

THE KADUNA CAPITAL CITY LAW OF 1956 AND ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NORTHERN REGION OF NIGERIA HEADQUARTERS

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Abstract

This paper is an examination of the processes leading to the promulgation of the Kaduna Capital City Law of 1956 and its consequent impact. Through the use of primary and secondary sources, the paper explores the administrative and territorial logic behind the spirit of the Kaduna Capital City Law of 1956. The paper illustrates how the capital city law reformed the city's administration by ending the dual system of administration that had divided authority between the regional authorities and the Zaria Native Authority. With the passage of the law a clearly defined metropolitan area emerged with the power of governance and administration vested solely in Kaduna Township administrator under the control of the Northern Nigerian regional government. The impact of the law resulted in the purposeful administration of Kaduna that was designed to accelerate the development of the city as regional headquarters in the remaining days of colonial rule and after independence in 1960.

Introduction

Kaduna assumed its role as the capital city of the Northern Region of Nigeria in 1917 following its proclamation to that effect by the British colonial administration of Northern Nigeria in 1913. In the intervening years of 1917 to 1956, the capital city was jointly administered by the regional authority and the Zaria Native Authority without a clear delineation of boundaries or authority lines. In order to address this lacuna, towards the end of the colonial era, the British regional colonial authorities working together with the Native Authority in the person of the Emir of Zaria drafted the Kaduna Capital City Law which was passed in 1956. The capital city law had the sole purpose of restructuring both the territorial and administrative arrangements by which Kaduna as regional headquarters will be delineated and governed. The objective of this paper is to therefore explore the rationale behind the promulgation and to recount the processes initiated and concluded towards the passage of the Kaduna Capital City Law of 1956 as well as the eventual outcome and impact of the capital city law.

Kaduna Administrative Arrangements by 1956

The passage of the Kaduna Capital City Law towards the end of the British colonial administration highlighted the desire of both the colonial authorities and their Nigerian counterparts to reform the dichotomous nature of control over the Northern Nigeria regional headquarters. Though it had been established outside the administrative centre of the Zaria Native Authority, the Emirs of Zaria had continued to influence activities within and around Kaduna. The Kaduna capital city law's intent was to reform city administration and focus authority in a defined administrative enclave under the direct supervision of the governor and his appointees such as the capital city administrator. Kaduna despite the fact that it was the capital city of Northern Nigeria was not governed by the British purely along the lines that befitted that status. Rather, the policy of administration were along the lines that older cities like Kano, Zaria, Sokoto and other Native Authorities were administered. The only deviation was that in Kaduna there was both a Native Authority and a Township authority. These two administrative structures co-existed together. One with jurisdiction over the native town and the other regulating the township. The township was administered by an administrator who was initially known as the station

master and his jurisdiction covered the three sectors of the commercial area, the GRA and the African sector.¹

For the township, the duties of the administrator consisted of the following:

He performed the duties of the local authority as specified in the Township ordinance. The officers were responsible to the Lieutenant Governor through the Regional Secretary. He dealt with issues such as applications for leases of land, issues relating to trade, housing, roads, sanitation and permits for residing in the Sabon Gari... He was also expected to over-see the day-to-day administration of the areas outside the township.²

Despite this structure, the colonial authority, especially through the agency of the station magistrate called for the traditional authority in 1928 i.e. “Zaria Native Authority to send an indigene to assist him, to collect taxes in the Sabon Gari.”³ This highlighted the need of the colonial administrators to administer areas like Tudun Wada under the subsisting policy of indirect rule. By 1920, part of this process was implemented with the constitution of a body of three, whose task was to assist the station magistrate. Apart from Tudun Wada other areas of Kaduna were under the administrative jurisdiction of the Zaria Native Authority led by the Sarkin Zazzau, the Emir of Zazzau, who appointed district heads for Kaduna.⁴

