbitrary levying on their subjects, enjoining them to fear Allah in all their dealings. He used to say that the Europeans were all out to exploit and take the proceeds to their home country and, therefore, any of his officials that collaborated with the British would be breaking the trust reposed in him by Allah.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> This view was gathered from interviewing elderly people during my fieldwork research in Kano and some Districts like Bichi and Dawakin Kudu, 2003.

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The *talakawa* that converged to greet the Emir during such Rangadi were as well warned against leaving their farms to undertake wage labour in Jos or elsewhere in order to get money and settle their taxes. He also cautioned against massive production of cash, against the production of food crops. He educated the mass of people against the danger associated with British colonial rule.

While the qualities of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero endeared him so much to the masses, the British were very quick in their calculation to stop the Emir at once from doing that. The actions of the Emir clashed with British interests. This compelled Resident F.M. Noad to meet the Emir at his palace and discuss with him. The Emir bitterly resented and told the Resident that over-taxation brought so many evils to the community. He argued that the cruel methods used in the collection of taxes were so bad as people were physically assaulted when they were genuinely unable to pay. Bayero concluded that he would not encourage the institution of begging because the *talakawa* fled their houses to escape tax and became destitute. This answer silenced the Resident, who had from that time remained quiet over tax assessment and collection up to the time he left Kano Province in 1933.

### ***Shari'a And Dispensation Of Justice In The Emirate***

The *Amirul Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero ascended the throne at the time when Europeans were occupied in their endeavor to impose the British Common Law to supplant the Shari'a law. Therefore the issue of Shari'a in principle and practice became one of the major

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areas of fundamental disagreement between Bayero and the British authorities. The Emir, who was an accomplished Islamic scholar, strongly held the Shari'a as the best system in the administration of justice. He believed that its implementation as ordained by Allah was the most important function of any Islamic government and which any Muslim leader must strive to preserve. Bayero stressed that Shari'a maintained social justice among members of the community irrespective of one's social status or religious background.<sup>54</sup>

These beliefs of the Emir, Abdullahi Bayero sharply contradicted the sole motives of the British imperialists. And that became a source of acrimony between the Emir and the British who held Shari'a with contempt and antagonism. In fact, the British considered the application of the Islamic legal code on criminal matters as highly inhuman and barbarous. Therefore, the British tried to restrict its application only to civil matters such as marriage, divorce and inheritance. The attack was so direct as the British informed the Emir that he could no longer pass any death sentence or amputation without the approval of the Resident. The Resident arrogated to himself the power to review any judgment of the Islamic Courts and modify sentences passed.<sup>55</sup>

But *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero vehemently rejected this and termed the British Common Law as an embarrassing judicial system superimposed to destroy Islam. This created a number of discontents between the Emir and the British. In trying to defend his position, the

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<sup>54</sup> Personal discussion with Malam Dan Alkali on 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2003.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. See also Rashid, Syed Khalid (ed). *Islamic Law In Nigeria*. (Lagos. Islamic Publications Bureau. 1988) pp. 1-50.

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Emir argued that Lugard had earlier promised never to interfere with the religion of the conquered people. It was in view of this that his late father, Abbas accepted the mantle of leadership. Bayero fearlessly told the Resident that if the British would not allow him to implement the Shari'a on Muslims as ordained by Allah, he would not mind to relinquish the throne.<sup>56</sup>

This statement agitated the Resident who knew very well how the people loved and respected the Emir. The British further looked at the Emir with some kind of distrust in view of his affiliation with the reformed *Darika* of *Tijjaniya*. The *Tijjaniya* was so militant against colonialists and Abdullahi Bayero had obtained mass following among the large number of *Ulama* and prominent merchants. To prevent him from implementing the Shari'a, as the British saw it, would trigger off violent crises not only in Kano but also some other parts of the country. Therefore, to prevent any clashes, the British resolved to handle the Emir diplomatically. Their first attempt was dialogue with him, which woefully failed to recant his posture.<sup>57</sup>

Eventually, the ground became heated for ideological struggles, which led to many ups and downs between the *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero and the British. While the British endeavored to educate him on the British Common Law, the Emir was busy trying to

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<sup>56</sup> Malam Dan Alkali. personal discussion. 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2003.

<sup>57</sup> Personal discussion with Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna. He said that *Sarkin Zazzau* Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku and *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero hold Shari'a seriously in Northern Nigeria. 1<sup>st</sup> May 2001. For some information regarding Shari'a, see Naniya, Tijjani Muhammad. "Duality And Conflict Of Laws In A Society In Transition: Kano In The Colonial Period" in Hambolu. M.O. (ed) op. cit p 136.

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convert his personal friend, Mr. J.H. Carrow, to Islam. Carrow acted as the Resident of Kano in 1926 and the Emir used to preach to him and any British officer who cared to listen that Islam not only covered the legal facet but also socio-economic aspects of human life as well. The Emir contended that it was impossible for any person to prevent implementation of the Shari'a pointing out that the Emirate was incorporated to Islam since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Emir used to say that even the success of Kano in becoming the major trade centre in the world solely depended on the protection, which the Shari'a gave to people. He believed that the *Kanawa* would never allow a murderer to move freely, lamenting that people would take the law into their own hands if this happened.<sup>58</sup>

Consequently, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero remained throughout the period of his leadership the *Alkalin Gari* and highly committed to Shari'a. He was a man of strong character, so versatile in learning and that made him highly uncompromising with the British. The British had to remain quiet as they deeply considered open agitation with the Emir would instigate serious trouble in the Emirate. Another painful observation made by the British was that prominent *Ullama* in the other Emirates and the masses gave Bayero all-out support and admiration and to challenge him openly would lead to violent revolts and riots.<sup>59</sup>

The failure of the British to stop *Amirul Kano* Abdullahi Bayero made them to earmark an elaborate

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<sup>58</sup> Personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali. 20<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>59</sup> Personal discussion with late Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2003.

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scheme, through which the Shari'a would be destroyed gradually to be replaced with English Common Law. Despite their malevolent tricks, the Emir implemented the Shari'a law as ordained by Allah the Most High. He initially appointed the Wazirin Kano Muhammadu Gidado as his legal adviser and gave him portfolio of Councillor in charge of the Islamic Courts all over the Emirate, which were termed as Native Courts. The appointment of the Waziri had been based upon his profound knowledge in Islamic law. He was given much supervisory power while the Emir retained the actual power of the appointments, punishments and dismissals of the Chief *Alkali* and other *Alkalai* of the District Courts.<sup>60</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was said to be so cautious in appointing people to hold the mantle of Alkaliship. The Emir merely appointed capable people that were learned and of honourable character to Alkaliship and ignored those who sought for the office. Apart from this, the Emir inaugurated members of his Islamic Court, which was known as Emir's Judicial Council or 'Emir's Court Grade A'.

He presided over the Court and truly served as the *Alkalin Gari* i.e. the Supreme Court Judge. The Council members included Wazirin Kano Muhammadu Gidado, Limamin Kano Usman, Limamin Galadanci Abubakar, Alkalin Alkalan Kano Ja'afaru,<sup>61</sup> Malam Na Kabara,

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<sup>60</sup> See Smith, M.G. *Government In Kano*. pp. 463-465.

<sup>61</sup> The Alkalin Alkalan Kano, Ja'afaru was removed from the Judicial Council in 1928 on the advise of the Waziri Gidado.

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Sheikh Ibrahim Ahmad Alkanawi Na Tsugune,<sup>62</sup> Malam Abubakar Mai Sajen Jamus, and Malam Muhammadu Dan Amu. On the death of Malam Na Kabara in 1949, the Emir replaced him with Sheikh Nasiru Kabara.<sup>63</sup>

These influential Council of *Malamai* advised *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero concerning Islamic law. They were well-known Islamic scholars but the profound knowledge of the Emir Abdullahi Bayero in Islam, reinforced by his personal qualities of piety, made him to become a dominant figure during the Council session. The Council met twice in a week and sometimes on daily basis to review the complicated cases referred to it either by the *Alkalin Alkalai* or the District *Alkalai*. Most of these cases were connected with lands, farm, ownership of a house and criminal litigations. It was only the Emir's Court that possessed exclusive power over cases on homicide and other capital offences and passed death sentences or amputation of hand as required by Shari'a.

In actual fact, capital offences normally took a great deal of time to enable the Emir and Council to undertake proper investigations. This measure was taken

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<sup>62</sup> Sheikh Ibrahim Na Tsugune was a great Islamic scholar in Kano. He served under the Emirs Aliyu Mai Sango, Muhammadu Abbas, Usman Dan Tsoho and Abdullahi Bayero. He got the nickname of Na Tsugune as a result of his squat on the heels when he come to the palace Court sitting.

<sup>63</sup> Sheikh Nasiru Kabara was born on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1925 at Guringawa village near Kano. He was the great grandson of Malam Muhammadu Na Kabara who had migrated to Kano in 1787 from his hometown Kabara, a place close to the river harbour of Timbuktu. Muhammadu Na Kabara founded Qur'anic school in Kano, but refused to participate in the Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. The Fulani later gave Malam Muhammadu Na Kabara a plot of land close to the palace of Kano. But Malam Nasiru Kabara first received his education from Malam Ibrahim Na Tsugune before attending other schools.

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in an attempt to protect the *Haqq adami* i.e. the right of human beings. *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero usually said that anything that dealt with the fate or welfare of human being should be treated with utmost care. He therefore insisted on thorough investigation to establish an offence before sentence was passed.<sup>64</sup> It was in the light of this that the Emir's Court passed only two death sentences in 1927 out of 80 homicide cases presented in that year.<sup>65</sup> The two accused person were tried and found guilty of deliberate homicide and therefore sentenced to death.

Other reasons that delayed judgment on homicide cases were the thorough investigations made on the mental condition of the accused persons. The directives of the Emir to Makaman Kano, Muhammadu Bashiru, the District Head of Wudil dated 2<sup>nd</sup> Rabi'ul Awwal 1357 equivalent to 4<sup>th</sup> May 1938 is a clear testimony of this. The letter read as follows:

*From Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero to Makama Muhammadu Bashiru.*

*Greeting and trust. After this, you should know that I commanded you to ever remain behind the truth. You should ardently investigate any matter connected with murder. Be content with what we command you. All we require from you is to investigate about the character and behavior of the accused person.*

*Whenever a murder occurs, investigate thoroughly and report to us in detail about the mental condition of the*

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<sup>64</sup> Personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>65</sup> Kano Annual Report, 1928. SNP/17. NNA Kaduna. 9043 Vol. I.

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*accused person. Investigate whether the murderer was in his full senses at the time he committed the offence or not. You should also find for us, whether the accused was sane or not, for the period of six month before committing the offence. If the accused is suffering from mental disorder, find the real cause and write to us.*

*Perhaps you should note that some mental defects are genetically hereditary and passed through ancestors who carried the genes but were not themselves affected by mental problem. You should therefore trace this among the lineage members of the accused, whether his mother or father had indeed suffered from mental illness. Perhaps whether some of his forefathers had committed murder like a deliberate shooting with bow and arrow or any debauchery acts.*

*Whether the accused had done something that shows he is insane before he committed the present murder or not. It is absolutely necessary for you to find relevant information for us from his relatives or neighbours. We hereby command you to write to us full account connected with homicide.<sup>66</sup>*

On his return from England in 1935, Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero constructed his new Islamic Court close to the *Soron Tuta*. This innovation brought the Emir's Court outside from the main chambers of the palace. For example, during the reign of Sarki Abbas, Kudandan, an enclosed chamber inside the palace was used as a courtroom. It was located deep inside the

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<sup>66</sup> Kano Profile file No. 2953, N.N.A. Kaduna.

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palace. But the remodeled courtroom of Abdullahi Bayero brought the Court to public view. This new courtroom provided female litigants with a special section that guarded women out of public view. In addition to this, the courtroom was used as the religious and State Council Chamber, which reflected the religious obligations of *Sarki* Abdullahi Bayero.<sup>67</sup>

Waziri Gidado routinely supervised the District Courts in the Emirate and closely monitored, on behalf of the Emir, all the activities of the Courts. Several *Malamai* and *Muhutai* assisted Gidado in reviewing monthly case records of the Courts in the Emirate. This exercise was done principally to detect any miscarriage of justice or irregularities of the District Courts. The Waziri demanded, in the name of the Emir detailed explanation from the Court and reported matters of importance to the Emir. This is what made the Emir and the Waziri to meet regularly in the day and discuss legal issues.

By 1930, there were 23 Islamic Courts in the Emirate with three situated at *Birnin Kano*. Another Court known as *Kotun Alkalin Kasuwa* was established in Kano, which dealt with matters that arose among traders and their customers. In 1931-33, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero successfully reorganized all the District Courts in the Emirate and successfully established a mixed Court in Sabon Gari administered by traditional and British law. The Mixed Court arrangement did not receive the blessing of the British stationed in the North because they considered this policy to have undermined

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<sup>67</sup> Person discussion with Malam Dan Alkali. 20<sup>th</sup> May 2003. See also Nast. J. Heidi, "Space, History And Power: Stories Of Spatial And Social Change In The Palace Of Kano" pp. 151-152.

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their administrative control. The Court tried cases that involved non-Muslims. The President and members of this Court were appointed and served for a fixed term and was answerable to the Waziri. And because the Court administered both customary and English law, it has Mr. George France as its President, 2 Yoruba assessors and 1 assessor from Igbo, Nupe and Hausa communities respectfully.

It should be borne in mind that the Emirs Abbas and Usman were never allowed by the British to perform executive or judicial functions within the enclave of Sabon Gari, which was nominally part of Kano. This curtailed their powers as Islamic leaders but Abdullahi Bayero skillfully outsmarted the British and merged Sabon Gari with Kano Native Authority. The following were the Courts and their grades.<sup>68</sup>

<b>S/No</b>	<b>Courts</b>	<b>Grade</b>
1	Emir's Court (Judicial Council)	A
2	Kano Chief Alkali Court	A
3	Kano Alkalin Kasuwa Court	C
4	Babura District Alkali Court District	B
5	Bichi District Alkali Court	'
6	Birnin Kudu District Alkali Court	'
7	Dambatta District Alkali Court	'
8	Dawakin Kudu District Alkali Court	'
9	Dawakin Tofa District Alkali Court	'
10	Dutse District Alkali Court	'
11	Garki District Alkali Court	'

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<sup>68</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 465. See also Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile, No. 2568 Vol. II N.N.A. Kaduna and Hambolu, M.O. (ed) op. cit p. 139.

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12	Gaya District Alkali Court	,
13	Gezawa District Alkali Court	,
14	Gwaram District Alkali Court	,
15	Gwarzo District Alkali Court	,
16	Jahun District Alkali Court	,
17	Karaye District Alkali Court	,
18	Kiru District Alkali Court	,
19	Kura District Alkali Court	,
20	Minjibir District Alkali Court	,
21	Rano District Alkali Court	,
22	Ringim District Alkali Court	,
23	Sumaila District Alkali Court	,
24	Taura District Alkali Court	,
25	Tudun Wada District Alkali Court	,
26	Wudil District Alkali Court	,
27	Sabon Garin Kano Mixed Court	C

These Courts handled more than 44,113 minor cases and 6,898 major cases in 1933. The Provincial Court headed by a Resident Magistrate dealt with only 20 cases, which proved beyond doubt that people revered the Shari'a law as against the so-called British Common law. The Courts located at each District Headquarters was composed of the Alkali and *Muhuti*. Ideally, the *Muhuti* was a learned scholar in Islamic law who gave *Fatava* on the cases referred to him by the Alkali. Other officers included the two Scribes and Court attendants that delivered summons. There was also *Dan Wanka* whose function was to supervise the ablution required before taking Qur'anic oath. *Kurmi* was also an important personnel in the Court and his role was that of detaining a criminal who was under trial. Every District Alkali Court

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was attached with a small number of *Dogarai* and *'Yan Gadi*, that enforced order and obedience. All these were employees to the Native Authority.<sup>69</sup>

The District Headquarters were provided with temporary lock-up prisons for short-term offenders. These prisons were placed under the Yari, who was appointed normally by the District Head with the approval of the Emir. But District Heads did not possess any legal power to impose sentences on the accused person. The Emir also prevented them from interfering with the work of the District Courts, except the juvenile cases as it involved under-aged children. To the Emir, it was improper to criminalise a child at an early age by convicting him to serve sentence in the prison. In order to protect a child, the Emir emphasized that such Court hearing should not be held in public. Efforts to protect the youth were made when the Emir directed that juvenile Court should be separated from ordinary Courts and there must be a gap between the proceedings of the Courts. He ordered that only the Court officials that were functional during the trial of juveniles would be present at the proceedings.

With this policy, the sole aim of the Emir was to remove any disgrace, which the appearance of the child at the Court could produce to his immediate surrounding. He tried to make this less intimidating because he knew the society could make reference to it at any given time in the future, when the child had grown up.<sup>70</sup> The Emir's directives to the Sarkin Bai Abdulkadir, District Head of

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<sup>69</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 470-480.

<sup>70</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, personal discussion, 20<sup>th</sup> May 3003.

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Dambatta dated Friday, 2<sup>nd</sup> Zul-Khida 1350, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1932 clearly reveal how serious he was on this matter.

*From Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero to Sarkin Bai Abdulkadir.*

*After the greetings, be informed that this is the condition we set for under aged children that commit offence or crime.*

*It is injudicious to mix under aged children accused for any offence with the adults during the course of court proceedings. It is better to treat children's cases not in public, and that the proceedings must not be at the same time with adults. It is undesirable to allow people to enter where juvenile proceedings are taking place. Only court officials relevant on the matter should be allowed. Whenever you are treating child offence, please treat it with commiseration and sympathy, and articulate so mildly so that people could understand what you are saying.*

*It is not virtuous to detain a child who does not reach maturity. In this regard, the Alkali must find a solution such as finding someone that could stand for the accused child.*

*It is improper to sentence a child that does not reach the age of 16 in the prison. What you should do is to bring the child to reformatory centre or to personally discipline him like your own child. You may wish to place him under his parent or guardian who could take care of them instead of exposing them to hardened criminals.*

*Never allow any child to intermingle with the adult criminals. It is of paramount importance to abide by government instructions. Do inform us the number of*

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*children brought before the judiciary in your District.*<sup>71</sup>

All these suggested that *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero handled the administration of justice with equity and fair dealings. He was sympathetic and yet firm in passing judgment to any person found guilty by the law. He also passed capital punishment when offence was established. Other minor offenders were locked in the prison to protect members of the society from their crimes and contagious moral diseases. His concept of justice requires that both the judges and Court personnel should be of good conduct and the person called, as a witness should be upright. This is what he believed to be *Al-Amanat* (trust).<sup>72</sup>

Oral tradition showed that there was a time when the Resident of Kano tried to prevent the death sentence passed by the Emir's Court on Hussaini Bazabarme who was confirmed to have willingly killed his colleague. Hussaini was said to have migrated from Doso in the Niger Republic with his brother for reasons that were not known. He first stayed at Ikara and was later forced out in 1939 by the *Sarkin Yakin Zazzau* Muhammadu Gidado who was then the District Head of Ikara. Then he went to Kano and stayed at Fagge. His occupation was cutting and selling firewood. One day, he went to the nearby shrub and met his colleague, Malam Ali Karaye, who was also a firewood seller cutting a tree that fell down. Argument ensued between them at that point about the real owner of the wood. Hussaini was habitually a wicked

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<sup>71</sup> See Kano Profile, No. 2953, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>72</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, personal discussion, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

person and therefore brought out his axe and cut Malam Ali Karaye. Before he could run away, the *Malaman Daji* who heard the loud cry of the victim instantly appeared and arrested him. He was subsequently handed over to the N.A. Police who investigated the matter thoroughly and prosecuted him at the Emir's Court for murder.

The Emir's Court investigated the case and found Hussaini Bazabarme guilty of homicide. He was therefore sentenced to death. But the Resident who learned about the case from his gardener, a friend of the accused instantly intervened before the sentence was carried out. On that day, the Resident insisted that the case should be transferred to the Magistrate Court for review. This statement seriously provoked the anger of the Emir and before he made any comment, the palace courtiers had begun reminding him by the *Kirari* of *Numfasawa*, *numfasa da karfin Allah Zaki, Lafiya sha safo, Lafiya mai Shari'a daf da wuya, Karan tsaye Hauni daidai wa daida, Kadda ka shagala Zaki.*<sup>73</sup> This literally means "Breath gently, breath with the power of Allah, Oh Lion, peace, the bearer of wrong doing, peace, oh you whose judgment is final, Direct him to the Executioner evenly and equitably, Don't be heedless, or Lion."

The Emir then just turned, looked at the Resident and said: "We would bring him to you as you demanded from us". The Resident bade farewell and left. Immediately afterward, the Emir directed the *Hauni*

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<sup>73</sup> This story was constructed from personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali and Dan Rimi Kano Abdulkadir. The Dan Rimi was present at the Court, though at his youthful age by then, but he vividly recalled the case and was among those that chanted the *Kirari* to the Emir at that moment. 20<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

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(executioner) and Sarkin Dogarai to go ahead and carry out the execution. After executing the convict, the Emir ordered them to carry the body with the severed head to the Resident, who was shocked when he saw the dead body on the truck. The Resident murmured and said the action of Bayero could exceed this. Since that time, the British remained careful about interfering with the decision of the Emir's Court.<sup>74</sup>

It was as a result of this that the Emir passed an order directing all the District Heads to check the inflow of migrants into their area. He ordered them to inquire about the origin of any stranger and register his name, before reporting to the *Dagaci*. The *Dagatai* were also required to forward the names of strangers to District Heads who dispatched the names in their monthly report to the central government. This policy did not only check the massive inflow of immigrants into the Emirate but also helped in curtailing the crime rates.<sup>75</sup>

This, in brief, was how *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero struggled and enforced the Shari'a in the Emirate. And the struggle continued even after the death of the Waziri Gidado in 1937, the Councillor in charge of the judiciary and legal adviser to the Emir. But the Emir did not appoint any person to the title of the Waziri. Rather, he appointed Malam Suleimanu, his former teacher as Councillor in charge of the Judiciary as well as legal adviser and gave him a new title of Wali. Malam Suleimanu was the son of Limamin Kano Isma'ila

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid. The name of the Sarkin Yakin Zazzau, Muhammadu Gidado was given by his great grandson, Professor S.U. Abdullahi, the Vice-Chancellor, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2005.

<sup>75</sup> See Kano Profile, No. 2953, N.N.A. Kaduna.

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who served during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Aliyu Babba. And the title of Wali awarded to him was borrowed from Zazzau, and normally given to scholars. The new Wali Suleimanu deserved the title because he was an erudite scholar. The Emir invested him with all the powers hitherto exercised by the late Waziri Gidado on judiciary.<sup>76</sup>

Wali Suleiman was said to be a lively person especially during the Council's meeting. He quickly assimilated the administrative responsibilities of his office and continued to supervise the activities of the Courts. By this time, the judiciary was occupied with a large number of Court work.<sup>77</sup> Wali Suleiman died in 1939, which led to the appointment of Malam Abubakar as Walin Kano. Malam Abubakar hailed from Zarawa family in Kano, and was generally attributed to be a capable person. He efficiently handled the judiciary up to his death in 1948 and was succeeded by Alkalin Kano Muhammadu Bashari who was promoted to Wali.<sup>78</sup>

### **Awards Of Traditional Titles And Depositions**

The awards of traditional titles in Kano Emirate continued to flourish under the able leadership of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. At that time, some of the traditional titles were associated with functions and responsibilities under the Native Authority. Like his father *Sarki* Muhammadu Abbas, Bayero showed willingness and determination to go along with all the

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<sup>76</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 481.

<sup>77</sup> See the 1941 Annual Report of Kano Province by the Senior Resident, Mr. J.R. Patterson, esq., SNP 33/147, N.N.A Kaduna.

<sup>78</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 477-486.

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ruling families of Kano and he used the slightest opportunity to restore title or office to the family that lost it whenever there was capable member.<sup>79</sup>

Traditionally, Kano Emirate basically had many types of *Sarautu* some of which are not in use today. These *Sarautu* carried a lot of prestige and were awarded to certain noble families. Some of the *Sarautu* in Kano Emirate were, and are still customarily reserved for the princes. But despite this, the Emir enjoyed the right to award any title to anybody whether he came from the traditional family that inherits it or not. This is in line with custom and tradition of the Emirate since during the *Hafé* epoch.

Like his predecessors, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero awarded important titles and offices to both royal and non-royal members in the society, as we shall see. But some important princely titles like Galadima, Ciroma, Turaki, *Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida* and *Dan Iya* were titles considered to be the stepping-stones to Emirship given to the princes only. Nevertheless, the Emir drew the attention of the powerful princes of the time that holding princely titles would never be the springboard to power because only Allah gave power to whom He wished with or without having a traditional title. He naturally gave an example with *Sarkin Kano* Aliyu Babba who ascended the throne without holding any title, and was even considered too young to handle the mantle of power particularly during the state of crises

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<sup>79</sup> Formal interview with Dan Masanin Kano. Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2004. See also Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, "The Reign Of Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero 1926-1953", in Hambolu, M.O. (ed). op. cit. p. 92.

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of the civil war or *Basasa*. Yet, Allah made him the Emir regardless of his powerful elder brothers capable at the time.

It was in the course of such admonition to the princes that Abdullahi Bayero envisaged that another Emir would in future be appointed without having ever held title before. At that point in time, the princes did not seriously consider what he said and continued to wrestle over the attainment of these titles at all costs. It was when the Emir died with many years and his son, *Sarkin Kano* Ado Bayero was appointed without holding any title and in fact, was serving as an Ambassador at Senegal that the other princes recalled what Abdullahi Bayero had predicted.<sup>80</sup>

Nonetheless, to keep with the tradition and custom of the Emirate, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero awarded his eldest son Muhammadu Sunusi with the title of Ciroma and sent him to administer Bichi. The Emir himself following his own ascension to the throne in 1926 vacated the title of the Ciroma. But history seemed to be repeating itself this time around because the British opposed the appointment of Sunusi. The Resident, Mr. C.W. Alexander went to request the Emir at the palace to postpone the appointment, while the Emir jovially responded by asking: "Did Sunusi also go to Burmi or participate in the resistance against the British?" This unexpected question puzzled the Resident who managed to smile and say, "No, Your Highness". To defend what he said, the Resident alleged that Bichi was a large

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<sup>80</sup> These views were gathered from personal discussions with Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir and Shamakin Kano Inuwa and many elders during the course of my fieldwork research at the Emir's Palace Kano. 4<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

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District and Sunusi was still young at only 23 years of age then. However, the Emir intelligently said: "Yes, you are right, Sunusi was quite young but he behaved in a manner of a respectful gentleman". This answer took the Resident by surprise as he was left with no reply other than to ask, "Can he handle the administration effectively?" The Emir politely responded "I leave that question to you to answer."<sup>81</sup>

The Resident left the palace wondering how intelligent *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was. In his letter to the Governor General, Resident Alexander stated that he considered it impolitic to oppose the appointment of Ciroma<sup>82</sup> since the Emir had already made up his mind.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero faced a series of challenges from his rivals, the sons of the late Emir Usman that competed for the throne. Principal among them was Turaki Muhammadu who was over-ambitious to secure the throne at all costs, and when he failed to acquire it, he became too envious of the Emir. He openly displayed contempt and disrespect to the Emir on many occasions, which Bayero condoned. All these were not enough for the Turaki. It was said that during the *Eid* celebration of 1927, the Turaki discourteously passed by the Emir in public without showing any respect or bending down to greet him.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid. See also a letter from Alexander to Palmer dated 15<sup>th</sup> June 1926 in S.N.P., 9/8 No. 3802/ 1921, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>82</sup> Letter from Alexander to Palmer dated 15<sup>th</sup> June 1926 in S.N.P., 9/8 No. 3802/ 1921, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>83</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, cited in Ibid. See also Smith, M.G. *Government In Kano*, pp. 475-485.

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This irritated the royal slaves who rushed to deal with him mercilessly for *raini* (disrespect). Oral tradition showed that it took *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero a great deal of effort to stop the royal slaves from beating up the Turaki Muhammadu. Despite such efforts, the royal slaves uttered abusive words against the Turaki saying that "*Sarki bai yi ma ubanka haka ba, da kuma ya yi, da bai kai ga haka ba.*" This literally means the Emir did not attempt this type of behavior to your father and had it been he did, he would not reach where he was now.<sup>84</sup>

Many *Hakimai* insisted that the Turaki ought to be dismissed from office, but the Emir refused to comply with their demand. The Emir said Turaki's problem should be understood logically because he was propelled by his personal ambition to do what he did. Therefore, it would be injudicious to dismiss him on this ground. The Emir only dismissed the Turaki when he was found embezzling the tax he had collected in his District of Ungogo.

On his dismissal, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero gave the title of the Turaki to Muhammadu Inuwa Abbas,<sup>85</sup> his younger brother. He was sent to administer Ungogo as a replacement of the deposed Turaki. He remained at Ungogo up to 1931 when he was transferred to Minjibir. The Emir awarded the title of Dan Makwayo to his son, Isa. This title was vacant after the dismissal of Dan Makwayo Muhammadu during the reign of *Sarki*

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<sup>84</sup> Personal discussions with Shamakin Kano Inuwa and Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir. 10<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>85</sup> Muhammadu Inuwa subsequently become the 12<sup>th</sup> Fulani Emir of Kano in succession to Muhammadu Sunusi who was deposed by Sardauna of Sokoto.

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Usman. The new Dan Makwayo was sent to Ungogo to replace his uncle, the Turaki.

In 1932, Dan Makwayo Isa was moved to Garki without change of title and promoted to the title of Dan Darman after the death of Dan Darman Mamman Bello in 1939. He was also transferred to Sumaila before he was dismissed in 1944 when he was found guilty for embezzlement with the tax. The Emir completely ignored him and told him to go and find another job to do. The dismissal of Dan Makwayo, one of the beloved son to the Emir shocked everyone including the British who said Bayero was really an impartial leader. The Emir therefore appointed his other son Umaru Faruku who initially held the title of Dan Buram to the District Headship of Gwaram.<sup>86</sup>

In 1928, Galadima Mamman Bello died, which led the Emir to promote his immediate younger brother, Dan Iya Abdulkadir, to the title. Initially, the Dan Iya administered Dawakin Kudu since 1916 when their father, Abbas was alive. The new Galadima Abdulkadir was brought to the City to administer *Birnin Kano* and Native Authority Department. Shortly after, the Emir appointed his son Aminu, as Dan Iya and sent him to administer Dawakin Kudu. The uncle to the Emir, Dan Buram Haruna was also dismissed from office as a result of misappropriation of tax. Hence, his title was given to Hashimu Abbas, a younger brother to Bayero.

On the death of his brother, Galadima Abdulkadir in 1939, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero promoted Turaki Muhammadu Inuwa to this title and gave his other brother, Kasimu Abbas the title of Turaki. Added to

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<sup>86</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 475.

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the title, the new Turaki was also given the District Headship of Minjibir. It was around this time that the Emir awarded the title of Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida to Ahmadu Abbas who died within two years. Then Muhammadu, the son of the former Alkalin Alkalai Suleimanu<sup>87</sup> of the Gyanawa lineage was awarded the title of Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida. He died two years after, which led the title to be awarded to Abubakar, the son of ex-Galadima Yusufu. The Emir sent him to administer Gwaram.

Here, we can see that, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was the first Emir who, after the *Basasa*, tried to promote the descendants of ex-Galadima Yusufu. Apart from this, the Emir was attributed to promote the interest of other noble families. For instance, the Emir restored the title of Madaki to Yolawa clan by appointing Ibrahim after the death of Madaki Umaru in 1947. He also awarded the title of Sarkin Shanu to Shehu Ahmadu, the son of the late Madaki Mamudu, while Muhammadu Inuwa from the same clan was given the title of Dan Kade. The Emir sent Dan Kade Inuwa to administer Wudil, the base of Jobawa Fulani, when the Makama, the District Head was demoted to Ungogo as a punishment. In addition to this, the title of Dan Amar was given to

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<sup>87</sup> Alkalin Alkalan Kano Suleimanu was among those that participated in the *Hijrah* of the ex-Caliph Attahiru to Burmi. He declined to accept his post under *Sarkin Kano* Abbas when he returned to Kano. M. G. Smith, in his book *Government In Kano*, page. 476, indicated that *Sarkin Kano* Alu dismissed Suleimanu from Alkaliship. This, according to my view was the reason that motivated him to participate in the *Hijrah* and refused any offer after his return. It is also probable that he did not wish to participate under the British. As stated earlier in this book, Sulcimanu was the paternal grand father to the late Head of State General Murtala Muhammed who was killed during the coup attempt in 1976.

Ahmadu Bello, a great-grandson of Madaki Umaru that served under *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo. The title of Magajin Malam Na Chedi was revived by the Emir, and was given to Ahmadu Rufa'i, a client to the Yolawa, who was sent to administer Taura. Barde Babba also remained with Yolawa, until its holder, Isma'ilu was dismissed in 1948.<sup>88</sup>

With regard to Dambazawa, the title of Sarkin Bai remained with the clan throughout the period of Abdullahi Bayero's leadership.<sup>89</sup> The clan member, Muhammadu Adnan also held the title of Dokaji up to 1949 when he was awarded the title of Sarkin Bai. The title of Dokaji was then conferred to Alhaji Abubakar,<sup>90</sup> the son of the late Wazirin Kano Gidado.

The Mundubawa dynasty that lost their original title of Mai Anguwar Mundubawa to Indorawa had it restored by the Emir in 1940 by the appointment of Muhammadu. He was sent to administer Gezawa and following his death in 1943 Mundubawa maintained the title but lost the District Headship, which passed to Dan Ruwata Ahmadu Gwadabe, the son of the late Galadima Abdulkadir. Dan Ruwata remained at Gezawa up to 1951 when he was deposed following misappropriation of tax. In trying to maintain the family of his late brother,

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<sup>88</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 477-484.

<sup>89</sup> The Dambazawa still held the title of Sarkin Bai under the leadership of the present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero. The present Sarkin Bai is Alhaji Multari Adnan.

<sup>90</sup> Dokaji Abubakar subsequently became the Wazirin Kano under *Sarkin Kano* Sunusi, in succession to his father, the late Waziri Gidado. The sons and successors of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero particularly the present *Sarkin Kano* Ado Bayero maintained the title of Wazirin Kano on the family of late Waziri Gidado. The present Waziri is Sheikh Isa Waziri who was appointed in recent years.

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Galadima Abdulkadir, the Emir awarded his son, Isa the title of Dan Ruwata and sent him to administer Gezawa.

In 1931, when Dan Darman Aliyu of the Jobawa clan died, the Emir appointed his brother Abdullahi, who was dismissed for ineptitude five years after. Then Muhammadu Bello, the son of Makaman Kano Mujeli that served under *Sarki* Abbas was awarded with the title. Throughout the leadership of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, the families of *Sarkin Gaya*, *Sarkin Dutse*, *Sarkin Karaye*, *Sarkin Birnin Kudu* and *Sarkin Rano* maintained their hereditary titles and offices. However, despite his efforts to maintain the cherished tradition, some traditional titles lapsed over time. These included the titles of *Sarkin Fada* associated with Ja'idanawa clan; *Magajin Malam Na Hausawa*; *Magajin Maude*; and *Mai Anguwar Kutumbawa*, a title connected with the *Kutumbawa*.<sup>91</sup>

In addition to this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero appointed Bashari as Alkalin Alkalan Kano almost 40 years after Alkali Suleimanu had left the office for reasons mentioned above. The Emir was credited also for allowing those he met with their respective titles except those that committed an offence, punishable by dismissal. Among those that continued to enjoy the titles and offices was Wambai Abubakar,<sup>92</sup> the District Head of Kura, who was the son of *Sarki* Usman. As stated earlier, Wambai Abubakar competed for the throne when his father died in 1926, but lost it to Abdullahi Bayero. He further competed fiercely with Sunusi after the death of Emir Bayero in 1953 and was defeated. This might be the

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<sup>91</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 474-482.

<sup>92</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim. cited in *Ibid.* p. 92.

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reason for his removal by *Sarkin Kano* Sunusi in 1959. His removal horrified Kano because Wambai at that time was so powerful and at the same time, a brother to the mother of *Sarkin Kano* Sunusi.<sup>93</sup>

During the reign of Abdullahi Bayero also, some people known as *Shigege* (one who passed beyond his ancestry level) were awarded traditional titles. This was so because his predecessors had done the same. For instance, during the reign of *Sarki* Abbas, Muhammadu Na Ta'ala, a *Shigege* client, was appointed *Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta* and District Head of Gwarzo in 1916. This appointment made the Sullubawan Jammo to lose their hereditary title of *Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta* throughout the era of Abbas. Apart from this, Ahmadu Gurara, who served as Galadiman Jarmai towards the closing years of *Sarki* Abdullahi Maje Karofi was appointed Dan Lawan and sent to Zakirai as the District Head in 1914.<sup>94</sup>

This pattern of awarding of traditional titles to whom the Emir desires persists today in many Emirates in Northern Nigeria. Under *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, several dismissals took place, which mostly involved titled officials. Majority of them were found wanting with dereliction of duty and sometime naked extortions. Other *Hakimai* that either engaged in cases of bribery or embezzlements of public fund were dismissed or made to pay from their salaries.

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<sup>93</sup> See Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 475.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. pp. 438-443.

**Maintenance Of Law And Order**

Maintenance of law and order was considered to be the primary responsibility of *Sarakunan Kano* since the time of the *Habe* rulers. With the conquest of the Emirate by the Fulani, a centralized system of government evolved and that provided the protection to life and property of the people. The British found this system extremely fascinating when they subjugated the Emirate in 1903. This made them to introduce the policy of Indirect Rule by allowing the Emirs to rule their people directly.

As stated earlier, *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas was the first Emir appointed by the British in Kano. Like his predecessors, Abbas used the *Dogarai* forces to maintain law and order as expected from him being the leader. His security policies persisted up to 1925, when in consequence of the constant ill health of *Sarkin Kano* Usman, the British introduced what came to be known as '*Yan Gadi*, that is the Native Authority Police Force.

Available evidence shows that during the reign of *Sarki* Usman, the '*Yan Gadi* were not so effective as the British wanted. But by the ascension of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero in 1926, the activities of the '*Yan Gadi* were expanded, which opened a new vista for the emergence of '*Yan Doka* to some parts of the Northern Nigeria that culminated into the Nigerian Police Force. At the initial stage of their existence in Kano, the '*Yan Gadi* consisted of only 151 men, mostly those discharged from the Royal West African Frontier Forces (RWAFF). The *Sarkin Gadi*, Musa was appointed by the Emir, Usman with the consent of the British to head the Native Police. Musa was an ex-Regimental Sergeant Major of the

RWAF who was assisted by five non-commissioned officers.<sup>95</sup>

The duties and responsibilities of the 'Yan Gadi were to enforce law and order, suppress crime and apprehend the offenders. Part of the reason that led to the establishment of the 'Yan Gadi was the fact that Kano metropolis was becoming highly cosmopolitan due to the migration of people of divergent tribes and culture. This development led to the spread of crimes both in Kano city and rural areas. The activities of the 'Yan Gadi were at first restricted to Kano city alone.

However, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero extended their activities to rural areas and dispatched many of them to such remote areas due to the growth in the crime rate. The Emir charged them to harness crime and any act considered to be a breach of law and order. Essentially, Bayero had increased their strength by recruiting some of the liberated royal slaves as well as the ex-Dogarai into the Force. Most of these ex-Dogarai were sent away from the palace by the British during the reign of *Sarki* Usman. The British did not wish to see the Dogarai any longer in the Emirate and therefore beseeched the new Emir Bayero to dismiss the few he met at the palace, an advice he bitterly resented. Notwithstanding, the Emir maintained them as part of his courtiers and escorts and salaried officials of the N.A. Both the 'Yan Gadi and

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<sup>95</sup> Fika, Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. p. 348-349. For more details on the history of the 'Yan Gadi and the Nigerian Police Force, see Tekana N. Tamuno. *The Police In The Modern Nigeria 1861-1965* (Ibadan: University Press, 1970).

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Dogarai co-existed together performing the same duties in the Emirate.<sup>96</sup>

To boost the morale of the 'Yan Gadi, the Emir Abdullahi Bayero increased their salaries and rewarded those that bravely served. This enhanced the ego of the 'Yan Gadi to apprehend hardened criminals considered above the law due to their protective charms and incantations. One interesting thing in those days was that the 'Yan Gadi and Dogarai Force did not receive bribes and neither obstructed justice, unlike what obtains today under the so-called democracy. The rank and file did their work just for *jarumtaka* (courageous deeds) and that became their source of pride.<sup>97</sup>

Also interesting at that time was that the 'Yan Gadi and Dogarai patrolled the railway station and other important centres of commerce in Kano. Horses were adequately provided for the patrols in the day and night. There was also a regulation in Kano that prevented people from walking at night. Those arrested at such hours were forced to alight at the scene until morning, to be released after confirmation that they were not criminals. The city gates were shut at night to prevent movement within the city and its surrounding environments. Therefore, those who wanted to get in or out of the city hurried up before darkness fell.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> This was constructed from personal discussions with His Highness Allhaji Ado Bayero, the Emir of Kano. The Emir served as *Wakilin Doka* before his appointment to Ambassador in Senegal. 15<sup>th</sup> March 2004. For some details, see also Ubah, C.N. op. cit. p. 156.

<sup>97</sup> Personal discussion with His Highness Alhaji Ado Bayero, the Emir of Kano. 15<sup>th</sup> March 2004.

<sup>98</sup> See *Alhaji Muhammadu Koki: Kano Malam* by Skinner, Neil (ed) op. cit pp. 78-79.

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The authority and prestige of the 'Yan Gadi considerably rose in the eyes of the people when Galadiman Kano Abdulkadir was appointed as its nominal head.<sup>99</sup> The Galadima liaised between the Emir and the 'Yan Gadi and handled their routine activities throughout the Emirate. The Sarkin Gadi who served as the Head of the Force would report to the Galadima, who onwardly referred matters that were beyond his power to the Emir.

The Emir Abdullahi Bayero was responsible for the appointment, discipline and dismissal of the 'Yan Gadi. The Sarkin Gadi was only made to train and discipline the rank and file and enforce law. The 'Yan Gadi were empowered to arrest and detain criminals for a period that did not exceed 48 hours. 'Yan Gadi were also mandated with the power to investigate and detect criminals. Arrested criminals were presented to Alkali Court for trial.

In 1930, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero constructed a Police barrack adjacent to N.A Central office in Kano metropolis. Similarly, in 1932-33, Police Headquarters were constructed in all Districts in the Emirate. A detention cell for suspects and convicts were also provided. Apart from this, the Emir constructed 12 identical apartments in L-shape that served as the Police Barrack at Kofar Kudu very close to the courtroom at the royal palace. The police and the Dogarai patrolled the palace entrances and passageways.<sup>100</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was very conscious of security and maintenance of law and order in the

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<sup>99</sup> Ubah, C.N. op. cit. pp. 156-170.

<sup>100</sup> Nast, J. Heidi, op. cit. pp. 162-172.

Emirate. Many elderly people, for example recalled the time when the Emir received a report that a corpse had been found at Kofar Mata. He asked the Galadima about the person who committed the murder, which he said had run away. The Emir directed the Galadima to present the murderer. Galadima withdrew so disturbed about the incidence and on the following morning reported that no traces had been found. Without saying a word, the Emir just stood up, which agitated the *Hakimai* and palace courtiers. No one could ask him his intent. The Emir went out and headed to Kofar Mata on foot accompanied by the *Hakimai* and courtiers. On reaching Kofar Mata, the Emir asked the Galadima the scene of the crime to which the Sarkin Gadi pointed with his hand shaking like a person suffering from severe malaria. The Emir just stood and directed the Dogarai and 'Yan Doka that accompanied him to the south, west, east and north directions. He said that he would not go back to the palace until the criminal was brought before him.

The Galadima was much disturbed while the Sarkin Gadi shivered profusely and instantly dispatched more than 100 men to assist in arresting the culprit. *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero performed *Zuhr* and *Asr* prayers and towards the sunset, some Dogarai arrived with the murderer. The Emir thanked Allah and retired to the palace.<sup>101</sup>

It was in consequence of this that the Emir Abdullahi Bayero tasked District Heads to trace criminals wherever they moved. This instruction was issued on the 7<sup>th</sup> May 1938. It read as follows:

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<sup>101</sup> Personal discussion with Malam Dan Alkali, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

## *The Leadership of Abdullahi Bayero*

### *From Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero to all District Heads.*

*Greetings. After this, you should note that we have been reminding you about serious issues that involved assassination or theft. We hitherto commanded you that if such crime took place in your domain, you must trace the murderer or thief even if he fled to other Emirates. But now, it appeared that you did not take the matter seriously. We hereby direct you once more that as from today, if a murder or burglary occurs in your domain, stay at the scene until the culprit is arrested. You should remain there and trace the criminal, until you get hold of him. If the suspect is found within Kano, arrest, detain and report to us immediately. If the suspect fled to other Emirate like Katsina, Zazzau, Hadejia or other municipalities reach him there and apprehend him. When he is arrested, place him in the hand of a District or Village Chief of that place and inform them what the villain committed. They should either hand over the offender to you or write us directly. Henceforth, we should send Dogari with a letter to arrest him.*

*This is our second letter and you must strictly abide by it.<sup>102</sup>*

It was during the reign of Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero that the 'Yan Gadi and Dogarai were first assigned to control traffic. This followed traffic jams accompanied by the rapid movement of people and goods into *Birnin Kano* on lorries and kit cars. The Emir selected about 200 men for special training in traffic control, the first of its kind in Northern Nigeria. After

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<sup>102</sup> See Kano Profile, No. 2953. N.N.A. Kaduna.

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that, the Emir set out guidelines for traffic as follows:<sup>103</sup>

1. All lorry drivers should not exceed 15 miles per hour (speed) and slow down within the town or village.
2. A vehicle that approach town or village located near the main road or market must slow down. And if a driver discovered that someone was trying to overtake him, he should give way
3. When a driver reached a junction, he must halt and look around to ensure that no vehicle is coming. A driver must also be careful with animals like camels, donkeys and others especially if they are crossing the main road.
4. Lorries must always give way for cars to overtake them when they approach them.
5. Drawing or designing a bird or any animal on the body of a lorry was not allowed. Drivers should not carry more than two passengers in the front seat and that passengers were not permitted to sit at the right hand side of the driver. No driver was allowed to overload a vehicle beyond its capacity.
6. Whenever a District or Village Head stopped a driver, he must obey such order and stop at once.
7. Drivers were not allowed to drive in the night without headlights.
8. Whoever breached any of these regulations of the Emir was liable to a fine of not more than £50.0.0 or six months in prison.

This, in brief was how *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero remodeled the Native Authority Police in the Emirate. To him, policing required greater understanding beyond simple enforcement of law for its own sake. It was in view of this that the Emir used to educate the communities whenever he paid annual tour in the

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<sup>103</sup> See a file on *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero's direct order in *ibid*.

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Emirate. He tried to balance the interest of the public by dealing with those officers to have neglected their duties and falsehood. Every complaint against the Native Police was referred to the Galadima, who referred them to the Emir at Council. Some of the persons involved were disciplined, which included demotion in rank, fine and in some cases dismissals. All this was an attempt of the Emir towards provision of justice in the Emirate.<sup>104</sup>

### **Spiritual Leadership**

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero fulfilled the responsibility of Islamic leadership by being the *Limamin Gari* (Chief Imam). Every Friday when he was in town, the Emir personally delivered the *Huduba* (sermon) in Arabic and led the prayers at the Kano Central Mosque. Most of his Friday sermons were related to the current events taking place in the society. These sermons as people recalled, were so frightening and moving, which even made the Emir himself to weep. Sometimes, his sermons scolded leaders and the danger attached to leadership in the Hereafter.

When the *Malamai* realised the significance of such *Huduba* to the society, they went and requested the Emir to be translating it to *Hausa* so that those not conversant with Arabic would understand it clearly. The Emir accepted this request because he knew *Hausa* was the language commonly understood by the people. For that reason, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero usually came to the mosque very early and gave the *Huduba* in Hausa

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<sup>104</sup> Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule. personal discussions. 4<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

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ahead of the calling of the prayers. After calling of prayer, he delivered it in Arabic and led the prayers.<sup>105</sup>

Most elders who knew *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero remembered him by his *Limanci* at the Central Mosque. He was credited to be the first Emir in the hierarchy of the Fulani who revived the popular *Majalisar Shurah* established by *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo. According to some tradition, the Shurah was terminated soon after the death of *Sarkin Kano* Dabo as a result of many upheavals that surrounded leadership in Kano. The attention of the successors to Dabo was diverted to war, defense of the Emirate from enemies and internal political problems that led to fighting a bloody civil war during the reign of *Sarki* Takur. After the British conquest, *Sarki* Abbas tried to revive the Shurah but failed due to the problems he faced with the British who were trying to consolidate their rule.<sup>106</sup>

However, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero resuscitated the Shurah according to its religious functions initially set up by Dabo. The Shurah served as an assembly of erudite Islamic scholars, *Hakimai* and also selected few from the society. The Shurah made laws within the scope of the Shari'a for the welfare of the people in the society. In difficult situations, the Shurah assembled to find *maslaha* (solace) and gave *irshad* (guidance) to the society. It also enforced *Tajdid* (rejuvenation and renewal of faith) by handling various religious issues concerning Muslim community. In actual

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<sup>105</sup> The few elderly people that witnessed the time supplied this information. (2003-2004).

<sup>106</sup> This information was supplied by elderly people I interviewed during my research. 2003-2004.

fact, the Shurah handled religious issues like moon sighting of the holy month of Ramadan, Shawwal and Zul-Hajji for the commencement and breaking of fasting as well as the two Eids celebrations. It is interesting to note that the present Emir of Kano Ado Bayero has maintained this Shurah, which seems to be the only one still existing throughout Sokoto Caliphate.<sup>107</sup>

During the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, the Shurah met from time to time to discuss various problems of the society. The Emir used the Shurah as an instrument to make the conduct of the *Kanawa* very admirable by dissuading them from evil acts. This was for the betterment of the society. The Emir sought for the assistance of the *Malamai* and *Hakimai* who served as members in the Shurah to help him in correcting the conduct of the people, which was carried out through extensive preaching and enlightenment campaigns.

Generally, the Shurah deliberated on social problems along religious injunctions. For instance, there was a time when *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero presented the issue of begging, which was mounting at an alarming rate in Kano. He first condemned the attitude of some parents in sending their children to Qur'anic schools without making provision for their feeding and accused the *Malamai* for accepting them like that. Some of the *Malamai* in the Shurah felt that this was in order. But the Emir felt that this truly was un-Islamic, contending that Islam did not encourage laxity and parasitic living and idleness. At this point, the Emir accused the habit of some *Malamai* that exploited

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid and personal discussion with Malam Dan Alkali, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

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the religion for their selfish interest, which accelerated begging by children in the streets. The Emir gave as an example the time he studied in many places, adding that he never even once engaged in begging with his colleagues at the school.<sup>108</sup>

To dissuade begging, the Emir implored the *Malamai* to preach about its illegality in Islam saying, "I wondered how an able-bodied Muslim should turn to be parasitic on others". He quoted the Hadith, which said a giver is the more honourable in the sight of Allah than the recipient and that it is more honourable for a person to make a rope and fetch firewood and sell it than to go about begging people.<sup>109</sup>

The Emir was startled when he learned that some people patronised the Kantin Kwari market, and commercial centres begging for *Sadaka* (alms) from the Syrians and Lebanese. He was so angry, which made him to pass an order putting off people from going to such areas begging. The N.A Police were mandated to effect this law and apprehend any person that defied several warnings. This was what stopped the destitutes from begging in that area. Subsequently, the Emir made provision, for the custody of the destitutes and lunatics who did not have relations or somebody that would look after them. This initiative led to Native Administration Lunatic Asylum Ordinance in 1935, which was copied by other Emirates in Northern Nigeria.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid and personal discussions with Dan Masanin Kano Yusufu Maitama Sulc. 4<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

<sup>110</sup> See Kano Province 2226. 3675. 5188. Conference of Chiefs of 1938, 1942 and 1943. N.N.A Kaduna.

### **Terminating Phase Of His Leadership**

The 27 years of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero's leadership has been described as the most successful epoch in annals of Kano's history. This is because the period was such that the leadership assumed control with its past and present circumstances, and vigorously attempted to gain greater future. Several changes took place in the Emir's Executive Council as a result of death of the Councillors or *Hakimai* from 1926 to 1953, the year in which the Emir died.

For example, in January 1950, the Judicial Council of the Emir was reconstituted with the Emir as the President and Wali Muhammadu Bashari as the Councillor in charge of Alkali Courts in the Emirate. Other members of Judicial Council included the Ciroma Muhammadu Sunusi, Limamin Kano Malam Usman, Malam Abubakar, Malam Umaru, and Malam Muhammadu Dan Ahmadu. The Sarkin Sharifai and one person from the Kutumbawa were appointed into the Council as honourary members. However, the Limamin Kano Usman died in the middle of 1950, which led to the appointment of his Na'ibi Muhammadu Sani as Limamin Juma'a and member of the Council.

In addition to this, two Councillors handled the Executive Council respectively. These included Ciroma Muhammadu Sunusi as Councillor in charge of District Administration and development and Sarkin Shanu Shehu Ahmadu, a Councillor in charge of Kano City Administration, Survey, Printing, Hospital, Veterinary, Prisons, Police and other departments.

Some of these people also formed part of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero's Advisory Council

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whose members included Ciroma Muhammadu Sunusi, Wali Muhammadu Bashari, Madaki Ibrahim, the District Head of Dawakin Tofa and Galadima Muhammadu Inuwa, the District Head of Dawakin Kudu.<sup>111</sup> Later, Alhassan Dantata was admitted into the Advisory Council to represent the interest of the business community in Kano. In 1952, Wali Muhammadu Bashari died, which led the Emir to appoint Alkalin Dutse Abubakar to replace him as Walin Kano.<sup>112</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero had participated in Regional Conferences of Chiefs in Northern Nigeria and contributed a lot from the wealth of his experience. Such meetings began for the first time in 1931. Between 1948-1953, the Emir along with his Council followed with keen interest the political developments taking place at regional and national levels.

On the political landscape, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero witnessed the formations of political parties in the Northern Nigeria in the 1950s. But he did not live long to witness the bitter political struggles that ensued between Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and Northern People Congress (NPC). At first, *Jam'iyyar Samarin Arewa* (the Kano Youth Association) was first founded at Kano in 1948. The founding members of the association included among others Alhaji Ado Bayero (the present Emir of Kano), Alhaji Sani Darma, Alhaji Maje Abdullahi, Malam Nadayi Nagode, Malam Datti, Kabiru Tela, Alhaji Sharu Uba and Abdulkadir Na Adamu Danjaji. The aim of this

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<sup>111</sup> Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 485-487.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. pp. 499-502.

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Association was to foster unity, friendship co-operation and social development.<sup>113</sup>

Soon after, some members of this Association broke away and founded NEPU on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1950. They included Abba Maiḳwaru, Bello Ijumu, Babaliya Manajan Banki, Abdulkadir Na Adamu Danjaji, Sani Darma, Musa Kaula Bida, Magaji Dambatta and Mudi Spikin. Later, Malam Aminu Kano joined the party and became its leader when he resigned from public service. NEPU started as a mass mobilisation party with the declared objectives of emancipating the *talakawa* from the severe dominance and stronghold of the Emirs and colonial masters. The radical approach of NEPU and the abusive words used against the *Sarakuna* made the party to become terribly unpopular and rejected by the Emirs and N.A employees.<sup>114</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero faced several oppositions from NEPU classically from those who resided at *Hayewar Bakin Kasuwa*. Despite his advanced age, the Emir however tried and tolerated them.<sup>115</sup> This sudden development led to the formation of *Jam'iyyar Mahaukata* under the leadership of Mamman Na Gindin Waya. The *Jam'iyyar Mahaukatu* that consisted of militant die-hards emerged to counter the activities of NEPU in Kano particularly on its excessive insults and attacks on the traditional institution.

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<sup>113</sup> See Abubakar, T. Ayuba op. cit. p. 65.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. For more details on *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero's contributions, see Kano Province 2226, 3675, 5188. Conference of Chiefs of 1938, 1942 and 1943, N.N.A Kaduna. See also Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. op. cit. p.101.

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Consequently, series of clashes erupted and Malam Aminu Kano with some members were taken to Emir's Court. At that moment, all the palace courtiers had declared that the NEPU leadership were not Muslims and they deserved death. When it was time for the Emir to speak after all the scholars and advisers, he stated categorically that: "We must have done something wrong in the sight of Allah. That is why these young people are challenging us. Remember that people had believed that whenever they saw us, Allah would forgive their sins. And now it was the same people that started accusing us. I would therefore want everyone of us to go home and think what wrong he had committed and seek for the forgiveness of his sins from Allah".<sup>116</sup> Therefore the Emir instantly rejected the Court verdict of death sentence and discharged Malam Aminu Kano.

In conclusion, it can therefore be seen that the administrative and religious policies of *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* indicated that Kano under him, had always consciously striven for moral superiority coupled with material prosperity. His concept of justice was rooted in his orthodox Islamic belief and that made him a very powerful leader. It is interesting to note that his son and successor, Alhaji Ado Bayero found himself burdened by the task of measuring up to the standards left behind by his father. While *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* dealt with the colonial power structure, the present *Sarkin Kano Ado Bayero* has been dealing with domestic power structure in trying to promote the concept of unity and justice among people.

