A HISTORY OF COTTON PRODUCTION AND EXPORT IN ZARIA PROVINCE, 1902-1960.

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BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work in this dissertation entitled**: A History of Cotton Production and Export in Zaria Province, 1902-1960** has been carried out by me in the Department of History. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another degree or diploma at this or any other institution.

Sulaiman Shehu

Name: Signature: Date:

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled: **A HISTORY OF COTTON PRODUCTION AND EXPORT IN ZARIA PROVINCE, 1902-1960** by **Sulaiman SHEHU** meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of the Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution of knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother Amina, my Uncles Ja'afaru Sulaiman (*Baba Sarki*), Hammada Sulaiman and Nuruddeen Sulaiman (*Goma*), my Brother Muhammad Ujdud Sulaiman and my Sister Saudatu Sulaiman (*Fimata*). They all died during the period I was pursuing the programme. May Allah grant them eternal rest in *Al-jannatil firdaus*.

ABSTRACT

This study is on the history of cotton production and export in Zaria province from 1902 to 1960. It generally examines the establishment of British colonial domination and the creation of the colonial economy in the area whose pre-colonial economic production and distribution was independent, self-sustaining and had attained some relevance at the regional and international market levels. The study focuses on the imposition of colonial production system which was essentially targeted towards the development of an export-oriented agriculture to serve the interest of British capitalist industries. It highlights the role of the colonial state in collaboration with European trading companies, the British Cotton Growing Association and other agents in the imposition and entrenchment of cotton production and export in the Zaria province. The colonial policies on the production of cotton and other export crops, the expropriation of food crops, taxation, labour mobilisation for construction and mining activities are significant in understanding the incorporation of the Zaria Province into the British capitalist economy. The periods of the World War I of 1914-1918, the economic recovery crisis of the Inter-war years which include the great depression of 1929-1930 and the World War II of 1939-1945 are particularly important in understanding the extent and impact of British colonial exploitation of the area. Indeed, there was no better description of the status of peasant production in the colony of Nigeria during those difficult years than "production without reward". The study shows that the so-called ascendancy of groundnut over other export commodities in Northern Nigeria was more facilitated by the British determination to raise the production and export of the crop for its economic gains rather than what has often been regarded as the factor of local entrepreneurs or peasant response to incentives provided by the British capitalist concerns. The study demonstrates the impact of the groundnut production propaganda on cotton production and export in the Zaria Province where in spite of the diversion and sometimes discrimination, cotton production continued to remain the leading agricultural export activity in the area. The activities of the commodity marketing boards in the later years of colonial rule further added to the milking of peasant producers and the creation of a system of marketing export crops filled with corrupt practices that neither the British colonial state nor the post-colonial governments of Nigeria were able to eliminate. The general consequence of these forms of economic relation coupled with the recurring challenges of drought, pest invasion of farmlands was rural indebtedness, poverty, famine and general socio-economic impoverishment of particularly the peasants under colonial domination. The research uses primary and secondary sources of historical inquiry which include oral interviews, recorded audio tapes and sites of material evidence. Also, the research used wide-ranging manuscripts, colonial reports, files and other documents deposited in the archives, museums and libraries at Kaduna and Zaria. These primary sources greatly assisted in the review of secondary materials also widely consulted in the work such as books, journal articles and publications, conference papers, dissertations and theses.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS:

ABU-	Ahmadu Bello University
ADA-	Assistant Director of Agriculture
ADO-	Assistant District Officer
AO-	Agricultural Officer
ARH-	Arewa House
AWAM-	Association of West African Merchants
BATC-	British American Tobacco Company
BCGA-	British Cotton Growing (Growers) Association
BUK-	Bayero University Kano
CAC-	Cotton Advisory Committee
CEDDERT-	The Centre for Democratic Development, Research and Training
CFAO-	Compagnie Francaise De' LAfrique Occidental
COT-	Cotton
DA-	Director of Agriculture
DANP-	Department of Agriculture, Northern Provinces
DCO-	Divisional Cotton Officer
DH-	District Head (Headman)
DO-	District Officer
ECGC-	Empire Cotton Growing Corporation
Ed-	Edited
ERMB-	Eastern Regional Marketing Board
GBO-	G.B. Ollivant
HMSO-	His Majesty Stationery Office
HSN-	Historical Society of Nigeria

IAR- Institute for Agricultural Research

JAH- Journal of African History

JHSN- Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria

KADMINAGRIC- Kaduna Ministry of Agriculture

KASU- Kaduna State University

KJHS- Kaduna Journal of Historical Studies

KSMC- Kaduna State Media Corporation

LBA- Licensed Buying Agent

MA- Master of Arts

NA- Native Administration

NA- Native Authority

NCMB- Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board

NGMB- Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board

NHRS- Northern History Research Scheme (History Postgraduate Library)

NN- Northern Nigeria

NPMC- Nigerian Produce Marketing Company Ltd

NPs- Northern Provinces

NRMB- Northern Regional Marketing Board

NTC- Nigerian Tobacco Company Ltd

PhD- Doctor of Philosophy

PZ- Paterson Zochonis

RCC- Raw Cotton Commission

RNC- Royal Niger Company

SCOA- Societe Compagnie Occidentale Africain

SNP- Secretariat (Secretary) of Northern Provinces

SOAS- School of Oriental and African Studies

UAC- United African Company

UK- United Kingdom

VH- Village Head (Headman)

WACCB- West African Cocoa Control Board

WAPCB- West African Produce Control Board

WRMB- Western Regional Marketing Board

ZARPROF- Zaria Province Reference File (National Archives, Kaduna)

GLOSSARY

Abawa	Spinned cotton
Accha	Fonio
Aikin Bauta	Slave Labour
Aikin gayya	Communal effort
Aikin gonar sarki	Work on the King's farm *(Gandun Sarki)*
Aikin Kwadago	Wage Labour
Aikin tilas	Forced labour
Al-jannah	Paradise
Alƙali	Judge
Amana	Alliance of peace (No war)
Ameer	Commander or Leader (As in Emir)
Ameerul mumineen	Commander of the Faithfuls
Arkilla	Locally Woven Cloth
Baba	Indigo
Bante	Local underwear *(Male)*
Barorin Sarki	Free Servants of the King (Singular: *Baran Sarki*)
Bauta	Slavery
Bawa/Baiwa/Bayi/Bauta	Slave (Male/female)/Slaves/Slavery
Bayin Sarki	Slaves of the King (Singular: *Bawan Sarki*)
Bazara	Hot dry season
Beit el Mal	(Arabic word) Native Treasury
Birni	(plural *birane*) City; Walled
Burtali/Burtaloli	Grazing area (Pl: areas)
Cin-rani	Seasonal Migration
Dabaro	Clayey Loam soil
Daddawa	Locust Bean
Daji	Forest/Bush (Plural; *Dazuzzuka*)
Daji/Dazuzzuka	Bush (Plural)
Damina	Rainy Season
Dausayi	Wet land
Dawa	Sorghum/guinea corn.
Dillalai	Brokers
Dogari	Palace Body Guard/Police

Dukawa	Leather workers
Dutse (n)	Hill (of)
Farauta	Hunting
Fartanya	Hoe
Fatake	Merchants
Fatauci	Long Distance trade (Merchant activities)
Fulanin Borno	Fulanis from Borno (*Fulata Borno*)
Gaisuwa	Gift to the *Ameerul Mumineen*
Galma	Hoe (Big)
Gandu	Family unit or a farm belonging to the *Sarki*
Gari	Town (Plural: *Garuruwa*)
Gayauna	Individual farm activity outside the *Gandu*
Gayya	Communal labour
Gayyan Sarki	Mobilised labour by the King (Aristocrat)
Gida	House (Household) (Plural: *Gidaje*)
Gidan Bakwa	The King/Emirs Palace (House) in Zaria
Gombawa	People from Gombe
Goro	Kola Nut
Gwado	Cloth (Male Garment)
Hakimai	Fief holders/District heads (Sing: *Hakimi*)
Haraji	Tax
Hula	Cap
Iburu	Digitaria iburua *(*Also referred to Iburu in English*)*
Iyayen giji	Masters/Lords/ Slave owners
Jakada	Representative of the King/Emir in the Administration of districts
Jangali	Cattle tax
Jihad	Striving in the course of Religion (Islam)
Jima	Tanning
Jizya	Tax on Non-Muslims under no war situation
Kadi	Spinning
Kaka	Harvest Season
Kanawa	People from Kano

