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Research Article

The Katsina Factor in the History of Yawuri and Zuru Emirates: A Study of Katsinawa in Diaspora

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Abstract

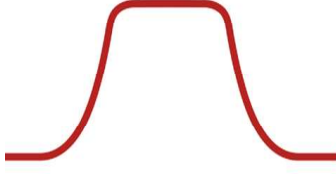
Katsina was one of the earliest Hausa kingdoms whose influence was felt beyond Hausaland since the precolonial period. While Katsina served as a focal point to scores of migrants, many Katsinawa as well, due largely to trade, Islamic scholarship and circumstances of the 1804 Jihad, migrated and settled in different parts of West Africa. In the case of Yawuri and Zuru Emirates, Katsina had influenced their developments in the social, economic and political spheres. However, extensive research has not so far been conducted to unravel these developments. This study therefore, intends to examine the role of Katsinawa in diaspora with particular reference to Yawuri and Zuru Emirates of Kebbi State, Nigeria. The study has revealed the role of Katsinawa amidst non-Hausa communities. The study has utilized, primarily, oral and written sources.

Keywords: Katsinawa, Yawuri and Zuru Emirates, Hausa Diaspora, Cultural Assimilation

JEL Codes: Z12, Z13, Z19

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Araştırma Makalesi

Yawuri ve Zuru Emirliği Tarihinde Katsina Faktörü: Diasporadaki Katsinalılar Üzerine Bir Araştırma

Mansur Abubakar Wara¹ & Yusuf Abdullahi²

Öz

Katsina, sömürge öncesi dönemden beri etkisi Hausaland'ın ötesinde hissedilen en eski Hausa krallıklarından biriydi. Katsina çok sayıda göçmen için bir odak noktası olarak hizmet ederken, birçok Katsinalı da büyük ölçüde ticaret, İslami bilim ve 1804 Cihad koşulları nedeniyle göç etti ve Batı Afrika'nın farklı bölgelerine yerleşti. Yawuri ve Zuru Emirlikleri örneğinde, Katsina onların sosyal, ekonomik ve politik alanlardaki gelişmelerini etkilemişti. Ancak, bu gelişmeleri ortaya çıkarmak için şimdiye kadar kapsamlı araştırmalar yapılmamıştır. Bu nedenle bu çalışma, Nijerya'nın Kebbi Eyaletindeki Yawuri ve Zuru Emirlikleri'ne özellikle atıfta bulunarak Katsinalıların diasporadaki rolünü incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, Katsinalıların Hausa dışı topluluklar arasındaki rolünü ortaya çıkarmıştır. Çalışmada öncelikle sözlü ve yazılı kaynaklardan yararlanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Katsinalılar, Yawuri ve Zuru Emirlikleri, Hausa Diasporası, Kültürel Asimilasyon

JEL Kodlar: Z12, Z13, Z19

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1. Introduction

The history of the kingdom of Katsina extends beyond its borders to areas outside the frontiers of Hausa states. This was not unconnected with the accessibility to movement and Katsinawa's early commercial acumen among other Hausa states. Generally, southward movement of Hausa people, specifically to areas of *Kasashen* Bauchi was common before the 19th century (Adamu,1978:23), Adamu has indicated that, these movements by Hausa peoples to areas lying south of Hausaland and to areas further south of Niger and Benue, were influenced by the need for commerce, military campaigns and search for new homes (Adamu,1978:23), Katsina was so prominent in the precolonial Hausaland mainly for the advantages it derived from its position on the trans-Saharan trade. It therefore easily became a prominent centre of commerce and of intellectual pursuits in Hausaland (Ross,2011:20). These factors attracted people of diverse background to Katsina such as the Berbers, Tuaregs, Kanuri, Nupe, Dyula, Fulani, and many others who were interested in Islamic learning and trade; all these were facilitated by the hospitality accorded to migrants in Katsina.

