

ABUBAKAR IMAM MEMOIRS



Edited by
ABDURRAHMAN MORA

Errata:

Page 11. Arabic verse translated at the top of the page is rendered thus:

إزعه جميلا ولو في غير موضعه ولا يضيع جميل أينما زعه

Page 223. Last paragraph on this page, not included, though regarded as *Wasiyya* (bequest), is rendered as follows:

I then decided to arrange all my papers and prepare them for publication. I feel sure that should I not live to see the publication of this book, my children and friends will see to its successful completion.

THE ABUBAKAR IMAM MEMOIRS



Malam Abubakar Imam

THE ABUBAKAR IMAM MEMOIRS

**Edited with
An Introduction and
Appendices**

By

ABDURRAHMAN MORA



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations and Maps	<i>w</i>
Acknowledgements	<i>vii</i>
The Editor General — His Background	<i>ix</i>
Forewords by : Alhaji Dr. Yahaya Gusau, O.F.R, Shetiman Sokoto		<i>xii</i>
„ „ (ii) Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli, C.F.R., Magajin Garin Zaz- zau	<i>xiii</i>
Introduction	<i>xiv</i>
CHAPTER: 1. Birth and Childhood	1
Chapter: 2. School Days in Katsina	9
Chapter: 3. Life As A Teacher	21
Chapter: 4. Early Activities in Gaskiya Corporation	31
Chapter: 5. West African Press Delegation to United Kingdom	52
Chapter: 6. Discussions and Correspondence with Lord Lugard	77
Chapter: 7. Richards Constitutional Revision: The Role I Played	104
Chapter: 8. Policy Revision in Gaskiya Corporation	113
Chapter: 9. First Political Leaders	152
Chapter: 10. Activities In the Political Arena	172
Chapter: 11. Islamic Education and Pilgrimage Problems	189
Chapter: 12. Membership of Boards, Councils and Committees	205
Chapter: 13. Thousands at Home and Abroad Mourned Imam's Demise by Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora	225
Chapter: 14. Tributes by some Friends and Associates	243
Chapter: 15. Modesty and Simplicity: The Hallmark of Imam's Life Style by Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora	295
Appendices: I. A. D. and A. H. Conversion System	315
II. Alhaji Sir Abubakar III — Sultan of Sokoto	318
III. Alhaji Dr. Kabir Usman — Emir of Katsina	327
IV. Alhaji Dr. Shehu Idris — Emir of Zaria	329
Bibliography	331
Index	334

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

	<i>Page</i>
Alhaji Abubakar Imam	frontispiece
Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora	xi
Alhaji Muhammadu Bello Kagara	4
Sir Hans Vicher (Dan Hausa)	5
Dr. R.M. East with Malama Dada Sare (Mrs. East) and Mr. Giles	5
Alhaji Ahmadu Kagara	8
Katsina College Cricket 1st x 1- 1931	14
Emir of Katsina, Alhaji Muhammadu Dikko Gidado	16
Emir of Katsina, Alhaji Usman Nagogo	17
Imam's Training College Certificate	20
Gaskiya Corporation Building Zaria	34
Malam Ja'afaru, Emir of Zaria	37
West African Press Delegation to U.K.	55
M. Aminu Kano	76
M. Sa'adu Zungur	159
Katsina Old Boys Association — 1940 —	160
Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sarkauna of Sokoto and Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	177
Letter of Appointment to P.S.C.	182
Alhaji Abubakar Imam receiving a present from Mr. Hibbert	183
Letter from Director of Education on Retirement	186
Letter of Appointment as Chairman P.S.C.	187
Public Service Commission Kaduna 1961	188
Garden Party in Government House Kaduna. The Sultan, Alhaji Sir Abubakar III is talking to Alhaji Abubakar Imam and the Emir of Katsina.	209
First National Merit Award Winners 1979	223
Editors of <i>Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo</i>, 1979	224
Presentation to Imam by Emir of Daura 1981	227

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It is the wish of the promoters of this publication to have prefatory remarks embodied in it, made by distinguished dignitaries, other than the introduction by the Editor General. We are lucky to have obtained the willingness of two outstanding elders who had known the late Malam Abubakar Imam for half a century (1931 — 1981) and whose relationship with him remained cordial over the years until they were separated from him by the inevitable! The elders concerned are Dr. Yahaya Gusau, the Shattima of Sokoto and Pro-Chancellor of the Bayero University Kano, and Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli, the Magajin Gari of Zazzau, a Federal Minister in the First Republic and currently a Director of Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria. We are indebted to them for sparing much of their valuable time to undertake such an onerous assignment.