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<sup>116</sup> Formal interview with Dan Masanin Kano Yusufu Maitama Sule, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003. See also *Ibid.* p. 102.

## **Chapter Eleven**

### ***His Great Attributes Of Leadership***

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero cast a permanent landmark with his noble attributes of leadership. He was naturally endowed by Allah *Subhanahu Wata'ala* with sterling attributes, which made his name to shine in the annals of Nigerian history today. As noted earlier, these great attributes were quite inherent in him since childhood, which among others include truthfulness (*gaskiya*), fulfillment of promise (*cika alkavari*), self-restraint (*wadatar zuci*), courage and fortitude (*ƙwazo da juriya*), gentleness of speech (*sanyin magana*), intelligence (*basira*), sagacity (*kaifin hankali*) and generosity (*kyauta*). Additional traits were quite noticed during his journey to adulthood and these were religiosity (*addini*), fear of Allah (*tsoron Allah*), and courage (*jarumtaka*). These admirable traits became noticeable in him during the rule of his father *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas (1903-1919).

At that point in time, people generally regarded Abdullahi Bayero as an inborn leader, envisaging that Kano would gain a lot if Allah bestowed on him the mantle of leadership. The aspiration of people became a reality when Allah in His infinite mercy chose Abdullahi Bayero among the contestants vying to succeed the exalted throne in 1926. He ruled Kano Emirate at a very crucial period of colonialism, which became the greatest obstacle to the people. But in spite of this, Abdullahi Bayero sagaciously played a pioneering role because of his natural endowments. This is what

made him to acquire fame and pre-eminence that still remains fresh in the memory of people including most of us that were not born during his life time. This Chapter explores his sterling qualities, a novelty that made him a **Great Leader** who is still remembered with respect and dignity. It is our ardent hope that both our leaders and the people would emulate these attributes in an effort to make Nigeria a great nation in the world.

### **Religiosity And Asceticism**

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero was not only a devoted Muslim leader but also a great advocate of Islam. Throughout his life, the Emir was deeply committed to Allah and strictly followed the *Sunnah* of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) and succeeded in dedicating his soul in that direction. People said that his profound commitment to Islam began during his youthful days when he was attending Islamic schools. Since that time, Bayero was noticed to be so devoted to the studies of the Holy Qur'an and *Sunnah* of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.). Briefly, Bayero had memorised the Holy Qur'an at the age of 16, and was able to write it with his hand.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, a copy of his handwritten work was shown to me by one of his son, the Dan Iyan Kano, Alhaji Yusufu Bayero.<sup>2</sup> As he grew up, Abdullahi Bayero engaged himself in intensive studies both within and outside Kano, which enabled him to master a number of

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<sup>1</sup> This view has been gathered during my fieldwork research in *Birnin Kano* from the year 2003 to 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Personal discussion with Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero. the District Head of Dawakin Kudu on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003.

subjects in Islam and that made him to be reputed as an *Alim* (religious scholar) and ranked among the learned Islamic scholars of the time.<sup>3</sup>

As a true believer, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero inwardly and outwardly believed in the Omnipotence and Oneness of Allah, the Originator of the heavens and the earth. His deep-seated *Iman* (faith) in Allah made him very firm in his religious belief and conviction. He also believed in *Quadr* (destiny) both good and bad as it comes from Allah. This perhaps made him to become very courageous and fearless in all his deeds.

Regardless of the hurdles of the colonial powers, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero considered himself as a religious leader and ardently undertook leadership as *Amanah* (trust) reposed on him by Allah the Most High. To him, leadership entailed defense and perseverance of the religious obligations and protecting the welfare and dignity of mankind as dictated by the Shari'a. Bayero tried and discharged this fundamental obligations with transparent honesty and sincerity because he believed that he would be accountable to Allah the Most High in the hereafter.<sup>4</sup>

Information collected shows that Abdullahi Bayero was constantly devoted to Allah and spent much time in *Zikr* (remembrance to Allah). For instance, everyday, whether at home or in the course of journey, Bayero normally roused at 4.00 a.m. and performed ablution and got set for morning prayers. He usually remained in his room before the call of morning prayers

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<sup>3</sup> For more details on this, see Chapter Seven of this book.

<sup>4</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, personal discussion, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

and performed *Nafil* (supererogatory) prayer. Thereafter, he remained seated on his *buzu* (sheep skin) and engaged on *tasbihi* (supplications) to get Allah's mercy, help and favour in all his deeds. His usual prayers were "*Ya Allah Ka yarda da ni, ya Allah Ka karbi ayyukan ibadata, ya Allah Ka yafe mun kirakuraina, ya Allah Ka sanya ni cikin amintattun bayinka, ya Allah Ka daukaki Kano da al'umanta*".<sup>5</sup> This literally means, oh Allah, I seek trust from You, oh Allah, accept all my worship and prayers, oh Allah forgive my shortcomings, oh Allah put me among Your trusted ones, oh Allah uplift Kano and its people.

Abdullahi Bayero would not stop this *tasbihi* until when he heard the call of *Subh* prayer. He would then move to the mosque located within the palace and lead the prayer himself. He often stayed at the mosque for some time before moving to his room to read the Holy Qur'an and *Dala'ilu* (a book of praises of the Holy Prophet and supplications). Thereafter, the Emir prepared for the day and began his official responsibilities up to the time for *Zuhr* prayers. The Emir personally led the *Zuhr* prayer along with many state officials that came to the palace to conduct government business. He then retired in for his lunch and sometime took a siesta particularly when he was very tired up to the time of *Asr* prayer. But on some occasions when the Emir was not

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<sup>5</sup> Personal discussions with Wazirin Kano Sheikh Isa Waziri, Hajiya Saudatu Bayero (*Gwaggo*) and Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule 28<sup>th</sup> September 2003.

tired, he usually engaged himself in teaching children at a popular *Makarantar Allo* located inside the palace.<sup>6</sup>

After the *Asr* prayers, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero normally engaged in *Zikr* in praise of Allah up to 5.00 p.m. It was around this time that the Emir prepared and went out to meet either his Councillors or some private visitors. From there, the Emir would proceed to the mosque and lead the *Magrib* and *Isha* prayers. It was his custom to remain at the mosque teaching his volunteered adult students, mostly those residing at the palace, and others coming from the neighbourhood. But on Thursdays and Fridays or when the volunteer students were not present, the Emir engaged himself in *ibadat* (acts of devotion) at the mosque between *Magrib* and *Isha'i* prayers. Afterwards, he would then move in and take his dinner with a number of children around. It is interesting to note that most of them were not his biological children but those of the royal slaves and others coming from the neighbourhood to play with 'Ya'yan Sarki.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from fasting in the holy month of Ramadan, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero habitually maintained the supererogatory fasting of Mondays and Thursdays regularly. He also spent much time in the night engaged in *ibadat*. He always enjoined his family members to be very close to Allah, adding that he who is closer to Allah would never fear anything in life. He reprimanded them

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<sup>6</sup> Oral interview with Hajiya Saudatu Bayero who is known as *Gwaggo*. She was born in the 1920s. Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Oral interview with late *Nanan Karave*. Sa'adatu Bayero, who died on Sunday, 13<sup>th</sup> March 2005. We conducted this interview on 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004 at the Emir's palace, Kano.

constantly and quoted the Hadith, which says, "O child, remember Allah, He will take care of you. Remember Allah, you will find Him everywhere...and if you want to ask anything, ask from Allah. If you need help, seek help from Allah"<sup>8</sup>

Many people interviewed said that Abdullahi Bayero's strong *iman* in Allah the Most High was what made him undaunted and fearless in all his dealings with people including the British overlords who felt superior to any person. Bayero was a personality who was genuinely committed to the Will of Allah. He believed that nothing would befall him whether good or bad except with the consent of Allah. He believed in Allah and sought protection from Him. And Allah protected him against any evil machination hatched by his vilificators who connived with some British officials to see his downfall.

Many people were stunned on how the Emir Abdullahi Bayero robustly challenged the British without any trepidation or fear of being removed from power. But the secret behind this lies on his beliefs and conviction in the power of Allah, the Most Powerful. Many people admitted that all the British officials feared him so much in view of his religiosity and unfathomable commitment to Allah. What further frightened the British was his strong association with the reformed *Darika* of *Tijjaniyya*. The British, who were afraid of *Tijjaniyya* due to their bad experiences of Mahadi in Sudan, did all they could to make him to recant his position but failed. This made the British to handle him with utmost care fearing

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<sup>8</sup> Constructed from personal discussion with Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero, the District Head of Dawakin Kudu on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003.

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that any further intimidation against him would inevitably incite people to revolt.<sup>9</sup>

But *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero never considered the moves of the British as anything. He therefore left them with their uncomfortable feelings. As a matter of fact, his association with the *Darika* of *Tijjaniyya* enabled him to renew his spiritual allegiance to Allah and that remodeled his praiseworthy qualities of leadership. At this time, the Emir assimilated all the qualities of *Tasawwuf* (Sufism), which were praiseworthy attributes and kept away from blameworthy things. These qualities were *takawa* (fear of Allah), *tawba* (turning away from bad acts), *zuhud* (doing without this world), *tawakkal* (trust and reliance in Allah), *rida* (contentment in Allah's decree), and *Khawf wal raj'a* (fear and hope in all his state of being).<sup>10</sup>

He further purified his heart and exempted his soul from the *waswas* (whispering of shaytan), *ujub* (conceit), *kibr* (pride), *amal* (false hope) and *hasad* (envy). Strong fear of Allah dominated his soul and that made him mindful in discharging all his official responsibilities. These virtues indeed made him to avoid accepting any disgrace and insults in the world. His intense devotion and closeness to Allah further enabled him to acquire gifts of grace from Allah.

Instances of such amazing power could be cited with the visit of one prominent Islamic scholar from *Masar* (Egypt). The scholar just arrived at the palace around 3.00 p.m. and approached the *Wazirin Kano* *Gidado* and *Malam Muhammadu Dan Amu* demanding

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<sup>9</sup> Personal discussion with Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna. 20<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

<sup>10</sup> See also Kurawa. Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu. M.O. (ed). op. cit. p. 100.

that he be taken to see the Emir. The Waziri told him to wait until evening when the Emir would come out, but the scholar refused, imploring that he had earlier discussed with the Emir before he left home. Both the Waziri and Malam Dan Amu became surprised to hear this and hence asked the Scholar how did he discuss with the Emir. At that time, telephone was not available in Kano, and yet the scholar insisted that the Emir had fore knowledge of his coming. Therefore, the Waziri sent Maikano Zagi to go and inform the Emir of the arrival of the scholar. Maikano Zagi went in and informed the Emir that one *Malam* had come and disturbed the Waziri claiming that you had fore knowledge of his visit from *Masar*. The Emir happily said yes, narrating to Maikano Zagi the type of clothes the man was wearing. Maikano Zagi who was always close to the Emir and knew most of the people he interacted with was surprised. The Emir instantly got ready and came out to attend to the scholar. Many people around believed that the Emir had never set his eyes on this scholar. It was as a result of this that people began to see the Emir as having saintly or supernatural qualities.<sup>11</sup>

Oral information collected shows that *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero could displease any person if such would make him to win the favour of Allah. He used to quote the Hadith, which says that he who displeased Allah for the pleasure of people, Allah is displeased with him and the people too would ultimately become displeased with him; and he who pleases Allah by displeasing people, Allah is pleased with him and the

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<sup>11</sup> Personal discussion with *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Ado Bayero at the Emir's Palace, Kano. 13<sup>th</sup> August 2004.

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people too would be ultimately pleased with him.<sup>12</sup> This shows that the Emir was at all times very conscious of Allah, the Supreme One.

More interesting in his life was that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero had never believed in *camfi* (superstitious) that surrounded the society at that time. He was reported to be the first Emir who completely breaks down the bad custom connected with *Sarauta* system of Kano. Instances of this could be cited with beliefs generally upheld by people that whenever the Emir looked at one huge baobab tree in Karaye, he would die on the spot. Abdullahi Bayero was quite aware of this since his childhood days and when he ascended the throne, he decided to show people that such beliefs were un-Islamic. In 1929, the Emir decided to go to Karaye for annual *Rangadi* with the intention of going to that tree. He therefore remained silent without saying a word to those who accompanied him. After visiting official places in Karaye, the Emir went to his official residence known as *Masaukin Sarki* and rested. When the Emir performed *Asr* prayer with his entourage, he sent for Sarkin Karaye. The Emir was so cheerful on that *Yammaci* (evening) and joked with his *Hakimai* and *Bayin Sarki*. On the arrival of Sarkin Karaye, the Emir asked him whether that tree was alive or dead. Sarkin Karaye said that it was still alive except that people were unable to pass through its site in the midday or evening hours like the time he was talking. The Emir smiled and said, "*Ya kamata Sarkin Karaye ka sare ta kowa ya huta*" (It would be better for Sarkin Karaye to cut it down so that people would have solace).

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<sup>12</sup> Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero. personal discussion. 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003.

Sarkin Karaye answered in a respectful manner, "*Ran Sarki ya dadé, ai ta fi karfina, tun da ta gagari Kaka da Kakanni*" (May His Highness live long, that tree is beyond my power, since it surpassed my great ancestors). Everyone present laughed at this statement.

Then unexpectedly, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero stood up, held his *Tagwayen Masu* and said, "*Ai sai mu je mu ganta*" (Let us go and see the tree). He did not leave a chance for his Hakimai and Bayin Sarki to prevent him and headed directly to that huge baobab tree. The Sarkin Karaye and Hakimai of Kano present at the time were terribly frightened because they believed that the Emir would die when he stared at that tree considered to be a shrine inhabited by *Sarkin Aljannu*. In the absence of any possible excuse, Sarkin Karaye and Hakimai followed the Emir while the Bayin Sarki who were sworn to die defending the *Sarki* followed him very closely chanting the usual *Kirari* of "*Hattara, hattara, gwauron Giva*" (be mindful, be mindful, the bull elephant), indirectly warning the Emir to stop. The Emir however ignored them and reached the tree. He stared at the tree from its top to bottom for some minutes, and waited for sometime without anything happening to him. This bravery act shocked everyone present. The Emir then looked at them and said, "Anybody who absolutely believed in Allah would never regard animist innovations as anything".<sup>13</sup>

Apart from this, there was a popular belief that whenever an Emir of Kano went to Ringim, he would never come back alive principally because *Sarkin Kano*

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<sup>13</sup> Oral interview with Dan Riman Kano Abdulkadir, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003. See also Gwangwazo. Maje Ahmed, op. cit. p. 104

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Usman died at Ringim in 1855. This *camfi* (superstition) made all the successors of *Sarkin Kano* Usman to avoid going to Ringim. But in 1927, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero declared his intention of going to Ringim for the annual *Rangadi*. This made his family and admirers to become very disturbed and there was nobody that could stop him since he declared his intention of doing so. Some of the inner family members secretly reported this matter to his mother, *Mai Babban Daki* Mariyatu. She sent for him and when he came, she tried her best to stop him from going to Ringim. But the Emir smoothed her in a respectful manner asking that, "Mai Babban Daki, are you trying to stop me from visiting the grave of your grandfather? His mother became delighted when she heard her son mentioning the name of her grandfather. She finally said "no". The Emir then assured her that nothing bad would happen to him since he had no such belief in *camfi*. Mai Babban Daki, who knew her son very well, simply prayed for him and he left.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, Maikano Zagi and Mahari who were very close servants to the Emir remained restless and considered such act as a deliberate carelessness (*ganganci*). They therefore resolved to go and meet him personally no matter what he would say. Maikano Zagi and Mahari met him and did all they could to stop him but failed to make him recant his position. The Emir set and headed to Ringim and spent two days in the town. The people of Ringim were very much pleased with this *Rangadi*, which gave many of them an opportunity for the first time in life to see the Emir of Kano. While he

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with Hajiya Saudatu Bayero. Gwaggo, Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

was at Ringim, the Emir visited the grave of his maternal great grandfather, *Sarkin Kano* Usman and offered prayer for his departed soul.<sup>15</sup>

In the meantime at Kano, the ambitious princes who believed that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero would never come home alive anxiously hang around waiting to hear about his death. But to their disappointment, the Emir safely returned home.

Additional example could be cited with the Tanagar rock of Dawakin Kudu, which people had believed the Emir would die when he looked at it. This mountain was among the olden shrine of the *Hafe Sarakana* considered to be an abode of *Iskokai* spirits. None of the Fulani Emirs ever attempted passing through it. But *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero personally went to that rock in 1935 in the company of his friend, Commander J. H. Carrow, the then Acting Resident and nothing happened to him.<sup>16</sup>

Other un-Islamic beliefs in those days consist of the saying that whenever the Emir looked at a Lion, he would die. To disprove this claim, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero obtained a lion and reared him at the palace. In fact, he personally fed the lion for many years. It was equally said that when an Emir passed through Kofar Waika, he would never re-enter Kano. Bayero was the first Emir to break this superstitious belief. This *Camfi* originated from the time when *Sarkin Kano* Tukur was forced out of Kano during the course of the civil war or

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<sup>15</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Inuwa, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2005. See also Gwangwazo. Maje Ahmed, op. cit. p. 100.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid and personal discussion with Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero, the District Head of Dawakin Kudu, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003.

*Basasa*, which took place in the year 1894. Tukur left Kano through Kofar Waika, which made people to strongly consider going out of the *Birni* through the gate by any Emir as evil. In short, all the Fulani Emirs that came after Tukur completely abandoned passing out from the *Birni* through Kofar Waika until the time of Abdullahi Bayero who passed out through it on several occasions.<sup>17</sup>

All these were to show people that such *canfi* were baseless and highly unfounded in Islam. At personal level, the single-minded devotion of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to God demonstrated to people that Allah is the Most Powerful and He alone deserved to be worshiped. The Emir tried to make people punctual in their religious obligations, enjoining them to fear Allah in all their dealings.

### ***Simplicity And modesty of life***

Those who knew *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero described him as a highly charismatic leader, but yet simple and modest in his manner and taste. He was indeed a graceful personality, very handsome as a person who had good looks and appeared simple and very calm to people. To a great extent, his simplicity and modesty beautified his leadership and endeared him to people within and outside Kano Emirate.

In fact, it was the modest bearing and simple approach of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero that propelled him to introduce so many changes into *Gidan Rumfa*; the royal palace of Kano shortly after his ascension to the exalted throne in 1926. As many people testified, the

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<sup>17</sup> Gwangwazo. Maje Ahmed. op. cit. p. 65.

palace culture before his accession was so rigid, which prevented people to have access to the Emir at the time they wanted. This culture confined the Emir and restrained him from the general public except on a specified time. Such restriction according to many informants was quite fundamental to the rulers of Kano because the Emirate was the richest among all the Emirates in Sokoto Caliphate. In this respect, Kano would become ungovernable if people had access to the Emirs as they wished since many of them were wealthy.<sup>18</sup>

It was this long tradition of the palace that made people from a-far to perceive Kano Rulers as highly unapproachable personalities. But Abdullahi Bayero who was very familiar with the rigid norms of the royal palace changed all these with his noble attributes of simplicity that made him accessible to the people. He appeared to the royal slaves very radical and unbending in his posture up to the end of his life.

All these espoused the simplicity of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. He was an Emir who ventured into the realm of modernity and pointed out to people his aim of making Kano to move along with modern changes. The culmination of his ambition and unassuming nature made the *Kanawa* to be referring to him as *Dan Zamani* (modern person). Many people within and outside Kano that had contact with Abdullahi Bayero testified that Allah bestowed on him an exceptional quality of simplicity.<sup>19</sup> He was not haughty leader associated with

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<sup>18</sup> Personal discussions with the palace courtiers during the course of my field work research, 2003-2004.

<sup>19</sup> Personal discussion with His Eminence Alhaji Muhammadu Maccido Abubakar, the Sultan of Sokoto at the Sultan's Residence, Anguwar Sarki

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pride swagger expected from a personality like him. Late Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna said:

*Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero was very simple, looked so simple and yet very firm in all what he did or intended to do. He was always open to visitors and I used to visit him in Kano from Zaria. Whenever you were together with him, the Emir would never show you that he was superior to you. He was very open and he respected people no matter how lowly placed they are in the society. He used to say in Hausa that "Mutum ba banza ba ne" (human being is not a worthless thing). His simplicity made him to become well liked and respected not only in Kano but everywhere in the world.<sup>20</sup>*

His simplicity made him to associate with the ordinary people in the society. He had never belittled people because of their social class or poor home background. This made people to troop to the royal palace and lodge their complaints to Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero. He was available everyday and people easily saw him especially in the morning and evening hours. It has been reported that there was a time when a woman named Hawwa who married in Zaria decided to see the Emir over inheritance problem that ensued after the death of her husband. Her parents who lived in Kano considered her moves as madness and plainly told her that it was impossible for her to get close to the palace

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Kaduna on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2003. The Sultan personally knew him and became very close to him during the reign of his father, late Sultan Abubakar III.

<sup>20</sup> Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna, personal discussion on 20<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

talk less of seeing the Emir himself. Hawwa, who was facing a serious problem, believed that only the Emir would assist her. She therefore insisted and defied several warnings by her parents and vowed that she would give the matter a trial.

Hawwa proceeded to the palace in the evening without knowing anybody that would even lead her to the Emir. She arrived and asked one *Dogari* who showed her the way into the inner section of the Emir. She first approached a woman, referred to as *Mai Soron Baki* and narrated all her problems and how she felt the Emir would help her. At that hour, *Sarki Bayero* was teaching children at *Soron Makaranta* located inside the palace. *Mai Soron Baki* went and told him; the Emir said the woman should wait. After the lesson, the Emir summoned *Mai Soron Baki* and told her to come along with the woman. Hawwa narrated all her story to the Emir who listened attentively with sympathy. He finally told her to come on the following day and collect a letter from *Mai Soron Baki* to *Sarkin Zazzau Malam Ja'afaru*. When Hawwa left, *Abdullahi Bayero* personally wrote to *Sarkin Zazzau* and the letter read as follow:

*From Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero, the son of Sarkin Kano Abbas. May Allah forgive him.*

*To His Highness, Sarkin Zazzau Malam Ja'afaru the son of Isiyaku, may Allah forgive him.*

*After greeting. This woman, Hawwa who hailed from Kano and married at Zaria came to us seeking for our help and assistance. Her husband died in Zaria and left her with a number of children.*

*She kindly requested for our assistance and I therefore send her to you so that you could investigate the matter connected with her share of inheritance and that of her*

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*children. I would be much satisfied for your necessary assistance. My Allah help us in assisting one another.*<sup>21</sup>

Hawwa left the palace surprised by the simplicity of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero and his kindness. She hurried home and eagerly told her parents that she really saw the Emir. Her parents appeared to disbelieve her on the ground that it might be one of the titled officials she saw in the palace whom she assumed to be the Emir. Hawwa tried to persuade them to agree with her that the Emir was very simple, but they disputed her statements. In order to confirm to her parents, Hawwa invited her stepmother to escort her back to the palace on the following morning to collect the letter. On their arrival, Mai Soron Baki warmly received them and handed the letter to Hawwa for onward submission to *Sarkin Zazzau*. Hawwa collected the letter with enthusiasm and thanked the Emir for his assistance. Her stepmother was also taken aback and when they reached home narrated all she witnessed in the palace. Meanwhile, Hawwa hurriedly prepared and rushed to the railway station and entrained to Zaria to deliver the message to *Sarkin Zazzau*. Shortly afterward, *Sarkin Zazzau* Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku replied *Sarkin Kano* as follows:

*From Sarkin Zazzau Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku to Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, the son of*

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<sup>21</sup> The content of this letter is quoted from Gwangwazo. Maje Ahmed op. cit. pp. 108-109. The story of Hawwa was narrated by Hajiya Saudatu Bayero (*Gwaggo*) who later became friendly with Hawwa as a result of her visit to the palace on this matter. At that time, *Gwaggo* married but visited the palace on that day to see her father *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. The matter took place in the 1950s. This interview took place on Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

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*Sarkin Kano Abbas. May Allah forgive them with His bountiful of mercies. Amen.*

*Greeting, friendship, affection and trust. Thereafter, this is the woman, Hawwa whom you sent to us with regards to the inheritance of her late husband. I wish to inform you that we investigated the matter thoroughly and distributed what her husband left according to the Shari'a. I therefore send her to you so that she could explain to you in detail. May Allah help us in assisting our people. Amen*<sup>22</sup>

Such simplicity of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero earned him much respect. This made people from all walks of life to respect and obey him not because of fear but because of true love and admiration of his leadership qualities. Late Abubakar Imam, the former Editor of *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* narrated a story that clearly illustrates such simplicity and modesty of Emir Bayero. Abubakar Imam narrated that he was at *Anguwar Zaitawa* of *Birnin Kano* one-day, when *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero ordinarily appeared in a white pick-up. It was during the Second World War and the Emir was accompanied by Babban Zagi Maikano and his driver only. This made people to become very astonished with unassuming nature of their Emir who personally visited to inform them to remain inside their homes. The people obeyed his instruction and remained indoors for two days. Nobody dared to come out until the time when the Emir personally returned and informed them to continue with their usual activities.<sup>23</sup> People ardently obeyed his

<sup>22</sup> Quoted from *Gwangwazo*, Maje Ahmed, op. cit. p. 109

<sup>23</sup> See *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* Newspaper of 7<sup>th</sup> January 1942.

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instruction not because of fear but because of his respect and dignity.<sup>24</sup>

This clearly demonstrates how people respected *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. On the other hand, Malam Muhammadu Koki reminisced the time when one European employee of the U.A.C, Mr. Cooper desired to be introduced to the Emir Bayero. Mr. Cooper was very serious indeed about this. And fortunately however, one day, when Mr. Cooper was together with Muhammadu Koki on their way to Kano from Takai, they saw a saloon car approaching unexpectedly. Muhammadu Koki assumed that it might probably be the Emir and his convoy. When the car drew nearer, Koki testified that it was really the Emir. He then advised his friend to pull out from the car to greet the Emir. Mr. Cooper said, "Well, if I greet him, how shall I address him"? Before he finished talking, the Emir's car arrived and Koki who was familiar with the Emir saluted him with clenched hand. When the Emir saw Koki, he instantly directed his driver to stop. Koki quickly moved and spoke freely with the Emir narrating that he was coming from Dutse Gadawur with Mr. Cooper whose ambition in life was just to meet the Emir. The Emir then opened his door, came out, and shook hands with Mr. Cooper and talked freely with him as if they had known each other before. Mr. Cooper was overwhelmed with the simple manner and attitude of the Emir and when he returned to Kano narrated to his Manager how the Emir received him.<sup>25</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero shook hands with the *Malamai* and attended funerals, something

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<sup>24</sup> Personal discussion with Alhaji Mudi Spikin. 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2004.

<sup>25</sup> Skinner, Neil (ed), op. cit. p. 135

uncommon in Kano's palace tradition.<sup>26</sup> He also visited the sick in the hospital from time to time, which eliminated the saying that when an Emir visited a sick person, he would not survive. Apart from this, the Emir offered condolences to the bereaved family that lost its member by delegating some of the officials in the Emirate.

All these testimonies illustrate the simplicity and unassuming nature of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. It is also interesting to note that the Emir wore simple dresses of simple design. Most of his dresses were traditional flowing gowns, which made his public appearance to be very modest. He was very fond of wearing simple 'Yar-shara as his inner shirt and cover it with *babbar riga* costume with ordinary *Alkyabba* (bournous). He led simple life and refused to indulge in ostentatious mode of life. In fact, Bayero detested and hated wearing gorgeous dresses or ornaments. Dan Masanin Kano Yusufu Maitama Sule disclosed that Abdullahi Bayero was a man of strong character and yet humorous to people. He received people cheerfully with smiles and these virtues greatly earned him respect and love of the people he ruled. Everyone that met him would be instantly struck by his simple manner and simple life style.<sup>27</sup>

### **Patience And Restraint**

Patience (*Hakiri*) and self-restraint (*Juriya*) were among the inestimable traits of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. He was so gentle and a kind of

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<sup>26</sup> Kurawa. Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu. M.O. (ed). op. cit. p. 101.

<sup>27</sup> Oral interview with Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule. 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2003.

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personality that handled all his affairs very quietly. At all the time when Bayero wanted to do something, he did it very calmly with tolerance. He was indeed a gentleman of exceptionally strong character who had never expressed anger no matter what you do to offend him in person. Rather, he would just look at the offender and withdraw himself systematically if such offence was done deliberately with the aim of hurting or damaging his reputation. Equally important, Bayero was ever forgiving and took no action against mistakes or shortcomings.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was generally noted to be very calm and composed in whatever situation he found himself. He was a sort of person who endured difficulties, sufferings and inconveniences in life without complaining to anybody. He was at all times very composed and determined person who never exhibited a slight sign of worry in whatever situation he found himself no matter how serious it was. He always appeared very confident and unruffled and this quality, which illustrates patience, confused even those around him including the Europeans. It was in view of this that the palace courtiers referred to him in their *Kirari* as "*Kurum maganin mai magana Dan Abashe, duhun sarari mai sanya makaho dimuwa*". This literally means the most silent one who remedied the talkative the son of Abashe, the dark open space who confused the blind man.<sup>28</sup>

Some informants recollected that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was a relaxed personality, but yet

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<sup>28</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Muhaammadu Inuwa. Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir and few elders who resided at the palace of Kano during the time of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. 10<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

appeared very firm in his objectives and purpose. An episode that happened between the Emir and Europeans at that time clearly demonstrated this. A palace courtier was said to have insulted a senior British officer who disparaged the Emir and defamed the traditional institution during the course of a misunderstanding that ensued between them at the Central Office. The courtier retaliated by insulting the King of England and told the officer that he was ready to die in protecting the image of the Emir (Bayero) and royalty of Kano. This courtier who was irritated was about to beat up the European officer but the timely intervention of the Galadima Abdulkadir prevented this.

The Galadima informed the Emir about this happening later on that day. The Emir was not happy about this and therefore summoned the courtier and seriously warned him never to repeat such a thing and stressed to him the importance of self-restraint. The Emir sent Madaki Umaru to go and apologize to that British officer and tell him this would not be repeated.<sup>29</sup>

The Madaki did as he was commanded, but the detractors to the Emir who wished to see his downfall took advantage of the situation. They secretly went and told Resident F.M. Noad that he should take necessary action against Bayero or else the whole colonial venture would soon collapse in Kano. In expressing their grief, the detractors added that the Emir personally mandated the courtiers to deal with any British officer, saying that if such bad attitude were not checked immediately, matters

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<sup>29</sup> Personal discussion with Malam Dan Alkali who was very old at the time of our discussion. In fact he was crying while recalling this episode that has remained in his memory. 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

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would deteriorate, which would render the British worthless in the eyes of people. They claimed that the Emir sumptuously rewarded this courtier contending that on the orders of the Emir, these courtiers could even slap the Resident one day without any fear. Finally, they advised the Resident to remove the Emir from power in order to show him that *iko ba karya ba ne* (power is not a joke).<sup>30</sup>

This incitement terribly provoked the anger of the Resident. F.M Noad became mad with hatred against *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* and began to look at the possibility of removing him from power. To find him wanting and achieve his aim, the Resident sent a query to the Emir with a week's ultimatum to apologise formally or else face the consequences.

*Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* was very surprised to receive this query even though it was not his personal mistake. The Emir knew that he had already sent Madaki when he heard about the incident and to him this matter was over. But why the query now, he thought. The Emir quickly realized that the query was ill conceived with the aim to remove him from power.

Therefore, the Emir summoned Madaki Umaru and the Galadima Abdulkadir and showed them the query. The Madaki threw it away after going through its contents and said *Subhanallahi* (good heavens). Both the Galadima and Madaki became nervous thinking for the next line of action. But the Emir who seemed to have been reading the trend of their thoughts smiled and told them to go about their normal business and never worry themselves about the Europeans. The Emir valiantly

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<sup>30</sup> Shamakin Kano Inuwa, personal discussion, 10<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

told them that he would never respond no matter what would happen.

Matters continued to deteriorate when the detractors to *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero circulated rumour that it was just a matter of time for Europeans to remove the Emir for his high-handedness to the British. This triggered the *Kanawa*, who loved their Emir very much, to say "*Lallai kuwa za a yi bala'i a Kano*" meaning "There is no doubt calamity would befall Kano". And to the surprise of many people, Bayero had never shown any anxiety or discomfort over the matter and he constantly maintained his routine duties cheerfully and intermingled freely with his subjects as usual.

After some time, the Resident accompanied by some military personnel went to the palace. He arrived around 1.00 p.m. while the Emir had gone in after his morning session at the *Majalisa*. The Resident therefore sent for the Emir and waited impatiently. However, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero intentionally delayed for more than an hour before coming out. This further provoked the anger of the Resident. Noad remained bewildered just watching the entrance gate where he was expecting the Emir to emerge. Later, he began to hear the voices of the courtiers chanting *Dabkawa sanmi a lafiya Zaki* (lifting slowly and peacefully, the Lion), which gave the Resident a signal that the Emir was coming out. When the Emir emerged, people around observed that he was very relaxed and composed as if nothing was happening. The Resident was ushered in where the Emir was seated.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero appeared quite unruffled and indeed, in an excellent mood. He

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exchanged normal greetings with the Resident, who looked so haggard. With petrifying expression over his face, the Resident alleged that he came to discuss about the query, which the British served the Emir, but to their dismay, the latter willingly failed to respond. The Resident added that it was not his sole motive to recommend for the removal of the Emir, unless he was constrained to do so. The Emir patiently listened to the hot words uttered by the Resident and when he finished answered in a richly endowed voice "What do you intend to do now?" This question puzzled the Resident who answered "We are proposing to remove you from power unless you apologize to His Majesty's Government". But the Emir unwaveringly said, "Go ahead. We know that Allah gave us this power, not you. And if you feel you could take it away from us, then try it."<sup>31</sup>

This answer shocked everyone present and left the Resident breathless. The Emir rose and shook hands with the Resident while the courtiers chanted the epithet of *Lafiya kintsi da kyau mai nasara daga Allah, Lafiya mai wadari da hanjin arne*, meaning "Peace and be prepared peacefully, the most passionate one whose victory comes from Allah, peace, the scatterer of pagan's intestine". The Emir went in while the Resident rose and left in complete bewilderment, thinking on the next line of action to take.

Consequently, this episode made the Resident to become terribly unpopular in Kano and finally cost him his job in October 1933 when his superior officers learned the truth of the matter. H.O Lindsell replaced him

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<sup>31</sup> Shamakin Kano Inuwa, Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir and Malam Dan Alkali narrated this story. 10<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

in November 1933.<sup>32</sup> It was at this point that the Emir's Advisory Council suggested the removal of the detractors of the Emir that held title and offices but *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero outrightly rejected this. Instead, the Emir showed them the importance of patience and forbearance by quoting Sura 2 Verse 153 of the Holy Qur'an, which said, "O you who believe, seek help with patience, perseverance and prayer, for Allah is with those who patiently preserve".<sup>33</sup>

In addition to this, the Dan Masanin Kano Yusufu Maitama Sule recalled how *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero exercised patience by tolerating them during the decolonisation process in 1950s. He disclosed that there was a time when he (Maitama) personally withdrew from the tradition of taking Middle School students to pay homage (*gaisuwa*) to the Emir after Friday prayers. This was done under the umbrella of NEPU, and was noted by the Emir who was not happy at all. Maitama went further and engineered campaigns against the *Sarauta* in Kano, which provoked all title officials in the Emirate. But the Emir did not say anything. What annoyed the Emir was an article, which appeared in the Daily Comet entitled "Political Blue Print in the Administration of Northern Nigeria", written personally by Maitama, who was at that time working at Kano Middle School under the N.A.

This article caused very serious disaffection and concern in the palace. The Senior Resident at that time, Mr. Bryan Sharwood-Smith popularly known as *Mai Wandon Karfe* quickly reacted against the article of Maitama and suggested for his dismissal from service.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

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Then Kano N.A. took over and threatened to dismiss Maitama from its services as a result of his disrespect to the Emir. Maitama was a member of the Madaki household and was treated like Madaki's son, and therefore when Dan Amar Malam Bello Kano<sup>34</sup> heard about this, he became worried and took Maitama to the Ciroma Muhammadu Sunusi who served as a Councillor in charge of Central Administration. Later in the day, Maitama was taken to the Emir while the entire palace courtiers began chanting *Tuba yake, tuba yake, ran Sarki ya dade*. This literally means, "He seeks for your forgiveness, Your Highness. At that moment, Maitama knew that he was finished because the Emir remained silent for some time without saying anything. Then the Emir Abdullahi Bayero finally said:

*Mu da mi ke ganin kai dan gidan nan ne, za ka kare gidan, sai ga shi kana neman rusa shi. (We regard you as a member of this family that would protect it, but now you appear trying to destroy it).*

Maitama burst into tears when he heard the words of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero that sounded to him like a revelation. He was trembling and said:

*Ran Sarki ya dade, Allah ya tsine wa Mai Wandon Karfe Sharwood-Smith. Shi ne ke neman bada ni da Sarki. Na tuba. (Long live the Emir. Woe betides Mai Wandon Karfe Sharwood-Smith. He is the one trying to set the Emir against me. I seek for your forgiveness.*

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero simply said, "*Kada ka kara*", which means do not repeat the offence.

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<sup>34</sup>Dan Amar Malam Bello Kano was later made Madakin Kano.

Maitama and Dan Amar became happy because they knew when the Emir said, "Yes" to anything, he would never change his words or position under any circumstances. They all thanked the Emir and left. Subsequently, Maitama resumed his teaching job as well as his NEPU activities. Few days after, approval came from Kaduna to dismiss Maitama from service, but the Emir ignored it.

Another incident happened, which according to Dan Masanin Kano Maitama Sule might have led to his dismissal. But the treasury of patience and restraint of the *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero prevented that from happening. In fact, the matter had reached an extent when one of the Councillors who wished to see for the removal of Maitama raised the issue of dismissing him during a Council session. But all the Emir said was "*Ai mun sami labarin cewa ya gyaru, ya zama yaron kivarai.*" This means, "We heard that he has reformed himself, and become a good boy".<sup>35</sup>

Thus, we could see how *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero exercised patience and fortitude in dealing with crucial situations that arose from time to time. He was generally credited to be an excellent leader who restrained anger in tackling all his problems. This esteemed quality enabled him to contribute a lot to the development of Kano, as we shall see in Part Three. Bayero believed that no one would achieve anything in life without exercising patience and prayer to Almighty

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<sup>35</sup> Oral interview with Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule on 13<sup>th</sup> June 2003. The same narration appeared in Maitama's biography written by Ayuba T. Abubakar entitled *Maitama Sule: Dan Masanin Kano*, (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 2001), pp. 50-97.

## *His Great Attributes Of Leadership*

Allah. He therefore warned his subordinates to always be patient in handling people, adding that impatience would not yield anything more than anxiety and pursuit of luxuries. He often said:

*Anyone who allowed impatience out of anger to override him, would be lead to a deed that is mostly regrettable. No one has ever regretted being patient but many people regretted executing actions they would finally wished were unperformed.*<sup>36</sup>

### **Contentment And Courage**

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero was generally noted to be a contented leader, a quality that was said to have developed in him from his extensive study of a book called *Zuhudu*, a book that teaches renunciation of worldly affairs, which Bayero deeply studied since his youthful days. It is indeed the most unpopular book to princes and those in power or seeking for power, but to the surprise of many, Bayero memorised and quoted it at will.<sup>37</sup>

Generally speaking, people believed that any person who had comprehensively studied *Zuhudu* would hardly indulge in amassing ill-gotten wealth. This perhaps was among the reason that stimulated *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to denounce worldly gratification and content himself with what Allah provided him. This quality, according to many Islamic Scholars, is the most

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<sup>36</sup> Personal discussion with the Wazirin Kano Sheikh Isa Waziri. 7<sup>th</sup> October 2003.

<sup>37</sup> Malam Dan Alkali and Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna supplied this information in 2003.

praiseworthy attribute expected from a true believer whether rich or poor.<sup>38</sup>

Most of those who knew *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero remembered him as a great but humble gentleman who engaged in tailoring of the famous trouser, *Wando mai kamun kafa*<sup>39</sup> to supplement his legitimate earnings. He also had a farming estate at Sheka, where he produced a variety of farm produce.<sup>40</sup> He participated in the farming activities, which injected the spirit of farming among the *Hakimai* and businessmen.

In addition to this, Bayero was heartily remembered as a complete gentleman who had never pushed anything for his personal advancement or that of his children. Throughout his life, the Emir never sought for any favour from anybody no matter how highly placed that person was. He normally said, "Contentment is the key to happiness and no treasury is richer than contentment for it served as a greatest asset that will never be exhausted".<sup>41</sup>

Thus, we could see that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was a pious leader whose tongue and hand were never loosened to gain wealth. In fact, the Emir refused accepting the traditional gifts known as *gaisinwa* from those seeking for appointment or favour from him. He only accepted genuine gifts and that made him to acquire

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. (ed), op. cit. p. 100.

<sup>40</sup> See Wali, Hajiya Rabi, *Abdullahi Dan Abashe, Gwarzon Yaki Da Rashin Da'a, Jahilci Da Lalaci*, nd, Kano.

<sup>41</sup> Personal discussions with Wazirin Kano Sheikh Isa Waziri. 7<sup>th</sup> October 2003.

the aura of incorruptibility. This made him to become fearless and courageous leader who could face anything with strength of mind. This quality made people including the Europeans to fear him so much. He was constantly unshakable in any situation he found himself, which further booted his popularity not only in Kano but throughout Hausa land.

### **Honesty And Forthrightness**

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero distinguished his leadership with transparent honesty and accountability. He was forthright and a straightforward personality who terribly hated a liar or deceitful person. At whatever circumstances, Bayero spoke the truth with brevity no matter what the consequences might be. He was always bold and frank in telling the truth, a quality which was noted in him since childhood. Whenever he opened his mouth, he spoke the truth to his heart. He equally fulfilled promise and when he said he would do something, he would do it with the power of Allah. Dan Masanin Kano Yusufu Maitama Sule said:

*Once Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero pronounced that he would do something, consider it done. He would do it no matter what. This was what made his public statements to become government policy in Kano at that time, a development that exasperated the British. And that is why Bayero was very successful toward contributing to the development in the whole Emirate because he would follow his own way and do what he said no matter the mounting opposition of the British would be. His honesty and forthrightness confused the British and distorted*

*their idea of Western system of government where a deceit is paramount among the leaders.*<sup>42</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero always supported the truth against falsehood. His stunning honesty made him to become a candid adviser as he gave people honest and genuine advises. This made him to become friendly with many people from Nigeria and abroad especially Arab countries. Those who knew him very well said that the more you are close to him the more you like him. He was very truthful, a quality that left an indelible mark in the mind of people.<sup>43</sup>

### **Generosity**

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero was compassionate, hospitable and generous within reasonable limits. He gave out what he had to people like grains, money and clothes. He was a very sympathetic leader who hated to see people suffering. He gave towards charity to the needy, destitute and orphans. He was the first Emir who started giving out weekly *Sadaka* (alms) in the palace every Friday, a practice that is maintained by the present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero. The *Sadaka* was in different form. To some, he gave out money, while to others he gave out food or clothes depending on the request put forward by the needy.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Oral interview with Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule on 13<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>43</sup> Personal discussion with Magajin Garin Kano Alhaji Inuwa Wada on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2003 and Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna on 20<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

<sup>44</sup> Elderly occupants of the royal palace of Kano, who vividly recalled the time of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, supplied this information. See also Rufa'i, Ruqayyatu Ahmed, *Gidan Rumfa: The Kano Palace*, p. 89.

## *His Great Attributes Of Leadership*

It has been said that there was a time when *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was on his way to Nasarawa mini palace in a car, and just saw an elderly man carrying water on shoulder for sale. The Emir directed his driver to stop. When people saw that the Emir had stopped, they rushed to greet him. The Emir then asked one among them to go and call that elderly man, pointing directly at him. The elderly man was flabbergasted to hear that the Emir had sent for him, and therefore dropped his two cans, went and saluted the Emir. Then the Emir directed Maikano Zagi to come to Nasarawa with the man. Maikano Zagi pulled out from the car, and trekked with the man to Nasarawa, which was not far away from the spot.

On their arrival, the Emir asked this elderly man his name and whether he had relatives that would take care of him or not. The man answered in sober mood that his name was Bello and he had two wives, but never had a child throughout his life, which caused him the untold hardship he was experiencing at that age. Bello further told the Emir that he had relatives who abandoned him, he therefore had to sell water to get what he would eat with his family.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero sympathized with his condition and then asked him where he stayed. Bello, who was overtaken by emotion, said he lived at Kofar Dan Agundi and finally burst into tears. The Emir said:

*As from today, I relieve you off from this job. You should remain at your home and devote yourself to Allah. I would assist you with food, clothes and money. Don't ever sell water. I would send Maikano every month end to bring food items and money to you.*

## Abdullahi Bayero

*When you have any other problem, liaise with him (Maikano) for he would inform me directly.*<sup>45</sup>

The Emir told him to go home and wait for the arrival of Maikano Zagi on that day. The first thing the Emir did when he returned to the palace was to send Maikano Zagi with clothes, money and foodstuffs to the elderly man. Apart from this, another story has been told about the generosity of the Emir. It is said that one of the junior drivers to the palace, Alhaji Inuwa Na Wali sought for the assistance of the Emir to own a personal house that would accommodate his family. On that day, Bayero instructed the Ward Heads of Mandawari and Daneji to find a house so that he could purchase it for him. Towards the evening, the Ward Head of Mandawari and the driver met the Emir and told him that a house had been found. The Emir then assigned some people to go and see the house and negotiate the price with the owner. Arrangements for purchasing the house was completed in two days and the Emir paid.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Personal discussion with a palace courtier, Abdullahi who is known as *Mai Ingila*. He was very old and lived closely with Maikano Zagi during the rule of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. 5<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>46</sup> Oral interview with Malam Dan Alkali of Gwangwazo quarters, Kano 25<sup>th</sup> June 2003. See also Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. (ed), op cit, p.101.

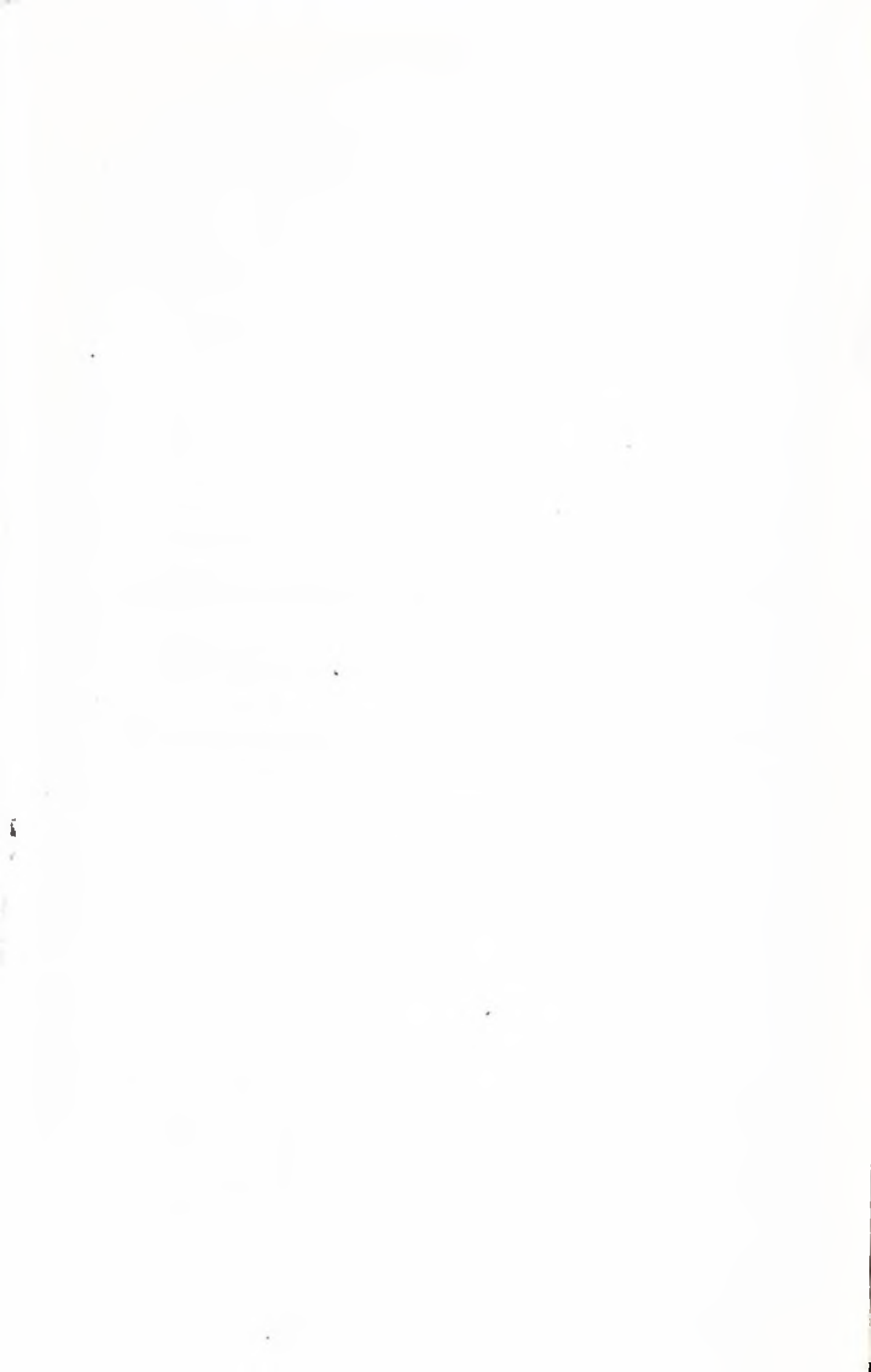
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*PART THREE*  
HIS MONUMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS AND  
LEGACIES

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### **Part Three**

## ***His Monumental Achievements And Legacies***

In every society the world over, it is indeed men, and in particular their deepest concern that shaped history. *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero is among such men that indisputably shaped the history of modern Kano, and successfully led it to achieve greatness in every human endeavour despite the problem of the colonialists. He was indeed the longest reigning ruler among all the Fulani Emirs that ruled in the annals of colonialism during which the British exploited human and material resources of the land. The period was undeniably an epoch in which diabolical human oppression and exploitation was paramount and became the overriding concern of the British.

But in the period, Kano was the luckiest Emirate to have *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, a gifted leader that virtually brought his knowledge, talents and vast experience and dealt with the evils associated with the colonising powers. Throughout the 27 years of his leadership, the Emir dedicated his life in altruistic services to humanity and to the glory of Almighty Allah, which enabled him to bring many positive changes in Kano Emirate. All the developments registered in the Emirate at that crucial period were not in the interest of the colonialists, but the concern of the Emir who made

## *Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero*

heavy sacrifices to develop the society. This is what makes him to be seen as the *Pre-eminent leader* in spite of the fact that the Emir died about 53 years ago.

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero appeared too hasty in his efforts to see to the development of Kano and this attitude of the Emir irritated the British colonialists. One interesting aspect to note is that all the money used for developing the Emirate were the monies generated through taxation paid annually by people. At that time there was nothing like revenue generated through petroleum and in fact the Kano Emirate was the major contributor to the Central Government. But more important was that Abdullahi Bayero was not corrupt despite the enormous power he wielded over the entire resources of the land. The only ambition he had was to give his maximum contribution to the society so as to get the favour and mercy of Allah in the Hereafter. This is contrary to what is obtained today in Nigeria because our leaders assume that they could enrich themselves and their offspring with public resources.

It was during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero that facilities associated with modern life became a regular feature not only in Kano metropolis, but the Emirate as a whole. Such facilities include motorable roads, schools, hospitals and dispensaries, potable water supply, electricity and many public amenities for public conveniences. It was also during his leadership that Western education along with sound Islamic education were adequately provided to people, which presently made Kano to become an international centre of learning. It was equally during his time that Kano metamorphosed into famous commercial and industrial centre in the

world, which today takes *Kanawa* to paramount position in the Nigerian economy.

All these monumental achievements were attained as a result of the efforts and self-determination of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, who, despite his lack of the so-called Western education, appeared as an enlightened and forward-looking leader. This is what made people to adjudge him as an efficient, upright, capable, and triumvirate leader who was deeply ingrained by a true sense of justice in running his administration. And indeed, it was such kind of sincere dedication that made him to remain an incomparable role model the world over, which makes his family to become very prominent.

The preceding parts of this book vigorously dealt with the historical aspects of Kano as well as the early life and leadership of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. This section forms the third part of the book and it contains nine chapters that exclusively dealt with his monumental achievements and legacies. Chapter 12 will examine his general contribution to Islam and the unity of the Muslim *Ummah* (community), while Chapter 13 contains the educational foundation he laid in Kano that made Bayero University to be renamed after him. Chapter 14 will centre on his contributions to the socio-economic and rural development and Chapter 15 dwells on the infra-structural development in Kano Emirate. Chapter 16 covers the resurgence of traditional values of *Gidan Rumfa*, the royal palace of Kano, which the British

*Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero*

indirectly tried to exterminate. Chapter 17 explores the meritorious award of honour of CMG and CBE he received from the British and the post-humus Doctorate Degree he was given by Bayero University Kano in the year 2004. Chapter 18 contains his foreign visits to England, pilgrimage to Mecca and his visits to some Muslim countries in 1937. Chapter 19 looks at his family and his transition to the Great Beyond in 1953. Chapter 20 concludes the book with appendixes and bibliography.

## **Chapter Twelve**

### ***General Contribution To Islam And Unity Of Ummah***

As indicated earlier, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero was a true Islamic leader, who was deeply concerned with the religion and its propagation in Kano. At all times, the Emir was very conscious of Allah and that guided his conduct and actions. He was said to be always aware of death. He strongly believed that Allah gave him power to rule not because he was superior to others but because Allah had destined him to serve the religion of Islam and mankind in general. Therefore, the Emir tried as much as possible to discharge his duties and responsibilities diligently without any fear of the British.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was so vigorous in his Islamic policies and succeeded in linking Kano with Islamic countries of the Middle East and Sudan. He was strongly concerned with maintaining the Islamic character of the society against Western encroachment instituted by the British imperial powers, which, on many occasions led to some conflicts. His efforts made Kano to become an international centre of all religious activities in Nigeria, a legacy, which is maintained by his son and successor, the present Emir of Kano Alhaji Ado Bayero.

This Chapter examines the affiliation of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero with *Darika* of *Tijjaniyya* and how he used the *Tijjaniyya-Ibrahimiyya* to

bring about unity among the Muslim *Ummah*. It also examines his efforts to help the *Kadiriyya-Nasiriyya* to become established as the last virile bastion of the sect. The Chapter mentions his courageous efforts at the meeting of the Northern Emirs, which saved late Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi from the anger of the Sultan of Sokoto in consequence of a dispute that ensued with Banaga of Maru. The Chapter concludes with the construction of Kano Central Mosque to a modern standard as it appears today. This mosque still remains one of the most beautiful architectural edifices in Nigeria, which is maintained for posterity.

### ***His Affiliation With The Darika Of Tijjaniyya***

To understand the connection of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero with the *Darika* of *Tijjaniyya* will take one back to the emergence of *Darikoki* in Nigeria. Literally, *Darika* means Sufi brotherhood while *Darikoki* consist of several Sufi brotherhood practiced by some interested Muslims. Probably, there may be some *Darikoki* in this part of the country before the Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, but history has shown that the first known *Darika* in *Kasar Hausa* was the *Darika* of *Kadiriyya*. The *Kadiriyya* Sufi order became acceptable to people after the establishment of Sokoto Caliphate in 1804 as many people were initiated into it. This was possible because almost all the rulers of Sokoto were the followers of *Kadiriyya*, which made it to become the dominating Sufi order virtually in every Emirate established by the Jihad.

## *General Contribution To Islam And Unity Of Ummah*

Kadiriyya Sufi order was established by the great Islamic scholar, Sheikh Abdulkadir Zailani, who was born around 1017 in Na'if, an area of Gilan in Persia. Some scholars and traders rapidly transmitted it to all parts of the world including Africa. In West Africa, Sheikh Jibril of Agadas, one of the outstanding teachers of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio initiated many Fulani *Malams* including the Shehu himself into Kadiriyya. And with the success of the 1804 Jihad, Kadiriyya became the official creed and remained unchallenged in what later came to be Northern Nigeria today. This Sufi order legitimized the religious *Tajdid* (reform) with certain practices of *Zikr* (invocations) performed at a certain time either in a day or week.

Association with the Kadiriyya in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was only limited to Fulani *Malams* and Fulani leaders most of whom derived their authority from Sokoto. Members of the Hausa *Malams* began to associate with Kadiriyya as a result of contacts with North African traders and scholars.