Politically, in its bid for expansion, Katsina had relations with its neighbours, particularly Kano, Gobir and Zamfara and with some distant areas outside Hausaland such as Karishen and Birnin Gwari. (Usman,1981:83). These relations were dynamic, peaceful and acrimonious, depending on the circumstances of the time. As Katsina attracted peoples from different parts of Africa, many others from Katsina also moved to other areas, within and outside Hausaland where they influenced the course of affairs in their new based territories. For instance, there were many Hausa communities, particularly of Katsina origin found in Gonja (present Ghana), Mali and many other places in Africa since the precolonial period (Adamu,1978:23). In the territories of Yawuri (also pronounced as Yauri) and Zuru, the presence of Katsinawa was noticeable since the 16th century (Adamu,2013). It should be noted that, the study of Katsinawa in diaspora has not received the attention it deserved. This paper therefore intends to examine the dynamic impact of Katsinawa in Yawuri and Zuru Emirates. In order to achieve this, the paper describes the land and peoples of Yawuri and Zuru Emirates, migration and settlement of Katsinawa in Yawuri and Zuru Emirates, and then analyses the impacts of Katsinawa in Yawuri and Zuru Emirates within the aspects of politics, society and economy.

2. Theoretical Framework

Since time immemorial, human being have been moving from one place to another. Therefore, migrations cannot be separated from human history. Migrations took place in various ways. In some occasions, people moved based on their wishes in order to achieve certain objectives essential in their lives. However, migrations also occur because of circumstances beyond one's control. In this case, people could be forced to migrate. In precolonial African history, movement of people from one place to another was common because of the need for trade, education, search for new homes and so on. Generally, scholars divided factors responsible for human migration into two basic factors; push and pull. While push factors lead to emigration, pull factors lead to immigration. Push factors include warfare, natural disasters such as earth quake, drought and famine, brutality of governance, absence of human freedom and so on. These make people to move out in order to have a new and much more favourable destiny. During colonial period, for instance, there were some movements of people from French colonies to British colonies due largely to much more severe policies on force labour and taxation in the French colonies (Prothero, 1958). Pull factors on the other hand, include economic opportunities and peaceful environment, among

others (Amin, 1974). These factors of push and pull are significant in understanding Katsinawa migrations and settlements into the areas of Yawuri and Zuru Emirates.

3. Yawuri and Zuru Emirates: Land and Peoples

Yawuri and Zuru emirates have had almost similar geographical features as they are located within the transitional zone; the area between high plains of Hausaland and Niger through, or between Sokoto Rima Basin and Middle Niger Region. These areas were characterized by mountains, rivers, vegetation, fertile land and flood plain areas. These influence migrations, settlements and people's occupation. By the beginning of the 18th century, the Yawuri territorial boundaries had enlarged, having achieved the climax of its political influence and economic power. To the east, it had extended to as far as River Mariga, which was a tributary of River Kaduna. To the west of the River Niger, it extended to as far as Lolo (in the present Illo District of Gwandu Emirate), and to the south, it was bordered with Nupeland within the area of Maza-Kuka village. To the north, the Yawuri kingdom was bordered with Kebbi from Koko and Shesu in the north of Danko town, in the present Zuru Emirate. It is added that both Rijau and Kontagora in the present Niger State were once the subservient of Yawuri who were respectively under the control of *Ubandawaki* and *Galadima* of Yawuri (Yandaki, Bunza, & Wara, 2015:98). The defunct land of Maginga kingdom was also an integral part of Yawuri Emirate, starting from 1913 when the British colonial government merged the two and formed the Yawuri Emirate. The two kingdoms were both situated on the left bank of the River Niger (Hausa, *Kuwara*, in colonial literature, *Quora*) in Kebbi State. Yawuri and Maginga were also outside Hausaland, inhabited by the non-Hausa ethnic groups before Hausa settled in the areas.

The area of Zuru Emirate is located in the southern part of the Kebbi State. In the pre-colonial period, the Zuru area principally comprised five autonomous chieftaincies; Danko, Sakaba, Fakai, Dabai and Wasagu. Various communities were found in each of these settlements but predominantly Bangawa in Danko, Fakkawa in Fakai, Achipawa and Kambari in Sakaba, Lelna in Dabai, and Hausa in Wasagu. Therefore, the earliest known ethnic groups to have established their presence in the areas of what is today known as Yawuri and Zuru Emirates were Kambari, Shangawa, Lopawa, Laru, Basawa, Reshe (popularly known as the Gungawa), Dukkawa, Bangawa, Fakkawa, Lelna (Dakarkari) and Achipawa. Most of these were adherents of traditional belief system. Their main occupations include hunting, farming and fishing. The Kambari and Dukkawa are found in both Yawuri and Zuru emirates. These were the peoples that Katsinawa met in the areas of Yawuri and Zuru.