Alhaji Sani Imam, formerly General Manager, Nigerian Dairies Limited and Alhaji Mukhtar Bello, the Managing Director of the Allied Bank of Nigeria Limited closely followed the progress of this publication and offered valuable comments as and when necessary. Alhaji Ahmed Bello of the Katsina Polytechnic delved into the voluminous records left behind by the late Alhaji Muhammadu Bello Kagara the Wali of Katsina and also the elder brother of Malam Abubakar Imam, and procured some vital documents for the perusal and use of the Drafting Committee of the *Abubakar Imam Memoirs*. We thank them for their invaluable contributions.

We are also grateful to Alhaji Ahmed Talib, one of the respected leaders of our time, for the noble role he has played in tracing the history of Malam Abubakar Imam's family in Borno.

Alhaji Ahmed Umar, the former Principal of the Kaduna State College of Advanced Studies, Zaria, now Rector of Katsina Polytechnic, took a special interest in the book right from the beginning. As a historian his comments

have been of great value to us. In addition, through him, we had access to his College Library and the Kashim Ibrahim Library (K.I.L.) at Ahmadu Bello University, Main Campus, Samaru, Zaria. We are indebted to him for his co-operation.

Several other authorities saw the *Abubakar Imam Memoirs* in draft and offered valuable comments. They include His Eminence, the Grand Qadi of Sokoto State, Alhaji Haliru Binji; Professor Abdullahi Mohammed, Head of Department Library Science, and Dean of Student Affairs of the Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria; Alhaji Abubakar Tunau (Mafara), the Kayayen Sardauna, a former Civil Commissioner in the defunct North-West State and currently Deputy Managing Director of Impresit Bakolori Nigeria Limited, Sokoto; Mr. Paul Turton (British), a former Principal of several Colleges in Kaduna State (1968 — 1982); and Alhaji Inuwa Dikko formerly Managing Director of Ahmadu Bello University Press Zaria. We are most grateful for their assistance.

His Eminence the Grand Qadi of Sokoto State was specially requested to scrutinise the Quranic Verses and Prophetic Traditions (Hadith) in the quotations used in the book to verify their correctness and relevance. An effort has been made to edit the *Abubakar Imam Memoirs* in a style to depict, by and large, the life-style of the late Malam Abubakar Imam.

Last but not the least, the indebtedness of the promoters of this publication is extended to the several typists who patiently typed and retyped the scripts.

(ABDURRAHMAN MORA),
EDITOR-GENERAL.

THE EDITOR-GENERAL: HIS BACKGROUND

Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora was born at Kaiama in Borgu, Kwara State of Nigeria on 19th July, 1916, and educated at Kaiama Elementary School (1924 — 1928), Ilorin Middle School (1928 — 1933) and Katsina Higher College (Barewa College), 1933 — 1938. As a teacher he was appointed on 26th April, 1938 by the then Zaria Native Authority to teach English, History and Geography at the Middle School.

The Central Government of Nigeria awarded him a scholarship along with three other Northern Nigerian teachers to attend a Professional Certificate Course at the Institute of Education of the University of London (1945 — 1946). He was among the first four Northern teachers ever to be awarded scholarships. On his return to Nigeria he was seconded to the Northern Provinces Administration to teach at Kaduna College (Barewa College) from 1947 to 1950. He was then deseconded back to Zaria Native Authority as Headmaster the Middle School (1950 — 1954).

In 1950, through private study, he passed the Senior Teachers' Certificate Examination in Geography. Between 1952 and 1953, he was awarded an American State Government Scholarship to attend a Teacher Training Programme at Iowa State Teachers' College, U.S.A. He was the first Northern Nigerian to visit the United States under the auspices of the United States Government.

Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora transferred his services to the North Regional Government in 1954 when he was appointed Provincial Adult Education Officer in charge of the former Zaria Province. He was one of the first ten Northerners to be so appointed. In 1959, he changed cadre from education to administration and in 1961, he was seconded to the Federal Government and posted to Saudi Arabia as a Consul and Pilgrims' Officer. When diplomatic relations were established between Nigeria and Saudi Arabia in 1961, he was appointed First Secretary at the Embassy of Nigeria in Jeddah. He returned to the Ministry of Lagos Affairs where on 1st November, 1962, he was confirmed as a substantive Permanent Secretary.

Following in the wake of the first Military take-over in 1966, the Ministry of Lagos Affairs was abolished and in a minor reshuffle of the Permanent Secretaries, he was moved to head the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs until 1967, when he was appointed High Commissioner to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora retired from the public service on 8th July, 1971 and on the following day, 9th July, 1971, he took up an appointment with the Kwara State Government as a Part-Time member of the Public Service Commission (now Civil Service Commission). He was appointed Chairman of the Kwara State Public Service Commission with effect from 9th February, 1976, which post he resigned on 31st August, 1977, on personal grounds.

Kwara State Government offered him another appointment on part-time basis, as a member of the Judicial Service Commission in 1979, during the

Second Republic. Kaduna State Government also appointed him Chairman of the Governing Council of the College of Advanced Studies, Zaria (1984 — 87).

Thus Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora served this country at Local level, Regional level, State level and Federal level, as an educator, administrator and diplomat, continuously for over 39 years.

One of the common threads that ran through these years was his acquaintance with Alhaji Abubakar Imam, whom he first met in Katsina in 1933, the year he was admitted at Katsina College (now Barewa College) as student No. 233. Since then they had been constantly together until the inevitable separated them on 19th June, 1981! Therefore Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora is among the few living persons who had known the late Alhaji Abubakar Imam closely for about half a century. Their very cordial friendship culminated in Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora's becoming a son-in-law of the late Alhaji Abubakar Imam in 1950, thus further cementing the cordiality.

The various services rendered by him over the years were interwoven with committee, council and board memberships since the fifties. Thus he served on the following:

- a) Zaria Native Authority Appointment, Finance and Discipline Committees (1950 — 1954).**
- b) North Regional Board of Education, Kaduna and Moral Standards Committee, Northern Region, Kaduna (1950 — 1954).**
- c) Central Board of Education and West African Examination Council, Lagos (1950 — 1954).**
- d) Executive Committee of the Northern Region Scout Council, Kaduna (1950 — 1954).**
- e) Participated on the Sir Udo Udoma (Justice Supreme Court Nigeria) Boards of Inquiry between 1972 and 1973 which investigated into Doctors Trade Disputes in Lagos and Ibadan.**
- f) Chairman of the Special Committee on Discipline in Post-Primary Schools in Kaduna State (1980).**
- g) Chairman of Soba Government Girls' Secondary School Parent Teachers Association (1979 — 1986).**
- h) Member of Zaria Tudun Wada Community Mosque Committee (1977-79).**

Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora was drafted into the Special Constable Force in Zaria (1955—1958).

In the fields of politics and Trade Unionism, he was not entirely unconnected. He was a foundation member of the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.) in 1948, which played a dynamic role in Nigeria Party Politics before and during the First Republic. He was elected its Zaria Provincial President in 1953, but he had to withdraw his membership of the party in 1954, on becoming a North Regional Government Civil Servant.

He was also a founding member of the Northern Teachers' Association (NTA) in 1948. He became its Assistant General Secretary in 1950. That Association eventually merged with the Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT). Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora's cherished hobbies include:—

Islamic Studies, teaching Qur'an and Arabic to children and farming.

In recognition of his long meritorious service to the Nation, the Zaria Local Government has named a Street at Tudun Wada, Zaria after him as **MORA ROAD**. His residential house No. 23/25 is on the road.



Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora.

