COLONIAL ECONOMY AND COLONIAL INFRASTRUCTURE:
A STUDY ON THE IMPACT OF THE RAILWAY IN KAURA NAMODA AREA 1929-1960

BY

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY ZARIA

MAY 18,2011

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis entitled **'Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure: A Study on the Impact of the Railway in Kaura Namoda Area 1929-1960'** is conducted by me in the Department of History under the supervision of Dr. K.S. Chafe and Dr. M.A. Mamman.

The information derived from the relevant literatures has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references has been provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another degree or diploma at any university.



Nasiru Mohammed Abubakar

CERTIFICATION

This Thesis entitled: **Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure: A Study on the Impact of the Railway in Kaura Namoda Area 1929-1960** by Nasiru Mohammed Abubakar meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Arts of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Mamman Eha the man who was hanged for the alleged Murder of a British railway foreman on a railway construction site at Kurya near Kaura Namoda in 1928.

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If prolonging a research that should have been completed within twenty four months has any merit, it must be the opportunity it gave the researcher to interact with people and ideas for a longer time than would have been otherwise, I have had the opportunity while researching and writing this thesis to benefit from many counsels given by several people but especially by experienced teachers in the Department of History of the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria most of whom were experienced Doctors of Philosophy (Ph.Ds) in History who taught me during my undergraduate course in the University some fourteen years ago, and later at the post graduate level. The conduct of this research has given me the opportunity for a longer and more open interaction with these senior academics, not least that indomitable fearless scholar and revolutionary, the late Y.B. Usman of blessed memory who on learning that my research topic was on the "Impact of the Railway in Kaura Namoda Area" helped me in identifying the works of Yahaya Abubakar Abdullahi and Garba Nadama relating to Kaura Namoda, the works provided me with the basic framework around which I built my study. He also asked me to find and read the works of J.O. Oyemakinde and Francis Jaeckel; the two are monumental works on the Nigerian railway in their own right. I found the information contained in these works to be very valuable for my work. I wish to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to this great scholar.

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At home in Kaura Namoda and Sokoto, I thank all the members of our family for their hospitality and protection. Looking back, my educational pursuit up to this stage seems to be one long journey stretching over almost half a life time, the path, narrow and strewn as it is with thorns, still has to be followed, but as Tennyson remarked a long time ago, "Though much is taken, much abides; and though we are not now that strength which in old days moved earth and heaven;

that which we are, we are; one equal temper of heroic hearts, made weak by time and fate, but strong in will to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield".[1]

[1] Alfred Tennyso, *Ulysses*, August 6th 1809 in *Poem for the Day One* Chatto and Windus London 2001.

ABSTRACT

Chapter one of the thesis examines the nature of the physical environment in Kaura Namoda Area and its role in influencing historical developments in the area including the evolution of political institutions and the nature of the social and production relations of the societies of the area during the pre-colonial period.

Chapter two examines the incorporation of the area into the Colonial State by means of colonial ordinances. The chapter also examines the implementation of colonial policies on land use and taxation which laid the foundation for the establishment of colonial economy in the area.

Chapter three examins how basic colonial infrastructure especially roads were established and the role they had played in facilitating the expansion of the colonial economic activities in the area leading to the boom in cash crops production that necessitated the establishment of the Gusau Kaura Namoda extension of the railway.

Chapter four examines the process of the extension of the railway to Kaura Namoda and the conditions within which the work was carried out. The chapter seeks to provide an insight, into the social dimension of the work and how it impacted on the social and material conditions in the area.

Chapter live examines the impact of the railway in Kaura Namoda Area; it focuses on the consequences of the role of the railway in the colonial economic activities which helped in consolidating the process of change which was on-going since the area was incorporated into the Colonial State.

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GLOSSARY

Baba	-	Indigo
Dako	-	Human Portage
Dan Dako	-	Human Porter
Fure	-	Tobacco Flower
Fadama	-	Flood plains
Korino	-	Special leather dye stuff used by dyers in the city of Sokoto
Kanwa	-	Potash
Kaimi	-	Spur
Kofa	-	Toll Gate
Kira	-	Smithing
Madugu	-	Donkey – Fleet Master
Salka	-	Leather water bag
Sulkumi	-	A large leather bag used in transporting bulky goods
Sirdi	-	Saddle
Taba	-	Tobacco
Taiki	-	Leather container used in transporting grains
Zango	-	Rest points or travelers lodges

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U.:	Ahmadu Bello University
B.C.G.A.:	British Cotton Growing Association
B.A.T.C.:	British American Tobacco Company
C.B.	Cotton Board
C.F.A.O.:	Compagnie Francaised Afrique Occidentale
C.O.:	Colonial Office
C.F.O.:	Certificate of Occupancy
D.O.:	District Officer
G.B.O.:	G.B. Olivant
G.B.:	Groundnut Board
H.M.S.O.:	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
J.H.S.N.:	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
K.I.L.:	Kashim Ibrahim Library
L.K.C.:	London and Kano Company
N.H.R.S.:	Northern Historical Research Scheme
M.B.:	Marketing Boards
N.A.K.:	National Archives Kaduna
N.A.	Native Authority
N.T.C.:	Nigerian Tobacco Company
N.R.C.:	Nigerian Railway Corporation
N.R.:	Nigeria Railway
R.N.C.:	Royal Niger Company
SOKNOF:	Sokoto Provincial Office
U.D.U.:	Usmanu Danfodio University
U.A.C.:	United African Company

INTRODUCTION

The Railway is widely considered as the single most important colonial infrastructure in the sector of transport which played a central role in the establishment of the Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Nigeria as well as in other parts of Africa.

This thesis aims to examine the nature of change which the railway brought about in Kaura Namoda Area in Northwestern Nigeria within the three decades during which it operated in the region both as a major infrastructure of transport of the Colonial State, as well as an alien social institution with varied consequences on the social and economic organization of the indigenous societies of the area.

Now, almost half a century after the formal termination of colonial rule, and the ceasure of the existence of the railway as a colonial infrastructure, there still exists such phenomenon as the railway legacy in Kaura Namaoda Area: an identifiable element of migrant groups from different parts of Nigeria, now well-integrated into what used to be regarded as autochonous groups in the region, an element of 'new' urbanization stimulated and concretized by the railway, added to these elements are a few surviving dynasties of wealthy families founded by *attajirai* a moneyed class of L.B.A.'s, or Licensed Buying Agents, with roots in the colonial export commodity trade which was boosted and consolidated by the railway. Existing side by side with these relics, is a rump 'cash crops' commerce, itself a carry-over from the hey days of the colonial export commodity production.

This cash crops business as it exists in the area presently, without the benefit of the techniques of agricultural mechanization and a proper organization and utilization of labour, still hardly goes beyond the level of subsistence.

These elements constitute concrete historical phenomena which represent the change which the railways as a civil infrastructure of transport as well as a social institution had brought about in Kaura Namoda area during our period of study. It is these changes that this thesis attempts to identify, analyze and explain. The few elements which we have mentioned above constitute just one part of the impact of the railway as a social institution in the area.

There is however another side to this impact, unfortunate as the fact remains, it is this side of the impact of the railway in the area that has significantly affected and still affects the nature of social and material conditions as they exist in the area presently, and it seems to be more enduring. This development has entrenched a situation of perpetual disadvantage within which all subsequent economic and social activities are carried out with negative consequence to the quality and progress in all endeavours undertaken for the improvement of the human condition in the area.

This very negative impact of the railways in Kaura Namoda Area lies in the destruction of its indigenous economies whose sectors had attained varying degrees of development and sophistication during the pre-colonial period as evidenced by the diversification and increasing specialization towards which these indigenous economics were progressing until the rude interruption of that progress

by the colonial intrusion. As made clear in the passages of this work, the destruction of the indigenous economies of our area commenced with the conception of the policies which the Colonial State designed to take effective control of the region and which secured the incorporation of the area into the capitalist economy.

These policies include most notably the colonial land tenure system which having replaced the indigenous and more egalitarian system, changed the character and essence of production, and the social relations of production, in the area. Whereby export commodity, the cultivation of the so-called cash crops, ensured the destruction of the indigenous system of production, by commoditizing labour. It also disposes peasants of their land, finding it easier to sell their labour to meet the obligation of the new colonial tax regime, the payment of which could only be made in British currency. As more peasants were forced to abandon their trades and occupations, various indigenous cottage industries collapsed and the commerce which developed from them and sustained them also collapsed. This, in a wider sense represents the destruction of local initiative which the enterprise of colonial economic exploitation achieved through the railway in Kaura Namoda Area. This is what this thesis is conceived to study.

Having studied the available evidence which we have been able to recover from various oral and written sources, we argue in this thesis that notwithstanding the nature of the impact of the railways on the various spheres of the economy and society of Kaura Namoda Area, under Colonialism, the entire transport sector

functioned as a structure within the colonial economy, and that, colonial economy was deliberately created first using the existing local infrastructures of transport and communication, such as roads and the network of high ways in the form of trade routes, which were appropriated by the Colonial State and with little or no improvement were made to serve as feeders to the railways. In this way, the Colonial State ensured the consolidation of the exploitation of the human and material resources and the political domination of the Kaura Namoda Area just as it has been the case with other parts of Nigeria. But more importantly, we argue that above all, the root cause of the present problem of the absence of adequate infrastructure, and industrial sustainable development and of opportunities for work and the high rate of poverty which exist in Kaura Namoda Area are to be traced to this very stage of the historical experience of the region which is located within the colonial period, and so are the problems and crises which the railway in Nigeria is facing presently.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The subject of Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure in Nigeria has been treated at varying levels in a number of works dealing either with Economic History of Nigeria or of Africa, or with fields related to economic development in general. Many of these works which include monographs and a number of unpublished PhD theses and seminar papers, are written from different theoretical perspectives.

Some of the more familiar among these works include Allan Mcphee's Eurocentric *The Economic Revolution in British West Africa* (London, 1926), one of the pioneering historical works on Colonial Economy, it blazed the trail for subsequent studies. G.K. Helleiner's *Peasant Agriculture Government and Economic Growth* (Homewood 1966), though not strictly speaking a historical work, ranks among the early studies on economic development in Nigeria in the 20th century. The work focuses on the role of government's policy on infrastructure in accelerating rapid economic 'development', regarded as one of the leading propagators of the vent-for-surplus theory,[2] Helleiner's controversial argument concerning the role of colonialism in providing 'external stimulus' to the growth of Nigeria's indigenous economies has generated a groundswell of discourse even while remaining under serious criticisms by scholars on the other side of the ideological and theoretical divide.

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[2]J.S. Hogendom, 'The vent-for-surplus model, and African cash Agriculture to 1914' in Savanna Vol.5, No.1, June 1976, p.05.

Other similar works include A.G. Hopkin's *An Economic History of West Africa* (London 1973) and R.O. Ekundare's *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960* (London 1973). Other important works on the Colonial Economy are Bill Freund's *Capital and Labour in the Nigerian Tin Mines* (Longman, Essex 1981) and Bob Shenton's *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria* (London 1986). Sule Bello's *State and Economy in Kano 1894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination* (Ph.D., A.B.U., Zaria 1982) and Mohammed M.A.'s, *European Companies and the Underdevelopment of Northern Nigeria 1855-1939 the Case of RNC/UAC* (Ph.D, Department of History A.B.U., 1985) are among several unpublished Ph.D theses on the subject. Yet, there are other minor contributions contained in various publications in the form of conference papers, some of these include W.M. Freund's paper on "*The Incorporation of Northern Nigeria into the World Capitalist Economy*" in Gavin William (ed) *The Nigerian Economy and Society* (London 1976).

Other related works include S.O. Onakomiye's *Highway Development in Nigeria: A Review of Policies and Programmes 1900-1980* (NISER Ibadan 1980). Toyin Folala and Olarenwaju S.A (eds) *Transport Systems in Nigeria* and E.K. Hawkins *Road Transport in Nigeria*.

Because of the wide ranging topics which they covered on colonial economy and infrastructure as well as the diversity of the views they purvey, a more comprehensive review of these works would have provided a firmer grounding for our research. However, the scope of our study being restricted just

to the impact of the railway on Kaura Namoda Area limits the scope and emphasis of our literature review to books and works whose focus is specifically on the railway.

The Nigerian railway system like other colonial infrastructure in the transport sector such as roads and Seaports is an integral pillar of the Colonial Economy on which a number of studies have been conducted.

Some of the earliest writings on the Nigerian Railway are J. Stocker's *Nigerian Railway Jubilee, 1901-195,:* Ebute Metta (1951) and *A Brief History of Nigerian Railway Corporation*, Ebute Metta (1960), published by the Nigerian Railway Corporation. These are commissioned publications or official histories[3] of the Nigerian Railway and of the Railway Corporation of Nigeria respectively. These publications are no more than simple accounts of the operations of the railway from the time the Iddo-Ibadan section was officially opened to public traffic in 1901. These writings are mainly promotional anniversary publications, lacking the depth and analysis of serious academic research works, therefore far removed from being studies on the railway as a key-element within the nexus of colonial economy and infrastructure in the sense in which it is being conceived in the present study.

Gilbert Walker discusses the various aspects of the railway project in Nigeria in his *Traffic and Transport in Nigeria*, (H.S.O. London, 1959) in which he devoted a chapter to a lengthy account of the construction of the Lagos railway

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[3] T.N. Tamuno, '*Genesis of the Nigerian Railway*', *Nigeria Magazine* No.83, Dec 1964, p.249.

and its subsequent extension to the Northern and Eastern parts of Nigeria. The account which claims to be mainly concerned with "railway economics,"[4] devotes much attention to the performance of the railway in terms of freight haulage and revenue in relation to the railways operational overhead. However, Walker, who celebrates the railway as the greatest agent of communications and transport development in Nigeria, exposes the other side of this "engine of development" when he asserts that the cause of the "worsening of the finances of the railway after 1929, is the difficult economic situation in which all commercial farmers found themselves between the wars." Nigeria, according to Gilbert Walker, was particularly badly placed to withstand depression in world prices of primary produce such that

> *Peasants, farming crops for export have no alternative but to sell what they raised at any price they can get.*[5]

Primitive method of farming and the low prices which Nigerian exports suffered in competition with graded produce of better quality according to the writer, became the primary source of the predicament of the railway in Nigeria[6] even during the colonial period.

> *The tonnage of export depended on the harvest, if the crops were raised; they would also be sold and thus exported. But the price received for the exports fell so low that peasants would afford neither to buy the import to which he had become accustomed nor the domestic produce which constituted the main part of his subsistence.*[7]

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[4] Gilbert Walker, *Traffic and Transport in Nigeria*, H.S.O. London, 1959, p.160.
[5] Ibid, p.71
[6] Ibid
[7] Ibid.

The conclusion could not have been more revealing: The railway lost revenue not by reduction in tonnage of and receipts from export traffic but from the decline in imports and domestic traffic.[8] Here, Walker's opinion coincides with the view which scholars like Rodney and Oyedele hold; to the effect that the policies of colonialism whether in infrastructural development, agricultural production or urbanization are designed to ensure that the development of the colonized territories is tied up to that of the colonial power in an unequal metropole – periphery relationship.[9] The writer's reference to African staff providing 'common labour' under European supervision[10] also raises the issue of the foul system of social relations of labour which colonialism fostered, but which the writer conveniently ignores.

Takena N. Tamuno's article "*Genesis of the Nigerian Railway*" published in the Nigeria Magazine[11] is an attempt at re-tracing the origins of the Nigerian Railway further back to 1890,[12] instead of the year 1901, as implied in the officially published histories of the Nigerian Railway.[13] The article is concerned mainly with outlining the significant epochs[14] of the history of the Nigerian Railway. In spite of the fact that Tamuno's focus is restricted to the historical background leading to the establishment of the railway in Nigeria, his article

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[8] Ibid, p.72
[9] Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Howard University Press Washington DC, 1974, Pp.154-173 and Enoch Oyedele, "Colonial Urbanization inNorthern Nigeria Kaduna 1913 to 1960" Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1987, p.xxix.
[10] Gilbert Walter op.cit, p.76
[11] T.N. Tamuno, op.cit, *Nigeria Magazine* No.83, Dec, 1964, and No.84 March 1965.
[12] Ibid, *Nigeria Magazine* No.83, Dec. 1964, p.279.
[13] Ibid
[14] Ibid

managed to bring out the chief motive behind the construction of the railway in Nigeria as in other parts of Africa, which was the British desire to exercise greater commercial, military and administrative control of the Nigerian hinterland.[15]

In the other section of the article, Tamuno goes on to explain how the construction of the Lagos Railway began in March 1896, which became possible only after the Colonial Office had finally resolved some questions related to the responsibilities of funding, construction and ownership of the railway scheme in Nigeria. The issue of the extension of the Lagos Railway to the north of the river Niger which Tamuno also addresses, throws more light on the colonial motive for the establishment of the railway system in Nigeria. The extension of the railway to the North, the writer claims, was necessitated by a number of factors after 1904, among which was the prospect for the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates. This decision was reinforced by the anxiety of the colonial office to be free from the financial burden of administering the Northern Protectorate. It was envisaged that an extension of the Lagos railway would help to develop Northern Nigeria, thereby making it independent of imperial fund.[16]

The colonial administration also reasoned that by extending the railway to the north, European Merchants with depots in Lagos would be encouraged to open up trading stations in northern Nigeria. It is against this backdrop that Tamuno draws attention to the decision of the Niger Committee, as early as 1898, to

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid, p.291.

propose Kano the 'great emporium' of the trans-saharan trade for many centuries as the northern limit of a railway in Nigeria.[17] Thus the railway was extended to the north just as it was extended to the east; to serve as a means of exploiting the raw materials that abound in the region such as cotton, groundnut, sheanuts, skins and livestock.[18] The other consideration leading to the extension of the railway to the north as revealed in the article by Tamuno did not differ fundamentally from the previous motive. This is the British apprehension over railway development in French West Africa. The colonial office feared that unless the Lagos railway was extended to the north, the French might divert part of northern Nigeria's trade which passed southwards to Lagos, by a route close to the Anglo French frontier on the West.

A thorough reading of Tamuno's essay would reveal that the overriding motives for the establishment of the railway in Lagos and its extension to the North as well as Eastern Nigeria is to serve the larger economic interest of British Colonialism.[19] This fact however seem to elude Tamuno who concludes that

> This public utility (railways) which was not conceived as a profit-making concern served a major need by assisting the country's (Nigeria) general development.[20]

Lacking a single passage in his essay which analysed the impact of the railway on the Nigerian economy and society, Tamuno's claim about the railway assisting the country's general development is presumptuous and unjustified,

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[17] Ibid, p.284.
[18] Ibid, p.291
[19] Enoch Oyedele, op.cit
[20] T.N. Tamuno, op.cit, p.39

therefore disputable. He also did not touch on the strategic issue of the movement of British troops, which were used in quelling dissent at a very short notice for which the railway was used on several occasions.

Dangana Abdulrahim's study, "*Rail Roads and Economic Development in Nigeria*" examines the contribution of the Borno extension of the railway to the social and economic development of the North East in the period 1964-1968. Early in his study, Dangana perceives the railways as stimulating the economic development of Nigeria. He argues that the railway is responsible for stimulating political and social integration of the country.[21] The writer goes on to explain how as the most vital mode of transport in Nigeria, the railway came to have a monopoly of large-scale freight haulage in the country such that the Kano-Lagos Line became a vital economic link between the North and the Coast, evacuating export products on the Port-bound trip and hauling imports on the northward trip.[22] Dangana's optimism however is short-lived, because as the writer admits, with the phenomenal growth of economic activity in Nigeria after World War II, the Railway showed itself incapable of meeting the growing demand for transport services in the economy.[23] As for the Borno extension, the main focus of the study, which was constructed at the cost of 8.5 million pounds,[24] with its objective being the evacuation of the vital export products of north eastern Nigeria, turned out to

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[21] Abdulrahim Dangana, "Rail Roads and Economic Development in Nigeria": A Case Study of the Borno Extension 1964-1968, M.Sc Thesis University of Legon Ghana, 1969, p.179.
[22] Ibid, p.6.
[23] Ibid, p.175
[24] Ibid, p. 167

be unsuccessful because according to Dangana, out of the total cotton lint and seed traffic from Gombe in the years 1967-1968 the railway handled only 25 percent, while the remaining 75 percent was transported in trucks by road.[25] This low level of performance of the Borno extension of the railway forces the study to the bleak conclusion that, "it becomes inevitable to advise that in the present economic condition in Africa, a rail should not be constructed where a highway would serve the same purpose."[26] Rather than seeking for explanation for the low performance of the railway in the context of its conception and primary historical role as infrastructure of colonial economic exploitation, Dangana largely attributes the decline in performance of the railway to competition which arose from the development of road transportation,[27] thereby missing the point by a large mark.

Although the study by Godwin Ohaeri "*Appraising the performance of Nigerian Railway Corporation 1970-1981*" is mainly concerned with evaluating the performance of the Nigerian Railway Corporation as a public corporate Organization from the perspectives of development economics, the writer shows a historically correct understanding of the nature of the railway in Nigeria as part of the larger colonial transport development effort which was "pursued with a view to meeting the needs of colonialism," Ohaeri sees the transport sector under colonialism as a structure within the colonial economy which was organized to boost colonial trade and administration, Ohaeri goes on to observe that the

[25] Ibid, p.170
[26] Ibid, p.180
[27] Ibid.

construction of rail routes and roads to some parts of the hinterland enhanced the transportation of agricultural produce to the coast for shipment abroad. It was in pursuit of this objective, the writer admits, that the railway lines were built to connect the Seaport of Lagos and Port-Harcourt to the hinterland, extending to as far as Niger Republic and Kano.[28] However, echoing neo-classic economists, Ohaeri repeats the highly contentious view that the railway in Nigeria had led to the growth of the economy.[29] This 'growth' in the economy is usually explained in such marginal indices as the volume of passenger and freight haulage; increased opportunities for commercial and social interaction and the stimulation of the processes of urbanization and social integration. Even after making these assertions, the writer concludes that the overall performance of the railways in Nigeria is unimpressive.[30] One of the limitations of this study is its failure to appreciate the crisis of the railways in Nigeria in any context other than in terms of the development of a relatively more diversified and competitive road transport sectors.[31] But Ohaeri has put it clearly elsewhere in his study that "these inherited capital structures (Railways, and Ports) from the colonial administration bear no relation to present demand and realities."[32] This is the fact the study by Ohaeri overlooks, and therefore fails to grasp the real cause of the "unimpressive performance" of the Nigerian Railway Corporation.

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[28] Godwin, I. Ohaeri, "Appraising the Performance of Nigerian Railway Corporation 1070-1981", M.Sc (Econs), A.B.U., 1984, pp.3-9.
[29] Ibid., p.59, 60
[30] Ibid., .123.
[31] Ibid., 70, 71.
[32] Ibid., p.30

Francis Jaeckel describes the railways as the single most important enterprise that set the seeds of development in Nigeria,[33] in his *The History of the Nigerian Railway* (Spectrum Books Ibadan 1997). Jaeckel, is an ex-British staff of the Nigerian Railway where he served for thirty seven years. A bulky three-volume work, the book which claims to be a 'comprehensive treatise' on the Nigerian Railway Comprises of 49 chapters. Three of the 49 chapters are devoted to a sketch of the Geography, History and cultures of Nigeria, while a separate chapter deals with the country's hydrology and inland water ways system. The remaining forty-five chapters contain a step by step account of the various operations, technical as well as administrative aspects of the Nigerian Railways, ranging from earthwork, through workshop and locomotives management, to personnel training and medical provision. There is however no where throughout the multi-volume book in which the writer substantiates his claim about the Nigerian Railway being the single most important enterprise responsible for stimulating development in Nigeria. With the exception of a fleeting reference to human resource development scheme of the Nigeria railway, the book is dominated by technical jargons. In Jeackel's monumental *History*, the Nigerian Railway is portrayed more as a mechanical behemoth, comprising of locomotives, steel sleepers and ballast, rather than as a social institution with bearing on the human condition.

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[33] Francis Jeackel, *The History of the Nigerian Railway*. Spectrum Books Ibadan 1997, p.xxi.

In the writings of Gilbert Walker, Takena Tamuno, Abdulrahim Dangana Godwin Ohaeri, and Francis Jeackel the railway is conceptualized as the Agency, which provided the needed impetus for export production thereby accelerating the process of economic development in Nigeria. Their perspective derives essentially from Adam Smith's vent-for-surplus theory of international trade as elaborated by the economists Myint and Helleiner.[34]

However, there are other studies on the railway by writers writing from a different perspective. In an essay entitled "Background to Railway policy in Nigeria,"[35] Olufemi OMosini retraces the origins of Nigerian railways further back to the 1870s in an attempt to "fill the gaps" left by existing accounts as well as to

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[34] The vent-for-surplus theory of international trade as propounded by Adam Smith is related to the supposed transformation of African indigenous economies at the instance of colonialism and capitalist market economy. It proposes that European political and economic influence provides a useful premise for an examination of African movement into the world economy. In essence, it maintains that it was colonialism that provided the impetus for export production, thereby galvanizing the indigenous African economies.

The vent-for-surplus theory further assumes that indigenous African economies were characterized by under utilization of potentially available labour. The existence of the alleged excess labour meant that additional forms of economic activity could be undertaken without any loss in the usual amount of labour output into the indigenous economy, hence the new monetized exchange economy which was oriented towards imports and exports is seen to have imposed new demands on the indigenous peoples as well as creating new economic opportunities for them.

In essence, the theory is based on three assumptions: that the massive growth in the volume of exports was achieved without a significant reduction in the amount of land and time involved in the production of traditional goods and services, and without the adoption of any major improvements in agricultural techniques. This leads to the contentious conclusion that the rise in output of production resulted mainly from increased inputs of land and labour, and therefore that both factors had been to some degree underemployed previously. Thus the function of alien colonial influences was to create the conditions which gave Africans a better vent for their latent, surplus resources.
Also see H. Myint, *The Economics of the Developing Countries*, 1964, Gerald K., Helleiner, Peasant, Government, and Economic Growth in Nigeria, Homewood 1966. Charles, H.C. Kano et.al, 'Disguised Unemployment in Agriculutre: A Survey in Agriculture in Economic Development, in Charles, H.C., Kao et.al, "*Disguised Unemployment in Agriculture: A Survey in Carl K. and Lawrence W. Witt, (eds.)* Agriculture in Economic Development. *New Fork 1964, p.129-44.*

[35] M. Olufemi Omosini, "The Background to Railway Policy in Nigeria: 1877-1901" in Akinjogbin, A.I. and Osoba, S.O. (eds.) *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*. University of Ife Press, 1980.

throw some light on the British attitude towards the economic development of Nigeria.[36] The writer explains how the earliest proposals for railway projects in West Africa and Nigeria were submitted to the colonial office by a member of publists and philanthropists[37] as early as 1897.The effort was carried further by a deputation of British West African merchants, bankers and ship owners accompanied by several members of the British Parliament who renewed their demand to Joseph Chambarlain, the then Colonial Secretary, that further action be taken on the projected railways before British trade was diverted to the way of other rival European countries.[38] The writer had argued earlier that for Britain and her Empire abroad, the railway had became an invaluable tool for opening up new regions to British Commerce and for promoting the exploitation of agricultural and mineral resources. Omosini's focus though limited to the earliest period of railways development, (1897-1901), by leaving out such important aspects as the 'details of construction and labour recruitment,"[39] his study has neglected the social aspect of the history of the railway which is central to any meaningful understanding of the role and true impact of the railway and of the British attitude towards the economic development of Nigeria.

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[36]Ibid., p.146.

[37] Ibid., p.147

[38]Ibid., p.157

[39] Ibid.

The study by Kole Ahmed Shettima "*The working class and the crisis in the Nigerian Railway Corporation*"[40] is concerned with the relationship between industrial relations and crisis in public corporations with reference to the Nigerian Railway Corporation and its workers. The study, traces the crisis of the railways in Nigeria to the deficiency of the capitalist management and industrial relations policies employed by the post-colonial Nigerian State in the running of the railways.[41] Although the focus of his study is on management and industrial relations crises in the Nigerian Railway as a public Corporation, Shettima's perspective which enables him to analyse the development of the railways in Nigeria in the context of the nation's concrete historical experience, accounts for the meaningfulness of his study. Tracing the antecedents of the railways to the contradiction of capitalist development which the writer says necessitated the export of capital and the creation of Colonies, Shettima argues that the Railway in the Colonies were constructed basically as colonial infrastructure to support and consolidate imperial expansion.[42] He goes on to explain how the railway became the single most important project on which forced labour was used by the colonial administration. Employing statistics, he shows how the railway stimulated the production of export crops which came to have varying negative consequences on the indigenous economy; the most significant of which was the subordination of

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[40]Kole Ahmed Shettima, "The Working Class and the Crisis in the Nigerian Railway Corporation." M.Sc. (Political Science) Thesis, A.B.U. 1987.

[41]Ibid., Pp.36-37

[42] Ibid., Pp.110-111.

the indigenous economies and societies of Nigeria to the Capitalist Economy in an unequal relationship.[43] The main shortcoming of Shettimas study however is its failure to link the subsequent crisis of the Nigerian Railways with its original conception as a mere tool of facilitating the immediate need of colonial economic exploitation, instead, he wrongly reduces the cause of the multiple crises of the Nigerian railway to the bad management and industrial relations policies of the Post-Colonial State. The study seems to be largely limited by its exclusive treatment of the Nigerian Railway as a Bureaucratic Public Corporation rather than as a larger social institution rooted in the country's social and economic history within its colonial experience.

Shoyebi's study[44] examines the consequences of the railway construction project and the operations of the railways on the economy and society of Zaria Province within the period 1902 - 1945. He argues that colonial administrative and economic policies helped in paving the way for the effective use of the railways as a tool for colonial economic exploitation.

Shoyebi addresses three central issues which he associates with the railways which also represent a summary of the impact of the railways in Zaria Province as he sees it.

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[43] Ibid, p.119

[44] A. Shoyebi "Railway as a Factor for the British Colonial Domination and Exploitation of Zaria Province" M.A. (History) Thesis University of Jos 1992.

The writer first underscores the fact that the railways project was conceived and executed in Zaria Province at the expense and not for the benefit of the indigenous peoples.

> There existed only 230 miles of rail road in a province (Zaria) of 23,900 sq miles, that is roughly about 13 sq miles, of railways to 1000 sq miles (in terms of) railways land ratio in the province.[45]

He argues that if the railway had been intended for the purpose of genuine economic development of the province, the railroads would have been constructed to form an even network, linking various communities of the province instead of the pattern of construction adopted by colonial administration which ensured an uneven spread of the railroads along selected different raw material belts.[46]

He explains that colonial appropriation of land affected through colonial land tenure policy dispossessed indigenous peoples of their land and made them available as a pool for labour recruitment for the railway construction and export commodity production. The writer sees this development as being responsible for the diversion of labour from indigenous agriculture, with negative implications for local initiative in industry and for food crops production and local trade. He links the imposition of the consumption of British manufactured goods through continuous importation and widespread distribution which the railway ensured, with the decline of indigenous metallurgical, textile, leather and dying industries, to prove that the colonial economic activities which the railway stimulated

[45] Ibid., p.88
[46] Ibid.

inevitably led to the 'disarticulation' and subordination of the economic and social basis of indigenous society of Zaria Province.[47]

Although Shoyebi's study provides no opportunity for comparative assessment of the impact of the railway on other areas, restricted as it is to Zaria Province, it does contribute in suggesting a more relevant theoretical framework for the study of the railways as a significant colonial economic infrastructure.

J.O. Oyemakinde's (1970) work is perhaps the earliest major research work on the Nigerian railways by an indigenous writer. The emphasis of Oyemakinde's study is on the railway as an institution which pioneered large-scale wage employment in Nigeria.[48] The study examines various issues relating to labour recruitment for railway construction at the initial stage of the railway project in Nigeria. He observes that the speed of railway construction work was extremely low at the beginning of the project because of the aversion of the indigenous peoples to wage labour and its denigrating accompaniments as Oyemakinde himself admits; no sooner had construction started than complex problems unfolded.

> Not only were people tied to, the soil, they also cherished being self employed and preferred it to submitting their labour for hire, a state which they considered degrading.[49]

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[47] Ibid., Pp.90-118

[48] J.O. Oyemakinde, "A History of Indigenous Labour on the Nigerian Railway 1895-1945," M.A. (Hist.) Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1970, p.14.

[49] Ibid., p.14

After making this assertion the writer goes ahead yet to talk about "floating population" which responded 'encouragingly' to railway labour opportunities. On the contrary, Shetima and other writers have argued that the railways was the single most important project on which forced labour was used by the colonial administration. Oyemakinde himself has talked about insistence on 'punctuality from labourers by European and indigenous overseers,[50] he also talked about fines being freely imposed and corporal punishment being inflicted on labourers working on the railway construction sites in the Northern Protectorate,[51] and how attempts were not made to use labour saving devices because the colonialists instead that labour was available and they also claimed that Africans would not appreciate even the simplest form of labour saving device.[52]

Some of the writer's views on the socio-economic impact of railway wage employment in Nigeria appear to be rather uninformed to say the least. He observes for instance that indigenous railway workers learnt to adapt to the emergent multi-ethnic community in the railway quarters and how they acquired 'new values' and struck 'new friendships' as mutual interactions, from working together, broke down 'ethnic barriers'. All these claims by the writer are to say the least untenable.

Besides, the Colonial Railway construction work couldn't have provided the first platform for social interaction between different Nigerian communities, as

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[50] *Ibid, p.21*
[51] Ibid, p.27
[52] Ibid

the writer claims because it has been observed long ago that the different communities which formed pre-colonial Nigeria were neither isolated nor self-sufficient.[53] In any event, regarding his argument on the role of the railway on the process of social integration in Nigeria, it can be pointed out that such a quick process of social integration which Oyemakinde so easily paints could not have occurred in a situation where indigenous railway workers "lived in exclusive groups based on their village of origin and whose only chance of mixing with people from other localities was on the 'open track' where they worked side by side with others[54] as the writer clearly reported elsewhere in his work.

If only the writer had taken into consideration the colonial policy of segregation and separation of groups which guided colonial urban planning and development, he would have been more circumspective in his over glorification of the enclaves which seemed to have appeared in the selected points of railway activities which he cited. These were towns which he said previously existed in a 'small way', but which the writer said expanded and developed and the railway stations which he also claimed to have developed into big urban centers were far less spectacular than the writer makes them to appear.[55]

Beyond this section of the study which seems to be a mere repetition of the "transport revolution" associated with the colonial old conventional view about the

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[53] Thomas Hodgekins, *Nigerian Perspectives*, London 1960, p.2.
[54] Oyemakinde, op.cit, p.57

[55] Ibid.

effectiveness of colonial infrastructure, the greater part of the work is devoted to railway management politics and railway workers trade unionism.

There are a number of studies on Kaura Namoda, dealing with its social and political history, in conceiving this study however, our concern is partly with those studies dealing with the economy or economic history[56] of Kaura Namoda region but especially with studies on the railway, believing that the need for transportation arises primarily and is relatively determined by the rate of activity in other sectors of the economy.

To this category belongs Yahaya Abdullahi's (1983), study of commodity production in Kaura Namoda in which the writer examines the causes of the backwardness of Agriculture in the Kaura Namoda area in particular and Nigeria in general and argues that the backward condition of agriculture, rather than being a problem of logistics, has a historical dimension to it which he said is located in the "hidden social structural relationships,"[57] for according to the writer, without a knowledge of the socio economic basis of the agricultural system, it may not be possible to know which forces account for its (agriculture) genuine, long-term and

[56] See, H.A.S. Kaura, "The Rise of Kaura Namoda in the 19th Century", B.A. (Hist) Project, University of Sokoto 1984. Nadama, A.G., "Urbanisation in the Sokoto Caliphate: A Case Study of Gusau and Kaura Namoda" in Usman, Y.B (ed) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate, the Sokoto Seminar Papers*, A.B.U., Press. Moriki, M.L.B., "The Alibawa Fulani Factor in the History of North Eastern Zamfara" M.A. (Hist.) Thesis, University of Jos, 1995.

[57] See Y.A. Abubakar, "Social Relations of Production in Peasant Agriculture: A Case Study of Simple Commodity Production in Kaura-Naamoda Area of Sokoto State, Ph.D (Soc.) Thesis, A.B.U., 1983; Mustapher Suleiman "The History of Tobacco Production in Isa District 1948-1992" M.A. (Hist.) Thesis Usman Dan Fodio University Sokoto, 1992.

sustained development, and which forces are structurally positioned to oppose the development of such an agricultural system.[58]

Thus, using three villages in the Kaura Namoda area as case studies, the writer traces the historical development of commodity production in the area and argues that the 'articulation' of the area with foreign firms in their middlemen role is the 'main link' in the chain of incorporation / cum marginalization process which characterized the relationship between indigenous economies and world capitalism under the yoke of the colonial state.[59]

He further argues that the colonial laws and policies regarding land tenure and labour relations in which framework peasant agriculture existed, are responsible for the maximization of exploitation of the peasants by the colonial state.[60]

The wider implications of this, the writer explains, is seen in the continuing break-up of composite families as production groups and their replacement by individual or nuclear family ownership of the means of production, leading to increasing subdivision of farms into smaller plots and further fragmentation of land holding. This ultimately led to the destruction of free communal labour (Gayya).[61] Labour also became increasingly commoditized, subject to being purchased and sold. This development the writer argues is indicative of the non-development of productive forces outside agriculture as well as the degree of

[58] Y.A. Abdullahi, op,cit, p.xvi
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid, p.345.
[61] Ibid.

backwardness of the agricultural sector.[62] At the level of commerce, Yahaya Abdullahi asserts that under colonialism, the commercial sector was made to become the "nucleus of the relations of exploitation," serving as the medium through which surplus created by the peasant producers is extracted.