4. Major Phases in the Migration and Settlement of Katsinawa in Yawuri and Zuru

Although, as indicated above, the area of Yawuri and Zuru emirates were inhabited by non-Hausa speaking people, Hausa migrants subsequently settled in these areas on a permanent basis. Most of the Hausa who settled there include Kabawa, Kanawa, Gobirawa, Zage-zagi, Katsinawa, and hosts of others. However, among these, the impact of Katsinawa seems to be much more noticeable. It should be noted that, by the 15th century, Katsina had already emerged as a kingdom. (Usman, 1981:2) It thereafter became a hub of commerce and intellectual pursuits. The Katsinawa, as astute traders, moved within and outside Hausaland where they became so engaged in local and long distance trade. Yawuri and Zuru emirates, on their own part, also were beneficiaries of their own location, along the trade routes, linking Hausa States with Gonja. It was in the course of journey for trade that some Katsinawa ventured into Yawuri and Zuru territories. Some of the Katsinawa regarded Yawuri and Zuru areas as Zango, for transit, where they established some pockets of residences along the trade routes, for rest and refreshment. Some Katsinawa

subsequently attended some markets in Yawuri and Zuru areas more especially at Birnin Yawuri and Isgogo. Mahdi Adamu has shown that the period between 15th and 16th centuries were certainly the time of the Hausa's penetration (specifically *Katsinawa*) and their permanent settlements in Yawuri and Maginga Kingdoms. (Adamu,1978:40)

Another major phase in the settlement of Katsinawa in Yawuri and Zuru was in the gradual migratory movements of Katsinawa and Hausa people generally into the areas of the Nigerian Middle Belt before the 19th century. As shown somewhere above, such movements were made as a result of the need for slaves or military campaigns and search for new homes. The geography of *Kasashen* Bauchi, with hills and plains, trees and shrubs, fertile and vast land, and rivers, with freedom to exercise ones' religious belief system and less centralized government, offered new opportunities for Hausa people to settle outside Hausaland. In this case, many of the Katsinawa found themselves as residents of Yawuri and Zuru emirates. An instance of this was the expedition of Sarkin Katsina, Gozo, in 1801, which took him beyond Zamfara and the River *Ka* where he ventured into the area of Zuru emirate (Usman,1981:24). After the expedition, many among his entourage did not go back to Katsina but rather established permanent residences in Zuru area.

Closely associated with this, was the 1804 Jihad which resulted to socio-economic and political transformations in Hausaland and beyond. For Katsina and in many other Hausa States, Jihad led to changes in ruling dynasties. The overthrown Hausa government of Katsina moved to areas as far as Maradi. Many others dispersed. As in the case of Kano and Zazzau whose Hausa people moved to areas of Nigerian Middle Belt in order to distant themselves from the impact of the Jihad, some Katsinawa might have also moved to similar areas during the Jihad period. (Umaru,1992). Probably, this will serve as push factors for the Katsinawa migrants who settled in Yawuri and Zuru emirates in the 19th century.

In the first half of the 20th century, colonialism was the major factor that influenced peoples' movement. The colonial policies in the aspects of conscription to fight during the world wars, taxation, forced labour and inclusion of some few local people to participate in the colonial administration also affected considerably the pattern of migrations (Prothero, 1958: 17 & Amin, 1974: 80). Adding to these were the cases of drought and famine which occurred here and there in some provinces. In order to ensure the success of the indirect rule system, some Hausa were recruited and included into colonial administration of some less centralized societies (Okpeh, 2006: 299-355). Similar scenario occurred in Yawuri and Zuru emirates where some Hausa from Kano and Katsina served in the colonial administration of the areas in different aspects, including serving as License Buying Agents (LBAs) for the colonial firms like the United African Company (UAC) (Alhassan, 2002). Therefore, the migrations and settlement of Katsinawa into the areas of Yawuri and Zuru can be properly understood within these lenses.