Subsequently, after the demise of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in 1817, Kadiriyya was confronted by the Tijjaniyya Sufi order. The Darika of Tijjaniyya was another Sufi order founded by Sheikh Ahmad at-Tijjani and was introduced into Sokoto Caliphate by Sheikh Umarul Futi. Available records show that Sheikh Umarul Futi was initiated into Tijjaniyya in the late 1820s by Sheikh Abdulkarim bin Ahmad an-Naqil, whose own *Silsila* (chain of transmission) was traced to the Sheikh Ahmad at-Tijjani through Sheikh Maulud Faal al-Yakubi and Muhammad Hafiz wuld-al-Mukhtari bin Habib al-Baddi. Umarul Futi was said to have gone to

Mecca to perform pilgrimage during which he received a new *Silsila* of Tijjaniyya at Hijaz from Sheikh Muhammadu Al-Ghali, who was a companion of Sheikh Ahmad at-Tijjani. The acceptance of the new *Silsila* connected Sheikh Umarul Futi directly with the founder of the Tijjaniyya Sufi order, that is Sheikh Ahmad at-Tijjani. Therefore, Umarul Futi presented himself as the *Khalipha* (representative) of Tijjaniyya in West Africa when he returned from pilgrimage.<sup>1</sup>

When he came back from Hijaz, Umarul Futi stopped over in Borno and initiated Malam Umar into Tijjaniyya. Malam Umar later became the Shehu of Borno and reigned from 1837 to 1853. Umarul Futi further initiated his host Malam Muhammadu Na Kumami and Sheikh Al-Miskin into Tijjaniyya. He later relocated to Sokoto, the centre of Kadiriyya in 1831 and was warmly received by Caliph Muhammadu Bello (1817-1837). According to some traditions, his warm reception at Sokoto by the Caliph, a follower of Kadiriyya was in view of the war between Sokoto and Borno.<sup>2</sup>

But oral tradition shows that Caliph Muhammadu Bello warmly received Umarul Futi based on the *Wasiyya* (instruction) left by the Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, who, before his death prophesized the arrival of the Tijjaniyya order. Although the Shehu seemed to be aware of the Tijjaniyya, but it remains uncertain whether he was initiated into it or not.

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<sup>1</sup> Loimeier. Roman. *Islamic Reform And Political Change In Northern Nigeria*, op. cit. pp. 20-24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 24.

At Sokoto, Sheikh Umarul Futi gained the trust and confidence of Caliph Muhammadu Bello who made him a Councillor in the Caliphate government. The Caliph also gave him his daughter to marry, which might be an attempt to encourage his stay in Sokoto. But Umarul Futi had to leave Sokoto in 1838<sup>3</sup> after the death of Caliph Muhammadu Bello in 1837. Oral tradition shows that he was forced out of Sokoto by Caliph Abubakar Atiku, an immediate successor to Muhammadu Bello. It has been said that Umarul Futi initiated Caliph Bello into Tijjaniyya, but his successor, Abubakar Atiku refused to accept this order on the premise that Shehu Dan Fodio did not instruct them to do so.<sup>4</sup>

The expulsion of Umarul Futi from Sokoto was based on the fear of the spread of the Tijjaniyya doctrine. Initially, during the reign of Caliph Muhammadu Bello some religious scholars began to accept the new Tijjaniyya order and prominent among them were Shehu Umar, the Babban Malami Na Madabo of Kano, Umar al-Wali of Zaria and some princes of the ruling Mallawa dynasty of Zaria who visited Sokoto within that period. It should however be borne in mind that even during the reign of Bello, most Fulani *Ulama* and members of Sokoto ruling class were not happy with the stay of Umarul Futi in Sokoto,<sup>5</sup> a development that made him less successful because people initiated into Kadiriyya Sufi order refused to abandon it.

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<sup>3</sup> Loimeier, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Personal discussion with Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna in 2003.

<sup>5</sup> This view was gathered from personal discussions with a number of people in Sokoto, Zaria and Kaduna and the most prominent among them was Sheikh Umaru Sanda (2003). For some explanation, see also Loimeier, op cit, p. 24.

Nevertheless, Sheikh Umarul Futi proceeded to Gwandu in his attempt to spread the new Tijjaniyya order and he stayed for eight years without much success. It was not until 1845 that a prominent figure, the Chief Alkali of Gwandu, Malam Muhammad bin Raji bin Ali, secretly accepted the order.<sup>6</sup> Umarul Futi finally left Gwandu in 1852 and went eastward again with the intention of undertaking a second pilgrimage to Mecca. However, when he reached Adamawa, he decided to stay for a while, and died there in 1862. His major work was a pamphlet entitled *Rimah hizb ar-rahim ala nuhur hizb ar-rajin* (The Spears Of The Party Of The Graceful Against The Throats Of The Party Of The Damned).<sup>7</sup>

Subsequently, this pamphlet seems to have motivated a number of people to accept Tijjaniyya order, which however created discontent within the central government of the Caliphate. Anybody who was noted to have openly affiliated with the Tijjaniyya was branded as 'a deviant'. Sokoto regarded this as an act of rebelling from the constituted religious and political authority of Caliphate. Drastic action was at times taken to make people to conform to Sokoto and those who stubbornly refused were subjected to various punishments. Instances of this mode of punishment could be cited with *Sarkin Zazzau* Sidi Abdulkadir who was said to have publicly declared his affiliation with the Tijjaniyya order. This annoyed the Caliphal government who hurriedly moved and deposed him from power in 1853, just within the year of his appointment. But Sidi Abdulkadir could not merely be deposed without reason. The official reason given by

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<sup>6</sup> Loimeier, op. cit. p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

Sokoto was that Sidi Abdulkadir indulged in acts of oppression, illegal killings, misuse of public funds, confiscation of women and engaging in debauchery with them at the palace<sup>8</sup> as well as generating internal crises among the princes of Zazzau.<sup>9</sup>

The Caliphate government continued to express its discontent over affiliation with Tijjaniyya order in several ways and through several methods, which forced people to conceal their feelings toward it. This tendency persisted up to the time of colonial conquest of the Caliphate in 1903, which removed the barrier against the Tijjaniyya order placed by the Caliphate government. The colonial conquest led to widespread re-affiliation with Tijjaniyya order because people no longer feared any sanction or threats from Sokoto. It also paved the way for the Emir of Zazzau Malam Aliyu Dan Sidi (1903-1920), the Emir of Katsina Muhammadu Dikko (1906-1944) and the Emir of Kano Muhammadu Abbas (1903-1919) to publicly declare their affiliation with the Tijjaniyya order. Gradually, Tijjaniyya gained strongholds in the Emirates of Zazzau, Kano, Bauchi Adamawa and advanced to Borno<sup>10</sup> most especially during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero.<sup>11</sup> This development strengthened the spread of the *Darika* of Tijjaniyya order.

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<sup>8</sup> Adeleye, R.A., *Power And Diplomacy In Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906*. (London. Longman Group, 1971), p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> Dalhatu, Usman, *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku*, op. cit. pp. 52-53.

<sup>10</sup> Loimeier, op. cit. p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Personal discussion with Malam Usman Abdullahi Mani Maiduguri. He first stayed at Kano at *Gidan* Sheikh Abubakar Atiku during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. He finally relocated to Maiduguri and lived very close to the late Sheikh Ahmad Abdulfatahi of Maiduguri. 16<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

In Kano Emirate, available evidences show that members of the Kano ruling class were initially followers of the Kadiriyya Sufi brotherhood since the time of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. For example, the two Emirs of Kano Ibrahim Dabo and his grandson Aliyu Babba were knowledgeable enough in Sufism.<sup>12</sup> This trend seems to continue uninterrupted up to the ascension of Emir Muhammadu Abbas, the first Emir installed by the British in 1903. It has been said that Arab traders from North Africa initiated Abbas into the Tijjaniyya. This took place before his appointment as the Emir of Kano in 1903, but his affiliation became public shortly after his ascension to the throne.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, the initiation of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas into Tijjaniyya Sufi brotherhood replaced the old Kadiriyya order among the ruling class of Kano. It was during this period that many of the *Ulama* and people were openly initiated into *Darika* of Tijjaniyya, which gradually developed and became the official order in Kano.<sup>14</sup>

But Malam Alfa Hashim who was a prominent Islamic scholar initiated Abdullahi Bayero into Tijjaniyya order at Burmi.<sup>15</sup> Many followers of the Tijjaniyya had followed the ex-Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu I on his flight and also assisted him in the fight against the British at Burmi. Alfa Hashim was among the prominent ones who

<sup>12</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, "The Reign Of Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero, 1926-1953" in Hambolu, M.O. (ed), op. cit. p. 98.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. But Roman Loimeier in his book entitled *Islamic Reform And Political Change In Northern Nigeria* p. 28 claimed that Abbas was initiated into Tijjaniyya in 1914.

<sup>14</sup> Loimeier. op. cit. pp. 25-31.

<sup>15</sup> Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna. Personal discussion. 2003.

felt that he could not live under the rule of infidels and therefore followed the Caliph to Burmi. It was here that Bayero came to know him and the two became closer during the struggle against the British. Both of them fought at Burmi and were among the few survivors who escaped the mass slaughter at the battle of Burmi. After the merciless killing of the Caliph Attahiru Ahmadu I, Abdullahi Bayero returned to Kano while Alfa Hashim proceeded to Medina and became one of the most popular scholars of the Tijjaniyya in Hijaz. He finally settled in Medina and became a well-known Tijjaniyya scholar visited by pilgrims who came on pilgrimage from West Africa.<sup>16</sup>

In Kano, Abdullahi Bayero became a devout follower of Tijjaniyya and was committed towards its spread. This, and the hatred of the British made him to reject the offer of the title of Ciroma awarded to him by his father, *Sarki* Abbas, until the *Ulama* convinced him to accept the title. To Bayero, Tijjaniyya, which was then regarded as militant, would be the only solution that would bring the British rule to an end, and replace it with an Islamic system of government. Therefore, apart from its religious significance to him, Bayero used Tijjaniyya covertly to fight the British.

This development seriously frustrated the British authorities in Kano, who saw that Bayero had won a great number of disciples and began to raise a circle of devout followers away from their control. It also triggered the hatred of the Resident Cargill against Ciroma Bayero, which manifested itself in a lot of ways as analysed in the

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<sup>16</sup> Personal discussion with Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna in 2003. See also *Ibid*, p. 26.

previous chapters of this book. The British authorities under instigation of Cargill began to mistrust the Tijjaniyya principally because of their bad experiences with the Mahadi in Sudan and fears that a similar thing could happen in Kano. And more disturbing to them was that nobody could stop Ciroma Bayero from his active discipleship in Tijjaniyya, which they thought would dreadfully lead to *Fitina* (revolt). The British ended up asking themselves why Emir Abbas and his family that became the ruling lineage of Kano should adopt the Darika of Tijjaniyya, a sect that was more resistant to colonial rule?

The British quickly tried to manoeuvre the situation by labelling the Tijjaniyya as hostile and regarding its followers as 'bad Muslims', who could at any given time rebel against the Europeans. This deep-seated fear of the British hastened their attempts at swiftly re-establishing the hegemony of the Sokoto Caliphal authority, emphasizing the supremacy of the Kadiriyya order. To further discourage people from affiliating with Tijjaniyya, the British publicly declared all followers of Kadiriyya as "good Muslims". The propaganda against the Tijjaniyya order substantially increased in an effort to discourage Muslims from associating with it. This was not enough for them. The British further put emphasis on the historical connection of Kadiriyya with Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, and encouraged Muslims of Northern Nigeria to be visiting *Hubbare*, the tomb of the Shehu at Sokoto rather than

undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca, which was a journey of many years.<sup>17</sup>

All these were aimed at alienating the Muslims of Northern Nigeria especially the followers of Tijjaniyya from the rest of the world and the Mahadists who had record of resistance against foreign domination in Sudan. The British precisely knew that the only means of contact for Muslims of Northern Nigeria was through the Hajj, which at that time was a long hard journey via Sudan and it took years. The pilgrims even settled in various locations, taking up gainful employment, before reaching the Holy Land. Through this, it was feared, they might likely be converted to Mahadism.<sup>18</sup>

The British authorities further employed the conservative Ulama and set them to fight the Tijjaniyya. This evil machination seems successful because such conservative Ulama condemned Tijjaniyya on the pretext that it was a modern innovation, and further claimed that it introduced new habits such as hair cutting fashion, the use of walking sticks and acceptance of English as a language of communication. According to them, all these innovations were a clear sign of westernization,<sup>19</sup> which Muslims should desist from.

Therefore when *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas died in 1919, the British willingly by-passed Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero for fear of his hostile attitude against them and his close association with Tijjaniyya. Rather, the British appointed Usman Dan Tsoho who was a

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<sup>17</sup> Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna, 2003. See also Loimeier, op. cit. pp. 20-30 and Hambolu, op. cit. pp. 98-99.

<sup>18</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. (ed). op. cit. p. 98.

<sup>19</sup> Loimeier, op. cit. p. 29.

Kadiriyya disciple. At this time, the British assumed that bypassing Ciroma Bayero, who was the most capable Prince, would serve as a lesson to him, and may possibly make him recant his affiliation with Tijjaniyya. But to their surprise, Ciroma Bayero occupied himself with trying to sort out the differences that had emerged within the Tijjaniyya over the *Kablu* (folding hands) and *Sadlu* (outstretching hands) when performing prayers. This was part of the effort of Bayero to unite Muslims and make them understand the danger of White men.<sup>20</sup>

It was in this situation that Emir Usman passed away in 1926, a death that left the British with no choice other than to appoint Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero as the new Emir. Maitama Sule said that prior to the appointment of Abdullahi Bayero to the throne, he had prayed for three things: *Allah Ka ba ni ikon tafiya Makka, Allah Ka hadà ni da Gausuz-zamani, Allah, in Ka nufe ni da Sarauta, Ka taimake ni a kan addinin Musulunci*. This means may Allah, provide me the means to perform pilgrimage, may Allah acquaint me with succor of the time, and if You destined me to rule, help me, Oh Allah towards rectifying the affairs of the Muslims.<sup>21</sup>

Therefore, Abdullahi Bayero consciously accepted his appointment of Emirship with the strong zeal of serving Islam. His major concern was the unity of the Muslims irrespective of their affiliation to Kadiriyya or Tijjaniyya or any other order. But his major challenge at the time was to bridge the fracas within the Tijjaniyya, which began to split up in 1920 between the group

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<sup>20</sup> Personal discussion with Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna, 2003.

<sup>21</sup> Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule. oral interview. 28th September 2003.

around Malam Suleimanu (subsequently Walin Kano) and the Madabawa that rallied behind Muhammadu Salga. The Emir at first tried and regained the control of the major *Zawiyya* of the Tijjaniyya in Anguwar Koki, initially controlled by Muhammadu Salga, who at that time succeeded in uniting a large section of trading community under his own leadership.<sup>22</sup>

The removal of control of this *Zawiyya* by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero from the *Salgawa* gravely wounded them. They therefore began to look at the possibilities of retaliating against the Emir. It was in the face of this critical situation that the *Salgawa* used their extended network of trade and drew support from outside by establishing trade contacts with Senegal in 1930. They further sought the support of the principal opponent of the Emir Bayero, Turaki Muhammadu, who in 1926 failed to succeed his father *Sarki Usman*.<sup>23</sup>

In order to thwart the strategy of *Salgawa*, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero proposed to go to Mecca and visit Senegal on his way home. But the British, who feared that he would get in touch with the Mahadist in Sudan prevented him and in its stead proposed his visit to England with the Sultan Hassan Dan Mu'azu. This took place in 1931. However, Bayero refused the call imploring that he would first perform pilgrimage before going to anywhere in the world. The British resorted to covert machination by setting the Sultan against him when they realized that Bayero was very serious about going to Mecca. They told the Sultan that Bayero was trying to flout the spiritual supremacy of the Caliphate by

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<sup>22</sup> Loimeier, op. cit. p.30.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. pp. 33-34.

going to Mecca in his attempt to make Kano a centre of spiritual leadership instead of Sokoto.

This development generated discontent between Sokoto and Kano and forced *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to suspend his traveling to Mecca as a mark of respect to the Sultan. The trip to England was delayed up to 1934 and Emir Bayero along with Sultan accompanied by few Emirs went to London.

In 1937, just about three years after his return from England, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero declared his intention of traveling to Mecca with or without the consent of the British. By this time however, his friend Commander J.H. Carrow, who had already left Kano, met the British authorities in Kaduna and warned them seriously to approve the journey. After some dilly-dally, the British government in Nigeria approved and arranged the journey. The Emir took his old teacher, Malam Suleimanu who was also fluent in Arabic and traveled with him.

Before the Emir left home, he called Malam Nasiru Kabara and asked him what he wanted in Hijaz. It has been reported that Malam Nasiru said he wanted to be linked up with the Khalipha of Kadiriyya, Sheikh Abu al-Hassan as-Sammani, the grandson of the founder of Kadiriyya-Sammaniyya. The Emir then told him to go and write a letter and gave it to Malam Suleimanu to be delivered to Sheikh Abu al-Hassan in Saudi Arabia. Sheikh Nasiru Kabara wrote the letter and sought for permission to perform the litany of Sammaniyya, a branch of Kadiriyya, which was delivered accordingly. The Sheikh was very astonished to hear of such a highly learned youth and therefore granted Sheikh Nasiru

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Kabara permission with a letter of appointment as *Mukaddam* (initiator). He also sent to Nasiru Kabara *Jabba* (sleeveless gown) and a cap.<sup>24</sup>

All this was an effort of Emir Abdullahi Bayero to unite Muslims irrespective of differential affiliation in the religious order. The deliverance of this letter facilitated the internationalization of Kano Kadiriyya. Meanwhile at Hijaz, *Sarkin Kano* Bayero performed pilgrimage with Muslims from all over the world and shared tents with many Ulama. Oral traditions show that one day, Bayero happened to be at *Harami* (Ka'aba) praying to Allah to join him with *Gausuz-zaman*. *Gausuz-zaman* means a true benefactor of the time, which is the highest rank of Sufi saints. Then suddenly, a man appeared and the Emir looked at him and said in Arabic "Are you the one?" The man responded and said "yes." They immediately shook hands and exchanged greetings and introduced themselves. *Sarkin Kano* said, "My name is Abdullahi Bayero from Kano Nigeria." The other man became surprised because he had been hearing that name in his country associated with the Emir. Nevertheless, without making any comment, the man responded, "My name is Ibrahim Inyass from Koalack, Senegal." Then Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass asked: "Are you not the Emir of Kano?" Bayero answered, "Yes, I am." Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass was astounded by the unassuming nature of Abdullahi

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<sup>24</sup> Personal discussion with Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna, 2003. See also Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O (ed), op. cit. p. 99 and Adamu. Abdalla Uba at Qadiriyya htm.

Bayero and therefore took his hand and said *Allahu Akbar* (Allah is the Greatest).<sup>25</sup>

This was the awaited time for *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. It was at that moment that Bayero accepted his new *Silsila* (chain of transmission) of the Tijjaniyya. Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass also authorized him to guide interested Muslims who wanted to reach the ultimate perception of the truth of Allah through the process of the new *Tarbiyya* (spiritual education). This new *Tarbiyya* was open to every Muslim unlike the former one initially practiced by the followers of Tijjaniyya. The *Tarbiyya* would spiritually connect a Muslim with the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) and get the flow of his grace.<sup>26</sup>

Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass was born in 1902 at Taiba-Niassene in Senegal. His father Abdullahi Inyass was a renowned Tijjaniyya Sheikh who was initiated by Malam Muhammadu Jallo. After the death of his father in 1922, Ibrahim Inyass left Taiba, his birth place, and started to construct a new settlement in the immediate neighbour of Kaolack. He was notably more dynamic and charismatic and therefore overshadowed his other brothers by winning a large number of followers all over the world. People trooped to his new settlement to pledge their discipleship to him as *Khalipha* of Tijjaniyya and this made the settlement to be referred to as *al-Madina al-Jidda* meaning the new town, the new Medina. He first published his major work entitled *Kashif-al-bas an faidat al-Khatam abi al-abbas* meaning "The Exposer of the

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<sup>25</sup> Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule oral interview, 28th September 2003.

<sup>26</sup> Loimeier, op. cit. pp. 34-35.

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Veils of Overflowing Grace of the Seal of Abi al-Abbas” This book explained in detail his concept of spiritual education: *at-tarbiya al-ibrahimiyya at-tijjaniyya*.<sup>27</sup>

*Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* invited Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass to visit Kano during their contact at Hijaz. Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass instantly accepted this invitation and promised to come as soon as possible.<sup>28</sup> Therefore when *Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero* returned from pilgrimage, many followers of the Tijjaniyya trooped to the palace to accept the new Tarbiyya. The distinctive character of this new Tarbiyya and its openness to every interested Muslim made the followers of Tijjaniyya-Ibrahimiyya to be referred to as *Jama'at al-Faida*, which means the community of grace.

The followers of Tijjaniyya-Ibrahimiyya increased beyond the expectation of everyone. This was unlike in the former times when Tijjaniyya was seen as a scholarly affair. This time, less educated Muslim gained easy access to the new Tarbiyya, which was believed to have been very effective not only in a spiritual way, but also relevant in healing of illness and protective in every aspect. Many Kano traders and businessmen in Northern Nigeria and beyond believed that their affiliation with the new *Jama'at al-Faida* had positive impact on their economic success. Prominent among the *Malamai* that accepted this new Tarbiyya included Sheikh Abdullahi Salga,<sup>29</sup> Sheikh Abubakar Atiku Sanka, Malam Tijjani Usman Zangon Barebari, Malam Muhammadu Sani

<sup>27</sup> Loimeier. op. cit. pp. 34-35.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. pp. 36-37.

<sup>29</sup> Abdullahi Salga was the son of Muhammadu Salga discussed above and a senior brother of Sheikh Mudi Salga.

Kafanga, Sheikh Abubakar Mijinyawa, Malam Muhammadu Dangogo Alfindiki, Sheikh Rabi'u Dan Tinfi,<sup>30</sup> Sheikh Usman Mai Hula Alkalansawi, Malam Umaru Falke Zangon Barebari, and some other traders and scholars.<sup>31</sup>

In this way, the character of the Tijjaniyya began to take a new dimension and placed *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero as the "spiritual leader" not only in Kano but also in other Emirates and Chiefdoms in Nigeria and beyond. The religious policies and rejuvenation of *Tajdid* (renewal) of faith led by Abdullahi Bayero under the reformed Tijjaniyya also leveled out the differences between the Caliphate and Borno for the first time. Under the Emirship of Abdullahi Bayero, Kano had become a spiritual centre of religious significance that counter-weighted the Sokoto position.<sup>32</sup>

This development undermined the legitimacy of Sokoto and their adherence to Kadiriyya. Sokoto became highly discontent over the re-oriented Darika of Tijjaniyya and this made Wazirin Sokoto Junaidu to criticise Ibrahim Inyass by referring to him as a lover of money. Wazirin Sokoto further disputed his claim of being the *Gausuz-zaman*, which made the Kano-based scholar Sheikh Abubakar Atiku Sanka to respond by

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<sup>30</sup> Sheikh Rabi'u Dan Tinfi was the father of Sheikh Isiyaka Rabi'u, the present Khalifa of Tijjaniyya, who took over the Khaliphship after the death of Khalifa Muhammadu Sunusi in 1992. Muhammadu Sunusi was the Emir of Kano who was deposed by the Premier of Northern Nigeria Sir Ahmadu Bello in 1963.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. pp. 36-38 and oral interview with Malam Usman Abdullahi Mani Maiduguri. 2003.

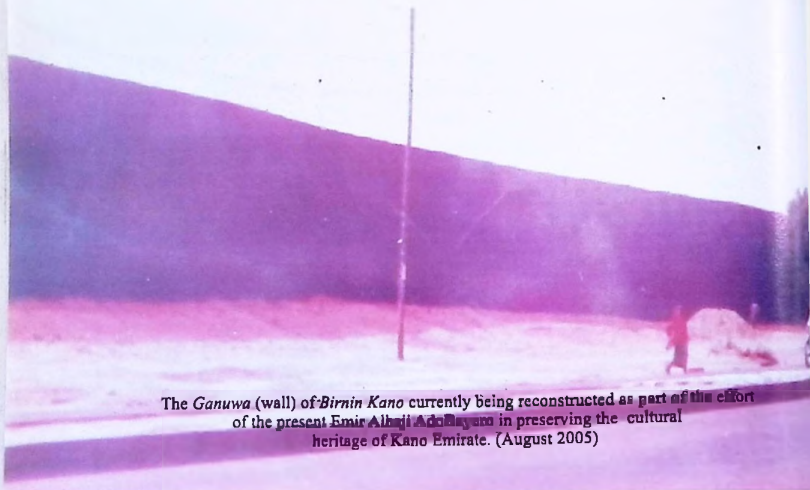
<sup>32</sup> Personal discussion with Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna. 2003.



His Highness Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero the Emir of Kano. (Picture taken in 1949).



Sabuwar Kofa, the new entrance gate constructed by His Highness Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero in 1930 to facilitate easy access by the students from the city into Kano Middle School (now Rumfa College)



The Ganuwa (wall) of Birnin Kano currently being reconstructed as part of the effort of the present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero in preserving the cultural heritage of Kano Emirate. (August 2005)



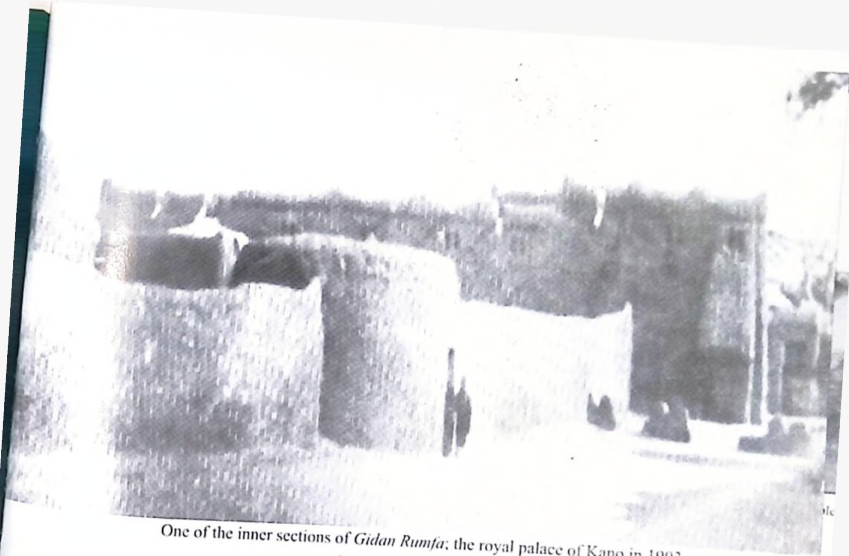
**Kofar Fada, which was renamed Kofar Kwaru hundred of years ago**  
It is one of the ancient gates into the Royal Palace of Kano constructed to face the northern direction by *Sarki Muhammadu Rumsa (1463-1499)* His Highness *Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero* rehabilitated the gate in the 1920s, while the present Emir *Alhaji Ado Bayero* directed the beautiful traditional design on its outer structures as it looks now



**Maia Siddi Primary School, which was renamed Kofar Kudu Primary School**  
is one of the earliest primary schools in Kano. His Highness *Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero* constructed This school within the palace of in 1935. It is located in the southern part of the palace



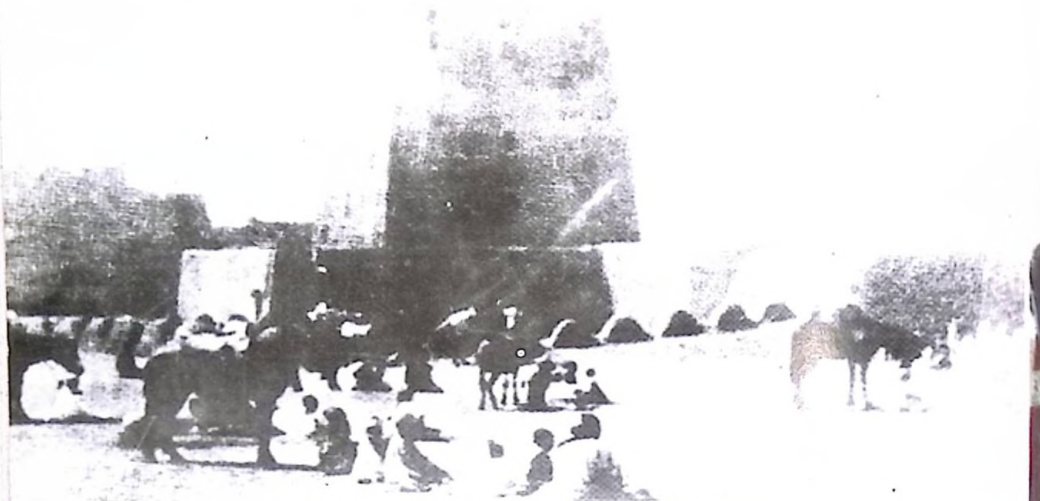
Kofar Kudu, which is known as *Soron Tuta* is the main entrance to *Gidan Rumfa*, the Royal Palace of Kano and was constructed by *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero in 1935, shortly after his return from England.



One of the inner sections of *Gidan Rumfa*; the royal palace of Kano in 1903



Kano Central Office constructed by *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero in 1928.  
It is currently the Secretariat of Kano Emirate Council and the Municipal Local Government Authority.



The old Kano Central Mosque, constructed by *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Maje Karo* (1855-1883), was demolished and reconstructed by *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* in 1940s. (Picture taken in 1900).



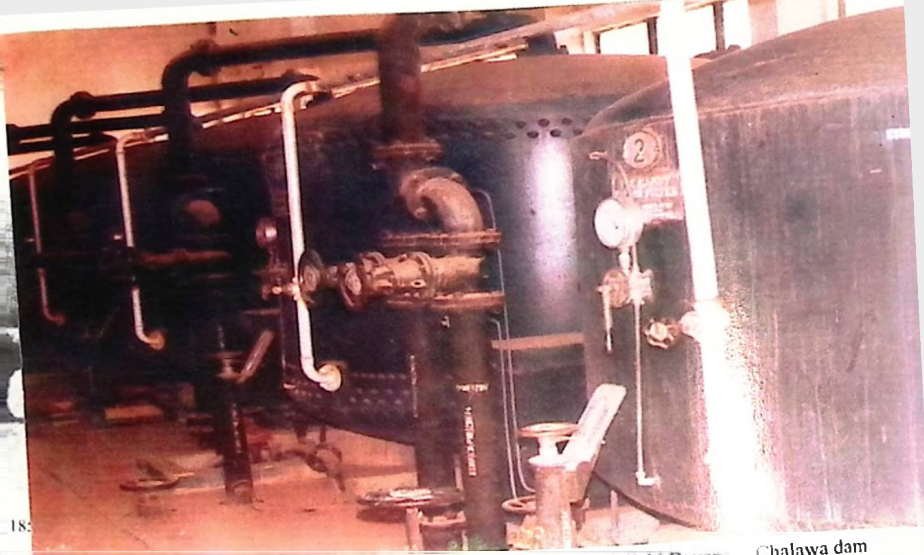
The famous Kano Central Mosque, the reconstruction was personally sponsored by *Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero* after his return from pilgrimage in 1937. It was completed in the late 1940s.



The remnants of Thermal Electricity Generating Plant constructed by *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero at Chalawa. It was completed and commissioned in 1929. This power station supplied the whole Kano and its industries with uninterrupted power supply.



One of the Water treatment plants at Chalawa Dam. *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero constructed the Dam. The project started in 1927 and completed in 1930. The Dam is still functioning, and maintained by Kano State Water Board.



Some of the Machines installed by *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* at Chalawa dam for water treatment. These machines are still functional.

One of the five wells constructed by *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* at Chalawa River.





*Dalar Gyada*, the famous groundnut pyramid of Kano at the peak of the buying season in 1940. It was one of the greatest achievements of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero in boosting agriculture and the development of cash crops.



One of the rural markets in Kano Emirate during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. It was a sign of the great importance attached to agriculture, which boosted food production in the Emirate.



An aerial view of some sections of Birnin Kano.  
The ancient city is beautified with trees, which  
was part of the effort of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero  
to arrest desert encroachment.

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arguing that the *Gausuz-zaman* usually assumed the character of his time.<sup>33</sup>

Earlier, in 1937, Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass had secretly visited *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero as he earlier promised. He paid another visit to Kano in 1944, which was also kept secret to the mass of the followers of Tijjaniyya. Only the Emir, Wali Suleiman and some selected *Ulama* of Tijjaniyya were informed. The British tried to obstruct these visits of Ibrahim Inyass, but failed due to the insistence of *Sarkin Kano* Bayero. The third visit of Ibrahim Inyass to Kano took place in 1945, a year after his second visit and this was his first official visit. The British tried to stop the visit and created a number of difficulties for his entry into Nigeria but the Emir Bayero overcame these. It was on this visit that Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass met a number of *Malamai* of Tijjaniyya from all parts of Nigeria and explained some aspects of his teachings to them. It was during the visits that Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass distributed copies of his work to people. He also gave the *Malamai* his *Silsila* and was acknowledged by them as the much-awaited *al-Gausuz-zaman*, meaning the supreme succor of the time.<sup>34</sup>

The British colonialists in Nigeria finally gave up when they discovered that they could not stop the mass movement of the Tijjaniyya. It was in view of this that the British financed the revisit of Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass to Kano in 1951, which served as part of his journey throughout the British colonies of Africa. Thousands followers of Tijjaniyya from all over Nigeria trooped to

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<sup>33</sup> Loimeier, op. cit. pp. 40-46.

<sup>34</sup> Sheikh Umaru Sanda Kaduna. personal discussion. 2003. See also Loimeier, op. cit. pp. 35-41.

## Abdullahi Bayero

Kano to meet him.<sup>35</sup> It was on this visit that Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass advised Malam Aminu Kano not to allow the colonialists to divide Nigerians along religious lines for their own selfish interest as French tried to do in Senegal. He said:

*Don't let the British or anyone divide you from non-Muslims. Work with everyone; use each other to come to power. Don't let them divide you, as the French try to do in my country.*<sup>36</sup>

This statement that came from a respected Tijjaniyya Sheikh clearly revealed how serious Abdullahi Bayero was in trying to unite not only the Muslim *Ummah* but also the non-Muslims as well. *Sarkin Kano* Bayero was generally accredited to have tremendously supported Sheikh Nasiru Kabara towards disseminating Kadiyya not only in Kano but the country at large. Bayero brought Nasiru Kabara so close to the extent that the latter was the one who taught Emir's grown up children in the palace every evening.<sup>37</sup>

Available evidence shows that Emir Abdullahi Bayero further encouraged his eldest son, Ciroma Sunusi to patronise Nasiru Kabara for the *Tafsir* (Qur'anic commentary). Nasiru Kabara accepted this invitation and henceforth offered the *Tafsir* at Ciroma's residence during the month of Ramadan, which continued in the royal palace when Ciroma became Emir in succession to his father. Nasiru Kabara's *Tafsir* persisted under the

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<sup>35</sup> Loimeier, *op. cit.* pp. 39-40.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted from Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. (ed), *op. cit.* p. 99.

<sup>37</sup> Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero, the District Head of Dawakin Kudu. oral interview, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2003.

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present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero up to the time when the Sheikh died in 1995.<sup>38</sup>

Generally speaking, a lot of people argued that without *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero's support, Kadiriyya would have been buckled not only in Kano, but also in the country at large.<sup>39</sup> It was with his ample support that Sheikh Nasiru Kabara became the legitimate successor to the leadership of Kadiriyya in Kano. This development further shifted the religious authority of Kadiriyya from Sokoto and North Africa to Kano.

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero tremendously assisted towards perpetuation of the true understanding of Islam as it affected Muslims in Nigeria without showing any doctrinal differences. For instance, late Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi recounted that only *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero supported him during his conflict on ritual law with the Sultan of Sokoto Abubakar III and Banaga of Maru. Gumi narrated that throughout Sokoto Province, people did not care to perform ablution before saying their prayers in those days, which contradict the Islamic teaching. They usually performed *Tayammun* (sand ablution) instead of using water on ablution, and this act is only permitted to those who would be sick if they used water, or else the water is not available at the time of saying the prayer.

Therefore, Gumi stopped his students at Maru Teachers College from attending Maru Central Mosque since the Chief Imam refused to change the habit of performing *tayammum* instead of using water to perform ablution and lead the prayer. Instead, the students and

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<sup>38</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. (ed), op. cit. p. 100.

<sup>39</sup> Personal discussion with Malam Yusufu Nagi Ahmad, 2004.

their teachers performed their Friday prayer on the school premises, which at first led to a dispute between Gumi and Banaga of Maru, who was the District Head. The dispute became so tensed and was taken over by the Sultan Abubakar himself and finally taken over by the colonial authorities who realized that something definite must be done to arrest the situation. To this end, the issue was put on the agenda of the meeting of leading Emirs of Northern Nigeria that constituted the Regional Council of Chiefs. There was a lot of deliberation during the meeting and all the Emirs expressed their solidarity with the stand taken by the Sultan Abubakar III on the *tayammum*<sup>40</sup> except *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, who openly disagreed with the views expressed by his colleagues. Bayero said:

*This issue of Tayammum is not a conflict between the young man Abubakar Gumi, and the Banaga or the Sultan. Rather, it is a case of open deviation from the proper Islamic regulations as they affected one of the most cardinal principles of the religion. There is no doubt that Islam did not permit the Imam's practice of Tayammum in Maru and the evidences are there. The young man, Abubakar Gumi is right in explaining the Islamic law properly, and the Maru community should adhere to the demands of the religion.*<sup>41</sup>

All these efforts of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero helped in unifying the Muslims of this country. They also strengthened the Islamic solidarity and Muslim brotherhood generally in Nigeria.

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<sup>40</sup> Loimeier, op. cit. pp. 150-151. See also Gummi, Abubakar Mahmud with Tsiga, I.A., *Where I Stand* (Ibadan, Spectrum Books, 1992), pp. 48-58.

<sup>41</sup> Quoted from Gumi, Abubakar Mahmud, *Where I Stand*, p. 59.

### **Construction of Kano Central Mosque**

Following our analysis in Chapter Two, it appeared that Islam was introduced into Kano during the reign of Habe ruler, Usman Zamna Gawa (1343-1349) earlier than the arrival of *Wangarawa* scholars and traders. Islam was reinforced in Kano during the reign of *Sarki* Yaji (1349-1385) and around 1380, people of Mali, who are popularly called *Wangarawa* came to Kano. Their arrival re-enforced the observance of prayers and Shari'a in Kano at that time. Gurdamasu was appointed Liman while Malam Lawal served as the Mu'azzin of the mosque. The successor of *Sarki* Yaji, Bugayya (1385-1390) tried to maintain Islam as a state religion. But it appeared that the places of worship during the Habe *Sarakuna* from Bagauda to Muhammadu Rumfa were never part of the palace or residence to the Kings. This is what makes it difficult to locate the site of the first Central Mosque in *Birnin Kano* before the construction of the present one by *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.

However, some scholars were of the opinion that the present Madabo mosque, if ever it was the same with the one constructed by *Wangarawa* could be assumed to be the first Friday mosque in Kano.<sup>42</sup> Hamman Tukur Sa'ad also argued that the first mosque was built beneath the then existing pagan sacred tree known as *Shamus*, which was located at the site of the present Madabo mosque. However, we are not sure whether or not the original mosque was destroyed during the reign of

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<sup>42</sup> Rufa'i, Ruquayyatu Ahmed, op. cit. pp. 8-26.

Kanajeji Dan Yaji (1390-1410) who reverted to paganism.<sup>43</sup>

But history has shown that a new central mosque was built under the guidance of Al-Maghili during the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499). It has been narrated that the sacred tree of Shamus was cut and a minaret was built where it stood. This probably might be the mosque known as the *Sharifai* or *Zatava* mosque and the descendants of Al-Maghili are still the custodians of this mosque. The occupants of Madabo quarters claim that this Sharifai mosque is more than 800 years old.

Subsequently, another central mosque seems to have been constructed at the site between Kofar Nasarawa and the present Kano Urban Water Supply. This mosque has been attributed also to Muhammadu Rumfa and the mosque is referred to as *Masjid Jawi*. It must have been rebuilt several times during its history. The site of the central mosque from the original location chosen by Muhammadu Rumfa seems to have been changed during the reign of Muhammadu Zaki Dan Kisoke (1582-1618).<sup>44</sup> But no traces of its site could be found at present.

However, during the Fulani rule, *Sarkin Kano* Suleimanu, the first Fulani Emir, sometimes used the mosque initially constructed by Moddibo Mahmud, the father of *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo at Galadanci quarters as the Friday mosque. It was not until the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo that the new central mosque was constructed. It has been stated that Dabo

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<sup>43</sup> Sa'ad. Hamman Tukur. "Continuity And Change In Kano Traditional Architecture" in Barkindo, B.M. (ed), op. cit. p. 63.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. p. 65.

sought for permission from Caliph Muhammadu Bello (1817-1837) to construct new central mosque, close to the palace. He said that future generations of rulers would find it difficult to trek all the way to the mosque, which was far from the palace. The Caliph approved this and directed *Sarkin Kano* Dabo to stop his uncle, Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio who left home on his way to Mecca. Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio was said to have left home as a result of dispute that ensued between him and Sokoto Kingmakers over the successor of Shehu. He became annoyed when the Kingmakers appointed Bello in succession to his father and therefore left home for Mecca. And when he reached Kano, Emir Ibrahim Dabo pleaded with him, arguing that he would not allow him to proceed alone due to the likelihood of the problems he might encounter on the way. This terminated his intending journey to Mecca.

Shortly after, *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo requested Sheikh Abdullahi bin Fodio to lay the foundation of the central mosque at the spacious site around Kofar Kwaru and Kofar Fatalwa. The site was close to the royal palace,<sup>45</sup> which was initially used by the Habe *Sarakuna* for their fetish worship dating back to the period of Babba Zaki (1768-1776). M.G. Smith narrated that during such celebration, the Habe rulers normally appeared with a special loin-cloth known as *Banten dabazau*, decorating their necks with *tsakiya* (silken cord). The rulers follow through the Shamaki compound situated at the palace and headed to this site to watch a

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<sup>45</sup> Bahago, A. A. op. cit. p. 172. See also Sa'ad. Hamman Tukur in Barkindo, B.M. (ed). op. cit. p. 65. Many elders in Kano also expressed the same opinion when I interviewed them in 2003.

popular *Rawar Toji* perform nakedly by both men and women.<sup>46</sup>

Abdullahi bin Fodio was very happy when *Sarkin Kano* Dabo showed his proposed site. He instantly agreed with the location and therefore laid down the foundation of the new mosque with his leg up to the position of *Kibla* (direction of the Ka'aba). It was at this moment that Abdullahi bin Fodio glaringly pointed with his hand showing the people around the Ka'aba, which astonished them.<sup>47</sup>

The mosque was constructed with a dried *tubali* (conical blocks) and mud by the local *magina* (builders). It had a long minaret rising to about 66 feet height above the ground. The minaret was very remarkable and could be seen from every direction far away from *Birnin Kano*.<sup>48</sup> This mosque was finally demolished when Abdullahi Bayero decided to erect a new one in its place.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was said to have faced a number of agitations and resentments from the British when he declared his intention of demolishing this mosque and constructing a new one after a model he had seen in Sudan on his way back from Mecca in 1937.<sup>49</sup> The British totally rejected the idea of demolishing the old mosque on the pretext that the soil of Kano could not take such a heavy structure. This development put the Emir at odds with the British, when he insisted on carrying out his plan. The Emir said he would definitely

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<sup>46</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 39

<sup>47</sup> Baksey, A. A. op. cit. p. 172.

<sup>48</sup> See ad. Hamman Takur in Barkindo, B.M. (ed), op. cit. p. 65 and oral interview with Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa, 21<sup>st</sup> May 2003.

<sup>49</sup> See ad. Hamman Takur in Barkindo, B.M. (ed), op. cit. p. xii.

demolish the old mosque and construct a concrete one even if it would sink under the ground. The British who were too hasty in their effort to suppress the plan tried to set people against the Emir by clandestinely telling them that demolishing of the old mosque would lead to several mysterious deaths in Kano. This concocted saying seriously frightened the people as it gradually became superstitious.<sup>50</sup>

However, the Emir Abdullahi Bayero paid no attention to all this and silently moved ahead with his plan for demolishing of the mosque in 1940. Nothing had happened as such during the demolishing of the mosque as expected by the local people. The Emir then summoned one European staff, Mr. T. Scott, who was a government architect to design an attractive model similar with the one he saw in Sudan. It took the Emir and the architect about a year trying to draw the design of the mosque up to the level when the former became satisfied. The construction of the new mosque was estimated at the cost of £45,000, which the Emir said he would sponsor it personally with his personal earnings.<sup>51</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero then directed the work to commence in September 1943, and it took him seven years to complete the construction of Kano Central Mosque in 1950. Despite the resentment of the British, the Resident of Kano Mr. J.R. Patterson narrated in his annual report that:

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<sup>50</sup> Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa, oral interview, 21<sup>st</sup> May 2003

<sup>51</sup> Annual Report on Kano Province by J. R. Patterson esq., Senior Resident of Kano. 1941. SNP 17/33/147. N.N.A. Kaduna and personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Inuwa, 21<sup>st</sup> May 2003.

## Abdullahi Bayero

*Nothing will cause more satisfaction in Kano than the completion of arrangements for the building of this new mosque.*<sup>52</sup>

The new mosque was constructed with modern cement and bricks, and covered an area of 52, 926 square feet, and the interior building was estimated at 124 by 124. The Mosque was constructed with two towers of 98 feet high from the ground. These towers had 103 steps leading to its top. A fascinating dome was constructed at the middle, which on completion of the mosque, was painted in green. The boundary wall covers 227 x 238 with two-entrance gates in every direction leading into the mosque. The interior building was estimated to accommodate more than 3,000 people at a time. More than 10,000 people could be accommodated within the boundary and the surrounding of the mosque.<sup>53</sup> It was indeed the largest mosque at that time in the whole West Africa.

The Kano Central Mosque appeared the most impressive with architectural beauty when it was completed in 1950. It was equally the best and the first of its kind throughout West Africa. This action of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero encouraged wealthy individuals to construct new mosques with concrete blocks whenever the opportunity arose. About 300 mosques sprang up at various *angiwanni* within the city and villages in the Emirate from 1926 to 1951. Five congregational prayers and *Zikir* were observed in these mosques.

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<sup>52</sup> J. R. Patterson Esq., Senior Resident of Kano. Annual Report on Kano Province.

<sup>53</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Inuwa who actively participated in the construction of the mosque at that time. 21<sup>st</sup> March 2003. See also Kano Profile No. 6092, N.N.A Kaduna.

## **Chapter Thirteen**

### ***Educational Foundation***

Education is the backbone for development in every society. Historically, *Kasar Kano* had two main educational traditions, which prospered at various stages of its development. These included the cherished traditional form of learning skills and Islamic education. The traditional education was the elongated heritage of the *Kanawa* that enabled members of the community to acquire specialized skills or abilities in various fields such as farming, crafts work, trading, traditional medicine and black-smithing. Conversely, the contact with Islamic countries centuries ago made Islamic education to flourish in Kano. The 1804 Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio complemented this development and that made *Birnin Kano* to become a great centre of learning in the world. Islamic education, which was very comprehensive, stimulated the character and intellectual ability of the *Kanawa*. It also provided the spiritual value of the society, and contributed tremendously towards enriching the Hausa language.

With the colonial conquest of the Emirate in 1903, the British found that *Kanawa* were literate and had even adapted the Arabic characters by creating the indigenised Hausa script known as *Ajami*. At that time, all the Fulani rulers of Kano constantly made use of *Ajami* proficiently in their day-to-day administration of the Emirate. Moreover, traders, scholars, artisans and mass of the people used the *Ajami* to communicate with

each other and conduct businesses. Those who found writing in Ajami to be difficult normally approached a person that mastered it, and got him to write messages for them.

At the dawn of the colonial conquest, some of the European officers mastered the methodology of Ajami and communicated with some Northern Emirs. Even the proclamations dispatched to Caliph and the Emirs of Northern Nigeria in 1902 were written in Ajami. Gradually, the British officials in Nigeria became discontented with the Ajami and therefore tried to devise another means. Initially, Reverend Miller had advised the Higher Commissioner, Fredrick Lugard in 1902 to replace Arabic-Ajami with English and Roman letters.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, the British colonial government systematically romanised the Hausa for administrative purposes instead of the Ajami. Willing attempts were equally employed by the Christian Missionaries and their British colonial counterparts to teach the Hausas the newly introduced Roman and English scripts. All these attempts were aimed at incorporating the conquered people into the wider colonial world of imperialism.

The biggest blow to Muslim-Hausa education took place in 1907 when the British colonialists decided to open a Western oriented school in Kano. A former missionary, Hanns Vischer, who joined the colonial services later, was sent to study *Maliki* Muslim law in Egypt, Sudan and Gold Coast (Ghana), and also mastered their teaching methods in English and some other

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<sup>1</sup> Adamu, Uba Abdalla, "Sunset At Dawn: Colonial Policy And Hausa Muslim Education In Northern Nigeria, 1900 To 1910", in Hambolu. M.O. (ed), op. cit. p. 212.

subjects. He successfully accomplished his studies within two years and was appointed as the first Director of Education on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1908.<sup>2</sup>

Hanns Vischer, who is popularly known as *Dan Hausa*, applied the teaching techniques he acquired and introduced Western Education in Kano, the largest city of Northern Nigeria. Vischer himself also recommended the use of Roman characters, because according to him, the British government would end up spreading Islam when it formalised the use of Hausa and Ajami in the school. He argued that there was no standard orthography in Ajami while the Roman alphabet could be learned faster than the Arabic. He concluded that it would be very expensive to print Arabic with vowels arguing that only few political officers could write Ajami.<sup>3</sup>

Hanns Vischer School, which was situated at Nasarawa Kano, was dubbed as *Makarantar Boko*. It was the first of its kind in Northern Nigeria and one of its cardinal objectives was to train the Princes public administration. The school was also expected to produce teachers and clerks that would serve the colonial government's interest in Nigeria. Vischer appointed some teachers to assist him in teaching at the school and these included the revered Malam Nagwamatse, the son of Alkalin Sokoto, who taught Arabic and Mr. F.A Beminster, who taught crafts. Others were his wife, Mrs. Hillery Vischer and one Ibo man from Onisha that taught carpentry.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid pp. 214-215. See also Dall'Aglio, Usman, *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku*, op. cit. pp. 165-168.

<sup>3</sup> Adamu, Uba Abdalla, in Hambolu, M.O. (ed), op. cit. pp. 165-168.

Among the subjects taught in the school were History, Geography, Arithmetic, Arabic, Handcrafts, Roman characters for writing Hausa and English. Most of the students, aged from 6 to 60 were largely drawn from different parts of the Northern Protectorate. By 1913, the school had a total of 209 students. The Emir of Kano Muhammadu Abbas, who disliked *Makarantar Boko*, was persuaded by the colonial government to make an annual grant of £1,000 to this school from the funds of Native Treasury. The establishment of this school made Kano to become the first Headquarters of the Directorate of Education in Northern Nigeria, only to be transferred later to Kaduna in 1919.<sup>4</sup>

### **Elementary And Middle Schools**

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero who was educated and radical in his approaches to the issue concerning the British has already viewed *Makarantar Boko* with mutual suspicion prior to his ascension to the throne in 1926. He considered Western education as the standard bearer of expanding Christianity based on the belief that it would have been difficult for the British to initiate something beneficial to the Muslim community. This belief was held by most of the Muslims of Northern Nigeria because parents willingly refused to enroll their children into such schools for fear of having them converted into Christianity.

The British colonial government, which was trying to consolidate its position on the conquered people, was completely unhappy with this development. Henceforth, the colonial government resorted to persuading the Emirs

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<sup>4</sup> Dalhatu, Usman, op. cit. pp. 165-168.

and their titled officials to send their children to Western school. Instances of this could be cited with the enrollment of Abdulkadir, the son of *Sarkin Kano* Abbas into *Makarantar Dan Hausa* in 1909, which was against the interest of the Emir.

In spite of this compulsion, the Kanawa still distrusted *makarantar boko* and held it with contempt. What added to their suspicion was that some missionary schools in some places in the North had succeeded in converting many Muslim students into Christianity. This made the Kanawa and their leaders to completely lose confidence on the British and viewed such Western schools as *Kafirci* (un-Islamic). Gradually, a hostile attitude of resistance against the Western education surfaced in Kano and this was expressed by the creation of the derisive term, *bokoko a wuta*, which literally means school in hell fire. Other intimidating song of *Dan Makarantar bokoko, ba karatu ba salla* (student of Western school, neither read nor pray) was expressed in Kano to demonstrate the hatred of people against Western schools.

Meanwhile, while all this development was taking place in Kano, the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) became busy seeking for permission to establish a school, a Christian Missionary Centre and a dispensary at Kano Township. Emir Abbas vehemently resisted, which made the British political staff to quickly turn down such proposals. It was in this light that the Acting Resident of Kano, Mr. E.J. Arnett seriously warned his superiors that:

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

.... *If the Church Missionary Society would be permitted to establish itself in the city of Kano or in any other town in the Province, I fear that the only possible view of such permission in the eyes of the Chiefs and people is this..... government has broken its solemn promises publicly of not interfering with their religious beliefs.....*<sup>5</sup>

It was not until the reign of *Sarkin Kano Usman* (1919-1926), the immediate successor to *Sarki Abbas* that permission was granted to the C.M.S. to establish five mission schools in Kano Township. Two of these schools were funded directly by the colonial government.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, Dr. Walter Miller was given a plot of land in Sabon Gari of Kano to establish C.M.S. Centre while at the same time, the Sudan Interior Mission had been battling to acquire a land also in Kano. These developments aggravated the feelings and suspicions of the Kanawa on Western Education. For instance in 1926, there were only 84 pupils throughout Kano Emirate. This made the Resident to complain that:

*Little progress can be reported and things would continue to hang on fire ....our educational policy is at present little welcomed or understood.*<sup>7</sup>

When *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* assumed the mantle of leadership in 1926, he quickly understood that Northern Nigeria, a region largely dominated by

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<sup>5</sup> Kano Provincial Report of 1911 prepared by E.J. Arnett. S.N.P. 1114/1912, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>6</sup> Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile No. 2568/II, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>7</sup> N.N.A Kaduna sources.

Muslims, was threatened by Christian education. The only available option was to accept modernity within the Islamic framework and this would save Kano from intellectual and technological backwardness. The Emir believed that what the British introduced as 'education' was not meant for development, and if care was not taken it would be a tool that would accelerate underdevelopment and backwardness. It was because of this that the Emir in his discussion with the Acting Resident Commander J. H. Carrow shortly after his appointment stated that:

*Mr. Carrow, I trust you very well among all the Europeans I knew. But I feared that this kind of Western education would not lead us to anywhere. I perceived, without any doubt that Western education would remove the fear of Allah in the minds of our people and instill a sense of materialism. You argued with me that Western education is for development. Yes, I quite agree with you that Western Europe who initiated it would use it to develop their country at all cost. But the reverse is the case. What you introduced to us is contrary to what you people used. If we, the leaders, do not take good care, Western education would be used against us. I therefore solicit for your co-operation to allow me to make some amendments in the curriculum of our schools so that Islamic religion would have more prominence. This would instill fear of Allah in the mind of youths and it would encourage parents to enroll their children into schools.<sup>8</sup>*

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<sup>8</sup> Constructed from oral interview with Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitaina Sulc as well as some elders in Kano. 2003.

Commander J.H. Carrow, who was very friendly and had goodwill and understanding with Abdullahi Bayero, listened to him attentively with deep emotion. Carrow believed that the Emir had spoken the truth and therefore promised to give him all the necessary assistance. It was in view of this that Carrow wrote several letters to his superiors supporting the position taken by the Emir in connection with educational development in Kano.

Consequently, a meeting was held between the Emir, Lieutenant Governor and Resident of Kano at Nasarawa on 15<sup>th</sup> February 1927. During the meeting, the Lieutenant Governor reiterated the importance of education, and emphasised the importance of Arabic especially in the Courts. He categorically stated the need for the improvement of Arabic studies at Kano Provincial School, which would produce candidates for employment in the Native Courts. It was at this moment that the Lieutenant Governor went on to say that the presence of lawyers in the Courts was not desirable<sup>9</sup> since Islam was the matter at heart.

When it was time for the Emir to speak, Abdullahi Bayero stressed his desire for the appointment of reliable Arabic teachers from Sudan that would help in teaching students at Provincial School. The Lieutenant Governor instantly supported and approved this request.<sup>10</sup> The meeting ended with remarkable understanding between the Emir and the British. It also gave the Emir a chance he had been looking for to control the forces of

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<sup>9</sup> S.N.P. 17 K/100 Vol II. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

destruction released by the colonialism and missionaries' encroachment in Kano. At least, he got the opportunity to change the notion of education to his desired direction.

Just within a year of his ascension, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero quickly drew up a plan for constructing three elementary schools in the Emirate. One school was constructed at Dala within Kano metropolis.<sup>11</sup> It has been said that members of business community led by Alhassan Dantata requested the Emir for the establishment of this school for their children on the condition that English would be taught early and efficiently to enable their children participate in modern business with associates outside the immediate environment. The Emir, who wished to see rapid advancement of the people, granted the request and the school was opened in 1928. But unfortunately, the desire of the business community sharply went against the interest of the colonialists, who tried to ensure that early competence and proficiency in English did not materialize.<sup>12</sup> The other two schools were built at Dambatta and Gaya, and after their completion, the Emir made invigorated efforts to ensure that Village and District Heads enrolled their children and those of their subjects into the schools.

