A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ON THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF NINGI EMIRATE IN BAUCHI STATE UP TO 1960

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Abstract

This work demonstrates the processes involved in the political evolution and development of Ningi. This process began long before the 19th century; however, it is obvious that significant political growth began with the arrival of Muslim-Hausa immigrants from the core Hausa Emirate of the Sokoto Caliphate. It is conspicuous that the British colonial government has tried to deny Ningi any status of emirate despite being Muslim leaders of the area in the pre-colonial period. This absurdity was obvious by the inconsistent policy of political re-organisation of the emirate. However, at last, they had no option but to do the needful. The research aims to critically discuss the processes through which the Ningi Emirate evolved. Therefore, written and unwritten data were scientifically accessed and evaluated, corroborated and a degree of consistency was established.

Keywords: Ningi Emirate, Bauchi State, Warji District, Native Authority

Introduction

Ningi²⁴Emirate is a hilly area situated in the northern part of Bauchi State. The Ningi plateau is approximately the Centre of a circle passing through the capitals of the emirates of Kano, Zaria, Bauchi and Katagum.²⁵ Ningi is bounded on the west by Burra Hills and on the east by Warji Hills. The major physical characteristic of the region is a mass hill stretched out from Burra in the west to Ningi east covering some 300 square miles. The eastern part of Ningi which forms the Ningi Plateaus is fairly flat in its central portion with sparse barren soil not suitable for crop cultivation. However, the area houses numerous small streams surrounded by bands of hills rising about 300 to 400 feet above the plain.²⁶ The hills are surrounded by villages in steep cliffs that provide them with a conducive environment free from any raid or attacks by the perceived enemies. The nature of the environment was conducive for a hideout for refugees from different places, especially from the north, Kano and Bauchi emirates. Similar terrain is found in the west with a ring of hills forming a margin to a small plain of land. In this area, most of the settlements are found near the hills for maximum security alertness, though there were a few settlements erected in the plains at relative distance from the hills. The later settlements were established probably in the quest for farmland. To the north, there were some plains suitable for agriculture, though it was also surrounded by a series of hills.

The rainfall is relatively poor as most of the streams are small and do not run beyond the outer edge of the hills. To the south of the area, is fertile land suitable for agricultural activities. More so, to the further south, there found a Mara river which was a factor of attraction. The area

²⁴The name which derives from the language of the Butawa means to hide. (Abubakar yaya Aliyu, The Establishment and Development of Emirate Government in Bauchi Emirate 1805-1903, Ph.D Thesis, A.B.U. 1975. p. 535.

²⁵NAK 21107, BauProv/Administration of Ningi/ K2075-re-organisation and administration of Ningi. 1934, p.23

²⁶Aliyu A. Y. The Establishment and Development of Emirate Government in Bauchi 1805-1903, 1975, p. 153



provided a series of natural fortresses, easily defensible; it was remote from the main routes of communication. In fact, the terrain seems to be designed by nature as an asylum for those people of the neighbouring emirate who were at loggerheads with the constituted authorities of their regions.27

Ningi Emirate is featured by tracts of wooded plains, particularly in the west stretching northward to Burra and Keffi rivers; there exists a vast forest extending northward to the borders of Kano. This area was a house to many games such as lions, elephants, giraffes and many other wild animals that made it dangerous for travellers. 28 Also, these extensive tracts of forest constituted a geographical boundary between Kano and Bauchi Emirate.²⁹ Abubakar Yaya Aliyu argued that Ningi did not exist as a political or geographical designation until perhaps the last three decades of the 19th century.30

Peopling, Migration and Demography of the Ningi Emirate

Ningi Emirate is divided into four clusters of districts namely Ningi, Burra, Warji and Ari. It is the home of twelve heterogeneous ethnic groups that comprise Butawa, Kudawa, Warjawa, Fa'awa, Hausawa, Geranawa, Sirawa, Gerawa, Kanuri, Danawa, Fulani and Bambarawa.31 However, all these ethnic groups inhabited the area at different phases of time and under different circumstances. Evidence shows that there seem to have been two main streams of immigration, the earliest, consisting of Butawa, who came from Borno without making stopover anywhere, and the second, consisting of all the other ethnic groups found in Ningi, who came from Borno and settled in the districts of Ganjuwa and lame in the north of Bauchi Emirate. Most of the other ethnic groups got to the Ningi area when they were driven from most parts of Bauchi for fear of suppression by the Yakubu of Bauchi.³² Therefore, it is pertinent to assess the traditions of the ethnic groups inhabiting the Ningi Emirate.

The Butawa

The inhabitants of Bura district are usually said to have come from Burum-Burum, a town in the neighbouring district of Tudunwada of the Kano Emirate. However, convincing evidence has proved otherwise, because the main element of the population of Burra is the Butawa ethnic group which was there long before the Burum-Burum immigrants. It is evident that all that got the area from Burum-Burum was a section of the great Kutumbawa family which migrated after Alwalli, the last Kutumbi Emir of Kano was killed by the 19th century Sokoto jihadist in Burum-Burum in 1807.³³ These Kutumbawa shed their veneer of Islam, intermarried with the Butawa and were quickly absorbed to the extent that their descendants are content to call themselves Butawa. Besides, a section of Butawa settled in the centre of the plateau in the vicinity of Ningi, their descendants are sometimes called Ningawa, sometimes Butawa.

Therefore, the Butawa are the earliest inhabitants of the Ningi plateau, at the beginning of the 19th century the whole plateau seems to have been inhabited exclusively by them. Their towns were all on the top of the hills.³⁴

²⁷ NAK/SNP/BauProf/21107/ K2075/reorganisation and administration of Ningi, 1934, p.23.

²⁸ NAK/SNP/BauProf/10/2/Assessment report Ningi District, Bauchi Division Central Province by Filypatrick J.F.1914

²⁹Aliyu A. Y. The Establishment and Development of Emirate Government in Bauchi 1805-1903, 1975, p. 154

³¹ NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/ K2075/N0.231D/1.reorganisation and administration of Ningi,1/06/1934, p.04

³² NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/ K2075/N0.231D/1, pp.26-7

³³ NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/ K2075/N0.231D/1, p.27

³⁴ NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/ K2075/N0.231D/1, p.27

The Warjawa and Fa'awa

Then from the beginning of the 19th century, there came quite distant ethnic groups, the Fa'awa, Diriyawa and Warjawa. The first two groups occupied the eastern end of the plateau above the towns of Tiffi and Dingis; the Warjawa went to the Warji hills east of the river. These migrants came for the most part from the Ganjuwa district of the Bauchi Emirate. The Warjawa seem to have spread on to Gwaram and Birnin Kudu where some of them returned at a later date to Warji. This could account for the traditions of migration from both the South and North.