> The fact that they (peasants) are paid low prices for what they are able to produce and pay high prices for what they are in a position to buy, led to a situation in which the producer is put under the control of merchant/industrial capital and the state.[63]

He concludes that the failure of agriculture to develop, and the conditions accounting for its stagnation are not as a result of its being 'traditional', or, as a result of its backward internal characteristics and organization, but is as a result of its subordination to foreign commercial and industrial capital.

The work by Y.A. Abdullahi is meaningful in its contribution to our understanding of the historical causes of the present backward condition of agriculture in Kaura Namoda region. The study's failure however to situate the role of the railways as a critical infrastructure of transport within its "nucleus of the relations of exploitation," constitutes a very big gap in an otherwise valuable study on the colonial economy in Kaura Namoda area.

The study of tobacco production by Mustapha Suleiman, (1992) is an inquiry into the historical developments that caused the existing condition of underdevelopment of Agriculture in Isa District in particular and in Nigeria in general. The study examines the role of peasant tobacco farmers, vis-à-vis the

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[62] Ibid, p.346
[63] Ibid, p.347. 'The state' here as used by the author refers to the Colonial State.

entrenched indigenous merchant cum middlemen class or the Licensed Buying Agents (L.B.As) in the wider context of the activities of the International Capitalist Cigarette Manufacturing Firms such as the British American Tobacco B.AS.T.C, The Nigeria Tobacco Company N.T.C and Philip Morris, in Isa District.[64]

In the study, Mustapha Suleiman identifies and examines the larger role of the aforementioned international cigarette manufacturing companies in the promotion of Tobacco farming and marketing in Isa District and argues that the activities of these companies have led to three critical but negative developments in the Agricultural occupation as it exists in the area of his study: That the activities of these international capitalist firms in the promotion of tobacco cultivation, a largely dry season occupation, have had a distorting impact on the nature and pattern of the indigenous dry season farming with diminishing consequences on the dry season staple food crops cultivation on the Fadama lands.[65] In line with this view, Suleiman asserts that the diversion of labour from Agriculture and its sundry allied indigenous cottage industries not only led to the suppression of indigenous industrial development but had also led to an increase in the scale of food crises such as famine and food shortages. He makes reference to "frequent reports of food shortages" coming from areas of cash crop farming

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[64] Mustapha Suleiman, "A History of tobacco Production in Isa District 1948-1992", M.A. (Hist) thesis, Usman Dan Fodio University, Sokoto, 1992. p.xi

[65] Ibid, p.137

during the colonial period.[66] This became the case in Isa District when tobacco growing became the dominant dry season occupation.

That, tobacco growing as promoted by these multinationals has negatively impacted on the indigenous system of land holding and social relations of labour.[67] Tobacco growing according to Suleman, results into the fragmentation of land into small, scattered holdings which ultimately prevented the development of mechanized large-scale farming, owing to the inability of small land holders to employ heavy machinery in their farming activity.[68]

Suleiman similarly argues that tobacco farming in Isa District has contributed to the transformation of social relations of labour by way of increasing the cost of wage labour which became increasingly commercialized when demand for more labour for tobacco cultivation rose due to the activities of the International Tobacco companies in the District.[69] This, he also argues, led to the undermining of the indigenous system of corporative labour *Gayya* hitherto practiced in the district.

Suleiman also argues that the commercial transaction which developed around tobacco growing and marketing in Isa District also led to the emergence and entrenchment of middlemen / cum agents groups which formed a cartel of sorts through which the production and marketing of tobacco leaf was

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[66] Ibid. p.3
[67] Ibid, p.137
[68] Ibid, p.140.
[69] Ibid, p.145

monopolized by the capitalist firms, thus becoming an instrument of continual exploitation of the peasant farmers on behalf of the international merchant capital.

Like Y.A. Abdullahi, Mustapha Suleiman seems to view tobacco farming in Isa District as an export commodity production, in this respect, the circle of transaction or what Y.A. Abdullahi refers to as the 'nucleus of the relations of exploitation'[70] which came about as a result of tobacco farming and marketing activities in Isa District is seen as a conduit pipe through which surplus created by the peasant producer is appropriated.

The works by Y.A. Abdullahi and Mustapha Suleiman though severely limited by their failure to link up their studies on export (simple) commodity production with developments in the transport sector which played a very central role in the development of colonial export commodity economy as a whole in their area of study, they proved nonetheless to be quite meaningful because the studies were based on a deep analysis of the concrete historical experience of their area of study. Notwithstanding the usefulness of their studies, our research still remains desirable in view of the fact that the studies by Abdullahi Yahaya, Abubakar and Mustapha Suleiman are works essentially on the impact of the export commodity production as it affects the agricultural sector alone in the Kaura Namoda Area and Isa District respectively; as defined in their studies no attempt is made in the two studies to examine the condition and role of transport in the economy of their respective areas of study which fall within the Kaura Namoda Area as defined in

[70] Y.A. Abdullahi, op.cit, p.137.

the present study, much less the role of the railway as a colonial transport infrastructure in the export commodity production and marketing which formed the bulk of the colonial economic activity in the area. Again, it is clear that in spite of the few existing studies on the social and political history of Kaura Namoda town, there has always been a long-existing need for studies that would articulate the wider colonial economic phase of the historical experience of the Kaura Namoda Area being a foremost centre of colonial economic activities in Nigeria throughout the first half of the twentieth century. This present study is hopes to be a small contribution towards meeting that need.

At the level of its contemporary significance, the study is hoped to be a contribution to the efforts at explaining the prevailing problem of underdevelopment in Kaura Namoda Area which is especially manifest in the dilapidated infrastructure of transport and a stagnant agricultural sector since the end of the colonial export commodity production and marketing in the area. It is expected that the study using an historical methodology would provide proper understanding of the cause of this backwardness; such an understanding can be sought only through a careful probe into the different phases of historical developments and experiences of the area, but especially the colonial phase of this historical experience. It is hoped also to be a contribution to the continuing research on the history of the Sokoto Rima Basin and the societies within it.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research activity from which the data used in the writing of this thesis was obtained was carried out in three different stages: the first stage involved working in a number of libraries within and outside Zaria, the second stage involved trips to the field of research during which oral interviews were conducted, the third stage involved the Archival work.

We used three quarters of the 2006/2007 working in libraries in Zaria trying to compile relevant working bibliography. We visited and worked longest in the Kashim Ibrahim Library (K.I.L.) the main library of the Ahmadu Bello University, we also worked in the Post-Graduate Library housed within the Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS) also at the Ahmadu Bello University. We visited Arewa House in Kaduna the official residence of the Premier of the former Northern Region, the late Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto which was converted into the Centre for Historical Research and Documentation under the auspices of the Ahmadu Bello University. The Library work took up almost all of the 2005/2006 session lasting from September 2005 to March 2006.

Similarly, long hours of patient investigation were spent at the National Archives Kaduna poring over old files which contain colonial records in which information on colonial administrative, economic, social, political policies concerning our area of study, such as District Assessment Reports and Provincial Annual Reports is contained. We must state however that many of the documents

with which we worked were obtained from files ranging from those originating from the provinces to the ones from the Secretariat of Northern Provinces (SNP) were in poor state of preservation.

The field work was begun in April 2006 and was carried out in two interrupted instalments due to the constraints of time and logistics. It was however completed in August 2009. All oral interviews cited in the study were obtained during the field work, a partial list of informants is included in the last pages of the study. The field work also afforded us with the opportunity to observe railway facilities and other colonial infrastructure including ware houses and shops of the European Trading Companies such as the B.C.G.A. London and Kano G.B. Olivant etc which were scattered in different parts of our area of study. This experience has helped us a lot when we came to the actual writing of the thesis.

The rest of the time covering the period between 2007 – 2011 when the study was completed was used in the composition of the first and subsequent drafts of the thesis before the final draft was eventually approved.

Regarding the theoretical framework adopted by the study, it may be said that the thesis is hitched against the vent for surplus hypothesis of international trade propounded by Adam Smith; its major proposition being the claim that European political and economic influence provided a useful premise for the study of the movement of Africa into the world economy, in essence, it claims that colonialism provided the much needed impetus for export production thereby stimulating the growth and development of the indigenous African economies.

We decided at the conception of our thesis to adopt the political economy theoretical framework which focuses on the concrete historical experience of societies in its analysis of social phenomena. We set out not so much to defunct the vent for surplus hypothesis (it has been disproved by more competent scholars) as to adopt a more useful theoretical framework. The political economy approach which we prefer emphasizes the relationship and interaction between social phenomena, such as the economy, the political as well as the social institutions. This characteristic gives it an advantage as a tool for the study of complex societies such as the ones in West Africa. Above all, the approach encompasses a much more comprehensive view than that of the other approaches.

RATIONAL OF THE STUDY

The development of an efficient infrastructure of transport is a precondition for economic development. Since independence Nigeria has been engaged in efforts aimed at sustaining the railway which it inherited from the Colonial State. It is logical that if maintained and even expanded the railway would complement the drive towards the improvement of the nation's infrastructure of transport, especially the railway system. Successive governments however have failed to achieve this objective after repeated attempts to resuscitate and expand the railway tracts and facilities and losing millions of naira.

Against this background, it seems to us that there is a need for research into the remote historical causes of this crisis of development in the railway. This study intends to focus on the failure of the railway as an infrastructure of transport to provide the necessary stimulus for economic development in Kaura Namoda Area in particular and Nigeria in general just as it has done in other parts of Africa and the world.

Regarding the deficiency in the existing works relating to the subject, we feel that the works by Y.A. Abdullahi, entitled "Social Relations of Production in Peasant Agriculture: A Case Study of Sample Commoddity production in Kaura Namoda Area of Sokoto State" (Ph.D. Sociology), and Mustapha Suleiman "The History of Tobacco Production in Isa District" (M.A. History) as works on aspects of the Colonial Economy, they have left out a critical part of the Colonial

Economy as a whole from their studies, due to the fact that none of the studies devotes even a paragraph to the discussion of the role of the railway in the development and the consolidation of the export commodity production which they studied. This is a gap which makes their studies incomplete and ought to be filled, our study is a response to that challenge. If it meets the challenge successfully we hope it would serve as a contribution to the continuing research on the social and economic history of the Rima Basin.

0.3 NOTES ON SOURCES

In the process of this research study, different source materials have been utilized. We hereby attempt brief explanation and evaluation of these categories of source materials below.

0.3.1 PRIMARY SOURCES

0.3.1.1 Written Records

These include European travelers accounts, the records of British Colonial Officers compiled in the years following the British conquest of Sokoto, now deposited in the National Archives Kaduna. This category of sources consists of District Assessment Reports, District Note Books and Provincial Annual Reports. They contain information based on direct observation on the condition of agriculture, trade and manufacture in the Sokoto area in the early decades of the colonial period. They give a picture of the indigenous society and economy of the region as they were before the establishment of the railway.

However, these sources are heavily influenced by colonialists perspectives and aims, not least the need to justify colonial conquest and exploitation, this has made both the objectivity and accuracy of many of these colonial reports and records sometimes unreliable.

0.3.1.1Travelers Account

These category of source materials include accounts by European travelers in the form of journals which were later published, notably the journals of Clapperton and Barth have been used though not extensively. We make reference to their reports only where they are necessarily needed to complement information derived from the secondary sources.

0.3.1.3Archival Materials

These consist mainly of records of British colonial officers compiled in the years following the British conquest of Sokoto which can be found in the National Archives in Kaduna where they are deposited presently. They exist in the form of District Assessment Report District Note Books and Provincial Annual report.

The virtue of these category of source materials, the colonial records and reports lies in the fact that they contain information based on direct observation on the condition of agriculture, trade and craft manufacture in the former Sokoto Province including our area of study (Kaura Namoda) in the early decades of the colonial period. They portray a fair picture of the indigenous society and economy of our region as they existed before the arrival of the railway.

However, these sources are often heavily influenced by colonialist perspective and agenda, especially the obsession to justify colonial conquest and the subjection of the region to exploitation. This has made both the objectivity and accuracy of many of these colonial reports and records suspect and often

unreliable, and therefore, have been used in this study with utmost circumspection and caution.

0.3.2 SECONDARY SOURCES

0.3.2.1 Unpublished Theses

A number of secondary sources were also used in the writing of this thesis, many of them in the form of unpublished Ph.D. and M.A. Theses written based on research on various aspects of the social and political history of the Sokoto Rima Basin, in the period 1700-1900. Kaura Namoda district features prominently in these studies and we have drawn extensively on the information which they have supplied on the district. Others in this category were studies conducted more recently on the colonial economy or its aspect in the region, such as the work of Mustafa Suleiman "A History of Tobacco Production in Isa District" University of Sokoto, 1992 and Yahaya Abubakar Abdullahi "Social Relations of Production in Peasant Agriculture, a Case Study of Simple Commodity Production in Kaura Namoda Area of Sokoto State" Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 1983).

0.3.2.2 Published Materials (Books and Journals)

There are also several published books and journals on the history of the railway in Nigeria and other matters relating to it, Francis Jeackels' *Three – Volume The History of the Nigerian Railway Published in 1997* seems to be the

latest work of its kind on the Nigerian Railway published in recent times. We have also read and made use of Government and railway official records and documents all pertaining to the establishment and management of the railway.

We have enlisted many titles of both primary and secondary works in a partial bibliography in the last pages of this study. The strengths and limitations of many of these works and their relevance to our study have been stated in the literature review section of the study. The bibliography is organized in the following order: list of Archival materials, list of informants, and the list of secondary works on the history, of the Colonial Economy and on the Railway as well as works on other relevant general subjects.

CHAPTER ONE
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN KAURA NAMODA AREA ON THE EVE OF COLONIAL CONQUEST

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter an attempt is made to locate and define Kaura Namoda Region geographically as well as to identify and describe the nature of social and material conditions of the area on the eve of colonial conquest. We examine the nature of the physical environment and the extent to which it influenced historical developments in the area. We also attempted an overview of the nature of the political organization of the societies of the area, as well as the nature of their social, economic and political structure in the pre-colonial period. We contend that the impact of colonial railway on Kaura Namoda area can only be meaningfully grasped against the backdrop of the social and material conditions in which the societies of the area existed in the earliest period before the imposition of a new set of social and economic systems and values on the area by the colonial states at the turn of the 20th century.

1.2 Physical Environment and Historical Setting of Kaura Namoda Area

In order to have a clearer picture of the nature of the social and material conditions of Kaura Namoda Area on the eve of colonial conquest, it is important to define the region geographically. Much of the significant historical developments that occurred in the area at different historical periods, were substantially influenced by the historical geography of the area.[1]

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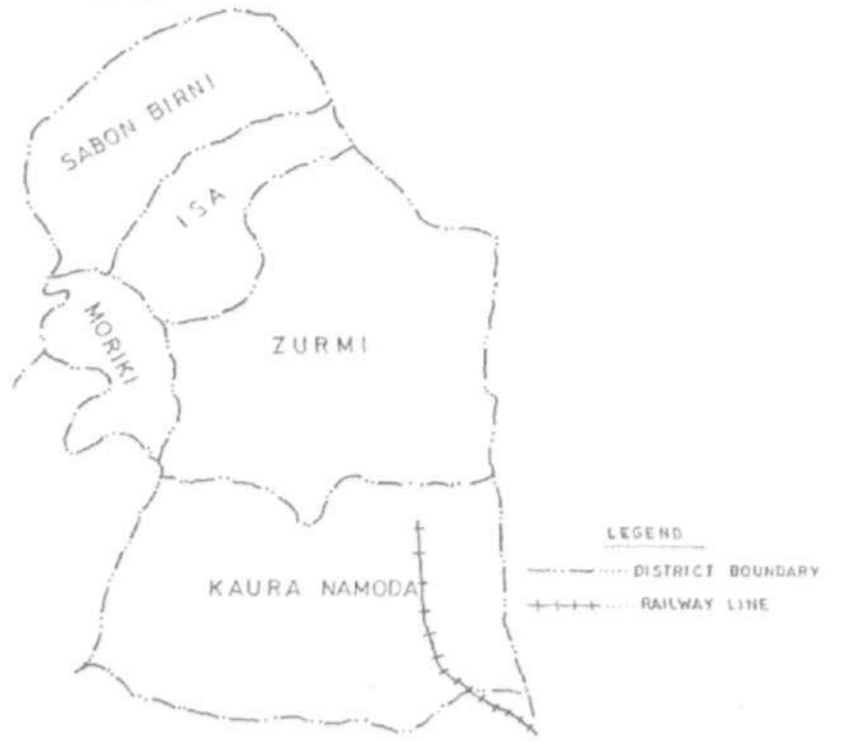
[1] For a detailed description of the Sokoto Rima Basin and its sub-regions see A.R. Augi, "The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin 1750-1808 A.D" (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 1984, p.7.

1.3 Location

Kaura Namaoda Area is located in the southeastern section of the Rima Basin.[2] The area falls between latitude 12° and 13° North and longitude 40 and 60 East.[3]

MAP: III

A map showing Zurmi, Kaura Namoda, Isa, Sabon Birni and Moriki Districts which reprents the Kaura Namoda Are of this study.



Source: Adopted from Moriki M.L.B., The Alibawa Fulani factor in the History North-Eastern Zamfara (M.A Theses Dept. History University of Jos 1995)

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Swindle K., et.al *Sokoto State in Maps: An Atlas of Human and Physical Resources,* University Press Ibadan, 1982

The area was part of the former Sokoto Province. It is presently bordered by Sabon Birni Local Government area to the north and those of Gwaranyo and Rabah Local Governments of the present Sokoto state to the west, Maradun, Bungudu and Gusau Local Government Areas of the present Zamfara state to the south and by Katsina State in the east. A smaller section of the area now falls within Sokoto State.[4] While the largest section of the area is located in the present Zamfara state.[5] The northwestern railway terminus i.e. Kaura Namoda Railway Terminus located at Kaura Namoda town was planned to execute a wider regional mandate its impact was therefore felt in the whole of the area covered by this study as well as in other areas outside the immediate boundaries of the region as defined in this study. These include areas across the Nigerian border in the Republic of Niger.[6]

1.4 Topography, Geology and Soil of Kaura Namoda Area

Kaura Namoda Area shares the topography of the wider Rima Basin which is generally characterized by flat, gently rolling open plains. These plains have been identified with the vast tracts of land which extends from Sokoto to Lake Chad and beyond.[7] In the southeastern section of the Rima Basin where our area of study lies,

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[4] Sabon Birni, and Isa Local Government Areas fall within Sokoto State. The Districts of Shinkafi Moriki, Zurni, Kaura Namoda are all located in the present Zamfara State.

[5] Zamfara State was created on 1st October 1996.
[6]Oral evidence: Alhaji Ali Nakura Age 75 Kaura Namoda 10/09/2006..

[7]M.B. Thorp, "Land Forms" in M.J. Mortimor (ed) *Zaria and its Regions*, occasional paper No.4, Department of Geography, A.B.U., Zaria 199/70, p.13.

the plains are occasionally broken by ridges of rocky outcrops at varying locations,[8] this is why steep-sided ranges of quartzite, phyllite gneiss and granite inselbergs exist in some sections of the basin including our area of study.[9] Some of the notable inselbergs in our area of study include the Dutsin Aya, Dutsin Kamanni, Dutsin Magore, Dutsin Tsabre and Duwatsun Kiawa among others.[10] These inselbergs are said to have been of some cultural and religious significance to the populations of the area in the distant past.[11]

The south eastern rima basin where our area of study is located belongs to the geological formation known as the pre-Cambrian crystalline[12] which is usually underlain by rocks belonging to the basement complex type. The resistant hard nature of the basement makes rivers in this region to flow in narrow rocky channels with varying consequences to ecology as well as human activity in the area.[13]

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[8]Augi, op.cit, p.4.

[9] Ibid, p.24.

[10]I.A. Kaura, "The Rise of Kaura in the Nineteenth Century" (B.A. History Project University of Sokoto), 1984, p.12.

[11]A.G. Nadama; "Urbanization in the Sokoto Caliphate: A Case Study of Gusau and Kaura Namoda" in Y.B. Usman (ed.) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate*, Sokoto Seminar papers (A.B.U. Zaria 1977). P. 151

[12]Augi, op.cit, p.24.

[13]The narrow, rocky nature as well as the high gradients of the channels make it difficult for extensive flood plains to occur as is the case with the lower reaches of the rivers. This fact among others made areas around the river valleys to be the more favoured in terms of human settlement in our region. Similarly, the rocky nature of the region ensures that water table is not too deep below the surface of the earth. This is significant in terms of water supply in the region. The proximity of the water table to the earth surface made accessibility to water easier. Water for various domestic uses was obtained by seeking shallow wells in and around the river beds. This topographical feature of the region had been decisive in influencing human settlement into the region.

Generally, the soils of the wider Rima Basin vary considerably in their composition.[14] In Kaura Namaoda region like in most of the south eastern section of the Sokoto Rima Basin there are two major types of soils: the fine dark brown soil known as *jigawa* predominates in the upland areas while the alluvial soil *laka* of the flood plains *fadama* is found in the river valleys of the region. The Jigawa soil is of finer drift material. It is obvious that this soils type is a little more fertile than the predominantly sandy soil of the northern section of the Rima Basin. Chafe has explained that it is the difference in fertility levels of the soil in our region that enabled it to support other non-food or industrial crops such as cotton and indigo (used in greater quantity in our regions as raw materials in the cottage industries) in addition to the more common staple crops such as guinea corn, *dawa* and millet *gero*, whose culture was more widespread in the wider Rima Basin.[15]

1.5 Rivers

Just as the topography of the area influences the distance of ground water, it also influences the pattern of its river system or hydrology. Due to the more rugged nature of the topography of the area in comparison to that of the northern section of the rima basin, rivers in our area flow in narrow rocky channels due to the resistant hard nature of the underlain basement rock. The rivers are also characterized by high run-offs during the wet season, resulting to periodic flooding of their valleys. It

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[14]Augi, op. cit. p. 25.

[15]K.S. Chafe, "State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate: Policies and Practices in the Metropolitan Districts 1804-1903" (Ph.D. Theses A.B.U. Zaria 1992). p. 12

is interesting to note that the head waters of the major rivers of the Sokoto rima basin are located in our section of the basin. The local waters run at an elevation of 600-700 metres above the mean sea level. The largest part of the catchment being 300-450 metres above the sea, the lowest area of the catchment 300 metres being the fadama.[16]

Although most of the rivers in the south eastern Rima Basin dry up during the dry season, Kaura Namoda Area is still fairly well drained by a number of rivers and streams which usually over-flood their valleys as a result of high run-off in the event of heavy rains. The over-flooded valleys support marshes which provided good pasture for cattle and other domestic animals. The major rivers in the region are the river *Gagare* and river *Bunsuru*. In fact, the Kaura Namoda town, the location of the North Western railway terminus is situated along the middle bank of the river Gagare.[17] In addition, there are a number of large streams that serve as tributaries to river Gagare. These streams *koramu* include the *Koramar* Gabake, *Koramar* Fafara, *Koramar* Gorkundu and *Koramar* Zororì. There were numerous ponds *taffuka* which collected and retained water during the wet season and serve pastoralists as sources of water for their animals in the dry season. It is important to note that one of the most important *fadammu* in the entire rima basin, *Fadamar Kanwa*, is located in our area. The *Fadamar Kanwa* was vast and highly fertile. It

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[16]Ibid, p.5.

[17]A.G. Nadama, "Urbanisation in Sokoto Caliphate: A Case Study of Gusau and Kaura-Namoda" in Usman Y.B. (ed.) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate Sokoto Seminar Papers* (A.B.U., 1977), p.148.

is located on the confluence of the rivers Gagare and Bunsuru, for these reasons, it attracted farmers and pastoralists to our region. Augi has explained that the *Fadamar Kanwa* was significant in attracting the settlement of large human populations into the region as well as in influencing major historical developments in the region during the 17th and 18th centuries.[18] It might have been that the annual net yields of the *fadamar kanwa* together with the large agricultural produce of the upland farms of our region could have contributed to the agricultural wealth of Zamfara which had been noted by Clapperton and Barth.[19] It would still appear that a desire to tap the apparent agricultural potential of the Kaura Namoda Area in particular could have been the major consideration behind the decision by the colonial state to locate the North-Western railway terminus in the Kaura Namoda town, regarded then as the heartland of a wider agriculturally potential region.[20]

1.6 Climate and Rainfall

The climate and the pattern of the distribution of rainfall are the major factors influencing agricultural production in our region. The climate of the Rima Basin is generally of the tropical continental type, usually characterized by prolonged high temperatures in most part of the year and marked by seasonal rain

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[18]Augi, op.cit, Pp.42-43.

[19]See Clapperton, H. *Journal of a Second Expedition* (London John Murray, 1829). Barth H. *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa.* Vols. I – II Frank Cass, London, 1965.

[20]N.A.K. SNP No 11394/594/9th May 1927.

fall. It seems however, that a slight variation in the climatic condition of our region has ensured a more favourable annual distribution of rainfall for the region.[21] In spite of this slight variation, the climate in our region does not differ fundamentally from the general climate of the wider Rima Basin which is determined by the inter play of two different air masses; the moist tropical maritime airmass from the Atlantic and the dry continental airmass from the Sahara. Under this circumstance, the zone of convergence, the Inter-Tropical Discontinuity (ITD) oscillates between north and south, causing an alteration of rainy and dry seasons.[22] The dry season lasts nearly seven months from November to May, and temperature attains its highest reading in the month of April. Thus the rhythm of agricultural activities in the area follows the pattern of the two seasons. Due to the prolonged duration of the dry season relative to the wet season, it was devoted to both leisure and a variety of other economic activities which range from dry season farming, *aikin lambu* to hunting *farauta* and long distance trading *fatauci*.[23]

Rainfall, which usually marks the beginning of wet season begins late in the month of May or the beginning of June. The wettest months in our region are July and August. The wet season ends in late September but may sometimes extends up to October. The wet season was generally devoted to agricultural production.

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[21]Chafe, op.cit, p.8

[22]Ibid, p.16.

[23]Oral interview. Marafa Umaru, 70, Kanwuri Kaura Namoda (June, 2006).

Pastoralism or animal husbandry coexisted side by side with agriculture in our area. The development of animal husbandry as a major occupation in the area is associated with the lack of tsetse fly as well as the availability of pasture in the area. Thus such animals as cattle sheep and goats were raised for sale as well as for consumption, whereas horses, mules as well as donkeys were raised and used for various domestic purposes but most significantly for transport.[24]

Although Kaura Namoda Area is not known to be significantly endowed with any particular mineral deposit, some mineral resources still existed in relatively significant measure. These included deposits of natron in the fadamar kanwa.[25] And lime stone deposits around Moriki town and the village of Kwangwami. Bature Moriki has hinted at some level of lime stone extraction or mining in the area.[26]

1.7 Vegetation

The vegetation of the area was of great economic significance to the population that settled in the region. Kaura Namoda Area like other parts of the wider Rima Basin falls within the savanna type of vegetation. There is however a level of local variation between the vegetation in the river valleys and that in the

[24]N.A.K. Report on Animal Transport, Northern Nigeria SNP 7, File No.1364 (Pp.1-3) 1907.

[25]Chafe, op.cit, p.15.

[26]M.L.B. Moriki, "The Alibawa Factor in the History of North Eastern Zamfara" (unpublished M.A. Theses, Department of History, University of Jos, 1995), p. 148.

upland areas. There are two forest types therefore in our area: the parkland, which is the dominant type in the region and the higher storied forest which is rarer, such as the *dajin Gundumi,* which is characterized by very tall trees.

Several materials needed for human uses were obtained from the forest. The forest supplies such materials as logs of wood for fuel, fruits for human consumption, timber for building construction and the manufacture of wooden objects such as causes mortars and pestles, wooden handles for a variety of household items. The forest also supplies fodder for animals and herbs of varying medicinal values.[27] Some of the commonest trees in the area include the locustbean *Dorowa* (parkia clappertonia), *Dunya* (*Vitexcionkwoskii)*, *Kadanya* (*Butyrosperimim parku*) *Tsamiya* (*Tamarindus Undica*) *Faru* (*Lanna Barteri*).[28] The locust bean seeds were used in making *daddawa* used as an important cooking condiment in the region, shea butter *mankade* is made from sheanuts, the shea butter is used as supplementary fat as well as for food and for medicinal purposes. The tamarind is also useful as food additive and a source of medicinal extracts.[29]

We have attempted an examination of the nature of the physical environment of our area in the foregone passages in order to see the extent to which human activity in relation to the environment had influenced or shaped historical

[27]Chafe, op.cit, p.13.

[28]Augi, op.cit, p.26.

[29]Ibid.

developments in the area overtime. It must be stressed, however, that though the physical environment and its constituent elements have always influenced the nature of social and material conditions of societies, it does so only to a relative degree, because as Augi has cautioned, historical developments generally, seldom conform strictly to geographical features;[30]

It is in this regard that we agree with the view that much as the elements of the physical environment such as the incidence and distribution of rainfall and the occurrence of localized water sources in dry season are significant for agricultural production in our area, political factors to a large extent also invariably influenced the pattern of organization of society as well as the dynamics of the social relations of productions of the people in the area,[31]as we shall see in the sections of this study that follow.

1.8 Human Settlement and the Nature of Social and Political Organization in Kaura Namoda Area during the Precolonial Period

Kaura Namaoda Area was a section of the wider territory which formed the heartland of the old kingdom of Zamfara. At the height of its power, the territory of the kingdom included all the areas transversed by the rivers Bunsuru and *Gagare*, two of the major tributaries of the River Rima, Northward, the Kingdom extended

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[30]Ibid, p.6.

[31]Ibid, Chafe, op.cit. p.18.

up to the area surrounding the Rima and in the south, it extended to the boundaries of the old Hausa state of Katsina along the *Dajin ruggu* and in the northwest along the *Dajin Gundumi*.[32]

The kingdom of Zamfara flourished from the early 16th century until the second half of the 18th century when Birnin Zamfara, its capital was sacked by the Gobir forces[33] and the northern territories of the Zamfara Kingdom were incorporated into the Gobir kingdom with the fall of the Birnin Zamfara in around 1757 A.D. A number of principalities in other parts of the Zamfara territory notably Kiawa in our region however remained to resist the hegemony of Gobir up to the outbreak of the Sokoto jihad led by Shehu Usman dan Fodio at the turn of the 19th century. As a matter of fact, Kaura Namoda town itself, was founded in 1809 as a new post-jihad settlement by Muhammadu Namoda a supporter of the jihad who lived in the region.[34]

It is worthy of note that by the beginning of our period of study 1929, Kaura Namaoda region was passing through the third of a series of transitions that marked the process of social and political development in the area, since the rise of Zamfara Kingdom n the 16th century. The first transition being the period between the rise and the fall of the kingdom of Zamfara up to the jihad; the second being the post-

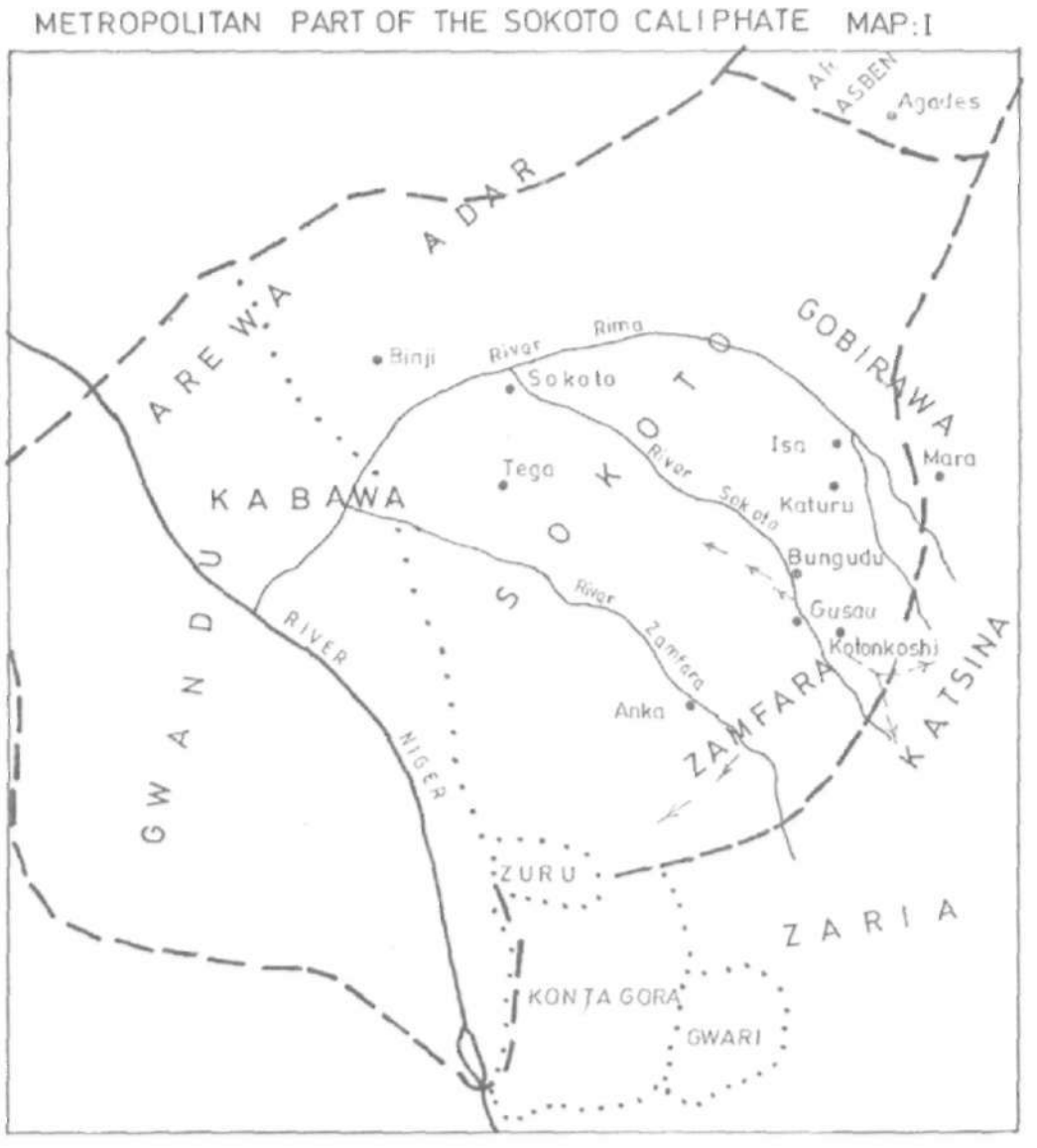
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[32] Ibid., p.24.

[33] Ibid.

[34] H.A.S. Kaura *op.cit.*

jihad period during which the area became incorporated into the metropolitan district of the Sokoto Caliphate (see map below).



Source: Adopted from Nadama A.G., The evolution of a city, A historical development of Gusau town from its foundations to the present

The third being the period during which the region came under the British colonial rule. It is our view that any attempt at studying the nature of social and

political developments in Kaura Namoda area must take into cognizance this pattern of historical experience.

1.9 Peopling of the Region and the Evolution of Political Institutions

The role of the physical environment in influencing human settlement in the different sections of our area has been noted at the beginning of this study. It appears that the prosperous agricultural economy of the area and the types of agrarian industries it supported provided part of the attraction for migrant populations that settled in the area. The Birnin Zamfara itself was located in the lower plains surrounded by an extensive belt of fertile fadama suitable for the cultivation of a variety of crops.[35]

Nadama and others have attempted some kind of survey of the different communities that settled in the different parts of the territory of the Zamfara Kingdom from the earliest times,[36] which include Zamfarawa, Barebare, Fulani and Gobirawa, the main concern of our study, however, is to show that social intercourse among the various social groups in the area provided the basis for the development of the economic and political structures of the society in the area.

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[35]Chafe Op. Cit., p. 25

[36]A.G. Nadama, "The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara" (Ph.D. Thesis Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1977). See also H.A.S. Kaura op.cit. p. 36

The emergence of a state structure in the territory is associated with the emergence of the Birnin Zamfara and its organic connection with the existing ancient settlements surrounding it, notably the settlements of Kiawa, Fata, Dutsi, Tsohuwar Banaga and Tozai.[37] These settlements, many of them located near prominent inselbergs or near other notable rocky outcrops are suggested to have been settled by man since the pre-iron age period.[38]

The evolution of the political institution of *Sarauta* in the Zamfara kingdom is associated with the emergence of the office of the *Sarkin* Zamfara who by the mid 18th century had become established as the head of the state machinery. The authority of the sarki over the state, like elsewhere in Hausaland, derived partly from the ability of the *Sarki* to extend control over a substantial tract of territory and partly from his ability to come to terms with what Smith referred to as "old segmentary allegiances" which continued to provide a basis for political obligation for groups within the *kasa*.[39]

The *sarki* was assisted by a council of electors whose main duty was to choose a successor to the office of the *sarki* anytime the office became vacant. In Zamfara where our area of study lies, the council was made up of nine officials known as the *Taran Zamfara*. However, territorial units of the kingdom were administered by officials in the state administrative machinery known as the

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[37]Ibid H.A.S. Kaura op. cit.
[38]Augi, *op.cit.*
[39] Abdullahi Smith, 'Some Considerations Relating to the Formation of States in Hausaland' JHSN No. 53. December 1970 Pp.329-36.

sarakunan Gururuwa. These officials enjoyed a considerable autonomy from the central authority. The *sarakunan Garuruwa* were important to the stability of the Zamfara kingdom in view of their significant role as links between the central authority and the populace as well as mobilizers of military force,[40] and of labour.