FOREWORD

By

*Dr. Yahaya Gusau, O.B.E., O.F.R.,
Shetiman Sokoto and Pro-Chancellor, Bayero University, Kano*

Reading through the book you will come to the conclusion that Dr. Abubakar Imam came from a family which could be termed aristocrat, learned and adventurous. The family was certainly adventurous judging from the number of places they moved to and settled during periods when travelling was difficult and dangerous.

From a town in Dikwa Emirate of former Borno Empire, Mallam Muhammadu Gajibo the great grand father of Imam moved the entire family to far away Bida and settled there. Again during the Jihad period of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio and under the leadership of the same Mallam Muhammadu Gajibo the family travelled to Sokoto and settled there. Years later under the leadership of Shehu Usman, the father of Imam, the family travelled through Kano and Katsina to Kagara in the present Niger State. But after the occupation of the area by the British, Mallam Shehu Usman, then Head of the family migrated the whole family to Malumfashi in Katsina Emirate.

The family under Mallam Shehu Usman later returned and lived in Kagara, but Imam though born in Kagara was brought up in Katsina by his elder brother Muhammadu Bello. Later in life Imam came to work in Zaria and settled down eventually in Tudun Wada, where he died.

Malam Abubakar Imam was a remarkable person. He was a friend to all and an enemy to none. He was in reality a friend to those in power, to the rich and to the poor. While in his house he would dine together with the very poor, at the same time he suffered no inferiority complex when he mixed with the rich and those in authority. Infact one could say that Imam held the master key to the doors of all the influential people within what used to be Northern Nigeria.

Imam had spent a great part of his leisure time teaching and demonstrating to others how to lead a decent and honest life. He was all the time emphasising that people should endeavour to earn their living by their own labour, and that their earnings should be spent wisely. He achieved great success in this campaign, for he left behind many disciples. The Editor General of "Abubakar Imam Memoirs" is no doubt one of his worthy disciples.

May his soul rest in peace, Amin.

Sgd.
Mallam Yahaya Gusau
Pro-Chancellor
Bayero University Kano.

FOREWORD

By

*Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli C.F.R.
Magajin Garin Zazzau.*

I have been asked to write a foreword to this interesting book on Alhaji Abubakar Imam. I read the script from cover to cover hoping I would discover an obvious omission which I could use as a subject for my foreword but I discovered that every aspect of Imam's official or private life, which I know, was covered in one Chapter of the book or the other. The book, being both a biography and an autobiography, has a greater part of it written by Imam himself which helps to make it all the more authentic. The views also expressed by the eminent personalities whose names are listed at the beginning of Chapter Fourteen of this book are views that neither need addition nor comments. The sum total of these views is that Alhaji Abubakar Imam was a great man. I entirely join them in sharing that opinion.

I am glad that a large part of this book has been written by Abubakar Imam himself as I said earlier and, being an honest man, he did not hide anything about himself. The other part of the book was written by people who by accident or by design were very close to Abubakar Imam and they too, being good people, wrote on how they knew him.

I am one of those few people who lived very close to Abubakar Imam and who worked very close to him. I knew him in his private as well as in his official capacity. In the office, he had his assignment and I had mine in the then Literature Bureau of the Education Department and on to Gaskiya Corporation. He dealt with the production of *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* and I dealt with translations and the production of books. But after two O'clock, that is after office hours when we returned home, the relationship took a different pattern from that of colleagues in the office to that of elder and younger brothers each one playing his role very well, with him leading and advising, and I following.

I have been warned not to write a long foreword, and, being somebody who has been brought up under Imam's powerful code of conduct, I must obey and stop here. The only thing that remains for me to say about Alhaji Abubakar Imam is, "May the Almighty Allah bestow His infinite Mercy on his Soul both in his grave and on the Final Day of Judgement. Amin".

Sgd.

*Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli
Magajin Garin Zazzau*

INTRODUCTION

ABUBAKAR IMAM'S KANEM-BORNO CONNECTIONS

The immediate as well as the remote historical background of this great son of Nigeria, Alhaji (Dr.) Abubakar Imam, who was described as "A Pioneer Ten Times Over"¹, but who, because of his simplicity and modesty regarded himself as a lesser mortal, is worth tracing for posterity and the reading public. This is precisely what this book attempts to do.