The Diriyawa

This group was newly recognised in the early decades of the 20th century. Until then they have always been referred to as Warjawa, but their language is totally different from Warjanci, as it is different from the languages of all the neighbouring ethnic groups. Diriyawa are found in the Ari district at Tiffi and Dingis and in various scattered hamlets to the west of the river while the Warjawa all lived to the east of it. For the reason known to them, Diriyawa intermarried with the Fa'awa; Diriyawa is regarded as Fa'awa by their neighbours because of the common custom of rubbing red earth on their children's heads they shared with the Afawa.³⁵

The Evolution of Early Centralised Political System in Ningi 1845-1902

By the first half of the 19th century, the Ningi Emirate witnessed different waves of immigrants into the area. The immigrants most of whom resented being under the control of the emirate system of the Sokoto caliphate got to Ningi district as a hideout. However, the most popular tradition maintains that in 1845 A.D. a Hausa man of considerable learning, energy and ability, Malam Hamza, decided to live in Sokwa, in Kano Emirate on account of excessive taxation.³⁶ Apart from his students, Malam Hamza was accompanied by many people from different parts of Kano to the area. Perhaps, some traditions have it that Malam Hamza was accompanied by fifteen households.³⁷ However, their number continued to increase by day out. Malam Hamza was said to have settled along the Ningi-Kano boundary, but when the Emir of Kano sent some of his warriors to arrest him, Malam Hamza fled to Dua in the present Burra District³⁸ where he was granted asylum by Sarkin Marra, a vassal of the Emir of Bauchi, Ibrahim. The Emir of Bauchi warned the Sarkin Marra of accommodating someone whom even the Emir of Kano had failed to control.³⁹ However, Sarkin Marra defied the order given to him by the Emir of Bauchi to get rid of Malam Hamza and his entourage.

However, arguments surrounding the causes of Malam Hamza's migration into Ningi were many, perhaps Aliyu, in his note has it that:

> It is claimed that the emir of Kano Usman (1845-55) imposed the payment of *kurdinkasa* (land tax) on the people on top of other imposts. It was in order to escape these taxes that the scholars took refuge in what became known as Ningi.

He further put forward the argument advanced by Miller that:

The genesis of the rebellion may be found in the activities of a Hausa scholar named Ibrahim - a so-called intimate

³⁵ NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/ K2075/N0.231D/1, p. 28

³⁶ Malam Hamza considered the imposition as unjustifiable on the basis of sharia, they therefore refused to pay.

 $^{^{37}}$ Aliyu A. Y. The Establishment. . . . , p. 536.

³⁸Aliyu A. Y. The Establishment. . . . , p. 539.

³⁹NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/ K2075/N0.231D/1.reorganisation and administration of Ningi, 1/06/1934, p. 29.

associate of Sarkin Kano Bello (1883-93) – who, by some strange intellectual metamorphosis discovered Jesus and Christianity in the Qur'an and attempted to create a religious movement based on his discoveries. This evoked the wrath of the emir who eventually had him "impaled on a sharp stake" following which his disciples fled and scattered, many of whom went to Ningi and there had some successes in winning adherents, and one of them became chief of Ningi.⁴⁰

Aliyu A. Y. further opines that:

Others have also seen the Ningi rebellion in terms of a reaction of the oppressed Hausa against the Fulani conquerors, as suggested by many colonialist writers. This however represents a serious misunderstanding and falsification of the history of the Caliphate arising from perhaps largely from the adoption of western conceptual framework of politics in explaining the historical process among Muslim societies. Political and social revolts do not necessarily occur as a result of oppression but may, and the case of the Sokoto Caliphate, did arise from and attempt to establish and consolidate a new system of government. 41

In 1850, a clash occurred between some Fulani herders and some Butawa that ended in killing cows belonged to the Fulani, the case was raised to Sarkin Marra, and after having investigated the case, Sarkin Marra ordered that Butawa should repay the Fulani the value of two cows they had killed. The Butawa resented the ruling and took the case to Malam Hamza where he advised them to defy what they regarded as unjust ruling. Some narratives have it that Malam Hamza deliberately asked the Butawa to defy the order given by the Sarki in order to stir trouble to his advantage, which the Butawa reluctantly did. As such their action categorically showed that they had put themselves under the leadership of Malam Hamza. From this time on, Malam Hamza was regarded as the protector of pagans against the injustice of constituted authority.

To end the trouble, SarkinMarra extended the hands of assistance to the Emir of Bauchi to come to his aid against the newly rising force of rebellion. However, after a futile effort by the Emir of Bauchi, Emir Ibrahim of Bauchi decided to abandon the matter in the hands of Sarkin Marra. Malam Hamza's courage to go against the constituted authorities of his host and Bauchi earned him more respect from the pagan' communities living in the area. When the Emir of Bauchi sent an expedition to capture him the Butawa pagans fought hand in hand with him, subsequently, Malam Hamza inflicted a severe defeat against them. 42 This success was followed by a voluntary alliance of all Butawa and most of the Fa'awa. The Butawa who formally paid tribute to Kano and Bauchi now paid it to Malam Hamza. This aroused serious resentment from Bauchi, in fear of allowing other vassal communities to copy from Butawa; the Emir of Bauchi sent a large force against Malam Hamza. In 1851, there was a serious battle between Malam Hamza and his allied forces and that of the Bauchi Emirate, the Bauchi expedition was victorious, and Malam Hamza was defeated and killed. 43 Malam Hamza's followers retreated

⁴⁰See W. R. S. Miller, Reflection of a Pioneer, Church Missionary Society, London 1936, pp. 106-8.

 $^{^{41}}Aliyu$ A. Y., The Establishment . . . , p. 536.

 $^{^{42}}$ NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/ K2075/N0.231D/1, . . . , p. 29

⁴³Aliyu A. Y., The Establishment . . . , p. 539.

to Tabela, a village near Ningi, where their new allies welcomed them. Malam Amadu was appointed to succeed him.44

In Tabela the Chamawa and Basawa came from Lame district and placed themselves under Malam Amadu. They are said to have numbered eight hundred warriors. In 1852, Ibrahim, the Emir of Bauchi sent another expedition to capture Malam Amadu and the remnants of Butawa warriors. The expedition was said to have besieged Malam Amadu for a long time, but, due to difficulty in the terrain, they were unable to achieve that. Instead, Malam Amadu moved further up the hills to Ningi, a much better position strategically. Ningi tradition has it that, at the very beginning the Ningawa refused to allow Malam Amadu and his people to settle, but their chief priest insisted that they should be given a space to breathe. So, it happened.