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero also constructed other 17 elementary schools in some District Headquarters of the Emirate between 1927 and 1939. To encourage parents enroll their children into the schools, the Emir took it upon himself to tour the Districts and

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<sup>11</sup> See SNP/381/K. 105. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>12</sup> Abubakar, T. Ayuba, *op. cit.* pp. 6-7.

some Villages to educate the masses on the importance of Western education. He used to tell people that:

*There are many uses for Western schooling. It is not only because of the white-collar job that one goes to school. The school helps to enlighten a person in his worldly activities and also sees its benefits in trade and employment.*<sup>13</sup>

To further give assurance to the people, Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero constructed elementary school at Kofar Kudu in 1935, inside the royal palace. This school came to be known as Kofar Kudu Primary School. The Emir established this school not only to cater for the palace children, but those from the surrounding areas. The school is still serving the purpose for which it was built and the present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero was a product of this school.<sup>14</sup> It was also at this time that the Emir personally arranged with Malam Ahmed Matedan and Garba Karaye to be coming to the palace and coached him how to read and write in roman characters.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, the Emir also tried to learn English language after his return from England in 1934. This was to facilitate his communication with the Europeans especially those that could not speak Hausa.

All these were to show people that the reformed Western education was not harmful as they initially assumed. The Emir remained very committed to the religious teaching at schools and was content to follow

<sup>13</sup> Rufa'i, Ruqayyatu Ahmed, op. cit. p. 141.

<sup>14</sup> Rufa'i, Ruqayyatu Ahmed, op. cit. p. 146

<sup>15</sup> Formal interview with Dan Amar Kano Alhaji Salihu Bayero, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003.

his policies that became successful. At least, this helps to dispel the fear of the Kanawa and instilled in them a new sense of confidence on Western schools.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, who believed that youth should be educated at all costs, wasted no time in drawing up plans to construct a new Provincial School at Kofar Dan Agundi in 1927. This school was renamed later as Kano Middle School, and is now Rumfa College. The construction of this school cost the Kano N.A. about £28,000<sup>16</sup> and the project was accomplished successfully in 1930. It has been said that the Emir constantly monitored the construction project of the school, which accelerated its completion on time.

The school was officially opened on 24<sup>th</sup> March 1930. *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero introduced a new policy, which surprised the British. The policy enabled both craft school and elementary school pupils, who hitherto were on separate terminal bases, to be admitted into the Middle School. The school had a student intake of 68 pupils of which 48 were drawn from Kano Emirate, 11 from Hadejia, 3 from Kazaure and 1 from Gumel. This new development boosted the morale of elementary school pupils, who became anxious to graduate into Middle School.<sup>17</sup>

The teaching staff consisted of a Superintendent, Mr. Gerald Power as in charge, a deputy Superintendent, 3 Katsina College certified teachers, and 9 manual

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<sup>16</sup> See Kano Profile. 3095. Kano Provincial Gazetteer No. 2568 Vol. II. and S.N.P./14686. Vol I, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>17</sup> Personal discussion with Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule in 2004. See also Abubakar. T. Ayuba. op. cit. pp. 6-7.

instructors. Invigorated efforts were also being made by the Emir to widen the specter of relevance and public relation for the school especially the Middle School. The Emir encouraged all the District Heads, Village Heads and titled officials in the Emirate to pay a visit to the Middle School.<sup>18</sup>

By 1938, the number of pupils at Kano Middle School and Elementary Schools in the Emirate had increased from 155 to 1,300 respectively. This shows that Emir Abdullahi Bayero fostered the popularity of Western education in the Emirate<sup>19</sup> through his tangible efforts of enlightening the people. This development made the Superintendent of education in Kano to write optimistic assessment on education as follows:

*I think one can safely say that the antipathy and hostility of the past is almost dead now.*<sup>20</sup>

In addition to this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero constructed a Craft School in 1928 at the cost of £10,000. The school was located between Kofar Dan Agundi and Kofar Nasarawa. At the initial stage, this move was opposed by the British who complained that it was too early to establish such school. But the Emir spoke strongly on this, saying that the provision of every type of education was needed for the survival of people. He argued that provision of professional skills to all able persons was the responsibility of government, and he could not therefore sit and watch others undertaking the

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid. pp. 7-9.

<sup>19</sup> Annual Report, Kano Profile. No. 3095. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>20</sup> S.N.P. 382/K. 6892. N.N.A. Kaduna.

work supposed to be done by the Hausa. This, as he forecasted, would likely enable other people to swamp over the natives.<sup>21</sup>

Therefore, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero quickly mobilized the local Hausa artisans and made them to serve as Instructors in this school. He further solicited for the assistance of the Engineer of Public Work Department of the N.A. to co-ordinate the training activities of the school. Several courses were taught at the Craft School, which included metal work, weaving, woodwork, motor mechanical training, leather work and English as communication skills. The school was credited with maintaining good standard of training.<sup>22</sup> The 1928 Annual Report touched on the commitment of the Emir when it stated that:

*...Steps have been taken to improve the boys compound....the Emir takes a real interest in the school and welfare of the pupils. The Central Administration is always ready to co-operate ...*<sup>23</sup>

By 1930, the Kano city library was opened at Kofar Dan Agundi, which was to move into the city in 1938. This was to bring it closer to the readers and regular attendance was recorded in the period. Additional

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<sup>21</sup> Personal discussion with Magajin Garin Kano Alhaji Inuwa Wada. 2003. See also See Kano Profile. 3095 and Kano Provincial Gazetteer 2568 Vol. II. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>22</sup> Extracted from personal discussion with Dan Amar Kano Alhaji Salihi Bayero on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2003. See also S.N.P. 17. K/100 Vol II. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>23</sup> 1928 Annual Report, S.N.P. 17/ 9042 Vol. I. N.N.A. Kaduna.

11 elementary schools were opened in 1932 in the province. And by 1937, Shahuci Elementary School was established along with other elementary schools making the total number of the schools to be 21 with an enrollment of 1,208 pupils.<sup>24</sup>

The Emir put much emphasis on youth development and tried to ensure that games were organized among the various schools in the Emirate. Inter-House sport competitions were also organized at Middle School. The Emir took active part during the exercise by personally attending and presenting gifts to the winners. His active participation made sports competition a popular social event in Kano. He also encouraged drama and was present sometimes during the drama entertainments organized by the students.

To further reform the mind of the youth, especially those that deviated, Emir Bayero established a reformatory centre at Tudun Maliki, a place northeast of the present Kano Zoo. This centre was aimed at reforming the juvenile delinquents and the mentally retarded. Children from every part of the North were brought into this centre to be disciplined. Handcraft, reading and writing were taught in this centre.

### **Women Education**

It has been stated that without the tireless efforts of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, it would have been doubtful if the *Kanawa* would have ever accepted western education for females. The Emir, who was a

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<sup>24</sup> Abubakar, T. Ayuba. op. cit. pp. 7-8.

foresighted leader, was aware that without an educated female population the society would be doomed.<sup>25</sup>

A new dimension to the advancement of female education took place when the Emir established a girls' school by converting one section of Gidan Makama to serve as classes in 1930. To encourage parents enroll their daughters into the school, the Emir publicly took his four daughters to the Headmistress of the school Mrs. Pegan. These were Saudatu (Gwaggo), A'ishatu (Attuku), Zainab (Takau) and A'ishatu ('Yar-riga). The Emir further ordered all the *Hakimai* especially those of Wudil, Ringim, Dawakin Kudu, Dambatta, Gwarzo and his Councillors, which included Waziri Gid'ad'o, Galadima Abdulkadir and Madakin Kano Umaru to enroll their daughters in the school.<sup>26</sup>

At the initial stage, this move was not welcomed because people bitterly criticized women education. Even the wives of the Emir were not happy for enrolling their children into the school. Therefore the *Iyayen Goyo* (foster mothers) to his daughters severely warned them every day before they left to the school to abstain from taking anything given to them by their teachers. Both the *Iyayen Goyo* and their daughters parted from home weeping saying that *Sarki ya kawo mana bakon abu*, which means the Emir had introduced something strange to us.

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<sup>25</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim. "The Reign Of Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero (1926-1953)", in Hambolu, M.O. (ed). op. cit. p. 95.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. See also Rufa'i, Ruqayyatu Ahmed. op. cit. p. 146 and Wali, Rabi op. cit. p. 40.

The Emir Abdullahi Bayero however ignored all this and kept on encouraging people to put their daughters to the school rather than to allow them swim in the river of ignorance. He assigned Galadima Abdulkadir to constantly visit and encourage the girls at the school. This, at least would calm them down to concentrate in learning. Galadima always reminded them that the Emir would not bring them to school if he knew that it was harmful.<sup>27</sup>

Gradually, parents began to see the importance of female education and therefore rushed to enroll their daughters. Students were taught reading, writing drawing, needlework and domestic arts. Most of the female students that came to Kano to study from the Districts in the Emirate were accommodated along with Emir's daughters at *Gidan Rumfa*: the royal palace of Kano.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero further directed all the District and Village Heads to enroll their daughters into their nearby elementary schools. This step was to encourage parents to enroll their daughters. Thus, in 1938, the elementary schools in the Emirate had only 80 girls.<sup>28</sup> Those that graduated were admitted into Kano Middle School, and were accommodated at *Gidan Rumfa*, attending the school, which was situated about a kilometer from the palace. The Emir made this arrangement since Middle School was only meant for the boys and of course girls could not have stayed there.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Personal discussion with Hajiya Saudatu Bayero. (*Gwaggo*), Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004. See also Wali. Rabi op. cit. p. 41.

<sup>28</sup> Annual Report of 1938, Kano Profile. No. 3035. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>29</sup> Personal discussion with Hajiya Saudatu Bayero. (*Gwaggo*), Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004 and Wali. Rabi op. cit. p. 41.

At the time when the number of female students was increasing, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero sensed that there was the need to construct a girls' school and this was what led to the establishment of Bokavu Government Girls Secondary School in 1937 near the Kano Airport. The school was the first of its kind throughout Northern Nigeria and on its completion, the Emir sent to all the Emirs and Chiefs to bring their daughters to this school. Most of the schoolteachers at that time were Europeans and these included Mrs. Patterson, Mrs. Ashton, Mrs. Mac-David, Mrs. Fearce, Mrs. Macleans and host of others. He also employed other women teachers such as Malama Hawwa, Mrs. Obiyenye, Mrs. Nwokedi, Mrs. Ogu, Mrs. Ozoka, and Mrs. Adekunle.<sup>30</sup>

Apart from them, the Emir employed three other women teachers to help on the discipline of the students. These were Malama Saudatu Umma and Malama Nene, the wives of Walin Kano Suleimanu and also Malama Yalwa who had once married Sheikh Nasiru Kabara. They taught the girls Islamic subjects and served as the Matrons monitoring and guiding the students. The Emir instructed these Matrons never to allow any students to deviate from the orthodox Islamic etiquette or emulate foreign values.

Another interesting aspect was that all the students lived peacefully with one another irrespective of tribal and religion differences. There were some Christian students in the school that largely came from different places such as Talatu, the daughter of *Sarkin Kagoro*

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

and Kangami, the daughter of *Sarkin Shendam*. The Christian students stayed away from the class during the Islamic religious lessons. Later, Kano N.A. constructed a chapel and employed a Christian teacher to teach the Christian students Bible.<sup>31</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was generally credited for taking the students as part of his own family. He was indeed very kind to them and most of them spent their *Salla* short break with his daughters at the palace. The exemplary life led by the Muslim students at this school endeared some Christian students to convert into Islam. But Emir Bayero mandated the Principal, Mrs. Patterson to contact parents about the decision of their daughters before accepting their conversion into Islam. The Principal summoned parents and discussed with them, and if they agreed, the students were easily converted to Islam. Some of the converts included Fati from Kafanchan and others that came from Jos, Bauchi and Adamawa Province.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero constructed a Sanitary School in 1932. The school was aimed at training the Nurses that could take care of women at Shahuci Hospital and other medical centres in the Emirate. This school was popularly referred to as School of Health<sup>33</sup> and, gradually, it became the School of Nursing. It is currently named as Health Technology.

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

<sup>32</sup> Wali, *Rabi op. cit.* pp 42-44

<sup>33</sup> Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile No. 2568 II, N N A. Kaduna

### **Kano Judicial School**

As stated earlier, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was deeply concerned with maintaining the Islamic character of his society against the rival Western Christian encroachment. It was because of this the Emir established the Legal School at Shahuci in 1928. The school was the first higher institution of learning that specialized in Arabic and Islamic studies throughout the country. It was also the first institution that provided the Muslims with an opportunity of acquiring the highest educational qualification without going through the missionary schools. This development enormously reduced the fear of Muslims against the Western education.<sup>34</sup>

The school, which was completed in 1929 trained the *Alkalai* (Islamic Judges) and *Muhtai* (clerks of the Islamic Court) that later served as *Alkalai* (Court Judges) throughout Northern Nigeria. At its initial stage of opening, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero appointed his old teacher, Malam Suleimanu, who later became *Walin Kano*, as the Principal. At different times, the Emir arranged for the employment of competent teachers from Sudan that included Sheikh Bashir, Sheikh Awad, Sheikh Muhammad, Sheikh Nura, Sheikh Abdulhamid, Sheikh Abdulkadir, Sheikh Saddiq and Sheikh Tayyib. Most of them lectured at Gordon College in Sudan.

The school was later up-graded to become School For Arabic Studies and later School of Law. It produced talented Islamic Scholars and Grand Khadis of Northern

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<sup>34</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, in Haruna, M.O. (ed), op. cit. p. 94. See also Smith, M.G., *Government In Kano* op. cit. p. 470.

Nigeria. Late Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi, who was a product of this school narrated that lectures normally began at 7.00 a.m. and closed at 2.00 p.m. The students were taught all aspects of Islamic Law as well as Geography, History and General Knowledge. The course was for four years, until 1937 when it lasted for only two years. The courses were subsequently re-organized to cover the Islamic law as it was then being administered in Northern Nigeria. The school was expected to do for Northern Nigeria what Gordon College did for the Sudan.

According to Sheikh Gumi, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero took a lot of interest in the affairs of the school. He never spent a month without visiting to see the students and find out from the teachers if they had any problem. Mostly there was none and the Emir would be content to go round and say words of encouragement to both staff and students.<sup>35</sup> One interesting thing was that all the students were paid monthly allowances of 2.6 Shillings, which was enough to cater for their needs. Feeding was free and the students were provided the best meals,<sup>36</sup> unlike what is obtained today.

To crown it all, education was free because the Emir cancelled the school fees initially introduced by the British. Conducive atmosphere for learning was adequately provided to students and emphasis was placed on character training. Schools continued to grow and expand rapidly.

Thus, we could see that the educational policies of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero tremendously helped not only the Kanawa but also the Northern Nigeria as a

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<sup>35</sup> Gumi, Abubakar Mahmud and Tsiga, I.A. op. cit. p. 32.

<sup>36</sup> Gwangwazo, Maje Ahmed, op. cit. p. 110.

whole. Throughout the period of his rule, Western schools proliferated along with Islamic schools. It has been estimated that there were over 10,000 *Makarantun Allo* (Qur'anic schools) in the Emirate with about 46,000 students. The Emir, using modern schools as models to counter Christian missionary schools, established Islamiyya schools. One of such was the Islamiyya school founded at the palace by the Emir for the benefit of his family members. Then others established within the *Birni* in the 1930s by the Emir were the Islamiyya school of Shahuci, Fagge, Gwangwazo. Kofar Dan Agundi etc.

These developments helped significantly in reducing the hostilities towards Western education. Many people said that the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero marked the beginning of a progressive age in educational development and ushered a new era for educational revolution in Kano. This development countered the colonial educational system since Islam still remained prominent in the curriculum of the schools.

### ***Renaissance Of The Name "Bayero" In An Ivory Tower***

Bayero University Kano was an offshoot of the famous Law School established by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. It was the same school that was later renamed as School for Arabic Studies (S.A.S.) in 1946. with additional aim of producing Arabic teachers. The School became the most celebrated higher institution for the Northerners.

In that period, there were two institutions of higher education in Nigeria that consisted of Yaba

Higher College, Lagos, established in 1934 and the University College Ibadan, which was established in 1948 as a branch of University of London.

In the Northern Nigeria, only School for Arabic Studies existed and served as the higher institution of learning. The nucleus of Bayero University came into being in 1960 when the Northern Regional Government established Ahmadu Bello College at the premises of the School for Arabic Studies. The then Principal of the School for Arabic Studies, Dr. Aliyu Abubakar was made in charge of the Ahmadu Bello College section. At this time, many people suggested that the name of the Emir Abdullahi Bayero should be maintained as the name of the school rather than naming it after the Premier, who was still alive then. However, the Ministry of Education in Kaduna ignored the request, which made *Sarkin Kano* Sunusi to advice people to calm down and leave the politicians to do what they wished.

And by this time, the Ahmadu Bello College, perhaps with the collaboration of School for Arabic Studies, had started G.C.E. Advanced Level programme in Arabic, Islamic Studies, Islamic History, Hausa and English Literature. Then in October 1962, the first Northern Nigerian University, Ahmadu Bello University was founded in Zaria, which made a change of name for the Ahmadu Bello College, Kano necessary in order to avoid confusing the name. Therefore, Ahmadu Bello college was renamed *Abdullahi Bayero College* in 1962, after *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. In the same year also, a new Principal, Professor Shehu A. S. Galadanci, who was a product of the School of Legal Studies, was

appointed to head both the School for Arabic Studies and Abdullahi Bayero College.

In January 1964, the College moved to a temporary site at the old Kano Airport Hotel with its first set of students admitted for a B.A. Degree programme of Ahmadu Bello University. Later, Abdullahi Bayero College acquired its first Provost in the person of Professor Abdullahi el-Tayyed, who was a Sudanese and a lecturer at the former School for Arabic Studies.

Abdullahi Bayero College (A.B.C./A.B.U.) graduated its first set of students in July 1966. When the civil war started in July 1967, the A.B.C. Temporary site at the old Kano Airport Hotel, which served as the main Airport, became a military target for the Biafran Air force. The Airport housed some Russian made MIG fighters of the Federal Government. Therefore, it became the major target and a home-made bomb was dropped around the area towards the end of 1967. Although the College was not affected, the military authorities ordered the College to be moved out of the old Airport Hotel at a very short notice through A.B.U. Zaria.

Consequently, Abdullahi Bayero College moved to its former permanent site in March 1968, now referred to as Old Campus. The site is located at the western outskirts of the Kano city walls in the vicinity of Kofar Duka Wuya and Kabuga along Kano-Gwarzo road. In 1975, Abdullahi Bayero College was raised to a status of University College with the right to award Degrees on behalf of Ahmadu Bello University. The Institution adopted the new name of Bayero University College and its first Principal was Dr. Mahmud Tukur, who

formally took over in September 1975.

This development was in consequence of the decision of the Federal Government under the able leadership of General Murtala Mohammed, who initiated seven new universities that included Bayero University Kano, University of Ilorin, University of Calabar, University of Port-Harcourt, University of Maiduguri, University of Jos and University of Sokoto now renamed Usman Dan Fodio University.

Bayero University College became a full-fledged University in 1977 during the time of General Olusegun Obasanjo and Dr. Mahmud Tukur therefore became the first Vice-Chancellor. This development made the name of the College to be changed. Those in authority felt that it would be easier for the name *Bayero* to be adopted and Abdullahi dropped so that the University could be simply called Bayero University, Kano - B.U.K as it is now popularly addressed.

However, it appeared that there was a strong sentiment in both Lagos and Kano that the University should be simply called University of Kano. This forced the authorities of the University to argue at length that the name, University of Kano would be too bland, and it would not do justice to the intellectual history of Kano particularly the contributions of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to the spread of knowledge in Northern Nigeria.

At the end of the deadlock, the University authorities persuaded the Federal Government that the name Bayero University was fair and representative most especially in considering the spread of Islamic culture and western education by the great gentleman, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. The Federal Government gave its

approval for the University to be named after him. As for the motto of the University, both the academic community and the members of the wider society discussed at length and agreed that Kano being the strong centre of Islamic culture in the Western Sudan, a Qur'anic verse was appropriate and just. Moreover, verse 76 of *Suratu Yusuf* was chosen. The Qur'anic verse is presented below in Arabic.

وَفَوْقَ كُلِّ ذِي عِلْمٍ عَلِيمٌ

(...but over all endowed with knowledge is One the All-Knowing)

This verse precisely conveyed the message of the real knowledge the University is intended to convey, even though this was resented by some disgruntled elements who felt that the *Kanawa* were trying to Islamise the University to their personal advantage.

Today, Bayero University has become the greatest landmark of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. The aims and objectives of the University corresponded with his aims and objectives on educational development. The aims of University are as follows:

1. To be relevant to its environment;
2. To reflect the world view and concern of the community;
3. To be useful to the economy and life of its surrounding;
4. To play a leading role with other institutions in enhancing the moral and cultural values of the society and bringing harmony and understanding among Nigerians.

The establishment of this University led to the development of the new permanent site. About 10,000-acre piece of land was acquired along Kano-Gwarzo road, five kilometers away from Kofar Kabuga for the permanent site. Payments of compensation had already been made to the right people who owned the land. However, the movement to the new site did not take place until the period of Professor Dandatti Abdulkadir who served as the Vice-Chancellor from 1986 to 1990. This ushered in a system of commuting between the new and old campuses of the University, which both the students and staff had to adopt. The University has an excellent relationship with its environment and played an influential role in moulding the character of the youths that excelled today in various human endeavours. It excelled the older generation universities in some fields, and surpassed in producing talented people, most of whom have become very useful to the society.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> New Nigerian Newspaper of the 10<sup>th</sup> August 1995 and personal discussions with some people in Kano, 2003.

## **Chapter Fourteen**

### ***Infra-structural Development***

The ascension of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to throne in 1926 opened a new epoch for the general development in Kano Emirate as a whole. Bayero was generally credited to be very exposed in the Native Administration since the reign of his father, Muhammadu Abbas (1903-1919). Therefore, he ascended the throne with a strong zeal of modernizing Kano Emirate entirely. He reasoned that without adequate provision of infra-structural facilities, Kano would never advance socially, economically and otherwise. At the time of his ascendancy to power in 1926, Kano Emirate virtually lacked infra-structural facilities such as water, electricity, motorable roads, drainages, hospitals, schools, dispensaries and a lot of amenities that improve the material well being of the people.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero knew all this from his 23 years of experience in the public service. More disappointing to the Emir was the amount of money collected annually in the form of tax, which increased considerably as a result of expansion on the groundnut trade from 1920 to 1925. The Emir believed that this huge amount was capable of developing Kano. But sadly indeed, the British colonial powers took the advantage of the constant ill health and general weakness of *Sarkin Kano* Usman Dan Tsoho (1919-1926), and dubiously siphoned the money abroad through various forms such as under-pricing the price of groundnut and other methods of exploitation. At that material time, the colonialists tried as much as possible to make

the Kano Native Authority Treasury to remain under their control, and nothing tangible was executed in terms of the development projects over the period.

Therefore on his assumption to power, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero made a strategic planning by setting his priorities. The Emir tactfully took over the control of the N.A. Treasury and the collection of tax in the Emirate. Bayero also tried and improved the prudent financial management considerably in the Emiral administration. This, undoubtedly, enabled him to monumentally contribute towards the provision of infra-structural facilities to the people in spite of the lack of funds needed for such gigantic projects to take off.

### **Water And Electricity Supply**

The first concrete suggestions for a pipe-borne water scheme for Kano city started in 1924 during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Usman Dan Tsoho. In that year, various gravitational and pumping tests were carried out in the vicinity of *Birnin Kano*,<sup>1</sup> which were unfortunately abandoned due to the lack of commitment of Emir Usman and the British. It has been estimated that the Kano water project scheme would consume £280,000, and the British could not endure the cost of such heavy project.

At least, the British needed tap water more than the natives. But the British kept asking 'Where would this money come from'? They considered that approaching the Kano N.A. to finance the water project was of no use due to the constant ill health of Emir Usman Dan Tsoho and the laxity in the financial management in the whole

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<sup>1</sup> Fika. Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. p. 389.

Emirate. And they did not want to use their own resources to finance the project, which had dual benefit to the British and the colonised people.

Abdullahi Bayero was quite aware of this matter due to his involvement in the Native Administration. Therefore, immediately after his ascension to the throne in 1926, the Emir revived the water project scheme. As a far-sighted leader, the Emir considered the possibility of enlarging the project to include the electricity supply by using the same site of Chalawa. Electric power, as he reasoned, was very crucial for industrialising Kano and this could never materialize without power supply. Bayero took time in nurturing his aspiration. He contacted some of his Council members privately, who were said to consider the matter as the most difficult, if not an impossible task. On hearing their views, the Emir then contacted his friend, Commander J.H. Carrow, who served as the Acting Resident of Kano Province in 1926. Carrow was said to have passionately supported the move of the Emir, and a decision to proceed with the project was arrived at between them.

It was at this time that the Engineers of the N.A. Public Work Department (P.W.D.) were directed by Emir Abdullahi Bayero to proceed with the feasibility studies at Chalawa River, a place 15 kilometres south of Kano. Later, a consulting Engineer, Mr. Gourley, who worked under Alex Binnie, Son & Deacon, was contacted. An estimated cost of £304,000 for the combined projects of water and electricity was given to the Kano N.A.<sup>2</sup> This

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<sup>2</sup> Constructed from personal discussion with elders at the Emir's palace Kano. (2003-2004). The information supplied corresponded with the reports contained in the archival materials obtained during the research

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

cost did not deter the Emir, who said that the Kano N.A. was quite capable of providing the money. At that material time, the Kano N.A. reserve fund stood at £349,015 and these sums were considered adequate to meet the cost of machineries and equipment to be purchased from England.

But the irony of the whole situation was that the British authorities in Kaduna and Lagos deliberately delayed the take off of the project. It was most likely that the British were afraid of the cost involved on the dual projects of water and electricity. At the end, Carrow left Kano towards the end of 1926, leaving *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to struggle helplessly with the British authorities. This unnecessary delay did not cripple the ambition of the Emir, who waited patiently for the formal approval of the colonial government to come. The British Government remained silent while the Emir waited for two years. Consequently, on seeing this, the Emir hastily directed for the commencement of the preliminary work at Chalawa in December 1928. Formal approval of the Lieutenant Governor, Richard Palmer came in August 1929, when the British authorities discovered that the Emir was so determined to carry on the project with or without their consent. At that particular time, the water and electricity projects had reached advanced stage.<sup>3</sup> The colonial government miserably contributed with the sum of £20,000, which was not given in cash, but remitted from the preliminary works undertaken by the Regional

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work. For more information, see Kano Profile. 2827. 1930-40 and S.N.P. 17 9043 Vol. I. 1928 Annual Report. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>3</sup> See Fika. Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. pp. 389-390.

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Works Department. The Kano N.A. was to meet the capital cost of the project estimated at £217,000.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero had already earmarked the waterworks and electric power plants to be adjacent to one another at the site. At the initial stage, Mr. R.A. Brown of the Public Works Department (P.W.D.) handled most of the technical work at the riverbed of Chalawa.<sup>5</sup> Later, the Emir assigned Mr. J.F. Reynolds, the N.A. Engineer, and his Deputy, Major A. Macdonald to carry out groundwork work at the site. The P.W.D. constructed three houses at the site for accommodating engineers and technicians while a store for safekeeping of items was erected.

A linking road was also constructed from the waterworks at Chalawa to *Birnin Kano*, which facilitated the transportation of workers and heavy machineries to the site. The N.A. provided a lorry that conveyed more than 100 labourers and artisans to the site. It also transported the heavy machineries from the railway station, most of which were procured from England and shipped to Lagos. The P.W.D. of the Kano N.A. served as the sub-contractor, who paid the labourers on daily basis.<sup>6</sup>

It has been related that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero constantly visited the project site, sometimes twice in a day to ensure rapid progression of the water and electricity project. During the course of the project, many unusual things happened, which were connected with the *Jinns* (evil spirits) that were said to be damaging the machineries. But the constant visits of the Emir gave

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<sup>4</sup> S.N.P. 17 9043 Vol. I. 1928 Annual Report. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>5</sup> Sec Kano Profile No. 2827. 1930-40. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid* and Fika. Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. p. 390.

moral encouragements to the workers and engineers and that reduced the fear in their mind considerably. It also hastened the construction engineers to become so anxious towards completing the dual project in time.<sup>7</sup>

About five wells were sunk at the riverbed of Chalawa, and each produced the maximum of 600,000 gallons of water a day. The electrical part of work was handled by the Public Works Department of Nigeria, Lagos on reimbursement from Kano N.A fund. A 15-megawatt thermal station for generating electricity<sup>8</sup> was installed at that time and the provision for future expansion was made. The dam was evidently designed to withstand any natural challenge like flood.

By December 1929, a water tank (reservoir) that had the capacity of one and a half million gallons was nearly completed at the hilltop of Gwauron Dutse in *Birnin Kano*. Oral tradition shows that many labourers died during the construction of the reservoir at Gwauron Dutse, and people attributed these deaths to *jimns*.<sup>9</sup> It was said that the labourers killed the son of a female *jimm* during their digging work at Gwauron Dutse. This propelled the construction engineer to complain to Dr. Bargery about the matter, adding that he was advised to buy a cow and slaughter it.<sup>10</sup> The matter was finally resolved by the intervention of the Emir Abdullahi Bayero, who summoned the construction engineer,

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<sup>7</sup> Shamakin Kano Inuwa, personal discussion, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. (ed). op. cit. p. 95. See also Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile No. 2568/II, 2827/1930-40 and 1928 Annual Report of the Kano Province, S.N.P./17, No. 9043 Vol. I.

<sup>9</sup> Shamakin Kano Inuwa, personal discussion, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>10</sup> See Skinner, Neil. (ed). op. cit. p.109.

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advising him to ignore the issue and concentrate on the job. The Emir said:

*What really killed your labourers is just the drugs they took and that made them to over-work in order to get more money. It is the effect of the drugs that killed them not jimms. I discovered that most of the labourers are addicted to drugs, which you (Europeans) provided to them free of charge. It sapped their energy and strength and finally killed them. I have been issuing several warnings to you to please stop giving my people such drugs.<sup>11</sup>*

Construction works at Chalawa and Gwauron Dutse progressed rapidly. The power generating plant, which was needed to pump water to the reservoir at Gwauron Dutse, was almost completed in 1928. At the same time, pipe laying and earthworks were practically accomplished at the end of November 1929. What was required at that moment was to pump the water to the reservoir. However, the Consulting Engineers said that all the joints in the main pipes from the pumping station to the reservoir should be tested before the trenches were refilled. Therefore, the water was pumped from Chalawa to the reservoir at Gwauron Dutse in December 1929. Then the water was run by gravitation to the main supply points in *Birnin Kano* and its surroundings such as Fagge, Sabon Gari, and Government Reservation Areas.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>This statement was made by Shamakin Kano Inuwa, during my personal discussion with him on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>12</sup> See Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile No. 2568/II, 2827/1930-40 and 1928 Annual Report of the Kano Province, S.N.P./17, No. 9043 Vol. I.

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During the test pumping, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero appeared in a satisfied manner, quite happy about this development. He therefore directed the engineers to release the water to the people, even though the project was not yet completed. About 80,000 gallons was supplied daily to the people in January 1930.<sup>13</sup> According to the colonial report, the water was of good quality because it was filtered and treated with the highest quality of chlorine. This was so because Kano N.A. had installed the chlorinating machine that would treat the water before people consumed it, making it free from any bacteria. Of all these, the actual costs involved for the whole projects are as follows:<sup>14</sup>

1. Preliminary Work, Housing, etc.	£ 20,000
2. Waterworks construction	£219,000
3. Electric Power construction	<u>£ 94,000</u>
<b>Total</b>	<b><u>£333,000</u></b>

The *Kanawa* at that time were very much surprised indeed about this development. They could not imagine how that was done, saying that *Sarki* Bayero was really a very wonderful man. The Kano water and electricity projects were the first in whole Northern Nigeria. It was equally the largest public utility to be undertaken single-handedly by Native Administration in Nigeria. The dual projects were formally commissioned on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1931 by Emir Abdullahi Bayero in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Northern

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<sup>13</sup> Oral interview with Shamakin Kano Inuwa, 2003. See also Fika, Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. p. 390.

<sup>14</sup> Kano Profile No. 2568/II.

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Province, Mr. C.W. Alexander and the Resident of Kano, Mr. H.O. Lindsell. Others were members of the Council that included Waziri Gidado, Madaki Mamuda, Galadima Abdulkadir and Ma'aji Abdullahi as well as *Hakimai* and titled officials of the Emirate. The ceremony was conducted amidst a great pomp and pageantry in the presence of more than 50,000 spectators.<sup>15</sup>

Shortly after commissioning the projects, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero directed for the electric power to be supplied to consumers at Kano. At the same time, the N.A. erected the streetlights within the 50 miles radius of Kano Township, which beautified the ancient capital city.<sup>16</sup> The Kano N.A. undertook to constantly supply not only the water and electricity needed by 82,000 inhabitants of the old city, but also to the government reservation area and the satellite settlements of Sabon Gari and its surroundings.

At the initial stage, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero procured the British officers from Kaduna and Lagos that would manage the technical and administrative aspect of the electricity and water supply to consumers. The European experts were seconded to Kano N.A., which made the establishment to be run as a single organization under a central management of the British. Within just one year, these Britons were said to have cost the Kano N.A. Treasury more than £11,000, which the Emir said "*da sake*", meaning that he would revise it. At that time it was a huge amount of money. But to help and reduce the cost of maintenance so that the Emir would not be complaining, these Britons charged exorbitant money to

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

consumers. For instance, water was sold to consumers per gallon, while electricity was charged at a flat rate per bulb in the household. But the Emir reduced the cost drastically when he learned about the rate.<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, Emir Abdullahi Bayero tried and beat the intelligence of these Britons by sending some staff of the N.A. Works Department to quickly learn how to operate these machines. He further reduced the rates charged in favour of the consumers in which users were asked to pay quarterly flat rate of 6 pence per household and 3 pence per adult female household. Later, a new N.A. Sub-Department was established to deal with the collection and accounting of electricity and water in Kano. The Emir publicly declared that he did not initiate water and electricity projects to yield profit for the N.A., but rather to ameliorate the problem faced by the people.<sup>18</sup>

Therefore water and electricity were provided to people as part of the government social services throughout the period of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. The N.A. continued to pay the salaries of both Europeans and native staff. Regardless of all these incentives, the ordinary town folks appeared unconcerned, and refused to get their houses connected with water and electricity. The only benefit they derive from this development was through electric street lighting and standpipes in the streets and *Kurmi* market. To them, the provision of water

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<sup>17</sup> This story was communicated to me by Malam Dan Alkali who was over 90 years at the time of my interview with him in 2003. Fika. Adamu Mohammed. expressed the same view in his work entitled *The Kano Civil War And The British Over-Rule 1882-1840*, p. 391.

<sup>18</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, interview, 2003.

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made life easier while electricity made the night safer due to the street lighting.<sup>19</sup>

As such, the consumption of water and electricity was only confined to the non-Kano people, leaving the majority of the *Kanawa* whose tax was used to bring this development at the receiving end. It was therefore apparent that the considerable N.A. funds spent on such amenities largely benefited the British and other non-Kano citizens.<sup>20</sup>

These seriously disturbed *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. At last, the Emir resorted to employing a clerk that would enlighten the people about the usefulness of connecting their households with water and electricity. This clerk went round and propagated the importance of pipe-borne water and electricity in every section of the *Birni*. His efforts, at last, made the amenities to become more widely known and gradually become acceptable to the people of Kano. Therefore by 1935, both the water and electricity generated so much business, which made the Emir to transfer their control and management to N.A. Works Department.<sup>21</sup> The water consumption in the city also increased from 86 million gallons in 1932 to 134 million gallons in 1934, necessitating for further expansion of the water supply.<sup>22</sup> This could be illustrated by the figures recorded from 1931 to 1936 as follows:<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Fika. Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. pp. 390-391.

<sup>20</sup> Constructed from personal discussion with Malam Dan Alkali in 2003. See also *Ibid*.

<sup>21</sup> Fika. Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. pp. 391-392.

<sup>22</sup> Smith. M.G.. op. cit. p. 479.

<sup>23</sup> Fika. Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. pp. 392-393.

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

Year	Water (Gallons consumption)	Electricity (Metre consumed)
1931	39,500,000	402
1932	86,548,000	402
1933	122,920,000	816
1934	134,954,000	Not Available
1935	134,948,760	948
1936	137,021,038	1,048

As the demand for water and electricity increased, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero tried to expand the machineries and other facilities so as to avert any failure. For instance, in 1938, additional generating machinery that cost £10,000 was installed at Chalawa Thermal Station.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, the Emir considered the possibility of extending the Kano waterworks in 1948 by using Kano River that passed through the Chalawa and also the Wudil River. In addition to this, the Emir approved the money for the procurement of six Foresford Submersible pumping machines that would replace the Herald pumps, initially used in the five wells of Chalawa.<sup>25</sup>

More funds were allocated by the N.A. in the new projects for water and electric power supply and their maintenance throughout the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. The water supply project was extended in 1938 to District areas in the Emirate. Well-sinking programme was introduced in the northeastern part of the Emirate, which was exclusively handled by the N.A. water engineers of the Geological Survey

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<sup>24</sup> See 1938 Kano Annual Report, Kano Profile, No. 3095, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>25</sup> For details, see Kano Profile No. 2827/1930-40.

## *Infra-structural Development*

Department.<sup>26</sup> Investigation was also intensified on the possibility of constructing a new dam at Wudil, a place 25 miles westward of Kano, and some other rivers in the southeastern part of the Emirate.

The contribution of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero on water supply at least survived to the present day, because it laid the foundation of the Kano State Water Board or WRECA. Most of the geological surveys undertaken during his reign were often used by the previous administration of Kano State. It is interesting to note that most of machines installed at that time and other facilities are still in use today.

### **Construction Of Roads And Bridges**

The construction of roads and bridges was the most important feature of the administration of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. At the time of his ascension to the throne in 1926, only few roads existed within and outside *Birnin Kano*. The colonial government neglected the trunk roads constructed and maintained by the N.A.'s, because such developments were not part of their priority areas. Most of the roads at that time were dry-season roads, only useful for seven months in a year, i.e. from November to June. Thus in 1933, these were the principal roads from Kano to some key places:<sup>27</sup>

1. Kano-Katsina (all season)
2. Kano-Kazaure-Daura-Zinder (all season).
3. Kano-Wudil-Azare-Borno (all season only to Wudil after the construction of the Wudil bridge).

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<sup>26</sup> 1938 Kano Annual Report, Kano Profile, No. 3095, N.N.A. Kaduna.  
<sup>27</sup> See Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile No. 2568/II.

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

4. Kano-Wudil-Sumaila-Bauchi (all season to Sumaila)
5. Kano-Wudil-Gwaram (all season to Wudil).
6. Kano-Zaria via Karaye (dry season).
7. Kano-Sokoto via Gwarzo and Funtua (dry season).
8. Kano-Jos via Tudun Wada and Kudaru (dry season).
9. Kano-Hadējia-Nguru (dry-season).
10. Kano-Baḅura-Magarya (dry season).
11. Kano-Gumel via Gezawa (dry season).

Thus, we could see that in Kano Emirate most of the District Headquarters and major towns were completely by-passed and neglected by the colonial policy of road networking. This was the same situation in the Kano metropolis, the capital city of the whole province. Only pathways existed, which made road transportation very difficult. The only exception in the metropolis was the road from the Emir's palace to the Residency at Nasarawa, which was linked up to Bompai.

The first major construction work processed by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero when he ascended the throne in 1926 was the Wudil Bridge. The Emir assigned an engineer named Mr. J.H. Wood to supervise the construction work, which was successfully accomplished in 1927. The bridge was the first of its kind constructed in the Northern Nigeria by the Native Authority. It was also the longest in the whole Protectorate, and consisted of seven spans of 100 inches with the length of 900 feet. It cost the Kano N.A. the sum of £30,752. The bridge was officially commissioned in August 1927, amidst thousands of people who trooped to Wudil from different parts of the Northern Protectorate to witness the occasion.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero organized an imposing durbar during the event that made it unique. He

### *Infra-structural Development*

invited many Emirs and Europeans and prominent among those remembered to attend were the Lieutenant Governor of Northern Nigeria, the Resident of Kano, Commander J.H. Carrow who had left Kano and was acting as Resident of Sokoto and *Sarkin Katsina* Muhammadu Dikko. People recalled that *Sarkin Katsina* arrived in his car called Rio.<sup>28</sup>

The Wudil Bridge facilitated easy transportation of people and goods in the northeast direction of Kano. It also linked Kano with Potiskum, Azare, Jam'are, Damaturu and Maiduguri in that direction. Subsequently, the Emir constructed Malam Jatau Bridge located at Duduru River, ten miles along this road. The bridge was lengthy and had a span was 100 inches.<sup>29</sup>

After constructing these bridges, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero then turned his attention towards constructing several linking roads that connected *Birnin Kano* with the Districts and towns in the Emirate. Constructing the roads at that time was well organized. Direct labour was used extensively during the construction exercise undertaken by the N.A. Public Works Department in collaboration with District Heads. Most of these roads were feeder roads constructed, and maintained annually by Kano N.A. At the same time, considerable roads expansion in the District areas was handled by the Engineering Department in collaboration with the Survey Department that conducted the feasibility studies. Resident C.W. Alexander in his 1928 annual report disclosed that:

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<sup>28</sup> Skinner, Ncil. (ed). op. cit. 112.

<sup>29</sup> Sec 1928 Annual Report of the Kano Province. S.N.P./17. No. 9043 Vol. I.

## Abdullahi Bayero

*I recently saw construction in progress at Bichi District. After a rough survey, a survey party in advance gives the exact line, a clearing party follows, and then a construction party. Lists of labourers are made for the District Head, who arranged weekly payment. The labourers received 6d per day. The cost of construction works is less than £60 per mile.<sup>30</sup>*

The Kano N.A. undertook these heavy projects single-handedly without any financial assistance from the colonial government. It has been estimated that in 1939, the mileage motorable roads in Kano Emirate totaled 1,549 miles,<sup>31</sup> which accelerated rapid socio-economic development in the Emirate.

Another important aspect was the fact that Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero was the first Emir who constructed roads and drainages within the Kano metropolis. Within the year of his ascension, the Emir succeeded in constructing about 17 miles of motorable roads in the old Kano city, which tremendously facilitated easy movement of people and goods. Prominent among the roads completed in this period were the road from Kofar Mata to Kurmi market, a circular road southwest of the Kurmi market that linked Kofar Na'isa and Kofar Dawanau, and the road from Kofar Mata to Kofar Wambai. Others included the road, which linked Bank of British West Africa to the new Shahuci hospital, and three roads at Sabon Gari Kano. Large sum of money was spent on these projects by the N.A.<sup>32</sup> It is interesting to note that these roads were beautified with the street

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Fika. Adamu Mohammed. op. cit p. 406

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

lights, which gave *Birnin Kano* a befitting appearance most especially in the night.

Also in 1927, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero constructed drainage in *Birnin Kano* and its surrounding environments. Instances of the earlier drainage constructed could be cited with Jakara pond, which consumed huge amount of money.<sup>33</sup> The pond was constructed with stones and cement, which tremendously reduced the flood during the rainy season that destroyed many houses around the area. The Emir constructed several culverts and refilled more than 3,000 *kududdufai* (borrow-pits), which were rampant in *Birnin Kano* at the time.<sup>34</sup> These *kududdufai* were very huge pits from which building clay was dug in those days. The lack of drainage and the fact that the old city had numerous of these *kududdufai* meant that the town was artificially flooded during the rainy season.<sup>35</sup>

In 1930, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero sent surveyors to measure appropriate space in the densely congested areas of the *Birni*. At that time, houses were closely packed and only meandering path ways existed. By 1935, the surveyors completed their work and submitted their reports, which enabled the N.A. to implement drainage scheme for the city. Thus, in 1938, Kano N.A. expended more than £75,000 for constructing drainages within *Birnin Kano* and its surrounding environments. Those affected by the street widening and drainage construction were ordered to move by the Emir to spacious places allocated to them within the *Birni* by

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<sup>33</sup> 1928 Annual Report of Kano Province. S.N.P./17, No. 9043 Vol. I.

<sup>34</sup> Gwangwazo. Maje Ahmed. op. cit. p.104.

<sup>35</sup> Fika. Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. p.379.

the N.A. Monetary compensation was also given to the affected people, which was very impressive and that enabled them to construct new houses.<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, by 1939, the street widening and drainage projects had advanced, and about 26 miles motorable roads were also constructed. All these roads were macadamised by the N.A. at the cost of £500 per mile. By 1940, more than 45 miles of roads within Kano Township were tarred while additional 81 miles were still under construction at then.<sup>37</sup>

This development facilitated the advancement of the transport sector and boosted the economy of Kano Emirate. It was at this period that a number of commercial lorries and cars for hiring increased at *Birnin Kano* making the traffic more noticeable. This also reduced the number of *Yan Kwarami* who hired donkeys in the town and confined their business activities to rural areas.<sup>38</sup>

The development also ushered a new period in which new settlers, mostly from Southern Province, settled at Sabon Gari, Kano. Their aim was to make good fortune within the shortest period of time, and yet the *Kanawa* welcomed and accommodated them. In fact, the Wakilin Waje Alhaji Ahmadu led them to the Emir, who blessed and advised them to be so careful in their dealings, most especially with the British firms.

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<sup>36</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, interview, June 2003. See also Kano Profile, No. 3095, N.N.A., Kaduna.

<sup>37</sup> Kano Profile, No. 3095, N.N.A., Kaduna. See also Fika, Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. pp. 290-300.

<sup>38</sup> Shamakin Kano, Inuwa, interview, June 2003.

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These people pay no heed to the advice given to them by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero and therefore went and buy many lorries on hire purchase from the European firms in anticipation of making potential profit during the 1937-38 groundnut season. But unfortunately for them, the groundnut season turned out to be poor due to the sudden fall in price. Before the season was out, most of them had defaulted their installment payments and that made the firms to seize their vehicles, which created transportation problems in Kano Emirate.<sup>39</sup>

It was at this time that the *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero used the N.A. fund and purchased busses for municipal services. This was what led to the establishment of Kano N.A. Municipal Bus Services, which was extended gradually to Wudil, Bichi, Dambatta and other Districts in the Emirate. At the initial stage, Kano N.A. had a number of 25 fleets of vehicle,<sup>40</sup> which increased in the subsequent years. This development was the onset for the present day Kano Line, a transport sector owned by the Kano State Government. Emir Abdullahi Bayero was also credited for supporting and encouraging the indigenous businessmen to purchase lorries and busses for hiring, which helped in reducing transportation problem and led to the emergence of indigenous transporters in the Emirate.

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<sup>39</sup> Malam Dan Alkali. interview. June 2003. See also Fika. Adamu Mohammed. *op. cit.* p. 400.

<sup>40</sup> Smith. M.G. *op. cit.* p. 489.

### **Provision Of Other Amenities**

Many people remembered the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero as the period in which certain physical developments took place in Kano Emirate as a whole. For instance, in 1928, the Emir constructed the famous Central Office, just opposite the Emir's palace. This building was very remarkable and it served as the Secretariat of Kano Native Authority. It is now occupied by Kano Municipal Local Government Authority. Also in 1927, the Emir constructed Kano Middle School and other elementary schools within and outside *Birnin Kano*. Penal Settlement at Gwauron Dutse was constructed in the same year, 1927. In 1928, the Emir constructed the first public hospital at Shahuci, which was followed by Kano Craft School in the same year.

And from 1928 to 1932, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero constructed Legal School, School of Nursing, Court Rooms, Prisons, Police Headquarters and Barrack, Government Girls College, Official Residents of the District Heads and Reformatory Centre at Tudun Maliki. The construction of market stalls started in the early 1930s, which was completed in 1940. The Emir also laid the foundation of modern abattoirs with concrete slaughter slabs in 1932 at Kano. By 1935, this laudable programme was extended to Districts Headquarters and major towns of the Emirate. At *Birnin Kano*, the modern abattoirs were connected with tap water and three water tanks were provided to each slaughter slab. Apart from this, 12 refuse pits for waste disposal were constructed.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> 1928 Annual Report of Kano Province. S.N.P./17, No. 9043 Vol. I.

In the case of District towns, wells were constructed not very far from the slaughter slabs.

It is interesting to note that most of these buildings were constructed with bricks, which were railed from the Southern Provinces to Kano. Later, the construction works were made entirely of the locally made cement concrete blocks.<sup>42</sup> These construction works were undertaken by the N. A. Works Department.

It is also interesting to note that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was the first person that suggested for an Airport in Kano and provided a spacious site close to Ungogo, which became the first Aerodrome in 1935. The Aerodrome was opened by imperial Airways in 1936 and developed during the Second World War by the British Royal Air Force and United States Air Force. And by 1951, this Aerodrome developed and became a full standard Airport that handled more than 6,600 aircrafts yearly. A new runway for commercial jets was built at the cost of £100,000.<sup>43</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was also credited for establishing the Radio Re-diffusion station at *Birnin Kano*. Eventually, the N.A. equipped this small station with machineries and that qualified it to become a full radio station in 1947. Maitama Sule narrated that it was in this year that Emir Abdullahi Bayero inaugurated an Advisory Board Members to the radio station, which included Alhaji Ahmadu Tireda, Chief Sanyaolu, Chief Okwonkwo, and Maitama Sule. All these members were representing the particular interest groups such as Hausa,

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<sup>42</sup> Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile No. 2568/II.

<sup>43</sup> Kano Profile, K/1361-1926. N.N.A., Kaduna. See also Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 480.

Yoruba, and Ibo communities as well as the youths. Maitama pointed out that:

*Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero was so interested in the radio programmes. He was a regular listener of a drama programme named Gudu Karin Haske. One day, after a particular presentation, the Emir sent gifts of money and kola nuts in appreciation of talents of the producers. And because the programme was aired live, the gifts arrived before the departure of the dramatists. That series of programmes were the first presentation by radio station in the North.<sup>44</sup>*

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* established Survey and Printing Department at Dan Agundi in 1926. This institution, which was so comprehensive and productive, made the Lieutenant Governor of the North, Mr. H.R. Palmer to refer to it as 'Kano Polytechnic' in 1930.<sup>45</sup> The department carried out survey and printing work and by then, the Kano Emirate, including its Districts, had been topographically surveyed and mapped, which was lithographically printed in the section.

The printing section was also equipped with up to date machinery, which was run by electric power. The section undoubtedly played considerable role in printing the papers needed for effective management of the native administration. At that time, a great deal of work for other Native Administrations was brought to Kano. This development made Kano N.A. to obtain huge revenue at

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<sup>44</sup> Oral interview with Dan Masanin Kano Yusufu Maitama Sulc. 2004.

<sup>45</sup> Abubakar, T. Ayuba. op. cit. p. 4.

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the period. The following figures illustrate the cash receipts for the printing in three years:

1926	-	-	-	£ 860.1.2
1927	-	-	-	£ 958.12.11
1928	-	-	-	£1,207.3.4

Another important aspect that took place during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was the arrival of posts and telecommunications to Kano. The first Telegraph and Post Office was situated in the Township and the department provided postal services to individuals and businessmen. It also provided telephone exchange, which connected Government institutions and the leading commercial firms.

To sum up, it could therefore be seen that the ascension of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero inaugurated a remarkable period for the proliferation of the development projects under the aegis of the Native Administration. This manifested itself more fully in the provision of water and electricity, road networking, communications, and other social amenities. These undertakings consumed huge amounts of money, which was borne by the Kano N.A. This development facilitated and consolidated Kano's socio-economic and commercial status, as we shall see in Chapter 15.

## **Chapter Fifteen**

### ***Socio-Economic And Rural Development***

The success of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero in providing necessary infra-structural facilities, most especially linking roads, water and electricity enabled him to lay solid foundation for industrial revolution in Kano. Such developments seemed to have contradicted the whole notion of colonialism, and obviously, the British did not welcome it. But Bayero, who was more advanced in outlook, tactfully handled the situation and persuaded the colonialists to agree to his schemes. He precisely knew that the British imperial powers did not conquer Kano to carry out any programme of economic development, or bring about social change, but rather to exploit the resources of the land and took it away without just paying a price.

The military conquest of Kano in 1903 gave the British an opportunity to capitalise and trade in the Emirate freely without any barrier. This was so because immediately after the annexation, several foreign companies invaded Kano's economy such as United African Company (U.A.C.), G.B. Ollivant, Gottschalcks, Niger Company, W.H. MacIver & Company and African & Eastern Trading Company Corporation Limited. All these foreign companies did not help the socio-economic development of Kano, but rather concentrated on the exploitation of human and material resources of the land for the benefit of their home countries. These foreign firms plundered raw materials, uprooted and enslaved the indigenous population through forced labour and various methods of extortions.

## *Socio-Economic And Rural Development*

On assumption of power in 1926, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero personally sought for assistance from his friend, Commander J.H. Carrow who, at that time, was the Acting Resident of Kano. The Emir requested Carrow for taking over control of the N.A. Treasury, complaining that the 50% remitted from tax revenue was too much for the British and that contributed to the backwardness, and hence, underdevelopment of the Emirate. Kano, as Bayero said, was too large and populous and it was impossible for any leader to contribute to the development without fund. The Emir lamented that while some parts of Southern Protectorate of Nigeria were advancing socially and economically, the *Kanawa*, who generated huge money, were strained to remain in backwardness and underdevelopment.

After listening to the Emir, the Acting Resident, Carrow, promised to give Abdullahi Bayero his maximum support toward increasing the percentage of tax generated in the Emirate. Truly, Carrow personally respected the Emir and admired very much his intelligence and sagacity. The Acting Resident ardently struggled to see that the Emirate's tax revenue was increased and his effort impelled the colonial government to increase the tax revenue from 50% to 70% in 1928. But unfortunately in 1934, the trend reversed in which the colonial government laid more claim to 50% of the Emirate's revenue leaving the N.A. with a small amount of fund to finance developmental projects.

Despite this set back, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was able to contribute much to the socio-economic and rural development in Kano Emirate due to his prudent financial management. And

throughout the period of his leadership, the Kano N.A. remained the sole modernization agency in the Emirate. This chapter aims to extend the monumental contributions of Emir Bayero on socio-economic and rural development. The historical process to these developments especially on industries, expansion of commerce, agriculture, livestock, health, sanitation and rural development are fully sketched out.

### ***Development Of Manufacturing Industries***

History has shown that local industries developed and prospered in Kano Emirate a hundred years before the coming of the British. Prominent among them included blacksmithing, weaving, dyeing and tanning. It was as a result of this that Kano had been described as an important textile centre in Africa south of Sahara and its products were exported to distant places across the world. It is for this reason that Kano had become like a Manchester of Africa. The development of industries consolidated Kano's commercial status in which long-distance trade popularly known as '*Fatauci*' was associated with *Birnin Kano*.

But sadly indeed, the establishment of colonial rule destroyed these local craft industries that earlier make Kano commercially important. The era also marked a period of massive importation of foreign-made goods produced in Europe. This made the local products to become inferior and highly uncompetitive with the Europeans goods. Therefore, local products just became handicraft articles, a development, which crippled the local industries. And even more serious is the fact that by 1925, numerous foreign companies who found lucrative

## *Socio-Economic And Rural Development*

business dominated Kano markets with imported goods such as clothes, shoes, etc.

But *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero knew that the survival of the *Kanawa* lie on these local industries, which was very crucial to the development of the economy. Therefore on assumption to power, the Emir quickly tried and revived the local crafts industries of Kano that would form a basis for meaningful industrial development of Kano. As part of his strategy, the Emir appointed talented people as the *Sarakunan Sana'a* from within the hereditary families that possessed such skills. This included the *Sarkin Ma'kera*, *Sarkin Marina*, *Sarkin Majema*, and *Sarkin Dukawa*. As usual, this move was opposed by the British on the pretext that the Emir was reverting to ancient traditions and customs of the *Hat'ies*.<sup>1</sup>

But *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero however ignored them, and by design, set out some people to go round and campaign to the people on the importance of relying on their locally produced products. At the same time, the Emir used the N.A. funds to rehabilitate the local industries located within and outside *Birnin Kano*. It was estimated that about £150,000 was used toward the rehabilitation of these local industries, which, as usual, the colonialists were not in support of. But in a quite and self-confident manner, the Emir responded that he was the custodian of people's culture, and therefore, must do everything to resuscitate craft industries from decaying and consequent extermination.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This information was gathered during my personal discussions with Dan Masanin Kano Yusufu Maitama Sule, Shamiakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa and Malam Dan Alkali in June 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

The Emir further directed the *Sarakunan Sana'a* in the Emirate to train their family members as well as other people who show interest to learn their trade. Many talented artisans that emerged during his reign were products of these local craft industries. And it was among the local craftsmen that the Emir selected the instructors who taught at Kano Craft School, when it was opened in 1928.

The tangible efforts of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero bailed out the dye pits or *Karofi* of Kangiwa, Gangamau, 'Yar Magajiya, Zage and Kofar Mata as well as others in the Emirate from collapsing. By this time however, the *Marina* (dyers) not only dyed clothes but also reached the extent of cultivating a large quantity of indigo in some parts of the Emirate. Apart from this, huge amount of *baba* (dyestuff) was imported from the neighbouring towns of Katsina Emirate, which further boosted the dyeing industries.