Although the British had been desirous of having an area outside the control of an established emirate as one of the criteria in the choice of Kaduna as the seat of Northern Nigeria colonial administration, there was still a reliance on Zaria Native Authority over the administration of the area. This was because, from the very onset there was no deliberate policy to carve out the territory as an administrative enclave outside of the complete jurisdiction of the Native Authority. It was therefore only until the passage of the Kaduna Capital Territory Law of March 1956: No. 8 that Kaduna was excised from Zaria and placed totally within the framework of the regional administration and regional authority.⁵ The 1956 law also upgraded Kaduna from the status of being a second class town to a first class town with a separate local government that was no longer under the control of the Zaria Native Authority.⁶ Further amendment a year later known as the Kaduna Capital (Amendment) Law 1957 – No. 10 of 1957 streamlined the independence of the city thus that prior powers vested in the resident (colonial officers in charge of provinces) or the native authority were to be transferred to the administrator, and that that of the district officer delegated to the assistant administrator. Likewise the Nigerian police and no longer the native authority police were to have charge of law maintenance in the capital city. The city as noted in the 1956 capital city law was henceforth to be administered as a separate local government area under the control of the governor in council. This condition subsisted till the repeal of the capital territory law and its amendments in 1990 by the military governor of Kaduna state Lt. Col. Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar in

¹ Enoch Oyedele, “The British and the Making of a Capital City: The Example of Kaduna 1913-1960,” in Abdullahi M. Ashafa, ed. *Urbanisation and Infrastructure in Nigeria since the 20th Century: Festschrift in Honour of Professor Ezzeldin Mukhtar Abdurahman*, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, 2011, 42.

² Enoch Oyedele, “The British and the Making of a Capital City,” 42.

³ Enoch Oyedele, “The British and the Making of a Capital City,” 42.

⁴ Enoch Oyedele, “The British and the Making of a Capital City,” 43.

⁵ Shu’aibu Shehu, “The Growth and Development of Kaduna Metropolis, 1913-2000,” in Abdullahi M. Ashafa, ed. *Urbanisation and Infrastructure in Nigeria since the 20th Century: Festschrift in Honour of Professor Ezzeldin Mukhtar Abdurahman*, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, 2011, 288. Before the coming into force of the Kaduna Capital Territory Law matters related to issues as judicial matters for much of the capital city had resided with Zaria Province, see The Resident, Zaria Province to The Secretary, Northern Provinces, Kaduna, “Native Court Warrants,” Memorandum, No. 187/1930/42, 2 May 1932 (Ministry of Justice: CNC/7051/S.10019), National Archives Kaduna, Kaduna.

⁶ Vivian Patrick Inyang, “Colonial Administration of Kaduna Urban Area, 1913-1960,” M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, 2019, 3.

1990.⁷ The repeal edict cited that its main purpose was “to repeal the Law delineating Kaduna as Capital Territory in the plan numbered KAD 475.”⁸

The enacting of the capital territory law in 1956 by the regional legislature on its face value looked like a forward and purely administrative reform act. Some scholars have, however, given it a political colouration by seeing the passage of the capital territory law as a response by the ruling party, the Northern People’s Congress (NPC), which controlled the Northern House of Assembly to restrict the democratic aspirations of many of the residents within the city due to the emergence of party politics. Shehu, for instance, alleges that victory by the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) in the four councils of the city over the NPC-controlled regional government was the impetus behind the capital city law. That in order to maintain its “influence and dominance over Kaduna politics,” the NPC had to pass the 1956 capital territory law, thus granting it fiat control over Kaduna.⁹ This assertion tallies with Alkasum Abba conclusions that in the 1951 elections in Zaria, NEPU and “its alliance partner, the NCNC were also able to win all the 64 seats for Sabon Gari, Zaria.”¹⁰

While these political considerations may have been a distant factor, the rationale of the regional administration for passage of the Kaduna Territory Law was largely without such implied political consideration. The situation where the capital territory area was under the jurisdiction of the Zaria Native Administration and in which planning and town administration also were being superintended by the lieutenant-governor was according to Sir Ahmadu Bello “sometimes quite a tricky business.”¹¹ The decision, taken independent of politics was therefore to create a capital territory that would be excised from Zaria’s control and placed squarely within the framework of the regional government authority under a minister who will direct a city administrator to be appointed.¹²