Malam Amadu and his followers were in full compliance with the laws and customs of Ningawa until when one of his allies from Batawa was burnt alive for brewing and drinking a beer without seeking Sarkintsafi to help him drink it. At this point, Malam Amadu decided to subjugate the Ningawa for the injustice they inflicted on them. Malam Amadu consolidated his power in Ningi in the mid-1850s.

In 1857, Malam died, however, before his death, Malam Amadu pointed to the fact that his successor should be the most learned person. As such this made it easy for the choice of Malam Musa Mainaziri. Though their pagan allies, the Fa'awa, Kudawa and Butawa, observed that Malam Musa might well be learned, but was indubitably hasty tempered and a bad soldier, and that they preferred Dan Maje. Therefore, the council concurred with their suggestion and Dan Maje was appointed a successor to Malam Amadu. 45

In 1870 Dan Maje ventured into a series of expeditions of conquest, he conquered the remaining Ningawa. He moved further north, and with the voluntary aid of Warjawa, he captured Birnin Bako, Kila and many others all from the Kano Emirate. He turned northwest to the Zaria and Bauchi territories. He was finally killed at Toro. Dan Maje's expeditions of conquest laid a solid foundation for Ningi. 46 Dan Maje was succeeded by Haruna once more by the Pagans. In 1883, Haruna raided Kano and Bauchi territory he pushed forward up to the walls of Zaria city. At this time, the Emir of Kano, Abdullahi, died and his successor Bello sent a letter to Haruna suggesting that there should be a peace treaty between them which Haruna wholeheartedly agreed upon. ⁴⁷After having sealed their peace agreement with Kano, Haruna turned his attention to Katagum, whose capital he destroyed and whose Emir he nearly captured. He carried his raids up to the walls of Bauchi and once more to Zaria city. Haruna was seriously feared by the neighbouring Emirate, to put down his threat, the three Emirs of Hadeja, Jama'are and Katagum formed a joint force and defeated Haruna in Warji territory though was not captured. In 1886, Haruna died after a long illness. It is pertinent to mention that during the successful wars of conquest, Danyaya was the Sarkinyaki to Haruna. After the death of Haruna, Gajigi was made his successor. However, Danyaya resented that and vowed to put Mamuda, the eldest son of Haruna. In Gajigi's place. Therefore he put a revolt against Gajigi for three years that ended with the death of Gajigi.

More surprisingly, Danyaya forgot the son of Haruna and made himself the Sarki of Ningi. In 1890, Danyaya once again started their raiding career by successful expeditions to Katagum and Kano. Of sudden, the Warjawa waged a revolt against him, which returned to quench. Mamuda, the elder son of Haruna sought refuge in Bauchi where he made that Bauchi was already conquered by the British colonial forces. Therefore, Mamuda enlisted Mr. Temple in his cause.

⁴⁴NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/ K2075/N0.231D/1, . . . , p.30

 $^{^{45}}$ NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/ K2075/N0.231D/1, . . . , p.32

⁴⁶Aliyu A. Y., The Establishment . . . , pp. 539-63.

⁴⁷ NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/ K2075/N0.231D/1, . . . ,p.33

Troops left for Ningi in July 1902 and met with little resistance. Danyaya fled to Samma, he was sure that British troops would capture him; he asked a small boy to shoot him and so he died.⁴⁸

Political Organisation of Ningi under British Colonial Rule 1902-1960

British colonialists made Mamuda, the heir apparent of Haruna; the first Sarkin Ningi in 1902, under his rule was the whole Ningi Emirate. However, seems unable to adapt himself to the austere code of morality introduced by the British. In view of that, Mamuda was deposed in 1905. Therefore, the Residence of Bauchi Emirate decided to split Ningi into four independent Districts. The reason advanced for that was the absence of somebody suitable for the position of paramount chief.⁴⁹

- 1. Ningi District was under Jibrin
- 2. Burra District was under Abu
- 3. Warji District was under SarkinBadungu, Mamuda
- 4. Ari District was under Undirra

The Sarkin Ningi now exercised no authority over Burra, Ari and Warji Districts which were given their own courts and separate Dogarai forces. This was the position down to the end of 1921.⁵⁰ The period from 1905-1921, shows the impracticability of administering four small independent units at such as distance from Bauchi. As they were removed from the central control of Ningi, each of the four chiefs went his own way.

Notwithstanding, at the time circa 1905-1921, numerous political events unfolded. In 1906, Jibrin, Sarkin Ningi was deposed and imprisoned for the offense of slave-dealing. He was succeeded by another Haruna's brother Musa, who however was not a success. In 1906, Mr. Howard then re-instated Mamuda. The situation appeared to have been successful.

In Burra, Abu was imprisoned after three and half years for harbouring thieves. The grandson of a slave succeeded him and was deposed after four and half years for embezzling tax. Similarly, in Ari, the Fa'awa showed that they were unfit to rule themselves- three followed one another in succession as Sarkin Ari, and finally a son of *Alkalin* Bauchi was appointed, he was however, not better, and was retired on the 1921 amalgamation. In Warji, the Sarkin Badungu Mamuda was deposed in 1908 for slave dealing, he was succeeded by his elder brother Zakarai, who held the post until he was appointed Sarkin Ningi at the re-amalgamation.⁵¹ In 1921, the four districts were re-amalgamated under one Mr. Monk who suggested that the districts should be reconstituted under the old line.⁵²

However, despite the failure of British colonial administrators, right from 1905-1921, to replace the old line of leadership, with the natives of the entire Ningi constituency to administer themselves, they also made another mistake of bringing in Zakarai as chief of Ningi. Of course, he had been successful as Sarkin Warji from 1908 to 1921, but as soon as he was made Sarkin Ningi he failed to have effective control over the area. In fact, he had to be deposed in 1923. Therefore, the British were left with no option other than in 1923, to appoint Adamu, the son of Sarkin Ningi Danyaya as the Sarkin Ningi. The District Heads are Talle, the District Head of Burra appointed in 1911, Alhaji Ba'afe, the District Head of Ari appointed in 1922, while Momini, the brother of Zakarai was appointed District Head of Warji in 1921. Adamu, the son

⁴⁹ NAK/21107/ No 814/122A/ Reorganisation of Ningi District, 1935, p.88

 $^{^{48}}NAK/SNP/BauProf/21101/3/\ K2075/N0.231D/1, \ldots , p.33\ p.33$

⁵⁰ NAK/SNP/BauProf/21107/ K2075/19S/reorganisation and administration of Ningi,13/12/1935, p.35

 $^{^{51}}NAK/SNP/BauProf/21107/\ K2075/19S/reorganisation, \ldots p.~35.$

⁵²NAK/SNP/BauProf/21107/ K2075/19S/reorganisation,..., p.35.

of Danyaya, was considered the most rightful owner of the right to rule Ningi District with the assistance of other three District Heads as members of his executive council.