It was at this time that Kano-dyers produced varieties of colourful designs, which made Kano cloth industries to become a major centre of attraction in the world. It was equally at this period that the *Dankura* turban became well known in Hausa land and beyond. The industry expanded rapidly and supplied dyed clothes far above the local demand. Most of the dyed clothes were exported to many African countries and some other parts of the world, which made *Rimi* industry to become a profitable commercial activity in Kano.<sup>3</sup> In those days, it was a pride to be seen wearing the locally woven gowns

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<sup>3</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa, May 2003. The same information was supplied by the elderly *Marina* (dyers) interviewed at *Karofin* Kofar Mata, Kano, August 2003.

produced in Kano. The products were highly assessed as the most prestigious garment mostly used by the nobles, rich men and Islamic scholars.

Therefore, by 1933, about 50,000 people in the Emirate largely depended on dyeing industry alone.<sup>4</sup> A colonial record gave a clear testimony of this development when it stated that:

*Although weaving is the most widespread industry, dyeing is probably more profitable and survived European competition ...people were reluctant to abandon the natural indigo dye....*<sup>5</sup>

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero gave considerable support to the local textile industries, which were crippled by massive importation of European clothes. The Emir moved with remarkable haste and reinforced the local cloth industries with small-scale loans in which N.A. fund was extensively used to that effect. The loan was handled by the Central Administration in collaboration with the Treasury and District Heads, which was disbursed to many people in the Emirate. Proper arrangement of repayments were made in which the beneficiaries paid installmentally within the period of between three to five years.<sup>6</sup>

The formulation of such effective industrial policies by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero sustained the handicraft industries throughout the Emirate. It was

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<sup>4</sup> Fika. Adamu Mohammed. op. cit p. 396.

<sup>5</sup> See Kano Provincial Gazetteer. Kano Profile. No. 2568/Vol II. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>6</sup> Formal communication with the Office of the Principal Private Secretary to the present Emir.

during the 1930s that the Kano N.A. introduced handloom industry, which provided a take-off for the modern textile industries in Kano.<sup>7</sup> This development terribly annoyed the British, who had already established their ginnery at Chalawa in 1925. According to an account, a lot of haggling took place between Emir Abdullahi Bayero and the British, who questioned on how the public funds should be used to advance the fortunes of others. But the Emir used his talent and said, "The funds you are complaining about were not generated by anybody other than the peasants, who are now benefiting from the sweat of their labour". This answer intimidated the British, who believed that if handloom industries developed, the British ginnery would automatically collapse.<sup>8</sup>

With the encouragement of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, the local handloom and other weaving industries greatly prospered and made Kano manufactured clothes to become well known in every part of the world. By 1933, about 82,000 men in the Emirate were regularly engaged in this industry, which crippled the Chalawa Ginnery. Attempts to resuscitate the ginnery by the British Cotton Growing Association woefully failed. In

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\* Personal discussion with Allhaji Abubakar Jibril, who started working with Produce Department in the early 1940s and gradually moved to the post of Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Trade and Commerce in the North Central State. He was very familiar with Kano since 1940s and knew the efforts made by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero towards the development of local textile industries in Kano, which metamorphosed to modern textiles in the early 1950s. 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2005.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

effect, the Chalawa Ginnery was shut down in 1947 since it was operated at a great loss.<sup>9</sup>

The handloom and other local textile industries used a lot of cotton in their production. And the production of cotton by Kano farmers could not even fulfill the requirement of these local industries talk less of providing the Chalawa Ginnery. Therefore, the local weavers purchased large quantities of the cotton grown in Kano and other neighbouring Emirates, and manufactured variety of clothes, which were greatly over-valued above the imported European and Japanese cloths. This development marked the re-appearance of Saharan Tuaregs, who constantly visited Kano as they had done centuries before the coming of the British. The Tuaregs who came in *Ayari* or caravan bought Kano manufactured clothes in large quantities, which they distributed in various markets of the world.<sup>10</sup>

Similarly, women also participated in weaving activity, which was taking place in all parts of the Emirate. Most housewives engaged in cotton spinning and weaving within their domestic household. In order to encourage them, the Kano N.A. introduced to them the handlooms machines. One interesting thing was that even the women from the ruling lineages of Kano actively took part in this occupation very seriously. In fact, even within the royal palace itself, the family of the Emir engaged in weaving that became a common economic activity taking place in all part of the Emirate.<sup>11</sup> At this time, *Birnin*

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<sup>9</sup> See Kano Provincial Gazetteer. Kano Profile. No. 2568/Vol II. N.N.A. Kaduna and Fika. Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. p. 397.

<sup>10</sup> Fika. Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. p. 397.

<sup>11</sup> Hajiya Saudatu Bayero (*Giwagga*). oral interview. 28<sup>th</sup> September 2003.

Kano and its satellite towns such as Bebeji, Rano, Kura, Dutse Gadawur and numerous other places became major centres of textile production in the Emirate.

At the same time, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero tremendously supported the blacksmithing industry in the Emirate. At the time of his ascension in 1926, the Emir noticed that blacksmithing, which was a clan socio-economic activity, seemed to be abandoned by such families. To arrest the situation, the Emir mandated the *Sarkin Maƙera*, Abubakar, to assemble all the blacksmiths in the Emirate on one Saturday. Several *Maƙera* from towns and villages converged at the palace, and remained anxious to see the Emir, who was newly appointed at then. The Emir came out around 10.00 a.m. and after exchange of greetings and prayers, Abdullahi Bayero said:

*I understand that you began to discard the profession you inherited from your forefathers. Let me remind you that this would not take us to anywhere. I want you to seriously hold your profession strongly. Don't allow our people to rely on foreign-made household utensils and other agricultural implements. You have been manufacturing these items hundred years ago most especially hoes and other agricultural implements. We demand from you a technology relevant to our own development. You are talented people and I therefore want you to go and use your natural ability and innovate something new for our people. I believe that one day you would be in a position to manufacture motor cars, made in Kano. Learn and adopt modern techniques. Anyone among you that invents something new should inform Sarkin Maƙera, who would come*

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*and notify us. Kano N.A. would give a special gift for creativity.*<sup>12</sup>

This statement clearly illustrated the ambition of *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* and his sense of direction. The statement also gave moral support and encouragement to the blacksmiths of the Emirate, who gradually invented a lot of farm implements such as cattle-drawn ploughs for the use of farmers. The Kano N.A. tremendously gave maximum support to people in learning blacksmithing, which led to the increase of the number of blacksmiths from 2,500 in 1925 to 7,000 in 1933. At this time, a huge deposit of iron-ore and tin was found in the neighbourhood of Riruwe and Tudun Wada areas in the Emirate. Gold was also found at the neighbourhood of Rimi and Sumaila, a place southeast of Kano.<sup>13</sup>

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* assisted the *Majema* (local tanners) tremendously. At that particular time, the local tanneries were declining at an alarming rate due to the activities of British firms and their Lebanese agents who purchased hides and skins for export to Western Europe. The Emir strengthened the industry with small-scale loan, which consequently revived the local tanneries and leather works. This was what made Kano tannery and leather workers to occupy a prominent position today in the economic activities not only in the Emirate but the country at large. It has been

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<sup>12</sup> This statement was communicated to me by Shamakin Kano Iuuwa who happened to be present during the meeting of the Emir with the blacksmiths immediately after his installation in 1927. 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>13</sup> See Kano Profile. 2568 Vol. II. N.N.A. Kaduna.

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estimated that there were about 2,400 tanners in 1933<sup>14</sup> and 5,250 leather workers in the Emirate. The leather workers designed variety of shoes, bags and other items for decorating a house or horse.<sup>15</sup> The tannery business was supported by the large population, who consumed huge amount of beef, a trend that was noticed as early as 1936.<sup>16</sup>

Other manufacturing activities that flourished during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero included pottery, mat and rope making, baskets making, etc. About 1,000 potters were said to have benefited from the small-scale loan disbursed by Kano N.A., most especially those living around Wudil, Gaya, Dambatta, Dutse, Karaye and Bichi. In addition to this, the N.A. strongly supported fisheries especially the fishermen in the northeast and southeast of the Emirate. This development marked the beginning of export of a dried fish from Kano to Southern Provinces of Nigeria, which became a well-established trade by the end of 1940.<sup>17</sup>

Another important aspect to this development was that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero made vigorous efforts and established a small-scale industry at Kano in 1934, which produced *manshunu* (ghee butter). This company was entirely owned by Kano N.A. and it was the first of its kind in Nigeria to be owned by the N.A. More than 100 tons of the ghee was exported to Europe in 1937.<sup>18</sup> Also in 1939, the Kano N.A. supported Mr. Kabil to start

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Shamakin Kano Inuwa, personal discussion, June 2003.

<sup>16</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. (cd), op. cit. pp. 95-97.

<sup>17</sup> Fika, Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. p. 405.

<sup>18</sup> 1937 Annual Report, Kano Profile, No. 3095, N.N.A. Kaduna.

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his small-scale groundnut oil processing company. But the company, which started production in 1940, came to face a serious competition from numerous small-scale groundnuts oil processors undertaken by housewives. The housewives processed more than 800,000 gallons of groundnut oil, which consequently led to the collapse of the semi-modern oil processing company of Mr. Kabil.<sup>19</sup> The housewives produced the processed the oil relatively at a cheaper rate compared with the price offered by Mr. Kabil.

The success of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero in preserving the local industries facilitated the emergence of modern manufacturing industries in Kano. Initially, the Emir had brought the Kano-Hausa trading community into the mainstream of his administration by appointing Alhaji Alhassan Dantata to serve as the first representative of business community in the Emir's Council. At first, the Emir personally advised and encouraged Alhassan Dantata to establish a textile industry in Kano. Dantata candidly accepted the Emir's advice, and established the first indigenous textile mill in Kano in 1950.<sup>20</sup>

This development made the indigenous business community to rally behind the Kano royalty for making their dream a reality towards establishing manufacturing industries. In his vigorous pursuit of import-substitution industrialisation, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero

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<sup>19</sup> Bashir. L. Ibrahim. "The Growth And Development Of The Manufacturing Sector of Kano's Economy: 1950-1980". in Barkindo, M. Bawuro. (ed). op. cit. p. 105 and personal discussion with Alhaji Abubakar Jibril, a former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and industry in the former North Central State. February 2003.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

systematically organised Kano businessmen into a cartel known as Kano Citizen's Trading Company (K.C.T.C.) in 1950.<sup>21</sup> At this time, the big and small businessmen converged together and enjoyed the protection given to them by the Emir, which made their control by the colonial government to become very difficult. It was under these circumstances that one enlightened indigene of Kano, Tajuddeen, who was living at Sierra Leone returned home and joined the K.C.T.C.<sup>22</sup>

But it appeared that the emergence of these business cartels seriously disturbed the British firms that were making huge profit in Kano. And it seems that even the colonial government did not welcome this development probably in an attempt to preserve the Lugardian policy of discouraging indigenous participation in industry and commerce during the early days of colonialism.<sup>23</sup>

Despite this, the K.C.T.C. initiated the setting up of the textile mill at Gwammaja, a project supported by Kano N.A. And from 1950 to 1953, Kano N.A. vehemently assisted K.C.T.C. towards establishment of import-substitution manufacturing industries, which enhanced rapid development in the industrial sector in Kano. For instance, the Gwammaja textile mill started production in 1952 with several thousands of yards per annum, and by 1960, its output rose to 1,056,522 yards. It has been said that the then Northern Nigerian Ministry of Trade and Industry came to support the Gwammaja

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<sup>21</sup> See Loimeric. Roman. op. cit. pp. 92-93.

<sup>22</sup> Abubakar Jibril, personal discussion. 26<sup>th</sup> May 2005.

<sup>23</sup> Bushir. L. Ibrahim. op. cit. p. 105.

textile by staffing its Account Section as well as Technical and Management Departments.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, from 1950 to 1959, about 43 manufacturing enterprises were established in Kano as an offshoot of the industrial foundation of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. About 19 of these were enterprises like weaving; spinning; leather works; plastics; enamelware; food processing like sweets, bakeries and confectionaries; wood processing; perfumes and cosmetics; as well as footwear industries. All these industries were separately owned by different organisations or individuals. The remaining were fairly large-scale enterprises with capital input ranging from £15,000 to £65,000. It should however be noted that the dates of the establishment of these enterprises is not known today, but from all indications, most of them were established in the early 1950s.<sup>25</sup>

From 1950 to the year of his death, 1953, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero entirely devoted himself efforts towards promoting industrialisation in Kano. It was at this time that the Kano N.A. began to look at the possibility of establishing a separate and permanent industrial area in Kano. Some people at the Emirs Council suggested Chalawa spacious site, but the Emir objected to this on the ground that the industrial pollution would contaminate the dam that supplied water to the people. The Emir then suggested Sharada, adding that the site was the most appropriate for all industrial activities, and the area was far away from people. The suggestion of

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<sup>24</sup> Abubakar Jibril. personal discussion. 26<sup>th</sup> May 2005.

<sup>25</sup> Bashir. L. Ibrahim. in Barkindo. M. Bawuro. (ed) op. cit. pp. 105-108 and personal discussion with Alhaji Abubakar Jibril. February 2005.

## Abdullahi Bayero

the Emir was highly welcomed by the environmentalists which later was supported by the Northern Regional Government.<sup>26</sup>

But *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero did not live long to see the fruition of his efforts for he died in 1953. It was shortly after his death that the Northern Regional Government granted a loan of £30,500 to Kano N.A. for Sharada industrial estate and the money was to be used in compensating farmers whose land was earmarked for this purpose. The remaining part of the money would be used in constructing access roads and drainages within the industrial area.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, we can see that the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero marked a beginning of industrialisation and situated Kano as the most important industrial centre in Northern Nigeria. All these developments continued uninterruptedly under the leadership of Bayero's sons and successors: *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Sunusi and *Sarkin Kano* Ado Bayero. For example, between 1960 and 1969 several modern industries were established in Kano. About 78 of these were manufacturing and processing companies established in Kano.<sup>28</sup> And by 1<sup>st</sup> January 1978, it has been estimated that there were over 150 modern manufacturing industries in *Birnin Kano*, making the ancient kingdom to retain its fame as a commercial and industrial centre the world over. Today, Kano became the Nigeria's leading state in the commerce and

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<sup>26</sup> Abubakar Jibril, personal discussion, 26<sup>th</sup> May 2005.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* See also Bashir, L. Ibrahim, in Barkindo, M. Bawuro, (ed) op cit p107.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* p. 105-106.

manufacture, second only to Lagos in the country at large.

### **Agriculture And Livestock**

Agriculture and livestock was the predominant occupation of the *Kanawa*. Farming, which even today forms the chief occupation of the majority of the people in the Emirate, is undertaken during the rainy season. The farming is supported with the fertile land. During the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, varieties of farm produce like *dawa* (sorghum), *gero* (penninsetum millet), *wake* (beans) etc were major food crops cultivated throughout the Emirate, while groundnuts and cotton were grown as cash crops.

It is however important to note that before colonialism, Kano had specialised in the exportation of food crops to the neighbouring states and parts of Africa. This indeed made Kano to acquire a lot of fame as a centre of agriculture and livestock throughout Hausa land and beyond. But unfortunately, colonialism seems to have destroyed all the pattern of agricultural production in the whole Emirate. Peasant farmers who cultivated food crops were drawn into the production of cash crops most especially groundnuts, which, initially was only grown for consumption. During the period, peasant farmers were coerced into the production of groundnut in large quantities, which were shipped to Britain. Groundnut trade, according to many sources had started during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas (1903-1919). This development marked the beginning of groundnut trade in which trading firms started purchasing and railing groundnut to Lagos for shipment to

England.

Of course, this development led to the decline in food production, which resulted into hunger and starvation. It was as a result of this trade that the British colonialists introduced paper money, which at first was rejected by Emir Abbas. The effort of Abbas helped in many ways in restricting the British trading activities. It was after his death that, the British introduced the paper money in the Emirate and forced people to accept it as a legitimate medium of exchange.<sup>29</sup> The money issued were of five denominations, which included; red shilling note, white two shillings note; five shillings note that had different bluish colour; ten shillings note and one pound notes. People were totally dissatisfied with this paper currency considered to be worthless and even prayed that "Allah ya kawo sukki", meaning Allah give us alleviation.<sup>30</sup>

The introduction of paper money during the reign of Emir Usman Dan Tsoho (1919-1926) was often regarded as a great triumph to the British colonialists. Farmers were compelled to cultivate groundnut to get paper money and pay their taxes. Those unable to farm were forced to leave their homes sometimes hundreds of miles away to work for the Europeans since they alone had money acceptable for tax purpose. Consequently, towns and villages in the Emirate that predominantly served as primary source of food production became denuded.

But *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero believed that the strength and future of Kano depended on

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<sup>29</sup> Skinner, Neil (ed), op. cit. p. 74.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* p.74-76.

agriculture, most especially food production, which sustained life. And more annoying to him was that even the groundnut was under-priced by the British firms in collaboration with their Lebanese and Syrian agents in which peasant farmers were forced to accept any price offered without question. Therefore immediately after his ascension, the Emir quickly devised a strategy for agricultural development. His strategy was aimed at boosting agricultural output and giving protection to the peasant farmers in terms of the price offered to them on their groundnuts. He initiated a produce board that would regulate price of agricultural produce most especially cash crops. This body was known as Kano Produce Board and the same body facilitated the idea of establishment of the Marketing Boards in 1940s after the Second World War.<sup>31</sup>

Ultimately, the initiatives devised by the Emir succeeded in changing the pattern of agricultural production dramatically in the whole Emirate within the shortest period of time. Oral tradition shows that immediately after his installation in February 1927, Emir Abdullahi Bayero assembled all the District and Village Heads and discussed the issue of agriculture and livestock in the Emirate. The meeting, which was held at the palace, lasted for four hours while the Emir patiently listened to the opinion of everyone who had something to say. The Emir finally said:

*I hereby direct you to go and educate farmers about the negative consequences of over-producing groundnuts, which lead to hunger, sufferings and*

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<sup>31</sup> Abubakar Jibril, personal discussion. 26<sup>th</sup> May 2005.

- deaths that intermittently happened in the Emirate.
- Massive production of groundnut normally led to glut in the market that negatively forced the price to fall down. I want all our people to devote their efforts in the coming agricultural session towards producing food crops that sustain life.<sup>62</sup>

All the District and Village Heads seriously adhered to the directives of the Emir, because they were all afraid of how to maintain their offices under the new dispensation. They precisely knew that Abdullahi Bayero was a very serious minded leader and a man of no nonsense, who can deal with anyone that flout his order. Therefore, they quickly rushed and informed people the message of the new Emir, and warned peasant farmers to take it very serious or else faced the consequences. It was as a result of this that farmers generally devoted their energy towards producing food crops for fear of the *Hukuma*, not because they liked doing so. To them groundnut generated much income that enabled them to settle most of their personal problem and those of their family. Therefore, on the following agricultural season (1927-1928), farmers cultivated much food crops, which drastically led to the fall in the production of groundnut. This caused the British firms and their agents much frustration. In that session, the British firms virtually became redundant and run helter skelter from one village to another looking for groundnut to buy from people. The

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<sup>62</sup> This information was given to me by Shamakin Kano Inuwa who said that Emir Abdullahi Bayero assembled all the District and Village Heads five days after his appointment as the Emir of Kano in 1926. Most people present during this meeting assumed that the Emir would soon ban the production of groundnut, for reason unknown to them. June 2003.

development apparently rattled and confused the colonialists and that forced the Resident of Kano Mr. C.W. Alexander to go and requested the Emir to allow people to cultivate groundnut in the next agricultural session. In a triumphant expression, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero responded in Hausa that:

*"Ai duk lokacin da aka noma gyada ta yi yawa, jama'a kan shiga cikin kinci, domin ba su samun daman noma abincin da za su ci. Ina son ku Turawa ku tuna da yunwar da aka yi a 1914 wanda ake kira Yunwa mai buhu. Saman ku Turawa in an noma gyada ba ku sayenta da tsada. Don haka muka hana manoma shuka gyada, sai in har za ku saye ta da daraja. Daga nan sai mu san irin shirin da za mu yi na noma gyada haɗe da abinci. (Whenever groundnut is produced in large quantity, people often suffer because they did not get a chance of producing food crops they would eat. I want you Europeans to remember the 1914 famine, which is known as hunger of *Mai buhu*. Again, you Europeans do not pay the actual price of the groundnut produced. It is because of this we directed farmers to stop cultivating groundnut, until when you are willing to pay its actual price. And from there we would know the arrangement to be made so that both the groundnut and food crop should be produced simultaneously).<sup>33</sup>*

It was at this moment that Resident Alexander assured *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero that he would do everything possible to ensure that peasant farmers were paid the actual price of their groundnut. On the other

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

hand, the Emir promised the Resident that he would give his co-operation in as much as the interest of people would be protected. But in that agricultural session of 1927-1928, Kano export thousands tons of Guinea com, millet and wheat to many African countries. This development greatly improved the living condition of peasant farmers all over the Emirate who assumed that only groundnut fetch money. In spite of this success, the Emir tried to ensure that food production was maintained and this remained the core to the development of agriculture throughout the period of his leadership. For instance, in 1934, Kano produced about 450,000 tons of millets and guinea corn, 50,000 tons of beans, 150,000 tons of groundnuts, 75,000 tons of cassava and 5,000 tons of seed cotton, making the total of 730,000 tons in that agricultural session.<sup>34</sup>

The slump in the groundnut production seriously affected the British industries located at Lancashire and Manchester. This caused grave concern to the colonial government in Nigeria. In order to ensure the steady production of groundnut, the colonial officers approached the Emir at his palace and tabled the matter before him. During the meeting, arrangement of allowing the produce board to determine prices was made. It was agreed that the board would determine and announce price of groundnut before the rainfall every year so as to allow farmers to choose on what to cultivate.<sup>35</sup>

This development however made the price of the groundnut to increase favorably despite the fluctuations from one agricultural session to another. The groundnut

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<sup>34</sup> Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile, 2568 Vol. II, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>35</sup> Abubakar Jibril, personal discussion, 26<sup>th</sup> May 2005.

market continued to be speculative, making the price to be fluctuating in favour of peasant farmers, which disturbed the British firms. The Kano N.A. systematically continued to hold sway over groundnut cultivation. Through this manipulation, the price of groundnut raised considerably from 90 Shillings per ton in 1926-27 sessions<sup>36</sup> to £12 in 1928-29 session.<sup>37</sup>

In any case, the demand of groundnut continue to increase favorably most especially during the Second World period. The Emiral government tactfully handled the situation, a development that marked the beginning of earning foreign exchange for Kano and Nigeria. It was this development that made Kano to establish a reputable position in terms of groundnut production during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. The *Dalar Gyada* (groundnut pyramids) became a feature of the *Birni*, which enhanced general development of cash economy. Thus, from 1930 onward, the people of *Kusar Kano* largely came to depend on groundnut production to gain surplus wealth.

In his bid to augment agriculture, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero initiated *bukin nunin amfanin gona* (agricultural show) in the rural areas of the Emirate. This was aimed at educating and enlightening the farmers about the modern methods of cultivation. The first agricultural show organised took place in November 1934 at Tudun Wadan Dan Kadai after the return of the Emir from Britain. It has been reported that within two hours, about 12,000 tickets were sold at 2 *anini* (one-tenth of a

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<sup>36</sup> Abubakar Jibril, personal discussion, 26<sup>th</sup> May 2005. See also Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 475-485.

<sup>37</sup> Fika, Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. p. 398.

penny) for entering the venue.<sup>38</sup> All the Districts in the Emirate participated in the agricultural exhibition, which the Emir actively take part. Senior British officers including the Emirs of Kazaure, Hadejia, Daura, and Katsina attended the agricultural show.<sup>39</sup>

The agricultural show, which lasted for two weeks, was the first occasion in which *Malaman Gona* (personnel of Agricultural Department) taught farmers new method of farming. A new technique on the advantages of mixed farming was also demonstrated to the farmers and a locally home-made plough, *garman shanu* was introduced. The *garman shanu*, constructed with wooden and metal, was made by the local *Makera* and it was issued to the farmers as loan.<sup>40</sup> The agricultural department also used the occasion and introduced a variety of cotton seeds. The department tried to promote the cultivation of cotton in order to supplement groundnut as cash crop.

In addition to this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero opened a government experimental farm at *Birnin Kano* in 1930. Additional five experimental farms were opened in some Districts areas in 1931 while another one was opened in 1932 at Karaye District. The experimental farms were aimed at providing a strong base for future agricultural expansion in the Emirate. The centres were under the Agricultural Department, which was

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<sup>38</sup> Hogben, S.J. & Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. *The Emirates Of Northern Nigeria*, op. cit. p. 209.

<sup>39</sup> Personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali and Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa (2003). See also Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 479.

<sup>40</sup> Malam Dan Alkali and Shamakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa (2003). See also 1928 Annual Report of Kano Province, S.N.P. 17, 9043 Vol.I. N.N.A. Kaduna.

responsible of demonstrating to the farmers how mixed farming should be carried out and the importance of cattle ploughs.

Gradually, tractors were introduced in the Emirate as part of agricultural mechanization efforts of Emir Abdullahi Bayero. The tractors became highly acceptable to the farmers, which made the Emir to use the N.A. funds and purchased them from Ford Company of America. The Agricultural Department distributed these tractors to District Headquarters. The farmers simply goes and registered their name in the District Agricultural Department for hiring a tractor. The charges were normally made on hourly bases and each tractor had two drivers with one supervisor. The introduction of ploughs and tractors helped farmers towards cultivating several acres of land annually. And within a short time, the N.A. was able to recover its money, which prompt it to supply more for the benefit of farmers.

Also in the 1930s, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero directed the District Heads in collaboration with Agricultural Department to start parceling out of farmlands to the unemployed youths who showed interest in farming. The Agricultural and Works Department cleared a vast land for this purpose. The Emir ordered the N.A. Treasury to cautiously gave these youths a short-term loan, repayable installmentally in three years.<sup>41</sup> Oral tradition shows that many people in the Emirate who subsequently became rich and successful farmers moved from towns and villages and settled in what came to be

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<sup>41</sup> Malam Dan Alkali and Shumakin Kano Muhammadu Inuwa (2003). See also 1928 Annual Report of Kano Province. S.N.P. 17. 9043 Vol. I, and Kano Provincial Gazetteer. Kano Profile. 2568 Vol. II. N.N.A. Kaduna

known as agricultural settlements. This development facilitated a permanent agricultural extension and made such agricultural settlements to become important towns and villages today in Kano State.<sup>42</sup>

Another important aspect connected with agricultural development during the reign of Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero was the introduction of artificial chemical fertilizer. It has been reported that several experiments were conducted by the Agricultural Department before the fertilizer was issued to the farmers for use. It was also relatively at the same time that weed killers were introduced to farmers in the Emirate. However, despite these developments, the Emir continuously advised farmers to use heavy cattle manure since most of them maintained livestock in their homesteads. This however might be a suspicion, which the Emir had on the White men because he once told Wazirin Kano Giufado that, "I am afraid of White men, because they can bring a chemical that would improve the crops and consequently destroy the land".<sup>43</sup> Therefore, farmers ignored the chemical fertilizer and continued to use cattle manure in their farms. This propelled Resident C.W. Alexander to report that:

*Results of artificial manure experiments on groundnuts last year tended to show that it did not have beneficial result as compared with farm-yard manure applied at the rate of three tons per acre. ....Experiments*

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<sup>42</sup> Mallam Dan Alkali, personal discussion, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>43</sup> Personal discussion with the present Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusuf Maruma Sule, 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2004.

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*continued this year with cotton as the testing crop but results are not yet available.*<sup>44</sup>

Additional efforts were also being made by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to expand a dry season cultivation known as *noman rani*. The Emirate was naturally endowed with *fadamu* (low-lands) and *rafuka* (streams) in every direction, which the Emir sensed, must be utilise adequately. Although, *fadama* farming or *noman rani* had existed for centuries, but farmers seems to abandon it due to the colonial intemperance in agriculture. Therefore, the Emir directed the personnel of the Agricultural Department to tour the Emirate and apportion the unused *fadamu* to people interested in *noman rani*. This development marked a new era for extensive irrigation throughout the Emirate. Variety of crops and vegetables for local consumption were produced by farmers, which included onions, tomatoes, carrots, etc.

In addition to this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero established a plantation nursery at Kofar Dan Agundi in 1928. This nursery plantation was aimed at supplying varieties of trees or seeds for distribution to people in an attempt to check desert encroachment. The plantation also supplied large quantity of economic trees such as mango, pomegranate, orange, banana, cashew, guava and carrot seeds to the people freely.<sup>45</sup>

Muhammadu Koki, who was born around 1894, recalled that during his childhood days, they had never seen a mango in Kano talk less of how it tasted. Carrots

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<sup>44</sup> See 1928 Annual Report. S.N.P. 17. 9043 Vol.I. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>45</sup> 1938 Annual Report Kano Profile No. 3095. N.N.A. Kaduna

and oranges as well as other fruits were all new in Kano. At first, carrots and oranges were only obtained from a European man called *Mai Dogon Gemu*, who resided in Sabon Gari. He was the first to bring these for sale to the people.<sup>46</sup> But in 1935, Kano was able to produce quantities of vegetables far above its own consumption. It was at this period that the exportation of vegetables to neighbouring Emirates started, and gradually, Kano became a major supplier of vegetables to the Southern protectorate of Nigeria.<sup>47</sup> The colonial report gave an account on this development when the Resident of Kano, Featherstone stated in 1938 that:

*There has been a marked increase in the amount of vegetables grown both for local consumption and for dispatch to stations down to railway. Both in Kano and around Kano City there are many vegetable gardens growing onions, tomatoes, carrots, vegetable marrow, radishes, lettuces etc. Carrots, especially, have become a popular fancy in the diet of the local natives.*<sup>48</sup>

It was at this time that Kano N.A. embarked on planting trees at *Birnin Kano* and its surrounding environments, which further decorated the streets of

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<sup>46</sup> Alhaji Muhammad Koki. *Kano Malami*, translated and edited by Skinner, p. 42.

<sup>47</sup> Personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali, Shamakin Kano and Dan Ramin Kano Abdulkadir. See also S.N.P. 17, 9043 Vol 1 Kaduna.

<sup>48</sup> See 1938 Annual Report of Kano Province. Kano Profile No. 30 N.N.A. Kaduna.

ancient town.<sup>49</sup> As part of his effort to arrest desert encroachment, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero announced his intention to conserve the forests in the Emirate. The Emir sensed that desert encroachment posed a serious threat to future development of agriculture, a situation that could only be arrested through artificial regeneration of the forest since natural regeneration was very slow as a result of burning dead grass in the dry season period for hunting. To him, Kano forest was extensively covered with trees, which were unfortunately destroyed by both natural and artificial forces such as droughts and excessive tree felling for domestic use of people.

These uncontrolled damages caused serious drought and soil erosion in some parts of the Emirate and challenged the major forests, which housed animals. Therefore, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero wasted no time in starting the reforestation exercise in which appropriate seeds and young trees were planted in many parts of the Emirate. The Emir tried to increase the forest area most especially around the northern and eastern part of the Emirate. Instances of such efforts could be seen today along Dambatta-Kazaure-Daura road.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero also earmarked two forests that would be reserved by Kano N.A. These were Dan Gora forest, which is known as *Dajin Falgore* along Kano-Zaria road, and *Kurmin Korama* forest at Kano-Kazaure boundary. The Kano N.A. employed forest officials known as *Malaman Daji* who strictly guarded

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<sup>49</sup> Personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali, Shamakin Kano Inuwa and Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir. See also S.N.P. 17, 9043 Vol. 1, N.N.A. Kaduna.

the forest. They were put under the Forest Department. In those days, varieties of animals were found in these forest reserves such as cheetahs, leopards, lions, gazelles, baboons, duikers, hyenas, and few elephants.<sup>50</sup>

Apart from these animals, variety of birds were available at the forest reserve, which included wild ducks, wild geese, guinea fowls, bustard, sand grouse snipe green pigeons and several others too numerous to mention. These beautified the reserves and make it a centre of attraction to people especially tourists who visited Kano Emirate from every part of the world. The Kano N.A. strictly put in force law that regulated conservation of these reserves. Hunting, setting bush on fire and cutting of trees was completely prohibited. Severe penalty was implicated on the wrongdoer. This helped in maintaining the ecological balance of the forests.

With regards to the livestock, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero put greater emphasis towards establishing *Asibitin Dabbobi* (veterinary clinics) in the Emirate. In 1931, the Emir established a laboratory and clinic at *Birnin Kano* for the Veterinary Department. The veterinary clinic was aimed at improving the general health condition of domestic animals. In those days, many people were so surprised indeed, on how *Asibitin Dabbobi* came about. They saw it as a modern innovation and often wonder how an animal could be taken to hospital to receive treatment like human beings instead of just slaughtering it. It took the Emir a great deal of time to enlighten the people during his annual tours about the

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid and personal discussion with elderly people at Tudun Wadan Daji Kadai in 2004.

importance of veterinary clinics before they agree with it.<sup>51</sup>

By 1935, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was able to set up veterinary clinics in all the District headquarters of the Emirate. The veterinaries carried out a lot of researches concerning skin and other diseases that disturbed animals at that time. Specimens of animal skins were taken to the laboratory for examination and experiments. All this was to detect skin diseases, which disturbed and killed many livestock. Aside from this, the veterinary officials known as *Malaman Dabbobi* inoculated cattle against rinderpest. This development greatly improved the quality of hides and skins. What disturbed animals most at that time was a particular disease known as pleura-pneumonia, which, however was brought under control. The disease was so contagious. For instance, in 1919, the outbreak of this disease swept off over 25% of cattle in the Emirate.

Many people who knew the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero recalled his compassion and sympathy towards animals. He habitually warned people against maltreating the animals, especially the kind of cruelty they go through when transporting or slaughtering them. It was during his reign that Kano N.A. passed anti-cruelty law that prevented people from maltreating animals. Instruction was also passed to butchers through *Sarkin Mahauta* on the proper methods of handling the animals at the abattoirs. Those found maltreating animals were severely punished. It was in recognition of this that the

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<sup>51</sup> Personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali, Shamakin Kano Inuwa and Dan Rimin Kano AbdulKadir. See also S.N.P. 17. 9043 Vol. I. Kano Profile No. 2568. Vol. II and 3095. N.N.A. Kaduna.

Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to animals extended its appreciation to Abdullahi Bayero.

It was in view of this that in December 1931, K.N.A. selected four butchers for special training. The Emir personally interviewed them, and when he became satisfied, sent them on special training. During the training, they were shown how to slaughter animals according to the Shari'a, and the type of knife to be used. After their training, the N.A. employed them to serve as instructors to the less skilled butchers in all parts of the Emirate.<sup>52</sup>

### **Commerce And Trade**

Historically, Kano was the largest and richest city in the Savannah belt of Africa south of Sahara. The Emirate had enormous economic potentialities and a very rich prospect for trade, which was reinforced by the trans-Saharan trade. It was the trans-Saharan trade that brought Kano into contact with the western world. The European used the trade route and brought their goods to Kano via North Africa, in exchange of its commodities. The Kano's commerce was fully strengthened by manufacturing activities taking place in all parts of the Emirate and this accelerated the industrial prowess of the Emirate most especially during the Fulani era. In addition to this, the Emirate's fertile land contributed much to its immense agricultural wealth, while the famous *Kasu* and *Kurmi* maintained the status of international markets in which business transaction took place. This made *Br*

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<sup>52</sup> See S.N.P. 17. 9043 Vol. I. Kano Profile No. 2568. Vol. II and N.N.A. Kaduna.

*Kano* to remain one of the commercial centre in the world.

These developments made *Kano* to become the central point of commerce and acquired a status of an emporium of trade. All this was well known to the British imperialists. In fact this was what hastened the British to conquer and subjugate the Emirate with what Lugard called a 'might strike' in 1903. With the establishment of colonial rule, the British firms and their Lebanese and Syrian collaborators gradually took over the commerce and trade, an activity that was initially carried out by the *Kanawa*. Emir Muhammadu Abbas (1903-1919) who was appointed by the British tried his best to free the *Kanawa* from the economic bondage imposed by foreign firms but with little success. In fact, this seems to be among the factors that added to his problems with the British, which at the end cost his life. On his untimely death, the British were very careful and therefore appointed Usman Dan Tsoho (1919-1926) as successor, who despite his old age, was suffering from constant illness. This development gave the British an opportunity to push the *Kanawa* from the mainstream of commerce and trade.

Therefore, the lucrative marketing of groundnut at this time came heavily under the domination of white aliens, who were in effect outside the jurisdiction of the Emirate authority. The Hausa trading communities were left with only cattle and kola nut trading, while the British firms and their agents who enjoyed the protection of the colonial government continue to siphon the resources of the land.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Fika, Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. p. 401.

But lucky enough, the ascension of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero in 1926 dramatically changed the whole pattern of commerce and trade in favour of *Kanawa* and this marked a new watershed in the development of progressive economy of the Emirate as a whole. The Emir was very resilient and knew how dangerous the British and their agents were. In fact, from 1903 to 1926, most of the British firms had successfully established trading station in the rural areas of Kano. Their Lebanese and Syrian agents had already moved and settled in rural areas enjoying their lucrative businesses.

Therefore, shortly after assumption of power, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero brought his wide knowledge and wider understanding in dealing with the situation tactfully. First of all, the Emir indirectly tried and removed the white aliens from participating in buying and selling at the rural areas of the Emirate and this could be demonstrated with his direct order to all District and Village Heads, dated 21<sup>st</sup> November 1926. The directives read as follows:

*Ku sani, idan akwai Turawa a cikin Kasarku, Siriyar, ko Arab, ko waninsu, kada ku bar shi ya zama a gari, sai bayan gari wurin puloti. Idan ya ki wama magana, ku kore shi ya dawo Birnin Kano. Kada ku bar shi a cikin Kasarku. (Note that if there is a European in your domain, or Syrian, or any Arab or the rest, never allow him to stay in the town, except at the reserved site outside the settlement. If he refused to comply with your statement, send him back to Kano city. Never allow him to stay in your domain).<sup>54</sup>*

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<sup>54</sup> Emir's Direct Order. Kano Profile. No. 2953. N.N.A. Kaduna.

## *Socio-Economic And Rural Development*

Also in 1930, the Kano N.A. directly intervened and restricted the number of trading stations in the Emirate. Then *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero silently arranged with Alhaji Alhassan Dantata to start buying groundnut most especially in the rural areas. Dantata was so rich and the wealthiest Kano trader, who was said to have deposited 20,000 camel loads of silver coins when the Bank of British West Africa was opened in 1929. The support and encouragement given to him by the Emir made him to become one of the few Kano indigene that deeply got involved in groundnut trade. It has been reported that by 1950, Alhassan Dantata had more than 100 agents purchasing groundnuts on his behalf in almost every section of the Emirate. His Company's headquarters was located at Anguwar Koki and the Emir used his power and extended the rail line to his places of business.<sup>55</sup>

Similarly, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero discreetly pushed the *Kanawa* into tannery business. The Kano N.A. silently offered short-term credit facilities to them in an effort to consolidate Kano's commercial status.<sup>56</sup> At that material time, the Lebanese and Syrians resided at Waje near Fagge, controlling the trades in hides and skins trade, which was exported to England. The Syrian quarters was occupied by people such as Bil

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<sup>55</sup> This statement was constructed from personal discussions with Dan Masanin Kano Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sulc and Malam Dan Alkali. See also Loimeier, Roman, op. cit. p. 89. and Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim in Hambolu, M.O. (ed), op. cit. p. 96. Alhassan Dantata died on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1955 and left behind 18 children and prominent among them are Sunusi Dantata, Aminu Dantata and Mamuda Dantata.

<sup>56</sup> Dan Masanin Kano Yusufu Maitama Sulc and Abubakar Jibril, personal discussions in 2004-2005.

Aluwa, Howeidi, Bugran and Shehu Ganaba. This particular place was called *Kantin Tudu*. Some other Arabs who also participated in hides and skins business stayed at *Anginwan Turawa*, a place located to the west of Kurmi market. Later, the Emir established a canteen area which was dominated by both indigenous merchants and Arabs and the place is known today as *Kantin Kwari*.<sup>57</sup>

What facilitated the trade in hides and skins was the large consumption of beef by the natives. For instance, in 1927, some 20,581 cattle and 60,218 sheep and goats were slaughtered for human consumption at the markets in Kano and its surroundings, while in 1936, the figure rose to 118,709 cattle and 524,050 sheep and goats. The increase in the number of animals slaughtered for consumption boosted the export trade in hides and skins.<sup>58</sup> Gradually, Kano entirely dominated the business and that made it to become the Northern headquarters of trade in hides and skins, which were brought from sections of the Northern Provinces.

The economic policies of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullah Bayero were very impressive to the extent that tremendously facilitated the gradual take over of commercial activities from the white aliens. Kano businessmen enormously benefited much from Bayero's commercial strategy and prominent among those who excelled in commerce at that time included Alhaji Nababa Badamasi who was born in 1880 and died in 1970; Alhaji Umaru Sharubutu, who died in 1944; Mala

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid. See also Skinner, Neil (ed). op. cit. pp. 61-62.

<sup>58</sup> Fika. Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. p. 104.

Rabi'u Dan Tinki.<sup>59</sup> Alhaji Danbaffa who was born in 1919 and died in 1990; Alhaji Nabegu; Alhaji Muhammadu Nagoda Koki, who was ranked second to Dantata in terms of wealth; Alhaji Ahmadu Maiturare who hailed from the stock of Kano-Agalawa community;<sup>60</sup> Alhaji Sani Marshall was born in 1927 at Kura; Alhaji Garban Bichi who was born in 1926 at Bichi and; Alhaji Abdurrahaman Ringim.

Apart from them, there were people like Alhaji Sanda Maigannari, Alhaji Sharubutu, Alhaji Miko Abdullahi, Alim Iliya, Alhaji Audu Na Alhassan, Alhaji Badamasi Mai Taba, Alhaji Ahmadu Getso who was known as Ahmadun Taba and Alhaji Umaru Maikwatashi who was known as Umaru Mai Anini. Others that emerged were the sons of Alhaji Alhassan Dantata that included Alhaji Ahmadu Dantata, Alhaji Sunusi Dantata, Alhaji Aminu Dantata and Alhaji Mamudu Dantata. Mention would be made on people like Alhaji Isiyaka Rabi'u, the son of Alhaji Rabi'u Dan Tinki who was born in 1928; Alhaji Haruna Kasim; Alhaji Ibrahim Musa Gashash who descended from the Arab family of Ghadamis of Kano and; Ali Arab. (Some names of Kano traders and merchants from 1750 to 1950 is presented in appendix IV)

There were many others too numerous to mention, but all these people traded in a lot of things ranging from selling of bicycles, sewing machines, transportation, groundnut trade, glass beads and necklace trade and therefore remained a wealthy merchants. Most of these

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<sup>59</sup> Apart from religious scholarship. Malam Rabi'u Dan Tinki was a wealthy man who traded in books and sewing machines.

<sup>60</sup> Agalawa is a place now in the Republic of Niger.

people participated in various commercial and trading activities. For instance, Rabi'u Dan Tinki specialised in selling Islamic books and sewing machines while Aminu Ahmed dominated perfume trade and later moved to trade in hides and skins. His sons moved from exporting hides and skins to processing it at Kano in 1950s.<sup>61</sup>

Another dimension to this development was that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero helped the Kano traders in extending the old-age trade of kola nut to all the markets of Northern Nigeria and Niger Republic. At this time, the kola nut trade became an important economic activity in the Emirate. It was at this time that the N.A. used its influence towards facilitating entry for her traders to the neighbouring countries of Niger, Togo, Cameroon, Chad and Benin Republic.

The next most important commercial activity was the trade in livestock namely cattle, sheep and goats. The livestock trade proliferated in which large number of the animals were transported to southern markets by rail road and to a lesser extent on foot.<sup>62</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero also tried as much as possible to ensure that the *Kanawa* dominate livestock trade. A lot of advancement was registered in livestock trade during his reign in which *Kanawa* entrepreneurs became successful businessmen as a result of participating in this commercial venture. The *Kanawa*

<sup>61</sup> See Loimeicr. Roman. op. cit. pp. 50-150. Smith, M.G. op. cit. pp. 47-490 and Paden, John N., *Alimadu Bello Sardauna Of Sokoto: Values & Leadership In Northern Nigeria* (Zaria: Huduhuda Publishing Company Limited, 1986) p. 510.

<sup>62</sup> Personal discussion with Khalipha Sheikh Isiyaka Rabi'u during my fieldwork research on the book entitled *Alhaji Shehu Idris: the 18<sup>th</sup> Fulani Emir of Zazzau*, which took place at his residence on 13<sup>th</sup> September 199

## *Socio-Economic And Rural Development*

Lagos trade in livestock greatly advanced and Kano continue to supply all the markets of southern Nigeria with livestock.<sup>63</sup> This could be illustrated with figures below:

Year	Cattle	Sheep, Goats and Rams
1924	13,017	7,026
1925	13,813	7,276
1926	13,930	7,052
1927	14,541	11,330
1932	15,000	Not Available
1933	18,001	3,941
1934	16,874	7,800
1935	17,774	9,179
1936	23,598	11,894
1937	29,522	14,822
1938	28,194	17,265
1939	33,316	16,435

*(Quoted from Adamu Mohammed Fika p.402)*

Another dimension to this development was that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero facilitated the trade in livestock beyond the Nigerian borders. Thus from 1936 onwards, Kano exported large cattle, sheep and goats to Gold Coast, now Ghana. The demand for Nigerian livestock in Gold Coast began in 1936 due to the ban of exportation of cattle from their Niger and Upper Volta territories. Therefore, Emir Bayero quickly take the advantage of the situation and arrange for the exportation of livestock to Gold Coast, which became a significant feature of Kano's long-distance trade.<sup>64</sup> The colonial

<sup>63</sup> Fika, Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. pp. 400-402.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* p. 403.

record depicted a clear picture to this development when it stated that:

*The Kano trader is (now) a familiar figure throughout the West Coast of Africa. He is symbolic of the importance of Kano's trade activities though he typifies the old rather than the present method (of trade).<sup>65</sup>*

Apart from this, Kano exported large quantities of farm produce and its locally manufactured products. And by 1945, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero successfully reoriented Kano's commercial activities southwards in which variety of food items were taken to markets in the Southern Province. This development led to economic prosperity in the Emirate and put an end to the attempt of the British domination in commerce and trade.

### **Health And Sanitation**

Before the ascension of Abdullahi Bayero to the throne, health and sanitary condition in Kano Emirate were completely neglected by the colonial administration. This treacherous neglect created a number of health problems most especially to the inhabitants of *Birnin Kano*, which at then was fast growing due to a number of migrants. Many preventable diseases such as guinea worms, smallpox, sleeping sickness, etc take a death toll daily. Only one dispensary clinic, which was established in 1903, existed at Bompai and even this was mainly patronised by the British. The dispensary clinic was sai

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<sup>65</sup> See Kano Profile. SNP No. 399/29652. N.N.A. Kaduna.

to have only regular European Doctor and few attending staff that served as nurses.

Another painful thing at the time was that the colonial administration did not make any concrete effort to enlighten the natives who remained suspicious about the dispensary clinic. Therefore, the clinic was only patronised by the families of Emir Muhammadu Abbas and his successor, Usman Dan Tsoho, and few among members of Kano ruling families. This, in effect shows that the British dispensary clinic was terribly unpopular to the people.

Abdullahi Bayero was quite aware of this nasty situation. In fact, even at the time of his ascension in 1926, Kano N.A. had no medical institution of its own despite the huge revenue it generated annually. And the British Administration was not inclined to push the N.A. too fast to construct a clinic in spite of influenza epidemic that erupted the Emirate, causing the death of more than 38,282 people in 1918 in *Birnin Kano*.<sup>66</sup>

Therefore, immediately after his ascension to the throne, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero declared his intention of constructing a modern hospital within the *Birnin Kano*. He personally went round the city with his friend, the Acting Resident, Commander J.H. Carrow and chose the spacious site of Shahuci for the construction of modern hospital, which is now called Murtala Hospital. Oral tradition related that the Acting Resident jokingly said, "Your Highness, this space is too large for a hospital." But the Emir smiled and responded that, "Commander, all my plans are for the future generations.

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<sup>66</sup> Fika, Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. p. 381.

## Abdullahi Bayero

I would not allow anybody among you to temper with this site no matter how".<sup>67</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was actually enthusiastic for the take off of the project. He therefore directed the work to begin at the hospital in October 1926, even before his actual installation of office scheduled in 1927. Without seeking for the approval of the Residency, the Emir budgeted £32,000 for the new hospital. The Acting Resident of the time, Mr. H.O. Lindsell, who took over from Carrow on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1926 was discontented and therefore went to the palace and showed his displeasure to the Emir about bypassing him to formally approve the project. But the Emir simply told him that:

*I could not sleep at the palace and watch my people dying like rats. For too long, you people failed to authorise for construction of a hospital, which is long overdue now.*<sup>68</sup>

The Acting Resident, who had been warned to be so cautious in dealing with the Emir, understood that Abdullahi Bayero was right in taking the decision, and he took it at right time. The Acting Resident simply thanked the Emir for his foresight, and left the palace in astonishment of the intelligence the Bayero.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, personal discussion, 20<sup>th</sup> June in 2003. The same statement was given during my formal interview with Dan Masanin Kari Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule in June 2003.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. See Fika, Adamu Mohammed op. cit. p. 378 and Kano Profile No. 3095, 2568 Vol. II, and 1928 Annual Report, SNP 9043, N.N.A. Kaduna.

It has been reported that the Emir was so anxious to see that the work has been accomplished within a short time, and when he realised that it would take some years, Bayero ordered for the speedy completion of a new dispensary at the site in 1927. Henceforth, fresh plans were further drawn for the continuation of the hospital project at the site. According to Resident C.W. Alexander, the Emir agreed that when the city hospital was completed, it would serve all purposes, and be available for the use by all people, whether an indigene of the Emirate, Government employees or those coming from outside the Emirate.<sup>70</sup>

For the people of *Birnin Kano*, the seat of the Native Administration, the construction of this clinic, and later a hospital was the most conspicuous symbol of a new age.<sup>71</sup> However, from 1928 to 1930, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero devoted much time and energy towards the accomplishment of the hospital project in spite of the unpopularity of European medical practices at that time. The Emir personally took a lot of interest by visiting the site of the project and constantly monitoring the progress made. He sometimes directed either *Sarkin Bai Abdulkadir* or *Waziri Gidado* to go to the site and see what was happening and report back to him.

This facilitated the speedy completion of the first phase of the Shahuci hospital in 1930, which inaugurated a significant landmark of the history of Kano. At the beginning of that year, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi seek for the secondment of Dr. Fox and made him in charge of the

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid. See also Fika, Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. p. 383, and Kano Profile, SNP No. 382/K.6892. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>71</sup> Fika, Adamu Mohammed. op. cit. p. 383.

hospital. Three nursing Staff assisted Dr. Fox. A maternity clinic was opened at the hospital in April 1930. Later in the year, the Emir opened a center for the training of hospital attendants for the proposed rural dispensaries and health care scheme. The maternity section was later put under a Miss Storrier, a British nurse. It has been indicated that the opening of a maternity clinic provided, for the first time a service for expectant mothers and new-born infants.<sup>72</sup>

At first, Shahuji Hospital was equipped with 12 beds, capable of admitting only 12 patients at a time. Additional wards capable of admitting more than 50 in-patients were completed in the early 1931. And by 1935, Emir Abdullahi Bayero was able to extend the facilities of the hospital to 102 beds, making it capable of admitting a number of patients at a time both from within and outside Kano. One interesting arrangement was that both the in-out-patient sections of the hospital were divided into two for males and females, which tally with the provision of the Shari'a.<sup>73</sup>

As a concerned leader, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero tried his possible best concerning the enlightening of the people about the importance of a hospital, which became a central issue most especially during the annual tour of the Emirate. The Emir also visited the hospital constantly patronised hospital or came on any health problem. And the people seriously...

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<sup>72</sup> FGA, Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. p. 384. See also Kano Profile No 3-15, 25/8 Vol. II, 1928 Annual Report, SNF 3043, N.N.A. Kildani and Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 480.

<sup>73</sup> Malam Dan Aballi and Dan Musaitin Kano Yagala Maitama Sale personal discussion, 27 June in 2015.

knowing fully that the Emir would not bring anything that would endanger their life. Therefore, the *Kanawa* started trooping into the hospital to receive treatment on various sicknesses, which took the British with a lot of surprise because they knew how the natives reviled hospital in the past.<sup>74</sup>

Available evidences show that in 1930, when the female section was opened, about 300 in-patients were admitted annually at Shahuci Hospital, while in 1936, more than 3,800 in-patients and 10,000 outpatients received treatment at this hospital. In 1937, the number of outpatients rose significantly to 106,000, which showed a marked increase far above the imagination of everyone. It was in this year that the Emir constructed additional wards and staff quarters as well.<sup>75</sup>

Similarly, another dispensary clinic and maternity were later opened at Fagge near Sabon Gari market and Dr. Turnbull was assigned to do a great deal of work there. The inhabitants of the *Birni* were encouraged to patronize the clinic in an effort to reduce the congestion at the Shahuci Hospital.<sup>76</sup>

Then, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero turned his attention towards providing medical facilities outside Kano city. Thus, in April 1932, four rural dispensaries were inaugurated at the District Headquarters of Bichi, Dambatta, Ringim and Gaya. Other dispensaries referred to as 'Bush Dispensaries' were opened in about 11

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<sup>74</sup> Malani Dan Alkali, personal discussion, June 2003.

<sup>75</sup> Fika, Adamu Mohammed op. cit. p. 378 and Kano Profile No. 3095, 2568 Vol. II, and 1928 Annual Report. SNP/9043. N.N.A. Kaduna. See also Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 480.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. See also Muhammadu Koki, quoted above, p. 107.

different part of the Emirate. All this was an effort of the Emir to extend medical work to rural areas. In those days, due to the lack of medical personnel, an attendant, who received a year's training at the Shahuci Hospital, manned the Bush Dispensaries. The Kano N.A. provided them with stock of medicines to treat minor ailments, referring the major ones to the Shahuci Hospital. These dispensaries were very popular in Kano Emirate and were supervised by a Traveling Medical Officer. Records show that in 1937 alone, more than 35,000 patients were treated at these rural dispensaries.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero made concerted effort towards exterminating a number of sicknesses such as guinea worm, sleeping sickness, malaria, small fox, etc. It has been reported that the supply of pipe-borne water within *Birnin Kano*, and later the construction of concrete lined wells at the rural areas in 1930 exterminated guinea worms in the Emirate. Guinea worm was mainly transmitted by the people who dig local wells in the towns and villages. For instance, if one among them had a guinea-worm blister on his leg, and entered into the water, the head of the worm would emerge and make the whole water infected. That was why in the olden days, if one was to drink water, he would be advised to cover the mouth of a gourd with a cloth so as to reduce the rate of guinea worm infection.<sup>78</sup>

With regards to sleeping sickness, the Kano N.A. carried out a large bush clearing in 1927. At first, the bush clearing took place around the marshes of Rano, Dutse, Gwaram, Kiyawa, Gaya, and later in the District

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> See also Muhammadu Koki, p. 16.

and Villages of the Emirate. The cost of this exercise including the spraying of insecticides was borne by the Kano N.A. The people infected with the sleeping sickness were treated with remarkable and satisfactory results. For instance, at Rano, Dr. G.G. Brander treated about 125 cases within few months. Record shows that the people of Rano were severely infected with this disease, which made them to contemplate deserting the town. But *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero restored their confidence by stationing medical personnel and supplied adequate drugs for curing the disease.<sup>79</sup>

Also in 1927, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero procured a large quantity of vaccinations from England that would be used against various infectious diseases, which posed serious threat to the life of people. It has been related that at the time when the drugs arrived, the Emir did not sanction its use to the public until when he personally assigned a Doctor to test it on his own blood children. This was not because the Emir wanted his children to start benefiting from it, but because of his ardent suspicion of the White men he had for a long time. Bayero said that he would not sanction its use to the general public until he was satisfied that it was quite harmless. The drugs, however, remained at the palace store for one year, while the Emir monitored its side effect from his own children injected with it. When the Emir became satisfied that the drug was not harmful, he directed for its use to the public. The Emir personally

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<sup>79</sup> Kano Profile No. 3095, 2568 Vol. II, and 1928 Annual Report, SNP/9043, N.N.A. Kaduna.

went and launched the programme of vaccination against various infectious diseases in the whole Emirate.<sup>80</sup>

Despite the precautionary measures privately taken by Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero, people however, remained very frightened of vaccination and tried to hide their children away from it. In order to convince people, the Emir publicly declared that the vaccination was first tested on his own children before he approve its use, but yet still people remained adamant, assuming that it was a bad thing. Despite this, the Emir was not annoyed. All he said was that, "It is hard for people to straight away accept and agree to something new to them". But when the Emir saw that people were quite unwilling to comply he directed the medical personnel to induce parents and vaccinate their children perforce. Therefore, when it was announced that there was to be vaccination in the ward of the next day, the women who had small children would tie them on their back and escaped to the next ward. It took a few years before people realised its importance.