Alhaji Abubakar Imam once said to his eldest grandson, Dr. Mohammad Saifuddin Mora, "If anybody asks you about my history and origin, say that my family history is traceable in Borno, my origin is Sokoto, my birth place is Kagara, my town is Katsina and my place of residence is Zaria". As this statement came from him during his last days in the world, it was tantamount to a bequest (*wasiyya*) to be transmitted to progeny, because wills, according to Islamic doctrine², must not be suppressed.

Since Abubakar Imam's remote origin is connected with Borno, I would like to give a brief extract from the history of that ancient Kingdom (State) to precede his life history titled: *The Abubakar Imam Memoirs*. This will enable readers have a bird's — eye view of the land of his fore-fathers, the land with its pageantry and old civilisation which, according to Lady Lugard³, contemporaneously transcended that of most European countries in war equipment and the land from which his great grand-father migrated during the second half of the eighteenth century to the west, in search of a new home.

The exact time of the migration⁴ is not known, but most likely it was at the end of the long reign of Mai Ali ben Haj Dunama the 64th King of the Saifawa Dynasty, who reigned at Birni Gazargamu from A.D. 1755 to 1793 (A.H. 1168 to 1208)⁵.

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1. See *New Nigerian* of 21st June, 1986 page 5 an article by Alhaji Husaini Hayat, General Manager of the Northern Nigerian Publishing Company Limited, Zaria (NNPC) on Alhaji Abubakar Imam, with the quoted sub-title, as a pre-publication review of this book then being prepared.
 2. The upholding of a bequest is therefore in consonance with Quranic injunction, viz: "It is prescribed, when death approaches any of you, if he leaves any goods, that he makes a bequest to parents and next of kin, according to reasonable usage; this is due from the God-fearing. If anyone changes the bequest after hearing it, the guilt shall be on those who make the change. For God hears and knows (All things)". (2:180/1)
 3. Lady Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency* P.278
 4. The act of a Muslim migration from one country to another for religious consideration, for example leaving a country under the rule of infidels, or for security, or fleeing from sin, is lawful in Islam. The Prophet (S.A.W.) departed from Mecca, to Medina on the fourth day of the first month of Rabi'u Awwal which by calculation corresponded to 20th June, 622 A.D. That Prophetic Migration is referred to in history as the Flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina. Migration is called *Hijrah* in Arabic. There are fourteen Quranic verses pertinent to migration, one of which is the following "They say: 'Was not the earth of God spacious enough for you to move yourselves away (from evil)?'" (4:97).
 5. See Appendix for Conversion system of A.D. — A.H. and vice versa.

Mai Ali ben Hajj Dunama reigned for 40 years. He had numerous children among whom the males numbered 300. It was during his reign that Mohammed Gajibo, the great grandfather of Abubakar Imam, migrated from Borno along with Maina Ibrahim to the West.

Mai Ali ben Hajj Dunama had the discredit of sending an ill-fated military expedition to Mandara, where most of the intelligent men of Borno were killed. He was also reported to have sent another military expedition to Bedde, the result of which does not appear to have been recorded.

The purport of Maina Ibrahim's migration from Dikwa in Borno with his followers to Bida in the south-west, was that his brother defeated him in a chieftaincy contest. That reason was cogent enough, but an ulterior motive which might have prompted the move, might not be unconnected with the Mandara disaster where the elite of Borno were almost annihilated.

Abubakar Imam, his brothers and sisters were born and brought up in an atmosphere of Hausa culture devoid of the customary facial identification marks of the Kanuri people, and none of them have even a smattering of Kanuri language. They have therefore been accepted as Hausa, and they have no proof to be otherwise, more especially as they have not been seen over the years, to be visiting kith and kin in Borno. They have completely lost connection with their country of origin, and by that lapse, they have also lost their Kanuri identity.

CHAPTER ONE

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

I was born in 1911 at Kagara in Kontagora Province, which later became part of Niger Province. At the time I was born, Kontagora and Bida were separate Provinces. Later in 1926 the two Provinces were merged into one to form Niger Province. Offending the sensibilities of the two powerful emirs Etsu Nupe in Bida and Sarkin Sudan in Kotangora was avoided by the neutral name Niger for the Province and the choice of Minna as the Provincial Headquarters.