The Transfer of the Headquarters of Ningi Emirate to Tiffi in 1933

As seen in the preceding discussion that Ningi was on hills for the purpose of security. After the British conquest of Ningi, the headquarters remained isolated; as such Sarkin Ningi Adamu decided to shift to the nearby plains of Tiffi. The removal of the headquarters of the Ningi Emirate to Tiffi was completed as scheduled in 1933. Sarkin Ningi Adamu, together with all the Central Native Administration staff, some one hundred and fifty taxpayers among seven hundred and fifty people are already in residence, and it is almost certain that the population will be more than doubled by the following year.⁵³ This was demonstrated in a letter written by Sarkin Ningi to Residence officer Bauchi dated 23rd February 1934 that:

Takarda daga Sarkin Ningi Adamu, zuwaga Jojin Bauchi Mr. Izard, gaisuwa da yarda da aminchi. Bayan haka a shaida maka ga takardun lissafin Mutane wadanda zasu tashi daga Ningi zuwa Kafin Danyaya.⁵⁴

The letter entails the names of 110 adult males, 216 adult females and 217 children. There were many reasons advanced for the removal of the headquarters from Ningi to Tiffi among which are lack of drinkable water and sufficient land for Agricultural activities.⁵⁵ The Emir also wrote to Bauchi Residence Officer, Mr. Izard that:

Takarda daga Sarkin Ningi Adamu, zuwa ga Jojin Bauchi Mr. Izard, gaisuwa da yarda da aminchi. Bayan haka a shaida maka rashin ruwa yakoreni, ina nan a Tuffi. 56

The Resident Bauchi Province in a memo 613/16 forwarded the request made by Sarkin Ningi Adamu, to the Secretary Northern Province, Kaduna, to relocate to Kafin Danyaya, near Tiffi. As outlined:

Sarkin Ningi, as I informed His Honour at Kaduna last March, wishes to move his Headquarters to a small Unguwa, Kafin Danyaya, close to Tiffi.... I am in entire sympathy with the Chief's desire to move and I can think of no better way of spending a portion of the Ningi Development Funds — totally £5,700 than that of establishing this new capital.⁵⁷

The new town has been laid in blocks of twelve plots each, separated by broad streets running at right angles. The rough estimate of expense was £800, an Alkali's court, a lock-up, a school and a mosque have been built in mud. A permanent combined office and native Treasury besides a dispensary were constructed. ⁵⁸ In reply to that the Resident of Bauchi Province in a Memorandum n0.58/18 dated 19th September 1933, states that: "The expenditure approved for the Dispensary, Treasury and offices is £900," ⁵⁹

⁵³ NAK/BAUPROF/613/N/1934/59/25thth February, 1934 P.5

⁵⁴ NAK/BAUPROF/613/N0.N/1934/59

⁵⁵ NAK/BAUPROF/613/N/1934/120/13th April, 1934 P.10

⁵⁶ NAK/BAUPROF/613/N0.N/1934/120 see page 16

 $^{^{57}}$ NAK/BAUPROF/613/16/N0.N/20th April.1934 p.17

⁵⁸ NAK/SNP/BauProf/21107/ K2075/19S/reorganisation and administration of Ningi,13/12/1935, p.38

⁵⁹ NAK/BAUPROF/613/34/N0.N/2nd Nov.1934 p.34

All these structures were put in place side by side with Sarkin Ningi's compound.

The new Ningi headquarter, Tiffi town, was excellently located on the fertile plains at the foot of the plateaus. The old town has been the most important market town in the emirate. Moreover, Tiffi was also a radiant dry season motor road to Ari and Ningi, to Kano via BirninBako, to Gwaram and Azare via Bunga and to Bauchi via Bunga.

The construction of the new capital of the Emirate was approved and was under the supervision of the colonial agents. The building of the new Treasury and Dispensary was undertaken by Mr. Yabaley. ⁶⁰ The labour was provided by the local people from among the subjects of the Ningi Emirate on a bi-weekly basis. A stipend was allocated to the labourers as their take-home. The Emir, in a letter written to Mr.Thurley, the Resident of Bauchi Province, outlined the strategy for the provision of a labour force through conscription as states:

Kuma na gayawa Hakimai suyi chiyawa da yawa su yanka su ajiye idan Bature yazo za'asaya, kuma nabasu labara Ari zata bada mutum 100, Warji 100, Ningi 50 Burra 50, za'arika biyansu. . . kuma suna son sai sunyi sati biyu biyu zamu rika chanji. 61

Re-Organisation of Political Structure of Ningi Native Authority in 1935

In July 1934, Mr.Thurley, the Chief Judge, Bauchi Province in a Memorandum no. 21107/99 of October 1934 proposed that the Native Authority of Ningi should comprise the Sarkin Ningi and a Council composed of the most influential people from each District. The proposal suggested that there was a need to have a Council with statutory rights on a decision that would be taken by Sarkin Ningi. The idea emanated from the fact that even during the pre-British era the Sarkin Ningi usually consulted the most influential people and *Maguzawa* (Pagans) before taking any decision. In lieu of that, it would be more appropriate for the council to be constituted and be conferred a statutory right. However, in a memorandum no. 21107/17 responded by suggesting that:

The Native Authority should be the Sarkin Ningi and the council as proposed that Sarkin Ningi has in the past consulted some members among his subjects for any decision and would continue to do so in the future. But conferring a statutory authority to them will ensue from their appointment with the SarkinNingi as the Native Authority would be a hindrance to progress.⁶³

Mr.Thurley sees no reason as to why Sarkin, a Muslim, would be a ruler over a non-Muslim population of Warjawa, Butawa, Diriyawa, Ningawa etc. He thought that the Muslim Hausas didn't, in any way, subjugate and rule over the majority non-Muslim *Maguzawa* who were the original owners of the land. This is similar to what was found in the Tangle/Waja independent District, which was never conquered by the 19th-century Sokoto Jihad movement but was later conquered by the British colonial power in the first decade of the 20th century. However, the Ningi District was different from the other pockets of non-Muslim communities found in Northern Nigeria, as it is obvious that Muslims had been the rulers before the British of the area.