Kanwa	Potassium
Kasuwanci	Trading/Marketing
Katsinawa	People from Katsina
Kibiya	Arrow
Kichingiri	Sack for stocking seed cotton
Kiwo	Grazing
Kore	Fronting
Kuɗin Kasa	Land Tax
Kuɗin Gado	Tax on inherited property
Kuɗin Galma	Hoe tax
Kuɗin Kasa	Poll Tax (Land)
Kuɗin Noma/Shuka/Rafi	Farm Produce tax
Kuɗin Sana'a	Trade (occupation) tax
Ƙasa	Land as in a Territory
Ƙasa (r)	The Kingdom (of) (Plural: *Kasashe*)
Ƙasar Hausa	The land of the Hausa (Hausa states)
Ƙasar Kiwo	Grazing land
Ƙauye	Village (Plural: *Kauyuka*)
Ƙusa	Nail
Ƙwadago	Paid/Hired Labour
Lauje	Sickle
Maɗinka	Knitters or Embroiders
Makera	Smiths (Iron and Bronze)
Mabuga	Cloth beaters
Mahauta	Butchers
Maigida	Head of the Family (Household)
Majema	Tanners
Majlis	Forum/Platform or Association
Malamai	The Intelligentsia /Scholar (Sing: *Malami*)
Mangul	Ash Salt
Marina	Dyers
Masaka	Weavers
Masassaka	Wood Carvers
Mashaya	Animal Watering Area

Mashekari	Dry Season Grazing Area
Mashi	Spear
Masu Sarauta	The Ruling Group/Family/Class
Mujahidun	Members of the *Jihad* Forces
Ningawa	The people from Ningi (Bauchi province)
Nupawa	The people of Nupe origin
Puloti	Cotton Market
Rawuna	Turbans (Junior Palace Officials)
Riga	Shirt/Jumper
Rugage	Fulani Cattle rearing Camps (Sing: *Ruga*)
Rukuni	Senior Palace officials
Rumada	Slave Estate
Runji	Slave Farm Estate (singular)
Saĸa	Weaving
Sarakunan Sana'a	Heads of Occupations/ Professions and Trades
Sarauta	Kingship/ Royalty
Sarki	King/Emir (Plural: *Sarakuna*)
Sarkin Makera	Head of Smiths
Sarkin Pawa	Head of Butchers
Saura	Fallow Land
Shela	Town Crying
Shuni	Dye
Shurah	Highest administrative council
Sulɗan	Ruler
Suruki	In-law
Takobi	Sword
Talakawa	Commoners
Tofi	Skirt
Uban Farauta	Head of a Hunt
Unguwa	A Hamlet in a rural area or a Quarter in the City
Ushira	10 per cent Tax
Wando	Trouser
Wazir	The Vizier
Wuĸa	Knife

Yara	Boys (Subordinates or Errand boys)
Yarabawa	The people of Yoruba origin
Zakka	Islam tax on the Wealthy
Zane	Cloth (Female Garment)
Zare	Thread
'Yan Fada	Palace clients
'Yan Koli	Condiment Traders
'Yan Sarki	Royal Family Members
'Yandoka	N.A. Police
'Yar masu ganye	Herbalist (Female)
'Yar Shara	Sleeveless Shirt (Male)

CHAPTER ONE

1.10 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

A study on the creation and consolidation of the colonial economy in any part of Nigeria brings one to the very issues that prompted the imposition of colonial domination on the peoples and polities of Africa. Discussions on this have generated lot of debates on colonialism and its impact on the economies of states in Africa. There are those who regard colonialism as a "civilizing and salvation mission" to Africa.[1] Others more prominent see the mission of colonialism as one of economic exploitation with its impact witnessed in the continued underdevelopment of the continent.[2] Other scholars mostly regarded as the "middle" trend attempt to rationalize the current form of neo-colonial global unequal economic relations between the developed countries and African states as rather a process intended to harness and unite the world economic and political systems and activities where both sides to mutually benefit each other on the global village structure. These ideas have been pushed to the centre stage of international economic relations of post-colonial nations despite the historical unequal nature of such relations in which the capitalist industrialised economies have continued to serve as the producers of industrial goods whereas the African states remain the consumers of these industrial goods and producers of raw materials. According to these "middle" course scholars, discussions where colonialism is continuously blamed for

[1] Much has been written on concerning perspectives on Colonialism in Africa. For instance are Ehrlich, C (1973) 'Building and Caretaking: Economic Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1890- 1960', *Economic History Review*, Vol, 26, pp. 649- 667 and Bauer, P. T (1973) *West African Trade: A Study of Competition, Oligopoly and Monopoly in a Changing Economy*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
[2] Rodney, W (1972) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Dares Salam: Tanzanian Publishing House and Bogle L Overture, Onimode, B (1982) *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: the Dialectics of Mass Poverty*, London, Offiong, D. A (1980) *Imperialism and Underdevelopment: Obstacle to African Development*, Fourth Dimension, Enugu, Nigeria and Falola, T (Ed) (1987) *Nigeria and Britain: Exploitation or Development*, London, Zed Press.

Africa's woes is only a cover up by anti-colonialist writers over the dismal failure of Africa's leadership to develop the continent's productive forces even with the several decades of independence. They further argued that colonial Africa benefitted from development initiatives and therefore inherited well laid infrastructures that would have been used under the post-colonial era. They therefore concluded with the argument that colonial domination was not the root cause of the crises of underdevelopment facing the post-colonial African continent.[3] However, this tendency to exonerate colonialism from the current problems of underdevelopment confronting the economies of post-colonial Africa is itself a part of the many serious crises facing Africans as a people, and which further expose the character of colonialism not only in penetrating the economy of Africa, but even in influencing the way its people think about themselves in relation to other "civilizations". After all…'colonialism was essentially built on the way the coloniser think about the colonised (Africans)…' as an inferior race that served the world economic system as cheap slave labour for the coloniser's plantations in the "New world" and then as producers of raw materials and consumers of the industrial goods produced by the coloniser. Indeed, Africa's past cannot be properly understood without a study on colonialism and an explanation of the impact it had on the continent. This thesis therefore is on the history of cotton production and export in Zaria province from 1902-1960.

[3] One of such arguments is found in Akpan, D. A (2012) 'Economic Impact of Colonialism in Africa: A Study of Nigeria, 1900-1960' in Mangut, J and Wuam, T., (Eds) *Colonialism and the Transition to Modernity in Africa*, IBB University, Lapai, Nigeria. A more detailed attempt at rationalization of the colonial exploitation under the drive for export crop guised as 'providing alternative' to the failed 'vent for surplus' and 'Dependency' theories to explain the phenomenon in its real context can be found in Austin, G (2010) 'Explaining and Evaluating the Cash-Crop Revolution in the 'Peasant' Colonies of Tropical Africa, C.1890-C.1930: Beyond "Vent for- Surplus" ', Ghana.

Several years before colonial domination, most of the independent polities in the Nigerian territory such as the Emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno, Oyo, Benin, the Igbirra Tao, the Igala,[4] Idoma, Tiv and the Jukun Kingdoms had developed a network of export oriented economy based on the industrial production of goods like cotton and textiles.[5] The Zazzau emirate along with these key states of the pre-colonial central Sudan had developed their productive capacity to such level that some of these products favourably competed with similar goods imported from across the Sahara up to the Mediterranean region.[6] However, with the conquest of the polities in the Nigerian area, the British created a colonial economy to serve the needs of the Metropolitan economy in Britain. This meant colonialism was a step taken in the process of incorporating the Nigerian local economic base into the world capitalist system by the British. The imposition of agricultural and export oriented economy was one of the major manifestations of this incorporation, which emphasised the production of certain crops and products to the detriment of others.

[4] Abdulkadir, M. S (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland Central Nigeria: 1896-1939,* ABU Press, pp. 28-41, Abdulkadir, M. S (2012) ' The Establishment of the Colonial Economy in Igalaland: C. 1900-1919 in Mamman, M. A et al: *Seminar on Nigerian Economy and Society since the Berlin Conference*, Volume I, ABU Press, pp. 413- 450, Aikoye, B. A (2011) 'Cotton Industry in Igalaland up to 1976: A Neglected Issue', *Jalingo Historical review*; A Journal of the Department of History and Archaeology, Taraba State University, Jalingo, Nigeria, Vol 1 No 2, p. 40 with additional information from Popoola V. A (2001) 'Textiles: Then and Now', *26th Inaugural Lecture of the Federal University of Technology, Akure*, pp. 5-7.