5. Katsinawa in Yawuri and Zuru Emirates: The Political Discourse

Katsina migrants established prosperous settlements and chieftaincies in the areas of Yawuri and Zuru emirates. Tafiraulu, a certain wealthy Muslim Hausa trader from Katsina was, in 1425, responsible for founding of the Hausa ruling family in the areas of Yawuri and Maginga where he first established his political leadership and ruled over the Gungawa of Yawuri (An interview with late Malam Musa Abdullahi, 27/3/2014 & Adamu, 1978:40). His base was at Gungun Kafa and six rulers from his dynasty ruled Yawuri Kingdom. In Maginga Kingdom, however, Tafiraulu's dynasties have continued to rule to date. Witten records show that, in about 1488, the Kambari of Agwara came under the rule of the Hausa people without a battle having been fought. The state came to us under the name of Maginga kingdom. Agwara, and later Ngaski, served as the headquarters of this Hausa government established by Hausa people from Katsina. In the 16th century, the Hausa people who had been living among the Gungawa on the islands of the River Niger built Birnin Yawuri as their political centre and began a war of conquest on the Kambari. This conquest reached Ibeto, which was incorporated into the newly established Yawuri kingdom. The Hausa rulers of Maginga and Yawuri, each divided its territories into small administrative units and sent their resident representatives to such districts (Adamu, 1978:40). The title of such a representative was *Damisa* (Tiger).

The area of *Kasar* Yawuri, according to Adamu, was inhabited by small chieftaincies of Kambarawa and Gungawa that include Maginga, Ibelu and Gungun Kafa when the Hausa migrants settled. He further stated that, the most important reign in the history of *Kasar* Yawuri was the reign of Yawuri, who brought Kambarawa on the mainland and the Gungawa on the island, under a single government and created *Kasar* Yawuri. It should be noted that the Yawuri ruling family descended from Katsina. The Katsinawa political dominance was also declared over the Kambari of Maginga Kingdom¹ Other settlements established by Katsinawa include Wasagu, Bena and Maburya. In these settlements, the Katsinawa established dynasties that have ruled over the years. The town of Wasagu, located to the eastern part of Zuru town, was established by Katsinawa who migrated there in 1700s. Konkoma established his rule at Wasagu and his dynasty continued to rule. Other prominent rulers that succeeded him and ruled before colonial period include Tsatsabori, Mazawaje, Makari, Gauta, Garo, Dan Barauka and Dan Ma'aji. Therefore, up to the 19th century, the Hausa migrants from Katsina continued to establish settlements within the vicinity of Yawuri and Zuru emirates. In the 19th century, some prominent settlements established by Katsinawa within the Yawuri emirate include Tungwani, Konono, Mai Kafo, and Gindane (Interview with Alhaji Aliyu Lumamu, 13/08/2012). These settlements still exist and inhabited mainly by the Hausa people who have engaged in farming and fishing.

One of the major political legacies the Katsinawa left in the areas of Yawuri and Zuru has been a sound democratic system of local government. The Hausa structure of government has enjoyed the upper hand there. Throughout the long history of Yawuri and Maginga kingdoms, Katsinawa's rule in the two territories was run on the basis of indirect rule. Each community was allowed to run its day to day affairs in its traditional ways, but under the supervision of a resident

¹ Maginga is in the present Ngaski Local Government Area and the Hausa later became the overlords of the indigenous people of the area.

district administrator appointed by the King. This entrusted political arrangement had precipitated socio-political harmony and unity between the rulers and the ruling communities. Apart from the role of Katsinawa in Yawuri and Zuru areas, Katsina kingdom also established diplomatic relations with some chieftaincies and kingdoms in Yawuri and Zuru as it had with the kingdom of Karishen. Diplomatic relations were common in Hausaland between one state and another, though there were occasions of conflicts, especially before the 19th century.