 $^{^{60}}$ NAK/BAUPROF/613/16/N0.N/2 $^{\rm nd}$ Nov.1934 p.34

 $^{^{61}}$ NAK/BAUPROF/613/16/N0.N/7th October.1934 p.33

⁶² NAK BAUPRO/21107/ NO.814/142/1935 p. 102

⁶³NAK BAUPRO/21107/ NO.814/142/1935 p. 102, p.104

Therefore, a nominal council was constituted and the members of the council were drawn from each of the four Districts. However, the re-organisation of the political structure of the Ningi was not confined to the constitution of the Sarkin Ningi Council; rather it affected the other Districts. This process is what will be discussed in our subsequent discourse.

Re-Organisation of Warji District in 1934

Warji District is the only district approaching homogeneous in Ningi. The majority of the population are *Maguzawa* Warjawa nevertheless one in four of the total population is Muslims. However, the Warjawa themselves put forward the suggestion that they should go back to the form of administration in force at the time of the British occupation of the area. That is they prefer to be under the SarkinNingi through the village area heads known as *Jaurabai*. At that time there were only four such Heads and a *Jekada* (Messenger with executive power) lived at the headquarters of each.

The Warjawa also do not wish to be combined under one Warji chief. A suggestion that they might lead to an acrimonious discussion from which the only fact that emerged was that no village unit was prepared to follow the head of any other unit. On the other hand, while they expressed frank dislike of the present *Hakimi* (district Head) and his family whom they regarded as alien Kanuris from Kano, the Warjawa were unanimous that they had nothing at all against the SarkinNingi, and wished to follow him.⁶⁴

To that end, there are six *Dagatai* (village area heads) in Warji, three of whom are *Maguzawan*Warji, two Warji Muslim and one at Tudunwada, where over half the population are Kanawa and some few Kanuri. It is proposed that each of these should appoint a representative to live at Ningi Sabuwa, the new Ningi headquarters, to act as channels of communication between the SarkinNingi and the Warji units; in much the same way that in Fulani Emirates each *Hakimi* (District Head) has his representative at Emirate headquarters.

The Reorganisation of Warji Councils in 1935

The Bauchi resident T.C. Newton in a memorandum no. 814/62 dated 1935 further recommend that these six (*Dagatai*) village area Heads should form a council which, though it would not be a negative Authority, would meet for the purposes of:-

- 1. Putting up Warji requests and grievances to the Sarkin Ningi
- 2. Advising SarkinNingi on Warji matters.
- 3. Receiving instructions and explanations of innovations from the SarkinNingi or Administrative officers.

He further suggested that Katanga is the most convenient venue for the council. ⁶⁵ Upon instituting the council the Bauchi resident suggested that it is not necessary to insist on regular periodical meetings of this Council. In the normal year, there are several occasions examples of which are the two Eid festivals, ⁶⁶ the visits of the Sarkin Ningi or an Administrative officer, the annual revision and the announcement of tax at the beginning of each *Haraji* season, when the members of the Council would in any case meet together. In addition, it might be provided that extraordinary meetings should be held on the application of any member, or at the summons of

65 NAK/SNP10/BAU PROF/21107/K2075/Memorandum no. 814/62/Reorganisation of Administration/1935/p.22

⁶⁴ NAK/SNP10/BAU PROF/21107/K2075/Reorganisation of Administration/1933/p.41

⁶⁶ The Muslim communities annually observe two Eid festivals, the Ramadan Eid that takes place immediately after the end of Ramadan fasting that is observed in the ninth month of Muslim lunar calendar. The other Eid festival takes place on the 10th of the month of Zulhijja, the 12th month of Muslim lunar calendar.

the Sarkin Ningi. But a regular monthly meeting would tend to interfere unduly with a *Dagaci's* (village area head's) routine duties.⁶⁷

What is astonishing is that the *Dagatai* (Village Area Heads) were unable to agree on a particular person among them to chair the council, but agreed to the alternate chairmanship of the *Dagaci* Ranga and Baima. They also agreed on the term of office being one year. The chairman of the Warji Council should be given a seat on the SarkinNingi's Executive Council.

Further suggestions given are that each *Kauye* (Village Area) should have its own Council, under the chairmanship of the *Dagaci* (Village Area Head), composed of the Village Heads. This would meet on the summons of the Village Area Head, or on the application, on what the chairman considers reasonable grounds, of any one member. ⁶⁸ It is pertinent to note that the Village and village Area heads concerned have agreed with this arrangement in the presence of the Sarkin Ningi, and they represent the unanimous view of the meeting.

Geographically, the nearest Warji Village is six miles from Ningi Sabuwa while the most distant village of Warji District is only twenty-five miles away from Ningi Sabuwa. As such there should be no difficulty in administering the Warji district from Ningi Sabuwa.

Re-Organisation of Ningi District

Unlike the situation in Warji, in Ningi district the overwhelming inhabitants are Muslims and a population of a very miscellaneous collection of tribes. The Village Heads and the village area Heads belong, for the most part, to the race and religion which predominates in the Villages which they control.

The district is supposed to be ruled by Sarkin Ningi himself, with the assistance of his younger brother, the Chiroma. However, there has been a tendency to treat the Chiroma as a District Head, a tendency welcome to the Sarkin Ningi, but unwelcome to the Chiroma.

The Amalgamation of Ningi and Ari District

The process of re-organisation of the whole Ningi administrative structure involved the amalgamation of the Ningi and Ari Districts and placed them under the direct rule of the Sarkin Ningi. The Chiroma was relieved of all responsibility for the running of the new district but was given a seat in that Executive Council.

The headquarters was placed in Tiffi, in Ari District, where the SarkinNingi and the Native Administration staff had just moved from Ningi. Tiffi is admirably central for the administration of the combined district, except for the Parda Village Unit of Ningi District. This unit, the population of which consists mainly of Kanawa and Butawa, was transferred to Burra District, to which it is adjacent. It is easily accessible from Burra.⁶⁹

The new districts would thus be:-

⁶⁷NAK/SNP10/BAU PROF/21107/K2075/Memorandum no. 814/62/Reorganisation of Administration/1935/p.42

⁶⁸ NAK/SNP10/BAU PROF/21107/K2075/Memorandum no. 814/62/Reorganisation of Administration /1935/p. 42-3

⁶⁹NAK/SNP10/BAU PROF/21107/K2075/Memorandum no. 814/62/Reorganisation of Administration /1935 P. 44



District	Taxpayers	Tax
Ningi	3,016	£1,071
Burra	2,258	£790
Warji	2,858	£986

The new district would not be too large - the population and tax are only a little more than in the Warji district.