[5]Ferguson, D. E (1973) 'Nineteenth Century Hausaland being a Description by Imam Imoru of Land, Economy and Society of his People', *PhD Thesis*, University of California, Los Angeles, Anjorin A. O (1980) 'Cotton Industry in Northern Nigeria During the Colonial Period' in Akinjogbin, I.A and Osoba, S.O (Eds) *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*, University of Ife Press Ltd, Shenton, R. W (1986) *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Shea, P. J (1975) 'The Development of an Export Oriented Dyed Cloth in Kano Emirate in the Nineteenth Century', *PhD Thesis*, University of Wisconsin, Lovejoy, P. E (1978) 'Plantation Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate', *Journal of African History*, xix, 3, pp. 341- 368, Smith, M. G (1955) *The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria*, London, HMSO, Adamu, M. (2012) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital; Zaria in the 18th and 19th Centuries' in Mamman, M. A et al: *History Departmental Seminar Series*, Zaria, ABU Press and Adamu, M (1979) 'The Structure of the Economy of Hausa land before 1804', *International Seminar on the History of the Central Sudan before 1804*, Zaria.

[6] Adamu, M (2012) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…' has highlighted on the Tuareg traders from across the Sahara patronizing cotton dyed cloth in Kudan and Hunkuyi.

With the conquest, the British employed measures such as the use of colonial laws to end the competition for raw materials, particularly cotton which both the indigenous textile industrial producers and merchants, and the emergent merchant capitalists were struggling to monopolise. Thus, throughout the period of colonial rule, concern was devoted to ending the production and market monopoly of the local textiles, and then in diverting the cotton produced by the peasant farmers away to Britain against other colonial rivals such as the French and Germans. The colonial state as the main instrument of control also ensured the execution of all strategies for the imposition of the colonial economy which was the way cotton production by local farmers was boosted to satisfy the needs of the British textile industries. The British as a matter of fact plunged into this "cotton drought" after losing the American cotton market from the American civil war of 1858-1865 that consequently ended British colonialism. This crisis led to the emergence of the United States of America and industrialisation of the country which began producing cotton more than its capacity. Later on American grown Cotton, which was not only adequate for its textile industries but with large reserve suffered from cotton disease. What this meant to the British textiles industry was that should the United States cotton lint be affected with problems of production or supply that would immediately affect the world market in supply and price. This was how the British industries plunged into the danger of survival because the American industries were expanding their textile production.[7] Further evidence to this was early colonial

officers and the textile industrialists who began lobbying the British parliament pressurising for direct involvement of the colonial office towards the development of cotton agriculture in Northern Nigeria and the entire British Empire.[8] This was the basis of the coercive colonial policies that put cotton cultivation above peasant food production in the Zaria province and other areas of Northern Nigeria.[9] Under this also, the British made efforts at securing an all flowing market in the Nigerian area and other colonial territories for the textile goods being produced by the British industries with the cotton exported from colonies in Africa. These were the main events that shaped the destiny of the pre-colonial cotton and textile industries of the communities in the Nigerian area during the colonial period. These same events led to the collapse of the local textiles in the economy of these states pushing them to the level we see today, where they only produce for exhibitions and tourism. Therefore, this study is on the establishment of the colonial economy in Northern Nigeria with particular reference to the imposition of cotton production and exports in the Zaria province. Indeed, the Zaria

[7] The evidence to this can be cited in the case of the colony and protectorate of Nigeria which, though was under the British however, became one of Africa's major centres of Hides and Skin trade for the United States traders coming directly. This, in addition to the fact that the first cotton type introduced to replace the "Native" cotton was the American Allen and Georgian varieties. Britain, in spite of its large textile industries had always relied on American and Asian cotton. See Zarprof/ 7/1/2552, Annual Report for 1905-06, SNP 10/415P/ Notes on Re-Assessment of Serikin Rua's (Sarkin Ruwa) District, 1913 with much details in Zarprof/6/3/750, Annual Report, 1916. See also Olujoku, A (2008) 'Economic Relations between Nigeria and the U.S in the era of British Colonial Rule, ca. 1900-1950' in Jalloh, A., and Falola, T (Eds) *The United States and West Africa: Interactions and Relations*, University of Rochester Press, New York.

[8] See Hutton, J. A (1904) 'The Work of the British Cotton-Growing Association' in *The North American Review*, University of Northern Iowa, Vol 178, No. 570, pp. 742-750, Morel, E. D (1968) *Nigeria: Its Peoples and Problems*, Frank and Cass & Comp Ltd, pp. 222- 244 and a synchronisation of the various appeals and pressures by the British Capitalist concerns in Hogendorn, J. S (1966) 'The Origin of the Groundnut Trade in Northern Nigeria', *PhD Thesis*, University of London, pp. 46- 55 and pp. 60- 70 and Hogendorn, J. S (1976) 'The Vent for Surplus Model and African Cash Agriculture to 1914' in *Savanna: A Journal of Environmental and Social Sciences*, ABU, Zaria, Vol. 5 No. 11, pp. 15- 28. See also Egboh E. O (1987) 'Northern Nigeria Cotton for Lancashire, 1902- 1913', presented at the *32nd Congress of the Historical society of Nigeria*, University of Jos.

[9] See details of these examples in Watts, M. J (1983) *Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, Berkley, 1983, Shenton, R. W (1986) *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Adamu, A (2001) The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis c1902-1960', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria.

province was among the early areas considered by the colonialists towards large scale peasant production of the cotton for export to Britain.[10]

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Zaria province was one of the major areas in Northern Nigeria which contributed to the colonial economy imposed by the British in Nigeria from 1900-1960. The province became a significant contributor to the pilot project of British colonial exploitation in cotton production and export which penetrated, and shaped activities in the rural production areas of the province throughout the years of colonial domination. Although many studies had been carried out on the colonial experiences of the province in agricultural policies, food production, native administration, urbanisation, railways and other infrastructures, there is no specific detailed research on cotton production and export during the same period. Inevitably, with its position as pioneer of the British economic exploitation project in the province, it was cotton production and export activities that triggered the other colonial goings-on already documented in the colonial history of Zaria province. Therefore, Zaria being first province in Northern Nigeria where attention on cotton production and export was seriously concentrated before the other areas were incorporated into the northern cotton belt longed by the British, a comprehensive study of cotton production and export in the province would bring out clearly the nature, dimension and impact of colonial domination on the area. Cotton production and export set the pace for the imposition of British colonial policies on land, labour, taxation, agricultural production and marketing, and other aspects of the political economy in the area of study and indeed northern Nigeria. These policies were

[10] Morel, E. D (1968) *Nigeria: Its peoples and Problems…*and SNP 7/622/ Zaria Province Annual Report 1911.

pursued through the instruments of the colonial state which operated on behalf of the British imperial state. Therefore, a study on colonial cotton production and export in Zaria province would further reveal details on the nature and functions of the colonial state, the origin of the railways and roads, the establishment of ginneries, activities of foreign firms and marketing boards and other services. As in other provinces, these institutions were imposed in the Zaria province as means of incorporating the area into the British capitalist economy. Thus, understanding the operations of these instruments of rule only helped in explaining the extent of British colonial exploitation of the indigenous population much less the area of cotton production and export in the Zaria province in particular and Northern Nigeria in general. The British colonial cotton production and export project in Zaria province impacted very negatively on the fortunes of the indigenous cotton and textile industry in Zaria province and other neighbouring areas like Kano which had for centuries relied on the supply of substantial part of its cotton requirement from the Zaria geographical area. The existing literature on colonial domination in Zaria province had not adequately brought out this dimension of the impact of cotton production and export which permeated and broke the backbone of the centuries old self-sustaining textile industry where since colonial rule the country had remained dependent on exporting cotton and importing clothes.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The general aim of this research is to write a history of British colonial cotton production and export in the Zaria province built on the following objectives:

1. To find out the nature and pattern of British colonial cotton production and export activities in Zaria Province.

2. To find out how the British imposed and sustained cotton production and export in Zaria Province.

3. To find out how the cotton production and export activities in Zaria province linked up with the British textile Industries.

4. To find out how the people responded to the demand of cotton production and export in Zaria Province.

5. To find out the impact of cotton production and export on textile Industry in Zaria Province.

1.4 Justification of the Study

A study on the imposition of cotton production and export in the Zaria province under colonial domination would reveal how the imperial and colonial states were able to control the production and marketing activities from the rural cotton farmers up to the London market and the textile industries of Britain. Studies on cotton production especially under the colonial economy in Zaria province are only recently being attempted, not in specific and detailed terms but on a general study of the colonial economy of agricultural production.[11] This means that despite the numerous researches conducted on the colonial economy in the area, there are still gaps with regards to the impact of cotton production on the social and economic life of the people. It is important to point out that cotton was the first raw material considered and pursued in establishing the export agricultural economy of northern Nigeria at the beginning of colonial rule. The literature also fell short of seriously interrogating the available sources with a view to understanding the negative impact of this colonial imposition and the dislocation caused by the diversion of the main rural production energy to crops needed for export at the detriment of food crops.