By the second half of the 18th century, Karishen was one of the influential kingdoms which reached its height of economic and political development in Zuru area. Its strength was also buttressed by its economy which was in the form of food production and procurement of slaves. It was therefore not surprising that Karishen became worthy of note to Hausa traders and other neighbouring kingdoms. The relation between Katsina and Karishen can be understood within the wider framework of some states that served as dependencies to Katsina. Y.B. Usman noted that Katsina had certain dependencies outside Hausaland which, among others, include Karishen, Maburia, Mahorro, Kumbashi and Birnin Gwari (Usman, 1981.23). The facets of relations between Katsina and these dependencies, as Usman explains, were in trade and supply of slaves to Katsina, while politically Katsina sent regalia of office as recognition for the appointment of a new ruler. Katsina also involved in the arbitration of disputes in such dependencies. But this relation was not without frictions. Therefore, the facet of relation between Katsina and Karishen took another dimension when Katsina attacked the kingdom of Karishen during the reign of Sarkin Katsina, Gozo (1796-1801). Such attack was said to be carried consequent upon Karishen's breach of agreements especially in relation to trade with Katsina. But probably, it could be due to Karishen's failure to supply slaves to Katsina as slaves were of high importance in state's consolidation in Hausaland. Similarly, according to Katsina tradition, Yawuri is said to have been once invaded and defeated by Katsina towards the end of the 16th century, during the reign of Sarkin Katsina Aliyu Karya Giwa (died c. 1585) (Usman, 1981.24). However, none of the Yawuri traditions has mentioned this event.

The emergence of new towns dominated by the Hausa was another direct effect as already seen with the case of the Katsinawa immigrants since during 15th century who established their new settlements in Yawuri Emirate. Evidences show that throughout the history of Yawuri and Maginga up to the 19th century, the Hausa (specifically of Katsina origin) had only two towns in the area; Birnin Yawuri, the earliest meeting point of Hausa community and Ngaski, a second largest town under Ngaski Local Government Area of Kebbi State. The town of Utono (Utono Island before 1968) had also become famous for its popularity in accommodating large number of Katsinawa since the 16th century. The Utono royal family members are still of Katsina origin (In discussion with Malam Jibo Utono, 22/8/2012)

It was a branch of these Hausa migratory waves from Katsina Kingdom that succeeded in founding a ward called Yaranchi in Ngaski town, in the present Yawuri Emirate of Kebbi State. The Ngaski oral record maintains that the Yaranchi inhabitants who are predominantly Hausa, originated from a ward called Yaranchi, in Katsina city. Certainly, few others came from Charanchi town in Katsina Emirate. It added that the vast majority of those that established the Yaranchi settlement in Ngaski comprised Muslim learned men (*Mallams*) and few traders. The ward still exists. They contributed to the early spread of Islam among the non-Muslim tribes in the area of Ngaski District and also, to the economic and intellectual development of the area. Most of the Imams of Ngaski are produced from the Yaranchi ward. However, none of the Yaranchi settlers could trace their relatives in Katsina (In discussion with Malam Abubakar Barau,

22/4/2013). Imams have become part of significant personalities in palaces of Yawuri and Zuru as a result of the impact of Islam in the areas.

It should be noted that, Yawuri-Katsina relations is a settled issue because, in the first place, the earliest founder of Yawuri, Tafiraulu; and Jerabana ruling house, founders of modern Yawuri; were of Katsina origin. Far later, this relation resurfaced again during the reign of Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi, the 43rd Emir of Yawuri, who appointed Professor Mu'atasim Ibrahim, a Katsina personality from Unguwar Alkali, as the Durbin Yawuri.

6. The Economic Impact of Katsinawa in Yawuri and Zuru Emirates

The major trade routes from Hausaland to the markets in Nupe and beyond passed through Yawuri. As already seen, Kolanut trade had since the 17th and 18th centuries received recognition in Yawuri Kingdom being the major Gonja trade routes to Ashanti region in Ghana. The routes through Yawuri to Gonja was central and perhaps the most popular up to the beginning of the 19th century. As a result of movement for trade, traders from Hausaland began to settle in the areas of Yawuri and Zuru which they regarded as Zango. The Zango area of Zuru subsequently became a hub of commerce and Islamic learning due largely to the settlement of Hausa Muslim traders from Katsina. Yawuri and its neighboring Borgu Emirates also witnessed similar scenario.