A further reform, which was carried out at once, is the re-arrangement of certain village units in Ningi and Ari on a geographical basis. Since the British occupation, the inhabitants of the hill towns have been gradually descending to the fertile plains to the south and many new Villages have been established. These farmers, however, continued to pay tax to their original *Jauro* or *Mai Gunduma* (village or ward head). Thus a situation has arisen in which it is possible for as many as three Village Heads to be collecting tax from the inhabitants of one small village.

Several Fa'awa *Hakimai* (District Heads) have been tried in Ari district and found conspicuously wanting. The Fa'awa number is less than half the population of Ari district. The next most important *Maguzawa* (pagan) tribe is that of the Diriyawa, who, however, numbered less than the Kanawa and Fulani. These various tribes are inextricably mixed, given the southward movement. The Village Area and Village Heads belong, for the most part, to the race and religion which predominates among the people they control. In this circumstance, there is clearly no alternative to the present form of administration, which has failed so far owing to the signal inability of the Fa'awa to produce an honest man for the post of District Head. As such the present *Hakimi* (District Head), a *Ba-afe*, has shown himself as incapable as his predecessor who was dismissed from the district.

It should be emphasised that there is no feeling of antagonism between those who embraced Islam and their kindred *Maguzawa* there have been hundreds of cases of Non-Muslim fathers with Muslim sons; and, more odd, Muslim fathers with non-Muslim sons; and of families of brothers, some Non-Muslims and some Muslims; all of whom live amicably together, sharing the same compound.

Re-Organisation of Burra District

There were not many changes in the Burra district, beyond adding the Ningi unit of Parda. The population is two-thirds Muslims, and the Butawa themselves are now predominantly Muslims. The district Head, a Muslim Bambutu, has run the district successfully for the last twenty-four years, for the first ten of which he was an independent chief. He and his people are perfectly satisfied with the SarkinNingi's rule and have expressed their willingness to continue under it. During any tour of the Burra district, there were no irregularities discovered, and the Butawa had no complaints against the District Head. Undoubtedly it is the best-run district in Ningi. After having the Burra District merged with Ningi District the former District head was given a seat on the executive council of Sarkin Ningi.

Administration of Ningi Native Judiciary System (Native Courts)

The British colonial administration was very determined to introduce what it termed a judicial system in tandem with modern society after the abrogation of the old order. Therefore, the

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⁷⁰ NAK/SNP10/BAU PROF/21107/K2075/Memorandum no. 814/62/Reorganisation of Administration /1935 p.45

colonial government had by 1908 made provision for the administration of justice by establishing *Alkali* native Courts In four districts of Ningi Emirate. These *Alkali* Native Courts were established in all districts. The courts were made Grade "B" whose jurisdiction was outlined in the warrant establishing the courts. The court was charged with the duty to administer justice in their respective districts that included both the Muslims and the *Maguzawa* or Pagans areas.

However, this period marked a turning point in the history of the judicial system in Ningi. Of course, there was a time, no doubt, when the Sarkin *Tsafi* had powers of life and death, and all cases were settled by him. After they conquered the area before the British occupation of the area all civil and criminal cases were heard by the *Dagatai* (Village Area Heads), in cases of difficulty the matter would be referred to Ningi. However, from 1908 to 1921 there were four district courts administered by Alkali, of which, Mr Monk wrote in 1921:-

The *Alkalin* Warji is unsatisfactory "as an *Alkali* and was only retained" faite de mieux, as were the *Alkalai* of Burra and Ari.

Since 1921 there have been two courts, that of the SarkinNingi, which sits with three *Maguzawa* assessors (one Bawarje, one Ba'afe and one Bambutu) they tried all cases involving *maguzawa*; and also act as an appeal court from the Alkali's court; and that of the Alkali which deals only with Muslims. Both courts were graded "B".

The courts charge a fee which was increased. The *Alkali* was encouraged to tour more across the Emirate. The courts were solely responsible for charge of all judicial matters. In 1936; the District Head of Burra was warned of the lack of court cases from his district. This goes to show that no one was allowed to interfere in the judiciary.

It is obvious from the Ningi Native Administration Estimate of 1922 that the performances of the courts were on the decline from 1919 to 1921 as the level of crimes drastically diminished. This was demonstrated as the revenues accrued from the courts diminished. For instance, the revue obtained from fines and confiscation in Ningi was £40, £10, and £10 in 1919, 1920, and 1921 respectively, though the fees obtained by witness somehow increased as can be seen that £321, 400, 400 for 1919, 1920 and 1921 respectively. However, most of the people charged to courts were found not guilty of the offences they were charged for, that's why they were set to go without any financial charges.⁷²

The Warji District Judicial Matters

The Warji Village Area Heads were asked to suggest a means of adequately safeguarding the interests of the Warjawa in judicial matters. They stated that they were content to be represented by one *Bamaguje* assessor sitting with the SarkiNingi's court. However, they regarded the present Warji assessor as too closely identified with the old regime and they would prefer to select another. They did not favour my suggestion that all or any of them should be given seats on the court and reaffirmed their conviction that one Warji assessor, chosen by themselves, was all that was required. They are perfectly prepared to continue to have their cases tried by the SarkinNingi's court, as now constituted to alter it, or the Alkali's court.

The Organisation of the Prison and Dogarai in Ningi Emirate

The British policy of administration, the Indirect Rule policy recognised the three arms of criminal justice namely; the court, prison and police (Yandoka) upon which law and order are

⁷¹ NAK/SNP/BauPof of Gazetteer/ 690 vol. 3, 1920.

⁷² NAK/NSP/BAUPROF/290P, Native Administrative Estimate/1021.



maintained. The British policy of Indirect Rule was administered through the established traditional authorities of Northern Nigeria. In the Ningi up to time, Ningi was transferred to Tiffi later known as Ningi *Sabuwa* there were no prisons in the District. People who are found guilty are taken to Bauchi to serve their term in prison. However, a prison was later built close to the Sarkin Ningi palace. The prison was very clean and tidy, though it is hard to find an inmate in the prison.

By 1938, a report shows that it was one inmate who was sentenced for the theft of a gown at Tiffi. However, the washing and B.G. facilities remain somewhat primitive. Sarkin Ningi was reminded to attend to it. Sarkin Ningi also was charged with the repair of the roof of the prison as one of the cells was discovered leaking.⁷³ The inmates were fed and maintained by the colonial government as uniforms were made available for each prisoner.⁷⁴

Dogarawa (Native police) were retained to maintain law and order. They are used as instruments to enforce law and order. They are considered as coercive power. Although there were many *Dogarai* in Ningi and other Districts only 30 of them were on government payroll. Each of them received £12 per annum in 1917, 1918 and 1919 respectively. In each of the Districts of Ningi, there was *Sarkin Dogarai* who was considered the head of the Native police.