In 1936, the N.A. was able to administer over 18,000 vaccinations in Kano city alone and another 5,600 at Fagge and Sabon Gari while about 250,000 smallpox vaccinations were administered in rural areas. Thousands of children as well as the adults were vaccinated for smallpox, malaria fever, cerebro-spinal meningitis and other killer diseases. Medical campaigns against yellow fever, leprosy and malaria proceeded smoothly in every part

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<sup>80</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, personal discussion, June 2003. The same information was given to me during my interview with Hajjya Sa'ad Bayero (Gungu) who seems to be among the oldest surviving daughter of Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero. She was born in the 1920s and my interview with her took place on 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004 at the Emir's Palace, Kano.

the Emirate.<sup>81</sup> The N.A. regularly received monthly births and deaths figures, mainly caused by infectious diseases from the Districts Headquarters.

In addition to this, the Kano N.A. opened a new leper settlement at Sumaila and other two districts in the Emirate.<sup>82</sup> Within the *Birnin Kano*, a leper settlement was established 10 miles away from the city. The Kano N.A. in collaboration with Sudan Interior Mission ably managed the settlement and about 200 cases were reported and treated in 1931. Gradually, a number of cases were constantly reported at this settlement from both within Kano Emirate and its neighbouring Emirates. Those infected rushed to the settlement from every direction when they realise the necessity and value of receiving early treatment before the development of the disease to a chronic stage

With regard to sanitation, *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* established a new Sanitary Inspectorate Department and assigned *Wakilin Tsubta* as in charge of the unit. By 1930, the Emir introduced a new policy of environmental sanitation in which the cleanliness of the interior and exterior of each household was made compulsory. The N.A. employed and trained women as Sanitary Inspectors since males were not allowed entry to people's compound. These women Sanitary Inspectors entered every house and inspected waste disposal most especially human, location of wells and pit-latrines. They tried and ensured that the wells and pit-latrines were not

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid. See Fika, Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. p. 386. Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 480. Muhammadu Koki, pp. 108-109. Kano Profile No. 3095, 2568 Vol. II, and 1928 Annual Report, SNP/9043. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>82</sup> Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 471

adjacent to one another. It was a rule that latrines had to be separated from the wells at least by 100 yards. All this was aimed at preventing the outbreak of cholera and other diseases. Penalties were imposed for non-compliance.

Aside from this, regular streets cleaning was maintained by the N.A., which improved the sanitation of the city. The Kano N.A. launched new methods of rubbish disposal and in 1934, and a brand new Albion vehicle was procured for urban refuse disposal. By 1935, considerable progress was made toward constructing public latrines around Kurmi and Sabon Gari markets and a strong enforcement was made on those found breaking the sanitary rules and regulations. The Emir regulated sanitary with direct orders, which were strongly obeyed by the people. Below is one of such orders, which reads as follows:

**Health Instruction by Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero  
to the people of Kano**

- 1. Every person must keep his compound clean and swept, the road adjacent to his house. Dung refuse or stagnant water must not be allowed to accumulate in the compound or its surrounding.*
- 2. All wells must be kept in good condition. The mouth of every well should be constructed in such a way that it will prevent water that spills on the ground from flowing back into the well. The Native Administration is responsible for unattached wells.*
- 3. Holders of market stalls must keep their stalls clean and sweep its surrounding everyday.*
- 4. All slaughterers in the official slaughtering area must keep it washed and in good condition; all those who slaughter an animal for whatever reason in their compounds must bury*

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*blood, intestines and other entrails so that nothing will be left exposed.*

*5. The outbreak of any infectious disease in a household must be reported to the authorities.<sup>83</sup>*

And by the end of 1935, the N.A. Sanitary Department had acquired the services of two European Superintendents who helped in handling the sanitation problems both in the metropolis and the Districts of the Emirate. Already in 1931, plan for city drainage that cost £100,000 was also earmarked<sup>84</sup> by the N.A. to arrest the flood that disturbed people during the rainy period. All these improved the health condition of the people in the Emirate, and it reduced, significantly, the high mortality rate. Thus, we could see the tremendous efforts and sacrifices made by *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* towards achieving his desire of creating a healthy society.

### ***Rural Development***

In Kano Emirate, rural developments did not become a regular feature until the ascension of *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero*. Until 1930, all the development programmes were concentrated in Kano, the capital city. It was not until 1932 that Emir Bayero impelled the Kano N.A. to inaugurate a policy of rural advancement programme. These rural advancement schemes were to be executed in collaboration with District Heads in the Emirate and the N.A. provided the entire fund needed to

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<sup>83</sup> Emir's Direct Order, Kano Profile file No. 2953, N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>84</sup> Kano Profile No. 3095, 1925 Vol. II, and 1928 Annual Report, SNP/9043, N.N.A. Kaduna. See also Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 480 and Fika, Adamu Mohammed, op. cit. p. 380.

execute projects. The projects included construction of feeder roads, bush dispensaries and clinics, rehabilitation of markets, well digging, enforcement of sanitary regulations, construction of public latrines, provision of courtrooms and provision of other infra-structural facilities.

In the course of 1933, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero executed many development programmes in the District towns of Dambatta, Dutse, Gwaram, Minjibir and Ringim.<sup>85</sup> These programmes were extended right down to the village level in which the N.A. executed several projects that would improve the living conditions of the people. It was as a result of this that the Emir encouraged the Village Chiefs to co-operate with the village elders in order to draw their priority areas. In 1933, the Resident of Kano, Mr. H.O. Lindsell was sufficiently impressed, and portrayed the progress so far made when he stated that

*The extension of departmental activities to the District is having its inevitable effects. Improved markets, cow building...cattle inoculation, inspection of hides and skins, sleeping sickness survey, anti-pest clearing...are matters, which tend to broaden the outlook of the District Heads and widen their interest beyond the narrow conception of duties limited to collection .....*<sup>86</sup>

But *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero personally laid much emphasis on well digging, construction of dispensaries and schools. To him, the provision of cl

<sup>85</sup> SNP/21326, Vol. I, Kano Provincial Annual Report of 1933, N. Kaduna. See also Fika, Adamu, Mohammed, op. cit. p. 360.

<sup>86</sup> Quoted from Fika, Adamu, Mohammed, op. cit. p. 362.

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water was a necessity to people in order to avoid diseases caused by pollution of water. Because of importance of water, the Emir appointed the *Wakilin Rijiyu* and charged him with the responsibility of not only overseeing the Chalawa dam, but also the construction of wells (*rijiyoyi*) in the Emirate. This development marked a progressive era in which hundreds of wells were constructed in the Emirate annually and that improved the water supply in rural towns. These wells were cement lined and provided adequate supply of water that became difficult to people due to the frequent collapse of the deep native wells. For instance, in 1951 alone, about 133 wells were sunk and lined in rural areas.<sup>87</sup> These wells were mostly constructed by the water engineers of the Geological Survey Department of the N.A.

Other projects included construction of feeder roads, improvement of town layouts, and environmental sanitation. The N.A. also extended its activities to irrigation and tree plantation work in all the Districts and Villages within the Emirate.

Thus, we could see that Kano Emirate was very lucky indeed to have a capable leader like Abdullahi Bayero who ascended the throne, during the most difficult period of colonialism. Nevertheless, the Emir was able, and succeeded in contributing much to the development of Kano despite the obstacles imposed by the British imperial powers. All the development projects implemented at that time were largely borne by the Kano N.A. through the money generated from taxation. However, this did not deter the Emir, who was credited

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<sup>87</sup> Personal discussion with elders at Dawakin Kudu and Bichi in 2003. See also Smith, M.G. op. cit. p. 489.

## Abdullahi Bayero

with prudent financial management as he went ahead and consolidated Kano's socio-economic and rural developments successfully.

Available records show that under *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, Kano Emirate greatly prospered and advanced both socially and economically. For instance, in 1952, the Emirate had a population of 2.9 million people, an increase of 970,000 since 1931 census. About 51.7 percent of the population were engaged in agriculture, 6.9% in crafts, 2.7% in trade, 13% in administration and technical activities while 2.9% in other occupations. In 1952, *Birnin Kano* contained about 93,000 people, while Fagge and Sabon Gari had a number of about 34,000 people. The European quarters around the metropolis where some Lebanese, Syrians and Indians lived had less than 3,000 people. The number of Europeans within the metropolis was estimated at between 200 to 250 people.

During the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero, the *Kanawa* lived very comfortably in happiness. Kano traders disclosed that Bayero was the first Emir of Kano among the Fulani rulers who made the *Kanawa* become so conscious towards pursuing their daily needs in various activities available at the time. The Emir was the person who re-exposed Kano to diverse influences which enhanced the idea of commerce and trade in the Emirate. This, as they argued, was what made the *Kanawa* to acquire sustenance and wealth. During his reign, Kano actually became famous, attaining a very prominent position throughout the world. This is what makes his reign to become a golden era of Kano in which rapid socio-economic and rural development became apparent throughout the Emirate.

## **Chapter Sixteen**

### ***Resurgence Of Traditional Values Of Gidan Rumfa: The Kano Palace***

The resuscitation of the traditional values of *Gidan Rumfa*, the Kano palace, was foremost among the monumental contributions of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero. The royal palace of Kano, which was established by *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499) symbolised not only the religious aspect of the state, but also served as a repository of culture, arts and language of the *Kanawa*. But sadly indeed, the royal palace seems to have been neglected by colonialists, who controlled the financial resources of the Emirate after the British conquest in 1903. Thus, Emir Muhammadu Abbas (1903-1919) and his immediate successor, Usman Dan Tsoho (1919-1926) were rendered helpless in maintaining the royal palace due to the lack of availability of funds and the slave labour, which had been used in rehabilitating *Gidan Rumfa*.

At the time of the ascension of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to the throne in 1926, many structures of *Gidan Rumfa*, the royal palace, and other mini palaces located in different parts of the Emirate nearly collapsed. More disturbing was the fact that even the traditional pomp and pageantry associated with Kano royalty had virtually become non-existent as a result of the constant ill health of *Sarkin Kano* Usman Dan Tsoho. Emir Usman was said to have found it absolutely impossible to even mount horse during the *Salla* festivities and this made people to start forgetting the rich culture and

traditional aspect of the state.

But luckily indeed, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero tried and resuscitated the deplorable condition of the royal palace, *Gidan Rumfa*, immediately after his ascension. Many informants narrated that without his tangible efforts, the history of the royal palace would have become entirely different from what it is or what it represented today in Nigeria. But his efforts and self-sacrifice made *Gidan Rumfa* to appear as a strong symbol of royalty and a source of pride not only for the people of *Kasar Kano* but also the nation at large.<sup>1</sup>

In order to appreciate the contributions of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero in resurrecting the historical aspect of the state, it is imperative to bring to light the brief history of the royal palace, *Gidan Rumfa*. *Gidan Rumfa*, the present day royal palace of Kano was built by *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499). It has been said that, before the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa, some places seem to have housed the *Habe* rulers of Kano within and around the present day *Birnin Kano*. Prominent among such places include a site around the Madabo mosque. Many scholars argued that this place had served as a royal palace of Kano before the establishment of *Gidan Rumfa*. The place is presently occupied by the illustrious family of Malam Ahmadu Salga, who was said to have acquired it from *Sarkin Kano* the head of Dambazawa Fulani clan. Available records

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<sup>1</sup> Oral interviews with Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir, Shamakin Kano, Inuwa and Abdullahi Mai Ingila on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003. All these people were elderly and precisely knew what happened to the palace during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas and his immediate successor, Usman Dan Tsolo.

shows that the Sarkin Bai obtained the land from *Sarkin Kano* Suleimanu (1805-1819) shortly after the conquest of Kano following the 1804 Jihad.<sup>2</sup> But another scholar argued that the pre-Rumfa royal palace was situated at Gwammaja, in a place where a huge silk cotton tree (*rimi*) stands at present. The main entrance gate of Gwammaja palace was facing the west and a huge baobab tree (*kuka*) stood at its entrance way. The Gwammaja palace was formerly named *Gadon Sarki*, meaning the Emir's bed<sup>3</sup> or the throne of a ruler.

When *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Rumfa came to power in 1463, he seemed to have stayed in a place, very closed to the present day palace and ruled the Kingdom. This place, which is situated south of the present day palace, was too small to accommodate Rumfa and several hundreds of slaves. Rumfa was advised later to construct a new palace by Muhammadu Ibn Abdulkarim Al-Maghili, who came to Kano during the period. That palace, according to Al-Maghili should be big enough to accommodate Rumfa and the large number of slave officials that handled some important administrative aspects of the state. Therefore, Rumfa selected the large open area located at the eastward direction, and assigned the Sarkin Magina<sup>4</sup> Danjigawa to construct the royal palace. The Sarkin Magina with the help of thousands of slaves spent three consecutive years to accomplish the building.<sup>5</sup> Muhammadu Rumfa was quite happy with the

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<sup>2</sup> Personal discussion with Malam Dan Alkali in 2003. See also Sa'ad, Hamman Tukur, in Barkindo, M. Bawuro, (ed). op. cit. p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Rufa'i, Ruqayyatu A., *Gidan Rumfa: Kano Palace* op. cit. pp. 21-22.

<sup>4</sup> *Sarkin Magina* literally means (chief builder).

<sup>5</sup> Bahago, A. Ahmed, *Kano Ia Dabo Tumbin Giwa: Tarihin Unguwamin Kano Da Kofolin Gari*, p. 13.

construction of the new palace, which he first named *Yalwa*, meaning abundance, due to the spacious land it occupied. Subsequently, people abandoned the name *Yalwa* and started referring to the royal palace as *Gidan Rumfa*.<sup>6</sup>

*Gidan Rumfa*, the royal palace, was situated relatively at the centre of *Birnin Kano*. The palace was originally constructed with three main entrance gates that included the Kofar Fada, Kofar Kudu and Kofar Bayi (slaves gate), which was later called Kofar Bai. It is interesting to note that for more than 542 years of the life of this royal palace, these three gates still remained where they are since construction. The only notable modification is that the names of these gates were subsequently changed, and perhaps modernised by the succeeding rulers of Kano. For instance, the Kofar Fada located at the north direction was renamed as Kofar Kwaru, while Kofar Bayi or Bai, also facing the north, was renamed as Kofar Fatalwa during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Alwali II (1781-1805). The Kofar Fatalwa derived this name as a result of the light image of *fatalwa* (ghost) that people often saw at this gate in the night.<sup>7</sup> The Kofar Kudu still retains its original position.

But at this juncture, it is however important to note that the Kofar Kudu was blocked during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Babba Zaki (1768-1776). The closure of this gate sprang from the taboo associated with military attacks from enemies, which normally came from the north.

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<sup>6</sup> Personal discussion with elders at the Emir's Palace Kano from 2001-2005. See Sa'ad, Hamman Tukur, in Barkindo, M. Bawuro, (ed), op. cit. pp. 63-67.

<sup>7</sup> Smith M. G., op. cit. pp. 134-135, and Bahago, A. Ahmed, op. cit. p.

southern direction of *Kasar Kano*. Therefore, Babba Zaki was advised by people to block Kofar Kudu because according to them, once this gate was left open, there was a tendency of attacking the Kingdom in the southern direction. This gate therefore remained blocked for many years until the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi (1855-1893), who ignored the taboo and ordered for the re-opening of Kofar Kudu gate for regular use. Some palace informants said that in those days, people strongly attributed the coming of the British, and conquest of the Emirate with the re-opening of the gate.<sup>8</sup>

It is however important to note that no gate was opened in the eastern and western directions of the palace since the construction of *Gidan Rumfa*. And none of the rulers ever attempted to break one in that direction up till today. This precisely shows that all the rulers of Kano that came after Muhammadu Rumfa maintained the rich cultural values connected with *Gidan Rumfa*, the royal palace; a legacy that absolutely become impossible to find anywhere in Nigeria today. And since every ruler is expected to make his own contribution to the palace by rebuilding a section of it, very little now remains of the original *Gidan Rumfa* except, possibly, the gates, palace grave yard and parts of the wall that surrounded the palace.<sup>9</sup> For example, *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Sunusi built another gate between Kofar Fatalwa and Kofar Kwaru called Kofar Mota. But the present Emir, Ado Bayero converted Kofar Mota into a mosque popularly known as *Masallacin Mata*. Elderly women converged at

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<sup>8</sup> Oral interview with Shamakin Kano Inuwa. M.G. Smith also reported the same thing in his book *Government In Kano*, pp. 300-350.

<sup>9</sup> Sa'ad, Hamman Tukur, op. cit. p. 66 and Bahago, A. Ahmed, p. 170.

this place to join Friday congregational prayer central mosque. Emir Ado Bayeri rehabilitated Fatawa and also constructed a gate very close which is called *Sobawa Kafa*.<sup>10</sup> The new gate facilitated the entry of motor cars into the palace in this direction.

When Sarkin Kano Muhammadu Rumfa moved to the new palace, he left his former house to the Makama of Kano of the time. This was the rationale behind the name of the house as *Gidan Makama*.<sup>11</sup> However, some scholars have disputed this claim, arguing that *Gidan Makama* was not the name of the house, and its present form in the 1750s was not the same. It was used to accommodate the family of Makaman Kano, who were responsible for the defense and maintenance of the palace walls.<sup>12</sup>

The emergence of *Gidan Rumfa* as seat of power for the rulers of Kano in its present form facilitated the appearance of a powerful kingship system, which emerged since during the period of Bagauda (999-1063). The former royal palace was highly associated with a number of royal prerogatives of power and other symbols associated with the royal throne. Since its establishment hundreds of years ago, *Gidan Rumfa* preserved and maintained the cultural heritage of the *Kanawa* including the Hausa language, spoken by majority of the people.

<sup>10</sup> Personal discussion with Sali Aman Kano Alhaji Aminu Dabo on Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> June 2005. See Rufa'i, Raquyyatu A., op. cit. pp. 38-39.

<sup>11</sup> Most elders interviewed at the Emir's palace Kano argued that Muhammadu Rumfa left the former palace, which is now referred to as *Gidan Alakama* to the Makama of the time, and relocated to the new palace, *Gidan Rumfa*, 2003-2004. M.G. Smith in his book, *Great Kano*, pages 131-135 also reported the same.

<sup>12</sup> See also Hamman Tukur, op. cit. p. 60. Presently, *Gidan Makama* is a National Museum and it is being maintained by Federal Department of Antiquities of Nigeria.

The reign of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero marked the beginning of an era for the progressive development of the royal palace, *Gidan Rumfa*, and resurgence of its rich traditional heritage. Just within a month of his ascension, the new Emir, Bayero started to rehabilitate the huge wall that surrounded the royal palace, which at then was completely rotten. Tradition shows that the Emir used N.A. funds in this exercise, and hired the people from within and nearby villages of Kano. He did this without consulting the Residency for any approval. But the development seemed to have pleased the Acting Resident, Commander J.H. Carrow who, personally went to the palace and inspected the work, further advising the Emir to use the prison labour in the exercise. The Central Prison<sup>13</sup> was very close to the palace and what the prisoners required was only food not wages. The Emir candidly accepted the advice of Acting Resident Carrow. And from then onward, prisoners who had short sentences were used in carrying out many public works not only at the palace, but also in public places. During the rehabilitation of the palace wall, Abdullahi Bayero directed for adequate supply of food from the *cikin gida* (main section of the Emir) for the prisoners.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas was credited for constructing this prison, which currently remains where it was initially built. The land in which the prison was built is part of the space of the *Gidan Rumfa*, the Kano Palace. The Federal Government had since taken over the control of this prison as well as other prisons in Nigeria, which are now placed under the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

<sup>14</sup> Personal discussions with some elders at the Emir's palace Kano. Prominent among them are Abdullahi (*Mai Ingila*), Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir and Shamakin Kano Inuwa. (2003-2004).

After completing the rehabilitation of the palace wall in January 1927, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero then turned his attention to the other sections of *Gidan Rumfa*, most especially the historical places. The Emir was a leader who liked resuscitating all the traditional structures of the royal palace in their original architectural designs. This was what made him to become the prime mover in the propulsion of buildings within and outside the royal palace of Kano. One interesting thing is the fact that most of the rehabilitations and new constructions in the palace were carried out by the traditional *magina* (builders). These *magina* were highly skilled and talented people and the Emir always patronised them in all his building activities.

In order to encourage traditional *magina*, Emir Abdullahi Bayero selected the most talented ones and awarded them with the traditional titles of *Sarkin Gini*, *Makaman Gini* and *Madakin Gini*. The most prominent among the *magina* at that material time were Sarkin Gini Muhammadu, Babale, Hassan Bayani, Mai Anini, Yalwa and Bala Gwani. All these people participated in the rehabilitation and new construction within the royal palace, *Gidan Rumfa*. Apart from this, Abdullahi Bayero also fished out the famous designers known as *masu zane-zane*. These *masu zane-zane* decorated the mu buildings with traditional designs associated with Kan royalty since time immemorial.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Personal discussions with elderly occupants of the royal palace of Kano (*Gidan Rumfa*) (2003-2004). See also Sa'ad, Hamman Tukur. "Continuity And Change In Kano Traditional Architecture" in Barkindo, M. Bayero (ed). op. cit. pp. 66-68.

Within the inner section of the palace, the Emir first rehabilitated the famous *Soron Malam*, *Turakan Dabo* and *Dakin Shekara* in 1927. *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846) constructed these mud structures. And Dabo used the *Soron Malam* most especially when he intend to seclude himself in prayers to Allah (*Khalwa*). Dabo also constructed the *Dakin Shekara* for his wife, *Shekara*, the mother of three Emirs of Kano namely *Usman Maje Ringim* (1846-1855), *Abdullahi Maje Karofi* (1855-1883) and *Muhammadu Bello* (1883-1892). These rooms were constructed with *tubali* (earthen bricks) and roofed in the traditional *soro* style. *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero strictly maintained them in their original shape.

In 1928, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero started the renovation of *Kofar Kwaru* and *Kofar Fatalwa*, which are located in the northern direction of the royal palace. The Emir directed *Bala Gwani* to maintain the huge pillars or *ginshiki* of the *Kofar Kwaru* and *Kofar Fatalwa*, which were constructed since the time of building the palace by *Muhammadu Rumfa*.<sup>16</sup> What further accelerated the rapid development around *Kofar Kwaru* and *Kofar Fatalwa* sections was the return of the ex-royal slaves to the palace in 1929. These royal slaves were among those to have left the palace in 1926 following the emancipation of royal slaves. Available record shows that these royal slaves encountered many difficulties in the wider society, and matters became worst when British burned down their homes, destroying their properties in the farming

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<sup>16</sup> Personal discussions with *Sallaman Kano Aminu Dako Kwaru* and *Shamakin Kano Inuwa* in 2003. Both of them resided at the palace in some quarters around *Kofar Kwaru* and *Kofar Fatalwa*.

estate given to them at *Gandin Nasarawa*. At first, the colonialists ordered them to leave the area. But when they refused, the British forcefully ejected them out so as to enable White men incorporate the land into the Nasarawa G.R.A.<sup>17</sup>

Therefore on their return, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero re-accommodated them by giving them the section around Kofar Kudu of the royal palace. Thus, majority of the sections around this area, with the exception of Shamaki, Sallama, Dan Rimi and Babban Zagi parts were re-build by the slave returnees with mud and that reflected the oldest structures of the *Gidan Rumfa*. More importantly, these people tremendously assisted towards rehabilitation and maintenance royal palace it self.<sup>18</sup>

And from 1930 to 1935, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero concentrated on the rehabilitation of *cikin gida* the inner section. He succeeded in bringing several changes in the physical structure of *Gidan Rumfa*, in line with the tradition and historical importance of the royal palace. He rehabilitated several entrance halls known as *soraye*, which one has to pass from northern section before coming to *cikin gida* proper. Prominent among them was a hall named *Soron Shehu*, which was renamed after an important slave that used to stay there during Bayero's reign. This hall continued to bear this name till today.<sup>19</sup>

At *cikin gida*, the main section of the Emir Abdullahi Bayero erected many structures. The mo-

<sup>17</sup> Nast, J. Hcidy. op. cit. p. 149.

<sup>18</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Inuwa in 2003.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. See also Rufa'i. Ruqayyatu Ahmed. op. cit. p. 42.

famous among these structures was the *dogon gida*, which was constructed immediately after the return of the Emir from England in 1934. *Dogon gida*, which literally means tall house contains many sections that accommodate the second and third wife of the Emir including some *Sadaku*. The sections of the wives consist of their rooms, toilets, kitchen, and open spaces where they normally relax in the evening. The Emir personally designed the building as an impression of what he saw during his travel. The architecture of *dogon gida* is a modern one because it was constructed with cement blocks and plastered with cement and roofed with zinc. But the buildings of the wives' sections are half traditional and half modern because some of the structures are constructed in a form of traditional *soraye*, while the wall was plastered with *makuba* (traditional plaster made from locust bean).<sup>20</sup>

Thereafter, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero constructed the well-known *farin gida*, which literally means a white house at the former site of *shekar jimina*. This place, which is located between *soron malam* and *dogon gida* was an old section established at the initial stage of the construction of the royal palace. Unlike *dogon gida*, the *farin gida* was built in the traditional form with mud and that reflected its historical significance in the palace. The *farin gida* was whitewashed after its completion instead of using traditional *makuba* and this made it to become unique just like a white island in a black sea. *Farin gida*

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid. pp. 49-50.

accommodated the 'Yan Fulani and some elderly women slaves who stayed at the palace.<sup>21</sup>

Other inner sections rehabilitated by the Emir consist of Kachako (now renamed Rano), Yelwa, Sokoto (a section in which 'Yar Mai Tilas, the wife of Bayero stayed), Soron Baki, Gaya (formerly known as Soron Marafa), Soron Sarki (Emir's section), Bayan Dan Soro (which the senior wife stays), and Soron Ban Sarki or Soron Bayin Sarki.<sup>22</sup> It should however be noted that the style of the building of Bayan Dan Soro, which the senior wife occupied was similar to that of the Soron Sarki. These two structures were traditional buildings, decorated with *makuba* plaster on the wall. And attached to the Bayan Dan Soro, Bayero constructed a Qur'anic school for teaching of Islam to women and children inside the royal palace.<sup>23</sup> All these sections formed part of the *ciƙin gida* and belonged to the Emir, and as such were a restricted area even to those members of the ruling families in Kano who are connected with the palace except the women.

With regard to Kofar Kudu section, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was said to have personally sketched the present *Soron Tuta* (flag hall) shortly before he left for England in 1934. He called one European, Mr. Wilson, who was a building engineer seconded to Public Works Department and gave him the sketch of the building. The Emir directed him to draw the building plan and the cost involved for the construction before his

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p. 49.

<sup>22</sup> Personal discussion with Hajija Saudatu Bayero (*Gwaggo*), 2004. See also Ibid pp. 45-52.

<sup>23</sup> Rufa'i, Ruqayyatu Ahmed, cit. pp. 44-45.

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return from England. Mr. Wilson was very surprised when he saw the sketch of the building, wondering how intelligent the Emir was.<sup>24</sup>

But the actual construction of the famous *Soron Tuta* did not actually take place until the arrival of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero from England in 1934, and it was the first major edifice that came into the public view. The *Soron Tuta* or *Soron Bene* (upstairs hall) as some people used to call it was constructed at the site of Kofar Kudu gate of the palace. This gate served as the main entrance gate to the palace since the time of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi, who ordered for its re-opening. *Soron Tuta* was constructed with cement blocks and it is a very tall building, which currently serves as the actual Kofar Kudu (main entrance gate).

After the successful completion of the building in 1935, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero directed for erection of a pole that would host a palace flag. And this flag is very historical in the sense that it assumes the colour and character of the flag given to Kano *Mujahiddins* by Shehu Usman Dan Fodio at the onset of the 1804 Jihad. The flag is a dark green colour and it is regularly hoisted on the top of the *Soron Bene* or *Soron Tuta* to indicate the presence of the Emir in town, and removed whenever the Emir travels out of town. The flag was constantly removed at six o'clock every evening and hoisted in the early morning when the Emir was in town.

The use of the flag at *Gidan Rumfa*, the royal palace of Kano was a new innovation of *Sarkin Kano*

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<sup>24</sup> Personal discussions with Shamakin Kano Inuwa and Dan Rimi Abdulkadir, 2003.

Abdullahi Bayero. Some scholars said that Bayero was inspired on the use of a flag during his trip to England when he saw a flag atop of the Buckingham palace and the House of Parliament in London.<sup>25</sup> But some palace informants argued that Bayero has been mentioning the importance of flag bearing atop of the palace since the time of his father, *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas. Bayero used to say that flag is very important in Islam and its use seem to tally with Muslim traditions since Islam laid much emphasis on the importance of the flag at the battle field. But the idea did not actually materialise during the reign of Abbas due to the forces that surrounded him, most especially his problems with Resident Cargill.<sup>26</sup> This practice of using the flag persists up till today in Kano Palace, and other Emirates in Northern Nigeria of course copied the same practice.

At the same time, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero constructed the renowned *Soron Ingila* chamber after his return from England in 1934.<sup>27</sup> The building of *Soron Ingila* seems to have taken place simultaneously with that of *Soron Tuta*. But some tradition however disputed this claim arguing that Bayero had initially ordered this chamber to be completed before his return from England.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Nast. J. Hcidy. op. cit. p. 156.

<sup>26</sup> Personal discussion with Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir, the direct son of Waziri Ala-Bar-Sarki. 2003.

<sup>27</sup> This is the view of most elders at the royal palace of Kano and some other scholars. For more details. see Rufa'i. Ruqayyatu A., *Gidan Rumfi: Kano Palace*.

<sup>28</sup> This statement was given by Shamakin Kano Inuwa and Abdullahi M. Ingila. See also Nast. J. Hcidy. op. cit. p. 151.

## *Resurgence Of Traditional Values Of Gidan Rumfa*

Nonetheless, *Soron Ingila* was built around the area formally occupied by the famous *Soron Cafe*.<sup>29</sup> Bala Gwani built and decorated the *Soron Ingila* in a traditional architectural design, which he completed at the beginning of 1935. *Soron Ingila* was the largest reception hall at that time and the most striking traditional architectural edifice, depicting the cultural heritage of *Gidan Rumfa*. Bayero started receiving important guests and international visitors at this hall immediately after its completion. It was because of its international function that the chamber assumed the name of *Soron Ingila*. The Emir further constructed a small public relation office staffed by his personal secretary.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero also renovated the *Soron Giwa*, which is located very close to *Soron Ingila*. The *Soron Giwa* hall was initially used by the Emirs of Kano as an audience chamber prior to the construction of *Soron Ingila*. It was among the oldest traditional edifice in the palace, which was constructed by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi. The *Soron Giwa* was subsequently converted to waiting room after the construction of *Soron Ingila*. It is interesting to note that the present Emir, Alhaji Ado Bayero strictly maintains all these structures.

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero constructed the *Soron Hakimai* where installation of new title officials took place. This place is sometimes called *Zauna Lafiya* (stay in peace).<sup>30</sup> The Emir also reconstructed the *Soron Gwabjeje*, which was renamed as

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<sup>29</sup> Nast, J. Heidy. op. cit. p. 151.

<sup>30</sup> Rufa'i. Ruqayyatu Ahmed. op. cit p. 55 and Nast, J. Heidy. op. cit. p. 155.

*Soron Takalma*. The rebuilding of this section became absolutely necessary in order to facilitate the broadening of the gate that would allow the entry of motor vehicles because the Emir purchased automobiles soon after his ascension and the first car he owned was Crossley. Apart from this, most of the visitors used cars as their main mode of transport. The Emir later purchased 20 horsepower Austin when the former car needed overhauling.<sup>31</sup>

At Kofar Kudu section of the palace, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero constructed a Primary School, which was earlier named Maja Sidi Primary School. The name of the school was later changed to Kofar Kudu Primary School. To accommodate the new school building, part of the compound of a slave, who held the title of Maishanu, was razed. Male hostels were also constructed at this section of the palace for the boarding students. In addition to this, the Emir constructed a police barrack at Kofar Kudu. A car park was reserved in which the Emir's car and few N.A. vehicles were parked and later, a garage was constructed. The Kofar Kudu section also housed the compound of Sarkin Hatsi, Sarkin Baki, the royal drivers, *Dogarai* (royal body guards), gardeners, messengers, *Yan Shara* (cleaners) and other servants.

It is important to note that in Kano Emirate, some mini palaces existed as an extension of the *Gidan Rumfa*, the main royal palace of Kano. The Fulani Emirs of Kano established these mini palaces for different purposes depending on the circumstances that necessitated their buildings. The palaces were built in various parts of *Kasar Kano* and most of them served as a rest o

<sup>31</sup> See Kano Profile, No. 2063, N.N.A. Kaduna.

farmhouses. For instance, *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846) constructed the Panisau mini palace, a place situated 16 kilometres from *Birnin Kano*. Panisau mini palace served as a *Ribat* or military frontier during the war between Kano and Dan Tunku. *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo stayed with the army at Panisau and fought Dan Tunku.

Later, the palace was converted to royal farmhouse. Subsequently, Panisau mini palace seems to be abandoned due to one problem or another by the succeeding Emirs starting from the time of Tukur (1892-1894) up to Usman Dan Tsoho (1919-1925). However, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero tried and resuscitated Panisau palace due to its historical significance for the people of *Kasar Kano*. It was at this place that Al-Maghili was received by *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499).

Apart from this, Bayero resurrected the Gogel mini palace established by *Sarkin Kano* Usman Bin Ibrahim Dabo (1846-1855). Gogel is a place situated about 20 kilometres from *Birnin Kano* along Wudil road. But after the death of Bayero, Gogel palace completely collapsed. However, the present Emir of Kano Ado Bayero rebuilt Gogel mini palace in recent years.

In addition to this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero maintained Nasarawa mini palace earlier built by his grandfather, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi (1855-1883). Originally, Nasarawa palace was a farming estate, *Gandun Sarki* in which variety of farm produce was cultivated. The Nasarawa palace was constructed at the middle of this large farming estate and is not far away from Kofar Nasarawa. During the early

period of colonialism, the British confiscated most of land and made several attempts to seize the palace and convert it to their own use, which *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi vehemently refused to accept. This further created discontent between *Sarki* Abbas and Resident Cargill.<sup>32</sup>

But *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero did not face this challenge since nobody could dare face him, ask him to surrender the house in which his father Abbas and uncle, Usman Dan Tsoho were buried. Therefore, Bayero silently concentrated in rebuilding most of the sections of the palace to their former design, which was similar to that of *Gidan Rumfa*. He rebuilt the mosque and *ollor soraye* and constantly visited the palace to pray for his late father. In fact this seems to have motivated him to initiate the *Hawan Nasarawa* during the *Salla* festivities.

Aside from this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was credited with rehabilitating the Takai mini palace. The Takai mini palace was established by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi as a military frontier during a war between Kano and Ningi. It was also used for defending the Emirate from any attack coming from Borno. Though the Takai mini palace seems to have existed since the *Halle* epoch, but the preceding Fulani Emirs before Abdullahi Maje Karofi abandoned it, which led to its collapse. Takai was a small town situated along Bauchi and Maiduguri road.

Similarly, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero rehabilitated the Dorayi mini palace, which some people said was also established by *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi. It was purposely established to serve as a store of grains that was used during emergencies.

<sup>32</sup> Shamakin Kano Inuwa, personal discussion, June 2003.

## *Resurgence Of Traditional Values Of Gidan Rumfa*

war.<sup>33</sup> Apart from this, Dorayi palace also served as a military warehouse in which arms and ammunition were secretly kept. Dorayi is situated along Panshekara road and Abdullahi Bayero reconstructed the structures of the palace that clearly reflected the structures of the *Gidan Rumfa*. He also built a mosque very close to the palace.

Like his predecessors who established these mini palaces, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was attributed to have constructed the Wudil mini palace. Bayero chose the site of the Wudil River and built this palace, which subsequently attracted the attention of succeeding Emirs that came after him. The Emir purposely built this palace as a rest house and mostly stayed at this place during the hot session of the year. It has been reported that Abdullahi Bayero normally transferred palace sittings from *Gidan Rumfa* to Wudil mini palace during the hot session and ran his administration from there.<sup>34</sup>

It is also on record that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was the one who constructed the Emir's official residence at Kaduna in 1932 and today this place became an extension of *Gidan Rumfa* outside the Emirate. The idea of constructing this house emanated in 1931 following the formation of the Advisory Council of Chiefs, which required that Northern leaders should meet simultaneously in Kaduna. The Lieutenant Governor circulated a memorandum to all Provincial Residents in Northern Region inviting them to submit proposals of any Emir who desired to build and maintain a house in Kaduna. The Emir of Zazzau of the time, Ibrahim (1924-1936) agreed to allocate land to members of the advisory

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. See also Rufa'i, Ruqayyatu Ahmed, op cit p. 27-31.

council so as to enable them construct and maintain houses at Kaduna.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, Abdullahi Bayero personally selected a site and assigned Bala Gwandu to construct a traditional house, which is now being maintained by the present Emir Ado Bayero.

By far the most important contribution of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was that of promoting the *Hawan Salla* (ceremonial horse riding procession), which is a traditional heritage of *Gidan Rumfa*. But some scholars claimed that this tradition was borrowed from India, and the practice started in Kano during the visit of Prince of Wales in 1925. They further contended that the Emir introduced the ceremonial horse riding into the Emir's palace which consequently became a major annual event held in the open space of the palace during the *Salla* festivities.

But available evidence proved that *Hawan Salla* is an ancient culture of the royal palace and was among the 12 innovations of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499). It has been reported that *Hawan Salla* is the final innovation of Rumfa, which combined religious and political interest. The report stated that:

*Rumfa instituted the celebration of Muslim festivals eid-el-Fitr and eid-el-Kabir, the two annual Salla in Kano city, in its present form. After the prayers at Liman at an open air praying ground (Masallacin Liman) outside the city wall, the Salla concludes with a dramatic ceremonial as mounted officials and nobles. Chiefs declare and renew their allegiance to the Emir.*

<sup>35</sup> Nast, J. Heidy. op. cit. p. 150.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 147.

(King) in strict order of rank by galloping charges of their horses.<sup>37</sup>

This statement clearly proved that *Hawan Salla* was an ancient tradition of the royal palace of Kano, *Gidan Rumfa*, which commenced more than 500 years ago. Oral tradition shows that *Hawan Salla* continued in Kano during the reign of the rulers that came after Muhammadu Rumfa, most especially those that highly associated their government with Islam. During the Fulani era, *Hawan Salla* was highly maintained because the practice did not contravene Islamic etiquette. The Fulani used the *Salla* occasions and demonstrated the military strength of the Emirate, which evoked a sense of security to the public.<sup>38</sup>

During the colonial rule, the British suspended the *Hawan Salla* probably for fear of being attacked by the Emir and his people, who looked at the White men with contempt and distrust. Thus, from 1903 to 1908, the people of Kano seemed to start forgetting the *Hawan Salla* because after the prayers at Kofar Mata praying ground, *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas simply trekked back to the palace through Kofar Wambai. The *Kanawa* were seriously displeased about suspending *Hawan Salla*, but Resident Cargill simply ignored them. However, with the coming of Resident C.L. Temple in 1909, the Emir was allowed to re-activate the *Hawan Salla* on the condition that no military strength of the Emirate would be displayed. *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas agreed

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<sup>37</sup> See Smith, M.G., *Government In Kano*, op. cit. p. 134.

<sup>38</sup> Personal discussion with Dan Rimi Kano Abdulkadir and Shamakin Kano Inuwa. 2003.

with this condition because people really wanted it back. This development led to the reactivation of *Hawan Salla* in 1909, which continued uninterrupted up to the end of Abba's rule in 1919. *Hawan Salla* came to a standstill during the reign of Sarkin Kano Usman Dan Tsohon (1919-1925), who was reported as an incapacitated leader as a result of age and constant ill health. At this period, the *Kanawa* assumed that *Hawan Salla* would never be revived in Kano since the British seemed to dislike it.<sup>39</sup>

However, the appointment of Abdullahi Bayero as the Emir of Kano in 1926 put fresh hope in the minds of people that the traditional legacy of *Hawan Salla* would be reactivated. This is so because people generally knew Bayero as a personality who was fond of maintaining the traditional heritage of the people against foreign culture. And the presumption of people became reality because immediately after his ascension, the new Emir Abdullahi Bayero wasted no time in revamping the traditional heritage associated with the royalty of Kano. For instance, the Emir deliberately abandoned the use of automobiles and started riding a horse, accompanied by hundreds of horsemen wherever he was going in *Birni Kano* and its surrounding environments. He normally moved along with several people amidst the traditional pomp and pageantry. It has been stated that Abdullahi Bayero sometimes rode out more than twice in a day performing administrative activities.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Constructed from personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali, 1. Ramin Kano Abdulkadir and Shamakin Kano Inuwa. 2003.

<sup>40</sup> Formal interview with Alkali, Dan Ramin Kano Abdulkadir. 20<sup>th</sup> J. 2003.

## *Resurgence Of Traditional Values Of Gidan Rumfa*

On his first *Salla* activity, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero trekked to the Kofar Mata praying ground in the morning. After performing the prayer, which he personally led, the Emir mounted a horse and rode through Kofar Wambai amidst the traditional pomp and pageantry and headed back to the palace. Thousands of people including hundreds of Europeans who have been hearing about the histories of *Hawan Salla* of Kano trooped from many places to Kano to see the cultural heritage under the new Emir. In fact, the people of Hausa land remained anxious to see the day because rumours were already circulated that Abdullahi Bayero would mount with thousands of horses.

Sure enough, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero mounted with about 3,000 horses in his contingent talk less of other titled officials. This reflected the history and tradition of the fighting forces of Kano. All the *Hakimai* and titled officials including the Vassal Chiefs of Karaye, Dutse, Rano and Gaya mounted horses, and the contingents moved in procession just like in war situation. The Emir's large contingent moved according to the arrangements that were normally made during emergency situation. This amazed spectators including the Europeans who came to watch the event. The *Maitafarin Kano*, who was on horse back led the Emir's contingent and commanded the battalion of *'Yan Bindiga* (gunmen). The hundreds of *'Yan Bindiga* who moved on foot shot their dungeon guns in the air on a word of command from Maitafari. The *'Yan Bindiga* were emotionally charged with *Kuge* and *Kurya* war drumming, a musical instruments that hitherto were used in sending signal to people that war was













imminent.

The 'Yan *Kwalkwali* who were the mounted troops followed the 'Yan Bindiga contingent. They numbered about 500 and all of them mounted elegant horses, covered their faces with iron helmets ready for emergency. The mounted troops of 'Yan *Kwalkwali* moved in congregation seriously attracted attention of spectators. Then the 'Yan *Lifidi* who also numbered 1 followed. All the 'Yan *Lifidi* who appeared like a strike force were on horse back and their appearance highly amazed the people around. Their horses moved with iron jingling at their necks that frightened enemies during attacks or raids. These mounted horsemen, decorated with quilted cotton armour highly pleased everyone present as people applauded them. They covered themselves and their horses with quilted cotton armour, which is known as *Lifidi*. Immediately after the 'Yan *Lifidi*, about 500 'Yan *Sulke* on horses surfaced like stern warriors, covering their body with *Sulke* (coat of mail), which was used for defense against arrows.

Thereafter, the 'Yan *Baka* and 'Yan *Ko* followed, which gave the impression that Sarkin Abdullahi Bayero was approaching. In front of the Emir's horse, there were 12 *Zagage* who were under the *Ba* *Zagi*, Maikano. The 12 *Zagage* moved along with the Emir. History has shown that the 12 *Zagage* were part of Sarkin Kano Rumfa's innovations. All the 12 *Zagage* hold one royal regalia or another, such as *Tagwayen Masu* (twin spears of Nawata and Gado dating back to 1134-1136), *Takobi* (sword of Sarkin Kano Dabo 1819-1846), *Tuta* (flag of Shehu Dan Fodio 1817-1818).

official staff of office introduced by the British and other regalia.

As *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero approached, all one could hear was a sound of, *Kahonni* (horns), *Kakaki* (trumpets), *Algaita* (reed musical instruments) and *Tamburra* (royal hemispherical drums). The *Sarkin Laima* shaded umbrella on the top of the Emir while *Sarkin Figini* fan cooled air on the *Sarki*. The Emir appeared in full regalia and wore a simple white *alkyabba* (bournous) and held the *Bakan Dabo* in his right hand. He rode on a white horse, decorated with white material. The complete white appearance clearly portrayed the happiness of the Emir for the occasion. The Emir was surrounded by the throne slaves such as Shamaki, Sallama, Dan Rimi, Maja Siddi, Sarkin Dogarai, Sarkin Hatsi and the rest. The Emir mounted along with 11 *Dawakan Zage*, which were decorated with white materials. They served as reserved horses and were initiated by *Sarki* Rumfa during his war with Katsina.

Initially, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero informed his friend, the Acting Resident J.H. Carrow to come and wait for him at Gidan Shetima. This house, which belongs to the palace, was very close to *Gidan Rumfa*, and it was at this place that the first Resident of Kano, Cargill stayed. Emir Bayero went into the house and dismounted. He then approached the Acting Resident Carrow, who was together with some senior British officials that came from Kaduna and Lagos. The Emir exchanged greetings with the Acting Resident as well as other British officers present. The Acting Resident was extremely fascinated with the *Hawan Salla* and thanked the Emir for his effort in reviving it. Carrow

said that he had observed how happy the people were as a result of the event, imploring the Emir to try and maintain the rich cultural heritage of the Emirate. The Acting Resident finally warned that if care was not taken, such rich cultural legacies would be exterminated with time. They bade farewell, while the Emir mounted and proceeded to the Kofar Kwaru of the palace to receive the traditional *Jafi* (galloping of horses) from the *Hakimai* and titled officials of Kano.<sup>41</sup>

Then *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero directed all the *Hakimai* and titled officials to assemble at Kofar Kwaru on the following day evening for the famous *Hawan Daushe*. Traditionally, *Hawan Daushe* came one day after *Salla* and the Emir mounted in the evening along with all titled officials and proceeded to Galadanci to greet his mother, *Mai Babban Daki* (Queen Mother). Available evidence shows that *Hawan Daushe* was initiated by *Sarkin Kano* Usman Bin Ibrahim Dabo (1846-1855) in respect of Shamakin Kano Haruna Daushe who fell ill, and thus incapacitated to mount along with the Emir on the *Salla* day. The Shamaki got some relief in the evening of *Salla* day, and therefore lodged his displeasure to the Emir in front of all the state officials who went back to the palace to greet the *Sarki*. In order to please him, *Sarkin Kano* Usman said, "Daushe, we are going to mount for you tomorrow with the will of Allah".<sup>42</sup>

Therefore, *Sarki* Usman directed all the titled officials to mount and assemble at Kofar Kwaru in the

<sup>41</sup> Personal discussions with Malam Dan Alkali, Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir and Shamakin Kano Inuwa. 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>42</sup> See Gwangvazo, Maje Ahimcd op. cit. p. 46.

evening. The Emir emerged through the Kofar Kwaru on horseback and proceeded to Gwangwazo to pay homage to his mother, *Mai Babban Daki*, Aishatu Shekara.<sup>43</sup> Then Usman proceeded back to the palace through the same Kofar Kwaru, because at that time, the Kofar Kudu was blocked. It was during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi (1855-1883) that the practice of going back to the palace through Kofar Kudu started. This was the origin of the *Hawan Daushe* in Kano and like *Hawan Salla*, the tradition was copied by other Emirates.

Thus, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero revived this tradition that nearly stopped since the beginning of the rule of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Bello (1883-1892). Abdullahi Bayero maintained the *Hawan Daushe* even after the death of his mother, Mariyatu *Mai Babban Daki* in 1940s. Apart from this, Bayero was the first Emir who initiated *Hawan Nasarawa* and included it in Salla activities. The explanation given for the *Hawan Nasarawa* was that the Emir visited and prayed to his father, *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas, who was buried at the graveyard of Nasarawa mini palace. The Emir mounted in the morning and passed through Kofar Kudu of the palace. All the *Hakimai* and titled officials waited at this gate to pay homage to the Emir. The Emir would then move in procession to the Nasarawa mini palace, accompanied by all *Hakimai* and title officials. At Nasarawa, the Emir dismounted and went to the graveyard to pray for his father and uncle, *Sarki* Usman Dan Tsoho, who was also buried there.

After a brief stay at Nasarawa, *Sarkin Kano*

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

## Abdullahi Bayero

Abdullahi Bayero mounted and headed to Sabon Gari, Kano, to see the non-indigenes, who resided at this place. The non-indigenes were quite happy about this, as they mostly came out with their families and paid homage to the Emir. The Emir would then proceed to Fagge to see the people living around the area, and come back to Kofar Kwaru in the palace to receive *Jafi*. Hawan Nasarawa seems to have started in 1930s and it became one of the most popular event during the *Salla* period.

Again, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero initiated the *Hawan Dorayi* and made it to become part of eid-el-Fitr *Salla* activities of Kano. The reason for going to Dorayi village on *Salla* is not known, but some people said that Bayero initiated it in an attempt to widen the activities of *Salla*, since, as he observed, people liked it.<sup>44</sup> Other sources disclosed that Bayero started going to Dorayi principally because it enable him to see the people of the western part of the *Birnin Kano*, who hitherto were not covered by the Emir's visit on *Salla* activities.<sup>45</sup> All these explanations are acceptable because the Emir passed through the Kofar Kabuga, on his way to Dorayi village, which is located along Panshekara road. The Emir along with titled officials left the palace in the morning because Dorayi is about five kilometers away from *Birnin Kano*. He stayed at the village and this gave the people of the village and its surrounding the chance to come and greet the Emir. The Emir used the occasion and discussed matters of importance concerning the administration of the Emirate since all the District Heads, Councillors and

<sup>44</sup> Malam Dan Alkali, personal discussion. 2003.

<sup>45</sup> Personal discussions with Dan Ramin Kano AbdulKadir and Shanakin Kano Inuwa. June 2003.

the Vassal Chiefs such as Karaye, Rano, Dutse, Gaya, etc were present. The Emir stayed until after *Asr* Prayers to return to the palace via the same route.

In addition to this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was credited with initiating the *Hawan Panisau* during the eid-el-Kabir *Salla* activities. The reason behind the Emir's visit to Panisau during the *Salla* is probably linked to the coming of Al-Maghili to Kano, who was said to have stayed at Panisau and *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Rumfa went there and escorted him back to the city.<sup>46</sup> *Hawan Panisau* is conducted like *Hawan Dorayi*. The Emir left palace in the early morning because Panisau is about 16 kilometres away from *Birnin Kano*.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was also credited with tying the *Tagwayen Masu* of Nawata and Gawata together. These *Tagwayen Masu* had been individual spears left behind by Nawata and Gawata, the twins who ruled Kano at the same time. All the succeeding *Sarakuna* from *Habe* down to the Fulani continue to use them as part of royal regalia. Instead of using them separately, Bayero tied and decorated them with velvet cloth, coloured green and red just like the present uniform of the Dogarai.<sup>47</sup>

Therefore, we could see how *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero struggled in maintaining *Gidan Rumfa*, the royal palace of Kano and its rich cultural heritage. The Emir succeeded in making the royal palace not only as a seat of power and authority, but also as a repository of the tradition and custom of the people of *Kasar Kano*. For instance, throughout his reign, the Emir tried and

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<sup>46</sup> Rufa'i. Ruqayyatu Ahmed. op. cit. pp. 28-29.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. p. 111.

## Abdullahi Bayero

ensured that Hausa became the official language of the palace. Also, his efforts in maintaining the traditional buildings propelled people most especially titled officials and rich merchants to build and decorate splendid houses.<sup>48</sup> It was because of this that his reign is highly remembered by the Kano builders due to the number of building activities that took place during the period.

And such gigantic efforts made *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to emerge as a real and strong leader during the British rule in Nigeria. His traditional appearance, though simple, made him to become very imposing and highly charismatic and that usually frightened the British. Despite this, the British officials in Nigeria came to like him very well and at the same time fear him. Most of them became friendly with him. It should, however, be noted that the present Emir, Ado Bayero maintains all these cultural legacies that made Kano to become unique in terms of historical monuments in Nigeria today.



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<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p. 74.

## **Chapter Seventeen**

### ***Meritorious Awards Of Honour***

During the colonial rule, the British government was so cautious in giving prestigious award of honour to individual personalities in Nigeria. But *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero was among the few personalities to have received such awards in 1930s from the British as a result of his brilliant achievements and services to humanity. The British authorities were very sincere in recognising his contributions to the development of Kano Emirate, in spite of the divergent interests that ensued between the Emir and colonial officers. Since the time of his ascension to the throne in 1926, the Residents of Kano constantly gave satisfactory statements about him in their Annual Reports. For instance, in one of the reports, the British Resident stated that:

*Abdullahi Bayero was a man of great charm and personality with a wonderful fund of energy, ability and humanity, which endeared him to all who knew him. He combined with this a quite sense of humour. He is always devoted in his service to his Emirate.<sup>1</sup>*

Such convincing reports endeared *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to the British authorities in London and that propelled the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, to recommend him for the award of Commander of the Order of the British Empire (C.B.E.) in 1934. The King of England approved the

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<sup>1</sup> Nigerian National Archives. Kaduna file No K/1361.

*Abdullahi Bayero*

recommendation, which was conveyed to Emir Abdullahi Bayero and the letter read as follows:<sup>2</sup>

Colonial Office,  
Downing Street, S.W.1,  
4<sup>th</sup> June 1934.

*From the Right Honourable Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Abdullahi Bayero, Emir of Kano.*

*Greetings.*

*I was very glad to be able to submit your name to His Majesty the King with the recommendation that you should be created Honourary Commander of the Order of the British Empire; and His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve that recommendation.*

*It gives me a pleasure to suggest that your unwearied care for your people of Kano, their safety, their prosperity, and their happiness should be recognised in this way. You have always loyally co-operated with the King's Government in administering your Emirate, and I hope that by God's blessing you will have many years of useful and prosperous rule, and that the cloud of depression and poverty which at present covers not only Nigeria but the whole world will soon be lifted.*

Signed  
P. Cunliffe-Lister

There are no details of how the ceremony for the award of insignia of C.B.E. to *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was conducted. But available evidences show that the award was given to the Emir publicly at the open

<sup>2</sup> See Arewa House Document. Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.



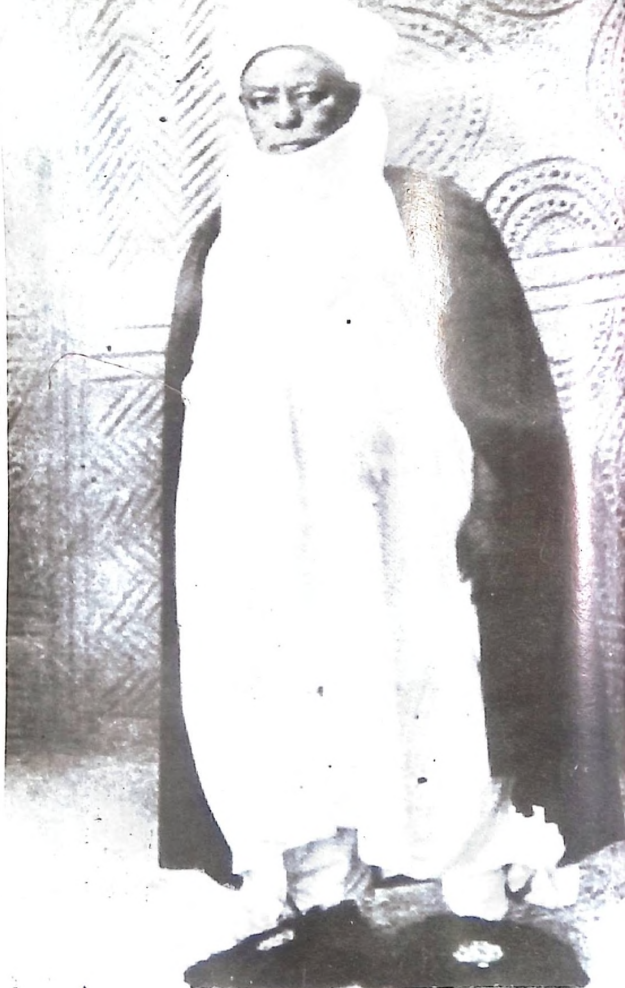
Above: *Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero* relaxing after a public function, which took place at Kofar Kudu in 1940s. The same set of chairs are still preserved by his son and successor, the present Emir, Alhaji Ado Bayero. (2005)



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His Highness Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero wearing the famous *Takalmin Gashin Jimina* (ostrich feather shawl) of Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1469). This *Takalmin Gashin Jimina* is part of the royal regalia of Kano.



Sarkin Kano Alhaji Ado Bayero maintaining the rich cultural values of *Gidan Rumsfa*, the Royal Palace of Kano. Standing right to left is Kabiru and Awwalu Ado Bayero, sons to the present Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero.



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His Highness Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero holding the Staff of Office.



*Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero in private costume within the Cikin Gida; the inner section of the palace.*



The famous





rides a horse within the  
Carkin Kano lately



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The front view of Soran Ingila constructed by Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. The present Emir, Alhaji Ado Bayero maintains the historical significance of this edifice by receiving important state visitors in this chamber. (2005)



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Maham Ibrahim Shekireu, the Executive Governor



Sarkin Kano Alhaji Ado Bayero receiving a hand-drawn portrait of Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero mimicked from his picture. The two portraits (including that of His Highness Alhaji Ado Bayero) are presented to him at Soron Ingala by the Author of this book in January 2005.