Another important category of officials in the kingdom were the leaders of the occupations, *Sarakunan Sana'a.* These officials generally regulated the practice of the professions including the enforcement of standard and codes of professional ethics as well as quality control. They also served as important links between professional groups and the state. However, the most significant role of these titled officials was the collection of occupational taxes.[41] In Zamfara, the *sarakunan sana'a* were under the *Ajiya of Zamfara*, the state treasurer. Some of the significant revenue-yielding occupations included commerce *fatauci*, weaving *saka*, dyeing *rini* as well as blacksmithing *kira*. Indeed, the head of the blacksmiths *sarkin makera* was a very important official in the region. The importance of the office of the *sarkin makera* derived from his status as the chief supervisor of the manufacture of the state arsenal.[42]

From the early sixteenth century, one significant feature of political development in our area as in the wider rima basin was the expansion of the

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[40]Chafe, "State and Economy," op.cit, p.32.

[41]Ibid, p.34

[42]Ibid.

institution of the *sarauta*. This system in turn led to the spread of the class of *masu sarauta* in the society. This development was important in the process of social and political development in the area: it helped to sharpen the process of social differentiation in the society, emphasizing the division of the society into the *sarauta* and the *talakaawa* classes. This emergent influential class of *masu sarauta* came to play a very crucial role in public affairs of the state. The prestige which this sarauta class came to acquire has been associated with their dominant position in the hierarchy of the social relations of production of the societies in the area.[43]

By the late 17th century a high level of social stratification had developed in the societies of the area. Augi who attempted a classification and analysis of the evolution of social groups in the area has attributed the diversity and the high level of social differentiation of the societies in the area to the fairly well developed nature of productive activities in the area by the mid 17th century.[44] Some of the prominent social groups identified in our area include the *masu sarauta* themselves, as well as members of the intelligentsia (*mallamai)* and merchants (*attajirai)*.[45]

Although there seems to be no consensus on the specific nature of the mode of production which existed in our area, before and during our period of study it is however obvious that there had always been an aristocracy which collected tribute in labour and in kind from the peasantry as well as from craftsmen since as early as

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[43]Chafe, op.cit, p 36
[44]Augi, "*The Gobir Factor*," *op.cit*, p.235.
[45]Ibid.

17th century. Nadama has shown that the *masu sarauta in Zamfara* were able through taxation, *gaisuwa* (some sort of informal levies) and the yields of the large agricultural estates that they controlled (*gandayen sarauta*) to amass wealth and used it to maintain their dominat position in the administration of the kingdom.[46] However, Y.A. Abdullahi who studied an aspect of the social relations of production in Kaura Namoda area has identified the socio-political organization which existed in the region up to the turn of the 20th century as 'tribute paying' mode of production.[47] We found it safer however to avoid the use of the term mode of production altogether and use the more flexible term of social organization due to the controversial nature of the term *mode of production*.[48]

1.10 Nature and Organization of Economic Activities in the Pre-Colonial Period

Three major occupations were at the centre of much of the economic or productive activities in the area in the pre-colonial period. These occupations were agriculture, pastoralism and to a relative degree hunting and fishing. These occupations largely provided the basis for the nature of the social development of our area. Agriculture, however, was the mainstay of the economy of the area. The

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[46]A.G. Nadama, *The Rise and Fall of a Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara;* (unpublished Ph.D. (History)Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1977), p.95.

[47] Y.A. Abdullahi, "Social Relations of Production in Peasant Agriculture: A Case Study of Simple Commodity Production in Kaura Namoda Area of Sokoto", A.B.U., Zaria (Ph.D. Thesis Department of Sociology), 1983 pp 72 – 74.

[48]C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Research on African Mode of Production" in M.A. Wein and G.W. Johnson (eds) *Perspectives on the African Past* Little, Brown, New York 1972 p. 77.

centrality of agriculture in the economy of the area made the system of land tenure the most crucial issue in the organization of social relations of production.

1.10.1 Land Tenure

Land tenure refers to the customary system which embodies a set of rules and regulations which guide the control, sharing as well as the use of land. For at least three centuries before colonialism, land, being the most important natural resource in our area had become a central and most significant issue in the relations among the various societies inhabiting the area. It is important to note, therefore, that the practice of agriculture was consistent with, and regulated by the customary system of land holding of the area. Augi has enumerated some factors which influenced the nature and pattern of land holding in the whole of the Rima Basin area,[49] our area inclusive. These factors included the fertility of the soils and their proximity and accessibly to both surface and ground water, as well as the level of development of the social and political institutions of the society.[50]

The land tenure system in our area as in other parts of the rima basin, existed in some form in which each settlement be it a village (*kauye*), a town (*gari*) or a city (b*irni*) controlled the piece of land surrounding it. By the provision of the indigenous land tenure system, of the area, each member of a household *gida* had

[49]Augi, op.cit, Pp.205-206.

[50]Ibid.

varying rights of access and use of the land. Augi has refuted the claim which gives the impression that land was communally owned and that land was so plentiful as not to generate any kind of conflict[51] contrary to these claims he has argued that the nature of the social relations which had developed in the various societies of the Rima Basin in the seventh century was such that made indiscriminate equal access to land impossible.[52] Thus by the custom of this land tenure system, the *Sarakuna* were the recognized custodians of the land and its resources. There was also a hierarchy of officials to which the sarakuna delegated authority over the control of land. The logic of this land tenure system is embodied in the tradition in which many settlements and the land controlled by them were welded into provinces and kingdoms *kasashe* in which the overall control of the land rested at least nominally with the *sarakuna*. This arrangement conferred the *sarakuna* with tremendous power which is derived from their control of this important means of production.[53] But while the *sarakuna* exercised much control over the land of their respective territories, such control was still limited, in that it did not invest them with absolute ownership of the land.[54]

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[51]Ibid., p.235.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Chafe, op.cit, p.38.

[54]Augi, op.cit, Pp.215-216.

The basic unit of land holding *the gandu* was organized around the *gandu* social production system. The *gandu*, sometimes interchangeable with the *gida* consisted of members of a partrilineage group including those with adopted status such as clients *barori*. Generally, social production was organized around the household or (*gida*). The *gida* comprised all the members of the patrilineal homestead under the leadership of a senior male member (*maigida*). The *gida* constituted the basic unit of social labour. Thus agricultural production was carried out on the *gandu* by members of a household (*gida*) in which all able-bodied members of the *gida* were expected to participate in one activity or another, ranging from land clearing to planting and harvesting. The *gida* also functioned to provide socio-economic security to its members and served as cultural platforms on which members participated in the affairs of the wider society. As a matter of fact, by the late 19th century the *gandu* had become well established as the social basis of the economic foundation of our area.[55]

The *gandu* is also associated with the system of *gamana*, private land holding of some members of the *gida*. These are extra plots of land usually allocated to the members of the patrilineage by the leader of the household *maigida*. These *gamana* or *kurya* plots were outside the main *gandun gida*. The proceeds from such farms belonged entirely to their owners who normally worked on them in

[55]Chafe, op.cit, p.43.

their free time when they were not engaged in the work of the *gandu*. Chafe has observed that the *gamana* plots were important sources of extra income to the members of the *gida* who had such plots, and therefore became part of the basis of social differentiation between members of the same *gida*.[56]

Apart from the *gandu* and the *gamana*, there were the *gandayen sarakuna*. These were large agricultural estates which belonged to the title holders and other members of the *sarauta* class as well. Similarly, some members of merchant class (*attajirai*) and the intelligensia (*mallamai*) also possessed such Agriculture Estates in some degree. Agricultural production was undertaken in these types of estates largely through the use of slaves or other forms of unpaid labour.[57]

Generally, this prevailaing land te ure system allowed for the existence of certain land which was collectively owned, such as those reserved as grazing and hunting lands or fishing grounds. For instance, the forest immediately surrounding a settlement was used as the grazing land of the community while another portion of the forest usually located further away from the settlement was reserved for hunting. Grazing and hunting lands were collectively held by the community under the custodianship of the rulers or 'any person with delegated political authority.[58] Augi has shown that from the 17th century onward, the *sarakuna* in our area as well

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[56]Ibid, p.44.

[57]The *Gayyar Kalankuwa* organized for the purpose of work on the *gandun sarki* was a form of forced labour.

[58]Chafe, op.cit, p.39

as in the wider Rima Basin were able by virtue of their immense political power to sequestrate much of the surplus and labour of the peasants who used the land and its resources. Such surplus was primarily used for the upkeep of the aristocracy *masu sarauta* and the reproduction of the State in general.

This was expressed in such matters as the purchase of weapons and luxury goods and other such services which constituted the social and political obligations of the *sarakuna* which was also the source of legitimation of their social and political dominance over the society.[59]

It is clear that by our period of study the *sarakuna* maintained ultimate control in matters pertaining to land and its resources. This situation seems to support the view that even after the reforms introduced by the Caliphal administration after the Sokoto Jihad, the basic structure and pattern of land tenure in our region and indeed the whole of the Rima Basin did not change in substantial form.[60] Every member of the community, of course continued to enjoy varying rights of access and use of the land, however, the land tenure as modified by the policies of the caliphate still upheld the authority of the rulers in land matters. For instance, a piece of land given by the ruler remains the property of the recipient.[61]

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[59]Augi, op.cit, p.217.

[60]Chafe, op.cit, p.131.

[61]Ibid.

The Calipal Authority however did much to sanitize the system by issuing clear-cut guidelines and regulations on land matters. Chafe noted that these regulations served in reducing some of the 'arbitrariness' associated with the land tenure system as it existed in the pre-caliphate era.[62]

Although there was no evidence of sale, hire or mortgage of land in our region up to the beginning of the 19th century, by the middle of that century however, other forms of land acquisition began to be affected through purchase which involved complete alienation of land for money. With regard to taxation however, it is widely reported that land tax or any other form of land related levies were never officially imposed in the whole of the metropolitan region of the Sokoto Caliphate[63] where our area of study lies.

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[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid. p.142, see also S. Abubakar, "Birnin Shehu, the City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History C.1809-1903". (unpublished Ph.D Thesis A.B.U., 1982), p.193.

1.10.2 Nature of Agrarian Occupations

Although agriculture characterised by farming; together with pastoralism, hunting and fishing had emerged to be the dominant occupations in our area from as early as 17th century, by our period of study, other occupations related to craft manufacture such as Black Smithing, Weaving, Leather and wood carving had also evolved and were existing at varying levels of development. High level of both local and external trade had also developed in the area. However, agriculture as the mainstay of the economy of the area provided the basis for the development of the other occupations.

1.10.3 Agriculture

In our area as in other parts of the wider rima basin, human settlement became concentrated in the areas with fertile soils in and around the river valleys.[64] This is due to the suitability of the areas for cultivation of a variety of crops in addition to the availability of sources of water generally. Thus for a very long period before the period of study, agriculture had become established as the basis of the economy of our area.

As the most significant occupation, therefore, agriculture had become highly adapted in the area. Through long standing practical knowledge and experience, farmers in our area had become conversant with the characteristics of soils and

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[64]Augi Op Cit. pp. 7 - 12.

crops as well as the nature of weather and climate condition in relation to agricultural practices. For example, farmers recognized fertile soils from the nature of grasses that grew on it. They were familiar with varying soil types and their degree of fertility. They also knew that crop rotation reformed soil nutrients, and the use of animal manure regenerated the fertility of soils. They also discovered and adopted several other techniques and methods which were the product of prolonged trial and error in the practice of agriculture.[65]

The soil in our area comprising of fine drift material, proved to be suitable for the cultivation of different kinds of crops. These included millet *gero*, guinea corn *dawa* as well as other cereals; as a matter of fact, at some time, our area had been noted as the leading producer of cereals in Hausaland.[66] In addition to cereals, such non-food crops as cotton *awduga* indigo, *baba* and henna *lalle* were produced in substantial quantities usually around the river banks. Generally, farming and other activities related to agricultural production began with land clearing just before the beginning of the wet season. Planting was done at the beginning of the season usually in the month of May or June.

However, agricultural production in our area usually extended into the dry season in the form of dry season farming (*noman rani*). Mustapha Suleiman has observed that 'high value per acre' crops such as wheat, (*alkama)* rice (*shinkafa)*,

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[65]Chafe, op.cit, p.40.

[66]Ibid, p.41.

maize (*masara)* as well as legumes and root crops like potatoes (*dankali)*, cassava (*rogo),* were cultivated in the flood plains on the alluvial soils of the *fadamu* in the valleys of the rivers Gagare and Bunsuru.[67] Some times, legumes and root crops such as cassava, potatoes and cocoa yam (*gwaza)* were used to complement poor harvests in periods of drought. These legumes and tubers also played important role in the ecological cycles due to their nitrogen conservation properties which helped in preserving the fertility of the soils.[68]

Mustapha Suleiman has also shown that dry season farming was done in such a large scale that it provided employment to a significant section of the population in Isa district during the long dry season period.[69] Agricultural labour instruments were supplied by the blacksmiths of the region. Some of the implements used in agricultural labour included a variety of hoes such as the *galma* and *kwasa* which were employed in tilling the alluvial soil of the *fadama*. There was the *kalme* used for various tasks that ranged from sowing to harvesting. There was also the *hauya* used for farming and the axe *gatari* used in bush or forest clearing as well as other heavy hoes for heavy earthwork *kaftu.*[70]

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[67]Mustapha, Suleiman, The History of Tobacco Production in Isa District Sokoto State,1948 - 1990 (M.A. Thesis, Department of History Usumanu Danfodio University, Sokoto 1992) p. 41.

[68]Chafe, op.cit, p.42. p. 41

[69]Mustapha, Suleiman, op.cit. p. 41

[70]A. Nurudeen, "Indigenous Technology in Northern Nigeria. Zamfara Metal Industry in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries." (M.A. Thesis, Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1987) p. 115.

The practice of dry season farming from a long time is widely reported by earlier writers on our area,[71] it however became intensified and more wide spread in the course of the 19th century. Chafe has shown that the political transformation brought about by the Sokoto Caliphate had ensured the expansion and intensification of agricultural production especially in the metropolitan districts of the Caliphate.[72]

One issue related to the system of landholding on which writers come to have varying views is the cause of the decline of the *gandu* system in agricultural production in our area; while Chafe suggests that the system of the *gamana* plots[73] might have been one of the factors that led to the gradual decline of the gandu as a basic unit of both social and material production, Y.A. Abdullahi and Mustapha Suleiman who studied aspects of colonial economy in our area have attributed the decline of the *gandu* system largely to the new colonial policies on land tenure and labour matters which the Colonial State imposed on the area.[74]

However, up to at least 1900, the *gandu* was to a large extent still the basic unit of social production, and formed the social basis of the economy of our area[75] up to this period also, the household *gida* still provided overall socio-economic

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[71] Hugh Clapperton and Barth H., op.cit.

[72]Chafe, op.cit, pp. 115 – 117.

[73]Ibid, p.44

[74]See, Y.A. Abdullahi, "Social Relations of Production in Peasant Agriculture: A Case study of simple commodity production in Kaura Namoda Area of Sokoto State" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Department of Sociology, A.B.U. Zaria 1983); Also Mustapha Suleiman 'The History of Tobacco Production *op.cit.*

[75]Oral Evidence, Marafa Umaru, Age 70 Kanwuri Kaura Namoda, June 2006.

security to its members while at the same time serving as cultural platform on which its members participated in the affairs of the wider society.[76]

1.10.4 Pastoralism

Pastoralism was among the major occupations in our area. In fact as early as the 15th century pastoral groups had began to occupy an important place in the social and economic life of the area.[77] As a major occupation, pastoralism is associated with the rearing of animals or animal husbandry. However, a distinction is usually made between the rearing of animals practiced by the sendentarized agricultural population and the actual pastoralism which is a full time occupation associated with the nomadic groups.

While the sedentarized agricultural populations may keep any number of cattle and sheep the rhythm of their daily work and livelihood did not necessarily revolve around the animals. Unlike the former, the pastoralists were not merely engaged in animal husbandry as some auxiliary economic activity, on the contrary, they depended on it as their sole means of livelihood. In other words, they depended on livestock both for food and for the means to engage in all social relations with other social groups. In our area therefore, the pastoralists as a unique group took to nomadism as their main method of resource utilization in the absence of private

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[76] Chafe op cit. p 44
[77] Augi, op.cit, p.318-319.

ownership of land.[78] As a result, they became involved in a series of varying seasonal movements which took the form of occasional migrations of livestock and human population across ecological zones in search of water and pasture. These movements became established along a North-South and South-North pattern relative to the rotation of wet and dry seasons in the area.[79]

As it was the case with the sedentarized groups, the pastoral populations in our area were socially organized along a variant of the patrilineal family units of the household or *gida* system; several families came together to form a *rugga* among which may exist some form of kinship relations. The seasonal movement might involve all members of a particular *rugga* or a group of *guggage*.[80]

1.10.5 Fishing

Perhaps due to the absence of any significant water body such as lakes or rivers during the dry season period, as at our period of study fishing had been rather a marginal occupation in our area. None the less, little fishing activity was done in some parts of the area where rivers and ponds retained water for a longer period into the dry season.[81]

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[78] Chafe Op Cit. pp. 45 – 46.
[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Oral Interview, *Sarkin Ruwa* Muazu Age 50 Sabon gari Kaura Namoda (June 2006).

1.10.6 Hunting

Hunting however was a significant occupation in the area, as a matter of fact, hunting is believed to have predated the development of agriculture in our area.[82] There were two categories of hunters: These included professional hunters *mahalba* who took to hunting as a way of earning a living; often, they functioned as herbalists and dabbled into prescriptions of herbal medicaments to people afflicted by various ailments. There were also the *yanhalbi*, people who took to hunting as a part-time or as a game or sport at their leisure time.

Hunting was usually conducted in groups during the period of dry season. However, professional hunters spent most of their time in the bush and as observed earlier, they hold the reputations of being great herbalists.

1.10.7 Craft Industries and Manufacturing Activities

Manufacture involving for the most part the production of crafts and other products seemed to form the basis of industrial activity in our area. Most of crafts manufacture was done in such occupations as black smithing, weaving, leather working, wood carving and pottery.[83] This manufacture was carried out using raw materials obtained from agricultural produce as well as animal products together with minerals and forest resources. It has been observed that the development of craft and other manufactures at a point, suggests, the attainment of some high level

[82]Chafe *op.cit.*p. 47

[83]Ibid., pp. 48 - 50

of urbanization and social differentiation in the area.[84] Augi has shown that as early as the mid 18th century craft manufacture had developed as a major economic activity in our area.[85]

1.10.8 Black Smithing

In our area, manufacture seemed to have begun in the field of iron working. The existence of high quality iron-ore deposits which is widely reported in many parts of the region seemed to have been responsible for stimulating the development of iron working in the region from early times.[86] As a matter of fact, the expansion of agriculture as a leading economic activity in our area owed much to developments in the fields of iron-working. The agricultural populations inevitably came to depend on blacksmiths for their labour instruments or implements.[87]

The blacksmiths were also responsible for the manufacture of arms and ammunitions used in building up the arsenal of the State. In addition, they produced the knives and scissors used by the barbers, as well as the equipments used in hunting, such as iron traps and den guns.

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[84] Ibid., p.48

[85] Augi, op.cit, p.56-57

[86] Abubakar Nurudden, Indigenous Technologiesin Northern Nigeria: Zamfara Metal Industry in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" M.A. (History) Thesis Departmentof History A.B.U. Zaria, 1987 pp. 94 – 96..

[87] Ibid.

There was a section of the blacksmiths known as *makeran fari* who engaged in the working of other metals such as gold, silver and copper they became notable in some parts of our area where they became famous for their manufacture of ornaments such as bracelets as well as stirrups and harness for horses in our area, in the course of the 19th century, Kaura Namoda became an important centre for the manufacture of harness *kiran dawaki*.[88]

Blacksmithing witnessed an unprecedented expansion during the jihad wars due to increasing demands for weapons. Also, some urban centres which emerged after the jihad such as Kaura Namoda, Talata Mafara, Moriki and Sabon Birni became important centres of trade in iron.[89] As a matter of fact, by the middle of the 19th century, the smithing industry had became expanded into an important sector of the economy of our region. Generally, it is observed that by the closing years of the 19th century, the smithing industry had gone through a tremendous expansion in terms of production capacity and technological quality control. Indeed, it is argued that the degree of improvement and expansion recorded in the industry during the 19th century was in the process of attaining a breakthrough in technological innovation when colonial intervention halted the drive.[90]

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[88] Chafe, op.cit, p.215.

[89] Nadama, op.cit. p.122.

[90]Chafe, op.cit. p.215.

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1.10.9 Weaving

What emerged as the textile industry in our area by the closing years of the nineteenth century had its beginnings in the 18th century, Nadama has observed that spinning which was closely associated with weaving was the most important occupation of the women folk in Zamfara during the 18th century.[91] The emergence of weaving as an important economic activity has been associated with the high level of cotton farming in the area. By the close of the nineteenth century three related activities had emerged to form what could be described as textile industry in the region. These related activities were spinning *kadi*, weaving *saka* and dyeing *rini*. Each of the three seemed to have developed as a separate vocation. Chafe has explained that each of these vocations represented one sector of the larger textile industry.[92] It is also noted that in the course of the 19th century, groups of professional weavers had emerged in different parts of our region. In towns such as Kaura Namoda, Zurmi, Moriki, Maradun, Kurya Katuru Sabon Birni and Isa, there existed quarters known as *Unguwar Masaka*. Even by our period of study, textile still formed an important part of the economy of the region. Textile materials such as *rigunan saki* and *Zannuwan saki* and *gwado* were significant articles of trade in our area as late as mid 20th century.[93]

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[91]Nadama, 'The Rise and Collapse of A Hausa State op.cit, p.122.

[92]Chafe, op.cit, p.217.

[93]Ibid.

1.10.10 Leather Working

Animal hides and skins were the main raw materials used in the manufacture of various leather products in our area including the bellows of the blacksmith *Zuga-zugi*. Leather working *dukanci* therefore seems to be as old as blacksmithing in our area.[94] By our period of study, Tanning *jima* and leather work *dukanci* had developed as important occupations in the area. Moreover, steady demand for leather products such as saddles for horses *siridda* leather shields, sword sheathes *kube,* water vessels *salka,* foot wears and bags such as book cases *gafaka,* berbers wallet *zabira* and many other articles made from leather ensured a continuing boost for leatherworking. In the course of the nineteenth century, the leather products from our area were especially noted for their high quality. These leather products formed substantial part of trade between our area and such emirates as Zazzau, Kano and Katsina.[95]

1.10.11 Woodcarving and Pottery

Woodcarving and pottery had existed as early as the 17th century. Wood carvers *masassaka* were important as suppliers of wooden handles for various implements and weapons. They also manufactured household items such as mortars

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[94] Abubakar, Nuruddeen, op.cit, Pp.33-34.

[95] Chafe, op.cit, p.22

and pestles, chairs as well as other wood products.[96] Pottery has similarly been widely practiced in some sections of our area especially those located along the river valleys of Gagare and Bunsuru where clay is easily obtainable. The two activities however became expanded in response to increasing demand. The nature of the local economy in our area based on the household social life was responsible for the growth and expansion of these occupations.

1.10.12 Nature and Forms of Social Labour

Four categories of social labour are found in existence in our area during the pre-colonial period. These included peasant labour, client labour, slave labour and forced labour.[97] It has been observed however that although wage labour (*kwadago*) began to exist at an insignificant level from as early as the second half of the 18th century, it did not become particularly significant in social production in our area until the beginning of the 19th century.[98]

Peasant labour here refers to the type of labour used by peasants themselves in carrying out their various day to day tasks of work. Client labour was used in a varying degree by members of the ruling class *masu sarauta* as well as members of the other socially important groups especially wealthy merchants, *attajirai* and members of the intelligentsia, *mallamai*. Slave and forced labour was largely utilized by the members of the ruling aristocracy on their large agricultural estates,

[96]Augi, op.cit. p.58.

[97]Chafe, op.cit, p.52.

[98]Ibid., p.300.

gandayen sarauta. The use of wage labour became significant in our area by the beginning of the 19th century where it was employed in upland agricultural cultivation during the rainy season. The practice of wage labour became more intensified in our area in the course of the 19th century by increasing seasonal migration from the northern areas of the Rima Basin into the area. Throughout the 19th century wage labour played an important role in agricultural production in the area.[99]

These categories of social labour as enumerated above were the major forms of labour employed in all production activities in Kaura Namoda Area up to the beginning of our period of study.[100] However, peasant labour was the main driving force, hence the dominant in agricultural production as well as in craft manufacture.

It is important to note that in all the areas where significant productive activity was carried out such as agriculture, pastoralism and craft manufacture, the household, *gida* constituted the basic unit of social labour. Under this organization, the *maigida* as the head of the patrilineage household, was responsible for the supply of the instruments of labour as well as food and raw material requirements of the household, *gida*. The *maigida* was also responsible for the regulation of the labour of the homestead. All able-bodied members of the household were expected to participate in one or other level of production.

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[99] Ibid, Pp.297-301.

[100]Oral interviewed with Hajia Tuni Sarkin Kiyawa Garba; Age 70 in her house at Sabon Gari Kaura Namoda, (June 2006).

Similarly, productive activities among the pastoral populations were organized around the *gida* as the basic labour unit. In this circumstance, the *maigida* took the major decisions on how herds were to be managed. He was also responsible for the division of labour among members of the household. The *gida* also formed the basis of the organization of labour in the sector of craft manufacture. This was the case with craftsmen. The elder members of the *gida* usually undertook the major work while the younger members were responsible for organizing the instruments of labour, they acted as apprentices hoping to learn the craft under the supervision of the elder crafts man.[101]

Beside the formal categories of labour which are discussed above, there was also the *gayya*. This was a form of informal volunteer or cooperative labour usually mobilized to undertake certain task of work which was usually too big to be handled by members of a single household. The *gayya* as a voluntary labour was occasionally mobilized to execute a particular work for an individual or the community. It is clear that up to our period of study the *gayya* was still used in executing work for individual members of the community and for public or community work or project whenever the need for such arose.[102]

Although it would appear that these categories of social labour had survived up to the early 20th century in our area, like it had been the case with land tenure,

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[101]Chafe, op.cit, p.54.

[102]Oral Interview with Marafa Umaru, Age 70 Kanwuri Kaura Namoda (June 2006).

the Caliphal administration had attempted some measure of regulation of the social relations of labour based on the social and economic policies of the Caliphate. Chafe has shown that the Caliphal authority was very critical of all forms of forced labour. However, labour units freely formed for the purpose of executing community works such as building of roads were recognized.[103] The Caliphal authority also canvassed for and promoted the ideals of dignified labour.

Notwithstanding the intervention of the Caliphal state in the regulation of labour relations, forced as well as slave labour continued to be utilized in varying degrees up to our period of study. It is probable that the mobilization of forced labour undertaken by emirs and chiefs on behalf of the colonial state in the building of colonial civil infrastructure must have had its basis on the custom of forced labour which existed since pre-Caliphal period and was still in existence during early colonial period inspite of the intervention of the caliphal Administration against the use of forced labour.

1.10.13 Nature of Trade

The development of commerce in our area as in other parts of the wider Rima Basin is closely linked to economic and social factors. These included ecological relations; uneven distribution of natural resources, regional specialization and the utilization of productive opportunities. Thus in our area, exchange

[103]Chafe, op.cit, p.126.

developed locally in relation to occupational specializations which made interdependence between occupational groups necessary. For instance, farmers entered into exchange with blacksmiths; and pastoral groups exchanged livestock related products with agricultural produce. Similar exchange relationship existed between and among different occupational groups in our area.

This local exchange or trade provided a basis for the development of trading relations between our region and the other sections of the Rima Basin. As early as the 17th century for example, cotton and indigo are said to have been among the major earliest exports from our region[104] to other sections of the Rima Basin. This internal trading activity was organized and conducted by merchants who were also involved in some long distance trade. The local trade in our area was connected with the development of middle men *(dillalai)* through whom all sales in the markets were made.[105] However, the forces influencing the conduct of trade generally dictated the various roles of dealers, middle men and brokers in any commercial transaction in the area.

Thus with the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate early in the nineteenth century, our area as part of the metropolitan districts of the caliphate emerged both as a new political centre as well as a centre of commerce. In its new position, our

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[104]Augi, op.cit, p.62; Saleh Abubakar, Aspects of an urban phenomenon, Sokoto and its Hinterland to c.1850 in usman Y.B. (ed) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto* Caliphate the Sokoto Seminar Papers A.B.U. Zaria 1979.

[105]Chafe, op.cit, p.52; Paul Lovejoy. *Caravans of Kola, The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900* (A.B.U. Press Zaria 1980).

area played a dual role in the emergent new post Jihad economic order; it served as a centre where import commodities were purchased and distributed into the rural communities and as a junction of long distance trade routes which passed through the region to the other parts of Rima Basin and beyond. In addition, a widespread network of internal commerce between our area and its surrounding communities were strengthened, the area also established a regular trading link with Sokoto the capital of the Caliphate. In this transaction, local specialization provided the stimuli for export. For example some towns in Kaura Namoda Area exported such wares as *sulke, lihidi* and *kaimi* (Horse riding gear) the town of Kurya for example exported thread *zare* and *sawaye* to Sokoto and other places.[106]

Kaura Namoda Area was also involved in the wider trade between the metropolitan districts and the other emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate such as Kano, Katsina, Zazzau, Bauchi, Adamawa, Bida and Ilorin. Some of the notable articles of trade which our area contributed to this trade included indigo; Abubakar has shown that much of the indigo used in the dyeing of textiles in the city of Sokoto was imported from Zamfara where it was grown extensively[107] other exports contributed by our area included grains, saddle wares, as well as thread and woven cloth *sawaye* such as produced in Kurya. The emirates in turn supplied such articles as metal

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[106]Chafe, op.cit, p.232.

[107]Saleh Abubakar, "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon", *op.cit. pp. 233 – 234.*

manufactures, palm oil as well as European imports to our area.[108] It is worthy of note that these commercial transactions between the metropolitan districts and the emirates of the caliphate to which our area contributed, were closely connected with the Long Distance Trade in which the area was also involved.[109] The position of Kaura Namoda Area in the Long Distance Trade was enhanced by its strategic location along one of the trade routes that linked the metropolitan Caliphate to the important Ghadames-Air-Kano Trans Sahara trade route. The notable caravan route which passed through Kaura Namoda Area was the Kano-Pauwa-Kotorkoshi-Kaura Namoda-Sokoto, which passed through Jega and Tendi card to Gonja in the Volta region.[110] Thus our area benefitted from the commercial transactions that took place between the merchants in the towns and the villages through which the trade route passed, as they served as centres of distribution of merchandise further into their interiors. The Kano-Fauwa-Kotorkoshi-Kaura-Namoda-Sokoto-Jega route played a significant role in the commercial integration of the metropolitan districts of the Caliphate with areas in North Africa and the Mediterranean to the north, and with the forest areas in the Volta region to the south.[111] The caravan route, which passed

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[108]Chafe, op.cit, p. 130 - 131.

[109] Ibid, p.233-234; N.A.K. Sokprof. File No.770/1913, Kaura Namoda District Assessment Report, 1913.

[110] Ibid, p.236.

[111]Mahdi Adamu; "Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" in Y.B. Usman (ed.) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate* (Third Press Lagos) 1975, p.75.

through Kaura-Namoda Area encouraged and enabled merchants in the area to participate in wider commercial activities at both local and international levels during the pre-colonial period.

1.10.14 Nature of Indigenous Transport System

Contrary to the claims of colonial writers who dismissed it as backward and inadequate, the pre-existing indigenous transport system was a well organized and fairly developed multi-sector industry made up of various infrastructure such as networks of roads with toll gates, travelers lodges *zangos*, teams of pack animals, and hundreds of well-organized human porters. As Ogunreme has shown and it agrees with what we have found in the course of this research, that there were professional transporters who had developed as an important arm of the indigenous transport business of the area over the years. These groups were the ones who were subsequently sought after, by the Colonial Administration for the purpose of hiring their teams of pack animals on a vast scale in the 1900s.[112] More interesting however is the fact that this long-existing indigenous infrastructure of transport which the Colonial State appropriated later was a heritage left behind by the long-distance and local trading activities of the area. As Ogunremi also pointed out,

[112]Ogunreme, G.O., "The Pre-Colonial Economy and Transportation in Northern Nigeria." in Akinjogbion, I.A. and Osoba, S.O., *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*, University of Ife Press Nigeria, 1980, p.109.

indigenous transport, along with its infrastructure developed in response to the demand in the local economy as a whole.[113]

Thus the long-existing internal (local) and long-distance trade in the Rima Basin area of which Kaura Namoda Area was a part depended on the important sector of the local transport industry. The political rulers' designated role in the industry was that of providing security, *yanrakkiya* on the routes as well as the mobilization of labour and the provision of supervision for the purpose of maintenance work on the routes. One correspondence between Mohammed Bello, leader of the Sokoto Caliphate and Muhammad al Mukhtar, leader of Masina provides an insight into the role of the state in the development of transport infrastructure in the region.

> The fifth [of our intensions in writing this letter] is that we want to open (trade) routes between us and you to ease communications between us--- it would be possible for us to establish relations, exchange visits and who ever wants to reach you from our side can do so, and vice versa, also traders and travelers from your area to ours will find it easy to do so.[114]

As it will be shown in the relevant passages of this study Kaura Namoda area was located along one of the most strategic routes of the Transaharan Trade that connected the metropolitan Caliphate with the Volta Basin and with North Africa. This route was the important Ghadames-Air-Kano route. Another important route

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[113] Ibid, p.112.

[114]Quoted in Saleh Abubakar Birnin Shehu: "The City of Sokoto a Social and Economic History", p.126.

Chapter Two

THE INCORPORATION OF KAURA NAMODA AREA INTO THE COLONIAL STATE

2.1 Introduction

The conquest and occupation of Sokoto by the British forces in 1903 paved the way for the establishment of the Colonial State and its Native Authority organ which played a central role in the development of Colonial Economy in what came to be the Sokoto Province in general and in Kaura Namoda Area in particular.

In this chapter therefore, an attempt is made to examine the process of the incorporation of Kaura Namoda Area into the Colonial State. This is in order to gain an insight into the way in which colonial political and administrative structures as well as policies were put in place as the first step towards the realization of the ultimate objective of Colonialism in the area: the establishment of Colonial Economy.

It is argued in the passages that follow in this chapter that both colonial infrastructure and the Native Authority bureaucracy which presided over the development of such infrastructure, evolved from the urgent need to achieve the central objective of colonialism, which was the control and exploitation of the natural resources of the colony in general and, in the case of our study, those of Kaura Namoda Area in particular.

2.2 The Conquest and Occupation of Sokoto

The developments that led to the creation of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria through a proclamation in 1900, together with the events that culminated in the fall of Sokoto in 1903 and its occupation by the British are well documented in other studies.[1] The main concern of our study at this stage is to examine the process through which our area of study, Kaura Namoda Area as part of the Metropolitan districts of the Sokoto Caliphate[2] came to be incorporated into the Colonial State. It is clear that the incorporation of the area into the colonial state was achieved through the colonial conquest and the subsequent promulgation of a series of legal ordinances and administrative policies which were used in the establishment and operation of colonial economy in the area. Thus in his speech at the formal installation of Sultan Attahiru II on March 21, 1903 in Sokoto, Fredrick Lugard, the High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria outlined the conqueror vanquished relations which was to exist thenceforth between the British officials and the native rulers in the new political dispensation under the Colonial State. Although the Native Authority Proclamation was not formally issued until 1907, Lugard's pronouncements which came to form the foundation for the future power structure within which the British officials and the native emirs were to coexist,

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[1]For more details relating to the conquest and occupation of the Sokoto Caliphate see R.A. Adeleye; *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906* (Longman, 1971); H.F. Backwell, *The Occupation of Hausaland 1900-1904*, Fran Cass London, 1969. D.J.M. Muffet; *Concerning Brave Captains Aandre Deutsch* London, 1964. Obaro Ikimi; *The Fall of Nigeria*, Heinemann, 1977.