The rise of Birnin Yawuri as a major centre of commerce and a melting point of Hausa culture may not be unconnected with the movement of traders through Yawuri. Other prominent centres of commerce include Wawa, Bussa, Kiama, Nikki and Djougou in Borgu Emirate. In Zuru area, prominent centres of trade include Wasagu, Bena and Isgogo. Wasagu and Bena, as explained above, were founded by Katsinawa in the 18th century. Markets in Wasagu and Bena were patronized by merchants from Hausaland and many other traders among the Nupe. There were many others who came from Sokoto and Zamfara. A significant aspect of the economy of Wasagu and Bena was their huge agricultural cultivation of sorghum, beans, Maize and groundnut. In fact, these two Katsinawa towns cultivate crops largely for export. This ample cultivation of crops was not surprising because one of the pull factors for Katsinawa's settlement was the availability of fertile land. The celebrity of these towns in agricultural production culminated to the emergence of Alhaji Namani Kotoko from Bena town as Chief Farmer (*Sarkin Noman*) of Nigeria. Agriculture, unquestionably, served as important source of revenue and of raising initial capital to engage in other businesses among the Katsinawa of Yawuri and Zuru. In Yawuri, which is a riverine area, some Katsinawa immigrants engaged heavily in fishing as well.

Trade in the Katsinawa towns of Wasagu and Bena accelerated contacts between some non-Hausa speaking people of Zuru emirate and Muslim Hausa traders who came mostly from Kabi, Katsina, Kano and Zamfara to patronize those markets. Among the chieftaincies of Zuru area, Karishen was the most prominent in the 18th century and it also excelled in slave raiding. Though Karishen provided slaves to Isgogo Slave Market, within the vicinity of Zuru area, significant number of slaves from Karishen used to be taken to Katsina. This was as a result of relationship that was said to have existed between Karishen and Katsina. Y. B. Usman has shown the presence of Dakarkari slaves from Zuru area at Katsina, specifically at Dokau, a settlement located 23 kilometres south of Mashi town (Usman, 1981: 192-193).

The Katsinawa also ventured into trade in commodities like fish, grains, groundnut, Kolanuts and salt. Among the youths, some of them became mechanics, masons, carpenters, food sellers, and drivers and many others engaged in different forms of occupations. They engaged in

other professions of high value and many other skillful jobs that made them acceptable among the people they lived with. Therefore, the Katsinawa in diaspora have no doubt contributed to the demographic growth as well as in the expansion of markets of the areas where they are located.

7. The Social Significance of Katsinawa in Yawuri and Zuru Emirates

A significant cultural development which is often associated with the Hausa migrants in Yawuri and Zuru Emirates is the introduction of Islam. Islam was introduced in the two emirates largely through the efforts of Hausa and non-Hausa *Mallams*. Such Mallams used to undertake journeys in search of jobs, mainly associated with the works of Muslim clerics, such as teaching the Qur'an, roving studentships (Hausa, *yawon almajiranci*), praying for people, divination, and preparing charms, especially in the month of Ramadan. Some other Hausa migrants were itinerant haberdashers (Hausa, *'Yan koli*) and also traders (Adamu, 1978:16-17). This was a true experience on the spread of Islam in most of the Sub-Sahara African communities. It is pertinent to note that the Hausa contribution to the introduction and development of Islam in those areas and beyond was an accidental development, for the majority of the Hausa Muslims did not leave home specifically as Islamic missionaries. Most of them went out to serve the spiritual needs of the Hausa communities outside Hausaland. So, little efforts were made by the *Mallams* to encourage the non-Muslim tribes to accept Islam. However, Islam spread gradually in the area as a result of interaction through trade between the Hausa traders and local communities.

Some few Katsinawa who resided within the Zuru metropolis contributed in the development of Islamic education. For instance, the first Chief Imam of Zuru town, Malam Abdullahi, came from Katsina. He came to Zuru during colonial period and was engaged by colonialists in tax collection. He also served as scribe to some Village heads because of his knowledge of Arabic scripts. The Mosque attached to Malam Abdullahi's house served as school for teaching Qur'anic knowledge and he gradually drew some converts. Malam Abdullahi, as an Arabic interpreter, became the first judge in Zuru and an Imam for Jumu'at Mosque of Zuru Central Mosque. His son, Malam Tanko, succeeded him as the chief Imam of Zuru Central Mosque.