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*Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero in 1953. This photograph is used to produce the handwoven portrait adopted to appear on the cover of this book.*



*Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. (1952).*



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Fadimatu Bayero (*Magajiya*),  
the eldest daughter to *Sarkin*  
*Kano* Abdullahi Bayero.



Zainab Bayero.  
(*Takau*)



Fadimatu III. Bayero.  
(*Mai Yari*)



A'ishatu Bayero.  
(*Attuku*)



Saudatu Bayero.  
(*Givaggo*)



A'ishatu II. Bayero.  
(*'Yar-Riga*)



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Mariya Bayero.  
(*Yalwa*)



Asma'u Bay  
(*ana*)



Bilkiisu I. Bayero.  
(*Yor-Jatau*)



Rukayyatu Ba  
(*Dudu*)



**Sa'adatu Bayero.**  
*(Nanan Karaye)*



**Ummul-Hairi Bayero.**  
*(Umma)*



**Nafisatu I. Bayero.**  
*(Mai Kyau)*



**Fadimatu III. Bayero.**  
*(Ulu)*

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Hadizatu II. Bayero.  
(Fulanin Dandágo)



Asma'u II. Bayero  
(Yar-Shu)



Bilkisu II. Bayero.  
(Mai Gado)



Hasiya II. Bayero.  
(Halin)

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**Nafisatu II. Bayero.**  
*(Nafin Dutse)*



**Salamatu Bayero.**  
*(Gwaggo Mai Daki)*



**Hafsatu II. Bayero.**  
*(Baddo)*



**Rabi Bayero.**  
*(Sima)*



1855-1883), was



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Hadizatu III. Bayero.  
(Hana Bage)



Hawwa'u Bayero.  
(Tafada)



Zulaihatu Bayero.  
(Auta)



Mairo Bayero.  
(Aylo)

space of the palace on 5<sup>th</sup> June 1934.<sup>3</sup> Then in 1946, King George of England, who was nicknamed *Mai Gashin Baki*, awarded the Emir with the Insignia of Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (C.M.G.). It has been reported that the Emir outrightly rejected this honour due to its Christian nature. Nevertheless, the Emir's Council finally intervened and the matter took some time before it was resolved. The Council extensively debated over the issue in which some *Malamai* said Bayero was a leader of both Muslims and non-Muslims, and such award could be received for courtesy of the Christians living in Sabon Gari Kano.<sup>4</sup> And it was because of this that the Emir agreed to accept C.M.G. honour and the ceremony was conducted publicly at open ground of Kofar Kwaru of the royal palace in 1946.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero is the first Emir in Northern Nigeria awarded with posthumous degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris cause, by an ivory tower in Nigeria. The Doctorate Degree was awarded to him in 2004 by Bayero University Kano based on the socio-economic and educational contributions of the Emir. His son, the present Emir of Kano Alhaji Ado Bayero, received the award on behalf of the entire family. The full text of the citation for the award of honorary Doctorate Degree is presented below.

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<sup>3</sup> See Nast, J. Heidi, op. cit. p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Personal discussions with Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero and Dan Masanin Kano Yusufu Maitana Sulc. Dan Masani argued that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero always tried to protect his faith and the interest of Islam.

<sup>5</sup> See Nast, J. Heidi, op. cit. p. 148.

Bayero University, Kano, 22<sup>nd</sup> Convocation Ceremony,  
Saturday, 17<sup>th</sup> April 2004 Citation On The Late Emir Of  
Kano, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, CMG, CBE

I present to you, as a candidate for the posthumous award of the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris cause, the representative of the late Emir of Kano, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, CMG, CBE, father of the present Emir of Kano, social and spiritual father of this University, father and founder of modern Kano, gifted administrator, pious man of God, renowned Islamic scholar, educator and Man of letters par excellence.

Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, popularly known as *Sarki Alhaji*, being the first of the twentieth century Emirs of Kano to perform the Hajj, was born around the year 1881. His father was Muhammadu Abbas, a member of the Sulluḅawa ruling family of Kano who was later to become the Wambai of Kano from 1894 to 1903, and ultimately the Emir of Kano after the British conquest in 1903.

The young Abdullahi Bayero devoted his entire youth to the study of the Holy Qur'an, the Hadith, Islamic Jurisprudence and all other branches of Islamic scholarship available in his days. In this he was following in the footsteps of his father who was himself a highly erudite scholar.

At the age of twenty two, the young Abdullahi was to witness the arrival of colonialism and the overthrow of the Caliphate Government by the invading British forces. In 1903, he accompanied his father, Wambai Muhammadu Abbas as he then was, as part of the party of Emir Ali ibn Abdullahi, which went to Sokoto to co-ordinate resistance to British colonialism with the Caliphate headquarters. On its way back from Sokoto, the party was engaged by the invading forces and the Emir chose to emigrate rather than negotiate with the invaders. Wambai Abbas, on the other hand, chose to return to Kano and after receiving appropriate guarantees of freedom of worship, agreed to be installed as the Emir of Kano, reigning from 1903 until his death in 1919. However, the

## *Meritorious Awards of Honour*

radical young scholar Abdullahi did not return to Kano with his father immediately, as he was not sure what religious life would be like under the invading colonialists who were of a different faith. He therefore lay low for six months and re-appeared in Kano only after he was satisfied that he would be free to practice his religion under the new dispensation.

On his return to Kano he was appointed Ciroma, or heir-apparent, by his father the new Emir. The following year, he was promoted to the post of Waziri, or Prime Minister of the Emirate, not on account of his blood relationship with the Emir, but on account of his erudition. The office of the Waziri was then reserved for the most learned scholars as the duties involved giving advice to the Emir on all matters of Islamic jurisprudence and law as well as supervising the judiciary.

However, the then British colonial Resident of Kano, Dr. Cargill, did not like Abdullahi Bayero whom he thought was too arrogant and uncompromising. The appointment was therefore reversed and he remained as the Ciroma and District Head of Bichi until 1926 when he became Emir.

As District Head of Bichi, the Ciroma distinguished himself as an upright and efficient administrator, compassionate in dealing with his subjects and scrupulous in managing public funds. He was therefore the obvious and natural choice as successor to his father when Emir Abbas died in 1919. However, the colonial officials preferred another candidate, an elderly uncle of his, whom they thought they could push around more easily, but seven years later, when this uncle of his died, the colonial officials had no choice but to succumb to the popular choice of the people and Abdullahi Bayero was appointed Emir of Kano on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1926.

As Emir, *Sarki Alhaji* brought many radical innovations to the institution. Immediately on his accession to the throne, he announced the manumission of all royal slaves and his desire to dispense with the services of the palace slaves. He also applied his knowledge of Islam in de-mystifying many ancient taboos and

myths around the person of the Emir, and made a point of visiting sites, trees and rocks, which no Emir had dared to visit before him because it was believed some evil, would befall them if they did. He also demolished and re-built the Central Mosque to its present perfect magnificence, again defying another superstitious belief that any Emir who did that would die within a year. As a scholar-Emir, he also followed in the tradition of the early Sokoto spiritual leaders, and his own father, by leading the Friday prayers and delivering the sermon in Arabic.

In the field of education, he was continuously teaching members of his family and learning more until his death. He learnt to read and write in the Roman script to keep himself abreast of modern developments. He was responsible for setting up a series of institutions of learning, which served as the precursors of this University, which therefore appropriately takes its name from him. These were the Judicial School at Shahuci, which was established in 1929 on the advice of Wali Suleiman, and which produced court clerks and legal assessors for the Emirate's Judiciary; the School for Arabic Studies, Kano, which was established in 1934 on the initial advice of Waziri Muhammadu Gi'ad'o and which produced judges and, later Islamic teachers not only for Kano but for the North and even Nigeria as a whole. Later, the products of the School for Arabic Studies needed a pre-University institution to offer them instruction leading to Advanced Level certificates in Arabic, Hausa and Islamic Studies and so a College was set up for the purpose which was named Ahmadu Bello College in 1960. Later, in 1962 when Ahmadu Bello University was established, this College was renamed Abdullahi Bayero College, which later metamorphosed into Bayero University.

*Sarki Alhaji* also played a prominent role in the establishment of the present Rumfa College as the then Middle School, the School of Hygiene, the Craft School, which is now the Technical College and others. His long and peaceful reign also witnessed the modernization of Kano. Under *Sarki Alhaji's* transparent and prudent management of resources, the Kano Native Authority,

1855-1883), wa

## *Meritorious Awards of Honour*

virtually unaided by the colonial regional or central government, embarked upon the provision of pipe-borne water and electricity to Kano around 1930 at the total cost of over £300,000, which is worth billions of Naira in today's money. Similarly, roads were constructed to open up Kano metropolis and also to link up the metropolis to the District Headquarters, all in his time and using the abundant and well-managed resources of the Native Authority.

Honourable Chancellor Sir,

The honorary degree you are about to confer posthumously today should have been conferred at the first Convocation of the University in 1980, but the University has just realized that in taking its name from *Sarki Alhaji*, he as the donor of his name, reputation and prestige was honouring the University, not the other way round. It is now time, therefore, for the University to offer its humble honour to so illustrious a father. We honour him today for his piety and scholarship, for his sense of equity and justice, for his foresight and rare leadership qualities and for his impeccable integrity. We honour him today for his untiring promotion of education and for his role in establishing several schools and colleges, which laid the foundation for this University. We honour him today for being the visionary, the architect, the chief engineer and the chief financier for the initial modernization and development of Kano Metropolis and Kano State. We honour him today for his genuine concern for the ordinary people of Kano and his dedicated service in his three score and twelve years on earth towards improving their lives so that his sojourn on this earth did make a difference.

May Allah admit him to Paradise through the fast track gate reserved for His special servants, where Angels merely pay compliments and where no questions are asked.

## Chapter Eighteen

### Foreign Visits

Abdullahi Bayero was the first Emir of Kano who traveled widely outside Nigeria. At first, the Emir visited United Kingdom in 1934 and Middle East in 1937 where he performed pilgrimage. It was during the course of this journey to Mecca by road that the Emir stopover at some Islamic countries in the East Africa and from where he visited Jerusalem in the Middle East. Again in 1951, Abdullahi Bayero went to Saudi Arabia by air for his second pilgrimage and that trip was his last journey outside Nigeria because he died in 1953. These overseas traveling not only exposed the Emir to world, but also enabled him to make contact with great personalities most especially Islamic scholars of the East Africa. This Chapter will dwell on the Emir's traveling to England, pilgrimage to Mecca and visit to some Muslim countries.

#### **Traveling To England**

Since youthful days, Abdullahi Bayero's major pre-occupation was to perform *Hajj* (pilgrimage), at least once in his life time. This ambition became so strong in his mind to the extent that Bayero intended to join the group of people who are going to the Holy land in 1899. But his uncle and father in law, the Waziri Ahmadu *Mai Shahada* prevented him from doing so due to the hurdles on the road. And at that material time, it was a long journey on beast, which took intending pilgrims many years. Therefore, Bayero was constrained to postpone the

## Foreign Visits

journey, and since that time, his prayers to Allah was to provide him with the means to perform pilgrimage.<sup>1</sup>

At the time when Abdullahi Bayero ascended the throne in 1926, his attention seemed to have been diverted towards providing necessary amenities to the people. Therefore, the issue of going to Mecca was temporarily suspended until the time when the Emir realized that much was achieved. At first, the Emir openly declared his intension of going to Mecca in 1931, which seriously agitated British officials in Nigeria.<sup>2</sup>

Available evidences show that since early period of colonialism, the British have been trying to alienate the Muslims of Northern Nigeria from the rest of the Muslims especially the followers of *Tijjaniya* and the *Mahadists* of Sudan who had record of resistance against domination.<sup>3</sup> And what the British feared most was the inherent quality of radicalism in Bayero who had been a noted follower of *Tijjaniya*. Emir Bayero tried hard to secure approval from the British, which had never been granted at this time. This created a lot of haggling that led to discontent between the Emir and the British. The British absolutely believed that the Emir would stop over at Sudan, which may facilitate his contact with the followers of *Mahadi*.

The British finally resorted to covert machination to counter the moves of the Emir of performing Hajj. They tactfully tried and handled the situation with

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<sup>1</sup> Personal discussions with Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero at Dawakin Kudu on 21<sup>st</sup> May 2003 and Hajiya Saudatu Bayero (*Givaggo*), at the Emirs palace, Kano, on 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Personal discussion with Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero, the District Head of Dawakin Kudu, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Kurawa, Ado Ibrahim, op. cit. p. 98.

### *Abdullahi Bayero*

caution, organising a trip to England for the three principal leaders in Northern Nigeria namely the Sultan of Sokoto Hassan Dan Mu'azu, the Emir of Kano Abdullahi Bayero and Emir of Gwandu Usman Haliru. But Abdullahi Bayero was very quick in his calculation and understood the real motive of the British. Therefore, in order to avoid any conflict that might arise with the Sultan, Bayero suspended his trip to Saudi Arabia.

The British seemed to have deliberately created unnecessary delays for the trip to London until 1934. As has been observed, it was within these years that the British succeeded in introducing passport, vaccination and the depositing of huge amount of money for motor transport to Mecca. All these were partial attempts of the British in discouraging the Muslims to have contact with the *Mahadist* and to speed the journey to Mecca.<sup>4</sup>

The official letter for traveling to England of the Sultan and Emirs of Kano and Gwandu was first communicated to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1934 by Governor General of Nigeria Sir Donald Cameron. The letter read as follows:<sup>5</sup>

NIGERIA,  
2<sup>nd</sup> February 1934.

I have the honour to inform you that I have granted permission to Hassan, the Sultan of Sokoto, Abdullahi Bayero, the Emir of Kano and Usman, the Emir of Gwandu to pay a visit to England this summer.

The three Chiefs will sail from here on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June, to be accompanied by five followers each. There will be no women

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> See Arewa House Document. Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.

## *Foreign Visits*

in the party. Mr. H.S. Goldsmith has been asked to make preliminary arrangements for their accommodation and entertainment in England. You will be informed of the details in due course.

I wish to enquire whether His Majesty the King would be gracious to receive the Sultan and the Emirs and granted to them an audience. They have expressed desire to pay homage to His Majesty in person.

*Signed*  
Donald Cameron  
Governor

This development was the onset for the visit of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to United Kingdom in 1934. The British carefully avoided the cost of the traveling and therefore each Emir was invited at the expense of his Native Authority Treasury.<sup>6</sup> And this saddened *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero who said, "How should a public fund be used for my journey to England?" Nobody answered this question. Emir Bayero was finally left with no choice other than to prepare for the journey. He selected those that would accompany him, which included Madakin Kano Mamuda, Ciroman Kano Muhammadu Sunusi, his Secretary Malam Abdu, Mai Kano Zagi and one other person. The Madakin Kano and the Secretary served as the interpreters for the Emir in London.<sup>7</sup>

From Kano, Abdullahi Bayero and those that would accompany him were entrained to Kaduna. He met

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<sup>6</sup> Nast, J. Heidi, op. cit. p. 148

<sup>7</sup> Personal discussion with Dan Rimi Kano AbdulKadir. 2003. See also Malami, Alhaji Shehu. *Sir Siddiq Abubakar III, 17<sup>th</sup> Sultan of Sokoto* (Ibadan: Evans Brothers Publishers Limited. 1989). pp. 190-199.

*Abdullahi Bayero*

Sultan Hassan Dan Mu'azu and the Emir of Gwandu, Usman Haliru at the Sultan's Residence, *Anguwan Sarki*, Kaduna. The Sultan's party consisted of Wazirin Sokoto Abbas, Sardaunan Sokoto Abubakar,<sup>8</sup> Malam Shehu Silame and two other persons. The party of the Emir of Gwandu consisted of Wazirin Gwandu Abubakar, Sarkin Gobir Yahaya, the Chief Scribe of the Emir Malam Bello and two personal servants.

On the following day, the parties were entrained to Lagos and arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup> June 1934. They spent a night at Government's Lodge, Ikoyi and boarded a ship named *Appam* on the following day. This long trip to London by sea was their first experience in ocean, as it became a pleasant journey. The Sultan and the Emirs were entertained by Captain. H. D. Tupper-Carey, a British District Officer who worked in Kano Emirate. They passed through Accra in Ghana and other ports along the route. The journey took them 25 days as they arrive at Plymouth, England on 23<sup>rd</sup> June. The eminent visitors were warmly received by the British Royal Navy at the port before proceeding to London city. They were lodged at the prestigious Hyde Park Hotel where Mr. A.E.V. Welwyn,<sup>9</sup> Captains J.D. Symes<sup>10</sup> and Mr. E.W. Thompstone<sup>11</sup> took adequate care of them.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Sardauna Abubakar became the 17<sup>th</sup> Sultan of Sokoto in 1938 and was a nephew of Sultan Hassan Dan Mu'azu.

<sup>9</sup> Welwyn was serving at the Northern Provinces Secretariat. He was in London at then for his annual leave.

<sup>10</sup> Symes was the Administrative Officer at Zaria, who happened to be in London on leave.

<sup>11</sup> Thompstone was serving as Administrative Officer at Kaduna. He was also on annual leave at the time of the visit.

<sup>12</sup> For more information, see, Malami Alhaji Shelu op. cit. pp. 190-199.

## *Foreign Visits*

Both the Sultan and the Emirs including those that accompanied them appeared in their full traditional dresses. This endeared them highly to the white men who had only read about Hausa land and their customs in books. Their arrival in England became the talk of the town and only important British personalities had access of visiting them at their lodge. The Sultan and the Emirs remained highly energetic on the date of their arrival despite the sea-sickness, which was inevitable to those who covered a long journey on the seas. This surprised the British visitors very much who wondered how resilient the Hausa leaders are.

On their second day of visit, the Sultan and the Emirs were invited to zoological gardens, where the former Higher Commissioner, Lord Lugard hosted them. Lugard was together with Sir John Caulcutt and other retired Colonial officials<sup>13</sup> who had contributed to the policy of indirect rule system in Nigeria. Oral tradition shows that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was very impressed with the various species of animals he saw at the Zoological garden of London. Unlike the other party members, Bayero went round and saw how animals were kept at the Zoo. His keen interest made him to remark that with the will of Allah, Kano would house animals at the Zoo for future generation.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Personal discussion with Dan Rimi Kano Abdulkadir. 2003. He argued that Bayero made this known to people around him since his arrival from London. Dan Rimi said that the Emir had personally reared variety of animals at the palace and wrote several correspondences on the Zoological garden for Kano. This was what led to the establishment of Kano Zoo, after the death of the Emir at the very site he selected.

### *Abdullahi Bayero*

Lugard was very delighted to see Sultan Hassan Dan Mu'azu, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero whom he knew very well and *Sarkin Gwandu* Usman. Lugard vividly remembered the visit of Bayero with his father, *Sarki* Abbas to Wushishi in 1905 and asked the former several questions concerning the administration of Northern Nigeria. The former Governor expressed happiness on the success of Bayero on ascending the throne of his late father, whom he referred as an outstanding personality and a peaceful leader. Lugard then turned to Sardauna Abubakar and Ciroma Muhammadu Sunusi, whom he said were not more than 15 years at the time he left Nigeria in 1918. The occasion therefore served as a memorable event to remember happenings that occurred long time ago.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero and the rest of the team attracted a large crowd in the street of London that waited impatiently for their coming from the Zoological garden. Emir Bayero appeared in his full traditional costume and held the *Mashi*<sup>15</sup> (spear) in his hand. He was very charismatic and his traditional look added to his natural splendour. This endeared him very much to the Londoners who applaud and show him respect, affection and admiration.<sup>16</sup>

Then on 25<sup>th</sup> June, the Sultan and the Emirs visited London City and were received by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House and Guildhall. From there, the eminent

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<sup>15</sup> At that time, the *Tagwayen Masu* were not tied together and the *Mashi* he held was that of Nawata or Gawata, which is part of the royal regalia of Kano.

<sup>16</sup> Dan Rimi Kano Abdulkadir learned about the happenings in London from Ciroma Sunusi and Mai Kano Zagi. I obtained this information from Dan Rimi in 2003.

## *Foreign Visits*

personalities proceeded to the British Bank of West Africa. Even here, their dignified appearance made them to command a lot of respect. People from all over the places in London trooped to pay respect to the Sultan and the Emirs, which partially made the business activities to be suspended. From the Bank, the Nigerian visitors went to the Royal Mint where they were shown the process and procedures of "money-making"<sup>17</sup>

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero along with Sultan and Emir of Gwandu, accompanied by their subordinates paid a courtesy call at Portsmouth and inspected British Royal Navy. The First Lord of the Admiralty took them round to see the naval fleets. They also saw the old warship called Victory and the new one, which was named as Renown. The Sultan and the Emirs were very much impressed with the progress of the British Navy, most especially the high level of their engineering constructions. *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero appreciated the size of the mounted guns built in the warship. After the inspection, the Lord Mayor of Plymouth invited the eminent personalities for a lunch. It was after the lunch that the eminent personalities proceeded to inspect H.M.S. Dolphin, which seemed to be the biggest submarine in the world at that time. The Sultan and the Emirs returned to their hotel around 9.30 p.m. and had tea with Mr. H.S. Goldsmith at Chichester.

Then on Wednesday, the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, the Sultan and the Emir of Gwandu visited Unilever House in London. But *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero said he was too tired and therefore remained at the lodge and

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<sup>17</sup> Malami, Alhaji Shehu op. cit. pp. 190-199.

### *Abdullahi Bayero*

performed his usual prayers and supplications. And on 28<sup>th</sup> June, the party visited Windsor Castle, which was termed as the House of King. In the evening, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero and his entourage visited York on the invitation of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree. Bayero inspected a factory at York and was shown how a chocolate was produced. He was very impressed and looked at Madaki Mamuda and said enthusiastically that, "I believe, in a near future, Kano would have similar factory like this".<sup>18</sup>

And on 29<sup>th</sup> June, the Sultan and the Emirs visited the pottery factory at Ashtead, Surrey. They all observed that most of the techniques of pot making were similar to the Hausa ones except for the use of modern machines. On 30<sup>th</sup> June, the party went to B.B.C. Broadcasting House in London and Hendon Airport. At the broadcasting station, the august visitors were taken round to see the machineries and the studios. At that time, the B.B.C. was the largest and effective broadcasting station all over the world.

And on Sunday, 1st of July 1934, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero and the rest of the party visited Lord Lugard in his country home at Surrey. Unlike their meeting at the zoological gardens, the party were able to engage in a more relaxed discussion on various issues concerning Nigeria especially matters related to the general development. Lord Lugard told them his personal experiences and observations, but was much astounded with the kind of ideas of *Sarki* Bayero. Lugard was reported to have said Kano was definitely lucky in having a leader like Bayero, whom he said was an all round

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<sup>18</sup> Dan Masanin Kano Maitama Sule 2003. See also *ibid*.

## *Foreign Visits*

initiator of development. After their tea-time, the visitors were shown the Arab horses at Lady Vaughan-William's farm. Thereafter, Lugard went and showed *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero the doors he removed from the palace during the 1903 conquest. Emir Bayero told Lugard that they knew he had taken these doors, but a time had come when these items would definitely be replaced where they belonged to for posterity.<sup>19</sup>

On 2<sup>nd</sup> July, the party were taken to Buckingham Palace where King George V personally received them. They arrived at the Palace in closed motor-cars and went in through the Grand Entrance and met the King waiting for their arrival. A brief ceremony was held in their honour at Buckingham Palace. The visitors were ushered into the palace chamber where they had audience with King George V. The event was one of the memorable occasions in London for the parties and it was something of a great experience.

The visit of Sultan and Emirs corresponded with Royal Agricultural Show, which was to take place at Ipswich from 3<sup>rd</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> July 1934. *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero took a great interest in the show, which seemed to have motivated him to organise agricultural show in Kano in 1934 after his return from England. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of July, the party went to the Colonial Office in London and were warmly received by Sir John Maffey, Sir George Tomlinson, and Professor Bottomley. The Colonial Office served as the Foreign Office responsible for overseeing the affairs of the British colonies in the world. Later in the day, the Sultan and Emirs visited the Cowley

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

### *Abdullahi Bayero*

Works at Oxford, a factory that produced Morris motor cars.

On the following day, the party visited Aldershot as the guests of the British War Office. On the 7th of July, the Sultan and the Emirs visited the Houses of Parliament in London. Much time was spent in formal introduction and exchange of greetings with the parliamentarians. In the afternoon, the party were taken to Ranelagh, a lovely place, which was beautified with lawns. Polo matches were constantly held at this place and the visitors spent time in watching the game. And on 8<sup>th</sup>, the Sultan and the Emirs left London by train from Euston Railway Station to Liverpool. They stayed at Adelphi Hotel, and proceeded on the following day to Manchester as the guests of Elder Dempster Lines. At Manchester, the party visited the Newton Heath Textile Mills and were shown the processes for the manufacture of many cotton textiles that were eventually exported into the Nigerian markets. Sir Kenneth Lee of the company presented the Sultan and the Emirs with a number of samples of the company's products.

Then on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July, a befitting send-off reception was organised for the visitors by Lord Mayor at Liverpool. The Lord Mayor of the city sent his state coach to the Adelphi Hotel to convey the Sultan and the Emirs to the Town Hall. The visitors were very delighted with the kind of reception of the British people who assembled as they rode through the principal streets of the city. The Lord Mayor presented them with a copy of Liverpool's official handbook and some presents on behalf of the government and people of United Kingdom. From the Town Hall, the visitors witnessed a large

## *Foreign Visits*

gathering of enthusiastic citizens who gave them hearty cheers, and wished them a safe journey to Nigeria.

The Sultan and the Emirs along with their entourage departed for Nigeria on a ship named *Apapa*, which brought an end to their journey. Their visit to the United Kingdom earned the people of Hausa land much respect and admiration of the British people. The Sultan and the Emirs arrived Lagos after spending 23 days on the sea. They were warmly received by the senior British officials and the traditional Chiefs of Lagos with a great home-coming welcome. They spent night at Lagos, and proceeded to Kaduna on the following day. From Kaduna, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero proceeded to Kano and was affectionately received by the *Kanawa* at the Railway station. His safe return home was greatly marked with enthusiastic festivities and Bayero also received messages of congratulations from other Emirs and his subject.<sup>20</sup>

### ***Pilgrimage To Mecca***

After his safe return from England in 1934, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero focused his attention on going to Mecca. Therefore, in 1935, the Emir began to make preparations and necessary contacts for his intended journey to Saudi Arabia by road. He first sought for the approval from the colonial government, which was granted in 1936. A memorandum for the approval dated 10<sup>th</sup> November 1936 read as follows:<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This statement was constructed from extensive discussions with few elders at the palace of Kano. See also Malami, Alhaji Shehu op. cit. pp. 190-199, Smith. M.G. op. cit. p. 479 and Nast. J. Heidi. op. cit. p. 148.

<sup>21</sup> See Arewa House Document. Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.

*Abdullahi Bayero*

**From the Secretary,  
Northern Provinces,  
Kaduna.**

**To the Honourable,  
Chief Secretary,  
Lagos.**

**EMIR OF KANO-PROPOSED VISIT TO MECCA**

I am directed by the Acting Chief Commissioner to inform you that the Emir of Kano has asked for permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca this season. The expense would be borne by the Emir himself and he would return by the middle of April (1937) at least. The matter was broached to His Excellency during his recent visit to Kano en route leave, and His Excellency stated he had no objection provided there were no practical difficulties.

The Emir proposes to follow the El Obeid route and wishes to visit Cairo on his return from the pilgrimage. His Excellency thought there would be no difficulty about the latter provided the authorities were informed.

The Resident reports that the only practical difficulty may be the condition of the road between Dikwa and Fort Lamy, which may not be motorable by the time the Emir should leave Kano. His Honour has approved of the Resident making the necessary arrangements for the Emir's journey on the assumption that the road will be open.

A further communication will be addressed to you in due course on the question of appointing a Native Authority for Kano Emirate during the Emir's absence.

**Secretary  
Northern Provinces**

When the approval was granted, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero started preparations for his proposed pilgrimage to Mecca. The Emir proposed to leave Kano

### *Foreign Visits*

on the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1937 for Maiduguri and thence to Fort Lamy via Marwa. His itinerary time-table for the journey is presented below:<sup>22</sup>

8 <sup>th</sup> January	1937	Leave Kano
26 <sup>th</sup> January	1937	Arrive Khartoum
28 <sup>th</sup> January	1937	Arrive Suakin
4 <sup>th</sup> February	1937	Arrive Jeddah
4 <sup>th</sup> March	1937	Arrive Jeddah from Medina
7 <sup>th</sup> March	1937	Arrive Atuz (Suez)
12 <sup>th</sup> March	1937	Arrive Cairo

The party of the Emir consisted of 49 people that included his brother, Galadima Abdulkadir, Ma'aji Abdullahi, Malam Suleiman who later become Walin Kano, some *Hakimai*, his three wives, two of his Kwarakwarai, Malam Yakubu Shetima, Abdullahi Mai Kano Zagi and few royal slaves. Of these numbers, only four people would remain at El-Obeid with the cars and lorries, while the rest would proceed to Mecca for the pilgrimage. The Resident of Kano officially communicated with the District Commissioners of Geninah, El-Fasher and El-Obeid, informing them about the pilgrimage of the Emir Abdullahi Bayero, and the number of people who would accompany him. The Resident also informed them the approximate date of his arrival in their countries and requested for their maximum co-operation. The Resident further informed the French authorities at Fort Lamy, soliciting for their necessary assistance and the security of the Emir and his team. The Consul Generals of Jeddah and Sudan were duly

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

*Abdullahi Bayero*

From the Secretary,  
Northern Provinces,  
Kaduna.

To the Honourable,  
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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

*Abdullahi Bayero*

informed formally by the colonial government of Nigeria.<sup>23</sup>

Before he left home, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero declared to the government his intension of visiting other Islamic countries after the pilgrimage, which was included in the above timetable. The Emir selected six people who would accompany him in his visit to these countries. The selection of few people among the party was to avoid the cost of transportation and accommodation since the Emir personally sponsored the pilgrimage with his own money. The countries to be officially visited by the Emir were Cairo and Sudan. The colonial government approved the request and dispatched letters concerning the visit and the possible dates of the arrival of the Emir to these countries. The colonial government also gave the Emir an introduction letter to Governor Generals of these countries, which read as follows:<sup>24</sup>

**NIGERIA,**

30<sup>th</sup> December 1936

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Emir of Kano, to whom I have given this letter, is making the pilgrimage to Mecca, and has expressed desire to salute your Excellency. I hope that you may find it convenient to gratify the Emir's wish.

The Emir, **Abdullahi Bayero**, is an honorary Commander of the Order of the British Empire, and is graded as a first Class Chief. His Emirate extends over an area of 12,000 square miles, with a population of about two million. He is the most enlightened of the Northern Emirs.

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<sup>23</sup> Oral interview with Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero on 21<sup>st</sup> May 2003. See also Arewa House Document Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.

<sup>24</sup> Arewa House Document.

## *Foreign Visits*

... Two years ago, the Emir paid a visit to England but this is the first occasion on which he made pilgrimage.

*I have the honour to be*

*Sir*

*Your obedient servant*

**J.A. MAYBIN**

**Officer Administering the Government**

The colonial government in collaboration with *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero made suitable arrangement on the person who would act in the capacity of the Emir during the period of his absence from the sphere of his influence. The Emir personally selected his eldest son, Ciroma Muhammadu Sunusi as the one who would act on his behalf during the period of his absence, which was approved by the government.<sup>25</sup> An arrangement was made to augment the Emir's Council by approving temporary appointment of Alkalin Alkalan Kano and Ciroma Muhammadu Sunusi to replace Galadima Abdulkadir and Ma'aji Abdullahi in the Council. Therefore, the colonial government technically transferred the power exercised by the Emir to his eldest son, the Ciroma Muhammadu Sunusi, who would act on behalf of his father, in the name of the Council. The government therefore had to amend the Native Authority Ordinance of 1933, which read as follows:<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Personal discussion with the Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero in 2003.

<sup>26</sup> See Arewa House Document. Emir Of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.

*Abdullahi Bayero*

**Gazette Notice No. 30**

**THE NATIVE AUTHORITY ORDINANCE, 1933  
(NO. 43 OF 1933)**

In virtue of the power conferred upon the Governor by section 3 (5) of the Native Authority Ordinance, 1933, it is hereby directed that owing to the temporary absence of the Emir of Kano from the area of his office as Native Authority for the Kano Emirate, the notice under the Native Authority Ordinance, 1933, published in the supplement to *Gazette* No. 17 of 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1934, is hereby amended-

- (a) by deleting "Emir of Kano" from the third column of the schedule thereto; and
- (b) by substituting "The Council of the Emir of Kano" therefore

**By His Excellency's Command,**

**G. C. WHITELEY,**

**Acting Chief Secretary to the Government.**

8<sup>th</sup> January 1937

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1937, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero left Kano for his intending journey to Mecca for pilgrimage. Since early morning hours of that day, the people of Kano were seen trooping into the palace from every angle to bid farewell to the Emir. Most of them were seen shedding tears because their hearts were highly attached to him, and they presumed that the Emir would probably die at Mecca. After performing his usual *Walha* supererogatory prayers, the Emir came out around 9.00 a.m. through the Kofar Kudu. He was emotionally touched with the mass of the people he saw who come to the palace to bid him farewell. It has been reported that the Emir was stunned so much and nearly wept for the kind of affection the *Kanawa* have been showing him since his assumption of leadership. He addressed them

soothingly and shook hands with some of them that stood closer to him. He then entered his car and proceeded with his journey while the people kept on saying *Allah Ya dawo da kai gida lafiya*, meaning may Allah bring you back home safely.<sup>27</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero arrived Maiduguri in the late evening of that day. The Shehu of Borno, Malam Mustapha El-Kanemi personally received him at the palace. Emir Bayero and his team alighted at Maiduguri and on the following day proceeded. The Shehu along with some titled officials of Borno accompanied Emir Abdullahi Bayero to Nigerian boarder and bid him farewell. The party proceeded, alighting at some places on the route most especially when the night falls.<sup>28</sup> Such prominent places included Fort Lamy or Fort El-Amin in Chad as well as El-Geninah and El-Fasher in Sudan. The party also alighted at Khartoum before reaching Port Sudan on the 29<sup>th</sup> January 1937. They boarded a steamer and sailed across the Red Sea to Jeddah. The Emir left Jeddah to Mecca and performed his pilgrimage along with number of Muslims and *Ulama* that came from different parts of the world. As earlier stated in Chapter 12, it was during this pilgrimage that Abdullahi Bayero met Sheikh Ibrahim Inyass. After the pilgrimage, Abdullahi Bayero went to Medina and spent nine days and came to Jeddah on 4<sup>th</sup> March 1937.

This was the first pilgrimage of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. Available evidences proved that Emir Bayero used the occasion and visited King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, during which matters of importance

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<sup>27</sup> Shamakin Kano Inuwa, personal discussion in 2003.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

*Abdullahi Bayero*

concerning the Muslims were discussed. He returned home on the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1937 and the government passed a Gazette that cancelled the Gazette No. 30 of 1937. It reads as follows:<sup>29</sup>

**Gazette Notice No. 30**

THE NATIVE AUTHORITY ORDINANCE, 1933  
(NO. 43 OF 1933)

In virtue of the power conferred upon the Governor by section 3 (5) of the Native Authority Ordinance, 1933, it is hereby directed that the notice under the Native Authority Ordinance, 1933, published in the supplement to *Gazette* No. 17 of 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1934, as amended by Gazette Notice No. 30 published in the *Gazette* of the 14<sup>th</sup> January 1937, is hereby amended-

- (c) by deleting "The Council of the Emir of Kano" from the third column of the schedule thereto; and
- (d) by substituting "Emir of Kano" therefore

**By His Excellency's Command,**

G. C. WHITELEY,

**Acting Chief Secretary to the Government.**

24<sup>th</sup> April 1937

Ten years after, the pilgrimage session changed to the rainy session. This created a lot of untold hardship to the Nigerian pilgrims because the road from Maiduguri to El-Obeid became impassable to motor cars and lorries. And the facilities for air transportation were very limited at that time in Nigeria. On seeing this, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero suggested and recommended to the government that Imperial Airways be approached to provide special facilities for airlifting Nigerian pilgrims

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<sup>29</sup> Arewa House Document. Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.

to Saudi Arabia. This development was the onset for airlifting pilgrims from Kano to Holy Land by air, which persist up till today.

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero performed the second pilgrimage in 1951 and he traveled by air. But this time around, only one person, Alhaji Yahaya Shetima, accompanied the Emir. It was during the second visit that the Emir tried to ameliorate the difficulties encountered by the Nigerian pilgrims. At that material time, the British colonial government as well as Saudi Arabian government had introduced a visa, which made entry into the Holy Land difficult to intending pilgrims. Apart from this, the Emir was worried on the cost charged by the authorities concerned. Therefore, before he left Nigeria in 1951, the Emir expressed his desire to personally see the King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. This propelled the Governor of Nigeria to dispatch a telegram to the British Embassy in Jeddah, disclosing that:<sup>30</sup>

The Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, C.M.G., C.B.E., would be leaving Kano by air on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1951 to Jeddah on pilgrimage. He is to be accompanied by one servant. The Emir requests interview with His Majesty, King Ibn Saud or Minister responsible for pilgrim affairs regarding pilgrimage costs. Grateful if interview and necessary accommodation can be arranged.

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero left Kano as arranged for his second pilgrimage. There are no much details about the meeting of Emir Bayero with King Saud of Saudi Arabia. But many sources disclosed that

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

### *Abdullahi Bayero*

the Emir saw and discussed with him for about two hours after the pilgrimage. It was during the meeting that Abdullahi Bayero requested King Saud to do every thing possible to allow world Muslims performed pilgrimage at a less cost. He also advised Saudi Arabian government to constantly remain the custodian of the Holy places of Mecca and Medina and other places in the country.<sup>31</sup>

### **Visit To Muslim Countries**

After performing his first pilgrimage in 1937, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero sailed from Jeddah to Cairo in Egypt for a visit. He was accompanied by six people and the rest of the team proceeded to Khartoum and waited for the Emir's return. Mr. M.S. Lush, who was the Sudan Agent at Cairo, arranged the visit of the Emir beforehand. On arrival at Suez Canal, the Egyptian government accorded Emir Abdullahi Bayero a cordial reception, which remained one of his liveliest satisfactions. At Suez, the Emir found that one Egyptian merchant, Ahmed Abou el-Seoud, had already arranged transport for him to Cairo. Abou el-Seoud had considerable business connection in Nigeria and one of his sons, was a businessman in Kano.

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero proceeded to Cairo and arrived on the 14<sup>th</sup> March 1937. At Cairo, Emir Bayero was received by Egyptian authorities that treated him with a great respect. He stayed as a guest of Ahmed Abou el-Seoud, who hired a special house for him at Abbassia, and put two cars at his disposal. The Egyptian authority accorded the Emir with full facilities

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<sup>31</sup> Personal discussion with Sheikh Umaru Sanda, Kaduna and Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero in 2003.

### *Foreign Visits*

and attached a special police officer to him during his stay, and also posted special policemen outside his residence.

The Emir spent 13 days visiting the historical places in the country. Many Egyptian personalities visited the Emir to pay their respect and prominent among them were the Prime Minister of the country and the British Ambassador to Egypt. Others were Fouad Pasha Abaza of the Royal Agricultural Society, Hamed Pasha el-Basl of the Young Men's Islamic Society and the Rector of Al-Azhar University, Sheikh el-Maraghi. It should be noted that during his visit, the Emir appealed to the scholars of Al-Azhar to come to Nigeria and teach, which was accepted by the Egyptian authorities. But the British blocked the establishment of any contact between Kano and Al-Azhar scholars<sup>32</sup> probably for political reason.

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero paid a courtesy call on King Farooq of Egypt at his palace. He was warmly received by the Egyptian King who took him round the historical palace. In addition to this, the British Army invited the Emir to attend a military display at Cairo, but unfortunately, he was unable to attend due to some commitments on that day. The Commander of the British Royal Air Force had already invited the Emir, which the latter accepted. The Commander of the Royal Air Force personally took Emir Bayero in a helicopter and flew with him over Cairo and the pyramids. Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero was extremely delighted with the aerial view of Cairo and the historical pyramids. The Commander landed the Helicopter at the

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<sup>32</sup> Kano Profile No. 2131, N.N.A. Kaduna. See also Loimeier op. cit. p. 153.

### *Abdullahi Bayero*

site of the pyramids and took the Emir round the place. They spent an hour at the place and returned to the Officer's Mess where the Emir was entertained with a befitting reception.

On the following day, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero visited the races at Gezira Sporting Club where the British and some Egyptian personalities entertained him. He also visited Alexandria at the invitation of Prince Omar Toussoun. It was at this time that the Emir arranged for a visit to Palestine, which was instantly approved by Palestinian authorities.

Therefore, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero proceeded to Jerusalem to visit the revered *Bait-el-Muquaddas*, which is one of the important places to the Muslims. At Jerusalem, the Emir stayed as a guest of Muhammad Amin Hussein. The Higher Commissioner of Jerusalem personally visited the Emir at his lodging and Abdullahi Bayero was very happy with this courtesy. He sincerely thanked the Higher Commissioner for taking the trouble of visiting him. The Emir spent just two days at Palestine and went back to Egypt to prepare for his return to Nigeria.

On his way home, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero visited Khartoum and met the rest of his party. He spent only few days at Khartoum and was introduced formally to the Governor General of Sudan. The Emir also met and discussed with several Sudanese personalities and scholars. This enabled the Emir to negotiate with the Sudanese government and the Islamic scholars on their possible employment by Kano N.A. government. After making all the arrangement, the Emir left Khartoum for Nigeria with his party. He spent 19 days on his way and

### *Foreign Visits*

reached Kano on the 16<sup>th</sup> April 1937. These visits greatly contributed to the international outlook of Abdullahi Bayero and re-exposed the status of Kano to the world.

During the course of this journey, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero left one of his retinue Ahmed Mahmud at El-Obeid, a small town of Sudan. Ahmed Mahmud was said to be suffering from eye problem, and therefore had to be left to receive proper treatment at the hospital. The Sudan Government advanced him with a loan of £10 on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1937 to enable him to return to Kano after his condition had improved. On his safe arrival home, Emir Bayero arranged with the Crown Agents to transfer corresponding amount to the Sudan Government Account.

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero purchased a mare and two horses and arranged for them to be left with the Sultan of Dar-Masalit at El-Geninah pending the opening of the road after the rainfall of the year. Therefore, around December 1937, the Emir dispatched a lorry to convey them. And shortly after his return, the Emir sent appreciation letter to the Governor General of Sudan, the Secretary to the Governor General of Sudan, the Governor of El-Obied Sir el-Sayyid Ali el Mirghani, the Mudir El-Obeid, the Mudir El-Fasher, the Mamour El-Fasher, the Mufattish Muhud of Port Sudan, the Mufattish El Geninah, the Mufattish El-Fasher, the British Ambassador of Cairo, the Sudan Agent of Cairo, the Officer Commanding the Royal Air Force of Cairo, Prince Muhammed Ali of Cairo, Mustapha el-Mahas of Cairo, El-Sayid Abu El-Saud of Cairo, Provost of Al-Azhar University of Cairo, the wife of His Excellency Um-el- Masria of Cairo, the British

*Abdullahi Bayero*

Consul of Jeddah, the Waziri of Jeddah, the British Higher Commissioner of Jerusalem and the Mufti of Jerusalem. All these letters were written by the Emir personally in Arabic, which was translated by the Colonial Officer. The Emir personally paid £3.14 Shillings for the dispatch of these letters, most of which despatched through ocean mail.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Arewa House Document, Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero.

## **Chapter Nineteen**

### ***Abdullahi Bayero: A Departed Hero***

This chapter discusses the family of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, and his transition to the Great Beyond in 1953, as well as the circumstances that led to his death. As stated earlier, Abdullahi Bayero sprang from the renowned family of Sullubawa ruling dynasty; a family established by *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo following the Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in 1805. Bayero, as he was popularly called, was the eldest son of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas (1903-1919) and the grandson of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi (1855-1883), and indeed the great-grandson of *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846).

We have already seen how Abdullahi Bayero was appointed as the 10<sup>th</sup> Fulani Emir of Kano and his victory in manning the administration of the Emirate despite the colonial intemperance. As a matter of fact, the enduring achievements of the intellectual leadership of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero made him to become a revered and respectful leader in Nigeria and the world at large. Moreover, we have seen how Emir Abdullahi Bayero situated the ancient Kingdom of Kano along the modern trend of development, and all these splendid achievements made people to extol him as a **Departed Hero**.

#### ***Abdullahi Bayero As A Husband***

Like his forefathers, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero maintained an extended family. He got his first marriage in 1902 to Malama Maimunatu, the

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

daughter of his uncle, Waziri Ahmadu *Mai Shahada*. It should however be recalled that his uncle, Waziri Ahmadu was equally his foster father, who brought him up since his childhood days. Bayero lived closely together with Waziri Ahmadu up to the time of the death of the latter in 1903 at Kwatarkwashi following a military combat with the colonial forces.

The marriage between Abdullahi Bayero and Maimunatu was initiated by his uncle, the reigning Emir of the time, Aliyu Babba (1894-1903). Such family marriage was part of the attempt of the Sullubawa Emirs of strengthening the mutual relationship among the extended family members of Dabo. The marriage was arranged unknown to Abdullahi Bayero who was just 21 years old.<sup>1</sup>

However, oral tradition shows that Abdullahi Bayero did not like the choice of his parents principally because Maimunatu was among those he taught at Maƙeran Galadanci in the compound of Waziri Ahmadu. Apart from this, Bayero detested the marriage on the ground that there was a girl of his choice, namely Asma'u, whom he personally proposed to marry. But since his parents had already made up their mind, Bayero had no option other than to agree to the marriage because he could not disappoint them.

Abdullahi Bayero heartedly took Maimunatu as a wife and became a caring and loving husband to her. They happily lived at a house given to him at Maƙeran Galadanci, which is now occupied by the family of

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<sup>1</sup> Oral interview with *Fulanin Dandago* Hadizatu Bayero. *Nanan Karaye Sa'adatu Bayero and Saudatu Bayero (Gwaggo)*. Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

Wambai Abubakar, the son of *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Sunusi.<sup>2</sup> Maimunatu was highly an understanding woman, who went to the extent of encouraging her husband to marry Asma'u, whom she believed, had a strong love of her husband. But sadly indeed, Asma'u died in 1903 after a protracted illness suspected to be *'yan rani* (small-pox). It was probably in her reverence that Bayero named one of his daughters, Asma'u.

Meanwhile, Abdullahi Bayero lost his first wife, Maimunatu who died in 1905 after giving birth to a male child who also died shortly after the death of his mother. This prompted Abdullahi Bayero, who was then the Ciroma of Kano, to marry Sa'adiyya in 1905 shortly after their arrival with his father *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Abbas from visiting Lugard at Zungeru. Sa'adiya begot him one daughter, who was named Hafsatu (*Zinariya*). Then in 1912, Bayero married Rabi'atu, who became his second wife. Rabi'atu was the daughter of *San Kurmi* Dan Bello, who hailed from noblest stock of Dutse novelty. *San Kurmi* Dan Bello was maternally connected to the family of *Sullufawan Dabo* of Kano and as such this marriage was considered as a family marriage.<sup>3</sup>

Subsequently, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero married Rabi'atu, known as *'Yar Mai Tilas* in 1918. The marriage took place after Bayero was posted to Bichi as the District Head. Rabi'atu *'Yar Mai Tilas* was the daughter of *Sarkin Kano* Aliyu Babba, who was deposed following the colonial conquest of the Emirate in 1903. Tradition

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid. *Sarkin Kano* Muhammadu Sunusi also stayed at this compound when he got his first marriage.

<sup>3</sup> Oral interview with Fulanin Dandago Hadizatu Bayero, *Nanan Karaye* Sa'adatu Bayero and Saudatu Bayero Gwaggo. 2004.

shows that Rabi'atu married him at the age of 15, and she was the last daughter of Sarkin Kano Aliyu Babba born at the royal palace of Kano. Rabi'atu 'Yar Mai Tilas was among those taken to Lokoja, a place where her father was exiled in 1903. She was too young at that material time, but when she grew up, Sarkin Kano Abbas personally sent messengers to his brother, Aliyu Babba at Lokoja, requesting him to allow Rabi'atu to be taken to the palace and brought up there. Aliyu Babba granted the request in spite of his strong interest on his young daughter.

Therefore, Rabi'atu was taken to the palace and brought up along with the daughters of the palace and Abbas. And when it was time for her marriage, Sarkin Abbas, personally gave her hand in marriage to his eldest son, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero, imploring him never to attempt divorcing her in his life. Sarkin Abbas just sent a message to his brother, Aliyu Babba, and on the following day of the marriage died,<sup>4</sup> while Aliyu Babba still resided at Lokoja and died in 1926.

Thus, Rabi'atu became the third wife to Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero and he lived to the expectation of his life because Rabi'atu 'Yar Mai Tilas was among his children who observed the *Takaba* (130 days probation) when Abdullahi Bayero died in 1953. Rabi'atu was to be a respectable housewife, highly strong and yet unassuming in the family of Abdullahi Bayero as because of her traits that the family

obtained from personal discussion with Dan Rimi

<sup>5</sup> Fulanin Dandago, Nai  
2004.  
<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



After his return from pilgrimage, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero replaced Bilkisu with Rukayyatu, who became his fourth wife. Rukayyatu was a daughter of Galadima Umaru, the son of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Maje Karofi. Rukayyatu was popularly called *Taumbe* in order to shield her real name. Then in 1940 the second wife of the Emir, Sa'adiya died. This made the Emir to marry Fadimatu, who was also a grand-daughter of Abdullahi Maje Karofi. In spite of her young age, all the sons and daughters of the Emir called her *Fulani Mama* in deference to her real name.

Therefore, at the time of his death in 1953, *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero left behind four wives that included: *Fulani Rabi*, the senior wife; *Fulani Rabi'atu* (*'Yar Mai Tilas*), the second wife; *Fulani Rukayyatu* (*Taumbe*), the third wife and; *Fulani Fadimatu* known as *Mama*, the fourth wife. These four wives begot few children among the numerous sons and daughters of the Emir, most of who died in their childhood.<sup>7</sup>

At this juncture, it is important to note that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero had some *sadaku* (concubines) who bore him a number of children. The practice of keeping *sadaku* is an ancient tradition and custom in the palaces of Hausa land. The institution of concubinage, according to scholars, was very old and found in many Islamic states the world over. In actual fact, this institution formed part of the Muslim culture that came along with Islam into Hausa land. Such *sadaku* were normally made out of slave girls caught during a war or when a Muslim army raided a non-Muslim community. They were also acquired through purchase, gifts or

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

diplomatic exchanges among the nobles, Islamic scholars and the rich men. *Sadaka* served as a sort of secondary wife to her master and was legally allowed to have children. But despite this, the *sadaka* does not have the status and right of a proper wife<sup>8</sup> and such rights included inheritance when her master died. But her children possess equal rights with those of a proper wife, and such children mostly become eminent personalities or great rulers. It should be noted that today, the institution of *sadaku* became very controversial among Islamic scholars. There were those who approved the practice on the ground that the *sadaku* were still made among the descendants of the slaves. But there were others who saw the practice as unacceptable since the coming of the British, who banned any form of slavery.

#### ***Abdullahi Bayero As A Father***

Allah in His infinite mercy blessed *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero with a number of children even before his ascension to the exalted throne in 1926. His eldest son, who was named Adamu or Ado, was born in the early 1903, ahead of Muhammadu Sunusi. Some of his children were either born in Kano or Bichi prior to his ascension, while majority of the others were born at the royal palace after he became Emir.

It has been reported that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was a disciplinarian father, who brought up his children on the teachings of Islam and traditional customs of the Fulani nobles of Kano. And on his assumption of power, Bayero tried and strictly adhered to the important

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<sup>8</sup> Rufa'i, Ruqayyatu Ahmed, op. cit. p. 71.

socio-cultural activities of the royal palace in training his children. This included the ancient tradition of bringing up royal children by *Uwayen Goyo* (foster mothers), rather than their biological mothers. Bayero believed that a child belongs to the whole family not to his biological mother, and therefore has to be brought up by a woman different from his own mother. Therefore, immediately after weaning a child, *Uwar Goyo* took over responsibilities of a child up to the time of his youthfulness, where he would come to know his real biological mother.

This culture, which is an ancient custom of the palace re-enforced mutual respect and cohesion among all the royal children; for they continued to respect their *Uwayen Goyo* even when they discovered their biological mothers. For instance, the present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero was not brought up by his biological mother, Hasiya (*Asabe Mai Babban Daki*), but by *Uwar Waje* of the *Anguwan Barebari* who is known as 'Yar Ja. This is the case with all other children of *Sarki Bayero* born at the royal palace.<sup>9</sup>

And since the Emir would not be able to monitor the conduct of his grown up sons all the time due to his public commitments, Abdullahi Bayero devised a strategy of placing them under the care of his trusted slaves. These trusted persons strictly monitored the conduct and behavior of the princes put under their care. They tried to ensure that they behaved properly and in good manners.

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<sup>9</sup> Personal discussions with Dan Iyan Kano Alhaji Yusufu Bayero, Hajiya Saudatu Bayero (*Gwaggo*), Hajiya Hadizatu Bayero (*Fulanin Dan Dago*) and Hajiya Sa'adatu Bayero (*Fulanin Karaye*). 2003-2004.

The trusted slaves disciplined the princess personally when they erred or declined to attend schools. Most of the princess came to stay permanently at the compound of the royal slaves located at the palace, played and ate together with the sons of the royal slaves. This mode of training significantly discouraged them from thinking of themselves as *'Ya 'yan Sarki* (royal princes). For instance, the present Emir, Ado Bayero was placed under the care of *Babban Zagi Abdullahi Maƙ Kano*.<sup>10</sup>

One interesting thing in the royal palace of Kano that persisted up till today is the fact that the Emir never distinguished between his biological sons and the children of the occupants of the palace. Many informants said that the Emir treats them equally without any preference, and this attitude made the royal princes to become respectful people even at their youthfulness. This mode of training united the occupants of the palace.<sup>11</sup>

It has been reported that *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero* tried as much as possible and enforced the culture of respect on his children since their infancy stage. This culture of respect included the practice of avoiding direct mentioning of the names of a senior, and kneeling down when speaking to elders. For example, a senior brother or sister no matter how little the difference of age may be was normally addressed as *Yaya*, which served as a mark of respect. An Auntie was normally called *Gwaggo*, while uncle was referred to as *Kawu* or *Baba*. This was also the same with kneeling down to greet an elder. For example,

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<sup>10</sup> Personal discussion with His Highness Alhaji Ado Bayero in 2003.

<sup>11</sup> Personal discussion with Shamakin Kano Inuwa. 2003.

a one-year-old child in the royal palace of Kano knows how to kneel down and greet an elder.<sup>12</sup>

With regard to learning, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero made strenuous effort in providing his sons and daughters with both Islamic and western education. He placed much emphasis on religious knowledge, and it was because of this that the Emir established Qur'anic school at *Bayan Dan Soro*, just very close to his room at the palace. The establishment of this Qur'anic school was to enable the Emir supervise the conduct of his children. Smaller children from the age of two were normally taken to the school by the senior ones. This made the toddlers to become so familiar with the school since their early stage of development. The Emir employed a teacher, named Malam Habibu who taught the children Qur'an, Hadith, Fiqh, and the law of morality. Small children from other sections of *Gidan Rumfa* were allowed to attend this school, which became very famous now at the palace.<sup>13</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero personally took great interest in the school as he went there and taught the children at his convenient time. He would sit down in the school, teach and write for the smaller ones who could not write on their *allo* (wooden slate). All the students, including the grown up ones, were anxious for the Emir to write for them because he had an excellent handwriting. One of his daughters disclosed that Bayero

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<sup>12</sup> Personal discussions with Hajiya Saudatu Bayero (*Gwaggo*), Hajiya Hadizatu Bayero (*Fulanin Dan Dago*) and Hajiya Sa'adatu Bayero (*Fulanin Karaye*), 2003. See also Rufa'i. Ruqayyatu Ahmed, op. cit. p. 135.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

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wrote for them boldly and clearly, and his writing took a form of *Tunisian* style. Everyone of them was eager to see the Emir at the school since he distributed gifts to the students when he came to the school. His unexpected visits encouraged prompt attendance, and motivated children to go to the school constantly, so as not to miss the gifts of the Emir.<sup>14</sup> One interesting thing was that children were taught how to read Arabic characters like *Alimum*, *Ba'un*, *Sa'un* etc in Hausa and Fulfulde languages, which facilitated understanding of the students.<sup>15</sup> This exemplary practice persist up till today because the present Emir Alhaji Ado Bayero maintained this school and personally goes there and taught like his father.<sup>16</sup>

Later, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero enrolled all his grown up children at *Makarantar Allo* of *Gidan Walin Kano* Suleimanu at Mandawari quarters of *Birnin Kano*. He charged the Wali with the responsibility of teaching them the whole of Qur'an and Fiqh. Wali, as reported, was an excellent teacher, who possessed modern skills in teaching his students. And after the death of the Wali, Abdullahi Bayero brought his sons into the personal compound of the Wali located very close to Kano Central Mosque. Bayero then requested one of his wives, Malama Saudatu,<sup>17</sup> to continue teaching his sons Qur'an and Fiqh. Malama Saudatu accepted this request and remained at

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid. See also Rufa'i. Ruquayyatu Ahmed, op. cit. p. 146.