[2] K.S. Chafe; "State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate: Policies and Practices in the Metropolitan Districts 1804-1903" (Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria 1992) p. xvi.

were more explicitly put in the letter of appointment of the Sultan. The terms of the letter of appointment represent in a fundamental sense, an outline of the Native Authority Administrative system as it was conceived in the larger theory of the Indirect Rule.[3]

Hitherto the Caliph, now styled Sultan, who used to be the supreme temporal and spiritual authority in the Caliphate became reduced to a mere chief or emir whose tenure of office, like the tenure of office of the other emirs, depended on his total loyalty to the colonial administration and his strict adherence to the terms of his letter of appointment which subjected his authority to the High Commissioner and the Resident. Hence forth, all the powers the Sultan was to exercise were to be limited to Sokoto emirate.[4]

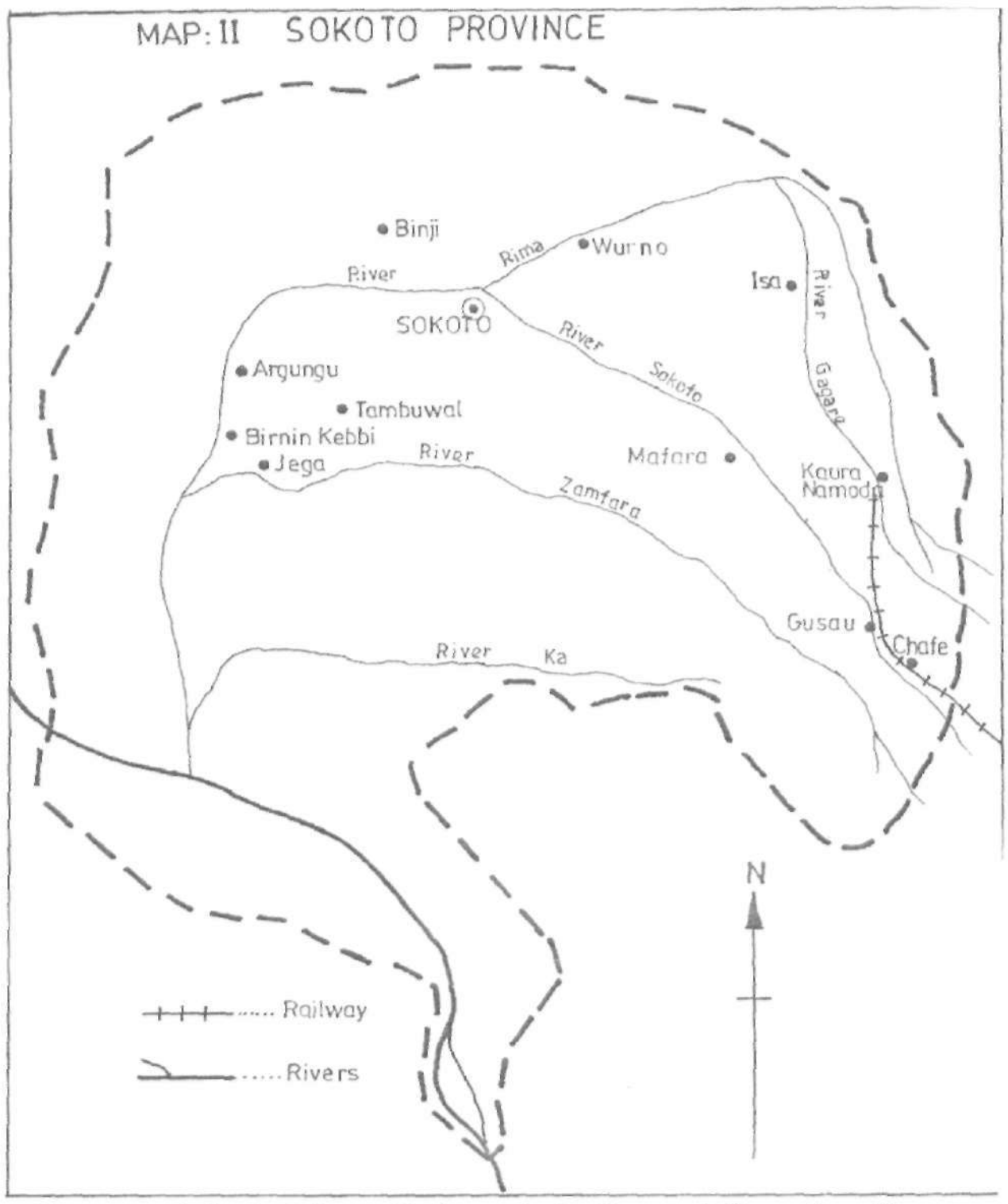
2.3 The Establishment of Colonial Rule in the Kaura Namoda Area

Kaura Namoda Area due to its location within the metropolitan area of the Sokoto Caliphate became directly affected by the developments which followed the conquest and occupation of Sokoto by the British in 1903. Those developments which ultimately resolved themselves into tangible change include territorial reorganization which accompanied the creation of the Sokoto Province (see map below) and the establishment of the Sokoto Native Authority under Indirect Rule.

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[3]P.K. Tibenderana; Administration of Sokoto Gwandu and Argungu Emirates under British Rule, 1900-1946 (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis University of Ibadan 1974) p.150. For more details on the system of indirect rule, see also Mergery Perharm, *Native Administration in Northern Nigeria.*

[4]Tibenderana, op.cit, p.151.



Sources : Adopted from Nadama A.G., The evolution of a city, A historical development of Gusau town from its foundations to the present (B.A. history final project Dept. of History A.B.U. Zaria 1972).

After the creation of the Sokoto Province which comprised large sections of the metropolitan area of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate the area that make up Kaura Namoda Area comprising of the five Districts of Kaura Namoda, Zurmi, Moriki Isa and Sabon Birni became part of the Sokoto Province and came to be administered under the Native Authority as part of the larger Sokoto Province.

In 1905, a territorial re-organization was carried out within the Sokoto Division which divided the Division into forty seven (47) districts which were in turn grouped into two administrative divisions of Sokoto and Zamfara.[5]

Under colonial rule, the Caliph (now styled Sultan) lost his power to the British. The British took over the powers of the Sultan over land and its resources, powers to appoint or dismiss chiefs as well as the power to levy taxes, except those sanctioned by the High Commissioner. In legislative matters also, it was stated that the authority to make new laws and to amend existing ones lay solely with the Governor. Through these and similar provisions, the Sultan and other emirs now known as Native Authorities together with their territories became organically linked to the Colonial State via the Protectorate which was headed by the High Commissioner later (Governor General) who was in turn answerable to the Colonial Office in London. As a matter of fact, with the publication of Lugard's Political

[5]N.A.K., Sokprof, 2/2 File No.85/1905, Report No.28 for quarter ending, December 1905 by Resident Burdon.

Memoranda in 1906, Colonial administrative policy (indirect rule) as to be practiced in the whole of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria began to unfold.

2.4 Kaura Namoda Area within the Structure of Sokoto Province

The Native Authority or Indirect Rule System as operated in Sokoto Province and in the districts within Kaura Namoda Area had the Governor-General of the Protectorate at its commanding height; under him was the Resident of the Sokoto Province. The Resident in turn had Assistant Resident under his immediate supervision who assisted him in executing government policies in the Province in collaboration with emirs, districts heads as well as village heads. Thus in Sokoto Province, the Sultan of Sokoto was answerable to the Resident for the maintenance of law and order and the general execution of the social and economic policies of the colonial state. In discharging his duties, the Sultan relied largely on district heads, thus in Kaura Namoda Area, colonial political and economic policies which originated in the Sultan's judicial council were implemented in the rural areas through the district and village heads of the districts in the area. For example, colonial economic policies such as tax assessment and collection, cotton growing, veterinary work, etc, were received at the district levels in the form of rules contained in Native Authority Ordinances as enforced by the Sultan's judicial Council.

Thus, in Sokoto Province and in the districts within Kaura Namoda Area, the Sultan was the head of the Native Authority which supervised the operations of the

special departments, which were purposely created to implement the colonial administration and economic policies. The Sultan supervised the administration of districts and villages through the assistance of his Council within the Native Authority structure, as described above. The policies of the Colonial State were executed at the district and village levels through the District Councils which usually comprised of the District Head as the Chairman, a British Political Officer designated as District Officer (D.O.) and his assistant as well as the Village Heads. Other members of the District Council may include one or two representatives of the occupational groups together with the district scribe who served as a clerk.[6] Put in simple terms, the essential functions of the Native Authority were the enforcement of "law" and "order", collection of tax as well as the mobilization of forced labour.[7]

The other important institutions on which the Native Authority system in Sokoto province and the districts within the Kaura Namoda Area rested included the colonial judicial system and its three most important arms namely; the Native Courts, the Native Police, and the Native Prison.

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[6]Moriki, "The Alibawa Factor" *op.cit*, p.186.

[7]Sule Bello, "State and Economy in Kano, A Study of Colonial Domination" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1983), p.106.

2.5 *The Colonial Judicial System and its Role in the Establishment of* Colonial Economy

2.5.1 The Native Authority Courts

Under the provision of the Provincial Courts Proclamation of 1900, the Native Courts were also established by warrants issued by the Resident. The Native Courts as institutions of Colonial system of justice were strengthened by the Native Courts Proclamation No.1 of 1906 and the Native Court Ordinance of 1914 respectively.[8] Similarly, the Native Court Proclamation empowered the Resident of Sokoto Province to establish Alkali Courts which were to consist of an Alkali with or without a Mufti (i.e. Court scribe). Apart from establishing Alkali Courts, the Native Court Proclamation also empowered the Resident to establish judicial councils at Sokoto to be made up of *Mallamai*, persons learned in Islamic jurisprudence, to be presided over by the Sultan of Sokoto.[9]

In 1930 the status of the Alkali Court in Sokoto was elevated by being formally made an appellate court for the Alkali courts in the districts; in this way district *Alkali* Courts including the *Alkali* Courts in the districts within Kaura Namoda Area were brought under the effective supervision of the chief Alkali *Alkalin Alkallai* of the Sokoto Province.

The Native Courts Proclamation provided for the establishment of three-grades of Alkali Courts, grade A, B and C which were invested with varying

[8]Ibid.. p.225.

[9]Ibid., p.220

powers. However, every Alkali Court had full jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases as enshrined in the warrants establishing the courts. Hence the Alkali Court grade A at Sokoto exercised full jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases including those involving capital punishment.

The Alkali Courts grade "B" which were established in the districts including the districts within the Kaura Namoda Area exercised limited powers especially in criminal cases. The Alkali Courts grades "C" were restricted in civil action and had very limited jurisdiction in criminal cases. The Judicial Council of the Sultan on the other hand was to exercise concurrently with the Alkali Court in Sokoto the Grade A powers. It is important however to note that the powers granted to all grades of the Native Courts were to be exercised at the discretion of the Resident, because the Resident as Judge of the Provincial Court established under the terms of the Protectorate Courts Proclamation of 1900, was empowered to determine all cases of whatever description within its area of jurisdiction. The Resident was also empowered to be present at any trial and to re-try any case or to alter any sentence passed by a Native Court.[10] The Kaura Namoda Area was brought under this colonial legal structure as part of the process of incorporating the region into the Colonial State as early as 1905 when the warrants for the establishment of the Native Court of Kaura Namoda and Isa towns were issued.[11]

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[10]Tibenderana, op.cit, p.185.

[11]Ibid, p.186.

It is interesting to note that apart from handling civil and criminal cases, these Courts were also used by the Colonial State in the implementation of the Ordinances relating to colonial administrative and economic policies. Most of these policies came in the form of Native Authority Ordinances pertaining to different fields of colonial interests. Some of these Ordinances were enacted, for example, to prohibit the planting of certain crops or to stop indigenous craftsmen and manufacturers from using locally sourced raw materials for production.[12]

Other Ordinances invested the Colonial State with the rights to mobilize forced labour, appropriate mines, undermine local industries and collect taxes. On several occasions, anyone found to have contravened these Native Ordinances were brought before the Native Courts to be prosecuted. If for example, an indigene cuts down some trees as people often did to use as fuel, he would be charged for contravening the Forestry Ordinance, the penalty for which was seventy (70) strokes of the cane which might be redeemed by a fine in the form of monetary payment.[13]

2.5.2 Native Authority Police

The Native Authority Police was established to perform important functions for the Colonial State in both administrative and economic spheres. As observed

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[12]M.A. Mamman, "The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960" (unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 2002), p.96.

[13]Mamman, Ibid, p.97.

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earlier, one of the functions of the Native Authority was the imposition of colonial "law and order," a "peaceful and safe" environment was necessary for the conduct of commerce and trade and other colonial economic activities. The necessity for the enforcement of Colonial law and order gave rise to the need for some kind of law enforcement personnel, hence the establishment of the Native Authority Police, *Yandoka.*

Thus, one section of the *Dogarai* (palace courtiers / guards in emirs palace) was converted into the Native Police *Yandoka* and they were used to serve in a variety of political, administrative, social as well as economic activities in the Sokoto province. The Native Authority Police were used in carrying out such tasks as quelling uprisings and protests against the Colonial State, serving as court bailiffs or as overseers of forced labour at the various locations where labour was mobilized for the building of colonial infrastructure,[14] or work on sites during the building of colonial infrastructure such as road construction, telegraph installation and the laying of rail lines. The Native Police were also involved in the surveillance of the new roads and in the provision of security at the various produce markets especially in the districts within the Kaura Namoda Area where sizeable trading of produce progressed. There is evidence which shows that the Native Police were indeed involved in preliminary arrangements for the building of the new railway.[15] In

[14]N.A.K. Sokprof; 446/1928, Sokoto Province Annual Report, 1928.

[15]N.A.K. KAPROF., 1745, Katsina Division Annual Report 1925.

March 1928, one hundred extra *dogarai* were drafted into the districts of the Kaura Namoda Region after the murder of Mr. Clement, a British Labour Headman at a railway line construction site near Kurya village in Kaura Namoda area. These *Dogarai* were posted to various Districts in Zamfara Division of the Sokoto Province but especially in the Kaura Namoda Area where the incidence occurred.[16] The report by the Resident of Sokoto Province also indicates that the work of the *Yandoka* at the railway stations had been most useful.[17]

2.5.3 Native Authority Prison

The Native Authority Prison as a unit of the Colonial Judicial system was established in Sokoto province as early as 1907, the Colonial Prison served a dual purpose; it was used as a symbol of absolute power of coercion to intimidate and dissuade potential dissenters against the Colonial State and as a gaol where real dissenters and opponents of the Colonial State were detained. Isa Dan Makaho, who was later executed for his role in the Satiru revolt of 1906 and the Sarkin Satiru, who pioncered the revolt in 1904, were first detained in the Native Authority Prison in Sokoto.

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[16] N.A.K. C.21 Clement Murder.

[17] N.A.K. Sokprof 446/1929 *op.cit.*

2.6 The Foundation and Development of Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure

2.6.1 Colonial Economy

The establishment of the Colonial State with its political and judicial organs such as the Native Authorities, the Native Courts and the Native Police was not done in a vacuum, rather, as Sule Bello has shown, this was done to secure the necessary conducive environment for the conduct of the various entrepreneurial activities especially the export/import business around which the Colonial economy was developed.[18]

However, two promulgations issued by the Colonial State provided the statutory base on which the foundations of the Colonial economy were laid in both the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in general and in Sokoto Province and the districts within Kaura Namoda Area in particular. The first promulgation, the Land Revenue Proclamation of 1903, was enacted by Lugard soon after the occupation of Sokoto.[19] The proclamation was used to inaugurate the General Tax throughout the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, which took effect in June 1904 including Sokoto Province and the Kaura Namoda Area.[20] The second promulgation was the Land

[18] Sule Bello, "State and Economy, op.cit, p.98.

[19] Tibenderana, op.cit, p.257.

[20] Ibid.

and Native Rights Proclamation No.9 of 1910[21] which put the whole of the land in Northern Nigeria under the control of the Colonial State.

At this stage, beginning with the Land Revenue Proclamation, our study will examine the implementation of these statutory provisions to show that these proclamations contained major colonial economic policies, i.e taxation and colonial land tenure and how through them, the final incorporation of our area in particular and Nigeria in general into the global capitalist economy was achieved.

2.6.1.1 Taxation

The Land Revenue Proclamation transferred the right to impose and collect tax from the "native" rulers (former independent pre-colonial rulers) to the Protectorate government or the Colonial State. Lugard as the High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria had given several reasons to justify the imposition of colonial taxation in Northern Nigeria. One of the reasons include the alleged need to restore the ancient form of taxes familiar to the people which were sanctioned by the old tradition in Hausaland before the jihad and to simplify the method of tax collection by amalgamating all forms of taxes such as *kudin kasa*, etc into general tax commonly referred to as *kharaji*.[22]

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[21] I.M. Jumare, "A Review of the Northern Nigeria Land Committee Report of 1910" in A.M. Yakubu et.al. (ed) *Northern Nigeria A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003.* Arewa House A.B.U. Zaria 2005.
[22] Tibenderana,*op. cit.* p.194.

Lugard also rationalized that the new colonial taxation would enable indigenous rulers (emirs and chiefs) to collect tribute from their subjects to compensate for the loss of revenue which they had suffered as a result of the abolition of slave trade.[23] However as later developments proved, one objective of colonial taxation was to generate revenue for the Colonial State, as well as to serve as a catalyst for influencing the development of Colonial commodity or cash crops production. The evidence for this is that the Colonial State directed Native Authority officials or the Native Authority to put aside certain percentage of the total tax collected as contribution into the coffers of the Colonial Government on one hand, and the subsequent demand for payment of tax in British currency on the other hand. This is in line with the logic of Lugard; that taxation would boost export commodity production, since people would be forced to produce in surplus in order to pay their tax.[24]

Thus in Sokoto Province and in the districts within Kaura Namoda Area, taxes were collected under the following headings:

(a) General tax, levied on land produce and live stock owned by settled agricultural populations.

(b) *Jangali*, levied exclusively on livestock owned by nomadic Fulani.

(c) *Kudin Sarauta*, paid by newly appointed chiefs.

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[23]Ibid, p.192.

[24]F.D. Lugard, *Annual report, Northern Nigeria 1900-1911, London, H.M.S.O.*

Assessment of the General tax was based on the capacity of the agricultural population and the extent and value of the land under cultivation as well as the number of livestock it could support. The amount each village had to pay was decided by the Resident and his European staff, leaving only the collection of tax to the officials of the Native Authority. Every adult male was assessed at 5 pennies.[25] After the assessment, each Village Head in Sokoto Emirate including the Districts within Kaura Namoda Area of Moriki, Zurmi, Isa, Sabon Birni Kaura Namoda or head of the Rugga in case of *jangali,* would collect the assessed levies within his area of jurisdiction and after wards remit the total sum collected to the Sultan. The Sultan usually paid a part of the amount to the Colonial State through the Resident before December of each year.[26]

The Sultan however also retained certain percentages of the total amount, of which 17% was paid to District Heads, 6% to recognized holders of traditional offices and 5% to the Village Heads while about 22% is used to run the office of the Sultan.

In order to provide an insight into how colonial taxation was implemented in the districts within Kaura Namoda Area, and its consequence on social and economic life of the people, it is important to examine the implication of the Native Revenue Proclamation No.2 of 1906 on the mode of assessment and collection of

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[25]Tibenderana, *op.cit*, p.196.

[26]The Sultan contributed one-quarter of the General Tax to the Resident annually as Sokoto Emirates annual contribution to the Treasury of the Colonial Government.

the General tax and *jangali* which came into effect in 1906. Formerly, under the provision of the Land Revenue Proclamation of 1903, tax collection by Native Chiefs was confined to land produce only, largely composing of crops and livestock. The Native Revenue Proclamation of 1906 however extended taxation to cover the annual value of profits or gain from any trade, manufacture, office or occupation in which members of a community engaged. Items considered by tax assessment officers apart from crop yields in determining the taxable capacity of a village included livestock such as horses, donkeys, sheep and goats; natural products such as sylvan produce and products of industries of any description such as cloth weaving, dyeing, leather work, saddle making and pottery.[27]

Taking the district of Kaura Namoda as an example, it will be seen that in 1913, the taxable population of the district was put at 13,499 people.[28] Similarly, the estimated taxable capacity in terms of agricultural production was calculated in terms of the number of farming plots; farms which were estimated at 19,016. The size of these farms was in an average of 2 acres per an individual farmer. Women and youths in the district also had small farms of at least ¼ acre. There were 4,881 such farms belonging to women, and 3235 belonging to youths.[29]

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[27] N.A.K., SNP 10, 472P/1913, Sokoto Province Moriki District Assessment Report 1913, pp.11.

[28] N.A.K, Sokprof, File No.770/1913, Kaura Namoda District Assessment Report, 1913.

[29] Ibid.

The total farm area given below was found to be in existence in Kaura Namoda district in 1913.[30]

Men's farms	-	19,016 at 2 acres: 3rds - 52,294 acres
Women's farms	-	4,881 at 0 ac: 1rds - 1,220 acres
Youth's farms	-	3,235 at 1 ac: 0rds - 3,235 acres

This total farm area of the district was estimated to have yielded the following farm produce at the given monetary value.

Gero -	1,139,149 bundles at 6d	- -	£284,78.14.6d
Dawa -	341,035 bundles at 5d	- -	£7104.10.0
Beans *wake*-	441,618 baskets at 4d	- -	£7360.0.6
			£42943,32.0[31]

Special industrial crops constituted a significant part of the agricultural produce of the district. These crops included considerable tonnage of cotton, groundnut and tobacco. Other crops were indigo and wheat which brought in an estimated annual income of £7473.13 to farmers in the district.[32] The taxable capacity of the district based on the number and value of the local industries in the district was also considerable. There were a total of 10,212 men out of the 13,499

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid

[32] Ibid.

population of the district who had some industry and made an estimated profit of £25,145.18s annually, paying an average tax of 4/11 per industry.[33]

Caravan tolls were also imposed in the district. The accounts of four different long distance traders in the district who took articles from Kaura Namoda district to Lagos and Bida and to Gwanja and Kumasi in the Upper Volta Basin revealed the nature of the articles of the trade as well as the volume and value of the trade.[34] Similar statistics were used in determining the taxable capacity of the other districts within Kaura Namoda Region in the process of tax assessment of the districts within our area of study. The Colonial Officers took inventory of all the soils and the type of crops the soils could support, the potential yield of the crops was calculated, and its monetary value was estimated for tax purposes. All trees and grasses were listed with their various uses and monetary values and duly taxed. As a matter of fact, in 1913, the assessment report on Moriki District, one of the districts, in Kaura Namoda Area was so comprehensive in its lists of industries and other taxable occupations that it was adopted throughout the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria as a standard for the assessment of Districts for purpose of taxation.[35]

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Tibenderana, op.cit, NAK., Sokprof 3/2 N.A.K. Sokprof., File No. 770/1913 Kaura Namoda District Assessment Report op.cit. No.S.264/1913, Moriki District Assessment, p.263.

It is important to note that the tax incidence under the colonial tax regime continued to rise at various times in our region, sometimes going up to 100 percent.[36] Evidently, colonial taxation had varying impacts on both the society and local economy of Kaura Namoda Area, but the most significant was the central role it had played in subordinating both the society and economy of the region to the capitalist economy of the metropolis. This was achieved through a number of ways: Colonial taxation helped in promoting the export and import trade, thereby destroying the local industries. The Caravan Tolls Proclamation of 1905 for example exempted all caravans conveying native produce for export overseas from tolls.[37] Also since from 1910, all taxes were directed to be paid in British currency which only the European trading companies could supply through the purchase of agricultural produce and other raw materials, and the state departments of the colonial state through the purchase of wage labour. Peasants were forced to engage in the cultivation of export crops or engage in wage labour for the Colonial State in order to obtain cash.

The observation made by Sule Bello in his study on the impact of colonial taxation in the society of Kano is valid in describing the situation in Kaura Namoda Area; associating the development of wage labour to taxation in Kano, Sule Bello observes that by insisting that the peasants must pay their tax in British currency

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[36]NAK, Sokprof, *Tibenderana, op.cit, p.359.*

[37]Sule Bello, "State and Economy," op.cit, p.331.

which then was obtainable only from the European trading companies and the state departments of the colonial state, a situation arose which facilitated the development of wage labour, stimulated by the demand for labour at work sites where the construction of colonial infrastructure was on-going.[38] Taxation also led to an increase in the number of people who took to export crops production: This contributed immensely to the production of raw materials for export while ensuring the circulation of British currency. In this way, the peasants in our area of study as elsewhere in the protectorate and colony became more effectively subordinated to the capitalist economy as producers of exportable raw materials, tax payers, seasonal labourers as well as consumers of European imported manufactured goods with dare consequences on the local economy.[39]

Thus under the stringent conditions which colonial taxation imposed on our region, the society suffered varying degrees of misery and instability. In Kaura Namoda Area as in Kano,[40] peasants fell heavily in debt, as the condition of living became more miserable, many left their farms in an attempt to evade taxation altogether or to find a wage-earning work in order to earn the currency which the Colonial State made mandatory for the payment of taxes.

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[38] Sule Bello, 'State and Economy', op.cit.

[39] Ibid, p.125; Bonat 'Colonialism' op.cit.

[40] Sule Bello, op.cit, p.123.

2.6.1.2 Native Authority Treasury

The Native Treasury was by and large another significant institution of the Native Authority system, which served a critical purpose in the implementation of the fiscal policies of the Colonial State which were designed to support the foundation and development of the Colonial Economy in Sokoto Province and in the districts within Kaura Namoda Area. With the establishment of the Native Treasury, the Sultan's Council as well as the District Councils became obliged to prepare Annual Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure which were submitted to the Governor General for approval.[41]

Within the wider framework of the revenue generation mechanism which colonial taxation provided, the Native Treasury *bayt-it-maal*, already established in 1907 played a key role in coordinating the fiscal policy of the Colonial State.[42] The Native Treasury received all revenue from the various Colonial taxes, including court fees, fines and market dues. All monies generated from these sources were shared between the Native Authorities and the Colonial government whereas a portion of whatever amount remained was invested in Nigerian bonds or in foreign and domestic banking institutions.[43]

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[41]Tibenderana, op.cit, p.275.

[42]See Margery Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria.*

[43]Mamman, *op.cit.* p.79

The part of the revenue assigned to the Native Authority was used for the payment of the salaries of its personnel while a part was used for "public works and development"[44] or the financing of work on colonial infrastructure such as in construction or maintenance of roads; rehabilitation of buildings such as courts and prisons, offices and residential houses of colonial officers. With the establishment of the Native Treasuries the districts within the Kaura Namoda area became obliged to operate within the limits of the Annual Estimates of revenue and expenditure which the Sultan prepared annually and submitted to the Colonial Government for approval.[45] This development led to the complete control of the native revenue by the Colonial State, a much sought-after objective and major motive of the British Colonial rule itself.

2.6.1.3 Colonial Land Policy

One of the major policies of the Colonial State apart from taxation which came to have a significant impact on the society and economy of Kaaura Namoda Area was the Colonial land policy. As examined in the immediate past chapter, during the pre-colonial period, land was collectively owned by the community, but was held in trust by the traditional rulers. After the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate the land in Kaura Namoda area as in other parts of the Caliphate was held

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[44]Sule Bello, *op.cit*, p.126; Tibenderana, op.cit, p.275.

[45] Tibenderana, Ibid.

in trust by the Caliph who delegated the authority to the Emirs who in turn delegated the responsibility to the District and Village Heads. It is important to note that land and labour together with the custom that governed their use in the pre-colonial period has been the subject of much misrepresentation in works by various colonial writers.[46] Thus on the conquest of Sokoto, the Colonial State appropriated all the rights claimed by native rulers and communities over land. The land was divided into two categories namely, 'crown land' and 'public land' respectively. The crown land according to Lugard referred to all those land that were inherited from the Royal Niger Company after the revocation of its charter. The public lands on the other hand were those land sanctioned in Proclamation No.13 of 1902. The title of these lands was vested in the right of conquest of the Caliphate by the Colonial forces.[47]

However, colonial land policy seemed to have been formally inaugurated with the promulgation of the Land and Native Right Proclamation of 1910 which was based on the recommendation of the Northern Nigeria Land Committee formed in 1908.[48] This proclamation brought all the land in Northern Nigeria including the land in Kaura Namoda Area under the control of the Colonial government. The

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[46]See G.K. Hellener *Peasant Agriculture Government and Economic Growth* (Homewood 1966) J.S. Hogendorn 'The vent-for-surplus model, and African cash Agriculture to 1914' in Savanna vol.5, No.1 June 1976 p.5.

[47]R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria.* (Longman 1971).

[48]M. I. Jumare, "A Review of the Northern Nigeria Land Committee Report on 1910: in A.M. Yakubu, et.al (ed.) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, op.cit.

proclamation also limited the rights of occupiers of all type of land by declaring that the occupier had no legal right to security of possession and could not sell or mortgage the land so as to make secure title to the purchaser or mortgagee. It is also stated that the occupier had no right to transmit indefeasible title to his heirs.[49] The proclamation also made it clear that the Colonial State reserved the right to revoke the title of any occupier for any 'good cause,' good cause here is a dubious legal lacunae employed to define such actions as non-payment of taxes or dues, or the voluntary sale or mortgage of land without the consent of the government. The title of the land could also be revoked if the Colonial State wanted to use the land for what was described as 'public purposes'.[50] As is observed in the foregone passages, a clause of the Land and Native Right Proclamation reserved for the Colonial State the right to revoke the title of any occupier when land was required by the government for 'public purposes.' This clause was so often put to good use by the Colonial State anytime it desired to acquire land for the building of infrastructure or for leasing to European Trading Companies. Large expense of land had been appropriated in various parts of our area and used for such purposes.[51]

Thus one of the major consequences of the colonial land policy in the Kaura Namoda area as in other parts of the Protectorate was the marginalization of the

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[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Oral Evidence: Alhaji Mamman Danyadado Shinkafi, age 75 years, interviewed in Shinkafi June 2006.

peasantry of the indigenous communities from full access and maximum utilization of land through the seizure and control of land and its resources by the Colonial State. This situation was reinforced by the clause of the Land and Native Right Proclamation to which reference was already made above. Similarly, the introduction of stringent conditions of financial implication as prerequisites for acquiring occupancy rights made full access to land and its maximum utilization impossible for the peasant. Even where such marginal access was enjoyed by the peasants, their position was made quite insecure by the overriding control of the Colonial State over land. Added to this, is the ultimate impact on the *gandu* as a unit of social production of the region. The decline of the *gandu* and the concomitant land fragmentation which led to the dominance of small-holder agriculture in the region is another major and long-lasting impact of the colonial land tenure policy in the region which the Railway would eventually enhance in the region though in an indirect way.

2.6.1.4 Colonial Labour Policy

The abolition of slavery and slave trade which became effective from 1901[52] along with the propagation of the idea of "free labour contract"[53] by the British Colonial State, laid the foundation of new labour relations, leading to a rapid change in the labour conditions in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in general

[52]Tibenderana, op.cit, p. 188 - 191.

[53]Sule Bello, "State and Economy" op.cit, p.130.

and in Sokoto Province and Kaura Namoda Area in particular. This development facilitated the eventual dissolution of the institution of slave labour as it was known and helped also in the emergence of "free labourers" which came to be utilized later as source of forced as well as cheap wage labour by the Colonial State. As a matter of colonial policy, the Colonial State claimed the right to make use of forced labour in emergencies or in undertaking some urgent work for the 'benefit' of the community.[54] The use of forced labour was especially canvassed and legitimized by Lugard when he described it as a "duty" which the law imposed upon the people without remuneration.[55]

This observation made by Lugard in his Political Memorandum seemed to have provided the basis for the use of forced labour for various purposes ranging from human portage to road maintenance and building construction. However, during the earlier part of the colonial rule, forced labour was more often employed in human portage: lack of adequate means of transport and the cost of building them in the colonized areas necessitated the continued resort to human carriers. At any rate, forced labour was used frequently by the Colonial State in Kaura Namoda Area especially in the creation and maintenance of basic colonial infrastructure such as public and residential buildings; including courts, prisons and barracks as well as roads, railways and telegraphs-infrastructure needed to run the Colonial

[54] Orde Browne, G. St. J., *The African Labourer*. Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1969, p.37.

[55]F.D Lugard, *Political Memorandum*.

administration as well as to operate the just established colonial economy. Greater part of the work in the creation of these colonial infrastructures was carried out in our area in the form of forced labour disguised as cooperative labour or *aikin gayya* which involved the mobilization of able-bodied men on certain days to work on the building or construction of a particular colonial infrastructure such as roads, digging of wells or construction of buildings.[56]

This was done, on the most part, at the behest of the Native Authority. Special colonial ordinances such as the Native Authority Ordinance No.48 of 1916 had empowered Native Authorities to issue orders for the purpose of mobilization of labour.[57] Thus labour for various undertakings was mobilized through the system of levy by which District and Village Heads were directed to supply certain quota of labour force. For example, in 1928, the Sokoto Native Authority was reported to have been in a position to supply between 2,000 to 2,500 able-bodied men monthly, to the labour pool of the Colonial State.[58] This type of labour was described as 'political labour', a convenient euphemism for forced labour. Although the Forced Labour Ordinance of 1933 purported to forbid the Native Authorities from using forced labour, this was only in theory because work on colonial infrastructure continued to be carried out with forced labour, and the practice continued

[56]Oral Evidence: Marafa Umaru Age 70 June 2006, Kaura Namoda
[57]N.A.K. SNP 8/1921: Native Ordinance No.48, 1916.

[58]N.A.K., Sokprof; 446/1928 Sokoto Province Annual Report 1922.

throughout our period of study. A sharp increase in the demand for labour which followed the expansion of the colonial economy seemed also to have given rise to the situation in which the sale of labour, hitherto practiced on a very small scale became more widespread in our area, 'voluntary' otherwise appropriately referred to as wage labour was reported at a point in time to have attracted as much as 4,000 to 4,500 labourers working at the railway line construction site.[59] The most far reaching consequence of this development in our region was a rise in the incidence of the commoditization of labour, with negative consequences on the production relations of the region.

2.7 Colonial Infrastructure

Evidence has been cited in a number of works to show that colonial infrastructure were developed in response to the immediate exigencies which arose in the process of establishing and consolidating both colonial rule and the colonial economy.[60] The major preoccupation of the Colonial State during the early decades of colonial occupation was the effort to bring the conquered territories under effective control of the British. This task could only be accomplished by means of an enhanced system of communications. This gave rise to the need for a network of

[59]Ibid;
[60]A. Shoyebi, "Railway as a Factor for British Colonial Domination and Exploitation of Zaria Province", M.A. (History) Thesis, University of Jos, 1992. Pp. 30 – 34.

roads that would provide easy and faster access to all parts of the colonized area for easy movement of colonial officers and troops.[61]

2.7.1 Roads

Shortly after the establishment of colonial rule, the Colonial State made efforts to improve and maintain some of the already existing roads in different parts of the metropolitan area of the Sokoto Caliphate which was now redesignated as the Sokoto Province. These roads included old trade routes and other adjoining paths such as footpaths and tracts which already linked up towns and villages within the area. Generally by 1926, a rough network of narrow roads linking different important areas of the Sokoto Province including areas in Kaura Namoda Area had come into existence. These roads included the one which linked Sokoto and Jega towns to Birnin Kebbi, then Birnin Kebbi to Argungu and Argungu to Sokoto. There were also the roads that connected Mareri and Kaura Namoda area leading into the cotton-growing districts of Katsina Province.[62] In 1926, the Public Works Department (PWD) of the Protectorate government re-organized the roads into categories in such a way that the roads came to be classified as trunk 'A' and trunk 'B' roads respectively.[63] The trunk 'A' roads comprised of the roads constructed and maintained by the Public Works Department. These were major roads, usually

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[61] Allan Macphee, *Economic Revolution in British West Africa* (Frank Cass London 1926).

[62] Tibenderana, op.cit, p. 426 - 427

[63] R.O. Ekundare, *An Economic History of Nigeria* 1860-1960 (London 1973). P. 85

laterite or gravel roads supporting large concrete bridges and culverts. The trunk 'B' category were usually built and maintained by the Native Authority. These were usually narrow untarred roads. By 1933 an estimated 762 miles of motorable roads were existing in Sokoto Province.[64] The important Zaria-Sokoto road was completed since 1926, thereby linking Sokoto and its districts including Kaura Namoda Area to the other parts of the country. The completion of Zaria-Sokoto road facilitated motor transport from other parts of Nigeria to Sokoto through Zaria and Gusau, with the result that by 1927 a regular motor transport service between Zaria and Sokoto had become operational. The traffic was made busier in 1930 when the Nigerian Railway Motor Service was introduced.[65] With regards to the nature of traffic on this road it was reported as early as 1926 that:

> A fleet of Six Albion lorries with trailers and two Reo vans have been in operation on the Sokoto road throughout the year. Some 120 tons of government traffic were conveyed to and from Sokoto and 2,709 tons of other traffic on the Sokoto road and its branches, chiefly for the British Cotton Growers Association to and from their ginneries at Gusau.[66]

A few more roads were constructed in Kaura Namoda Area in 1932, which by then had become important as the cotton growing area of the eastern Sokoto Province.[67]

2.7.2 Other Infrastructures

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[64]N.A.K., SNP, 17/2 Sokoto Province Annual Report 1933.