Although meant to be a metropolitan area without the dominant control of a native authority, the situation in the capital belied this outlook, as right from the take-off of the city, the Zaria Native Authority exerted tremendous influence over developments in Kaduna. What the colonial government attempted to do, however, despite the influence of Zaria and the more populous Hausa, was that in appointing town leaders, appointments were made to reflect the ethnic backgrounds of the various groups dominant in an area of the town. This was clear in the case of the appointment of a committee to assist the colonial authorities in administering Tudun Wada whereby the three-member committee was made up of Mallam Aminu to represent the Yoruba, Baballi to represent the Hausa and Maliki for the Nupe under a body that was known as the Native Reservation Advisory Board (NRAB). However, when this board proved ineffective, the residents decided to put forward Mallam Aminu, the Yoruba representative to be their chief as Sarki. The recommendation was however, rejected by the Emir of Zazzau. This rejection according to Oyedele was because of Mallam Aminu being a non-Hausa.¹³ This ability of the emir to veto appointments in Kaduna, underscored his influence in the capital city.

The prominence of Mallam Aminu clearly illustrated the fact of the high presence of the Yoruba in Kaduna right from the early period. According to Shu’aibu Shehu the construction of the railway from the west to the north made the Yoruba to constitute the nucleus of the labour force moving north with the railway. The Lagos-Kaduna railway contributed immensely to the “mass influx of Yoruba into Kaduna.” This was just as the Port Harcourt-Kaduna railway opened in 1927 “greatly influenced the

⁷ Vivian Patrick Inyang, “Colonial Administration of Kaduna Urban Area, 1913-1960,” 99. See too Kaduna State of Nigeria, “Kaduna Capital Law (Repeal), Edict No. 14 of 1990, Kaduna State of Nigeria Gazette No. 17, Vol. 24, 6 September 1990 – Supplement Part 1, A145.

⁸ Kaduna State of Nigeria, “Kaduna Capital Law (Repeal), Edict No. 14 of 1990, Kaduna State of Nigeria Gazette No. 17, Vol. 24, 6 September 1990 – Supplement Part 1, A145.

⁹ Shu’aibu Shehu, “The Growth and Development of Kaduna Metropolis, 1913-2000,” 292-3. See too Onuche Ocholi, “A History of Mergers, Alliances and Coalitions among Political Parties in Nigeria, 1947-1966,” M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, 2019, 40.

¹⁰ Alkasum Abba, *The Northern Elements Progressive Union and the Politics of Radical Nationalism in Nigeria, 1938-1960*, The Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Research, Zaria, 2007, 175.

¹¹ Ahmadu Bello, *My Life: Sardauna of Sokoto*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1962, 189.

¹² Ahmadu Bello, *My Life*, 189.

¹³ Enoch Oyedele, “The British and the Making of a Capital City,” 43.

influx of Igbos into Kaduna.” Placed at the junction that linked the Western and Eastern rail network in Nigeria, Kaduna handled about 250 trains a week in the heydays of the railway system in Nigeria.¹⁴ The impact of such high level of traffic was to accelerate the pace of group and individual migrations into Kaduna from other regions and from within northern Nigeria.

The role and authority of the Zaria Native Authority in the administering of Kaduna areas confirmed the authority of the traditional power hierarchy in determining the contours of authority among the residents, who were not left in doubt about who the actual natives of the area were. Zaria therefore had a major role in the administering of the town through the Emir’s powers of appointment and removal, which by virtue of the indirect rule system, the colonial authorities had conferred on him. This role was traceable to the period before Kaduna was made the capital city of Northern Nigeria as by 1903 Mallam Abdullahi Dan Tajo had been made district head, and was in that position till 1931 when he was succeeded by a new Sarkin Sabon Gari, Mal. Shehu, whose rule was short-lived because of complaints against him that led to the Emir replacing him with Mallam Sambo Danwa Karshi in 1937.¹⁵ Zaria also provided village heads and chiefs for areas like Rigachikun and Kawo which were placed under Igabi district of Zaria Native Authority.¹⁶ Rigachikun which is now in Igabi Local Government Area also forms an integral part of the Kaduna metropolis.¹⁷ The Zaria control of the NA had impact on the Gbagyi settlement within the Kaduna township as district heads and others were appointed for them by Zaria.¹⁸

Mallam Sambo Danwa Karshi was to prove a long-serving chief and later assistant administrator of Kaduna. It is written of him that:

Mall. Sambo was said to be educated, honest and effective. He administered the area from April 10, 1937 to 1961. In 1939, he was referred to as Magajin Garin Kaduna until 1956 when the Kaduna Capital Territory law was passed. And with the new law, Mr. S. McCallum was appointed the Administrator, with Magajin Garin Kaduna Mallam Sambo as assistant Administrator. And in 1960, there were rumours of plans to appoint him as Sarkin Kaduna, but due to ill-health the matter was suspended. Mallam Sambo died on 29/6/1961.¹⁹

Despite the dual role and the importance of Zazzau under the indirect rule system, the importance of Kaduna over Zaria was well established. This was because of the role of Kaduna as capital city of the Northern Region, which was the seat of government hosting the lieutenant governor, military commandant, police commissioner and the important departments of the administration among others. Kaduna was where the colonial administration under the British and later the First Republican administration under the Northern Peoples Congress formulated policies and strategies for their implementation and execution for the Northern Region.²⁰

The Kaduna Capital Territory law and the death of Mall. Sambo ended the possibility of having a traditional ruler appointed over Kaduna. With deference to the Emir in Zaria, the provisions of the law would stipulate the appointment of civil administrators from the civil service from first, the colonial administration, and later after 1960 the first independence civilian administration instead of appointing a chief as native authority. In this order the civil servants that were appointed to superintend over

¹⁴ Shu’aibu Shehu, “The Growth and Development of Kaduna Metropolis, 1913-2000,” 281. See too Ademola Adunni Oluwaseyi, “Impact of Railway Station Market to the Development of Kaduna Metropolis 1911-2006,” B.A. History Project, Department of History, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, 2019, 1, 28.

¹⁵ Enoch Oyedele, “The British and the Making of a Capital City,” 43-44.

¹⁶ Vivian Patrick Inyang, “Colonial Administration of Kaduna Urban Area, 1913-1960,” 76. See too Bilkisu Aliyu Sadiq, “A Study of Youth Violence in Kawo Constituency since 1999-2011,” B.A. History Project, Department of History, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, 2016, 15.

¹⁷ See Sani Umar, “Urbanisation in Rigachikun District in Igabi Local government Area, Kaduna State, 1987-2018,” M.A. Proposal, Department of History, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, August 2020.

¹⁸ Vivian Patrick Inyang, “Colonial Administration of Kaduna Urban Area, 1913-1960,” 84.

¹⁹ Enoch Oyedele, “The British and the Making of a Capital City,” 44.

²⁰ Vivian Patrick Inyang, “Colonial Administration of Kaduna Urban Area, 1913-1960,” 75.

Kaduna from 1957 to January 1966 when the First Republic collapsed numbered five. In line with the status of Kaduna as the headquarters of the Northern Region, out of the five administrators of which only the first R.G. Adams (1957-1959) was a European, the rest were Nigerians appointed from Northern provinces outside of Zaria Province. These capital city administrators were: Mall. Umaru Audi from Niger Province, Mall. Abubakar Kigo from Sokoto Province, Mall. Abubakar Umar from Bauchi Province and Alhaji Garba Ja Abdulkadir from Katsina Province. Although Abutu Ocheba was appointed as minister of the newly created Ministry for Kaduna Affairs at the end of 1965, he was unable to assume duty following the sacking of the First Republic by the coup of 15 January 1966.²¹

The challenges of the dual system of administration in the capital city of Kaduna that necessitated the passage of the capital city law are clearly explicated upon by Oyedele thus that:

The important feature of this artificial system of dual administration is that civic and political interaction was similarly compartmentalized, with each administrative zone being the area for competition over access to building plots, market stalls, and other urban facilities. Administrative boundaries also became boundaries of important areas of economic, social and political interaction in the urban area; the population in the two administrative parts of the town came to feel that in many instances their respective interests were in conflict, but the conflicts themselves were encouraged by the nature of the administrative system.²²

Thus, as noted above the dual system encouraged administrative conflict among the people with impact on their social and political lives as well as in the delivery of services.