My great grandfather, Malam Muhammadu Gajibo came from Gajibo town in Dikwa Emirate of the former Borno Empire. He was among the learned Malams at the court of the Mai of Dikwa during the pre-colonial period. When the Mai died his two children contested for the throne but the younger one succeeded and became the Mai. His elder brother, Maina Ibrahim, decided to migrate from Borno with his followers and several herds of cattle. Among his people was Malam Muhammadu Gajibo. They reached Bida after several stops on the way and decided to settle in the vicinity. The Etsu Nupe of the time realising their need for a large grazing area selected Kutigi as a suitable settlement for them. The Prince from Kukawa, Maina Ibrahim, was appointed head of the town of Kutigi and it grew very rapidly. They planted date palms there as well as in Bida. Even though they had mingled and inter-married with their Nupe hosts, the people of Kutigi still retain some Borno practices. For example, they still observe *gani* festivities during the Eid-el-Maulud, the birth-day of the Prophet Mohammed (S.A.W.) as is done in Borno.

During the period of the Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, Malam Muhammadu Gajibo led a group of learned people to pay homage to Shehu Usman. Co-incidentally they arrived at Sokoto just as Dan Fodio was entering the town after it had been built by his son, Malam Muhammadu Bello. It was related that Shehu Usman, on learning about the approach of this group from Nupe land, stopped at the gate and said, "Let us await the arrival of these pious people who have migrated to be with us." It was there, outside the city gates, that Shehu Usman made his own settlement and built a mosque with the assistance of the Nupe Malams led by Malam Muhammadu Gajibo.

Later Malam Muhammadu Bello extended the town wall to encircle the settlement of Shehu Usman within the Sokoto City proper. Malam Muhammadu Gajibo was appointed *Wakilin Nufawa*, that is Head of the Nupe Community, at Tako quarters near where Shehu's mosque is located.

Malam Muhammadu Badamasi was born in Sokoto into the family of Malam Muhammadu Gajibo, the *Wakilin Nufawa*. After the death of his father he inherited the title of *Wakilin Nufawa* in accordance with the accepted traditions.

Malam Muhammadu Badamasi had a son whom he named Shehu Usman in Sokoto. He also had a daughter who later married in Sokoto. Her descendants still occupy the house built by Malam Badamasi in Sokoto. Malam Shehu Usman was my father though my birth was to come at a much later stage in Kagara.

At the death of Malam Badamasi Malam Shehu Usman decided to leave Sokoto and study Islamic books with some famous Malams in Kano and Katsina. He first lived in Katsina, then Kankia, then Gwarzo and finally Kano. From Kano he decided to travel to Kontagora to meet Sarkin Sudan Umaru Nagwamatse. He found Nagwamatse at Tegna. The District Head at Tegna, Madaki Masoyi, welcomed him and found him a place to stay.

After sometime Sarkin Sudan Umaru Nagwamatse directed Madaki Masoyi to move from Tegna and settle at a point along the road used by traders where armed bandits had attacked trading convoys on several occasions. This place was to become Kagara. Madaki Masoyi went with Malam Shehu Usman and a number of their followers. Within a short while the town became a large settlement.

During the period of establishing the town several Malams and brave warriors went to Kagara to give assistance and protection to the settlers. It was at that time that Malam Shehu Usman became acquainted with Malam Muhammadu Maisaje, the Imam of Bobi, who was nicknamed Muhammadu *Maihakuri* (the Patient).

When Malam Muhammadu Mai-saje returned home to Bobi after the establishment of Kagara he told his family at Bobi that he had met one Malam Shehu Usman at Kagara and was impressed by his character and the depth of his learning. He therefore decided to give the hand of one of his daughters in marriage to Malam Shehu. He sent for his daughter, A'ishatu, and told her about Malam Shehu and directed his family to await the arrival of Malam Shehu at Bobi before informing him of this decision, as if predicting that he would not live to perform the proposed betrothal.