[65]N.A.K., SNP, 17/2/16670, Sokoto Provincial Annual Report No.28 1931.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Tibenderana, op.cit, p. 426

The efforts of the Colonial State at building infrastructure seemed to have gathered more momentum in 1932, for in this year, new measures were taken by which Native Authority officials were delegated with more responsibilities that obliged them greater involvement in the supervision of the implementation of the policies of the Colonial State. This was in response to increased activity in areas such as Forestry, Health, Sanitation and Water Supply, Education, Transport and Communications in which the Native Authorities came to play a major role. In line with this new role of the Native Authorities in the development of colonial infrastructure, a five-year work programme was drawn up by the Sokoto Native Authority in order to ensure a proper expenditure of surplus funds.[68] Many of the basic colonial infrastructures including the Native Authority administrative buildings, hospitals, dispensaries, veterinary clinics, courts, Native Authority workshops and stores, but especially roads, telegraphs and post offices were built in different parts of Sokoto Province under the direct supervision of the Works and Roads Units of the Sokoto Native Authority during this period. As a matter of fact, in 1933, the Public Works Department of the Protectorate government completely withdrew from the Province and all government buildings and roads came to be maintained by the Department of Public Works of the Sokoto Native Authority.[69]

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[68] N.A.K., SNP 17/2 Sokoto Province Annual Report 1932.

[69] N.A.K., SNP 17/2 Sokoto Province Annual Report 1933.

2.7.3 Railway

Meanwhile, to meet the transport demand of the expanding colonial trade and commerce, in the hinterland, the railway was extended further into the interior of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. This was achieved by the completion of the extension work on the Baro-Kano line, which was begun in 1907 and completed in 1911. The extension of the railway to Sokoto Province was completed between 1927 and 1929 when the Zaria-Gusau line was completed in January 1929. The line was further extended from Gusau to Kaura Namoda in October, 1929.[70] The Zaria-Gusau-Kaura Namoda line covers a distance of 137 miles.[71] The railway was extended to Kaura Namoda area through Gusau for the purpose of expanding the already rapidly growing colonial economy, this was evidenced by the growth of export crops production in the area, one of the major indicators of the colonial economy. This coincided as well with an increase in the commercial activities of European Trading Companies in this section of the Sokoto Province. Nadama has observed that before the extension of the railway to Sokoto Province not more than five European companies including John Holt and G.B. Ollivant were active in Gusau-Kaura Namoda area. The situation however changed rapidly in 1929 when the number of these companies rose from five to seventeen.[72] As would be seen,

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[70] T.N. Tamuno, "Genesis of the Nigerian Railway" in *Nigeria Magazine* No.84, March 1965, p.41.

[71] Ibid.

[72] A.G. Na-Dama, "The Evolution of a City", *op.cit*, p.43.

too, by 1924, three cotton ginneries were already in existence, one at Moriki in the centre of Kaura Namoda Area, another at Mayanchi and one more at Gusau.[73]

Also, as early as 1928, an estimated 1,600 bales of cotton were processed at the Moriki ginnery which was located in Kaura Namoda area while large dumps of groundnuts were reported to have accumulated at Kaura Namoda town where an estimated 1000 tons were awaiting evacuation by the railway.[74] From its completion in October 1929, the Zaria-Gusau-Kaura Namoda railway line was used effectively to tap vast resources of hides and skins, cotton and groundnut needed for export while serving at the same time as a channel for the massive distribution of European goods into the area. The distribution of European manufactured goods was aided by increasing number of feeder roads which were created to open up and link various centres of export commodity production in the region, and to the main road leading to the Railway Station at Kaura Namoda.

As the discussion in this section of our study draws to an end, it seems pertinent to revisit the controversy surrounding the motive and nature of colonial infrastructure especially in the sphere of transport. Allan Mcphee's idea of the 'development of native resources for the natives by the natives under English supervision',[75] which is an echo of the vent for surplus logic, seems to be

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[73]Ibid.

[74] N.A.K., Sokprof; 44/1928 Sokoto Province Annual Report *op.cit* p.226.

[75]Allan Mcphee; '*The Economic Revolution' op.cit.* p. 118

representative of the dominant view held by most colonial writers on the subject. The main argument of the view is that the 'revolution' in transport and other economic spheres which colonialism is alleged to have brought about in the colonized area served as a great incentive to the development of indigenous economies and societies of these colonized areas, and that the natives are the greatest beneficiaries of this 'development.'

Evidence however exists which contradicts this claim. It is by means of this evidence that writers with different perspectives have been able to render the view of Mephee and others invalid. For example, it was not until nearly thirty years after the British had occupied Lagos that the idea of the construction of roads and railways was mooted at the Brussels Conference in 1890.[76] Again, the idea of Indirect Rule as inaugurated in Northern Nigeria was actually inspired by the determination of the British Government in London not to use British tax payers money to finance the administration and development of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.[77]

Thus the attitude of the British government towards development of the colonial areas including our area of study (Kaura Namoda Area) was an attitude bent on ensuring that the exploitation of resources of the area was also undertaken

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[76]Ibid.

[77]T.N. Tanumo, Genesis of the Nigerian Railway, in Nigeria Magazine No.83

at the cost of the colonized peoples. That explains why as late as 1924, the long journey from Zaria to Sokoto (a distance of 250 miles) had to be made on foot or on horse back, and goods had to be transported on pack animals or by human portage because there were no lorries or railway in the Province.[78] Thus rather than for philanthropic or humanitarian reasons as the proponents of the vent for surplus logic tried to explain, colonial infrastructure were built primarily using the forced labour of the colonized people for the purpose of promoting and expanding colonial control and exploitation of the local economic resources as the case of the construction of both roads and railway would show. Writers from Walter Rodney to Sule Bello have argued and shown that the nature of roads and railways constructed in the colonized areas are evidence enough for the purpose for which they were built, that is, to link nodal points of export commodity production to the coast.[79] Such roads as pre-existed in Northern Nigeria owing to the extensive use of draught animals[80] in the pre-colonial period were only slightly improved by the colonial administration (state) and in any case, such roads in Sokoto province were largely used by motor-lorries belonging to European mercantile companies for transporting their goods.[81] As for the extension of the railway to Northern Nigeria J.S.

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[78] N.A.K. SNP 17/2 Sokoto Province Annual Report 1932.

[79] Walter Rodney; *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, op.cit.; Sule Bello: "State and Economy" op.cit.

[80] Allan Mcphee, *The Economic Revolution*, op.cit, p.117

[81] T.N. Tamuno, op.cit.

Hogendorn has agued strongly that the need to cope with transport demands of the expanding export commodity business in cotton in particular was the overriding motive for the establishment of the railway in Kano and other provinces in Northern Nigeria when he observed that "it seems fair to say that there was a mixture of motivation behind the railway, but that the primary element was the prospect which the construction of the railway opens up for great development in the cultivation and export of cotton."[82]

In the forgone chapter two, we have examined the process by which Kaura Namoda region was incorporated into the colonial state following the British occupation of Sokoto. This enabled the British to establish colonial political and administrative structures as well as to promulgate economic policies, notably, the ordinances governing the use of land by the colonial state as well as the ordinances governing taxation. The establishment of colonial judicial system and the restructuring and re-organization of districts. All these measures were taken as the necessary first step towards the establishment of colonial economy in the region.

[82]J.S. Hogendon, op.cit. p. 24

CHAPTER THREE

EXPANSION OF COLONIAL ECONOMY AND THE CHALLENGE OF TRANSPORT IN KAURA NAMODA AREA

3.1 Introduction

As we have already observed in chapter two of this study, as soon as the Kaura Namoda Area was incorporated into the Colonial State, the Colonial State (administration) came to play a central role in the development and expansion of the colonial economy in the region. This was carried out through the formulation and implementation of a number of policies The Native Authority (N.A.) Organ of the Colonial State was used in the execution of these policies. However, as we have also observed in the previous passages, two land-mark promulgations issued by the Colonial State namely, the Land Revenue proclamation of 1903 and the Land and Native Rights Proclamation no 9 of 1910 provided the statutory basis on which the Colonial Economy was established in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria as well as in Kaura Namoda Area.

The Land Revenue Proclamation of 1903 enacted soon after the conquest and occupation of our area of study was used to inaugurate the General Tax in the region as early as June 1904.[1] The other promulgation, the Land and Native Rights

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[1]I.M. Jumare, "A Review of the Northern Nigeria Land Committee Report of 1910" in A.M. Yakubu, et.al (ed.) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*.p. 307 - 309

Proclamation No.9 of 1910 put the whole of the land in Northern Nigeria, including the land in Kaura Namoda Area, under the control of the Colonial State.

In this chapter, we shall examine how colonial fiscal and taxation policies were designed, deployed and manipulated so as to, among other things, compel the peasants to participate in the so-called 'cash crops' – (export commodity) production which was made to be the most important sector of the colonial economy in our area. We shall examine, in particular, how basic colonial infrastructural facilities, especially roads, were developed in our area and the role that such infrastructure played in helping the expansion of the colonial economy in the area.

We argue that it is the expansion of the colonial economy in Kaura Namoda Area especially in view of the strategic significance of the area as a centre of a territory with tremendous potentials of agricultural raw materials that led to the decision by the Colonial State to extend the railway to the area, choosing Kaura Namoda town specifically as the most suitable location for the north-western railway terminus. The chapter concludes with an examination of the process of the establishment of basic infrastructure of transport and communication especially roads, leading to the establishment of the railway.

3.2 Agriculture as the Basis for the Expansion of Colonial Economy in Kaura Namoda Area

The dominance of agriculture as the mainstay of the indigenous economy of our area during the pre-colonial era has been made clear in the chapter one of this study; it was the hub around which manufacture and commerce revolved. As a matter of fact, colonial records have painted a picture of robust agriculture-based economy which existed in the region within the period even as late as 1913. Some of the District Assessment Reports compiled within the period provide an impressive analysis of the various sectors of the local economies of the districts in our area.[2] It is interesting to note the statistics relating to the quantity of various agricultural produce based on yields per farm plot, especially those of the year 1913 as configured by the Colonial District Officer.[3]

Apart from millet, guinea corn and beans which were the major food crops cultivated in the region, the existence of several number of farms on which other (industrial) crops such as cotton *auduga*, groundnut *gyada*, indigo *Baba*, sugar cane *rake*, as well as tobacco *taba*, were cultivated were also recorded. There were several exclusively cotton and tobacco farms measuring an average of ¼ acre

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[2]See N.A.K., Sokprof File No.770/1913, Kaura Namoda District Assessment Report, 1913; NAK, Sakprof, 3/2 No.S.264/1913 Moriki District Assessment Report 1913.

[3]Ibid.

existing in different parts of the area and they yielded considerable net produce annually.[4]

Thus industry depended on agriculture, for raw materials while commerce depended on both agriculture and industry for goods in the form of different commodities and raw materials. It is interesting to note that one early colonial record gave an estimate of at least 10,102 different cottage industries existing in Kaura Namoda district in 1913.[5] Some of the leading industries in this estimate include the textile industry, comprising of separate but coordinated units such as spinning, weaving, dyeing and sewing. There was also the iron working or blacksmithing industry as well as leather working industry being among the most developed.[6]

An estimated annual income of Moriki District compiled by the District Officer (D.O.) in 1913 which can be safely adopted as a representative of those of the other districts in Kaura Namoda Area is reproduced below;

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[4]Ibid.

[5]NAK, Sokprof; 3/2 No.5264/1913 op.cit.

[6]Ibid.

Total Estimated Annual Income of Moriki District as of the year 1913

Farm produce	-	£26,545
Cash crops	-	£1,022.8s
Live stock	-	£4,472.15.6
Sylvan produce	-	£1,03.3.6
Industries	-	£7,423.13.6s

A sophisticated and highly integrated economy based on complex agricultural system which produced food stuffs and raw materials to cater for the needs of industry and trade existed in our area. This economy was supported by an elaborate system of markets, finance, credit facilities and taxation system. As we have seen in chapter one, the household, *gandu* served both as a composite unit of social production as well as a platform for participation in the affairs of the larger society. The *gandu* in interaction with other households formed that significant link in the larger structure of the indigenous political economy of our area, functioning as an important variable in the dialectics of the area's social relations of production.[7] The political and economic structures that had developed for several millennia as Philip

[7]A.G. Nadama, "The Rise and Collapse of Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara" (Ph.D Thesis) Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1977.

Shea recalled,[8] laid the foundations of the relatively secure and stable conditions which enabled the area to prosper.

Such was the level of growth, integration and specialization of the indigenous economy of Kaura Namoda Area even as late as 1913, prior to the proper expansion of the colonial economy in the region. Thus given the above scenario, it came as no surprise when agriculture became the first sector to experience the shock of intervention by the Colonial State.

3.3 Colonial Taxation and Change in Agricultural Production in Kaura Namoda Area

Under the provision of the Land Revenue Proclamation of 1903, 'land produce', specifically crops and livestock were singled out for taxation. The Colonial State developed a comprehensive method for tax assessment based on two factors: 'taxable population' and 'number of farm plots' in a district.[9] Details on the nature of colonial taxation in the Sokoto Province which include our area are treated in chapter two. It is however important to note that the long term objective of colonial taxation is realized in diverting peasant's labour from domestic agricultural

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[8]P.J. Shear, "Making Money in Northern Nigeria: The Colonial Currency Regime 1899-1963" in A.M. Yakubu, et.al (eds.) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation*. 1903 – 2003 Arewa House A.B.U Zaria 2005 pp. 271-296

[9]NAK, SNP 10, 472p/1913, Morki District Assessment Report 1913, p.11.

and cottage local industrial production to new simple commodity production,[10] which was an important component of the colonial economy. Thus taxation, by forcing peasants in Kaura Namoda Area to abandon food crops farming or their work in cottage industries, to work for wages[11] in European firms, served as a catalyst for the expansion of the colonial economy in the area, which was actualized through a number of ways but more importantly through the promotion of massive 'simple commodity'[12] production, the details of which we shall examine later.

3.4 The Role of Colonial Money System in the Expansion of the Colonial Economy

As the last of the external influences,[13] the colonial monetary policy was deliberately used by the Colonial State to create conditions favourable for the expansion and consolidation of the colonial economy in our region as in other parts of the colony. The creation of these favourable conditions involved the careful replacement of the pre-existing monetary system which is confirmed to have promoted trade in our region and to have been adequate for the commercial

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[10]Y.A. Abdullahi, "Social Relations of Production in Peasant Agriculture: A Case Study of Simple Commodity Production in Kaura Namoda Area of Sokoto State" (Ph.D) Department of Sociology, A.B.U., Zaria 1983. P. 102

[11]Sule Bello; "State and Economy in Kano, 1884-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination." (Ph.D.) Theses Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1982. P. 125

[12]Export Commodity here refers to all other natural resources including non-agricultural products such as hides and skins and other sylvan products that passed through the process of commodization as explained by Joefry Kays in his Development and Underdevelopment: A Marxist Analysis. Macmillan 1975. PP. 67 72.
[13]A.G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa.* Longman 1973. PP. 149 – 150, 206

transaction needs of the time.[14] As early as 1800s, the impact of the indigenous economies of Northern Nigeria had started affecting the fortunes of the nascent colonial economy in Lagos and other southern parts of Nigeria just as actions and policies of the embryonic Colonial State came to influence developments in the economy and society of Northern Nigeria[15] including those of Kaura Namoda Area.

Thus the first bank to be opened in Northern Nigeria in 1899 played a central role in the financing of various ventures and projects in the expanding colonial economy. The colonial banks themselves were established to cater for the new monetary system brought about by the increasing circulation of European currencies.[16] It is shown that more than one million and three hundred and fifty four thousand pounds sterling (£1,354,000) – nearly one half of all the currency imported into Nigeria in 1902, the Northern Protectorate accounted for almost 90% of all currency imported into Nigeria.[17] Although up to 1905 the old pre-colonial monies were still in circulation in our region as elsewhere, by about 1910, the new British currencies made popular by the Colonial State and the expatriate banks and trading companies had become widespread throughout the Northern Protectorate including Kaura Namoda Area. The penetration of European currencies into our

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[14]Ibid.

[15]Philip Shear "Making Money in Northern Nigeria: The Colonial Currency Regime, 1899-1963" in A.M. Yakubu, op.cit, Pp.271-296.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid, p.277.

area and elsewhere in the Protectorate was facilitated by the Colonial State through its colonial administrators at the provincial and district levels. The Colonial Administration imposed the adoption of British currency in three ways which include the demonetization of the pre-colonial currencies as the most important measure, then by paying the expanding colonial labour force, as well as its soldiers, civil employees, and contractors in British minted coins; finally, by insisting on receiving payments of taxes in cash rather than in kind.[18] These measures and others ensured that large numbers of peasants abandoned their various occupations in desperate search for wage labour from the Colonial State or the European Trading Companies among other impact; but the overall effect of this monetary policy is measured by the incalculable loss for the indigenous economy.[19] This should be no surprise however seeing that the colonial monetary policy is an imperative for the expansion and further consolidation of the colonial economy.

3.5 The Role of Colonial Agricultural Policies in the Consolidation of Colonial Economy

Colonial economy was built largely around the production of agricultural raw materials for export and the import of European finished industrial goods into the colonies.[20] Conversely, it was built by ensuring that all forms of local

[18]Sule Bello, 'State and Economy in Kano, op.cit.

[19]Bonat, *op cit.*

[20] A.G. Hopkins, op.cit. pp. 124 - 127

production, commerce and technologies were systematically destroyed or subordinated to the British imperial economy. What emerged as colonial agriculture had its basis in the Land and Native Right Proclamation of 1910[21] itself a precursor of the agricultural policies of the Colonial State.[22] This proclamation brought all the land in Northern Nigeria including the land in our area of study under the control of the Colonial State. This action was rationalized by the claim that the Colonial State should exercise its authority and legal powers to ensure that all land in colonial territories is put to the use for which it was "best suited."[23] This, is in order to ensure that good agricultural land is not withheld or withdrawn from cultivation for other purposes.[24]

On the whole, the Native Rights Proclamation invested the peasants with a mere titular ownership of the land they cultivated. This is in agreement with the conduct of peasant agriculture, which was favoured by the Colonial State in Northern Nigeria.[25] Peasant agriculture was preferred over the impracticable plantation agriculture, in that, through peasant agriculture, the Colonial State was afforded the opportunity to play a cost-effective, hence most convenient role in the

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[21]I.M. Jumare, op.cit.

[22]This policy tempered with the indigenous Land Tenure System of our region and put land and its resources under the direct control of the Colonial State.

[23]I.M. Jumare, op.cit.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Y.A. Abdullahi, op.cit. See also A.G. Hopkins, '*An Economic History of West Africa*' *op.cit.* p. 214.

development of the Colonial Economy, that is, the provision of infrastructure and agricultural inputs and implements, taxation, extension schemes, registrations and the provision of other services.

3.6 Export Commodity Production

The term 'export commodity' as used here is not restricted to farm produce alone, it refers to all commodities including hides and skins and other non-agricultural products no matter how marginal, which together with the cash crops formed the bulk of the export generated from Kaura Namoda area during the period of the colonial economic enterprise in the area.

The cultivation of none food, otherwise known as industrial crops had a long history in our area. Long before contact with the Europeans, cotton and indigo were very closely related to the evolution and development of the occupations of weaving, spinning and dyeing. It was around these occupations that the indigenous textile industry of our region developed. A.R. Augi has established that as early as the seventeenth century the indigenous textile industry in our area had reached an appreciable level of development.[26] Nadama, citing Barth and Clapaperton has confirmed the popularity of the indigenous weaving which flourished in south-eastern Zamfara relaying for its raw material on the local cotton farmers. Saleh

[26]A.R. Augi, "The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin 1750-1808 A.D" (unpublished Ph.D thesis) Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1984. P. 58

Abubakar on the other hand, has confirmed the status of our area as the major supplier of indigo to the different sections of the Rima Basin.[27]

The cultivation of groundnut is also reported to have been fairly widespread in the region during the pre-colonial period. It appears then that what the Colonial State simply did was to expand the cultivation of cotton and later groundnut to meet the demands of the new export-oriented colonial economy which it was working to consolidate.

3.6.1 Cash Crops

Cotton and groundnut were the principal 'cash crops' to which the Colonial State devoted much attention. Tobacco was however introduced much later. Other commodities notably hide and skins also acquired relative significance as export commodities in Kaura Namoda Area. The production of each of the crops would be examined separately in this study.

3.6.1.1 Cotton

The rapid expansion of cotton cultivation for export in Kaura Namoda Area like elsewhere in Northern Nigeria was associated with the wider activities of the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA). The BCGA (*Bisije)* in Nigeria which

[27]Saleh Abubakar, "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C.1850" in Y.B. Usman (ed.), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate,* Sokoto Seminar Papers, A.B.U., Zaria 1979, pp.130-131.

began as early as 1911[28] when the BCGA began its activities in Zaria Province of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.

The BCGA was formed in 1902 under the auspices of the Lancashire Cotton mills in response to the fall in supply of cotton from America arising from the boll weevil epidemic experienced in the U.S.A which led to the Lancashire cotton famine of 1902. This shortfall in supply which forced about 700 mills in Lancashire to operate under capacity[29] threw the whole of Lancashire cotton industry into a crisis. Thus the motive for the formation of the BCGA was to promote intensive cotton cultivation in those other colonies of the British Empire with great potentials for cotton farming. The ultimate objective being to develop an alternative source of raw cotton for the British textile industry.[30] The move came to enjoy the support of the British home and Colonial governments due to the fact that the Lancashire cotton mills were Britain's largest and most important manufacturing[31] industry employing three million people, with an output of $100 million and a capital stock of $400 million. Thus cotton product constituted more than one third of British manufactured exports.[32] Thus in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria the Colonial

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[28]J.S. Hogendorn, *Nigerian Groundwork Exports: Origins and Early Development*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1978, p.26.

[29]T.B. Ingawa op.cit. p. 217

[30]Ibid.

[31]Y.A. Abdullahi, "Social Relations of Production" op.cit, Pp.177-178.

[32]Ibid, p.178.

government became directly involved in the promotion of cotton growing as early as 1911, in which Native Authority officials at the level of Provinces as well as District and Villages were taking an active role. When the railway was finally extended to Northern Nigeria via Kano, especially low rates were charged by the railways for the transport of ginned cotton. It is reported that Native Authorities in Northern Nigeria, appropriated grants of several hundred pounds sterling to encourage cotton cultivation.[33] The campaign was undertaken vigorously using all available means including propaganda:

> The association employs a certain number of agriculturalists who go round and call meetings with the consent... of the provincial commissioners and district officers, and explain to the natives the value of growing cotton for export.[34]

Thus between 1900 and 1911, total cotton exported from Nigeria was a paltry volume of some few hundred bales. By 1916 however, exports rose to over 10,000 bales, reaching 37,000 bales in 1926[35] as a matter of fact, in 1928 a report indicated that 1,600 bales of cotton were produced daily at Moriki in Kaura Namoda Area of Sokoto Province[36] It is instructive to note that within a year after this report was written the Colonial administration commissioned the railway

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[33]J.S. Hogendon, op.cit, p.27.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Y.A. Abdullahi, op.cit. p.180.

[36]N.A.K. Sokprof 446/1928 Sokoto Province Annual Report 1928.

extension from Zaria to Kaura Namoda Area which had then come to be referred to as the centre of the cotton growing area of eastern Sokoto Province.[37]

The study by Mustapha Suleiman has examined the operation of two major cotton buying centres in Isa District located in the towns of Shinkafi and Tozai. He has also shown that several European trading companies notably the United African Company (U.A.C.), Paterson Zochonics (PZ), John Holt, G.B. Olivant and the French Company[38] (C.F.A.O) had varying number of cotton buying stalls in different buying centres in Shinkafi Tozai and other places, by 1947.

There were similar cotton buying centres in Kaura Namoda, Moriki and Zurmi districts, as a matter of fact, a pioneer cotton ginnery was already operating at Moriki town as early as 1924 (see map below),[39] as we have already seen.

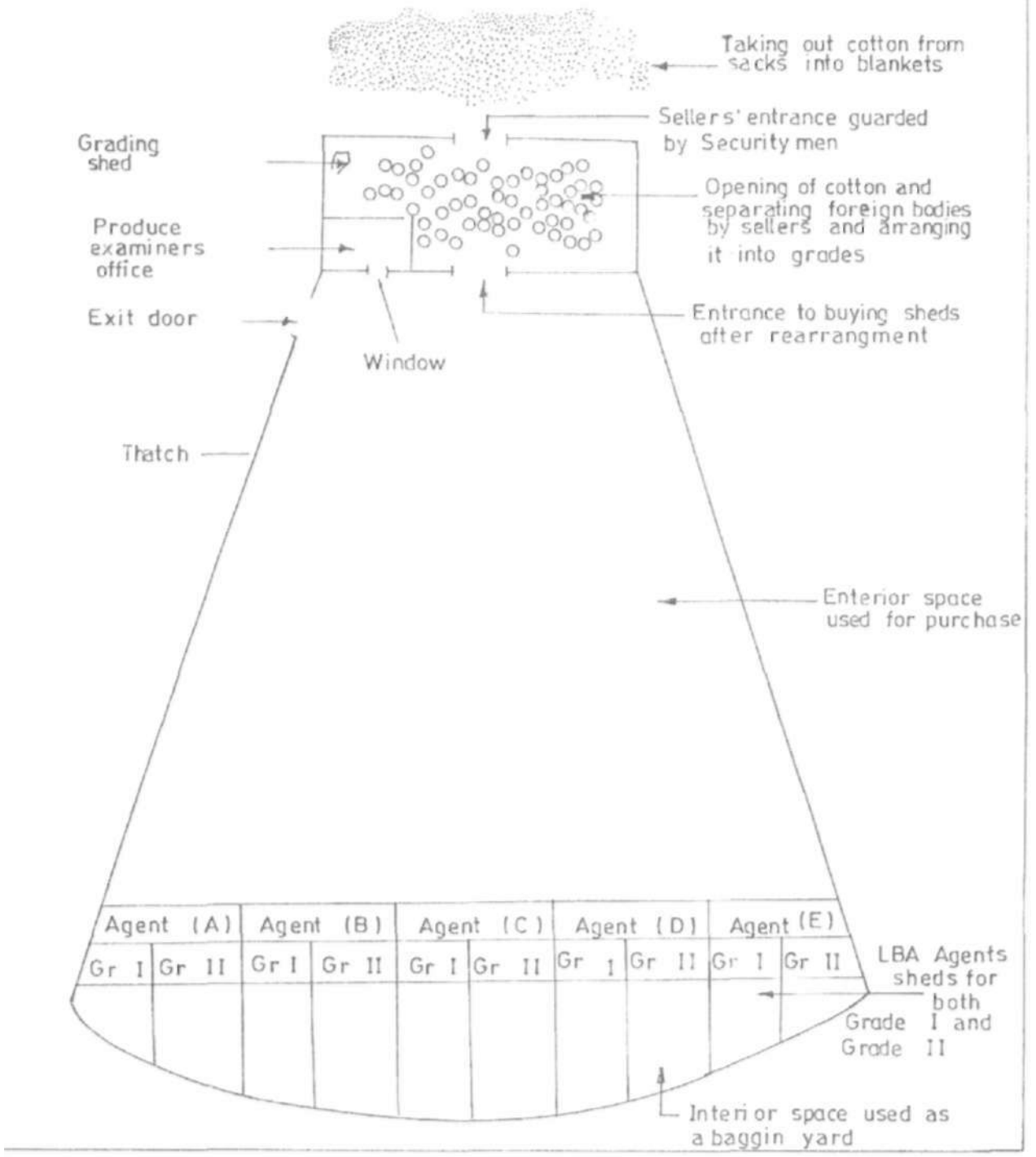
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[37]P.K. Tibenderana, "The Imposition of British Colonial Rule on Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates 1900-1946" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis) Department of History, University of Ibadan 1974. P. 426 – 427.

[38]Mustapha Suleiman, The History of Tobacco Production in Isa District Sokoto State, 1948-1990" M.A. Thesis Department of History U.D.U. Sokoto 1992. P. 84 – 86.

[39]Ibid.

Fig 1 THE STRUCTURE OF A COTTON MARKET



Source: Adopted from Abdullahi Y. A., Social relations of production in peasant agriculture A case study of simple commodity production in Kaura Namoda Area of Sokoto State (Phd) Theses Dept. of Sociology A.B.U. Zaria 1983.

The most important point to note is that throughout the period of the production of cotton as an export '(cash)' crop the effort of the Colonial State and the Native Authority Officials including District and Village Heads came in collaboration to promote the cultivation of cotton as part of the larger policy of expansion and consolidation of, the colonial economy in Kaura Namoda Area. Cotton production and marketing throughout the period between 1930-1960 became an 'industry' of sort in our area generating a variety of activities and influences which came to have varying impact on social and economic life of the area.[40] We shall examine the nature of some of these activities and influences which came into being as a result of the cotton business in the concluding sections of this study; it suffices however to state that the cultivation and export of cotton in the Kaura Namoda Area experienced its highest boom in the years between 1928 and 1940; in this period, the area witnessed many changes associated with the extension of the railway to the area, cotton however eventually lost much of its significance as the leading export crop which it used to be in the early decades of the 20th century. Groundnut emerged to become the leading export crop from the mid 1930s down to 1960.[41]

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[40]These include the emergence of Licensed Buying Agents into very influential business class whose members became very powerful in the social and economic space of the region. N.A.K. SNP, 17/2/16670, Sokoto Province Annual Report No.28 1931.

[41]J.S. Hogendorn *Nigerian Groundnut Exports:* op.cit p.38.

3.6.1.2 *Groundnut*

Groundnuts, like cotton, was cultivated and put to various domestic uses in Kaura Namoda Area during the pre-colonial period. Groundnut oil was widely used for cooking and as fuel used in oil-wig lamps. As a matter of fact, groundnut was among the list of local crops recorded in the District Assessment Reports of all the districts within the Kaura Namoda Area.[42] The cultivation of groundnuts on such a large scale such as was done during the 'cash crops' production regime came about as a result of the 'new' demand[43] for groundnuts which began between the years 1906 and 1914. The new demand for groundnuts was created by the manufacture of margarine, then an entirely new product. Thus between 1906 and 1914, sales of margarine rose from about 50-80,000 tons a year to 200,000 tons. Sales rose in the United Kingdom from about 50,000 tons in 1906 to over 100,000 tons in 1913.[44]

Apart from using it in the manufacture of margarine, groundnut oil was found to be suitable hence was also used to meet the expanding demand for vegetable oils and for use in the manufacture of soap as well as for cooking. These wide-ranging uses of groundnut oil further expanded the new demand for groundnut. The existence of this large market for groundnut in Europe became an important stimulus and incentive for the promotion of the production of groundnut

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[42]See NAK, Sokprof File No.770/1913, Kaura Namoda District Assessment Report 1913 and NAK Sokprof 3/2 No.5, 264/1913 Morki District Assessment Report op.cit.

[43]J.S. Hogendorn, *Nigerian Groundnut Exports, op.cit. p.38*

[44]Ibid.

by the Colonial State in Northern Nigeria. Thus having a suitable soil which could and did support the cultivation of groundnuts for long, Kaura Namoda area became among the most important areas in Northern Nigeria where the Colonial State actively promoted the production of groundnut for export.[45]

The same method of mobilization through propaganda as the one used in the promotion of cotton cultivation was employed by the European firms in collaboration with the Colonial State in the promotion of groundnut production and marketing. It is reported that major Hausa (indigenous) merchants acted as promoters as well as middlemen in the groundnut business on behalf of the European Companies. They employed several measures to ensure that they secure a large proportion of the crop for export overseas.

However, the most effective strategy was propaganda. The merchants would send their agents into the rural areas and the agents were normally given instructions by the merchants to spread the information through village headmen to peasant farmers at village squares and markets in both villages and hamlets. Above all, the other and more effective strategy was the act of wooing the patronage of village headmen who in turn helped in gaining the confidence of local farmers; money gifts were used as inducement to secure such patronage. In return, the Village Heads recommended groundnut cultivation to their subjects and then popularized a particular clientage network at harvest time. Thus as early as 1916,

[45]Y.A. Abdullahi, *op.cit.*

prices of groundnuts rose to robust heights, so that in the 1916 and 1917, a much larger area was put under cultivation, yielding an estimated total export of 50,368 metric tons within this period.[46]

However, the railway seemed to have provided the ultimate stimuli to the groundnut export trade because as J.S. Hogendorn has noted: the record-breaking tonnages began to be obtainable from the period of railway extension between 1929 and 1930 and with the concomitant spread of motor lorry transport between 1928 and 1929. The completion of the extension of the Zaria railway northwest to Kaura Namoda in 1929, combined to add impetus to the fast-developing groundnut production and export under the direction of the Colonial state. This development was witnessed as much in Kaura Namoda Area as in other groundnut producing districts of Northern Nigeria. The tables below provides figures which help to indicate the rise in tonnage of groundnuts production in Nigeria from the years of the extension of the railway onward.

Table 1

Nigerian Groundnut exports 1927 – 1934

Year	Tons
1927/28	86,000
1928/29	135,000
1929/30	147,000
1930/31	154,000
1931/32	165,000
1932/33	197,000
1933/94	235,000

Source: Adopted from J.S. Hogendorn *Nigerian Groundnut Exports Origins and Early Development.* A.B.U. Zaria Press 1978 p.133.

Table 2

[46]J.S. Hogendorn, op.cit, p.132.

Nigerian Groundnut exports, selected years sine the Second World War

Year	Tons
1948/49	328,000
1952/53	431,000
1955/56	530,000
1957/58	715,000
1962/63	872,000

Source: Adopted from J.S. Hogendorn *Nigerian Groundnut Exports Origins and Early Development* (A.B.U. Zaria Press) 1978 p.133.

Agents travelled into the rural areas leading caravans of donkeys loaded with European manufactures which they sold and in return bought groundnuts with the proceeds. Still, Hogendorn has indicated that from 1900 to 1911, groundnut production progressed from a few hundred tons to 20,000 tons, rising to 675,884 tons. The former Sokoto Province in which the Kaura Namoda area is located accounted for 70,797 tons out of the above total tonnage.[47] The bulk of the groundnut produced in Sokoto Province during this period was cultivated in the districts within the Kaura Namoda area.[48] It is interesting to note that at least groundnut came to replace cotton as the most sought – after export crop in the Kaura Namoda Area. Details on the factors that led to the later dominance of groundnut production over cotton have been sufficiently analysed by Hogendorn.[49] It is worthy of note however, that groundnut production gained ascendance over

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[47]Y.A. Abdullahi, op.cit, p.182.

[48]Oral Interview Marafa Ummaru, age 75, Kanwuri Kaura Namoda Village Head (June 2006).

[49] J.S. Hogendorn op cit. pp. 38 – 41.

cotton. By about 1948, groundnuts had become the leading export crops in Kaura Namoda Area.

3.6.1.3 Tobacco

Although tobacco was listed in the colonial district assessment reports among the crops cultivated in Kaura Namoda area during the pre-colonial period it did not appear to be a very important domesticated crop in the way cotton, groundnut and indigo had been in the during the pre-colonial period. Yar Magaji explained that small bundles of fresh tobacco flowers known as *hure*, the size of a human fist were commonly seen at local market places in the area where they were bought by women. The chewing of tobacco flowers according to the informant used to be fashionable among women folk in the area.[50] However, large-scale commercial production of tobacco was a later development, occurring during the later part of the cash crop regime of the Colonial State.

Thus, the origins of tobacco production on a large commercial scale in Kaura Namoda area could be traced back to the period when the British American Tobacco Company (BATC) made an overture to the Government Agricultural Department in Gusau regarding a trial cultivation of tobacco in Kaura Namoda, Moriki and Isa Districts.[51] One Mr. Mclean of the B.A.T.C along with the

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[50] *Interview with Yarmagaji, Gidan Goga*Sabon Gari Kaura Namoda, Age 67, May 2007.

[51] Mustapha Sulciman, *The History of Tobacco Production in Isa District Sokoto State 1948-1900*; M.A. (History) Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto 1992, p.86.

Government Agricultural Officer at Gusau as well as the Native Authority Councillor for Agriculture *Wakilin Gona* with the assistance of *Sarkin Kiawa*, the District Head of Kaura Namoda obtained suitable land near the Gabake river and laid down 200 tobacco seedbeds, calculated to be worth 50 acres.[52] At the same time the Sultan wrote letters to the District Heads of the Districts concerned, requesting them to cooperate and encourage farmers to grow tobacco. Thus commercial production of tobacco in Kaura Namoda area in particular was associated with this initial experiment undertaken by the B.A.T.C as early as 1937.[53] It is interesting to note that the districts where the largest cultivation of tobacco was carried out thus fall within Kaura Namoda area.

The farm plots where the bulk of the tobacco farming was done were located along the middle valleys of the river Gagare and river Rima where an estimated twenty thousand farmers were reported to have at one time been involved in the cultivation of tobacco on plots of land ranging between 0.75 and 12.5 acres.[54] Isa Districts,[55] accounted for 70-75 percent of the total tobacco produced in the old Sokoto Province, which at one time was put at 4,750 metric tones. This is

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[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Swindel, et.al (eds.) *Sokoto State in Maps: An Atlas of Physical and Human Resources*, University Press Limited (1982).

[55]Ibid. p. 30.

impressive considering that the entire total production target nationwide was 13,900 metric tones.[56]

What makes commercial tobacco production in Kaura Namoda Area quite relevant to our study is the fact which it has demonstrated: that tobacco production on a commercial scale which began in 1948 in the region, a little later than the production of cotton and groundnut, found an already existing structure comprising of veteran peasant farmers *manoma* and agents *yanbaranda* of European Merchant Companies who had over some two decades became well-adapted, in fact well entrenched into the export commodity production and commerce which developed primarily around the old cotton and groundnut production business which was started in the region since about 1910 and which was consolidated by the railway.[57] Mustapha Suleiman is of the view that by 1948 when tobacco production began on a proper commercial scale in Isa District the middlemen of the European Commercial Companies who were created by the old cotton and groundnut business were in significant numbers and had accumulated substantial capital so that many of such agents transited into tobacco business as middlemen.[58] Thus whereas cotton and later groundnut became the leading cash crops in the European commerce, other products such as hides and skins, sheabutter, feathers and other sylvan

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[56]Ibid.