The Kaduna Capital Law and the Emergence of Greater Kaduna

The Kaduna Capital Law was passed by the colonial government in 1955 with its commencement date as 1 April 1956. The desire for the legislation was underscored by the need articulated by the colonial authorities that: "It is now realized that the growth in size and importance of Kaduna... justify and require the consideration of its present municipal status... it is therefore proposed that in future Kaduna be a Capital Territory independent of any province or other local government unit."²³ The purpose of the law was to "establish Kaduna as the Capital Territory of Northern Nigeria and to make provision for the government and administration of the same."²⁴ The law brought about a major restructuring of the regional headquarters. It established the status of Kaduna as a Capital Territory for Northern Nigeria with a distinct territory and administration. The boundary of the territory were outlined on a plan numbered as KAD 475 which outlined the territorial extent in a green verge line. This lack of a clear definition of the territorial extent of the city was itself testament to the lack of a definite conclusion between the local authority in Kaduna and that in Zaria Province. The task of arriving at definite boundaries for the capital territory was to be left to an officer appointed by the governor of the Northern Region to determine by closely following the green verge line of the KAD 475 plan. Zaria Native Authority by the promulgation of the capital law was no longer to control any part or portion of Kaduna municipal area.²⁵

The capital law also vested in the governor-in-council overall control of functions that had hitherto been dispersed between the authorities in Kaduna and Zaria. Thus the former statutory functions exercised by the resident of Zaria Province, the district officer of Zaria, the local authority in Kaduna and the Zaria Native Authority were now vested in the governor-in-council who could exercise the function or

²¹ Enoch Oyedele, "The British and the Making of a Capital City," 44.

²² Enoch Oyedele, "The British and the Making of a Capital City," 44.

²³ Factsheet on Northern Nigeria, September 1966 cited in Enoch Oyewola Oyedele, "Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960," 450.

²⁴ Kaduna Capital Law, CAP. 55, 1033.

²⁵ Kaduna Capital Law, CAP. 55, 1034-1035.

delegate them to the administrator of the capital territory.²⁶ A provision of the capital law also called for the appointment of an Advisory Board which was to be non-remunerated and without executive functions, being purely advisory. Its main function, individually and collectively was “to bring forward for consideration and discussion at any meeting of the Board any matter or question upon which it is considered that legislative or administrative action ought to be taken in the interests and for the welfare and benefit of Kaduna or its inhabitants.”²⁷

The board membership was defined by Kaduna Capital Law as was amended in 1962 in its first schedule. It was to be constituted with a minimum of nine members. The advisory board was to be chaired by the administrator and members were to be made up of an assistant administrator nominated by the minister. Five other members were to be nominated by the governor-in-council. These five nominees were to represent various interests specified as Nigerian commerce, non-Nigerian commerce, Nigerian industry, non-Nigerian industrial and educational institutions of voluntary agencies. The two ex-officio members were to be the divisional engineer, Ministry of Works or his representative and the Kaduna medical officer of health. In additions to these members, there was provision for coopting other members to the advisory board.²⁸

The process leading to the enactment of the Kaduna Capital City Law during the last decade of the colonial administration once the decision was taken had involved series of consultations and deliberations between the colonial authorities in Kaduna and the resident and Native Authority in Zaria. The lieutenant governor met with the Emir of Zaria on 25 June 1954 to discuss issues that related to the future boundaries and administration of Kaduna, whose territorial boundaries were now to be determined as fully independent from Zaria. In the meeting of 25 June, the lieutenant governor, who wrote up a note of the consultation was of the opinion that the meeting was fruitful. The boundary points of the capital city boundary were agreed in principle between them, and although the Emir preferred to have Kurmin Mashi remain in Zaria Emirate, this position would later be overturned. A point of interest to the Emir which was however upheld was his wish “that there would be no question of any one individual being made Sarkin Kaduna.”²⁹ The lieutenant governor noted the sought assurance of the Emir that a chief would not be appointed for Kaduna as “The prospect of a Chief of Kaduna, possibly with a Staff of Office, was one which neither he, nor his Council and people, could possibly bear to contemplate.”³⁰