Major aspects of Hausa culture which received extremely wide acceptance by the indigenous people of Yawuri and Zuru Emirates were language and dress. Both the Hausa language and dresses have since the period of the Hausa penetration into such areas become symbol of social unity over a large chunk of non-Hausa tribes there. The Hausa garments are now used as traditional costumes of the indigenous tribes who were originally known to be using loin cloth (Hausa, *Walki*) as their traditional attire.

Moreover, the 19th century Sokoto Jihad reformist objective had little or no concern for winning new converts to Islam outside Hausaland (Bello, 1964:14). These explain among other major reasons why majority of the indigenous communities in these emirates adhered to their traditional belief system until the 1950s, following the Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna Islamization campaigns in these areas. The Sardauna's proselytisation zeal was no doubt a great factor behind a widespread Islamization of the Yawuri and Zuru traditional communities. (In discussions with Lates Mamman Majidadi Libata, Garba Wakili, Audu Dan Gado Shagwa & Late Attahiru Giwa, 20/2/2013) Although the Katsinawa had facilitated the introduction of Islam and Hausa culture in Yawuri and Zuru emirates, the major works of conversion in the two emirates was an event of the 1950s and beyond as a result of Sardauna's conversion campaign and activities of Izala, among others.

A considerable number of Katsinawa and some pockets of Hausa groups sailed across the western bank of the River Niger where they settled in Borgu Kingdom (formerly Bussa). Some of them gained wealth through trade and had even inter-married with the Bussa local communities and among the royal classes. This degree of integration could be the reason why some of the Katsinawa joined party politics. It is indeed, not an exaggeration for one to say that there was barely a single town or village in Yawuri and Zuru Emirates without resident Hausa people living on permanent basis.

Cultural assimilation was another effect of the Yawuri and Zuru interactions with the Katsinawa immigrants. The host tribes in these areas adopted new modes of dressing, religion and the language of the leading migrant tribes- the Hausa. Consequently, nearly all the indigenous tribes in the areas of Yawuri and Zuru are today fluent Hausa speakers, a development which facilitated the oral interviews for this study. Other Hausa groups from Kabi, Sakkwato, Zamfara, Kano, Zazzau and Gobir were no doubt part of this major socio-cultural development (Abubakar,2013: 68). In fact, there was hardly an indigenous man or woman bearing local or traditional names. Most of them bore Hausa names. The Katsinawa and rest of Hausa in diaspora had the habits of marrying local girls wherever they settled. Very few of the Hausa immigrants travelled with their wives, and as soon as they began to establish their settlement in any area, they would take wives from the locality and start to build up families. Adamu stated that attempts were made among some Hausa immigrant groups to preserve their culture through the use of local Qur'anic schools where Hausa cultural traits are purely practiced. This cultural indoctrination usually began from the *Malam*'s feet where the children were trained right from their youthful age. This was true of the development of Hausa culture in modern Ghana and in other West African countries where the Hausa had settlements. However, many of them could not locate their original homes.

As mentioned above, the Hausa migrants from Katsina succeeded in founding a ward called Yaranchi in Ngaski town, within the Yawuri Emirate. Traditions collected from Ngaski reveal that Yaranchi inhabitants who are predominantly Hausa originated from a ward called Yaranchi which is now in Katsina city. There were also few others from Charanchi town in Katsina Emirate. It added that the vast majority of those that established the Yaranchi settlement consist of Muslim learned men (*Mallams*) and few traders (In discussion with Malam Abubakar Barau, 22/4/2013). The ward still exists. They contributed to the early spread of Islam among the non-Muslim tribes in the area of Ngaski District and also, to the economic and intellectual development of the area. Most of the Imams of Ngaski are produced from the Yaranchi ward. However, none of the Yaranchi settlers could trace their relatives in Katsina. One interesting thing about the Yaranchi community in Ngaski is that they maintained intermarriages among themselves and become close relatives irrespective of one's origin. Majority of the elderly Hausa in the present Yawuri Emirate possessed the *Kanawa* (Kano) and *Katsinawa* (Katsina) facial marks with few of the Kambarin *Barebari* origin.

Besides the introduction and minimal spread of Islamic knowledge, Western education had also received a great support from the Katsinawa royal families who became the overlords of their host communities in Yawuri Emirate. The Emir of Yawuri, Abdullahi (1923-1955); and Sarki Jibrin (1957-1968), the District Head of Maginga; were instrumental in winning the hearts and minds of their subjects to send their children to schools (Abubakar, 2016:5). Sarki Jibrin used to go house to house to encourage the Kambari and Gungawa to embrace Western education.