<sup>15</sup> Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero. formal interview. May 2003.

<sup>16</sup> The Author is a living witness to this because I personally saw Emir Ado Bayero on several occasions teaching at this school during my constant visits to the palace in the course of writing this book.

<sup>17</sup> Malama Saudatu was well known in Kano due to her erudition in Islamic learning. She was the mother of Alhaji Alfa Wali.

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

this compound up to the time when the elder son of the Wali was about to get married. He was to stay in this house, and in view of this, Abdullahi Bayero transferred them to his personal house located at Yakasai quarters so as to continue with their study. And when the sons were about to complete their study of the Holy Qur'an, Malama Saudatu got married. Therefore, Bayero had to employ one Malam Gwani to come and stay in that house and take over from where she stopped. The sons completed their Qur'anic study under him.<sup>18</sup>

Apart from this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero maintained the two historical Islamiyya schools at the palace earlier built by *Sarkin Kano* Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846). These schools were situated at Kofar Arewa section of the palace. Initially, these schools were meant to serve the purpose of imparting knowledge to the occupants of the palace that included royal children and those of the occupants of the palace as well as others from the neighbouring environment. These schools still exist, and the present Emir elevated their status due to the number of students attending lessons.

In addition to this, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero established one other Islamiyya school at Kofar Kudu section of the palace for his sons, who completed the study of the Holy Qur'an. He sent for Malam Nasiru Kabara, who was at then in his youthful age and requested him that, "*Muna son ka ci gaba da koya ma yara addini a karance, ka kuma nuna masu yadda ake*

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<sup>18</sup> Formal interview with Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero. He said that most of the sons of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero from Galadima Sani to the present Emir Ado Bayero and their junior ones studied relatively at the same time. 2003.

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*dukkān ibada a aikace.* (We want you to continue teaching children religion, and demonstrate to them how to worship practically). Malam Nasiru Kabara accepted this, which propelled the Emir to entrust his sons under him. Malam Nasiru Kabara usually came to the palace in the morning and taught, while in the evening, the sons went to his house and learned. And in the night, Malam Nasiru Kabara came to the palace after Isha'i prayers, and remained up to 12-midnight teaching. All the sons liked and respected Malam Nasiru because of his vast knowledge in Islam. What endeared him much to them was that Malam Nasiru also demonstrated to them how to ride and play with the bicycle mostly before the commencement of lessons.

It has been reported that there was a time when Malam Nasiru Kabara was demonstrating different kinds of play with the bike and unfortunately fell down in the process. All what they heard, was the voice of Emir Bayero lamenting, "*Subhanallahi! Subhanallahi!! Subhanallahi!!!* (Good heavens! Good heavens!! Good heavens!!!)". Unknown to all, the Emir was watching everything. Malam Nasiru Kabara became alarmed, and managed to rise up from the ground and left the palace silently, too shy to look at the Emir. The Emir just smiled and said nothing about the matter; for he knew that it was a mere youthful exuberance. When Malam Nasiru came on the following day, the Emir sent him several gifts in order to remove any ill-feelings from his mind about the incident. Sometimes when the Emir came to the school and was in a joking mood, he used to tease Malam Nasiru that, "*Yaushe za ka koya mini yadda ake wasa da keke*"? (When are you going to teach me how to play

with a bicycle)? Malam Nasiru would just smile, and say "Allah Ya taimaki Sarki". (My Allah help His Highness).<sup>19</sup>

What encouraged his children to devote themselves in Islamic studies was the fact that, their father, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was also undertaking advanced studies despite his exalted position and vast knowledge. Normally in the evenings, some reputable *Malamai* constantly went to the palace for that purpose. These *Malamai* included Malam Umaru, who was the grandfather of the present Babban Malami of Madabo, Walin Kano Suleimanu, Malam Muhammadu Dan Amu, Malam Nasiru Kabara<sup>20</sup> and Malam Mamuda Umar.<sup>21</sup> Abdullahi Bayero continued advanced studies at the palace under these *Malamai*, inviting his grown up sons such as Ciroma Sunusi, Dan Iya Aminu, up to Dan Buran Bello.<sup>22</sup>

Precisely, this was how *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero imparted Islamic knowledge on his children. A clear testimony of this could be demonstrated with the rich Islamic library in the study of the present Emir Ado

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<sup>19</sup> Formal interview with Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero. 2003.

<sup>20</sup> This Malam Nasiru Kabara was a prominent Islamic scholar and was elderly at that time. He was not the Sheikh Nasiru Kabara mentioned earlier in this book. They only have the same name, and Sheikh Nasiru Kabara was in his youthful age at that time, though associated with the palace, and later promoted as a member of Emir's Court.

<sup>21</sup> Malam Mamuda Umar's father came to Kano from Zaria during the early reign of *Sarkin Kano* Abbas (1903-1919). He was so close to Abbas and when he died, his son, Malam Mamuda replaced him. Malam Mamuda was very close to Abdullahi Bayero and one of his sons is now the Limamin Waje of Kano.

<sup>22</sup> Constructed from formal interview with Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero. 2003.

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Bayero and that of Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero at Dawakin Kudu. Most of the sons received both Islamic and western education, except the eldest among them, who did not receive western education. The first sets of those enrolled into *makaranatar boko* (western school) were Turaki Maje Abdullahi, Galadima Muhammadu Sani and Dan Buran Muhammadu Bello. At first, they were taken to Shahuci School and later transferred to the Residency of *Sarkin Katsina*, which housed some classrooms at that time. Later, the Emir constructed two classrooms at Kofar Kwaru before the establishment of Kofar Kudu Primary School.<sup>23</sup>

With regard to his daughters, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero strived to see that they got the needed education before the time of their marriage. Most of his daughters received both Islamic and western education except the eldest among them that included Fadimatu (*Magajiya*), Hafsatu (*Zinariya*), Fadimatu (*Ta-Sarki*) and Maimuna (*Munai*). These four daughters received only Islamic education because in their time western school was not prevalent in Kano Emirate.

*Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero started enrolling his daughters into western school from Zainab (*Takau*) downwards, which enabled them to be the first set of educated women in Kano. They were normally escorted to Gidan Makama Girls School every morning by the *Jakadiya*, and after the closing hours, escorted back to the palace. The Emir tremendously encouraged women

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

education and it was because of this that he delayed their marriage until the completion of their secondary school.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from this, the princesses received additional home training in order to make them good wives when they got married. They were all taught how to cook a variety of food and how to behave well to their husbands. They were also taught how to be able to adjust to living in different sets of rules and matrimonial conditions and, above all, how to respect people no matter how lowly placed they are.

With regard to the marriages, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero allowed his sons to marry women of their choice when he discovered that the wives of the princes used to suffer because their husbands did not select them. Hitherto, princes were not free to marry from ordinary homes, but only the daughters of *Hakimai* or their female's cousins. But Bayero was the first Emir to have changed this by allowing his sons to select their wives, not necessarily from the royal family or from the families of *Hakimai*, but from any other family. But the marriage of the princesses significantly differed because the Emir tried to maintain the pattern of strengthening the internal and external family relationship initiated by his predecessors. All his daughters were only married to some Emirs, *Hakimai* and senior Village Heads within and outside Kano Emirate except few of them. And there has never been a case where a princess was allowed to present her suitor, and even when allowed, she would be

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<sup>24</sup> Personal discussions with Hajiya Saudatu Bayero (*Gwaggo*), Hajiya Hadizatu Bayero (*Fulanin Dan Dago*) and Hajiya Sa'adatu Bayero (*Fulanin Karaye*), 2003.

unable to do so due to the *kunya* (shyness) of the Fulani.<sup>25</sup> This pattern of royal marriage has been changed because the present Emir Ado Bayero, who is a product of modernity, allowed princess to select a husband from any family as long as he is of good character.

And since that time, marrying a royal princess has certain advantages due to their discipline and home training. For instance, in the event of a misfortune like incapacitation through illness, the princess's husband received help from the palace. The princess would remain with the husband even if his other wives decided to go away.

It is interesting to note that *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was very close to his children. They directly go to his room every day they returned from school and sometimes ate their lunch there. He encouraged childhood plays, listened to the kind of word they used, and corrected them when necessary. He also encouraged *Tatsuniya* (children fables) and *kamun gafiyoyi* (chasing bandicoot rats) within the palace among the children. It has been indicated that at that time there were several *gafiyoyi* at the palace, and this method helped to reduce them significantly.<sup>26</sup> His mode of training made all the children occupied and that restricted their movement. All the royal children did not go out freely except on Thursdays, when they would visit their grandmother, *Mariyatu Mai Babban Daki* at Gwangwazo quarters. This

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid. See also Rufa'i. Ruqayyatu Ahmed. op. cit. pp. 137-140.

<sup>26</sup> Personal discussions with the sons and daughters of *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero interviewed during the fieldwork research in 2003 and 2004.

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was how Abdullahi Bayero trained his children. Their names are presented below:

### SONS

No.	Names	Status
1	Ado	Died at childhood
2.	<b>Muh. Sunusi</b>	<b>11<sup>th</sup> Sarkin Kano</b> (died in 1992)
3.	Dahiru	Died at childhood
4.	Muh. Aminu	Dan Iyan Kano (died)
5.	Haruna	Died at childhood
6.	Isa	Dan Darma and later Wakilin Yamma (died)
7.	Umaru Faruġu	Dan Buran (died)
8.	Abbas, known as <i>Maje Abdullahi</i>	Turakin Kano (died)
9.	Muh. Sani	Galadiman Kano (died in 1990)
10.	Muh. Bello	Dan Buran Kano (died)
11.	Muh. Kabiru	Barde Kerarriya (died in 1999)
12.	Ahmadu Tijjani	Wakilin Kudu and later Wambai (died)
13.	Ibrahim Cigari	Barden Kano (died in 1983)
14.	<b>Ado</b>	<b>13<sup>th</sup> Sarkin Kano</b> (present Emir)
15.	Hamidu	Galadiman Kano (died)
16.	Mamudu	Barden Kano and promoted later to Tafidan Kano (died)
17.	Garba	Dan Buran and later promoted to Wambai (died in 1988)
18.	Yusufu	Barde and later promoted to Dan Iyan Kano (alive)
19.	Bashari	Yariman Kano promoted to Dan Darma (alive)
20.	Hamza	Sarkin Shanu (alive)
21.	Idi	Barden Kano (alive)
22.	Yahaya	Died at childhood

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23.	Muh. Taburi	Died at childhood
24.	Salih	Dan Buran Kano (alive)
25.	Hafizu	Died at childhood
26.	Isiyaku	Died at childhood
27.	Dalhatu	Retired Civil servant (alive)
28.	Haliru	Dan Ruwatan Kano (died)
29.	Ja'afaru	Civil servant (died in 2003)
30.	Awwalu	Civil servant (alive)
31.	Muh. Sani	Dan Amar (alive)
32.	Muh. Salisu	Civil Servant (alive)
33.	Tijjani ( <i>Auta</i> )	Civil servant (died in 2004)

**DAUGHTERS**

No	Names	Status
1	Fadimatu I. known as Binta ( <i>Magajiya</i> )	Married Madakin Kano Mamuda (died)
2	Hafsatu I. ( <i>Zinariya</i> )	Married Magajin Garin Kaduna and later Alkalin Danbatta (died)
3	Fadimatu II. ( <i>Ta-Sarki</i> )	Married Sarkin Gaya Sufyanu (died)
4	Maimuna ( <i>Muna</i> )	Married Madaki Shehu Mamuda (died)
5	Zainab ( <i>Takau</i> )	Married Ja'afaru District Head of Mani (died)
6	Fadimatu III. ( <i>Maiyari</i> )	Married Dan Ruwatan Kano (died)
7	A'ishatu ( <i>Attuku</i> )	Married Dan Makwayo Yusufu (died)
8	Saudatu ( <i>Gwaggo</i> )	Married Sarkin Birnin Kudu Yakubu (alive)

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9.	Hawwa'u I. ( <i>Iya-iya</i> )	Married Sarkin Musawa (alive)
10.	A'ishatu I. ( <i>'Yar-riga</i> )	Married Wali Suleimanu (died)
11.	Mariya ( <i>Yahwa</i> )	Married Sarkin Azare (died)
12.	Asma'u I. ( <i>Nana</i> )	Married Sarkin Rano Abubakar (died)
13.	Saratu ( <i>Sarai</i> )	Died at childhood
14.	Bilkisu I. ( <i>Yar-Jatai</i> )	Married Sarkin Shanu Sani (died)
15.	Rukayyatu ( <i>Dudu</i> )	Married late Sani Kontagora (died in 1984)
16.	Yahanasu	Married Makaman Kano Muhammadu (died)
17.	Hadizatu I.	Married Dan Kadai (died)
18.	Sa'adatu ( <i>Nanan Karaye or Ahinwa</i> )	Married Sarkin Karaye Abubakar (died in 2005)
19.	Ummul-Hairi ( <i>Umma</i> )	Married Ciroman Katagun Sagir (alive)
20.	Nafisatu I. ( <i>Mai Kyau</i> )	Married Barde Habibu (alive)
21.	Hasiya I. ( <i>'Yar Mama</i> )	Married Limamin Kofar Kudu (alive)
22.	Fadimatu III. ( <i>Ulu</i> )	Married Sarkin Katagun Umaru (died)
23.	Sa'adiyya	Married Dan Isa Muhammadu (died)
24.	Hadizatu II. known as <i>Kunci</i> and now ( <i>Fulanin Dandago</i> )	Married Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta Bello Dan Dago (alive)
25.	Asma'u II. ( <i>'Yar Shehu</i> )	Married Nuhu Inshora (died)
26.	Bilikisu II. ( <i>Mai Gado</i> )	Married Sarkin Bai Adnan

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		(alive)
27.	Hasiya II. ( <i>Halin</i> )	Married Ahmed Rufa'i Darma (alive)
28.	Nafisatu II. ( <i>Nafin Dutse</i> )	Married Baba Dara-Dara (died)
29.	Amina ( <i>Arafiya</i> )	Married Dan Kadai Muhammadu (died)
30.	Salamatu ( <i>Gwago Mai daki</i> )	Married Sarkin Fulani Umaru (alive)
31.	Hafsatu II. ( <i>Baddo</i> )	Married Ma'aji Umaru Yola (alive)
32.	Rabi ( <i>Sima</i> )	Married Alkalin Dutse (alive)
33.	Hawwa'u ( <i>Tafada</i> )	Married Sarkin Ningi (alive)
34.	Hadizatu III. ( <i>Hana Bege</i> )	Married Sarki Waziri (alive)
35.	Mairo ( <i>Aylo</i> )	Married Dagacin Yadakwari (alive)
36.	Zulaihatu ( <i>Auta</i> )	Married Mutawallen Kano Ibrahim (died)

Source: *Fulanin Dan Dago Hadizatu Bayero and Sallaman Kano Aminu Dako Kwaru*. (2005).

### His Death

Allah in His infinite mercy blessed *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero with good health since his childhood days, and this continued up to the year of his death. His major ailment was only malaria fever, which is a common disease in Africa. Whenever Bayero had fever, doctors from the Shahuci Hospital went to the palace and treated him with either quinine tablets or injections. It was only in 1945 that the Emir began to complain to

those so close to him about pain on his legs, which to him, was due to the advancing age.

In spite of these minor ailments, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullah Bayero cheerfully discharged all his public responsibilities diligently. It has been reported that the Emir was very courageous as he regularly came out everyday to palace sittings even if he was suffering from fever. And this daring act made it difficult for people to notice any change on him.<sup>27</sup>

The major sign of illness began to appear on *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero in 1953 soon after the May 1953 Kano riot. The Emir was disturbed so much on the terrible outbreak of this riot, which cost the lives of 36 people, leaving 241 injured. The riot took place between 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of May 1953, in consequence of the abusive words and public disgrace showered on the respectable Northern Emirs that went to the House of Representatives, Lagos, in April that year.<sup>28</sup>

It has been revealed that Abdullahi Bayero was very much disturbed during the course of the violence and it took him a lot of effort to bring the nasty situation under control. During the riot, Emir Bayero personally went round and saw the wanton cruelty and that turned him cold with horror. The Emir was highly stunned, wondering how the politicians set out to divide people for their own selfish motives. These wounded feelings made Abdullahi Bayero to become seriously ill and he found it difficult to come out to the palace sittings regularly.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Oral interview with Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero. 2003.

<sup>28</sup> Smith, M.G. *Government In Kano*. op. cit. p. 501.

<sup>29</sup> Oral interview with Dan Masanin Kano Yusufu Maitama Sule. 2003.

## *Abdullahi Bayero: A Departed Hero*

The health condition of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero began to worsen immediately after the El-Duniya cinema fire disaster at Fagge in October 1953. It has been reported that on the night of the fire incident, Emir Bayero remained restless and became unable to sleep in spite of his fragile health. He spent much time in that night watching the inflammation of the fire that lightened the whole of Kano city and its surrounding environment.

In the early morning, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero managed to visit the scene of the incident, where he saw the roasted corpses of human beings that became unidentifiable. Those that accompanied the Emir saw him weeping, murmuring *Inna Lillahi wa inna ilaihir-raji'un* and he stayed motionless, watching the workers trying to assemble the corpses for mass burial. The Emir commended their efforts. He turned and looked at his council members and said, "I would never in my life wish to see such horrible sight again".<sup>30</sup>

Then *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero entered his car and left for the palace. On that day, the Emir remained restless at the palace chamber and his mood completely changed. He looked so pale, just staring at the people who came to condole him. The Emir remained outside up to the time of *Zuhr* prayer and went in to say his prayers. Later in the evening of that day, the health of the Emir began to deteriorate, which compelled his eldest son, Ciroma Sunusi to send for his personal physician, Dr. Thompson at once.

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<sup>30</sup> This narration was obtained from Shamakin Kano Inuwa and Dan Rimin Kano Abdulkadir in 2003.

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

Gradually, the illness of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero began to become complicated by the day. Medical personnel suggested that the Emir should be taken abroad for proper treatment, which he instantly refused. He therefore remained on his sick bed for some time at the palace, being looked after by his wives and sons that included Dan Iya Aminu, Ado (the present Emir), Hamidu (late Galadima) and some others. His eldest son, Ciroma Sunusi who virtually ran the administration of the Emirate at this time was constantly at the palace monitoring the condition of his father.<sup>31</sup>

Even at this condition, *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero was constantly devoted to Allah, the Most High and remained prayerful. When Bayero became unable to perform ablution, he normally assigned his son, Ado to do it for him. Whenever his sons happened to be with him, the Emir usually warned them to refrain from worldly ambitions and always fear Allah in all their deeds. He equally gave warnings to his daughters to strictly adhere to conditions of marriage as laid down by the Shari'a. It was because of this that the Emir usually instructed his daughters to return to their matrimonial homes, when they went to the palace to greet him.

One of his daughters recalled that there was a time when they went to the palace to greet him during the course of his last illness. After usual greetings, the Emir told them to instantly return to their matrimonial homes, instructing Ciroma Sunusi to make sure that they complied. The Ciroma carried out the order, unknown to him that they went and kept cover in their mothers' rooms. Of course, the daughters could not return because

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<sup>31</sup> Oral interview with Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero. 2003.

most of them came from far away, and the condition of their father was not encouraging in any way. In the morning, four of them tried to go to his room and greet him, leaving the rest afraid of his *ƙada* (expostulation). The Emir answered them correctly and managed to sit down in his bed, staring at them. He finally said, "Are you the only ones present at the moment?" They respectfully answered, "Yes, Your Highness". The Emir said, "O.K, I am giving you instructions and I want you to convey what is say to those who are not present". He said:

*"Ku ji tsoron Allah a rayiwarku ta duniya. Ku ji tsoron mai tsoron Allah. Ku ji tsoron wanda ba ya jin tsoron Allah. Ku sani, duk wanda ya ji tsoron Allah, babu abin da zai ba shi tsoro a nan duniya. Haka kuma, dukkan wanda ya fi jin tsoron Allah, to komi na iya ba shi tsoro, komin ƙanƙantar wannan abu. Ko da a ce ganye ne ya fado ƙasa daga kan itace zai razana. A rayiwanku, kada ku taɓa dauka cewa ni Sarki ne na haife ku. Kun gan ni, Allah Ya ba ni duniya, amma sai na junwa mata baya. Duk cikinku, wanda har ya yarda, ya dauki duniya, ya mayar da ita wani abu, to shi ya jiwo. Duk abin da ya same shi, kada ya yi kuka da kowa, ya yi kuka da kansa. (Fear Allah throughout your life. Fear he who fears Allah. Fear he who does not fear Allah. Note that anyone who fears Allah most, nothing would deter him in this world. And anyone who does not fear Allah, anything would make him become afraid, no matter how small it is. Even a leaf that falls down from a tree would make such person afraid. In your life, never assume that, I the Emir begot you. You see, Allah has already given to me this world, but I shunned it down. Anyone among*

you who agrees, and takes this world, and makes it important is up to him. Whatever happens to him, he should not blame anybody but hold himself responsible.<sup>32</sup>

*Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero spent about eight months on sick bed. He died in the hands of his two sons Ciroma Sunusi and Dan Iya Aminu on Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> December 1953 at 5.30pm. But before his death, the Emir gave a will that he should be buried at Nasarawa mini palace, close to his father, *Sarkin Kano* Abbas. Learned people that included Malam Umaru and Malam Dan Amu, who were among his close associate were called upon to perform for the late Emir the Islamic bath for the dead. His body was then wrapped with a white shroud and placed on *makara* (bier). This was followed by funeral prayers performed by the Chief Imam of Kano Central Mosque at Kofar Kudu ground, which was conducted after the Isha'i prayers.<sup>33</sup>

The news of the death of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero in the evening hours of that Thursday had thrown the *Kanawa* into deepest shock and grief. Market stalls were immediately closed and all transactions came to a stand still. Thousands of people from all the nooks and corners of the *Birni* and its surrounding environments began to troop to the palace to attend the funeral prayers. Many people among the nobles and *talakawa* were seen openly weeping for the loss of the Great Hero: Abdullahi Bayero. The remains of the

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<sup>32</sup> *Nanan Karaye*, Hadizatu Bayero vividly recalled this statement during our interview at the Emir palace, Kano on 13<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

<sup>33</sup> Oral interview with Dan Iyan Kano Yusufu Bayero and *Sarkin* Hatsin Kano Muhammadu Sani 2003.

late Emir were conveyed to Nasarawa mini palace for the burial after the funeral prayer. Some of the people went by cars, lorries or rode bicycles out of the city to Nasarawa, while majority of others trekked. At Nasarawa, people assembled in silence to pay their respect for the last time to a beloved Emir.<sup>34</sup>

According to the colonial records, the news spread through Kano and brought sadness to all who knew him. The Kano and Lebanon Clubs cancelled their Chrisman Eve arrangements, bars and hotels in Sabon Gari were closed down and Europeans postponed their dinner parties and festivities for the Christmas.<sup>35</sup>

At 8.30 a.m. on the following day, Friday, the 25<sup>th</sup> of December, the Resident Kano Mr. A. T Weatherhead accompanied by the Senior District Officer Mr. Pott, the Senior Superintendent of Police Mr. Ford, and Dr. Thomson who had attended the Emir throughout his last illness, drove in their uniforms to the Emir's palace and conveyed to the full Council of the Emir and to the relatives their deep sympathy and condolences. They handed to them the message of His Excellency the Governor and His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Nigeria their condolences in which they described the late the Emir as "both man and ruler whose piety, wisdom and uprightness over 27 years will be sadly missed both in Kano and country at large".<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid. See also Press Release From Northern Regional Public Relations Office: Kaduna of 27/12/53. No. 1296. SNP. K/1361-1926. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>35</sup> SNP. K/1361-1926. N.N.A. Kaduna.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

## *Abdullahi Bayero*

On the same morning of Friday, the representatives of all communities in Kano went to the palace to pay their respect and sympathy to the bereaved family. The Emirs of Gumel, Kazaure and the Waziri of Zazzau, the Magajin Gari of Daura had all come the moment they heard the news to condole the family. Flags on all public buildings flew at half-mast throughout the day. The Christians were not left behind because they performed special prayers for the late Emir at St. George's Church, Kano.

On receiving the sad news of the death of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, the British Government dispatched condolence message to the people of Kano and Nigeria at large where the Secretary of the State for the Colonies stated that:

*We greatly regret to learn of the death of Emir of Kano with whose passing, Nigeria loses able administrator and a man of great probity and strength of character. I have keen recollections of his kindness to me when I visited Kano in April this year. Please convey to late Emir's closet relatives my deep sympathy in their bereavement.*<sup>37</sup>

**May Allah have mercy on the soul of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. Amen.**

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<sup>37</sup> Dispatched on 29<sup>th</sup> December 1953. and received on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1953. Telegram No. 1758.

## **Chapter Twenty**

### **Conclusion**

This study attempted to outline the life history and contributions of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, who ruled Kano from 1926 to 1953. The study has succeeded in tracing the ancient socio-political history of Kano, which would serve in analysing the major developments that took place in Kano during the 27 years of the rule of Abdullahi Bayero. It was during these 27 years that Kano Emirate was re-exposed and became well known the world over. It was through the efforts and commitment of Emir Abdullahi Bayero that today Kano became one of the leading states in terms of commerce, trade and manufacturing activities in Nigeria.

There is no doubt that the life and deeds of *Sarkin Kano* Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero was worthy of emulation by our present day leaders and those that would come after them. He was a very simple man, sincere, and yet very firm in discharging his public responsibilities. He was equally a humble gentleman, who died and left nothing in terms of material wealth for his children. This was in spite of the enormous power he wielded in the administration of the Emirate and control of the economic resources. And Kano Emirate or Native Authority was the richest in the whole of Nigeria whose budget in 1950 was estimated to be more than £1,000,000,<sup>1</sup> equivalent to trillions of Naira now.

All these make *Sarkin Kano* Abdullahi Bayero to become a well-remembered leader today, as most people extol him as the *Pre-Eminent Emir* of Kano. His life and

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<sup>1</sup> See. Who is Who entitled "Makers of Modern Africa."

contributions would continue to be remembered by generations yet unborn. For example, Professor Adamu Baikie disclosed at *Peace-Building Conflict Resolution In Northern Nigeria* that:

*My late father worked in the Kano N.A. for about 20 years during the reign of the most respected and revered Emir of Kano, the late Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. My father was at that time the only Christian Northerner working in the N.A. the biggest in the North. He attained the position of Chief Scribe in Madaki's Office after a stint in the Galadima's Office. There were times when my father was ill and the Galadima would visit him in his house to greet him in his sick bed. Total acceptance was the key word: acceptance for what the person was, irrespective of one's religious or ethnic affiliations. The attitude of acceptance is a scarce commodity today among many of our leaders mainly because of religious, ethnic and sometimes political differences.*

*My late brother also told me a story of his experience with His Highness, the late Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, some years back. He was sent on an errand to deliver a Christmas cake to the Emir. He found his way to the palace and was ushered into the place where he would meet His Highness. He suddenly ran into a Dogari with his eyes spitting fire. The Dogari shouted at my brother but luckily the Emir was within a hearing distance in the courtyard, simply dressed, feeding one of his horses. He intervened and asked the young man what brought him to the palace. When he explained, the Emir became so happy and accepted the gift with thanks. This experience is a lesson in acceptability and humility.*

## *Conclusion*

*The great Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero also demonstrated his astuteness as an administrator and a man of peace when he appointed an Ibo man resident in Kano as a Deputy Wakilin Waje to assist in the administration of the Outer District of the City. The salutary effect of this single act in terms of promoting peaceful co-existence amongst the people was unquantifiable. That was the mark of greatness, recognition and acceptance of people who are of different tribe and appreciation of what it meant to co-exist.*

*Malam (later Justice) Jacob Haruna Dan Daura was the first Hausa speaking Christian to be appointed Sarkin Sabon Gari of Kano. He was appointed on merit and he led the people of Sabon Gari with deep sense of humility and integrity. He was accepted as an integral part of the wide administration of Kano Municipality by the authorities of Kano.<sup>3</sup>*

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted from Bobboyi, H & Yakubu, A.M.. *Peace Building And Conflict Resolution In Northern Nigeria: Proceedings Of The Northern Peace Conference* (Kaduna: Arewa House. 2005) pp.255-258.

**Appendix I**

S/NO	Names of the Haƙe Rulers	Period of Rule
1.	Bagauda	999-1063 (64 yrs)
2.	Warisi	1063-1095 (32 yrs)
3.	Gajimasu	1095-1134 (39 yrs)
4.	Nawata & Gawata	1134-1136 (2yrs)
5.	Yusa	1136-1194 (58yrs)
6.	Naguji	1194-1247 (53yrs)
7.	Guguwa	1247-1290 (43yrs)
8.	Shekarau I	1290-1307 (17yrs)
9.	Tsamiya	1307-1343 (36yrs)
10.	Usman Zamna Gawa	1343-1349 (6yrs)
11.	Yaji I (Ali)	1349-1385 (36yrs)
12.	Bugaiya	1385-1390 (5yrs)
13.	Kanajeji Dan Yaji	1390-1410 (20yrs)
14.	Umaru	1410-1421 (11 yrs)
15.	Dauda I	1421-1438 (17yrs)
16.	Abdullahi Burja	1438-1452 (14yrs)
17.	Dakuta	1452 (few days)
18.	Atume	1452 (few days)
19.	Yakubu Dan Abdullahi	1452-1463 (11 yrs)
20.	Muhammadu Rumfa	1463-1499 (36yrs)
21.	Abdullahi	1499-1509 (10yrs)
22.	Muhammadu Kisoke	1509-1565 (56yrs)
23.	Yakubu	1565 (few days)
24.	Dauda Abasama	1565 (few days)
25.	Abubakar Kado	1565-1573 (8yrs)
26.	Muhammadu Shashere	1573-1582 (9yrs)
27.	Muhammadu Zaki	1582-1618 (36yrs)
28.	Muhammadu Na Zaki	1618-1623 (5yrs)
29.	Muhammadu Alwali I (El-Kutumbi)	1623-1648 (25yrs)
30.	Alhaji Dan Kutumbi	1648-1649 (1yr)

### *Conclusion*

31.	Shekarau II	1649-1651 (2yrs)
32.	Kukuna Dan Alhaji	1651-1652 (1yr)
33.	Soyaki	1652 (few days)
34.	Kukuna	1652-1660 (8yrs)
35.	Bawa Dan Kukuna	1660-1670 (10yrs)
36.	Dadi Dan Bawa	1670-1703 (33 yrs)
37.	Muhammadu Sharafa	1703-1731 (28yrs)
38.	Muhammadu Kumbari	1731-1743 (12yrs)
39.	Alhaji Kabe	1743-1753 (10yrs)
40.	Yaji II	1753-1768 (15yrs)
41.	Babba Zaki	1768-1776 (8yrs)
42.	Dauda Abasama	1776-1781 (5yrs)
43.	Muhammadu Alwali II	1781-1805 (24yrs)

**Appendix II**

**Residents of Kano Province from 1903-1955**

No.	Names	Date of Appointment
1.	Dr. F. Cargill, C. M. G., (Subs)	27 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1903
2.	Honourable A. Balley (Actg).	8 <sup>th</sup> Jan 1904
3.	Dr. F. Cargill, C.M.G. (Subs)	11 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1904
4.	Capt. H.C.B Phillips, (Actg)	24 <sup>th</sup> Mar 1906
5.	Capt. W. Hamilton Browne.(Actg)	24 <sup>th</sup> Sep 1906
6.	Major A H Festing, (Actg)	24 <sup>th</sup> Oct 1906
7.	Dr. F. Cargill, C M G , (Subs)	16 <sup>th</sup> Oct 1907
8.	W.P Hewby. C M G., (Subs)	29 <sup>th</sup> Jul 1908
9.	Maj. A H Festing. C.M.G., (Actg)	1 <sup>st</sup> Dec 1908
10.	C.L. Temple. C.M.G., (Subs)	8 <sup>th</sup> Jan 1909
11.	E.J Arnett (Actg)	4 <sup>th</sup> Jan 1910
12.	H.R Palmer (Actg)	24 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1910
13.	G. Malcom (Actg)	1 <sup>st</sup> June 1911
14.	E.J Arnett (Actg)	21 <sup>st</sup> Aug 1911
15.	W.F Gowers (Subs)	1 <sup>st</sup> Jan 1912
16.	J. Withers Gill (Actg)	23 <sup>rd</sup> Aug 1912
17.	G.J.F Tomlinson (Actg)	19 <sup>th</sup> Oct 1912
18.	W.F Gowers (Subs)	24 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1912
19.	J. Withers Gill (Actg)	28 <sup>th</sup> Mar 1913
20.	W.F Gowers (Subs)	5 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1913
21.	G.S Browne (Actg)	30 <sup>th</sup> Jun 1914
22.	A.C.G. Hastings (Actg)	Aug 1914
23.	W.F Gowers (Subs)	15 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1914
24.	A.C.G. Hastings (Act)	8 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1915
25.	G. Anderson (Act)	27 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1915
26.	H. R. Palmer (Act)	12 <sup>th</sup> Jul 1915
27.	W. F. Gowers (Subs)	13 <sup>th</sup> Oct 1916
28.	C. Migeod (Actg)	18 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1918
29.	F. Beckles Gall (Actg)	23 <sup>rd</sup> Aug 1919

### Conclusion

30.	W. F. Gowers (Subs)	1 <sup>st</sup> Jan 1920
31.	E. J. Arnett (Subs)	18 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1920
32.	A. C. Hastings (Actg)	15 <sup>th</sup> May 1921
33.	C. Wightwick (Actg)	21 <sup>st</sup> May 1921
34.	E. J. Arnett (Subs)	6 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1922
35.	C. Wightwick (Actg)	10 <sup>th</sup> Jan 1923
36.	E. J. Arnett (Subs)	27 <sup>th</sup> Jun 1924
37.	C. Wightwick (Actg)	2 <sup>nd</sup> May 1925
38.	H. O. Lindsell (Actg)	3 <sup>rd</sup> Nov 1925
39.	C. W. Alexander (Subs)	23 <sup>rd</sup> Nov 1925
40.	Commander J. H. Carrow. D. S.C., (Actg)	18 <sup>th</sup> Oct 1926
41.	H. O. Lindsell (Actg)	1 <sup>st</sup> Nov 1926
42.	N. J. Brooke (Actg)	24 <sup>th</sup> Jun 1927
43.	H. O. Lindsell (Actg)	2 <sup>nd</sup> July 1927
44.	C. W. Alexander (Actg)	24 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1927
45.	Com. J. H. Carrow, (Actg)	31 <sup>st</sup> Mar 1928
46.	C. W. Alexander, (Subs)	1 <sup>st</sup> Oct 1928
47.	H. O. Lindsell (Subs)	1 <sup>st</sup> Mar 1929
48.	Com. J. H. Carrow, (Actg)	4 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1929
49.	H. O. Lindsell (Subs)	10 <sup>th</sup> May 1930
50.	F. M. Noad (Actg)	22 <sup>nd</sup> Jun 1931
51.	Com. J. H. Carrow (Actg)	5 <sup>th</sup> Sept 1931
52.	H. O. Lindsell (Subs)	23 <sup>rd</sup> Nov 1931
53.	F. M. Noad (Actg)	11 <sup>th</sup> May 1933
54.	H. O. Lindsell (Subs)	5 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1933
55.	J. R. Parham (Subs)	2 <sup>nd</sup> May 1935
56.	H. O. Lindsell (Subs)	Dec 1955

Note: Actg - Acting

Subs - Substantive

Source: Kano Provincial Gazetteer, Kano Profile, No. 2568/Vol. II. Nigerian National Archives Kaduna.

### **Appendix III**

#### **Duties of District Headmen**

- ❖ To obey instructions given and orders made by the Emir.
- ❖ **General Tax.**

The District Head himself should check the count made by the Village Heads and see that they do not put children and destitute amongst tax payers or exclude any adults from the lists. He must see that no one is entered twice. He must also ascertain that the Village Heads allocate the assessment in accordance with the figures in the District Head's Office. He should check individual assessment list to ensure that wealthy people are not under-taxed. He should see that the wealthy are taxed in proportion to their wealth.

  - a. He should confirm that the Village Head imposes the correct amount of tax, that there is no excess or deficit against the lump sum assessed upon his village.
  - b. He should check that every taxpayer receives a receipt for the amount, which he had paid, and that the original and counterfoil of the receipt are the same.
  - c. Tax received from Village Heads. He should be careful not to let Village Heads keep General Tax or Cattle Tax in their possession for more than 7 days. If a Village Head delays in bringing in General Tax or Cattle Tax he should immediately ascertain the reason.
  - d. He should take note of the keenness of the Village Heads in collecting General Tax and Cattle Tax and their zeal in the performance of their other duties towards him during each month or week or any other things which occur from time to time.
- ❖ **Cattle Tax:**

He should check that the Village Head has not concealed any herd or under-estimated the number of cattle in any herd. The District Head should confirm that every owner paying cattle tax receives a receipt for the amount he pays, and that the details on the original and counterfoil receipts agree.

  - a. He should receive repayments of Mixed Farming Advances, Forestry Fees and fees for beer and dog licenses.

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- b. He should send reports to the Emir on matters arising in village areas from instructions given from time to time.
- c. He should investigate reports of undesirable strangers.

### ❖ **Forced Labour**

Forced labour should not be used except under written authority from one Emir, who will renew any such authority annually. Well Sinking work, i.e. collection of sand, gravel, and bailing out water is forced labour and if the people themselves say they wish to repair their wells then the elders should compel their youths to do this work themselves.

- a. He should observe the work of all N.A. employees in his district apart from Village Heads, for example he should note the work of the Dispensary Attendant, Sanitary Superintendent, Forestry, Agricultural and P. W. D. Malams, Police, Teachers and Village Scribes. But the District Head should not give instructions regarding the work of technical employees, for example he should supervise the work to see that all employees are present during working hours and that there is no absenteeism or unpunctuality.

### ❖ **Dispensary or Health Centre**

He should see that all cases of sickness are taken to the dispensary for treatment. He should report to the Emir the appearance of any infectious disease after diagnosis by the dispenser.

### ❖ **Sanitation**

He should pay attention to helping the sanitary superintendent in looking after the cleanliness of the country and in seeing that houses and streets are swept and that wells and 'Salgas' (latrines) are properly attended to.

### ❖ **Farming**

He should help the Agricultural Malams and Produce Inspectors.

- a. He should take note of men guilty of bad farming practices, such as failing to follow the contours failing to use manure on the farms, failing to pay for manuring, or failing to make cattle sheds.

- ❖ **Veterinary**  
He should impress upon Village Heads to be on their guard and report immediately the outbreak of any cattle disease to the Veterinary Malam and to be diligent in isolating infected cases, and in collecting cattle at the clinics.
- a. He should prevent the ill-treatment of animals such as the over-loading of donkeys, camels, oxen or horses, riding a horse, donkey or camel which is lame or has sores on its back; the starving of animals or hanging of any kind of bird head downwards, and all other forms of ill-treatment of animals such as the mounting or over-loading of young beasts.
- ❖ **Forestry**  
He should help the Forestry Malams with reports and see that they pay attention to their duties in looking after nurseries, common land and forest reserves and in other matters concerning these, which are brought to his notice.
- ❖ **Wells**  
He should give help to Well Sinking teams and persuade people to assist by collecting gravel, making pads and carrying materials.
- ❖ **N. A. Works**  
He should watch all N.A. buildings in his District such as Rest Houses, Schools, Dispensaries, Reading Rooms etc, and render regular reports on them. It is better to find the Rest House and all the N.A. buildings in the town in good condition, well white-washed and well swept, rather than that eggs and chickens should be taken to the European visitors. To repair these buildings so that they may be found in good condition. This is a true gift of welcome.
- ❖ **N. A. Police**  
He should give the Police assistance when it is required and observe their behaviour.
- ❖ **Schools**  
He should visit the school regularly and impress upon the children the advantages of education; warn them against truancy and unpunctuality and advise them to take care of their personal cleanliness. Parents should be warned to look

## Conclusion

after their children and guard against truancy and unpunctuality and they should be asked to discuss with the *Malams* all matters relating to the school. He should also note the relationship between pupils and teachers.

- a. He should encourage local Koranic Schools, display his interest in them and help whenever possible. He should encourage the spread of Mass Education and visit adult classes whenever possible.
- b. He should assist in the collection and selection of boys and girls for entry into the schools in his District.

### ❖ Alkali's Court

He should see that all court cases are sent to the Alkali, and should assist the Alkali in summoning witnesses, arresting any criminals, those accused of contempt of law and in keeping accused persons in custody, etc. it is not the duty of District Head to try cases. only the Alkali should do so: but the District Head should see that no undesirable persons go to the Court and interfere with the work there, nor should he allow undesirable persons to lie in wait for complaints outside the Court with the intention of escorting them to the Alkali: each complainant should have free access to the Alkali.

- a. If any N.A. Official brings his complaint to the District Head against any person who has contravened an order, such as evasion of vaccination team, hiding any sick person with an infectious disease, mixing sick cows with healthy ones, cutting down a tree without license, leaving refuse in his compound, etc. If any of these complaints are brought up to him by any N.A. Official, he should first make sure that there has been a contravention and then send the case to the Alkali to be tried and the guilty person gain or punished according to the nature of guilt. The District Head will of course, explain to the guilty person why he is charged and how his rash act will be a source of danger to the rest of the community.
- b. It is the duty of the District Head to watch all N.A. employees in his District, he should report whether they work efficiently or not, whether they behave well or not.

## *Abdullahi Baycro*

and should not allow any of them to victimize the people, and should report on the staff and on all departmental activities to the Emir each month.

- c. If any accident occurs in his District such as murder, motor accident, etc. He should at once go to the place and see for himself what has actually happened.
- d. He should see that the District Council meets regularly to discuss matters of topical interest. He should also check the minutes of Village Councils, advise and approve matters thereon and enter other matters that may require the Emir's attention, in his District Council Book.
- e. He should keep on going on tour, and whenever he goes he should collect people and talk to them on all activities, explain what is required of them and what they should do.
- f. When touring, the District Head should not go with more than 12 followers, both horsemen and foot servants, if he tours together with the Alkali if without the Alkali not more than 8 followers.

g. **Extortion**

It is his duty to prohibit any Village Head or N.A. employee to receive money illegally. He should ask his people to bring forward any complainants of such nature, and investigate and remedy the matter. He should show to his people that he is their father (or guardian) and should be sympathetic to their troubles and their welfare. He should put down all malpractices at once in his district before they grow firm. These he should investigate and check them. If these have become more than he can deal with he should at once let the Emir know. It is no use waiting till the Emir or any Administrative Officer comes and then is told of such incidents. If District Head ignores these sorts of complaints his people will not be able to approach him with their complaints and bad things may be going on in his district without his knowledge.

❖ **Gifts or bribes**

It is the duty of the District Head to prevent any N.A. employee from receiving illegal gifts or bribe. For instance, a person may give money to an Official in order that he may

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get a job, or a farm, or he excuse from any communal labour. All these and the other three evils mentioned in the *Gaskya Ta Fi Kwabo* should be avoided and prohibited.

❖ **Foreigners who have come for prospecting gold, etc.**

- a. If any person comes to a district to prospect for gold or any minerals without a license, he should either be sent to the Emir or be reported.
- b. The District Head is responsible for all work done in his office and by his scribes. He should see that all reports and replies to letters are immediately furnished.

Below is the list of matters about which a report has to be sent monthly or weekly

- ❖ **Village Heads:** Their efforts in collecting *Haraji* or *Jangali* Tax or any other activities.
- ❖ **Village Heads:** All occurrences in each village unit as reported monthly.
- ❖ **Foreigners:** Any information about these. Visits by European Officials, Mercantile Officials and Syrians.
- ❖ **Rainy season:** Rainfall and crops, locusts and other pests, which are harmful to crops.
- ❖ **Trade:** Prices of cotton, groundnuts and skins at the time of the report.
- ❖ **Buildings and roads:** Whether in a good state of repair or not (i.e. Rest House, Court Houses, Market Stalls, Skins and Hides Shed, School, Dispensary, Lock-up, Roads, Bridges and Culverts, Wells etc)
- ❖ **Haraji and Jangali tax:** Money received and balance outstanding. Whether money flows in easily or whether there is some difficulty in collection due to bad trade etc.
- ❖ **Alkali's court:** Report or complaints and number of persons in custody or sent to Katsina, and the efforts of *Yan Doka* in performing their duties.
- ❖ **Unclaimed property:** Report on these and how disposed of.
- ❖ **Dispensary:** Efforts of Dispensary attendant; any outbreaks, e.g. Smallpox, cleanliness of villages; health of the community.

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- ❖ **School:** Report on Parents Committee Meetings; condition of school children and teachers; attendance and truancy.
- ❖ **Forest reserves:** Report on plantings made, whether taken or not, and forest reserves if any.
- ❖ **Veterinary work:** Report of any cattle disease and animals, local bits as prohibited; hides and skins; any instances of cruelty to animals etc.
- ❖ **Imported goods:** Any instance of goods from French Territory imported such as shirting, petrol, matches, etc. without paying any duty.
- ❖ **Any community processing a particular cult:** Their conditions of living and their migrations should be reported. Also whether they are increasing or not. If they do not exist in the District a report should be made to that effect.

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### **Appendix IV**

#### **Names of Some Prominent Rich Traders In Kano From 1750-1950**

1. Alh. Baba Mai Talatin, Bebeji Kano.
2. Madugu Audu Koki Dan Sarki Adamu.
3. Alh. Adamu Jekada.
4. Adamu Na Gogo.
5. Alh. Abdulmumini Dan Muhammadu Tanko.
6. Alh. Alhassan Dantata.
7. Alh. Ahmadu Getso, Mandawari.
8. Alh. Adamu Dan Joji, Mandawari.
9. Alh. Abubakar Haruna Baban Jaki.
10. Alh. Atiku Darma.
11. Alh. Adamu Bagwanje, Anguwan Darma.
12. Alh. Adamu Ilu, Anguwan Dambazau.
13. Alh. Abdullahi Na Gudu, Anguwan Ayagi.
14. Alh. Ali Madugu, Satatima, Kano.
15. Alh. Adamu Maikudi, Makwarari, Kano.
16. Alh. Alfanda, Sogiji, Dala.
17. Alh. Abdu Sumoro.
18. Alh. Abdulkadir Nabegu.
19. Alh. Abdullahi Yako Dima Kofar Mazugal who is known as Miko Abdullahi.
20. Alh. Abubakar Garba, Aikawa, Kano.
21. Alh. Abdu Kulo, Bakin Zuwo Kano.
22. Alh. Abubakar Mai Gishiri, Bakin Zuwo, Kano.
23. Alh. Goron Duma, Kano.
24. Alh. Habu Mai Tasa, Anguwan Sheshe, Kano.
25. Alh. Hassan Na Jamis, Anguwan Sheshe, Kano.
26. Alh. Indo Dan Sudu, Adakawa Kano.
27. Alh. Ibrahim Waru.
28. Alh. Inuwa Kwaru, Daurawa Kano.
29. Alh. Inuwa, Mai Bargo, Kano.
30. Alh. Muhammadu Waru.
31. Alh. Ahmed Agigi Muhammadu, Madabo, Kano.

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32. Alh. Malam Mai Kano Mai Agogo, Koki.
33. Alh. Muhammadu Dan Goda, Kabawa Kano.
34. Alh. Shehi Muhammadu Rabi'u.
35. Alh. Musa Dindile, Na Ayagi, Kano.
36. Alh. Nagoda, Koki, Kano.
37. Alh. Hassan Na Jamis.
38. Alh. Mustapha Dantata.
39. Alh. Abdussalami Dan Alin Bashari.
40. Alh. Abdu Kawu.
41. Alh. Abdulkadiri Baba.
42. Alh. Baban Abu, Lollokin Lemu, Kano.
43. Alh. Baba Mai Chunku, 'Yan Labo.
44. Alh. Baba Umaru Habu, Sharfadi, Kano.
45. Alh. Bawa, Kofar Na'isa.
46. Alh. Babba Sarari.
47. Alh. Bello Gagarumi.
48. Alh. Gambo Sule, Chediyar Kuda, Kano.
49. Alh. Haruna Ahmadu, Makwari who is known as Kundila.
50. Alh. Halilu Kademi, Dumbulum, Kano.
51. Alh. Haruna Na Badamasi, Kulkul, Kano.
52. Alh. Hassan Dano Mai Gizo, Tudun Makera.
53. Alh. Hamza Maigoro, Tudun Makera.
54. Alh. Abdu Mai Tebur, Koki.
55. Alh. Ahmed Bagazawa, Gwammaja, Kano.
56. Alh. Awwalu Dan Gatan Darma.
57. Alh. Ahmadu Alhassan Dantata, Sarari, Kano.
58. Alh. Abdulyassar, Kwalwa, Kano.
59. Alh. Ahmed Malam Nasidi, Kofar Wambai.
60. Alh. Abubakar Dan Baffa who is known as Baba Danbaffa, Galadanci Kano.
61. Alh. Gagare Sharifai, Kano.
62. Alh. Abba Yolawa.
63. Alh. Abdu Akija, Aikawa Kano.
64. Alh. Abdullahi Musa Gashash.

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65. Alh. Bubakar Dan Keta, Koki Kano.
66. Alh. Abdul'aziz Malam, Koki.
67. Alh. Aminu Adamu Bagwanje, Kofar Mazugal.
68. Alh. Abacha, Fagge, Kano.
69. Alh. Alin Mijin Yawa, Durumin Arbabi, Kano.
70. Alh. Adamu Kofar Mata who is known as Alhajin Jos.
71. Alh. Adamu Ashana, Koki Kano.
72. Alh. Alin Bashari.
73. Alhaji Alhassan Mai Kusa, Kofar Wambai Kano.
74. Alh. Aliko Abba Koki.
75. Alhaji Abdullahi Alhassan Dantata, Sarari Kano.
76. Alh. Abdu Baba Mai Gishiri, Agadasawa Kano.
77. Alh. Abubakar Na Sidi Mai Goro Alfindiki, Kano.
78. Alh. Ahmadu Baba Latso, Alfindiki.
79. Alh. Abdullahi Gagarawa, 'Yan Awaki.
80. Alh. Abdu Dandawaki, Satatima Kano.
81. Alh. Mamman Garo.
82. Alh. Dandolo, Yakasai Kano.
83. Alh. Abdulkadir Dattijo.
84. Alh. Bagobiri, Yakasai Kano.
85. Alh. Sani Zango.
86. Alh. Dattijo Jalalu.
87. Alhaji Dauda, Yakasai.
88. Alh. Kure Dagazau, Durumin Iya Kano.
89. Alh. Ali Manzo, Kurna.
90. Alh. Inuwa Me Mai.
91. Alh. Musa Gashash.
92. Alh. Madi Gyanawa.
93. Alh. Mato Bichi, Fagge Kano.

**Appendix V**

**Salisu Jan-Kidi**

(Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu)  
*Imamud-Dini Dabon Kano*

1. Jankidi: Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu,  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano.  
Amshi: Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu,  
*Jankidi (Ga shi).*  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano. (X2)
2. Jankidi: Dottijo, (X2)  
Amshi: Mai halin karama,  
Allah dai ya saka maka, (X2)  
Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu,  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano.
3. Jankidi: In dai batun Sarakunan Gabas.  
Amshi: In an fadi Dabo.  
To, ina wani?  
*(Jankidi) Ina yake?*  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano (X2),  
*(Jankidi) Many!*  
Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu,  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano.
4. Jankidi: Ai zuwanga da kay yi Haji na bana,  
Amshi: Na yi farin ciki da kai haka, (X2)  
Saduwarka da Ibrahim Na Kaulaha,  
Ka dawo gidanka lafiya,  
Labarinka ko`ina akai,  
Turawan da ac cikin Kano,  
`Yan Sanda da Soja sun taho.  
Suna tariyarka sun ga gaskiya,  
Malaman da ac cikin Kano.  
Da Waliyan da ac cikin Kano.  
Attajirran da ac cikin Kano.  
Suna tariyarka sun mubaya`a,  
Alhamdu Lillahi sun yi hamdala,  
Abdullahi ya iso gida.  
*(Jankidi) Sarkin Kano ya dawo.*

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Imamud-dini Dabon Kano.  
Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu.  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano.

5. Jankidi: Kowash shiga jirgin nan na sama, (X2)  
Amshi: Allah Ya sauke shi lafiya, (X2)  
Sai ai masa barka da saduwa,  
Ga iyalinai da aikin Haji, (X2)  
(*Jankidi*) Sarkin Kano ya dawo.  
Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu,  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano. (X2)
6. Jankido: Dottijo!  
Amshi: Mai halin karama,  
Allah dai ya saka maka.
7. Jankidi: Ai na gode ma Sarkin Sharifai, (X2)  
Amshi: Ya kyauta,  
A gode masa, (X2)  
Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu,  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano.
8. Jankidi: Ai na ji Uwar Soro tai nishadi, (X2)  
Amshi: Dawowan Sarki daga Makka, (X2),  
Ta raba riga dari ta saki,  
Ta raba riga dari ta Bullan,  
Ta raba riga dari ta yabki,  
Ga kurfi jikka ashirin nan,  
Doki goma duk musu kyau (X2),  
Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu.  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano. (X2)
9. Jankidi: A gode Ciroman Kano Muhammadan, (X2)  
Amshi: Dan Sarki Babba mai darajja, (X2),  
Kway yi wakilcin Kano wata biyu,  
Ba tashin hankali ga kowa,  
Yana da alaman shiga gida,  
(*Jankidi*) Ce kun gani,  
Gadon nan da kai za a ba,  
Shina da alaman shi hau gado,  
Gadon nan da kai za a ba,  
(*Jankidi*) (Shi us Sarkin Kano)  
Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu.

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10. Jankidi: Imamud-dini Dabon Kano.  
Wakilin Kurɗin Kano Nabegu.  
Amshi: Manya sai a duka muku,  
A ba da sule dari gida a kai ma.  
Nabegu ka ba da karfe haka.
11. Jankidi: Mai kyautan isa irin Haruna  
Babu awarka duk nan Kano. (X2)  
Zinari da basukur da kaya,  
Har lifidi da jabba duka. (X2)  
(Jankidi) Mun dai gode.  
Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu,  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano. (X2)
12. Jankidi: A gode Sulen Abba ya yi kwazo (X2)  
Amshi: Ga sirdi na Tumbas da kaya. (X2)  
Ya kyauta.  
A gode masa.  
Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu,  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano. (X2)
13. Jankidi: Habun Fada  
Ya gode San Kano. (X)  
Amshi: Kullun fam biyu ya aika mana, (X2)  
Abdullahi Shugaban Sahu,  
Imamud-dini Dabon Kano.

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**USMAN DALHATU** was born in December 1968 at Madaka, Zaria City. He attended L.E.A. Primary School Pada, Zaria and later proceeded to Kufena College, Zaria where he obtained his G.C.E./WASC in 1985. He attended College of Advanced Studies, Zaria and obtained Joint Matriculation Board Examination (I.J.M.B) in 1990. He then proceeded to Bayero University, Kano where he obtained Bachelors of Science Degree in Political Science in 1995. He was enrolled into Masters Degree program in International Affairs and Diplomacy at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and presently, accomplished his course N.Y.S.C. in 1995-1996 at Editorial Department, Triumph Publishing Company, Kano.

**Usman Dalhatu** is a hard working, resourceful and prolific writer. The Triumph Publishing Company, Kano wrote, "During his service period, he is known to be hardworking, honest, punctual, obedient and resourceful. His write-ups in our newspaper have indeed been very splendid". He edited a number of articles most of which appeared in newspapers and journals. He is indeed the celebrated Author of the biographies of two Emirs of Zazzau entitled: *Alhaji Shehu Idris, CFR, The 18<sup>th</sup> Fulani Emir Of Zazzau* and *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku: The Great Emir Of Zazzau*. These books were publicly launched with a great deal of pomp and pageantry in 2001 and 2003 respectively. Currently, he is the Executive Director, Woodpecker Communication Services, a publishing and media consulting company in Zaria. He is a responsible married man with children.

### ABOUT THE BOOK

This book tells the story of the life, legacies and contributions of His Highness, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, CMG, CBE, the Pre-Eminent Emir of Kano. He is by every standard a great Emir whose achievements were very significant to the extent that he is remembered today as a learned, pious, just, upright, gentle, devoted and dedicated leader. He is indeed an exemplary leader that dedicated his life towards the progress of people. His sound socio-economic and educational policies had remarkably led to the greatness of the country as a whole.

Verily, the present generation knows so little about this great gentleman. But this book will immensely contribute to our knowledge about the life history of Sarkin Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. More interesting is that the book extensively cover the fascinating history of Kano Emirate and its rich cultural heritage. The Author, Malam Usman Dalhatu makes an invaluable documentation with narrative style portraying the historical events of all the rulers that governed *Kasar Kano* to date.

ISBN 978-36643-7-9



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