With regards to the wishes of Zaria with respect to territorial reorganization, especially with respect to Kurmin Mashi, the Kaduna Local Authority, S. McCullum in communication with the resident of Zaria Province on 5 August 1954 in reviewing the proposals that followed the discussion between the lieutenant governor and the Emir was of the view that because Kurmin Mashi belonged to the Tudun Wada Village Area, “it would be a mistake to separate it from its parent village by excising it from the proposed Regional Enclave,” he noted however, that the proposal was subject to the Emir’s approval, though in his opinion, it was made “in the best interest, not only of the Regional Enclave, but also of the people affected.”³¹ The village areas affected by the context where some were falling within the enclave and others were to be outside it included Kawo, Tudun Wada, Barnawa, Kakuri Gwari, Kakuri Hausawa and Makera. These villages though in the enclave “had other small villages and wards attached to them and administered by the village heads but now were outside the enclave.”³² The Emir sought clarification upon this and upon further consideration, agreed to the proposal that such villages and wards including Kurmin Mashi and a number of other places or hamlets that stood the risk of division

²⁶ Kaduna Capital Law, CAP. 55, 1036.

²⁷ Kaduna Capital Law, CAP. 55, 1039.

²⁸ See First Schedule (as Amended by N.N. of 1962) “Constitution of the Advisory Board,” Kaduna Capital Law, CAP. 55, 1045.

²⁹ “Note on a Meeting between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Emir of Zaria on 25.6.54 in connection with the future boundaries of the Regional Capital,” National Archives, Kaduna.

³⁰ Note on a Meeting between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Emir of Zaria.”

³¹ Local Authority, Kaduna to Resident, Zaria Province, Zaria, “Administration of Kaduna,” 5 August 1954, National Archives, Kaduna, 1-2.

³² Clerk to Zaria N.A. Council to Senior District Officer, Zaria Division, “Future Administration of Kaduna and Rural Areas,” Zaria, 31 August 1955, No. NAC 2/1955/52, National Archives, Kaduna.

from their parent villages should be retained in the greater Kaduna.³³ The following villages to the north of Kaduna in the district of Igabi such as Afaka, Ifira, Riyawa, Sabon Birni, Karshi and Pauta as well as two village to the south in Chikun district, Kadi and Buruku were outside the proposed boundary of Kaduna capital enclave.³⁴

Because Zaria's, initial wish was to have much of the areas surrounding Kaduna to still be retained within Zaria province, the successor to S. McCullum as Kaduna's local authority at the beginning of September 1954 raised the necessity to revise the boundaries of the Kaduna capital enclave to be more embracive than the current proposals that had the approval of the Emir.³⁵ The new local authority felt that:

One point appears to be absolutely fundamental and that is the question of boundaries (paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Minutes refer). It would seem that the boundary of Greater Kaduna as approved by the Emir of Zaria is going to prove inadequate if it is desired to exploit land south of the river as an industrial area. I am not in fact clear whether agreement has been reached as to the advisability of establishing such an area (my own view for what it is worth is all against it), but even if it has been reached it seems that the Executive Council will have to be approached again to give approval for the proposed extension, prior to further consultations taking place with the Emir of Zaria concerning this additional excision from his Emirate.³⁶

These and other matters related to the administration of a Greater Kaduna that was to soon emerge were been discussed and fundamental recommendations made at a meeting held on Thursday, 12 August 1954. The meeting commenced very early in the morning at 7.30 am at which were presents the administrative officials whose responsibility it will be to oversee various aspects of the new enclave to be carved out. Those in attendance included Dr. D.J.M. Mackenzier, director of Medical Services, Mr. S.H.A. Rollison, town planning officer, Mr. R.E. Greswell, the permanent secretary, Ministry of Local Government. In attendance too were the permanent secretary, Ministry of Trade and Industries Mr. R.A. Berriff as well as Mr. D.W. Russell, permanent secretary to the Ministry of Social Development and Surveys. Equally in attendance was Mr. P.D. Fletcher, the permanent secretary Ministry of Works, Mr. F.J. Woods, acting director of Surveys; Mr. H. Alexander, district engineer, Nigerian Railways; Mr. H.R. Pooley, acting director of Public Works, and Mr. T.A. Griffiths, the divisional engineer, Posts and Telegraphs. Others who attended the crucial morning meeting included the senior assistant secretary for Lands and Mines, Mr. A. Olajide and the assistant secretary (Lands) Miss G.M. Forrest, who also acted as the secretary for the crucial meeting. The meeting was chaired by the Kaduna local authority Mr. S. McCallum. Absent were the representatives of the military, the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria and the Magajin Gari.³⁷