[11]Adamu, A (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria C1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District,' *M.A Thesis*, ABU, Zaria, Adamu, A (2001) 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria… and Bonat, Z. K. A (2015) 'Agricultural Development Policy Implementation and Relations of Exploitation in Zaria and Katsina Provinces of Northern Nigeria 1926-1966', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria are the most recent and concise attempts known to this researcher.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The research focused on the history of cotton production and export in the Zaria province carved out by the British at the beginning of colonial rule in 1902. The aim of the British was to serve the raw material needs of its textile industries located in Lancashire and Manchester. This study began from 1902 as the year of the conquest of *Birnin Zaria* by the British after which other parts of the proclaimed province were gradually subdued. Although colonial activities began almost immediately, it took the British about a decade to effectively complete its conquest and imposition of colonial rule throughout the Zazzau emirate that was later named Zaria province. While 1960 was obvious as the year of formal disengagement of the British from direct administration of the colony of Nigeria. The colonial cotton production and export project was a segment of the British colonial rule which officially ended in 1960.

1.6 Literature Review

In this study, several primary and secondary sources of historical inquiry would be identified and analyzed as they were found to be of significance in many ways. However, because most of the primary sources would be consulted during field work, the present review would concentrate on the secondary sources that are relevant to the area of research. It is important to state clearly that a good number of the works consulted and reviewed were first and foremost general on aspects of the colonial economy in Northern Nigeria and then on cotton production and export in the different major cotton producing areas of Northern provinces already studied. However, there are other works specifically on agricultural production and export in the Zaria province and indeed others production areas of Northern Nigeria during the colonial period.

Helleiner, G.K, *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Development in Nigeria*[12] is one of the most detailed works on agriculture in the colonial and immediate post-colonial Nigeria, with emphasis on cash crop production. The major perspective of this work falls within the 'vent for surplus' theory. It is first and foremost a promotion of colonial capitalism and an attempt to further justify the "civilizing mission" of colonialism in Africa. Its conceptual basis is traced to Adam Smith's writings on International trade which, was later reviewed and publicized by Hla Myint.[13] The 'vent for surplus' theory was built on the argument that the growth in export crop production in the colonies of Africa and Asia was purposely pushed to help them utilize the vast undeveloped factors of production, which their primitive economies could not effectively tap for local benefit. This meant that under the colonial economic structure, the primitive African production system was exposed to more agricultural activities that facilitated international trade and better earnings to the local communities. In other words, the capitalist international trade system of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was the 'vent' which supported the increased utilization of the 'surplus' factors of production known to be lying fallow in pre-colonial times as a result of the backward technological base of these pre-colonial African societies. It was under this basis that Helleiner produced his book, placing the Nigerian peasant at the base of the colonial agricultural production system designed to satisfy the demand for raw materials by the capitalist economies of Europe. According to him, the peasant production level was essentially determined by the external demand for such crop, increased input supply from the colonial administration, taxes, better selling outlets like the marketing boards etc. Peculiar experiences with the raw materials production were brought from the north

[12] Helleiner, G. K (1966) *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Development in Nigeria*, Homewood Illinois, Richard D. Unwin Limited.
[13] Myint, H (1958) The 'classical theory' of international trade and the underdeveloped countries, *Economic Journal*, 68, pp. 317-337.

and south regions in this work, with the specific performance of each on a regional basis. For instance, while in the case of Groundnut the soaring production level was acknowledged with the attendant factors for such, the case of cotton in the entire northern Nigeria was not at all successful. The height of cotton production was achieved in 1930 with only 8,000 tons compared to Groundnut with 147,000 tons exported in 1929 and 417,000 tons by 1954. In the southern provinces, it was the story of Cocoa, Palm oil and Rubber. Groundnut was therefore a success in the north while Cotton failed to meet up with the dream of the British Capitalist concerns despite being the first to be pushed forward by the colonialists. This failure was witnessed more in the Zazzau emirate but in spite of the supposed disappointment with cotton, specific case study is necessary to bring out evidence on the impact of colonialism in its programme of creating an export crop economy that continued to rely essentially on exporting agricultural produce at a price determined by the colonial government. Helleiner's record of the contribution of each region to the cash crop economy in Nigeria is a source of strength for understanding the performance of the crops to the national economy. His study however relied on statistics from the trading company sources, which does not give all that was needed to obtain the comprehensive record of production in the major production areas of the Zaria province especially on cotton. The study is also among those that do not recognize the efficacy of understanding how violence and coercive political instruments of the colonial state in the colonies shaped the colonial economy more than the so-called market factors that they are always quick to emphasize. To put it more assertively…the impact of capitalism and indeed imperialism's dialectical confrontation with the pre-colonial societies with all efforts at transforming them to

serve metropolitan capitalism which is the basis of underdevelopment has not been considered in Helleiner's work.[14]

Related to the work by Helleiner is the book by Hogendorn, J. S titled: *Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origin and Development*.[15] The thrust of his thesis was built on the argument that the colonial economy in Northern Nigeria was primarily dedicated to the development of groundnut production for export under the British colonial policy. While the work was on groundnut exports, cotton featured in it because the initial British emphasis on export crop was most importantly on cotton. The fundamental issue with this work lay in the conceptual framework, which seems to have triggered a lot of debate on the disciplines of history and political economy for some time, creating rejoinders and counter rejoinders. One of such rejoinders was the "Vent-for-Surplus" Theory and the Economic History of West Africa: A Rejoinder to J. S. Hogendorn jointly submitted by Freund, W. M and Shenton, R. W at the *22nd Annual Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Benin City in 1977. At the centre of this critique was the "Vent for Surplus" formulated by H. Myint and promoted by Hogendorn in his works. The general thrust of Hogendorn's work was centred on the premise that British colonial economic relations in the Northern provinces were a positive initiative to mutually develop the primitive and subsistent economies of Africans. This and other works of J. S. Hogendorn are clear in leaving out some fundamental historical trends

[14] Tekhede, M. E. U (2007) 'A Political Economy Explanation of the Nigerian Civil War', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria, p. 138.

[15] Hogendorn, J. S (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origin and Development*, Zaria, ABU Press was published from an original research with the title: Hogendorn, J. S (1966) 'The Origins of the groundnut trade in Northern Nigeria', *PhD Thesis*, London School of Economics, University of London. Also this review include other Hogendorn's related works which were extracts from his main reseach thesis. See Hogendorn, J. S (1970) 'The Origin of Groundnut Trade in Northern Nigeria' in Eicher, C and Liedholm, C (Eds), *Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy*, East Lansing: Michigan University Press, p. 31-51.

that help us in understanding the relations which developed between Africa and Europe that led to the incorporation of African economies into the world capitalist system especially from the period of the Atlantic slave trade up to the beginning of colonial conquest.[16] With weak political consideration, the work of Hogendorn could not appreciate the manner such popular instruments of colonialism as force, coercion and repression played key roles even in the colonial groundnut project of the British in Northern Nigeria.[17]However, the work provides some inspiration for this research because of the data contained in it, which emphasized British attention on cotton production in Northern Nigeria. The work also highlighted the strategies employed by the colonial government in the process of establishing cash (export) crop agriculture which our research brought out more clearly in the form the relations of exploitation in the British imposition of cotton production and export in Zaria province would be understood.

Okediji, F.A, An Economic History of Hausa-Fulani Emirates of Northern Nigeria, 1900-1939 is one of the earliest 'indigenous' PhD studies on the colonial economy of Northern Nigeria.[18] The work examined the colonial economy in Northern Nigeria, especially how the British government through the colonial state introduced a system of agricultural production that mainly served the needs of the colonialists and their agents. This system placed emphasis on cash crop production at the expense of food crops. The policy led to crisis in the agricultural production system where the people

[16]Hogendorn, J (1976) 'The Vent-for-surplus model and African cash agriculture to 1914', in *Savanna, A Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences*, ABU, Zaria, Vol 5, pp. 15-28 and Hogendorn, J (1977) 'The Vent-for-surplus theory: a reply', in *Savanna, A Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences*, ABU, Zaria, Vol 6, No 2, pp. 196-199.