[57]Oral interview, Alhaji Mamman Danyadado Age 75, Shinkafi Businessman (June 2006).

[58]Mustafa Suleiman *op.cit.* p. 41

products formed a certain percentage of the exports from the Kaura Namoda Area and tobacco though not strictly a major crop was nevertheless an important cash crop cultivated in the area during our period of study.

3.7 The Challenge of Transport/Communications

It was explained in chapter one of this study that different types of roads had been in existence in Kaura Namoda area since the seventeenth century.[59] Some of these roads actually functioned as highways, having evolved from age-old trade routes associated with both long distance and internal trading. Other adjoining passages comprised of long-trodden, therefore well known tracts, ranging from narrow footpaths to wide trails and routes which were also used by several numbers of traders. These trade routes and other pathways connected large population centres with small towns and villages, providing access to different parts of our area including to farther territories beyond its immediate vicinity, to distant places within and outside the Rima Basin area and beyond down to the Volta Basin.

This elaborate network of trade routes had remained well-serviced while it continued to support traffic of park animals largely donkeys organized into caravans accompanied by human porters.[60] The structure of this indigenous system of

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[59] Mahdi Adamu "Distribution of Trading Centres Op. cit.

[60] P.E. Lovejoy, *The Caravans of Kola The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900*; A.B.U., Press 1980. pp 101 - 103

transportation was found intact and indeed exploited by the colonialists.[61] It was the indigenous system of transportation that made it possible for a few European Mercantile Companies to penetrate the region earlier and to began trading activities. At least three European firms, namely, the United Africa Company U.A.C, John Holt and J.B. Olivant were known to have carried out trading activities in Kaura Namoda Area for several years before the extension of the railway to Kaura Namoda and the establishment of the northwestern railway terminus in 1929.[62]

Considerable trading in a number of important articles including textile, dye, hides and skins feathers, shea butter, honey, gum, paper, spices, incense, potash, salt, antimony limestone and other valuables was carried out in the area by agents of one European firm or another who had set up stores in the area. It is interesting to discover that no business was too small as to be ignored by these European Commercial Companies. Such a big player in the larger colonial economy as the U.A.C did not find it too lowly to dabble into local petty trading in onions and millet, side by side with its 'proper' role as a dominant European company and principal importer into the Colony of foreign manufactured goods.[63]

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[61]Sule Bello, A Review of J.S. Hogendorn's "Nigerian Groundnuts Exports: Origins and Early Development" A.B.U. Zaria, 1978 in Savanna Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences Vol. 8 No. 1 A.B.U. Press June 1979 p. 78.

[62]NAK, Report on animal transport in Northern Nigeria 1907; Mustapha Suleiman, op.cit,

[63]Y.A. Abdullahi, "Social Relations of Production in Peasant Agriculture: A Case Study of Simple Commodity Production in Kaura Namoda Area of Sokoto State" (M.Sc. Department of Sociology, A.B.U., Zaria), 1983.

Thus for nearly twenty three years from1905-1926 within which these silent trading activities were carried out, any bulky merchandise which had to be freighted over along distance inland or towards the coast was necessarily taken away or brought over on donkeys or camels. The observations by Shenton encouraged us to deduce that European Companies and the Colonial State continued to rely on the already existing local infrastructure of transport in our area, (roads, pack animals, and human parters especially) up till the time when the railway was opened[64] to meet the new additional transport demand of the expanding colonial export commodity economy in the area.

At any rate, by 1926, the Colonial State had managed to rehabilitate a network of the already existing local roads which linked Kaura Namoda Area to different areas of Sokoto Province[65] similarly, the construction of the Zaria-Sokoto road was finished in 1926.[66] The importance of this road to the Colonial State lies in the fact that the road linked up the whole of Sokoto Province to the other parts of Northern Nigeria in particular, and indeed Southern parts of the country in general.

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[64]Bob Shenton, "A Note on the Origin of European Commerce in Northern Nigeria" in History Research at A.B.U., Vol.I, The Postgraduate Seminar Papers of the Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1976/1977 Session, p.4.

[65]Mustapha Suleiman, "The History of Tobacco Production" *op.cit.*p. 74 75.

[66]T.B. Ingawa, "A Study of Rural Economic History of Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate during the Colonial Period C.1900-1960" (Ph.D Thesis,) School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1984. P. 237.

It is reported that by 1927, motor transport service between Zaria and Sokoto had become available.[67]

This much talked about motor transport service between Sokoto and Zaria however was devoted entirely to the service of either the European Companies such as the B.C.G.A. or the personnel of the Colonial State or government departments. The increasing volume of goods that had to be moved from one place to another by 1926 is an indication of the growing need for more transport facilities. A fleet of six lorries which had been in operation on the Sokoto road and its other branches was reported to be moving upwards of 2,709 tons of traffic on an average single trip in 1931.[68]

The rapid expansion of the colonial economy in Kaura Namoda Area served as a catalyst which led to the building of more roads, but more importantly the extension of the railway to the area. As early as 1928 a report indicated that as many as 1,600 bales of cotton were processed at the B.C.G.A cotton ginnery at Moriki in Kaura Namoda Area and 1,000 tons of groundnuts were dumped at Kaura Namoda town waiting for the completion of the work on the railway extension before it could be evacuated.[69]

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[67]P.K. Tibenderana, op.cit. p. 426

[68]NAK, SNP, 17/2/16670 Sokoto Province Annual Report No.28 1931.

[69]NAK, Sokprof 446/1928 Sokoto Province Annual Report, 1928.

Thus in order to ensure the operations of the forthcoming railway, which in any case inevitably came to rely on many local feeder roads and park animals, more roads were therefore constructed by the Colonial State in 1932 within Kaura Namoda Area. The area had by then become notable as an important cotton growing region of Sokoto Province.[70] These roads were plied mostly by the lorries belonging to the Nigeria Railway motor service which began operation service in 1932. There was an estimated 76.2 miles of such roads existing in Sokoto Province in 1933.

Considering the scenario that emerged from the above passages of this study it seems logical to argue that the extension of the railway to Kaura Namoda which also happened to be the terminus of the north-western railway is to be explained in the larger historical context of the status of Kaura Namoda town as a centre of an area with great endowments of natural resources, notably its resources of agricultural raw materials. This in turn will support the view we hold that it was the expansion of the colonial economy in Kaura Namoda Area indexed by such factors as the increased volume of cotton and groundnut production as well as the growing trading activities of European commercial companies in the area that led to the establishment of the Kaura Namoda Railway. It was this increased activity in the export crops production and commerce in European manufactured goods which necessitated the need for such a high capacity means of transport as the railway. This was the circumstance that led to the extension of the railway from Zaria to

[70]Ibid.

Kaura Namoda between 1928 and 1929. The next chapter of this study attempts to examine how the work was undertaken as well as how it impacted on the society and economy of the area.

CHAPTER FOUR

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KAURA NAMODA RAILWAY LINE

4.1 Introduction

The establishment of the Moriki Ginnery by the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) as early as 1924 is in itself an evidence to the huge quantities of cotton being cultivated in Kaura Namoda area at the time. The fact that the Ginnery operated for five years before the railway was extended to Kaura Namoda also suggests that considerable trading activities, in cotton must have gone on in the region prior to the arrival of the railway. The construction of such a big factory as a Ginnery also must have generated numerous economic activities. All these, along with the hints given in one report to which we have already made reference concerning hundreds of tons of cotton and groundnut waiting at Kaura Namoda for evacuation in 1928 seem to have made it clear that the extension of the railway from Zaria to Kaura Namoda between 1927 and 1929 was a development coincident with the expansion of the colonial economy in Kaura Namoda Area.

We have attempted in chapter three to sketch an outline of the colonial economy in Kaura Namoda Area and explained in the process how subsequent expansion, especially in export crop production and the sale of European manufactured goods necessitated the extension of the railway to the region in order for it to be used both in conveying the European manufactured goods to the area as

well as in evacuating cotton, groundnut, hides, skins and other articles from the area to the coast for onward transportation to the metropolitan countries.

This chapter will examine the process of the extension of the railway to the region and the conditions within which the work was carried out. Most importantly, this is in order to gain an insight into the social dimension of the work and how it affected social and material conditions in the area vis-à-vis their pre-existing nature during the pre-colonial period.

The railway station in Kaura Namoda is a terminus; it is the point where the rail line linked the Nigerian North-West to the rest of the colony. The terminus is variously referred to as the Northwestern Railway Terminus or the Kaura Namoda Railway Terminus. The extension itself began from Zaria, originating from the Baro-Kano line which passes through Zaria to Kano. The major significance of the Kaura Namoda railway line lies in the fact that it linked up the then Sokoto Province with other parts of the evolving Nigerian Colonial state for colonial administrative convenience and was used to export the agricultural and mineral resources of the Province. Thus, in essence, an examination of the process of the extension of the railway to Kaura Namoda entails also an overview of the establishment of the railway system in Nigeria as a whole. This is what is attempted in the early sections of this chapter.

4.2 Background to the Kaura Namoda Railway Extension

Although the Colonial Office in London had received many applications from private capitalists interests for the construction of railways in West Africa; in Nigeria, the first proposal to construct a railway in Lagos was made in July 1893 by a body bearing the name 'Western Syndicate' which was headed by one Sir Alfred Jones of Liverpool. The Colonial office had declined earlier proposals for the construction of rail lines by capitalists concerns; the Office however had a change of attitude after getting assurance from the Colonial Officer in Lagos on the preparedness of the Legislative Council of Lagos to finance the project.[1]

4.3 The Lagos Railway

The decision to construct the Lagos line was based on the prospects of linking Lagos and other parts of Nigeria. Other considerations include the expected political union of Lagos and Northern Nigeria, yet another consideration was the need to mount a counter strategy to preempt or make less relevant the French – Conakry and Dahomey rail lines which had the potential of diverting the trade coming from Yorubaland and the Northwest to the cost of Nigeria.[2]

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[1] A.S. Kole, "The Working Class and the Crisis in the Nigerian Railway Corporation." M.Sc Thesis, Department of Political Science, A.B.U., Zaria (1987), p.iii.

[2] Takena Tamuno, "The Genesis of the Nigerian Railway" *Nigeria Magazine No.83*, December 1964, p.279.

Thus, the Lagos rail line was started in March 1896 and was extended to Offa in 1897, Abeokuta in1899 and Ibadan in 1900.[3]

In 1908 the Ibadan-Ilorin extension was opened to traffic. The extension of the railway to Western Nigeria made it possible for the Colonial State to connect the major towns of Ibadan, Iwo, Ede, Oshogbo and Kirun as well as the oil palm and timber – rich forests of Southwestern Nigeria. Cocoa and rubber eventually became major export commodities[4] produced on a large scale in this part of the Nigerian Colony.

Thus, in order to facilitate the maximum exploitation of the resources of these areas, feeder roads were constructed linking them up with railway stations in the various towns. This initiative was the brain child of the railway organization known at that time simply as Nigeria Railway.

This initiative was part of the larger policy of the Colonial State which focused on the development of feeder roads to connect centres of export commodity production with major railway stations.[5] It was based on this policy that roads were built from Ibadan to Oyo, Oshogbo to Ife, Ilesha and Ogbomosho, Ede to Iwo. All these roads benefitted from the railway – operated motor transport services.

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[3]K.A> Shettima, op.cit, p.112. Olufemi Omosini, "The Background to Railway Policy in Nigeria 1877-1907" in Akinjogbin, A.I. and Osoba , S.O. (eds.) *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*, University of Ife Press 1980. P. 157

[4]Op.cit. p. 279

[5] Tekena Tamuno., Op. cit.

At the inauguration of the Ibadan line on 7th March 1901, the vision of extending the railway from Ibadan to the interior of Northern Nigeria was revealed in an apt metaphor by governor Macgregor who spoke about the 'iron horse[6] drinking the waters of the Chad. Six years later, in 1907, the work of extending the railway from Baro to Kano began and was completed in March 1911.

4.4 The Baro-Kano Rail Extension

Despite the early enthusiasm for the extension of the railway to Northern Nigeria the proposal for a Northern Nigerian railway became associated with fierce politics.[7] The Colonial State and the European Trading Companies however were attracted by the economic potentials of Northern Nigeria, especially the opportunities which its vast fertile land and large populations presented to British investment and commerce.[8] Kano, as an example of such large population centres has the reputation of being for centuries the emporium of the Trans Saharan Trade. Already, the British Cotton Growers Association, (BCGA) had envisioned Kano in Northern Nigeria as the Mecca[9] of the Lancashire spinning trade, having discovered Northern Nigeria as being the best cotton growing region, the BCGA orchestrated a powerful lobby for the extension of the railway to Kano in Northern Nigeria.

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid. p.282.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

The BCGA lobby which was to eventually secure the conversion of the cynical opponents of the Northern railway scheme was spearheaded in the British Parliament by Wiston Churchill. This powerful lobby became very crucial in pushing the proposal for the extension of the railway to Northern Nigeria. The lobby group comprising of sixty four members of Parliament, the representatives of twenty three Chambers of Commerce and a leading members of the BCGA, Sir Ralphael Moor. The lobby group explained to the British government how a 'good transport system' would open up the vast region[10] for exploitation of raw materials and for commerce. Up to the period when the construction of the railway began in Nigeria, as in Gold Coast goods were transported largely by means of human portage, i.e. human carriers and pack animals[11] from the interior to the coast.

After the success of the lobby for a Northern Nigerian railway, the construction of the Baro-Kano line began in 1907. Ninety nine (99) miles of rail were laid between 1908 and 1909 and 151 miles between 1909 and 1910 and 144 miles between 1910 and 1911.[12] The approval was given by the Secretary of state for the Colonies for the construction on 8th August, 1907. Three years and eight

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[10] K.A. Shettima.

[11] Allan Macphee. *The Economic Revolution in British West Africa,* Frankcass, London 1926. P. 107..

[12]K. A. Shettima, *op.cit.*

months later, on the 28th March,1911, the railway line from Baro reached Kano, covering a distance of 356 miles in all, from Baro to Kano.[13]

In 1912, the Bauchi Light Railway (BLR) was opened to public traffic. However, this line was removed later, after the completion of the Jos-Kafanchan line. The purpose of the Bauchi light railway, was mainly to access the tin-mining zone of Northern Nigeria and to tap the potential for groundnut production in the Bauchi province. The Niger Company, having realized the potential benefit of the BLR to its commercial interests, lobbied intensely for the establishment of this particular rail line.

The southeastern line of the railway envisioned to open up southeastern Nigeria for colonial exploitation began in 1913, the potentials of coal in the Udi hills provided a significant attraction to the development of the line just as did the tapping of the Upper Benue trade in groundnuts, cotton, palm oil and fibre. The line reached the Udi coal mine in May 1916, Makurdi in 1924; a link for Kaduna and Makurdi met near Kafanchan and in 1927, the Jos-Kafanchan link was completed.[14] Similar extensions to Funtua as well as Gusau and Kaura Namoda were completed by 1930.[15]

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[13] Tekena Tamuno, op.cit. p. 279.
[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

lure trade from the nearby neighbouring colonies.[19] Lugard had seen the significance of the line in opening up the vast plains of Borno for cotton production. The line was completed in 1958.

4.5 The Kaura Namoda Railway Extension

4.5.1 Conception

As early as 1924, surveys were carried out between Jebba and Zungeru up to Sokoto, and between Zaria and Sokoto.[20] But as historically important as Sokoto was as the political and cultural capital of Northern Nigeria, (which was curved out from the larger area of the Sokoto Caliphate) economic gain and the profit motive took primacy, thus in October 1925, approval was received to construct 107 miles branch from Zaria to Gusau[21] which was completed in January1929 and was extended to Kaura Namoda in October 1929, covering a distance of 137 miles from Zaria.[22] Central to the establishment of the Kaura Namoda rail extension is the desire to tap equally vast resources of cotton and groundnut as well as to get access to areas in the Sokoto Province linking them up with the provinces of Katsina and

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Walker Gilbert, *Traffic and Transport in Nigeria*. H.S.O. London 1959, p.11.

[21] The extension of the railways into the Nigerian hinterland is believed by many scholars to have been dictated among other factors by the implications of the commercial rivalry between various European countries notably between Britain, France and Germany in the case of Northern Nigeria: See Abdurahim Dangana, "*Rail Roads and Economic Development in Nigeria, A Case Study of Borno Extension 1964-1968,*" M.Sc Thesis, University of Legon, Ghana, 1969.

[22] Tekena Tamuno, op.cit. p. 280

Zaria and other areas in the Northern Protectorate as well as with areas down to the coast in Southern Nigeria.[23]

Similarly, the decision to extend the railway from Zaria through Gusau to Kaura Namoda instead of from Zungeru through Jebba to Sokoto was a master stroke in financial strategy and frugal management of resources; the surveys carried out in 1924 between Jebba through Zungeru to Sokoto and from Zaria to Sokoto were in search of the shortest and cheapest way to link up Sokoto with the railway, considering its importance as the Provincial capital of the Sokoto Province, yet the Zaria-Gusau-Kaura Namoda rail line promised to achieve three significant objectives in one stroke: to tap the vast raw material resources in Kaura Namoda area and beyond, to link Sokoto Province with the railway thereby gaining easy access to all parts of the Province for easy movement of stores, personnel as well as troops of the Colonial State[24] and for easy infiltration of under cover operatives for the purpose of spying on the neighbouring French territories and of luring trade from these territories.[25]

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[23]Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25]Oral Interview with Ali Nakura, Age 77 Kaura Namoda May 2008 NEPU Stalwart and Later GNPP Senetorial Candidate in 1979..

4.5.2 Construction

The origin of the Kaura Namoda railway extension is the Zaria-Gusau line, began in 1927 and completed in January 1929, then was extended to Kaura Namoda in October 1929 covering 137 miles from Zaria to Kaura Namoda.

It is interesting to note that the Zaria-Kaura Namoda line together with the Jos-Kafanchan line as well as the Borno extension were especially considered as implementations of Lugards railway scheme after the first world war.[26]

4.5.2.1 Labour

The point can bear repeating that the railway is the colonial infrastructure in which the largest amount of forced labour was employed especially in Northern Nigeria; that is why the method of labour recruitment in the execution of these Northern railway schemes somewhat differed from the one adopted in the construction of the Lagos railway which was constructed through the departmental system. Under the departmental system construction, work was organized by the Resident Engineer who received his brief from the Crown Agents who in turn were the representatives of the Colonial Office.

On the contrary, the railway schemes in Northern Nigeria were largely constructed through what Lugard devised as 'local' method, whereby construction was organized by the Native Authority and not by the Resident Engineer. In

[26]K. A. Shettima, op.cit. p. 115 – 116.

Northern Nigeria, the Colonial State, as Takena Tamuno testifies, used its administrative and military personnel, local chiefs and labourers in executing the railway schemes.[27] With regards to this matter, Lugard had rationalized earlier that "free" labour can best be provided in a country in which there is no material compulsion to seek wage employment.[28] Thus, the Native Authorities within which the railway schemes were located became central in the effort for labour recruitment for the construction of the particular schemes. In the case of Kaura Namoda Area as in that of Zaria Province,[29] Native Authorities participated actively in the mobilization of forced labour for the Colonial State. The Native Authorities were usually assigned quotas amounting to a specific number of men which emirs must contribute to the labour pool of the Colonial State. The Emirs in turn delegated the task of the mobilization of forced labour to Districts and Village Headmen respectively; each village within districts were assigned specific quotas of men which their village heads must supply to the railway construction sites within their areas of jurisdiction, failing which their offices or titles stood in jeopardy.[30] Thus as construction work progressed the mobilization of what came to be termed

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[27] Tekena Tamuno, op.cit.

[28] F.D. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*

[29] A. Shoyebi, The Railway as a Factor for British Colnial Domination and Exploitation of the Zaria Province. M.A. (Hist) Thesis University of Jos 1992.

[30] M.A. Mamman, The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960 (Ph.D. Theses Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 2002. P. 130, 131 – 145.

political labour, a euphemism for forced labour became a crucial task of the Native Authorities.

Following the implementation of ordinances promulgated to aid the establishment of the colonial economy such as the ordinances of taxation and monetization, ordinances designed to achieve the objective of the Colonial State, that is the reorientation of production. This reorientation of production rendered a large number of the population landless and unemployed, hence vulnerable for exploitation as source of physical labour. That was how a large population of people became available for work sometimes as wage labourers but more often as suppliers of "voluntary" and underpaid labour. Shoyebi has presented the nature of the condition which this action of the Colonial State brought about in Zaria Province in a remarkable way.

> The consolidation of the policies of the Colonial State ensured that thousands of freed slaves and economically dislocated peasants went for work in order to secure British currency with which to pay their taxes, the result was that there was a dramatic increase in the number of labourers who reported for construction work.[31]

Thus, labour figures rose from 68 in 1908 to 729 in 1909. It is instructive to point out that such large numbers of labourers were steadily maintained at construction site; at one point, up to 10,000 labourers were involved in railway construction work at a time.[32]

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[31]Shoyebi, op.cit.

[32]Ibid.

The situation is not different in any remarkable way from what happened in Kaura Namoda Area during the construction of Kaura Namoda railway extension. An annual provincial report of the Sokoto Province of 1922[33] had indicated that the Sokoto Native Authority was in a position to supply Two Thousand to Two Thousand Five Hundred (2,000 - 2,500) able bodied men to the labour pool of the Colonial State at a short notice. As a matter of fact, during the construction of the Kaura Namoda railway extension the Colonial State made good its claim to the 'right' to made use of forced labour in emergencies or in undertaking some urgent work for the 'benefit' of the community as 'duty' which the law imposed upon the people without remuneration. Since labour for various colonial undertakings was mobilized through the system of levy by which District and Village Heads were directed to supply certain quota of labour, as the single most important colonial infrastructure on which forced labour was used, railway construction became responsible for the creation of full time labourers in towns and villages with no skills to offer other than their physical labour; such labourers were common sight in towns and villages where railway construction sites existed. In addition to this 'floating' labour, all Districts and Village Heads were involved in the mobilization of labour and the supervision of construction work at such sites. Sometimes the

[33]N.A.K., Sokprof 44/1922 Sokoto Province Annual Report 1922.

work came in the form of clearing of tracks for the laying of telegraph as well as maintenance and repairs of the rail lines and tracks.[34]

The issue of African staff providing 'common' labour under the supervision of European officials is full of the undertones of the charges of cruelty and the employment of corporal punishment often brought against the European headmen at the railway construction sites. It is in regard to this that the Mamman Ehar Affair[35] which involved the killing of one Mr. Clement, a headman of a railway construction gang on a rail laying site at Kurya near Kaura Namoda ought to be recalled. M.L.B. Moriki has hinted at the maltreatment of labourers as well as the hard and unpleasant conditions at the work sites along the Gusau Kaura Namoda railway extension:

> The condition under which the forced labourers worked were often very bad, food was inadequate, housing poor, disease frequent and death rate high, generally, the labourers were mercilessly treated by the foremen... at the construction site of the railway.

It is very likely for people working under such stress to turn aggressive at the least provocation as in the case of Mamman Eha Moriki reported the affair in the following way:

> It is probably as a result of the intensive labour engagement of the conscripted labourers along Gusau Kaura Namoda railway extension, one reactionary fellow among the conscripted labourers revolted violently as a

[34]Jackel, op.cit. p. Wale Oyemande: " A History of Indigenous Labour on the Nigerian Railway" University of Ibadan 1970 NAK, Sokprof, 3/2 Acc. No Agency 275,320 vol.1 Telegraph Communications, Sokoto Province.

[35] N.A.K. C.21 Clement Murder of 1928.

> result of which he killed a foreman in charge of the railway construction around Kurya near Kaura Namoda.[36]

P.G. Harris, a one time colonial administrator in Sokoto Province reported the affair in the following way:

> Kaura Namoda district has come into prominence since the British occupation as being the scene in March 1928, of the murder near Kurya of Mr. Clements, a foreman on railway construction by a well known bad character named Mamman Eha. For this crime the murderer was later hanged.[37]

Contrary to what is reported by the colonial records however, oral testimonies[38] supplied to this researcher at Kurya and Kaura Namoda showed that Mamman Eha was a responsible though independent minded man who was forced to take the law into his hands under great provocation. An informant told the present researcher that Mr. Clement, the foreman, was killed by Mamman Eha in self defence and in a will to assert his humanity having endured indignities from Mr. Clements for a long time. A reportedly strongly built man, Mamman Eha was allegedly made to carry the foreman Mr. Clement on the former's back over long distance along widely separated points of rail line construction work, when he could endure no more, he protested and in the scuffle he killed his assaulter.

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[36]M.L.B. Moriki, "The Alibawa Fulani Factor in the History of North Eastern Zamfara". M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, 1995.

[37]R.G. Harris, *The Sokoto Provincial Gazette*, p.151.

[38] Oral Interview with Sule Madaro Kurya, Age 74 and Sahabi Ibrahim, Age 43 at Kaura Namoda (August 2009).

Jeackel who wrote extensively on the technical and civil engineering details[39] of the railway construction in Nigeria has brought out the hardship associated with the work when he explained that the construction of railway lines was usually organized in such a way that specific gangs were assigned to handle specific tasks, that is, there were gangs responsible for survey, earth work, ballasting, plate laying, bridge building and traffic operation.[40] The construction work was carried out by gangs who carried the rails along the construction lines. The gangs varied from eight to ten men according to the ground conditions. The first party followed within five miles of railhead and left the track accurately packed and graded at the final height of 12 inches above formation level,[41] the working hours in a day were 6:00a.m to 3:00 p.m.

To maintain the labour force of the railway construction gangs, labour camps were erected along the Gusau Kaura Namoda rail lines. The construction work was a tough task indeed: the Kaura Namoda rail line passed through rugged woodland which presented tedious construction problems which sometimes demanded hard, backbreaking labour, to solve such problems as lowering and grading of hills, raising of valleys, clearing of forests and the construction of bridges across streams. There were 26 such bridges between Chafe and Kaura Namoda. The labourers used

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[39]Francis Jeackel, *The History of the Nigerian Railway* Vol.II (Spectrum Publishers Ibadan 1997).

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid. p.98.

hoes, axes, buckets, shovels and head pans for the construction work. The work also involved the employment of human porters to carry heavy railway sleepers to construction sites along the rail line.[42] Such backbreaking work could be carried out over a long period of time as it was done at the time only through coercion.

4.6 The Kaura Namoda Railway Terminus and its Mandate

Over nine miles were laid at stations from Zaria to Gusau on the building of the branch in 1928. Funtua was the first important point. The British Cotton Growers Association occupied 379ft in 1930, and 360ft cattle sidings were laid in 1949. A 64ft quarry line was constructed at Chafe in 1949.[43]

Gusau had 2,930ft merchants siding by 1930 and in 1936 the goods sheds was enlarged by1,000 square fts. Kola offloading siding appeared in 1959, 750ft were assigned to the BCGA and 1400ft were assigned to transportation of cattle. In 1960, the Zamfara textile absorbed 1,740ft. In 1964, the cement company of Northern Nigeria was fed by a 303ft siding in section Gusau-Nahuche in 1965 and the Northern Nigerian Marketing Board acquired 2,500ft in 1969.[44]

The sidings at Kaura Namoda station were as a matter of fact fewer, yet they borne the mandate of the Northwestern terminus of the Nigerian railway. Thus the station at Kaura Namoda had steam shade off a triangle to the right of the running

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[42]Ibid., p.100.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., p.98.

lines. The terminus itself had four running lines ending in a single dead end[45] receiving 3,930ft merchants sidings in 1930 and an additional 1,497ft in 1965.[46]

In this chapter we have attempted a cursory examination of the process of the extension of the rail line to Kaura Namoda, and we have seen that as with other undertakings of the Colonial State, in the development of infrastructure in the area, the work was a continuation of the tradition of collaboration between the Colonial State and the officials of the so-called Native Authorities. Much more than land, labour was more critical in the construction of such a huge infrastructure as the railway. That is why we devoted substantial passages of the chapter in examining how labour, most of it forced, was mobilized and managed during the construction work on the Kaura Namoda railway extension. What remains is an examination of the overall impact of the railway on the area both as a technical scheme and as a social institution whose presence in the area brought about some new influence to bear on the material and social conditions within it. This is what is attempted in chapter five which follows.

[45]Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPACT OF THE RAILWAY IN KAURA NAMODA AREA

5.1 Introduction

Our examination of several of the available primary sources relating to this study has made it clear to us that exploitation of agricultural raw materials especially cotton and groundnut and the purpose of opening up the region for the conduct of colonial commerce were the principal motives for the extension of the railway to Kaura Namoda Area in 1929. The establishment of a cotton ginnery at Moriki as early as 1924 and the volume of cotton farming which the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) promoted in the area together with the early trading activities of the European Trading Companies provided us with sufficient evidence to uphold this view.

In this final chapter therefore, the study will be focused mainly on identifying the factors which can be said to constitute the *impact* of the railway in Kaura Namoda Area. Having made this point, it is important to note that in the manner in which the railway is conceived in the present study – that is, both as an infrastructure of transport as well as a social institution – and as a structure within the larger structure of the colonial economy, it is not possible to identify, much less understand this *impact* of the railway in isolation from the colonial economy itself both in its statutory substance and its ideological essence.

For example, construction of the railway did not precede the colonial Land Act, yet in talking over the control of land, the Colonial State anticipated the need for vast tracks of land that would be needed in some future date to establish the railway should the need arose, just as the laws ensured that land was left under the nominal control of peasant farmers in order to guarantee the success of the peasant agriculture which the Colonial State promoted and which in turn provided the cash crops which the railway was used to evacuate.

To put it briefly, the impact of the railway which we will try to bring out in this chapter will be nothing more than the consequences of the role which the railway played in interaction with colonial economic activities facilitating a process of change which was already going on in the region though on a lesser scale since the incorporation of the region into the Colonial State.

5.2 The Role of the Railway in Reorientation of Production

The railway as a major colonial infrastructure of transport functioned as a structure within the larger structure of the Colonial Economy. The railway was built essentially to facilitate the export of agricultural raw materials and the distribution and sales of European manufactured goods into the colonized areas as a means of maximizing colonial exploitation. In this way, the major impact of the railway can be sought in the role it had played in the reorientation of production in Kaura Namoda Area. The impact is paversive and it is manifest in the various spheres of

the economy and society of the area, yet this impact can only be meaningfully understood when examined in relation to, and not in isolation from the colonial policies which were conceived at the onset, and which created the conditions that led to the establishment of the railway in the region. Even though the role of the railway is more apparent in the consolidation of the tangible policies (aspects) of the Colonial Economy, especially the entrenchment of peasant agriculture and colonial commerce, its impact in our area also emerges from the interaction of the intangible colonial economic policies and the tangible colonial economic practices. We will attempt an examination of the nature and outcome of these interactions in the following passages.

5.3 New Economic and Social Trends

Within the span of mere fifteen years between 1913 and 1928 the volume of cotton and groundnut produced in the region became to be measured in terms of thousands of metric tons instead of just in basketfuls.[1] For example, 16,000 bales of cotton were estimated to be processed at the Moriki cotton ginnery of the British Cotton Growing Association in 1928.[2]

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[1] Sokprof, NAK, 770/1913 Kaura Namoda District Assessment Report 1913, Pp.11-28.

[2] NAK, Sokprof 446/1928.

The same Provincial Government report indicated that one thousand metric tons of groundnut were dumped at Kaura Namoda waiting railway transport.[3] Thus building on the argument of Hogendorn,[4] that although the cultivation of cotton, and we may add groundnut did not start with the arrival of the railway, the railway nevertheless served as a catalyst for further expansion of cotton and groundnut farming by providing great incentive in the form of a faster means of transporting thousands of metric tons of cotton and groundnuts to the coast. This facility which the railway afforded is to be seen generally against the larger background of the active intervention of the Colonial State in the promotion of the production of these export crops.

As we have mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, our study of the impact of the railway in Kaura Namoda area will be based on the role of the railway in the context of its larger interaction with other segments of the colonial economy.

5.4 New Economic Trends: Influence of the Railway on Economic Production in Kaura Namoda Area

Land, Labour and Capital have always been at the centre of production hence their designation as factors of production in development economics.[5] There is a sense in which these three critical factors of production were influenced by the

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[3] Ibid.

[4] J.S. Hogendon, *Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origins and Early Development*, A.B.U. Press, 1978, p.20.

[5] Jeofry Kays, *Development and Underdevelopment: A Marxist Analysis* (The Macmillan Press, 1975).p. 4

railway soon after it was established in Kaura Namoda area. Thus in our attempt to bring out the impact of the railway in the region we are going to be engaged in studying the role of the railway at various levels of its interaction with production, with our focus centered mainly on the new economic trends and social conditions that were generated in Kaura Namoda Area as a result of that interaction.

5.4.1 Land

By 1929 communities in Kaura Namoda area had already begun to adjust to the new reality of the colonial laws governing land tenure as conceived and promulgated by the Colonial State. As we have already explained in chapter two of this study, the Land Revenue Proclamation of 1906[6] brought the whole land in Northern Nigeria under the control of the Colonial State. This colonial legislation together with the Land and Native Rights Proclamation of 1910 embodied the mutually functional colonial economic policies of taxation and land administration. These two policies Colonial Land Tenure and Colonial Taxation were instrumental in the incorporation of the region into the capitalist economy, a process which the railway aided and concretized.

On the one hand, taxation ensured that more people joined in the farming of export crops, notably groundnut and cotton, in order to obtain the necessary British currency to pay tax. On the other hand the colonial landtenure legislation made rent-

[6]M. I. Jumare, "A Review of the Northern Nigerian Lands Committee Report of 1910" in A.M. Yakubu et.al. *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*. Arewa House Kaduna 2005 Pp.304-319.

free land available for the Colonial State to establish its economic and social infrastructure as well as to make allocation to European companies who used such land as allocated to them by the Colonial State to build warehouses, stock yards, workshops, canteens, stores and boarding quarters for their employees. Undoubtedly, the railway was the most gigantic colonial infrastructure in Kaura Namoda area which used up so much land in building its so many structures in the form of extensive rail lines, bridges, workshops, shades, yards and warehouses as well as the railway official quarters.[7]

To meet this huge need for land, the railway Act provided that the High Commissioner could acquire any land anywhere for railway purposes,[8] moreover, the Colonial State hid under the convenient technicality of the so-called 'unoccupied lands' designated as any land where it was not proved that the land was in beneficial use for cultivation, habitation, or for collecting or storing water, or for any other industrial purposes.[9] This particular clause of the land Act deliberately created a lacunar under which thousands of acres of land belonging to peasants were expropriated and used for the building of the railway infrastructure in many cases without compensation.

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[7]Francis Jacked, *The History of the Nigerian Railway Vol II*, Spectrum Publishers, Enugu 1997, Pp.244-245.

[8]A. Shoyebi, The Railway as a Factor for British Colonial Domination and Exploitation of Zaria Province. M.A.Thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, 1992, p.

[9] NAK, SNP. 7/8, 4657, 1907, Railway Proclamation No.31 of 1904.

Mamman Danyadado and Awwal Dadi at Shinkafi and Kaura Namoda respectively have provided useful information regarding acts of land expropriation both for the purpose of building railway facilities as well as for the building of other infrastructure of the Colonial State, in Kaura Namoda Area.[10] It is correct to say that the railway was the largest colonial infrastructure located in Kaura Namoda Area, thus its influence on land use and labour exploitation in the area seems to be the largest in comparison to other lesser colonial infrastructure. There is a sense in which the location of the railway station in Kaura Namoda and its pioneering role in the expropriation of some of the largest parcels, of land in the area, encouraged other individuals and organizations especially European Trading Companies to help themselves with some of the land in different parts of the area often without any regard to all due legal procedure. By 1934, this problem had become so rampant that the Acting Resident of Sokoto Province, E.W. Thomstone wrote a memo to four companies namely John Holt and Co., the United Africa Company (UAC), A.J. Tangalikis and the French Company – C.F.A.O protesting their illegal occupation and use of land at Moriki in Kaura Namoda districts.[11] Peasant families in the region had lost several acres of land due to such illegal encroachment as the one mentioned above. It is instructive to note that the problems of land expropriation which was associated with the railway in this area seems to be similar to the ones

[10]Oral Evidence, Interview with Alhaji Mamman Danyadado Shinkafi 75 (2009) and with Awwal Dadi 43 at Kaura Namoda, August (2009).

[11]NAK, SNP, C233 Business Areas and Trading Centres 1934.

which Oyedele,[12] Dhliwayo[13] and Mahuta[14] observed in their studies of colonial urbanization in Kaduna, Zaria and Maska.