The major highlights of their recommendations were broad ranging in scope and formed the basis for the future development of Kaduna as a city and metropolis. The meeting's recommendation was for a planning authority to be set up for Kaduna that would prepare detailed plans for the present and future needs of the capital city for the consideration and approval of the Executive Council. Such a committee was to make long term plans. It was highlighted that: "Development should be envisaged not for ten years, but for the foreseeable future, and, therefore plans should be made on a large scale. It would be for the Planning Authority to control and plan future development in conjunction with the departments

³³ Local Authority, Kaduna to Resident, Zaria Province, Zaria, "Administration of Kaduna," 2. See too Clerk to Zaria N.A. Council to Senior District Officer, Zaria Division.

³⁴ Clerk to Zaria N.A. Council to Senior District Officer, Zaria Division.

³⁵ Local Authority, Kaduna to Resident, Zaria Province, Zaria, "Proposed Layout, Greater Kaduna," 1 September 1955, Administration of Kaduna Township, File No. C8/1954, ZAR Prof, National Archives, Kaduna.

³⁶ Local Authority, Kaduna to Resident, Zaria Province, Zaria, "Proposed Layout, Greater Kaduna."

³⁷ Minutes of Meeting Held on 12 August 1954 at 7.30 a.m. in the Secretariat Library to make recommendation for the "Greater Kaduna" (Meeting Held at Secretariat Library, Kaduna), File No. C.8/1958 ZAR Prof, National Archives, Kaduna, 1.

concerned.”³⁸ Another proposal made was for the Emir of Zaria to be approached in connection with the additional land required for the future expansion of Kaduna. Also of profound importance was the recommendation that similar town planning boards should be instituted for other towns in Nigeria to facilitate their developments along the lines envisaged for Kaduna.³⁹

In planning for the city in the 1950s and for its future expansion, consideration was given to the need for military land, African villages, green belts, and housing plots. For the purpose of commerce, it was the agreement that 120 more commercial plots would be needed and these were to be sited within the area of Mogadishu Barracks with another commercial zone to be provided at the Junction area. The meeting considered the importance of industrial development and reserved 5,000 acres for industries south of the River Kaduna in the vicinity of the river and the Kafanchan railway line. Development of the industrial area was to be paid for by the industrial concerns who wished to have plots in the industrial zone. Additional infrastructure and social facilities as roads, bridges, new layouts and housing, stadiums, secretariat, hospitals and sewerage were to be expanded or provided anew. Detailed proposals were also submitted for the provision of municipal services in the capital territory. The proposal was also made for the military cantonment and field firing range to be outside the town’s boundary.⁴⁰

The desire for greater access and control over land and a more embracing boundary limit for the capital city was equally wished for by other forums such as the Kaduna Town Planning Advisory Committee which met in 1955 and where the director of Medical Services noted “the need for the control over the area immediately outside future boundaries. It was agreed that ‘some form of peri-urban control should be exercised.’”⁴¹ According to the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Local Government, Northern Region, the resolution originated out of the fear that if control was not exercised by Kaduna over adjoining areas “a series of shanty settlements may develop, as has happened in almost all towns in Africa, and it is likely that these shanty settlements will grow on land over which Zaria Native Authority has customary jurisdiction.” By 3 July 1957 when the Northern Region permanent secretary for Local Government was making this argument to the resident of Zaria, the boundaries of the Kaduna Capital Territory had largely been outlined; thus, what he was therefore arguing for was that even if these areas were under the Zaria Native Authority, officers of the Kaduna Capital Territory should have authorization to investigate such construction and development as would arise in such peri-urban communities so as to ensure their compliance with building codes. The permanent secretary noted that the argument he was making was “not a disguised request for extending the boundaries of Kaduna Capital Territory.”⁴²