[17] In this research, attempt has been made to identify and examine some of the evidences on the British groundnut production propaganda especially in its relation to cotton production in the Zaria Province.

[18] Okediji, F. A (1972) 'An Economic History Hausa-Fulani Emirates in Northern Nigeria: 1900-1939' *PhD Thesis*, Indiana University.

were no longer able to meet up with their food requirements. The thesis raised issues on the role of the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) with the support of the colonial state in pushing forward an agenda where local peasant farmers had to produce cotton to satisfy the raw material requirements of the Lancashire textile industries. In so many instances, the people used the proceeds from these export crops to exchange for foodstuff during times of shortage as a result of drought, inadequate rainfall and other forms of disaster. Okediji's work placed emphasis on cotton production and its general impact on the peasantry in Northern Nigeria. One of its major limitations is that of perspective in which, the Eurocentric view of colonialism in Africa played great influence seeing the whole issue of British interference in the production process of the people as rather "incentives" which bring development to Africa. In spite of these the work is important to our study of the cash crop economy in the major cotton producing districts of Zazzau emirate during the colonial period.

Anjorin, A.O, Cotton Industry in Northern Nigeria during the Colonial Period is another important work to this study written in the work edited by Akinjogbin, I.A and Osoba, S.O titled *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*.[19] The whole essence of the book; a part of the history series at the University of Ife was to look at issues in Nigeria's past from the point of Nigerian historiographical approach, which was to be a departure from the then dominant Eurocentric and colonialist standpoint. This work was one of earliest attempts to explain the Cotton project of the British in Northern Nigeria as part studies on colonialism in Nigeria. The central theme of the work was the competition for raw cotton between the British capitalist interest and the local textile industries. The

[19] Anjorin, A. O (1980) 'Cotton Industry in Northern Nigeria During the Colonial Period' in Akinjogbin, I. A. and Osoba, S. O. (Eds) *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*, University of Ife Press Ltd.

writer was of the view that despite the series of political and administrative strategies devised by the colonial state, the effort to win the heart of the cotton producers in Northern Nigeria to rather solely serve the export interest of the British capitalist concerns failed.[20]Thus, he concludes that some of the indigenous textile craft survived this fierce competition of the colonial up to the decade of independence. However, we need to point out the imported textile goods certainly took the lead as major source of clothing for Nigerians as against the pre-colonial times. A fundamental issue that seems left in this work is the long term impact of the colonial policies on the future direction of the Nigerian cotton and textile industry. This has to do with the complete derailing of the local craft in its process of advancing to maintain the strategic role it played in the political economy of political communities of pre-colonial Nigeria and in the way it enhanced international trade especially across the Sahara. Little was discussed on the collapse of the local textile industry leadership in the internal trade network of the Nigerian area where cloth was used as currencies. It is important to note that with colonial rule, cloth as a currency was replaced with an imposed colonial currency at the same time the domestic markets were gradually flooded with imported cloth. The work by Anjorin, which seem to be part of a PhD research in London in 1965 titled 'The British Occupation and Development of Northern Nigeria' also failed to acknowledge many of the negative impacts of the British colonial state policy on cotton and other export crop on the people. The major crisis of this as pointed out in a critique by Mahmud Modibbo Tukur was essentially in the colonialist perspective from which the analysis was done in the research. [21] This had the negative effect of grossly denying full

[20] Anjorin, A. O (1980) 'Cotton Industry in Northern Nigeria…, pp.125-127.
[21] See Tukur, M. M (1979) 'The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Sources', *PhD Thesis*, Zaria, ABU, pp. 956- 1002.

understanding of the ramifications of British colonial capitalist penetration of Northern Nigeria that have remained to date.

Smith, M.G has produced a research work; *The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria: a Report to the Colonial Social Science Research Council*.[22] It was a study commissioned by the British colonial administration on the Zaria area of Northern Nigeria. The central thesis of this report was to show that colonial rule in the Nigerian territory provided an organized means of turning the local productive forces to better utilization so that social and economic system could be transformed from the backward and primitive structure of the pre-colonial period. The report contains a survey of the pre-colonial economic formation of the area, with emphasis on agriculture and related craft industries such as cotton and textile. It then discusses the developments, which took place as a result of British colonial rule. Smith's work also saw the input of the colonial administration as a positive move by a superior economy towards the development of the primitive local economy, but because the social structure of the society was still operated in its primitive form, the local economy remained backward in Zaria. This was the thrust of Smith's perspective on the rural economy of the Hausa communities of Zaria and its environs.[23] However, long before now, this approach which is euro-centric has faced criticisms as one of typical works commissioned by the colonial offices to justify imperialist domination of the pre-colonial economies of Africa. The work was limited to examining Zaria urban area, whereas the major agricultural production base of the province is mainly located in rural settlements. Hence, a clear picture of the economy of those in urban Zaria cannot be fully grasped

[22] Smith, M. G (1955) *The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria: A Report to the Colonial Social Science Research Council*, London, HMSO.
[23] See Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau: A Study of the Hausa Chiefdom of Zaria, Northern Nigeria 1800-1950,* London, OUP.

except in relation to the rural economy and its role in the social relations of production of the emirate. In spite of these problems however, some aspects of analysis seem to agree with the fact that the local economies of the Zaria area attained some reasonable level of advancement long before the imposition of British colonial rule in the area. The work is therefore a useful source for further understanding the basis of the economy of Zaria, especially agricultural production and industry that involve the chain of cotton and textile famous not only in Zaria, but many of its surrounding towns, villages and communities.

Mortimore, M. J has an edited work; *Zaria and its Region* which is a collection of researched articles produced from fieldworks and researches on the Zaria plains.[24] It covers aspects of the human, social, economic and physical geography of urban and rural Zaria. This has made the work a significant source of reference for this study which, deals with relations between the geography, environment and human activity, and how such influences the nature of the economy of Zaria province. The work is significant where some of its chapters examined the pre-colonial economic and political formations of the area. It contained some detailed study of the major economic activities of people in the rural as well as urban settlements of Zaria province such as agriculture and local industry. The book also examined the socio-economic changes which came about from the colonial period up to the early years after independence.

An important work to this study is Adamu, A, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria 1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District.[25] The main thrust of this

[24] Mortimore M. J (Ed) (1970) *Zaria and its Region*, Department of Geography, ABU, Zaria.
[25] Adamu A. (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1902 -1945: A Case Study of Soba District' *M.A Thesis*, ABU, Zaria.

thesis is the establishment of the colonial economy in that part of Zaria Province. Agriculture was chosen as the focus because of its role as the mainstay of the economy. A general picture of the historical geography of the area under study provided the opener to the work while the next chapter concentrated on the pre-colonial economic formation. This was an important strategy of showing how British colonial policies altered and indeed impacted negatively on the society and economy of Soba district having introduced agricultural and other socio-economic policies for its imperial interests. In the survey of the pre-colonial economy however, there was no discussion of the cotton and textile industry in Soba district which seemed to have been a major source of attraction to the area for the British. More of such discussion was however found in chapter four on the colonial economy. Thus, although in the work, we have not seen much on the pre-colonial cotton and textile industry in the area, the emphasis of the British on cotton production in the district was certainly an indication that cotton cultivation predates the colonial period in the area. This can be further understood from the fact of British early enthusiasm to construct the Zaria-Jos Railway line *(Dan Bauchi*) to tap the cotton and other agricultural resources of eastern Zazzau, which mainly include Soba area. A significant impact of the colonial agricultural policy in Soba was difficulty of the people in having to produce food to meet their needs. Like in some parts of the colony problem of food shortage continued to appear throughout the colonial period. The challenge of food production and distribution caused by this colonial prioritization towards export crops and the occurrence of *Fari* (Drought) which, often led to *Yunwa* (Famine) has since then become an important subject of research on the ramifications of colonialism in Nigeria. Recently, more researches have been carried out to bring to the fore the graphic evidences of famine and hunger in the socio-economic experiences of Nigeria after independence. On the whole, the work is

relevant as a specific part of the general area under study. Examining colonial cotton production in Soba and other areas of the Zaria province would further enlighten our comprehension of the impact of British colonial domination on the area.