We are informed by Marafa Ummaru[15] during field work that a rise in the incidence of land leasing or sale of land which was less frequent in the region previously started becoming more noticeable with the advent of the railway, and that land surrounding the railway station and the terminus began attracting higher prices and rents.[16] It is also observed that with the establishment of the railway, land became more accessible especially around the railway terminus to private users including immigrants who came to live and worked in the area following the establishment of the railway terminus at Kaura Namoda.[17]

It is our view however that inspite of the above mentioned new developments which occurred in land use as a result of the influence of the railway on the land resource of the area, it seems to us that the greatest influence exerted by the railway on land use is to be seen more in the change which was brought about in the nature of agricultural production of the area: The railway further stimulated and

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[12]Oyedele Enoch, *"Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960." Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria 1987.*

[13]V. Dhliwayo, *"A History of Sabon Gari Zaria, 1911-1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration."* Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1986.

[14] Idriss Abdullahi Mahuta, "Urbanization in Maska Region in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (with Special Reference to Funtua." M.A. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1990.

[15]Oral Interview, with Marafa Umaru Aged 75 August 2009.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

consolidated the farming of cotton, groundnuts and tobacco. By making available a means of transport capable of freighting huge volume of cash crops, the railway facilitated both the production and export of these commodities, creating a decisive boom. This came to have far reaching consequences that led to a change in the role of the *gandu* as a unit of social production and reproduction. In this way, the indigenous system of production of the region area subordinated to the capitalist mode of production, in a highly unequal relationship. This development put the region's production and its social relations under considerable pressure.[18] We have no way of establishing the actual volume of crops, especially cotton, groundnut and tobacco that was produced since the establishment of the railway in the region, we can however deduce a near approximate of the percentage of land devoted to export crop production using the data provided by Yahaya Abdullahi in his study of simple commodity production in the Kaura Namoda area. Abdullahi reasoned that the importance of cotton and groundnut production in Kaura Namoda could be assessed from the percentage of agricultural population engaged in it.[19] After conducting a random sampling in over 50 villages in different parts of the Kaura Namoda area he concluded that out of 273 farmers sampled, 96.2% produced groundnut and 90.9% produced cotton, from this estimates, it will appear that at the height of cash crop

[18]G.J.V. Apeldorn, "*Perspective on Drought and Famine in Nigeria*," George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London, 1981, p.20.

[19]Y.A. Abdullahi, "Social Relations of Production in Peasant Agriculture: A Case Study of Simple Commodity Production in Kaura Namoda area of Sokoto State," Ph.D Thesis, Department of Sociology, A.B.U., Zaria, 1983, p.187.

production, at least 80% of the total cultivable land in our region was used for export crops production, accounting for at least 60% of the total output of the 70,797 metric tons produced in Sokoto Province[20] with negative consequences on agricultural production and land use, hence on production generally, but particularly on agricultural production. Thus, it can be argued that the policies of the Colonial State in land use and in taxation combined to ensure the entrenchment of peasant agriculture in the region which the railway helped to consolidate.

Thus as the railway intensified the conduct of peasant agriculture it contributed indirectly, to the process of break-up of composite families as production groups and their replacement by individual ownership of the means of production which was fast emerging under the colonial regime as the basis of the organization of production. Y.A. Abdullahi and Mustapha Suleiman, who have done research on aspects of colonial economy in the region have testified to the emergence of this new trend which led to the continuous sub-division of farms into small plots, leading to the rise of fragmented nature of land holding with negative consequences for future agricultural production. This view is in line with that of Hogendorn who also attributed the development of small holder agriculture in Northern Nigeria to colonial taxation and land use policies.[21] The railway hastened and consolidated this process in Kaura Namoda Area.

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[20] Ibid.

[21] J.S. Hogendorn op. cit.

5.4.2 *Labour*

As a conscious activity of man in which he expends his energy and intellectual endowments upon the natural environment for the production of value, much has been written and much more can be written about the nature of labour and its place in social production in Kaura Namoda area in the pre-colonial period as well as during the colonial period. Chafe[22] for example who has made an extensive study of the economic policies of the Sokoto Caliphate in the nineteenth century has identified four categories of social labour that existed in the metropolitan Sokoto Caliphate where our area of study is located; namely, peasant labour – which the writer described as the predominant, slave labour, client labour and forced labour. Of all the four categories of labour mentioned, it is on peasant labour, wage labour and forced labour that we are going to pay more attention in this study because of the historicaly important fact that under the influence exerted by the railway, the three forms of labour assumed the greatest significance in our region during the colonial period.

[22]K.S. Chafe, State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate Policies and Practices in the Metropolitan Districts 1804-1903 (Ph.D. Theses A.B.U. Zaria 1992).

5.4.3 Peasant Labour

Labour organization in peasant agriculture as Abdullahi has explained is closely related to the nature of the other factors of production such as land and the instruments of labour, hence the production of value is dependent upon the efficiency of these factors of production.[23] Thus peasant agriculture as it was practiced in Northern Nigeria and in Kaura Namoda Area was predominated by peasant labour, in this context, labour was organized on the basis of simple families as land holding units with the instruments of production owned and controlled by the head of the household.[24] It is instructive, to note that before the decline of the practice of *Gayya* through the intensification of cash crop production, the practice, was a convenient mechanism which enabled families within a community to cooperate in productive work and assisted one another by complementing each others labour supply in all such work tasks that required extra labour. In this way, families with limited labour capacities were helped to finish up work tasks on time in several occasions. However, the development and consolidation of cash crops production ensured the gradual decline and ultimate collapse of this form of cooperative labour *gayya* and the Colonial State perverted it into a channel for the recruitment of forced labour.[25]

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[23]Abdullahi, op.cit..

[24]K.S. Chafe, *State and Economy op.cit.*

[25] Mustapha, Suleiman, "The History of Tobacco Production in Isa District, Sokoto State, 1948 – 1992" M.A. (Hist) Thesis Usumanu Danfodio University Sokoto 1992, pp. 57 – 58.

5.4.4 Colonial Wage Labour

Wage labour has a reasonably long history in our area. Previous studies[26] on the Rima Basin have shown that the use of wage labour in agricultural production started becoming significant in the area by the beginning of the nineteenth century and since then it has played an important role in agricultural production of the area. Just like peasant labour, wage labour was denigrated from its former status of a just bargain to a mere device on which basis peasants were 'hired' at fixed wages. As it turned out however, even in the case where the so-called wage labour was remunerated, the wages were by far not commensurate with the labour input of the peasant labourers most of whom had only their labour to sale as a result of the policies of the Colonial State on land which deprived them of their land.[27] Even when one considers the views of Lennihan on the emergence of agricultural wages labour in Northern Nigeria[28] the fact will still remain that the fixed wages offered by the Colonial State and its agencies under the colonial economy regime remained a travesty of the standard living-wage and it left labour grossly under valued.

5.4.5 Colonial Forced Labour

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[26]K.S. Chafe, op.cit., A.R. Augi "The Gobir Factor" Loc Cit p. 1.

[27]J.S. Hogendon, *The Origin of the Groundnut Trade in Northern Nigeria*, Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1966.

[28]Louise Lennihan, "Critical Historical Conjectures in the Emergence of Agricultural Wage Labour in Northern Nigeria" in *Human Ecology*, Vol.12, No.4, 1984, pp.465-480.

As we have explained in chapter one, forced labour was utilized by members of the ruling aristocracy on their large agricultural estates. Augi, Nadama, Chafe and Jumare have mentioned its incidence and varying roles in the social production of the region[29] before and during the colonial period. Once the Colonial State was established, the Native Authority within which the aristocracy found a new role continued to put forced labour to use.

With the alleged abolition of slavery and slave trade in 1901, in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the Colonial State prepared the way for the propagation of the idea of "free" labour contract[30] which came to serve the Colonial State as the basis of colonial labour relations with the indigenes of the colonized societies. This singular colonial policy on labour led to immediate change in the nature of labour and the social relations of labour in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in general and in Sokoto Province and Kaura Namoda Area in particular. This policy purported to have abolished slave labour as it was known, giving rise to a class of 'free labourers.' This class of landless ex-slaves became the equivalent of the 'drifting populations' which Oyemakinde claimed to have existed in Southern

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[29]A.R. Augi, The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin 1750-1808 (Ph.D. Theses Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1984; A.G. Nadama; The Rise and Collapse of A Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara Ph.D. Thesis Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1977, K.S. Chafe, "State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate; Policies and Practices in the Metropolitant Districts 1804 – 1903" (Ph.D Thesis) Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1992, I.M. Jumare, "Slave" in Sokoto City 1804 – 1936, M.A. History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1988.

[30]P.K. Tibenderana, Administration of Sokoto Gwandu and Argungu Emirates under British Rule 1900-1946 (Ph.D. Theses (History) University of Ibadan 1974.

Nigeria[31] and which according to him provided a ready labour force for recruitment into railway construction. In Kaura Namaoda area these landless populations were promptly exploited as a source of forced labour or cheap wage labour as the case might have been.

It will appear that the Colonial State designed deliberate policies which enabled it to use forced labour, in carrying out work for the 'benefit' of the community.[32] Thus as the largest colonial infrastructure to have been located in Kaura Namoda area, the railway seen as an example of 'work for the benefit of community' employed the largest amount of forced labour during its construction in the region. As we have seen in chapter two of this study, since 1916, Native Authority Ordinance[33] had given orders for the purpose of mobilization of labour. This ordinance enabled the Colonial State to direct District and Village Heads to supply labour force on the basis of quota by which each Village or District Head was ordered to supply certain number of people who could work at the building of one colonial infrastructure or another. In 1928, when the work for the railway extension to Kaura Namoda was in progress, the Sokoto Native Authority was in a position to supply Two Thousand Two Hundred and Five (2,205)[34] labourers

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[31]J.O. Oyemakinde, "A History of Indegenous labour on the Nigerian Railway 1895-1945" (Ph.D. Thesis Department of History University of Ibadan 1970).

[32]F.R. Lugard, *Political Memorandum*

[33]Ultravide, p.69.

[34]N.A.K. Sokprof 446/1928.

monthly. Marafa Umaru[35] said as a young man, he witnessed this labour mobilization tours undertaken by District Heads on the orders of the Colonial State. Labour was mobilized in the name of *gayyar sarki*. This forced labour was referred to as political labour by the Colonial State or 'duty' as Lugard described it, "imposed by law without remuneration."[36] Thus as it was the case in Zaria Province on which Shoyebi[37] conducted his study, thousands of peasants were recruited by District Heads and other Native Authority officials with each village and district contributing to the railway construction labour pool.

In Kaura Namoda area as in Zaria Province the railway labourers were housed in labour camps amidst miserable living conditions in dormitories housing Thirty to Fifty (30-50) people each leading highly regimental lives.[38] They were made to work for long hours under equally harsh working conditions along very rough terrains. The situation was made worse by frequent resort to corporal punishment. The 'murder' of Mr. Clement,[39] a railway foreman at Kurya in Kaura Namoda district in 1928 appeared to have been provoked by cruelties suffered by the accused person, one Mamman Ɓha. Although colonial records have been

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[35] Oral evidence Marafa Umaru Op Cit.
[36] Lugard, *op.cit.*

[37] A. Shoyebi, 'Railway as a Factor' loc.cit. p.124
[38] Ibid.

[39] N.A.K. C.21 Clements Murder of 1928.

designed to present the case as an act of criminal murder, oral evidence[40] obtained during field work contradicted the records left by the colonial state regarding the matter.

The above influences, varied and subtle, were accompanied by many more tangible ones, for example, it could be established that large populations of people had emigrated out of the region in attempt to escape forced recruitment into the railway labour pool just as many people who came with the railway as labourers or as workers or officials on the staff of the railway eventually settled as permanent residents in Kaura Namoda or its vicinity, adding to the immigrant population of the region[41] as we shall see in the section of this study which examines the process of social integration and urbanization which the railway stimulated in the area.

Apart from these influences which we have mentioned above, which are associated with the railway in Kaura Namoda area and which are by no means insignificant in their impact on the economy and society of the area, it seems however, that the most far reaching and more enduring influence which the railway exerted on labour resource of the area is to be sought in the eventual disintegration of the *gandu* as a unit of social labour as well as the social basis of the economy of the area. Although this development may not be exclusively or even directly attributed to the railway, however, by intensifying the tempo of exportcrops

[40]Sule Madaro 74 Interviewed at Kurya, August 2006, Sahabi Ibrahim 40 interviewed at Kaura Namoda (August 2009)
[41]Oral evidence, Marafa Ummaru, 73 (August 2009).

production in the area, the railway served as a catalyst to the process of the fragmentation of the gandu into small-holder farm plots which presently characterizes peasant agriculture in the area. Y.A. Abdullahi and Mustapha Suleiman are all of the view that the collapse of the gandu as the basis of social production in Kaura Namoda Area was a direct consequence of the consolidation of colonial economy in the area[42] a process in which the railway played a very significant role.

5.5 Influence of the Railway on Indigenous Commerce and Industry

Commerce has a long history in Kaura Namoda Area having evolved over a period of at least two centuries before our period of study. The commerce of the Area revolved around the two major trades; namely, the internal trade and the long distance trade.[43] The commerce of the area developed in response to economic and social factors: uneven distribution of natural resources as well as regional specialization.[44] Exchange developed locally in relation to occupational specialization which made mutual dependence between occupational groups

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[42]Y.A. Abdullahi, Social Relations of Production in Peasant Agriculture: A Case Study of simple commodity production in Kaura Namoda region Sokoto State (Ph.D. Theses) Department of Sociology A.B.U. Zaria 1983) Mustafa Suleiman. The History of Tobacco Production in Isa District Sokoto State 1948 – 1990 (M.A. Thesis, Department of History UDU Sokoto 1992).

[43]K.S. Chafe, "State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate Policies and Practices in the Metropolitan Districts 184-1904 A.D." Department of History A.B.U. Zaria.

[44]A.R. Augi, "The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin 1750-1808 A.D." (Unpublished Ph.D. Theses Department of History A.B.U. Zairia 1984. Pp. 61 - 62

Mahdi Adamu and Chafe have noted the significance of the Kanopauwa – Kotorkoshi – Kaura Namoda – Sokoto – Jega trade route in linking Kaura Namoda Area and the rest of the Sokoto Rima Basin with the North African areas upto the Mediterranean on the north and with the forest areas in the Volta region on the Southern frontiers.[48]

Touregs and Adarawa[49] were influential in both the local and the long distance trades of the Rima Basin, engaging in the sales of food stuff, livestock and general merchandize. They also provided transport and storage as well as credit and brokage facilities. Their principal exports into the region included salt, natron and livestock. Their imports from the region were mainly grains, kolanuts, slaves, textile materials, leather and leather goods, as well as other local manufacture(s).[50]

5.5.1 Monies and Exchange

Different types of currencies served as medium of exchange and were used for commercial transactions in the region. The currencies included cowries, silver, gold, Maria Theresa dollar, as well as strips of cloth.[51] The expansion of

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[48]Mahdi Adamu, "The Distribution Tradiing Centre in the Central and Western Sudan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" in Usman Y.B. (ed.) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate the Sokoto Semnar Papers* (A.B.U. Zaria 1979).

[49]Touregs and Adarawa were important owners of capital and Transport infrastructure who played a significant, role in the pre-colonial commerce of the Rima Basin. See Saleh Abubakar, Birnin Shehu Ph.D. Department of History, The City of Sokoto, A Social and Economic History Ahmadu Bello University Zaria 1982 for details.

[50]Chafe, *op.cit.*

[51]A.G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa*, 1973, pp. 67.

commercial activities in the nineteenth century led to a corresponding use of the pre-existing currencies which continued to remain useful until their status as legal tender was eventually destroyed by the colonial state and were replaced with British currencies.[52]

Thus upto 1913 and perhaps 1930, the commerce of the region continued to prosper, fed by a dynamic economy bouyoued by a growing indigenous industry. The statistics in the table below were computed in 1913 on the existing industries in Kaura Namoda district which the colonial officials were able to document[53]

Table 3: Industries – Estimated Values
Estimated Values – Industries

Industry	No	Profits £	Total £
Dye pits	1534	2.9.0	3758.6.0
Weavers black	1117	3.15.0	4188.15.0
Weavers white	2775	2.5.0.	6239.5.0
Saltcellars	67	2.5.0.	150.15.0
Butchers	717	5.0.0.	3585.0.0.
Butchers	83	3.0.0.	249.0.0.
Shoemakers	86	2.5.0.	191.5.
Potters	32	4.17.6.	253.10
Saddle makers	6	2.10.0	13.10
Snuffsellers	24	3.10.0	84
Leather workers	96	1.5.0.	216
Bracelet makers	32	4.17.6	253.10
Barbers	270	1.19.0	526.10
Carpenters	106	1.2.6	119.5.
Mat makers	19	13	12.7
Calabash-cutters	6	1.10.4	9.2.
Spindle-makers	13	15	9.15
Yan Koli	36	1.19	70.4
Drummers etc.	203	1.12	527.16
Brokers	218	1.19	425.2

[52]P.J. Shear, "Making Money in Northern Nigeria: The Colonial Currencies Regime 1899-1963" in A.M. Yakubu et.al. (eds) Northern Nigeria A Century of Transformation. (Arewa House Kaduna 2005). Pp. 271 – 296.

[53]N.A.K. S.N.P. Sokprof 770/1913 Kaura Namoda District Reassessment Report.

Bee Keepers	41	10	20.10
Smiths	387	3	1161
Tanners	298	2.5	468
Tailors - riga	644	3	1932
Tailors – zanne	412	13	267.16
Cloth beaters	5	2.5	11.5
Traders	742	2.16	593.12
Girth-makers	6	3.5	19.10

Source: N.A.K. Sokprof 770/1913 Kaura Namoda District Re-Assessment Report, 1913.

These trading activities in the area and the volume of commerce they had generated derived their essence and vitality from the larger nineteenth century economy of the Sokoto Caliphate which Michael Watts so graphically depicted.[54]

> An agrarian economy which was able to create wealth through the production of an agricultural surplus which was facilitated by sustained demand coming from the nearby desert communities with their needs for grains and manufactured articles ---, transactions within this indigenous economy were conducted on a solid basis provided by an urban-based but locally resident merchant capital which helped to integrate indigenous manufacture with credit services and political patronage.[55]

Within this indigenous economy, transport facilities were developed locally and managed privately. The role of the state was largely regulatory, catering for the security of the trade routes and imposing tolls in return.[56]

It is clear that between 1913, when the most comprehensive District Assessment report[57] in Kaura Namoda Area was compiled down to 1930 when the railway began operating in the area, the indigenous economy continued to retain its

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[54]Michael Watts, *Silent Violence Food Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria* (University of California Press 1983). Pp. 11 – 12.

[55] Ibid p.12.

[56] "Trade and Trading Patterns of the Akan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries". Claude Meillassoux (ed.). *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa* (Oxford University Press London 1971) Pp.168-181.

[57] N.A.K. Sokprof 3/2 M/S.264 1913, Moriki District Assessment Report 1913.

dynamic features in spite of the disruptive influences of colonial economic policies: an essentially agrarian economy whose sectors were diversified by the raising of cattle and other livestock, dry season farming, as well as craft manufacture. Much of this however was to change within the next thirty years from 1930-1960 partly due to the influence of the railway.

5.6 The Railway and the Role of the European Trading Companies

In this works, Adeleye[58], and Flint[59] have written about the circumstances that brought about the Royal Niger Company into existence and have also highlighted the dubious 'treaties' of trade and protection which the Company contrived as well as the foul diplomacy that led to the forced take over of the territories of the Sokoto Caliphate by the British through conquest and the subordination of its sovereignty at the turn of the twentieth century. However, it suffices for the purpose of this study to say that commerce was uppermost in the thinking of the Colonial State when the proposal for the extension of the railway line to Kaura Namoda was made.[60] The presence of European Trading Companies in the area who engaged in one trading activity or another even before the extension of the railway to Kaura Namoda lends credence to this fact. The British Cotton

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[58] R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, Longman (1971)
[59] J.E. Flint, *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria. London Oxford University Press London 1960.*
[60] N.A.K. Sokprof K.1018 Vol. 11/1927.

Growing Association B.C.G.A., G.B. Olivant and John Holt were among the first to open offices in the area.[61]

However, once the work on the extension of the Kaura Namoda railway was completed, the railway caused more European Trading Companies to move into Sokoto Province and to open offices in Gusau and in Kaura Namoda Area. Nadama has explained that following the extension of the railway to Gusau and Kaura Namoda in 1929 the number of European Trading Companies operating in Gusau and Kaura Namoda Area rose from five to seventeen.[62]

It is instructive to note that as it was the case in Southern Katsina,[63] the B.C.G.A. at the behest of which the railway was extended to Northern Nigeria was the first among the European Trading Companies to open an office at Moriki in Kaura Namoda Region where it began promoting cotton cultivation for export at least as early as 1924.[64] The Moriki cotton ginnery was the third after the Gusau and Mayanchi Ginneries which the B.C.G.A. operated in Sokoto Province. It is in this way that the B.C.G.A. came to be the sole buyer of cotton in the region. After 1924 however, other European companies were authorized to buy cotton on behalf

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[61]A.G. Nadama, "The Evolution of A City: A Historical Development of Gusau Town From its Foundations to the Present", Final Year Essay B.A. History Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1972 p.40.

[62]Ibid.

[63]T.B. Ingawa, "A Study of the Rural Economic History of the Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate in the Colonial Period c.1900 – 1939" Ph.D. Thesis S.O.A.S. London 1984.

[64]Mustapha Suleiman; "The History of Tobacco production in Isa District 1948-1992," M.A. (History) Theses Department of History U.D.U. Sokoto 1992 p.78.

European manufactures, in towns and villages in Northern Nigeria. Rodney has summarized the role of the European Trading Company in colonial commerce thus:

> The capitalist institution which came into most direct contact with African peasants was the colonial trading company a company specializing in moving goods to and from the colonies. The most notorious were the French concerns, Companies Francaise d'Afrique Occidental (CFAO) and Societe Commerciale Ouest Africaine (SCOA) and the British controlled United Africa Company (U.A.C.). These were responsible for expatriating a great proportion of African wealth produced by peasant toil. [72]

Thus all investment activities into which the European trading companies were involved in Kaura Namoda area as in other parts of Northern region were sponsored by big foreign finance monopolies.

It is said that the smallest European Trading Company was ultimately linked up to a big banker.[73] In the final analysis, capitalist Banks, insurance companies maritime under writers and other financial institutions were responsible for the capital outlay of colonial commerce in Kaura Namoda area and the railway played a role not only in stimulating export crops production but it was also very instrumental in promoting the commerce in foreign manufactures in which the European Trading Companies were engaged in the area. In this way, the area was incorporated commercially to the world capitalist system.

At the time when the payment of the annual tax had become well-entrenched as part of life in Northern Nigeria cash advance for the purchase of export crops

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[72] Walter Rodney; *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London 1972, p.169.

[73] Ibid. p.177.

from the peasant farmers became the norm. Similarly, the demand for European manufactures among peasants was promoted by a deliberate flooding of the districts and villages with these manufactures through the colonial commercial network or the clientage system, whose important links were the *yan cinki, yanbaranda* and the *yanhaja*[74] or petty traders who were mostly based in the villages and hamlets of the area. Every year, the european trading companies advanced money to their agents *yan ciniki*, the agents in turn advanced money to their clients *yan baranda* who were based in towns and villages buying produce on behalf of the agents of the European trading companies and at the same time serving as distributors of European Manufactures. Y.A. Abdullahi has given an insight into the structure and organization of this colonial export commodity commerce in Kaura Namoda area:

> Prior to the Second World War, both cotton and groundnuts for export were purchased almost exclusively by foreign firms whose headquarters are in foreign metropolitan centres. These firms employed local purchasing representatives and supplied them with funds for paying farmers. The firms have the responsibility for grading, storing transporting and selling in overseas markets. The major firms such as the U.A.C. (United Africa Company), BCGA (British Cotton growing Association) John Holt, e.t.c. usually employed Levantine traders who on the other hand employed Nigerian sub-agents.[75]

These "Nigerian sub-agents"[76] were no others than the *yan ciniki* who maintained in some cases a number of Donkey-fleet masters (*madugai*)[77] and a number of *yan*

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[74] Mustapha Suleiman op.cit. p.

[75] Y.A. Abdullahi *op.cit.* p.183.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Oral interview, Marafa Ummaru Age 70August 2009. It was the normal practice that big Agents of the European Trading Companies *yan ciniki* retained the services of one or more Donkey-Fleet Master. *Madugu* for any number of years. These fleets of donkeys ranging from 40 70 were the means by which produce

baranda who usually went around villages where they made advance payment to peasant farmers who inturn pledged their produce to the *yan baranda.* Initially, the advance payment was made in kind i.e. with European manufactures such as textile materials, salt and other imported goods. This segmented system of clientage made it possible for European merchant capital to penetrate deeper into towns and villages; on the one hand, colonial commerce ensured a boom in export commodity production while on the other, it created demand for European manufactured goods. Having been compelled to acquire a taste for European manufactured goods by over flooding the towns and villages with such goods, and having been forced to acquire British currency to pay tax and to carter for their other social obligations, the peasants became helpless agents in the services of foreign capital in Kaura Namoda Area. On the whole, the railway played a significant role in the process.[78]

Some of the big time local agents, *yan cinikini* who became very prominent in Kaura Namoda Area during our period of study included Alhaji Ahmadu Fari a client of John Holt Company, Malam Hassan Gorau, who was an agent of the French Company CFAO as well as Alhaji Ali Bisije a big agent of the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) who later became associated with the United Africa Company (U.A.C.) Others included Alhaji Isuhun Maba, Alhaji Aliyu

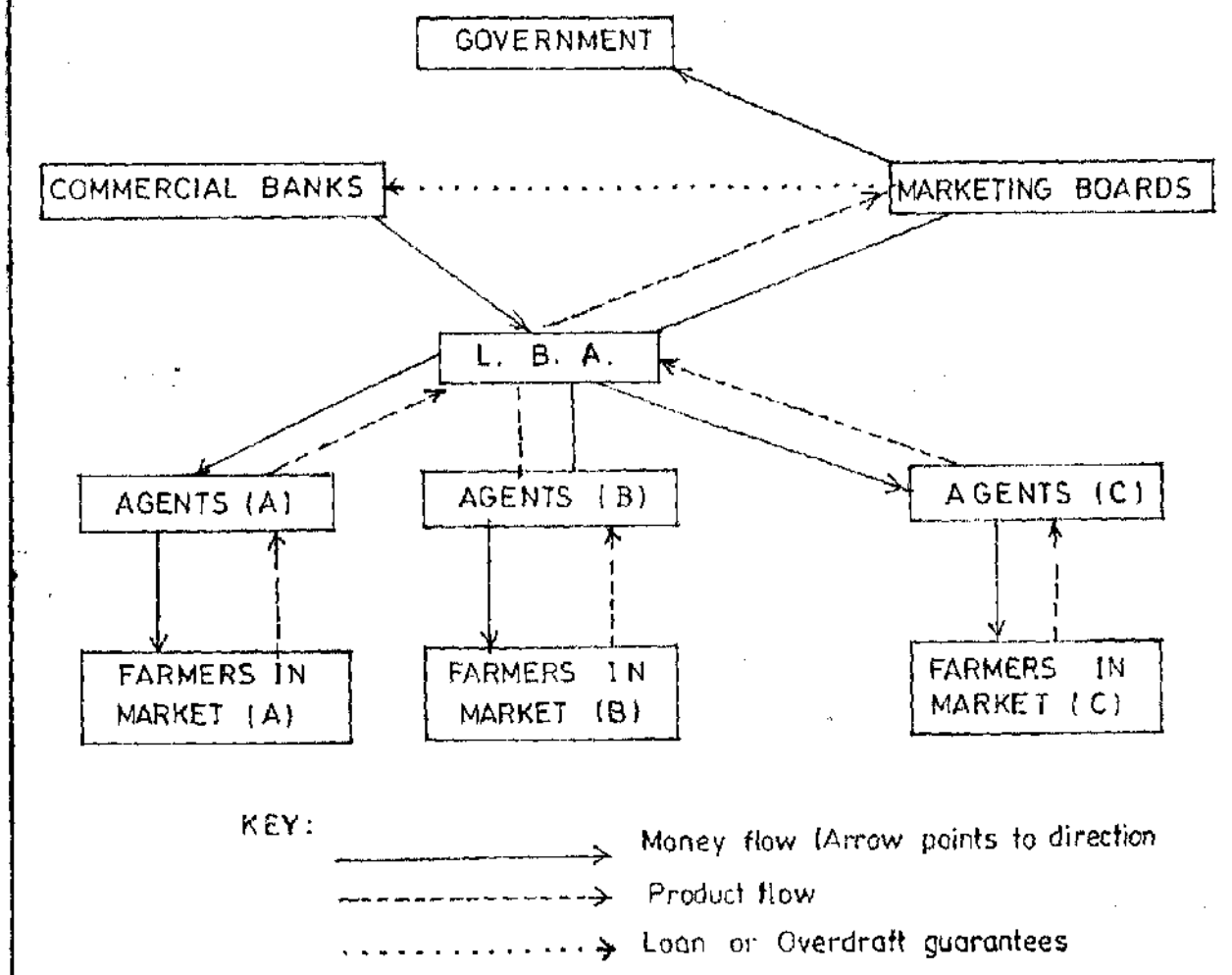
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were transported to the railway stations and major towns where lorry services were available. European Manufactures were also transported to villages by means of this Donkey-Fleets known as *Dugun Jakkai.*

[78]A.G. Nadama, "*The Evolution of a city: A Historical Development of Gusau Town from its Foundation to* the Present" Final Year project Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria 1972. M.L.B.,Moriki, The Alibawa Factor in the History of North-Eastern Zamfara". M.A. Thesis Department of History UniJos 1995. Oral Evidence Interview with Alhaji Mamman Danyadado Shikafi aged 75..

Fig: II

A PICTORIAL PRESENTATION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF TRADE IN MARKETING BOARD CROPS



Source: Adopted from Abdullahi Y.A. Social Relations of production in peasant agriculture. A case study of simple commodity production in Kaura Namoda Area of Sokoto State (Phd. These Dept. of Sociology A.B.U. Zaria 1983).

The destruction of the indigenous trade and commerce is to be traced back to the conduct of colonial commerce as carried out by the European trading companies and as facilitated by the railway.

5.7 Influence of the Railway on the Indigenous Industries of Kaura Namoda Area

By 1929, the indigenous industry[80] of Kaura Namoda area which had been evolving steadily at least since the middle of the seventeenth century[81] had attained a high level of development. The steady evolution of the industry was marked by a definite progress towards specialization which was witnessed in the leading industries of the area notably iron-working[82] (blacksmithing), textile[83] and leather working. Abundant iron-ore deposits in the area together with large quantities of cotton as well as plenty hides and skins – all of them primary raw materials needed by these industries – and a high demand sustained by thriving local and inter regional commerce were responsible for this industrial development.

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[80]The term industry as used in the present research work refers to an area of production or organized economic activity in a particular craft. This definition is adopted from the work of Saleh Abubakar, "Birnin Shehu, The City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History, c.1809-1903" Ph.D. Thesis Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1982.

[81]The Seventeenth Century is noted for its being a watershed in the social and political history of the area. See A.R. Augis 'The Gobir Factor' already cited.

[82]Abubakar Nurudden, "Indigenous Technologies in Northern Nigeria, Zamfara Metal Industries in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries". M.A. Thesis, Department of History A.B.U. Zaria, 1987.

[83]A.G. Nadama, "The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara", Ph.D. Thesis Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1977.

5.7.1 Iron-Working

The iron-working industry as organized in Kaura Namoda area was made up of the miners, *yan tama* who handled the mining of iron-ore and its smelting. The later process was done using furnance to produce the *tama* which was eventually sold to the Blacksmiths, *makera* of the area who used it to manufacture a variety of iron products which were needed in the area for various purposes. Such products included – a variety of farming implements such as hoes cutlasses sickest and swords, spears, arrows axes and daggers. Some of these were munitions needed for the stocking of the state arsenals, the production of weapons being a monopoly of the aristocracy of the area. Kaura Namoda Area was especially famous for its *kiran dawaki*, a branch of smithing which specialized in the manufacture of horse riding gear such as harnesses, spurs, bridle e.t.c. These products were exported in large quantities from the area.[84] It is worthy of note that Chafe has shown that towards the end of the nineteenth century the smithin industry in the metropolitan Sokoto (within which Kaura Namoda Area lies) was on the verge of a technological break through, having attained the highest level of specialization at the time.[85] This movement towards a break-through was arrested by colonial intervention and was subsequently destroyed by colonial economic policies which were deliberately

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[84]K.S. Chafe, State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate Policies and Practices in the Metropolitan Districts 1804-1903 AD. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria 1992.

[85]*Ibid.*

designed to destroy local industries in Kaura Namoda Area as elsewhere in the colony. One of the most effective ways of achieving the destruction of the indigenous industries including the iron-working industry was through the massive importation of European manufactured goods especially metal products into the area which the European trading companies, using the railway, aided and abated. Also, imported metal scraps made easily available by the railway contributed in destroying indigenous mining of iron-ore which was an important sector of the indigenous iron-working industry. With this negative development the fortune of what survived from the industry became subordinated to the colonial economy as a consumer rather than a producer.

5.7.2 Textile Industry

For several decades Kaura Namoda area had contributed to the large amounts of cotton[86] which was produced in Zamfara and traded in the Rima basin.[87] Because at least from the eighteenth upto the middle of the nineteenth century Zamfara is reported to have been the largest producer of cotton in Hausa land.[88] It has been explained that while near Sokoto, soil conditions were the principal factor responsible for the limited production of cotton, in the sahelian and Saharan regions

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[86]Saleh Abubakar. 'Birnin Shehu" *op.cit.* p.81.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid.

to its (Sokoto) north and north west, climatic conditions make it impossible for cotton to be cultivated at all.[89] This ecological condition as Saleh Abubakar has explained was crucial to an understanding of the strategic significance of the textile industry of the Rima basin in its inter-regional commerce.[90]

The textile industry consisted of three major sectors, namely, spinning *kadi*, weaving *saka*, and dyeing *rini*. Nadama and other writers[91] have observed that spinning was an exclusive domain of women in our area of study, and being a household-based industry especially in the country side, it afforded the ordinary woman a source of small income with which to satisfy her small wants and even supplemented the livelihood and extra expenses of the family.[92]

Weaving, like spinning, was also a predominantly rural industry in the area, however the bulk of clothes woven in the country side were the relatively cheaper coarse materials known as *fari* or *farfarun sawaye*. This type of cloths were woven in long strips and measured by the arms length approximating to a length of 45cm[93], a unit of which was known as *kamu*. The *Sawaye* constituted one of the major items traded in the towns and cities by the rural folks, being the main article of

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[89]Ibid.

[90]Ibid.

[91]A.G. Nadama, *op.cit.*, Chafe op.cit. Saleh Abubakar, op.cit.

[92] Saleh Abubakar *Ibid.*

[93]Ibid.

clothing for the bulk of the population. The *sawaye* was also a major article in the export trade of the area. There is said to be a large market for sawaye which ensured a sustained demand and a secure base for the area textile industry of the area.[94]

Apart from the *sawaye* which was more common, the weaving sector also produced luxury clothing materials, but these were directed especially at the affluent class. The market for these luxury textile materials was normally smaller in comparison to the market of the cheaper and more widely used sawaye.

The luxury cloths included the *kayan saaki*, woven with cotton strips dyed in double colours of blue and black; there were also the *sharazule, tsamiya,* and *bakin biri.* Most of these luxury cloths were patronized mainly by the nobility and members of the wealthy class *attajirai.* These luxury cloths also formed part of the articles bought by caravans on transit to the export markets of the middle Niger and Volta basin.[95]

The remark of Hogendorn[96] with regards to local demand for cotton used in the Kano Indegenous weaving industry and the consumer preference for the locally-woven textile material which was in any case more durable and of higher quality than the imported European manufactured textile, holds true for Kaura Namoda

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[94]Ibid.

[95]Ibid.

[96]J.S. Hogendon, *Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origins and Early Development*, A.B.U. Press 1978. Pp. 27 -30.

Area. Because of this reason, the colonial state deviced deliberate measures to destroy the indigenous textile industry in the whole of the Sokoto province which included Kaura Namoda Area. We shall examine some of these measures and how they were employed to achieve the destruction of the indigenous industries in the concluding passages of this section of the study.

5.7.3 Leather-working

In Kaura Namoda Area, the leather-working industry consisted of two major sectors, namely, leather tanning, dyeing and leather goods manufacture *dukanci.*[97] The work of leather processing comprising two processes i.e. tanning and dyeing is known as *Jima.* The work is handled by *majema* while the production of leather goods which constituted the manufacturing aspect was handled by the *Dukawa.*

5.7.4 Tanning/Dyeing *Jima*

Tanning is the first step to the curing (preparation) of hides and skins for use in the production of leather goods. In this process, hides and skins were socked in a concentrated chemical solution of *Bagaruwa Acacia Arabica* for a number of days says 2 – 4 days after which they were brought out for the hair to be scrapped then for washing and cleaning. Through this process the hairs on the hide or skin were neatly removed. The hides and skins were then left in the sun to dry.

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[97]Saleh Abubakar, op.cit pp. 99 - 102.

Many of the skins so treated were usually dyed in different colours depending on the use to which they were to be put. As a matter of fact, leather dyeing was so advanced in the city of Sokoto that a specialized branch of it known as *korino*[98] had developed. This special type of leather dye which was blueish green in colour was produced through a complex mixture of sour milk, iron filings, brass filings tin-ore as well as copper filings. The development of this specialized branch in leather dyeing is itself a testimony to the level of sophistication of which the leather industry had attained in Sokoto and its hinterland which included Kaura Namoda Area during the pre-colonial period.