A'ishatu reached marriageable age but still Malam Shehu did not come. Her father used to say to her, "Be patient A'ishatu. Your future husband will soon come and I am sure you will be happy with him." Soon however, Malam Muhammadu Maisaje became ill and died. During the period of mourning Malam Shehu arrived to condole the bereaved family. He was told about the promise made by Malam Muhammadu before his death. He immediately agreed to the suggestion and his marriage with A'ishatu was concluded. There were no festivities when the marriage took place as that was the time of the period of mourning for the death of A'ishatu's father.

During the British advent and their administrative occupation of the Hausaland which started in 1900, with a view to eradicating slave trade and slavery, but more directly to acquire territory, Kontagora was invaded and Nagwamatse the Sarkin Sudan fled to Kaya in Giwa District of Zazzau Emirate. Many of his followers including Malam Shehu Usman fled along with

him. The British expeditionary force pursued Nagwamatse to Kaya and captured him there, and then exiled him to Lokoja. The Ubandoma of Kontagora led the majority of Sarkin Sudan's followers back to Kontagora, while Malam Shehu Usman proceeded to Katsina with the remaining refugees. It may be recalled that Malam Usman was not a stranger at Katsina, having lived there as a scholar. The Emir of Katsina, Abubakar played host to him and gave him 100 bundles of guinea corn at a village called Gwanamarde to feed his followers — the refugees. He also presented him with a mare — a customary present of Royalty to a Malam, a learned man. From Katsina Malam Shehu Usman retraced his steps back to Malumfashi where he settled. The ward where he and his followers settled was then named "GWAMATSAWA", that is, the ward of the followers of Nagwamatse Sarkin Sudan. It still bears that name at Malumfashi.

Nagwamatse spent some time in exile at Lokoja. However the British, at the instance of the new Sultan of Sokoto, considered certain extenuating circumstances which warranted Nagwamatse's reinstatement on the throne of Kontagora. He was therefore released from exile and taken back to Kontagora to continue to rule his subjects as Emir. As soon as Nagwamatse was reinstated, Isa, a son of the Madaki of Kagara was sent to Malumfashi to ask Malam Shehu Usman to return to Kagara in peace and security. He agreed and returned, but some of his people remained at Malumfashi, and their descendants are there to this day.

My elder brother, Alhaji Muhammadu Bello Kagara¹, M.B.E., Walin Katsina was a boy of a little over ten years old when he fled with his parents and Nagwamatse. He and another boy were conveyed on a mare. That flight of Malam Umaru Nagwamatse Sarkin Sudan of Kontagora which is called *Gudun Nasara* meaning 'Flight from the Europeans', has a historical significance. It forewarned and forearmed the Hausa Emirs in general; and in particular Kwasau the Emir of Zazzau, Aliyu the Emir of Kano, Abubakar the Emir of Katsina and Mohammed Attahiru II the Sarkin Musulmi (Sultan) of Sokoto against an inevitable British invasion of their territories. It also gave the inspiration to my brother's thrilling novel *Gandoki*.

Footnote: 1. Malam Bello Kagara, born in 1890 at Kagara was one of the African teachers on the Katsina College Staff when it was established in 1921. He transferred with the College to Kaduna in 1938.

In recognition of the meritorious services rendered by him to Katsina/Kaduna College, his name has been immortalised at Barewa College, by naming a College Dormitory (House) after him viz: "Bello Kagara House".

He was a product of the Pioneer Primary School established in Kano by Government and started by Sir Hanns Vischer (Dan Hausa) in 1908. The School was thus popularly known as *Makarantar Dan Hausa*.

During retirement Malam Bello Kagara served the defunct Katsina Native Authority in various capacities. First, as a Junior *Alkali* (Judge), then Chief *Alkali* of Katsina, eventually becoming *Wali* of Katsina, a post he held until his death in 1971.

He was the author of the Hausa novel *Gandoki* and the Biography of the Emir of Katsina titled *Sarkin Katsina Alhaji Muhammadu Dikko*.



Alhaji Muh. Bello Kagara
Walin Katsina—



*Sir Hans Vischer
In his famous house at Nasarawa, Kano*



Dr. R. M. East with Mr. Giles and Malama Dada Sare (Mrs East)