Closely related to the above work by Adamu, A is his book titled: The Food Economy in in Zaria Metropolis 1902-1960.[26] This work is on food production and distribution in the Zaria area during the colonial period. It is a study that discussed one of the impacts of British colonial economic policy on agriculture that centred on export crop production. The work mainly dealt with aspects of food production from the coming of the British in 1902 to Nigeria's independence in 1960. The work began with a brief on the historical geography of Zaria Metropolis showing the agricultural potentials of the area. It is important to stress that the area was into agricultural production, the *Birni* became more of a major centre for surplus food appropriation and distribution in the emirate. Thus, it was the centre of food storage, marketing and trade both within and outside Zaria metropolis and the emirate. The book traced the involvement of foreign firms and the local agents in the business of food merchandize from the production centres in the rural communities to *Birnin* Zaria where not only the people but the colonial government had interest. One of the reasons for the colonial interest varied from feeding its army and redistribution of surplus food for taking care of possible social crisis that may arise, especially in urban settlements from incidence of food shortage. The major focus in this book published from the authors PhD thesis is quite relevant to this research for the fact that it deals with agricultural production in the period of colonial rule. Similarly, its scope is the urban part of Zaria, which also falls

[26] This book Adamu, A (2016). *The Food Economy in Zaria Metropolis, 1902-1960,* Arewa House Studies Series, ABU Press was published from the authors research titled Adamu, A, (2001) 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis, 1902-1960', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria.

within the area of our research. Although ours is not limited to the Metropolis, it forms an important component of pursuing the production, marketing, processing and export of cotton in the emirate. The study by Adamu also came from results of his earlier research on the agricultural policies of the British in parts of the Zaria province, where cases of food shortage and famine were rampantly witnessed especially from the third decade of colonial rule.[27] This was when the great depression of the inter-war years hit the colonial powers and their colonies. These and other factors made the work worthy for our research though its focus is on urban Zaria.

A research work by Adamu, M, 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th Centuries'[28] dwelt on the pre-colonial economic formation of urban Zaria which was identified as basically agricultural but linked to the various crafts found in the *Birni* and surrounding towns such as Hunkuyi and Kudan. One of the most impacting industries which boosted economic activities in the urban and rural settlements of *Birnin* Zaria was Cotton and textile with all its chain of occupations. The article was rich in oral interviews on this industry and other supporting crafts that made Zaria a source of attraction to local and international trade in the years before colonial rule. The work mainly dwelt on aspects of the industrial and trade development of *Birnin* Zaria as the capital of Zazzau emirate before colonial rule. On the other side, our study would provide further details on relations between rural production and this urban craft and trading activities highlighted in the work. It is hopeful that a combination of these two studies would give a clearer picture of the nature of the society and economy of our area of study by the beginning of colonial rule.

[27] Adamu A. (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…
[28] Adamu, M. (2012) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital; Zaria in the 18th and 19th Centuries' in Mamman, M. A et al: *History Departmental Seminar Series*, Zaria, ABU Press.

The work titled: A History of Sabon Gari Zaria: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration 1911-1955 by Dhiliwayo, V.A is also another unpublished PhD thesis on colonial urbanization, conducted almost the same time with another study on Kaduna.[29] Dhiliwayo's work basically deals with such subject of colonialism as a part of the whole system of incorporating the Zaria area into the world capitalist economy. The evolution of the Sabon Gari urban development under the British is common in Northern Nigeria in particular and Nigeria in general in as much as different titles was used for these segregated quarters as they were designed by the colonial government. Dhiliwayo's work is divided into seven chapters. The first largely treated theoretical and conceptual issues on colonialism and urbanization from the Radical/Marxist perspective chosen for the research. The work also examined pre-colonial urbanization in the Zaria area, whose agricultural potentials and the intention of the British to exploit to the maximum pushed for the establishment of Sabon Gari and other colonial urban settlements. They were to play some key roles in supporting the various policies of the colonial political and economic system. The utilities, social facilities and other symbols of colonial activities in the area as demonstrated in the chapters of this work further indicate the relations between the evolution of Sabon Gari in the Zaria area and the nature of operations of the colonial economy in the cotton producing districts of Zazzau emirate. In any case the first cotton ginnery built by the British in Northern Nigeria after that of Lokoja was abandoned for its failure was located in Sabon Gari, Zaria. In addition, the main railway line linking the Northern emirates and provinces reached Zaria in 1912. It remained an important terminal connecting most parts of the North such as Kano, Gusau, Kauran Namoda through the rail line. The study on Sabon Gari,

[29] Oyedele, E.O. (1987) 'Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna, 1913 – 1960', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria.

Zaria is relevant in the sense of highlighting colonial urbanization as an important segment of British colonial policy towards effectively milking the rural peasantry especially through cotton and other cash crops production in the Zaria province. Both works have important connection with aspects of cotton export production and marketing, which is the focus of this research. A clear example is that one can cite the location of the first cotton ginnery in Sabon Gari along with the major Railway terminal which collected and transported agricultural and other colonial products from Zaria and its rural areas to the coast for export. A similar case also existed in Kaduna with the Railway station serving as a nerve centre for collecting these colonial agricultural produce. Thus, Sabon Gari and Kaduna as colonial creations have relevance to our study in their position as the melting pots of colonial exploitation in both infrastructures and serving as the nerve centres of the colonial state. The major instrument of formulating and implementing colonial policies were located in Kaduna as the capital of the northern region.

The work titled Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960 is a PhD research by Oyedele, E.O on the evolution of Kaduna as a capital of the Northern region. Kaduna emerged during the colonial period and the early years after independence. To date the strategic place of Kaduna in the political economy of the North and Nigeria is not in doubt. The significance of this thesis is on the way Kaduna, as a centre of the colonial state, contributed to the creation and consolidation of the colonial economy. From its initial stage, the colonial economy placed emphasis on cotton production for export in the major producing districts of Zaria province up to when Groundnut, Tobacco and others also appeared in the centre stage of agricultural production of the area. An indication to the relevance of this study is further

demonstrated in the fact that the general annual and agricultural reports of the Zaria province and other provinces of Northern Nigeria were always collected and sent to the administrative headquarters of Kaduna. Records of the government files and other archival materials consulted under this project have further brought out the strategic position of Kaduna as the nerve centre of political and administrative policies that exerted power and control over cotton production and marketing activities in the provinces of Northern Nigeria.

A Study of the Rural Economic History of the Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate during the colonial period c 1900- 1939 is a PhD thesis produced from research by Ingawa, T. B.[30] It is a major work on the development of cotton production and exports in southern Katsina. The study gave a detailed account of the incorporation of the rural societies of the Northern Nigerian Emirates into the world capitalist economic system through the imposition of colonial rule. The role of the colonial state in building up a dependent capitalist economy was shown in such areas as law and order, taxation, land and labour policies and cash crop production. The work was sort of a middle course with a strike of the balance from the modernization and underdevelopment theorists concluding that the cash crop economy introduced had negative impacts on the rural communities. The impact of these in effect included shortage of food, exploitation of labour and unbearable tax burden. Cotton production was indeed one of many aspects of the local economy used by the colonial state to incorporate these areas of Katsina and Zazzau emirates into the colonial economic system. The study also highlights the contribution of colonial infrastructures located in

[30] Ingawa, T.B. (1984) 'A Study in the Rural Economic History of Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate during the Colonial period c.1900 – 1939', *PhD Thesis*, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Zaria to the development of the Southern Katsina Emirate Cotton production zone. The significance of this work is in serving as a starter to wider research on the Zaria province from where southern Katsina was discovered as a major producing area. For the convenience of an easier capitalist exploitation programme on cotton production and exports in Katsina area, the British colonial state at different times had reason to place Katsina emirate under the Zaria province, which was the nerve centre of cotton export activities in Northern Nigeria.

Bello, S., *State and Economy in Kano 1894-1960: A Study of Domination*[31] is a work that focused on the establishment of colonial domination in Kano which was an important centre of commercial and industrial activities of the central Sudan. The work gave details on the pre-colonial economic formation of *Kasar* Kano with highlights on trade relations between the cotton producers of the Zazzau emirate and the textile industrialists of *Kasar* Kano which became difficult for the emergent colonial buying agents to suppress for many years. The colonial state in Kano employed instruments of rule such as ordinances to ensure dominance of the cotton market by its capitalist agents like the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA), United African Company (UAC) and others. In the same vein, laws and policies guiding the establishment and consolidation of the colonial economy were pushed forward in line with the British ambition. An instance has been cited in Kano where the planting of local cotton seed variety was banned, with a penalty that could lead an offender to heavy fine to be in British currency or imprisonment.[32]This was not limited to Kano alone as the cotton producing districts of the Zaria Province came under the same forms of policy and

[31] The book was published from the authors PhD research with the same title conducted in 1982. See Bello, S (2011) 'State and Economy in Kano: A Study of Colonial Domination C. 1894-1960', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria.
[32] Bello, S (2011) *State and Economy in Kano*…pp. 173-174.

pressure from the British capitalist concerns to produce the new American cotton and to end the selling of cotton to Kano and Zinder.[33] The study discussed the destruction of the local industries, taxation and colonial currency, marketing and other policies which ensured the continued subjugation of the economy in Kano up to independence. However, the work was more on historiographical issues than the empirical evidences said to be widely available in the field that could provide insights and the basis for having graphic evidences on the impact of colonial domination in the area. In general terms, the work was more theoretical than historical studies, because it lacked the oral sources touch which is vital to studying the historical experiences of the people of Kano under the colonial economy. This is notwithstanding the long list of oral sources that showed little reference to their accounts in the analysis stage. Anyhow the work which has already been published is a significant contribution particularly in dealing with theoretical and rhetorical issues on British colonialism in Northern Nigeria.