5.7.5 Leather-goods Manufacture (Dukanci)

Tanned hides and skins as has been indicated above served as the primary raw material used in the manufacture of various leather goods. These included large leather bags *taiki* and *sulkumi*, used in transporting grains and other trade goods (merchandise). Water bags *salkuna* horse saddle *sirduna* sheaths *kube* for knives and swords, foot wares *takalma*, book case *gafaka, shield, gurkuwa* and other sundry common and luxury articles for a variety of uses which were desired in the area. As a matter of fact, leather products also formed substantial part of the exports in the long distance trade of the Rima basin, being exported both to places within the Sokoto Caliphate such as Zazzau, Kano and Katsina as well as to places

[98]Ibid.

as far as North Africa and Europe. The fact has been established by many writers that leather products from Sokoto and its hinterland were especially noted for their high quality.[99]

Having examined developments in three major industries of Kaura Namoda Area upto the period of our study, it is pertinent to explain the way by which the colonial state destroyed those industries. Before we do that however, it is important to examine the relationship between industrial production and the household as the basic unit of social labour in the area. This is because as Saleh Abubakar has shown, specialization in manufacture and the entire organization of production in the region during the pre-colonial period was based on the households *gidaje* as the basic labour units which served as a platform for the mobilization of the labour of its members.[100] This in essence means that the household here used interchangeably as the *gandu* -occupied as central place in industrial production as it did in agricultural production, such that industrial production of the region became equally vulnerable to the destructive influence of the new colonial land and labour management laws just in a similar way that agricultural production was vulnerable to those laws. Thus, the destruction of the house hold (*Gandu* or *Gida*) as the basic unit of social labour effectively undermined both agricultural and industrial production of the area.

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[99]Ibid.

[100]Ibid.

The decision to limit our discussion on the indigenous industry in Kaura Namoda area to developments in what we consider to be the leading industries of the area viz: iron-working, textile and leather working is not intended to convey the impression that they were the only industries within which expansion and development were taking place; our choice of these particular industries however is informed by the higher degree of specialization and increasing sophistications of their technologies as well as the preponderance of their products in both the local and regional (long distance) trade and commerce of the area.

It is important also to state that our impression of the character, nature and performance of these three leading industries in Kaura Namoda area is partly influenced by the study of Saleh Abubakar[101] on the city of Sokoto to which we have made extensive reference. Also our reading of the works of Augi[102] and Nadama[103] on the kingdoms of Gobir and Zamfara respectively in the period preceding the establishment of the Sokoto caliphate has proved most useful in allowing us to draw an approximate mental picture of the nature (level of growth and development) of the local industries of the area in their earlier conditions. The observation by Saleh Abubakar[104] to the effect that there was an intimate

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[101]Saleh Abubakar, Ibid.

[102]Augi, 'The Gobir Factor' op.cit.

[103]Nadama op.cit.

[104]Saleh Abubakar, op.cit.

relationship between the industry, commerce and the agriculture of the city of Sokoto as the political and industrial capital of the Caliphate, and those of its hinterland has lent credence to our deductions. It is the work of Chafe[105] however that deepened our conviction that there was indeed a unity underlying the industry of the metropolitan districts of Sokoto within which Kaura Namoda area is located. It is this unity which provides us with the basis on which we made the above analysis.

5.8 Colonial Policies, the Railway, and the Destruction of the Indegenous Industry

The indigenous industry of Kaura Namoda Area presented two formidable obstacles in the way of realizing the most important objectives of the British Colonial State: maximum exploitation of the human (labour) and natural (raw materials) resources of the area and the opening up of the area to the importation and sale of European manufactured goods. It became certain to the Colonial State that any further growth or development of indigenous industries would mean a huge deficit in the amount of raw materials needed by Britain, it also became clear to the colonialists and their trading companies that the continued existence and prosperity of the indigenous industries would never allow for a monopoly of the market by European manufactured goods. The Colonial State and the European trading companies alike had had a tough time struggling with the stiff competition put up

[105]Chafe, 'State and Economy' op.cit.

by the indigenous textile industries all over Northern Nigeria,[106] thus it became necessary for the colonial state to adopt measures to achieve the destruction of the indigenous industries.

In Kaura Namoda area just as in other parts of Northern Nigeria colonial taxation was very instrumental in distorting the structure of indigenous economies to favour the metropolitan economies. In 1903, the British imposed caravan tolls and canoe taxes on both overland an river borne trade.[107] The taxes were directed at the local trade in locally produced goods. They were imposed and collected ostensibly as 'tolls' on the trade routes and river ways, similarly, all agricultural produce used as raw materials in indigenous manufacture were declared as special products[108] and a special tax was imposed on such raw materials. These included cotton, indigo, sugarcane and groundnut, shea-butter e.t.c.[109] These taxes had a general negative consequences on indigenous production and commerce.

More importantly however, the massive marketing of European manufactures ranging from metal products, textile, leather products such as shoes, bags, and other sundry products which was undertaken by the Europeans trading companies with the active collaboration, and support of the Colonial State using the

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[106] Hogendon, op.cit. p.29.

[107] Z.A. Bonat, "Colonialism and the Destruction of the Local Industrial System: A Case Study of Zaria Province 1902 – 1945" in *Savanna* Vol. 9 No. 2 December, 1988, pp. 14 – 15.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid.

facility of the railway and several feeder roads which led to the railway stations and back to towns and villages, was responsible for the ultimate destruction of the indigenous industries in Kaura Namoda Area as in other parts of Northern Nigeria.

5.9 Influence of the Railway on the Indigenous System of Transport

The conduct of both local and long distance trades which generated commerce in Kaura Namoda Area during the precolonial period was facilitated by a network of roads which crissed-crossed the metropolitan area of the Sokoto Caliphate and the larger Rima Basin within which the area is located. The constant traffic of caravans which plied the roads had also led to the evolution of an elaborate system of transport infrastructure and service industry which consisted of fleets of park animals, notably donkeys and camels managed by team stars and caravan leaders *madugai,* and a group of professional carriers *yandako*[110] who over the years had specialized in human portage and had organized themselves into a transport service provision group. These persons usually accompanied trade caravans and helped in transporting portable goods of moderate bulk, some times serving as scouts or escorts on long distant as well as on local trade routes.

[110]The idea of *Dandakon Jega* as expressed in a popular Hausa saying *'kafi dan dakon Jeja sani'* indicates the extent to which the human porters in Jega were conversant with the trade routes in Hausaland. The Yandakon Jega had established a reputation as expert porters and guides on trade routes, notably the trade route which passed through Jega down to Gwonja onto the volta basin, Jega acquired new significance as an important commercial centre after the Sokoto Jihad. (See Lovejoy P.E. *Caravans of Kola The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900)* A.B.U. Zaria Press 1979).

Some of these infrastructure also included settlements along the trade routes which served as rest points *zangos* or lodges along these various trade routes which radiated throughout the larger Rima Basin and the distant territories beyond it. Considerable volume of trade was carried out along these trade routes by means of donkeys, mules, camels as well as human portage. The annual movement of merchants and their entourage comprised of many thousand people during the overland trade in the nineteenth century.[111]

The important observation has been made that the most important trans-saharan trade route in Central Sudan in the nineteenth century had its terminus in the heart of the Sokoto caliphate i.e. the Ghadames – Air-Kano route and the famous caravan route which linked it up to the mediterraeneun was the Kano-Pauwa-Kotorkoshi Kaura Namoda – Sokoto route, which eventually led to Gwanja in the Volta region through Jega and Yendi.[112] The studies of Mahdi Adamu, Love Joy and Saleh Abubakar[113] on the trade and commerce of the Central Sudan and what had emerged to become the Sokoto Caliphate provide an illuminating insight into the pattern of distribution of trade routes as well as the nature and organization of indigenous transport and its role in the commerce of the Central Sudan and its

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[111]Y.B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883* Ahmadu Bello University Press 1981 p.51.
[112]Chafe 'State and Economy' *op.cit.*

[113]P.E. Lovejoy, *Caravans of Kola, The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900*, A.B.U. Press. 19; Saleh Abubakar, "An Urban Phenomenon Sokoto and its hinterland" in Y.B. Usman (ed.) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate.* Mahdi Adamu, "The Distribution of Trading Centres" in Y.B. Usman (ed) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate* Ibid.

adjoining region during the precolonial period. Mahdi Adamu especially has shown the extent of the territory which was covered by trade routes of various distances during the eighteenths and nineteenth centuries.[114]

> The region continued to exchange goods with the Saharan markets with upper Niger bend (The Timbuctu area), with the Gwanja markets and with the Benue Valley.[115]

Along these various trade routes which radiated through the larger Rima Basin and the distant territories beyond it, toll gates were developed through which political rulers regulated trade. The caravan routes had always to be kept safe. The large bodies of men and animals traveling on these routes needed food, water and other provisions; thus responsibility for the security of travelers on routes rested with the rulers who in return imposed and collected tolls, and other levies on the merchandize. Also, officials responsible for specific routes were appointed with the title of *tafarki*. Rest places for caravans *zangos* were established outside the towns placed under an official known as the *sarkin zango*, lodges for merchants and warehouses for merchandize were built, and often, the *sarkin Zango* also provided extra lodgings in his house around the city gates of the market towns.

It is instructive to note that these trade routes and pathways were the ones which the colonial state later appropriated and were used either as feeder roads to the railway stations or as trunk roads joining towns and villages and districts to the colonial administrative headquarters in the colonial provinces. Except for minimal

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[114] Ibid.

[115] Mahdi Adamu, The 'Distributions of Trading Centres' In Usman Y.B. (ed) A.B.U. 1979.

repairs, these roads were preserved in their original conditions. Up to 1950s as Sule Bello rightly observed[116], the means of transportation in both the rural areas and in the towns were largely donkeys and bullocks; goods were moved from rural areas to the railway stations by means of donkeys as well as by means of human portage. As a matter of fact, most of the roads rehabilitated by the Colonial State at least in Kaura Namoda area were old trade routes, or pathways adjacent to them which the Colonial State took over and converted into feeder roads which were joined to the one road that led to the railway station at Kaura Namoda. A passage in an earlier section of this study is worth quoting at length in order to appreciate the pattern of the colonial road network that emerged after the appropriation of the trade routes by the Colonial State.

> At any rate, by 1926, the colonial state had managed to rehabilitate a network of the pre-existing local roads which linked Kaura Namoda area to different areas of Sokoto province as well as with other areas in the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Among the important roads that linked Kaura Namoda area to the other areas were the Mareri-Kaura Namoda road which extended further into the cotton producing districts of Katsina province. Similarly, the construction of the Zaria-Sokoto road was finished in 1926. The importance of this road to the Colonial State lies in the fact that the road linked up the whole of Sokoto province to the other parts of Northern Nigeria in particular and the country in general. It is reported that by 1927, motor transport service between Zaria and Sokoto had become available.[117]

Thus there is no doubt that the alteration of the pattern of the roads in Kaura Namoda region and the introduction of the railway lorry transport services, and later

[116] Sule Bello 'State and Economy in Kano' op. cit.
[117] Ultravide Pp. 71 - 72.

the passenger coach service which the railway offered, reoriented both the nature and destination of travel. More people began to travel towards the coast for sundry new reasons. This development of course while relatively useful was not without its own adverse consequences, because it could be argued that another impact of the railway on the indigenous transport system in Kaura Namoda area was the disorientation of the pre-existing trade routes, thereby destroying the trade and commerce which these trade routes borne or carried. Similarly, it led to the isolation of many settlements in the region which evolved along the trade routes and were sustained by the tempo and vitality of the trade in the pre-colonial period.[118]

At this stage, by way of a response to the protagonist of the colonial railway - stimulated urbanization, it is pertinent to note that trade routes had always led to the evolution of settlements which were linked by an extensive network of routes as precursors of the process of urbanization which is necessarily stimulated by the interaction of transport and commerce in Kaura Namoda area as well as in the larger Rima Basin. Thus the development of new settlements on account of the interaction of transport and commerce was never a new phenomenon which colonialism brought to Kaura Namoda Area. J.O. Oyemakinde[119] who seems to set so much store on the alleged role of the railway in stimulating 'urbanization' in Nigeria betrays a surprising lack of awareness of the history of indigenous transport system

[118] Oral interview with Marafa Ummaru, (August 2009).
[119] J.O. Oyemakinde, "A History of Indigenous Labour on the Nigerian Railway 1895 – 1945" (Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, University of Ibadan) 1970.

and its role in stimulating the development and expansion of new settlements in various parts of the Nigerian area, centuries before the advent of colonialism or for that matter the establishment of the colonial railway.

5.10 New Social Trends: Role of The Railway in the Expansion of Settlements, Social Integration and Urbanization in Kaura Namoda Area

As Mathias claims for it in his study on the industrial revolution in Britain,[120] the railway is associated with the movement of people where ever it is established. It is the same in Kaura Namoda Area. The railway is also associated with influencing such social phenomena as the expansion of settlements, the facilitation of the process of social integration or fusion of cultures and enhancing the process of urbanization. The railway influenced these processes in varying degrees in Kaura Namoda Area within the period during which it existed in the area, serving primarily as an infrastructure of transport, but which also functioned as a social institution which stimulated a variety of new social trends.

In order to appreciate the nature of these new social trends which the railway stimulated and concretized in the area it is pertinent to examine the nature of settlements in the area and the level of development they had attained during the

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[120]Peter Mathias; *The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1914* (Methuen London 1969, Pp.283-284).

precolonial period as well as the nature of their communities and the level of their development towards heterogeneity before the advent of the railway in the region.

5.11 The Old Settlements

The process of migration in connection with the role of the physical environment (factors of geography and climate) has always been a major aspect of the history of the evolution and development of human settlements in the larger Rima Basin in general and in Kaura Namoda Area in particular. As Augi has shown, and we have made reference to the fact,[121] the vast fertile flood plains of the Fadamar Kanwa with its capacity for the sustenance of prosperous agricultural production had not only been the major attraction for immigrants and the development of human settlement in the area, but had also been at the centre of some of the major economic, social and political developments in the history of the Rima Basin atleast since the sixteenth century.[122]

The existence f ancient human settlements in Kaura Namoda Area with origins as far back in time as the pre-iron age period has been noted in chapter one

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[121] A.R. Augi, The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin. 1750-1808 A.D. Ph.D. Theses Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria 1984.

[122] Ibid., Augi Interestingly argues that the favourable ecological factors which exists, within the large territory surrounding the 'Fadaman' Kanwa including the site of the city of Alkalawa was the chief attraction not only for the earliest human settlement in the area but also of the historic southward migration of the Gobirawa (Gobir people) from the Fobir ta Tudu down to the northern territories of the kingdom of Zamfara where they rebuilt the Gobir nation and civilization which endured up to the Sokoto Jihad. It is the view of Augi and that is the basis of his thesis that the defeat of Zamfara by Gobir and its decline and ultimate fall as well as the rise of the Sokoto Jihad and the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate were all relatively small incidentals to the 'Gobir Factor' in the hisotyr of the Rima Basin within the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

of this study.[123] Some of the ancient settlements which were scattered widely over the area included *Kiawa, Fata, Dutsi, Tsohuwar Banaga* and *Tozai* these ancient towns together with the various villages and hamlets which existed as dominions of the kingdom of Zamfara within its lager territory formed the earliest outline of human settlements and the growth of towns and villages in the area.

Thus Kaura Namoda, Moriki, Isa and Sabon Birni all emerged as new settlements after the destruction of the city of Alkalawa the former capital of Gobir. As a matter of fact, like Kaura Namoda, most of them evolved as important population centres only from 1809. The expansion of these new post jihad population centres into fairly cosmopolitan towns is due largely to the policies of the caliphate which encouraged the deliberate settlement of members of different tribal and occupational groups in cities and towns as part of economic and urban planning policy[124] of the rulers of the caliphate.

Among these major post jihad settlements found in Kaura Namoda area, the towns of Kaura Namoda emerged to acquire more significance partly due to its strategic location and partly due to the reputation of Muhammadu Namoda (Sarkin Yaki) who came to settle there as an Alkalawa hero. By 1809 when Namoda settled there, it was a modest settlement on the eastern banks of the river Gagare drawing

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[123]Ultravide p.14; See also Nadama A.G. 'The Rise and Decline of a Hausa State', op.cit.
[124]K.S. Chafe, State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate Policies and Practices in the Metropolitan Districts op. cit., see also D.M. Murry Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*

its needs from the neighbouring older settlements[125] of Allahuwa, Sambo, Kai Kadai, Yankaba and Qungurki, all of them located on the western banks of the same river Gagare. In addition to this, these post-jihad settlements continued to be linked organically with the older more acient settlements such as *Kiawa, Tozai, Dutse* etc even when the newer settlement were on the way to supplant the older settlements which they did eventually. But the older settlements had never cease to be relevant in their less apparent but obvious role of sustaining the new towns in a variety of ways.

"Kaura Namoda" as Nadama explained in his study on its emergence[126] took up the place of Kiawa in the (commercial) network between the area with the other sections of the Caliphate in the 1850s. The market of Kaura Namoda was held every Monday and Tuesday and the place was one of the biggest in Zamfara. The main trade routes from Kano to Kaura Namoda were Kano-Kurkudan-Yantumaki-Ajja-Kaura Namoda-Birnin Goga to Gora to Bakura to Sokoto.[127]

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[125]M.A. Nasiru, "Some Observations on a Neglected Aspect in the Studies relating to the Evolution of Kaura Namoda: A Critique of A.G. Nadama and others." Post Graduate Seminar Paper 10th September 2008.

[126]A.G. Nadama, "Urbanization in the Sokoto Caliphate A Case Study of Gusau and Kaura Namoda" in Usman, Y.B. (ed.) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate the Sokoto Seminar Papers*, A.B.U. Zaria 1979. Pp. 140 – 159.

[127]Ibid.

It is said about Kaura Namoda town that even at the very early stages of its history, the town was regarded as the most important centre of the grain trade in the North West.[128]

As the town developed, people from the surrounding older villages *kauyuka* became attracted to come and settle in the town which was past becoming an urban centre.[129] There was no doubt about the fact that the location of Kaura Namoda on such an economically strategic position made it both the most important centre of the commerce of the region as well as a prominent junction of the important trade routes of the region. Travel and transportation of goods (most of which were coming to Kaura Namoda from the other parts of the area) was based on human portage and beast of burden such as donkeys and camels.[130] In fact, this vantage position of Kaura Namoda must have commended it to the colonial state as the most suitable place for the establishment of the railway as these examples from colonial report indicates:

> Kaura Namoda, which is now virtually the capital of the Western half of Sokoto Emirate is the centre of a country which is probably the richest in Nigeria from the Agricultural point of view. This fertile region extends north through Zurmi to Isa and Sabon Birni ... from the commercial point of view, the whole country stretching north from Gusau to the latitude of Sabon Birni in British territory and Chibiri in French territory may be regarded as a single field of commercial enterprises.[131]

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[128]Ibid.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid. p.158.

[131]N.A.K. SNP No11394/594/9th May 1927, p.2.

> The result of the traffic reconnassance proved to us that Kaura Namoda was the economic railhead for the proposed branch line, and any proposed extension north of that point would not be a commercial proposition.[132]
>
> The trade from eastern Sokoto and Western Katsina radiates to Kaura Namoda as also does the trade from the North East and North Western Districts.[133]
>
> Kaura Namoda is the distributing centre of all the trade to North East and North West and it will be years before either Isa or Moriki would be a competition to Kaura Namoda.[134]

Thus by 1905, when the territorial reorganization was carried out five District offices were established; the District Officers together with the few members of their supporting staff must have been among the earliest immigrants to the area after the British occupation of the Sokoto Caliphate as we shall find out in the next section of the study.

5.12 The Old Communities

Augi, Nadama and Moriki[135] have attempted a survey of the ethnic identities of some of the communities that settled in the region at least from the seventeenth century, some of these communities included Zamfarawa, Gobirawa, Katsinawa,

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[132]Ibid.

[133] Ibid.

[134]Ibid.

[135]Augi 'The Gobir Factor' op.cit; "Nadama, The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State" op.cit., 'Moriki; "The Elibawa Fulani Factor" op.cit.

Kambarin Barebare and Adarawa.[136] Most of the early colonial District Note Books[137] and District Assessment reports[138] also contained the same information with regards to the ethnic identities of the communities living in the area at least up to 1913.[139] Thus it is probable that up to 1900 these communities had existed in relative isolation and might not have come into any significant contact with 'stranger – communities' *baki* especially people from Southern and Eastern Nigeria.

5.13 New Communities

However, by 1905, few stranger-communities' *baki* started coming to work and live in the region especially with the establishment of the offices of the colonial District officer and his staff, following the territorial re-organisation of 1905. From then on, many non-Hausa speaking, non-Muslim peoples as well as non Hausa Muslims such as the Nupe, the Yoruba and the Igbira, many of them agents of the colonial trading Companies and some of them independent merchants came to live and work in various parts of the area, settling either in Kaura Namoda, Moriki, Isa Shinkafi or Sabon Birni. As a matter of fact, a census conducted in 1911[140] by the colonial state indicated an estimated population of 13,067 people for Kaura Namoda

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[136]Ibid.

[137]See Kaura Namoda, Moriki, Zurmi and Sabon Birni Districts Note Books.

[138]Also contain the same information with regards to the identities of the communities living in the region at least up to 1913.

[139]N.A.K. Sokprof 770/1913; Sokprof 3/2, 264/1913 Moriki District Assessment Report 1913.

[140]A.G. Nadama, 'Urbanisation in the Sokoto Caliphate' op.cit. p. 158 - 159

district, that of Moriki district being 7,835 people, while that of Isa district was 18,919 people.[141] At least one per cent of this total population must have been made up of 'stranger-community' mostly southerners and a few Europeans. This relatively cosmopolitan population served as the embrayo of the heteregenous society which developed in the area from the populations which came in connection with the railway as well as in connection with the export commodity business which the railway had helped to boost during the period. During the work of the Gusau-Kaura Namoda rail line, the system of construction through contract was introduced and this development brought about many labourers of southern Nigerian origin into Kaura Namoda, some of the leading railway construction contractors who handled part of the construction work on the Gusau-Kaura Namoda railway line included Mallam Bello Uban-Aiki, a Fulani man from Yola, Mallam Banufe Na Langalanga and a number of important Igbo and Yoruba contractors.[142] While many of these southerners were unskilled labourers working on the railway line, a good number among them were clerks and other administrative personnel associated with the colonial administration. Already, there were up to five European trading companies; namely, the BCGA, John Holt, Ltd., G.B. Ollivant London and Kano and Merss Ambrosine operating in the region prior to the coming

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[141] Ibid. p. 159

[142] A.G. Nadama, "The Evolution of A City The Historical Development of Gusau Town From its Foundation to the present." Final Year Project Department of History A.B.U. Zaria, 1972.

of the railway.[143] These trading companies had a number of agents and other staff who lived and worked in the region especially in Kaura Namoda, Morki and Shinkafi, with the completion of the railway extension from Gusau to Kaura Namoda the number of these trading companies rose to seventeen.[144] It is easy to imagine that the number of employees of the companies who must have moved into Kaura Namoda and other parts of the area in general must have been considerable. All this added to the growing number of people especially southerners who came to work and settled in the area. It was the increasing numbers of these immigrants that over the years led to gradual development of the Yoruba, Igbo, Edo, Igbira, and Nupe communities who became identified with what in future developed to become the Sabon Garin Kaura Namoda with characteristics similar to the Sabon Gari in Zaria on which Arthur Dhiliwayo[145] conducted his study.

5.14 Urbanization

5.14.1 Influence of the Railway on the Evolution of *Sabon Gari* in Kaura Namoda

The evolution of the small-town of Sabon Garin Kaura Namoda between 1929 and 1960 can be attributed to the already on-going process of urbanization in this suburb of Kaura Namoda which the railway only facilitated. The evolution of Sabon Gari began around the old villages of Yankaba and Qungurki located some

[143] Ibid.

[144] Ibid.

[145]

two kilometers to the north of the railway Terminus. These villages serve as the extreme northern limits of the small-town (named Sabon Gari) that developed around the railway station in Kaura Namoda which is located "on the left bank of the Gagare River opposite the town of Kaura Namoda.[146] With regard to this, a colonial minute noted "under the circumstances therefore, it may be considered advisable that a road bridge be thrown across the Gagare River connecting the town of Kaura Namoda to the Railway Station on the opposite (left) bank.[147] The railway station located within a distance of one mile to the south on the left bank of River Gagare and the area between the immediate left banks of the river down to the villages of Yankaba and Qungurki in the north west formed a rough rectangle within which a cluster of mud bricks buildings, corrugated iron homesteads as well as stone houses developed, providing the early rough pattern along which the Sabon Gari developed, around the Old Kaura Namoda town.

Some of the earliest cement buildings were those built by the Railway Authorities to accommodate the Railway Station which comprised of the Ticket Room, Administrative Section and the Luggage Platform on which the Weighting Shade was located where goods and luggage were measured. The other buildings were designed as quarters to accommodate the railway staff. There were also two

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[146]N.A.K. Sokprof K.1018/vol.II/214/1927.

[147] N.A.K. K.1018 Ibid.

blocks of warehouses and a store among the buildings within the immediate vicinity of the yard of the railway station.

In between these buildings were the railway tracks which formed the terminus with four(4) running lines ending in a single dead end with a capacity of 3,930ft merchant sidings.[148] Just behind the station was the post office which was built in 1932.[149] A few metres away from the post office were the warehouses and shops of the various European trading companies such as the United African Company (U.A.C.), London and Kano (L8K) G.B. Ollivant and Nigerian Tobacco Company (N.T.C.). This was the section that became known as *Kantin Daji* (Canteen Area).

During future developments the offices of the marketing Board were built across the railway sidings towards the east, midway between the banks of the Gagere River and the Railway Station.

The St. Paul Church and its affiliated Mission School were established within this vicinity as early as 1936.[150] The church and the school were established within 100 metres away from the railway station and 50 metres from the office block of the Marketing Board. The two petrol stations namely, the British

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[148] Francis Jaekel; *The History of the Nigerian Railway.* Vol. II (Spectrum Publishers Ibadan 1977).

[149] N.A.K. Sokprof 16670/1932.

[150] P.K. Tibenderana, Administration of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates under British Rule, 1900-1946, Ph.D. Theses Department of History, University of Ibadan 1974, Pp.457-460.

petroleum (BP) and Texaco were also located just a few metres away from the railway Station.

Other buildings located within some three hundred metres radius across the motor road from the Railway Station were initially mud brick and corrugated iron make-shift houses where communities living in Sabon Gari were accommodated, some of the buildings or structures served as shops from where sundry products and goods were bought, they also served as centres for the conduct of other social and commercial transactions.

We have noted that different communities of Southern Nigerian origins among them Yoruba and Igbo came to work and settled in Kaura Namoda, while many of them were employees of the Railway, some were agents and workers of the European trading companies, employed as clerks and other administrative officers. With the establishment of elementary and missionary schools and a church, many people from the south also came as teachers or as priests in the missionary school and the elementary schools[151] or as employees of the Post and Telegraph Authority. Other settlers were traders dealing in various commodities ranging from textile materials, palm oil, keronsine, tree fruits e.t.c. In later years, the communities became so diverse in Sabon Gari Kaura Namoda that by 1948 the town had become very cosmopolitan with different communities mutually engaged in commercial and

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[151]Ibid.

other social interactions. This development facilitated mutual understanding and fostered trust between different communities from different cultural and religious back rounds. This enhanced not only mutual tolerance but promoted mutual understanding and neutralized much suspicion. Over the years, these mutual interaction borne of commercial and other social intercourse facilitated inter marriages across ethnic tribal and religious barriers[152] among members of different cultural backgrounds.

5.15 Social Integration

The diverse communities residing in Sabon Gari facilitated the process of social integration and cultural fusion to a degree that led to the development of a radical political culture which become responsible for the electoral victory of the Northern Nigerian radical political party namely the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) during the 1956 election into the Regional Assembly. [153]

The presence of such social institutions as we noted earlier, such as schools, Veterinary Clinic, Hospital the Post office, the Church and large markets together with a high volume of commercial transactions and an equally highly hetregenous

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[152]This researcher witnessed and participated in the soleminization of several of such inter marriages and wedding ceremonies.

[153]A.M. Yakubu, *Emirs and Politicians: Reform, Reaction and Recrimination in Northern Nigeria, 1950-1966,* (Baraka Press 2006 p.106).

society, combined to give Kaura Namoda in particular and the larger area in general, a clearly urban outlook.[154]

5.16 Later Social and Political Developments to 1960

By 1948, communities from Southern Nigeria of both Muslim and Christian religious affiliations especially Yoruba and Igbo had increased in number and had become significant enough to require the appointment of community leaders. This was the development that led to the appointment of Badaru Hamza as the first Yoruba community leader *Sarkin Yarbawa* in Kaura Namoda.[155] Also at the same time one Mr. Kogi was appointed as the Igbo community leader.[156]

Although the two community leaders were resident in Sabon Gari, Kaura Namoda, they liased with members of their respective communities who were living in other towns such as Moriki, Zurmi, Shinkafi, Isa and Sabon Birni on matters of common interest of the members of the communities. Earlier, an over seer, *Magaji* had been appointed by the Sarkin Kiyawa, the District Head of Kaura Namoda in collaboration with the District Office (D.O.) for Sabon Gari. Magaji Abba is said to have been the first Magaji of Sabon Garin Kaura Namoda appointed around 1935

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[154]Ibid.

[155]Oral Evidence, Marafa Umaru, Kanwuri, Kaura Namoda, 73, August 13 2009.

[156]Ibid.

while Magaji Barmo is said to be the second Magaji having succeeded Magaji Abba.[157]

At any rate, by 1945, Kaura Namoda as the home of the North Western Railway Terminus, together with the other districts of Moriki, Zurmi, Isa and Sabon Birni had become one of the Urban Centres in Nigeria where wage labour in European companies could be found, and where there were large populations of migrant workers. A.M. Yakubu has noted this unique features of Kaura Namoda in relation to the electoral victory of NEPU there, during the 1951 regional assembly elections.

> The Party (NEPU) was also popular among the Migrant workers resident in the two railway terminal towns of Nguru and Kaura Namoda. The relative prosperity of these towns as centres of trade in especially hides and skins, cotton and groundnuts led to the emergence of communities economically independent of the traditional sector dominated by the N.A. system. At the same time, there emerged a new and cosmopolitan environment of the *Bariki* to which traditional emirate ethos were an anathema.[158]

Thus it turned out that in Kaura Namoda, the location of the North Western railway terminus, the party's (NEPU) candidate defeated a formidable opponent, the District Head, at the 1956 Regional Assembly elections.[159]

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[157]Ibid.

[158]A.M. Yakubu, *Emirs and Politicians op.cit.* See also Pp.149, 165-6 and 169.

[159]Ibid.

By early 1960s, Kaura Namoda region had emerged as a large cosmopolitan urban centre with a rough total population of 649,116 people as indicated by the 1963 population census (see table below).[160]

Table III

Table of Population of the Districts within Kaura Namoda Area based on 1963 census

District	Population
Kaura Namoda	177,200
Isa	130,654
Moriki	122,738
Zurmi	90,687
Sabon Birni	127,837
Total	**64,9116**

Source: Adopted from A.G. Nadama, A Historical Development of Gusau Town from its foundations to the present (Final Year B.A. Project, Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1972), p.44.

It is significant to note that while some of the economic and social activities and the attendant changes which the railway stimulated continued to survive in varying degrees well into the mid 1970s, the operations of the railway itself in Kaura Namoda Area began to decline as early as 1955 due to changing international economic and political climate: The economic depressions experienced between the two world wars name by the (1st and 2nd World Wars) had a negative impact on world economy generally, but above all, the anti-colonial movement which gathered momentum after the Second World War and the agitation for independence which enjoyed the support of the United States of America and the USSR all combined to undermine the relevance of both colonialism and the colonial economy itself along with the infrastructures that supported it such as the railway, not only in Kaura

[160]A.G. Nadama, 'The Evolution of a City' op.cit. p.44.

Namoda Area but also in other parts of Africa and the world. As a matter of fact, a memo from the office of the District superintendent of the railway station in Zaria dated 28th July 1955, informed the Resident of the Sokoto Province about the possibility of closing the Gusau-Kaura Namoda railway branch line - due to, according to the memo, "considerable loss per annum being made in operating this 30 mile section of the Kaura Namoda branch beyond Gusau"[161] thus from 1955 at least, the fortunes of the railway in Kaura Namoda Area began to experience a down turn, the fact that it was not closed down was mainly due to political reasons.[162] The year 1960, the terminal date of our study marked the end of an era for the railway in its essential context as a colonial infrastructure in Nigeria. It is however interesting to note that the details concerning the transformation of the railway in Nigeria from a colonial infrastructure to a national transport institution have been treated extensively by Kole Ahmed Shetima in his study on the Nigerian railway corporation.[163]

The immediate past chapter above, examined the impact of the railway on the economy and society of Kaura Namoda area. Though subtle on the imagination yet the impact is real in its manifestation in the critical sectors of the indigenous economy of the area as well as on institutions and on social relations of the area in

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[161]N.A.K. Sokprof c.202 Communication Road and Rails.

[162]N.A.K. Sokprof c.202 Ibid memo c202/64 August 1955.

[163]A.S. Kole, The working class and the crisis in the Nigerian railway Corporation (MSc Theses Department of Political Science A.B.U. Zaria 1987).

general. For example, the impact of the railway in its role in the consolidation of small-holder agricultural production and the heightening of the commoditization of labour in the area is, unmistakable, neither can its survival and existence as a legacy of the colonial economy up to the present time be denied. The chapter has also examined the impact of the railway in the aspect of urbanization and social integration in the area along with other interesting developments which the railway stimulated and fostered in the area.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 GENERAL CONCLUSION

By way of concluding this study, the question may be asked: what is the impact of the railway in Kaura Namoda area? In an attempt at answering this question, it may be pointed out that we have identified the impact of the railway in Kaura Namoda area early in this study as a concrete phenomena which represents *the change* which the railway as a social institution has brought to Kaura Namoda area, part of this change which the railway brought about can be seen in the consequent disruption of the growth and development of the indigenous economy of the region and its ultimate destruction. The destruction of the indigenous economy as we pointed out earlier began with the implementation of colonial policies, purposely conceived to dominate and control the area leading to its final incorporation into the world capitalist economy. The policies include the colonial land tenure system which changed the nature and essence of production; through it, small-holder agriculture which suited the colonial cash/export commodity production gained ascendancy in the area, leading to increased commoditization of labour. Since taxation was made to be its important component in such a way that peasants struggling to pay the annual British imposed tax resorted to cash crop farming, even abandoning their occupation in the indigenous cottage industries. As we observed in the introductory parts of this study "As more peasants were forced

to abandon their trades and occupations, various indigenous cottage industries collapsed and the commerce which developed from them and sustained them also collapsed. This in a wider sense represents the destruction of local initiative which the enterprise of colonial economic exploitation achieved through the railways in Kaura Namoda area."

However there is another side to the impact of the railway in the region, we have examined for example the role of the railway in facilitating immigration into the area thereby stimulating the process of social integration and cultural fusion. The railway also facilitated the process of urbanization in the area even if it was also responsible for the cutting off of former important towns in the area when the railway line bye passed them, thereby isolating them. The railway was also responsible for facilitating the emergence of the licensed Buying Agents as a dominant moneyed-class in the area, a position they acquired through their role as middlemen between the European Trading Companies and the peasants in the area. The surviving trade in agricultural produce such as beans and sorghum and in commodities such as Tobacco as well as hides and skins which is still going on in the area is a carry over from the hey days of the railway in the area.

However, not withstanding the varying nature of this impact of the railway in Kaura Namoda area, our major argument in this thesis remains to be that in Kaura Namoda region under colonialism, the entire transport sector functioned as a structure within the colonial economy, and that colonial economy was created using

the pre existing indigenous infrastructure of transport and communication made up of trade routes and other major roads and paths which the colonial state appropriated and made available for the use of the railway, using them as feeders to the railway station and terminus located at Kaura Namoda the centre of the Area.

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APPENDIX I

Selected List of Informants

S/No.	Name	Age	Occupation/Title	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1	Ali Nakura	75	Sarkin Yaki	Kaura Namoda	June 2007
2	Awwal Dadi	43	Civil Servant	Kaura Namoda	August 2007
3	Marafa Ummaru	70	Marafan Godal	Kaura Namoda	June 2006
4	Mamman Dan Yadado Shinkafi	75	Merchant/Businessman	Shinkafi	June 2006
5	Sarkin Ruwa Mua'zu	50	Fisherman	Kaura Namoda	June 2006
6	Sule Madaro	74	Retired Civil Servant	Kurya	August 2009
7	Sahabi Ibrahim	40	Civil Servant	Kura Namoda	August 2009
8	Tuni Sarkin Kiawa	70	House Wife	Kura Namoda	June 2006
9	Yar Magasji	67	House Wife	Kaura Namoda	June 2006
10	Yusuf Attahiru	50	Sardauna	Isa	August 2009
11	Captain (Rtd.) Sule Isa	70	Rtd Nigeria Army Officer	Isa	August 2009
12	Mansir Ali Nakwa	49	Civil Servant	Kaura Namoda	June 2006