8. Challenges faced by the Katsinawa in Diaspora

It is pertinent to note that right from the beginning of 15th century when the Hausa presence began to gain prominence in the areas of Zuru and Yawuri, there was existence of harmonious relationship between the host communities and the Katsinawa strangers who appeared as astute traders and Muslim clerics, providing a lot of commercial, spiritual and intellectual services to the vast host communities. The Katsinawa Muslim clerics played important role in encouraging the host communities, especially the royal class to accept Islam who later gave privileges and protection to the entire Hausa-Muslim strangers in their territories. (In discussions with Mamman Majidadi Libata,, 25/2/2013)

Despite the long established settlement of Katsinawa in Zuru and Yawuri territories, it was observed that Hausa culture and its language had not been fully integrated into the mainstream of the host society. Up to the middle of the 20th century, more than half of the indigenous communities retained their traditional religious beliefs and practices. Islam remained the religion of the minority and even among the rulers themselves, its practices was still imperfect. Pagan practices were retained and there were frequent relapses into paganism. The real mass conversion of the indigenous communities into Islam started during the 1950s. Little wonder that the Zuru and Yawuri indigenous communities showed abhorrence to the Hausa culture. Intermarriages between the Katsinawa and host communities gained much impetus in the last quarter of the 20th century when Islamic and Western civilizations penetrated into the mainstream of the society (In discussions with Late Attahiru Giwa, Wara, 20/2/2013).

The Katsina people found the environment productive in term of economic activities and people hospitable. However, in the late 18th century, some of these Katsinawa settlements such as Wasagu, faced raids from slave raiders, particularly Umaru Nagwamatse and his allies like Musa Dandunguzu, Umaru's in-law. This security challenge necessitated the relocation of Katsina people from old Wasagu which was abandoned to the new Wasagu town. These slave raiding manners had also brought serious setbacks in uplifting the glory of Hausa culture and Islam in the area. Thus, the conversion was slowed down. Indeed there was no pagan tribe that was free from such raiding wars in the two emirates. This development poisoned the minds of the Yawuri and Zuru indigenous communities and their environs. They developed a negative thought about Hausa culture and Islam, perceiving it as the religion of Hausa slave raiders and exploitative merchants. (Abdullahi & Abubakar, 2018:339-340).

Presently, the Hausa language, its dresses, names and Islam are the main beneficiaries of this sociocultural relationship. The Zuru and Yawuri indigenous communities have become assimilated to Hausa culture.

9. Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that Katsinawa were central in the socio-economic and political transformations of Yawuri and Zuru Emirates. The settlement of Katsinawa in the areas of these two emirates contributed to the emergence of new settlements, establishment of new royal dynasties, economic development and spread of Islam and Islamic education. It should be noted that, before the 19th century, most of the Katsinawa who migrated and settled in the areas of Yawuri and Zuru were assimilated by their host communities. However, from the 19th century onwards, the trends of assimilation had changed whereby the host communities became assimilated into the Hausa culture. This was mainly as a result of significant number of Katsinawa who settled in

Yawuri and Zuru areas. The cultures of host communities in the aspect of languages, dress, names, and traditional religion, have all been waning, supplanted by Hausa-Muslim cultures.

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Oral Sources

Alhaji Aliyu Lumamu, 63 years, in his house at Kambu Village, 13/08/2012.

Malam Abubakar Barau (Ngaski Village Head, over 80 years), interviewed at his palace, 22/4/2013.

Malam Jibo Utono (a retired Arabic Teacher, 85 years), at Utono town, 22/8/2012.

Malam Musa Abdullahi (91 years), at his home at Cupamini Village, 27/3/2014.

Lates Mamman Majidadi Libata, Garba Wakili, Audu Dan Gado Shagwa (all over 100 years) and Late Attahiru Giwa Wara Village Head (over 80 years), 20/2/2013. They were among the first Muslim converts in the 1950s that had a vast magnificent understanding of the history of their distant past.

Mamman Majidadi Libata, (over 100 years), at Libata town, 25/2/2013.