In the final analysis the Kaduna Capital Territory in 1957 was eventually made up of an area of 120 square kilometres with a radius of approximately eight kilometres. The size of the Kaduna Capital Territory as determined was by looking back at the size of the proposed town in 1913 which was only 3½ miles. In 1957 the Kaduna capital territory area had 28,600 acres of territory. Of these, half were either developed or allocated for development.⁴³

The passage of the Kaduna Capital Law in 1955, therefore, brought to an end the dichotomous system in which the regional headquarters had hitherto been governed. It ended the situation whereby the township had been administered by the local authority or colonial officials and the Sabon Gari part was under the administrative authority of the Magagin Gari or district head of Kaduna appointed by the Zaria Native Authority. In practice, however, the district head (Magagin Gari) had been under the

³⁸ Minutes of Meeting Held on 12 August 1954, 1.

³⁹ Minutes of Meeting Held on 12 August 1954, 1-2.

⁴⁰ Minutes of Meeting Held on 12 August 1954, 2-5. See too “Notes on the Future Administration of Kaduna,” in File C.8/1953, ZAR Prof, National Archives, Kaduna, 16-19.

⁴¹ See Ag. Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, Northern Region to Resident, Zaria Province, “Kaduna Capital Territory: Boundary of,” Kaduna, 3 July 1957, File No. C.8/1954, ZAR Prof, Administration of Kaduna Township, National Archives, Kaduna.

⁴² See Ag. Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, Northern Region to Resident, Zaria Province, “Kaduna Capital Territory: Boundary of.”

⁴³ Enoch Oyewola Oyedele, “Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960,” PhD Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1987, 151, 458.

supervision of the local authority, whose appointment was that of a district officer, hence his supervisory role over the native chief. Under the new arrangement brought about by the Kaduna Capital Law, both jurisdictions were integrated and the Sabon Gari was fully subordinated as a sub-native authority with a sub-treasury and sub-accounting office under the Kaduna Capital Territory. The new administrative hierarchy of Kaduna was to be headed by an administrator to be supported by an assistant administrator. Instead of being referred to as the “Local Authority, Kaduna” he was to be addressed as “The Administrator of Kaduna.” It was also decided to have two assistant administrators in order to accommodate Magajin Gari Sambo until a future reorganization of the Sabon Gari administration which would entail merging its Native Office with the central administration.⁴⁴ When the Kaduna Capital Law came into force, notice was further given on 16 May 1957 to transfer the powers of administration over the native court laws up to 1956 of a resident to the administrator and those under the district officer were assigned to the assistant administrator.⁴⁵

By 1957 four local councils were created by the Northern Regional Government for the Kaduna Capital Territory. These were Kaduna Central, Kaduna West, Kaduna South and Kaduna North. The composition of these councils was such that Kaduna Central covered Sabon Gari and Kabala; Kaduna West encompassed Tudun Wada, and Kaduna South incorporated Makera, Kakuri and Barnawa with Kaduna North being made up of Kawo and Anguwa Shanu among other villages.⁴⁶

Conclusion

The paper has explored the rationale that underpinned the coming into existence of the Kaduna Capital City Law of 1956. It showed that administrative logic rather than politics was the reason behind the desire to reform the Kaduna administrative set-up with its dual structures of administrations with authorities jointly vested in the regional administration and in the Zaria Native Authority. The role of various actors including British and Nigerians is shown in the negotiations that eventually led to the administrative and territorial arrangements that made Kaduna to be totally independent from Zaria Native Authority and clearly established under the control of the regional government which could then appoint administrators and ministers to oversee the planning and administration of the city for its development. The law therefore had the impact of focusing the energies of the regional government towards the development of Kaduna as regional capital during the last days of colonialism and during the First Republic of Nigeria after independence in 1960.

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⁴⁴ See “Notes on the Future Administration of Kaduna,” in File C.8/1953, ZAR Prof, National Archives, Kaduna, 5, 7, 10. See too Kaduna State Planning and Budget Commission and United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), *Kaduna State Population Dynamics*, 32.

⁴⁵ See The Kaduna Capital Law, 1956 No. 8 of 1956 – The Kaduna Capital (Delegation and Allocation of Functions) Notice 1957, N.R.L.N. 306 of 1957.

⁴⁶ Enoch Oyewola Oyedele, “Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960,” 498.