In 1920, there emerged the need for more *Dogarai* in Ningi, Ari and Burra owing to the increase of people in the mining camps. Also, the increase was necessitated by the increased number of Native Court prisoners as the level of offence drastically increased. Therefore, by the 1920s there were 55 *Dogarai* all across the Ningi Control Districts. An increase of 25 on the 30 ones available in 1919. This proved the level of security in the area.

Administration of Ningi Native Bait Al-Mal (Treasury)

The Ningi Native Treasury serves the whole of the *Kasar* Ningi (Emirate), it was solely controlled by the SarkinNingi with the assistance of his Native Treasurer. Up to the 1930s there was no proposal that any alteration should be made in this arrangement. The Treasury is in a financially strong position as is shown by the following figures:-

 Reserve funds
 1935
 £8,995

 Estimated revenue
 1935/36
 £2,299
 £11,294

 Estimated expenditure 1935/36

 Recurrent
 £2,287

 Capital
 £2,287

 Special
 £640
 £2,951

 Estimated reserve funds at 1.4.36
 £8,343.78

Arising out of the foregoing proposals the following alterations are proposed in the first five heads of the estimates of expenditure. In order to balance the budget drastic cuts have been made in recent years in the salaries of some of the native administration staff, and it is suggested that a restoration of a proportion of these cuts should be made, in many cases, with the money which would be made available by the abolition of two District Headships.

NAK/A81rd/BAUPROF/ Senior District Officer Bauchi Division/ TOUR IN NINGI/2nd April to 13th May/1918.p.95.
 NAK/BAUPROF/SNP/290P/Bauchi Province Native treasury estimation of revenue and Expenditure/1920, pp.5-6.

⁷⁶ NAK/BAU PROF/SNP/321P/Ningi-Dass-Kanam Independent Native Treasury estimate of revenue and Expenditure/15-17/1920 2nd Class D.O Bauchi Div.

⁷⁵ NAK/BAU PROF/SNP/355P/Ningi-Dass Native Treasury Expenditure/15-17/1918.

NAK/BAU PROF/SNP/321P/Ningi-Dass-Kanam Independent Native Treasury estimate of revenue and Expenditure/15-17/1920 p. 2

⁷⁸ NAK/SNP10/BAU PROF/21107/K2075/Memorandum no. 814/62/Reorganisation of Administration /1935 p.47



Head	Item	Salary in 1933/34	Salary in current years	Proposed Salary
	SarkinNingi	£300	£240	£264
	Chiroma	60	48	36
	Baraya	24	18	36
II	District Head of Warji	120	96	-
	District Head of Ari	120	96	-
	District Head of Burra	120	87	120
	5 Scribes @ 24/ - pa	156	125	72
	4 Messengers	36	33	48
	6 Warji Chiefs	-	-	105
	6 Warji Village Heads Representatives	-	-	36
	6Warji Village Malams	-	-	36
III	Village Heads	414	302	212
	Village Malams	-	-	5
IV	Native Court Member (Sarkin Ningi's Court members)	24	18	24
	3 MaguzawaAssessors	54	36	36
	Alkali	60	36	36
	Alkali's assistant	18	15	18
	2 Court Messengers	24	22	24
V	Ma'aji and Senior Tax Malam	36	29	48
	Assistants	18	15	18
		£1,584	£1,216	£1,174
	Net saving	-	-	£42

Source: NAK/SNP10/BAU PROF/21107/K2075/Memorandum no. 814/62/Reorg of Adm /1935 p.48)

The salary of Sarkin Ningi was increased from £240 to £264 because of the increase in his responsibilities and duties. The salary of Chiroma was reduced from £48 to £36 because he is weak and helpless, but he would be of some use as a messenger. He is the brother of Sarkin Ningi and is usually regarded as his natural successor.

The Baraya is described in the Estimates as a messenger, but he is more than that. He is the nearest approach to a Waziri that Ningi has; he is an excellent character and fully deserves the proposed increase. The salary of the District head of Burrawas increased from £87 to £120 because of the increased responsibility as he will have the Parda village unit added to his district.

The salary of the scribes was reduced from £125 to £72 because their number was reduced from formerly eight scribes to five. After all, one is to be appointed as Ma'aji and combine this duty of Ma'aji and senior tax Malam, and two formerly employed in Warji District are no longer needed.

The salary of messengers is increased from £33 to £48 because formerly there were three messengers, but the SarkinNingi has a staff of three salaried messengers (in addition to the Chiroma and Baraya). The fourth is for Burra.

In Warji District there are changes in salaries, it is so in view of their increased responsibilities it is proposed to pay these Village Area Heads slightly increased salaries (though they are well



within the authorised proportion of tax). They should be paid as follows:-Ranga and Baima £24 each, Gabanja, Tiyun & Dagun £15 each, Tudunwada £12.⁷⁹

The Ningi Taxpayers in 1912

Taxation means revenue levied by the state on its subject. In this regard, Lugard was of the view that no system of government could be effective without economic independence. RoTaxation was the sole and primary source of revenues to finance the colonial government run by the British in the whole of Northern Nigeria. The colonial administration recognized different forms of taxation in the Ningi Emirate though principally *Kharaji* and *Jangali* in addition to other court fees and fines, market dues, land tax etc. British colonial tax collection began from around 1912-14. These were formative years in the whole of northern Nigeria. However, by 1915 the tax assessment was intensified because of the First World War. Roughland was of the view that th

By 1912, In Ningi district alone there were five mining camps which obtained a large amount of local labour. These camps have also created a permanent demand for foodstuffs which has caused very serious inflation. Just one *dami* (bundle) of guinea corn will fetch as much as 1/3d even in the dry season. These high prices and the excellent farming land have made Ningi a prosperous district. As such a tax assessed on the wealth of Ningi district resulted in more than doubling the land revenue of Ningi. In 1912 the land tax was raised from 226. 14/- to 410. 4/-, and this increased tax was made with great promptitude.⁸²

SarkiMamuda of Ningi conducted a census of taxpayers in 1912. The detail is:

Ningi, Keffin Fulani and Takalafia

Hausawa -	-		270
SarkinTabela (Afawa)	-		124
SarkinBasse (Kuda	wa)		496
SarkinChumbo (Kudawa	a)	174	
Sarkin Ningi (Ningawa)		180	
		Total 1	244

Kano Hausas in North of Ningi in 1912

-	-	16
-	-	11
-	-	9
-	89	
-	-	11
	-	30
-	-	33
-	-	50
-	-	140
-	47	
a	-	19
-	97	
-	-	13
-	-	64
-	-	5
-	-	243
-	-	48
	- - - - - - aa - -	47

 $^{^{79}\} NAK/SNP10/BAU\ PROF/21107/K2075/Memorandum\ no.\ 814/62/Reorganisation\ of\ Administration\ /1935\ p.49.$

⁸⁰Lugard, Dual Mandate, 19191 230.