Odey, M.O's book; *The Development of Cash Crop Economy in Nigeria's Lower Benue Province, 1910-1960* is another work on the colonial economy in Northern Nigeria that seems important for a review in this research. In the first place the study is on colonialism and its manifestation in the economy of communities in the Nigerian area, which is similar in that sense to our research. Secondly the work was specifically on the development of export agriculture that is also the major attention in this study. This work adopted Dependency as its theoretical framework analysis[34]. The work was

[33] See SNP 68 Minute Paper Telegraph from Wallace to Secretary, Zungeru/1907 and SNP 6968 Report on Tour by Director of Agriculture Lamb, P. H / 1912. This issue has also been dealt with in detail as it affected the Zaria district one of the areas under the present research. See Shehu, S (1987) 'Changing Pattern of Cotton Production in Zaria District since 1900', *B.A. Dissertation*, Bayero University Kano, pp. 103-119.

[34] Odey, M. O (2009) *The development of Cash Crop Economy in the Lower Benue Province, 1910-1960*, Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, pp. 5-17.

unique in bringing out the relevance of the Lower Benue area of Northern Nigeria in the making of the famous Kano Groundnut pyramid, and contributing to the development of the colonial economy in Northern Nigeria. Odey discussed the major issues related to the imposition of British colonial rule, the foundation and entrenchment of the colonial economy with specific emphasis on cash crops in the lower Benue particularly Cotton, Benniseed and Groundnut. A study of the impact of the global political economic turmoil in the form of the two World Wars and the Great depression on the cash crop economy of Nigeria in general and the Benue province in particular further contributed to documenting the incorporation of economies of the Nigerian area into the world capitalist system. The work provided some graphic evidences of peasant impoverishment and underdevelopment of the economy of the lower Benue province as a result of colonial activities of the British metropolitan economy which was represented by the colonial state. In a similar style, this research hopes to make contributions which would enrich the literature on the impact of these global capitalist events on the people of Zaria Province.

Another work of importance to this study is Hopkins, A. G, *An Economic History of West Africa*.[35]This work seem generalized on antecedents in the pattern which economic relations started and developed into maturity between the colonial entities of West Africa and their Imperial capitalist powers particularly Britain. However, it is quite a significant attempt to place the development of relations between Britain and its colonies in the context of mutual benefit that extends both to the coloniser and the colonized. In ac, the model of open and closed economy used by the author places the colonial relations as the activator of the huge under-utilized domestic resources in the

[35] Hopkins, A. G. (1975) *An Economic History of West Africa*, London, Longman.

colonial territories. This position when critically assessed, represents the series of attempts to rationalize imperialism of the twentieth century on Africans as something of a benefit for their economies, which hitherto was locked up without prospect of expansion until the colonial relations.

The work of Ekundare[36] presents an interesting research conducted to bring out some of the key economic activities which shaped Nigeria under British colonial rule. The basic position of this work as in others before it is that this period of colonial relations was one of mutual benefit to the Imperial state, the colonial administration, foreign firms and the peasant producers of export crops and the local middlemen who were said to have prospered under colonialism.[37] The study however negates the mechanics of colonial domination which were used by the colonial state and European firms in forcefully penetrating the local economy and dislodging its foundation to open the way for dependent relations between the Imperial state and the colony. Therefore for this study, an attempt to adopt the mode of analysis in Ekundare and its like already reviewed[38] in order to understand the role of the colonial state, BCGA, European firms and other agents in the colonial cotton production and export in Zaria province would not yield much.

[36] Ekundare, R. O (1973), *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960*, London: Methuen and Co.
[37] Ekundare, R. O (1973), *An Economic History of Nigeria*…, p. 171.
[38] Hogendorn, J. S. (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut Exports*…and Okediji, F. A (1972) 'An Economic History Hausa-Fulani Emirates…

Two recent PhD works related to the theme and area of study are Candotti[39] and Yusuf.[40] Candotti's work focused on analysis of origin and development of colonial economic relations between Britain and Northern Nigeria with emphasis on cotton production and export. While the work of Yusuf was on the colonial railways and its impact on rural communities along the railway line in Kano and Zaria. Both works are relevant to this research in spite of their perspective which summarily seem to re-echo the positions of Hogendorn, Lovejoy[41] and others as the main proponents and promoters of the comparative advantage and economies of scale theses in rationalizing the exploitative colonial crop production and export in Northern Nigeria.

Generally therefore, from the works reviewed and many others referred in the research, there existed gaps that needed to be filled on the colonial experiences of the Zaria province especially cotton production and export which had not been studied before. At best, the studies carried on the colonial economy in the Zaria province were either generalized or specific on areas other than cotton production and export that was the pioneer aspect of the colonial economy in the province. All the same the literatures have helped to enrich the work in both providing sources of data and its analysis.

[39] See Candotti, M (2015) 'Cotton Growing and Textile Production in Northern Nigeria: From Caliphate to Protectorate, c.1804-1914'. *PhD Thesis*. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, p i. I have earlier worked on a seminar presentation by the author at the very early stage of this research titled: Candotti, M (2009) 'Cotton Growing and Textile Production in Northern Nigeria from Caliphate to Protectorate c. 1804-1914: A Preliminary Examination', *African Economic History Workshop*- London School of Economics. Retrieved from: *https://core.ac.uk.*

[40] Yusuf, S. T (2015) 'The Socio-Economic Impact of the Railway in Northern Nigeria: A Study in Transformation of the Rural Communities along the Railway Line between Kano and Zaria, 1908-1970' *PhD Dissertation* University of Leiden.

[41] Lovejoy, P. E. and J. S. Hogendorn (1993), *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria 1897–1936*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

In an attempt to determine theoretical thrust of this research, two main perspectives were considered in their content especially in analyzing issues, events and the impact of colonialism in Africa. The first is the group of imperial writers or what may be regarded as colonialists and their followers. This perspective was mainly formed from the thoughts of European imperialists, the early colonial officers and their agents. The base of their thoughts was to justify the conquest of African territories by the capitalist world. Some of the proponents of this school include Duignam, P and Gann, L. H; Perham, M and Lloyd P. C,[42] Later on people like Frederick Lugard,[43] the first Governor General of Nigeria and the officer who led the colonial army to subjugate various Nigerian communities built up an advanced form of the imperial view where he and others like him propagated the civilizing mission. These ideas are contained in his book: 'The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa'. Similarly, these ideas were later fine-tuned into the modernization and development theories. These can be found in the work of H. Myint: 'Economic theory and Underdeveloped Countries' where Myint pushed further debates on the modernization mission and impact of colonialism in Africa based on European "gesture" to develop the primitive African economy". It is still on this premise that the globalization school evolved where the so-called developed economies of the North are said to be "working together" with the developing economies of the South for mutual benefit. On the other hand and in sharp contrast to the group of imperial, civilization, modernization and globalization schools there emerged the Anti-imperial who are basically grouped into Nationalists, Underdevelopment and Dependency perspectives. Walter Rodney's work '*How Europe*

[42] Duignam,,P and Gann, L.H (1967) *Burden of Empire*, London, Perham, M (1973) *Native Administration in Nigeria*, London and Lloyd, P.C (1972) *Africa in Social Change*, London, Penguin Books.
[43] Lugard, F.D (1965) *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*…