⁸¹NAK/SNP10/Note by T.M. Greer in Ningi District/ 872/1913 p.6.

⁸²NAK/SNP10/Note by T.M. Greer on Ningi District/ 872/1913 p.6



Anderaya	-	-	96
KeffinLemu	-	-	156
Ringa	-	-	22
ChirunDoka	-	-	24
Dusawa -	-	61	
Dama-Kusa	-	-	14
Gummo -	-	21	
BabanKawo	-	-	4
Gwando -	-	12	
Parda	-	-	251
Keffin Madaki	-	-	109
		Total	1769^{83}

The estimated half total of tax including Jangali in Ningi in 1914 totalled £335084

The taxes are:-

Jangali (Cattle tax)

Kudin Sarauta (fees on appointment)

Ushuri (Court fees) Ujera (Death duties)

In the absence of other arrangements, the total collection of land Revenue should be divided into 4 parts – of these, two parts will be retained as the government share –maintaining the two parts, one, on the basis of 2

83 NAK/ SNP10/588P/23/ Central Province/Notes on Ningi District/872P/1913 P.5

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⁸⁴ NAK/SNP 503P/341P/13/Central Province/Sgd F. Becklesgall/21st April,1913



5% of the total collection will be allocated to the payment of the District Administration that including the *Hakimai* (District Heads), *Jaurabai* (Village Heads), and such other officials as may, from time to time, be specified.

The remaining quarter will then provide for the salaries of the Emir, and other officials of the central administration, and also for other services authorised by the Governor.¹

In Ningi District the revenue was on the increase between 1917-1919 as illustrated below:

	1917	1918	1919	increase	decrease
	£	£	£	£	£
	1546	1500	1900	400	-
1. Tribute tax	837	600	750	150	-
2. Jangali	221	5	20	15	-
3. A. Fines and confiscation B. fees etc	194	160	200	40	-
		30			
Other Receipts A. Market dues	60	25	130	100	-
B. Miscellaneous					
Total	37		25	100	75
Net increase	2894	2320	3100	780	
				780	

(Source: NAK/BAU PROF/SNP/355P/Ningi-Dass Native Treasury Expenditure/15-17/1918)

The organisation of Markets in Ningi Emirate

The markets in Ningi district, apart from the markets that have sprung up near the mining camps, are in Ningi and Keffin Madaki which are daily markets, and Keffin Fulani runs every except Saturday and Sunday, the other one is at Yayi which runs every Friday. A large market was built at Ningi *Sabuwa* which has been extremely well attended. The market is well-planned and adequately provided with trees. The market day is on Friday and as a rule, it is well attended. However, the stalls of the market were not maintained as many of them fell.

Beneath are the prices of some commodities sold on the 29th of April, 1938 as:

1.	DaminDawa (Guinea corn) per bundle at -		9 d	
2.	SussukakkenDawa (Threshed corn) 4 Mudus		3d	
3.	Damingero (Millet) per bundle		8d	
4.	Sussukakken Gero (Threshed Millet)4 Mu	ıdus-	3d	
5.	Gyada (Groundnut) 2 Mudus at		3d	
6.	Manda (Salt) 1 Mudus at		6d	
7.	Rice I <i>Mudu</i> at		1d	
8.	Pepper 1 <i>Mudu</i> at		-	2d
9.	Cotton 1 handful at	-	-	1/2d

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ NAK/SNP 503P/341P/13/Central Province/Sgd F. Becklesgall/ $8^{\rm th}$ July, 1913

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² NAK/SNP10/Note by T.M. Greer on Ningi District/ 872/1913 p.6

³ NAK/A81rd/BAUCHIPROF/ Senior District Officer Bauchi Division/ TOUR IN NINGI/2nd April to 13th May/1918.p.2



(Source: Report NAK/A81rd/BAUCHIPROF/ Senior District Officer Bauchi Division/ TOUR IN NINGI/2nd April to 13th May/1918.p.4)

There is a market in each of the four Districts. *Sarkin Kasuwa* was appointed on each market. A specific day for the market was allocated to each and every District. The role of *SarkinKasuwa* was mainly to maintain law and order in the market, price setting, and provision of *Masaukanbaki* (lodges) for long-distance traders. They also serve as guarantor in case of loans and credits on purchases. However, the *Sarkin Kasuwa* was also responsible for tax collection and keeping goods and articles of trade in the market. The *Sarakunan Kasuwa* were on the Native Authority's payroll. Each of them received £12 per annum in 1917, 1918 and 1919 respectively.⁴

The Organisation of Healthcare System in Ningi under Native Authority

Dispensary was constructed in front of SarkinNingi's Palace in Ningi *Sabuwa* in 1935. The dispensary has been a great success; it was dealing with between two and three hundred cases in a month. *Bukkoki* (Huts) have been built nearby to accommodate sleeping sickness patients during their treatment.⁵

The dispensary was under the charge of Malam Abdu Ningi. However a report by the Senior District Officer, Bauchi Division shows that by 1938, various huts in the compound were all in need of repair and Sarkin Ningi had been instructed to have them carried out. The dispensary has recently been visited by the medical officer. Malam Abdu Ningi in addition to the ordinary duties will also act as Sanitary Inspector in Ningi Sabuwa.⁶

In 1920 the health sector witnessed some developments as 36 vaccinators were subscribed and each was paid £12 per annum. Similarly, there was an increase in the number of vaccinators from 36 in 1920 to 48 vaccinators in 1922.⁷

In conclusion, this work has demonstrated the processes involved in the political evolution and development of Ningi. By the time Nigeria's political independence the emirate had already gained ground in the Ningi emirate.

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⁵ Ibid p.111

⁶ NAK/A81rd/BAUCHIPROF/ Senior District Officer Bauchi Division/ TOUR IN NINGI/2nd April to 13th May/1918.p.95

⁷ NAK/BAU PROF/SNP/290P/Ningi-Dass-Kanam Independent Native Treasury estimate of revenue and Expenditure/10-04-1920



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