Underdeveloped Africa' is one major presentation on the nature and impact of colonialism in Africa using the anti-imperial Marxist/Leninist perspective. At the Nigerian level there is Bade Onimode: '*Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: the Dialectics of Mass Poverty*' among many others on the theory and practice of colonialism in Africa. The basis of their analysis is drawn from the historical materialism thesis where the colonisation of Africa was seen as a necessary part of capitalist development in Europe. The argument of this group was that capitalism in Europe had developed to such a stage that its industries needed outlets for exporting their manufactured goods and investment of the surplus capital produced by the industries. Proponents of this school argue that as they were designed all these economic activities in Africa benefited the colonial powers rather than the colonies. This means as a result of the conquest and colonisation, Africans who had earlier suffered from the global slave trade were further thrown into another tragedy of underdevelopment and dependency while the capitalist powers of Europe kept growing and expanding. This thought was further developed by among prominent scholars Samir Amin whose works 'Underdevelopment and Dependency in Black Africa: Origins and Contemporary Forms' and 'Accumulation on a World Scale' enriched our position that the underdeveloped economies of Africa is a piece of a single machine; the capitalist economy. Thus, historicising the export crop phenomenon in Africa only makes sense when understood as a part of a larger process of worldwide accumulation and as mechanism for the incorporation of the non-capitalist African economies into being a part of the global capitalist system.[44] For this research therefore, understanding colonialism is centred on how the stages of these relations between capitalist industrial

[44] This position by Samir Amin has been emphasized in Freund, W.M and Shenton, R (1977) ' 'Vent for surplus' Theory and the Economic History of West Africa: A Rejoinder to J. S. Hogendorn,' *22nd Annual Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, University of Benin, Benin City, March, pp. 18-19.

economies and the pre-colonial African economies developed up to the twentieth century. The dependency model is therefore given primacy in this study on the colonial economy in the Zaria Province from 1902-1960. The research agree with some of the writers reviewed that what is needed should be an analysis based on understanding the method in which the capitalist industrialised economies of Europe incorporated the non-capitalist societies of Africa and left them underdeveloped through several centuries.[45] However, this adoption is not dogmatic and therefore does not preclude the relevance of other varying modes of analysis. This is in so far as the models of analysis would facilitate further understanding of the dynamics of the evidences found in the course of field work. After all, history is not about theories but events as they occur at a particular time and in specific circumstances of human experiences.

1.8 Methodology

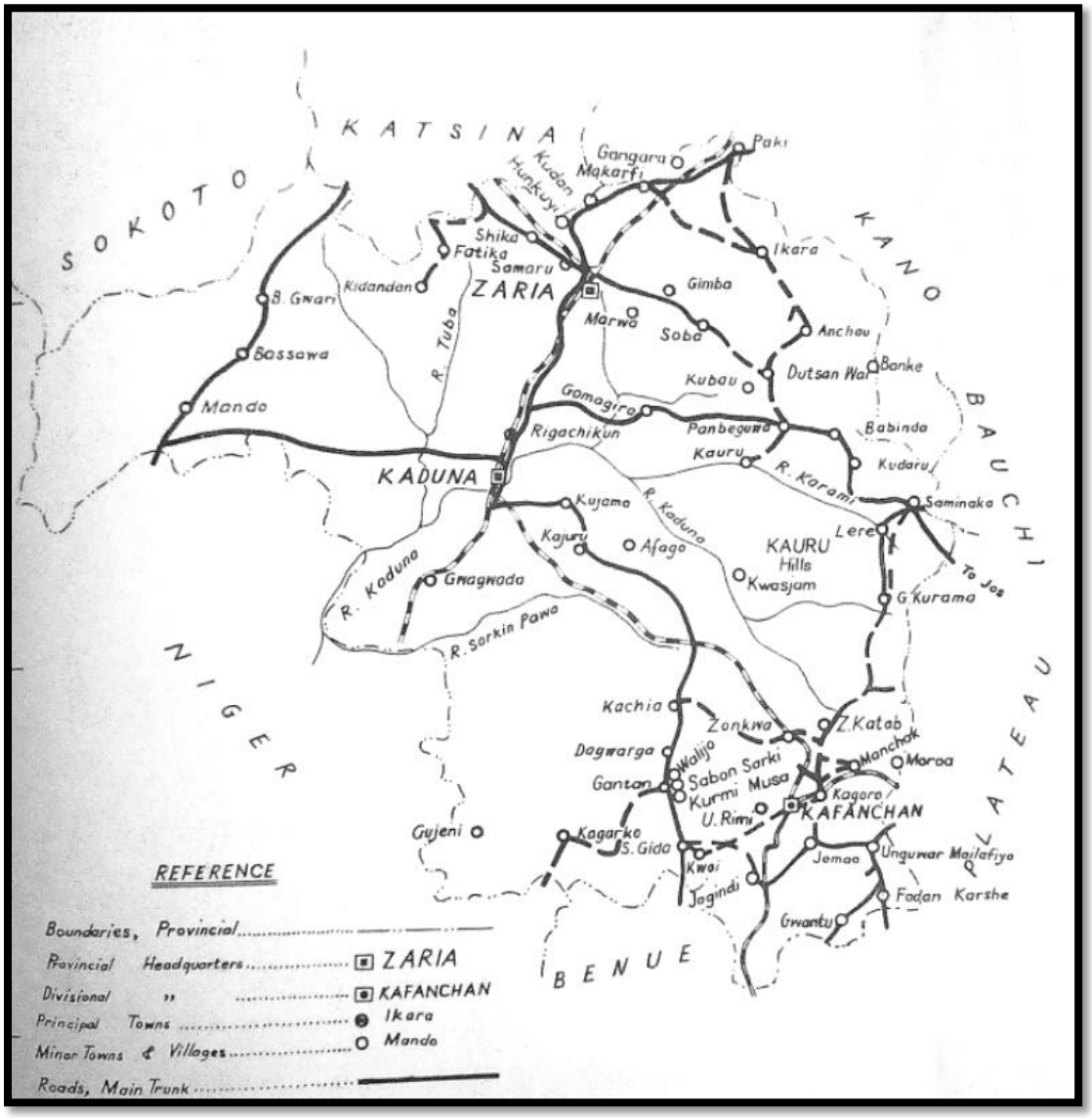
The research was organized in the way all the sources were fully explored in their chronological order. A detailed survey and review of as many relevant existing literature was carried out. These include books, Journal articles, reports, theses and dissertations, and seminar and conference presentations as they were accessed in different libraries and private collections that were found to have relevant materials for this research. Another data used included archival materials in Nigeria mainly from the National Archives Kaduna and Arewa House Centre for Historical Documentation and Research (ABU) also in Kaduna. Some of the files used included aspects of colonial administration dealing with agriculture and natural resources, trade and marketing, activities of the BCGA and European firms, Provincial annual reports and Native administration matters and District assessments. Materials from the history and culture

[45] Freund, W.M and Shenton, R. (1977) 'Vent for Surplus theory…' p. 18.

Bureau in Kano and Katsina were also used especially those that dealt with Cotton in the pre-colonial and colonial days. An important source also used was oral interviews conducted with major stakeholders across the major cotton producing areas. These included farmers who took part in the cotton production especially during the closing years of colonial rule. There were also some identified local agents as the Licensed Buying Agents of companies (LBAs), Cotton Examiners popularly known as *Malaman Auduga* and Cotton Touts, the famous '*Yan Baranda*. The interviews broadly involved one or both of tape recorder and/or jottings as the response of the interviewees during the interview sessions determined. The interviews were done on individual interviewee and in group depending on how they were obtained. The interviews were conducted with research assistants in some of the identified areas. These oral interviews assisted in providing details and insights on the practical constraints and challenges faced by the producers and the way they responded. It also gave insights, with some graphic evidences on the various methods of exploitation which the peasants had to face in their social and economic life in the rural production areas, and how such impacted on their production capacity. This evidence may not have been captured in the colonial records of the archives. Another important source for the research was the material remains and evidences of colonial activities regarding cotton production such as the Ginnery, Railway station, the Warehouses and the BCGA office located in the Sabon Gari urban area of Zaria and other important rural locations which contributed in shaping cotton production. Some of these material remains included cotton markets and stores in Anchau, Takalafiya, Dutsen Wai, Soba, Rahama (Saminaka), Gimi Dabosa, Awai, Karaba, Giwa and other areas of the Zaria Province where cotton production was a key part of the economic activity.

1.9 The Land and Environmental Setting of the Area

The Boundaries of Zaria Province as at 1960



Source: Provincial Annual Reports, Northern Region of Nigeria for 1959, Government Printer, Kaduna.

The area covered in this study broadly refers to the Zaria Province. It constituted most of what was known as Zazzau emirate before the British conquest of the area in 1902. Zaria Province is generally located between latitudes 9 º 5’ N and 11 º 30’ N and longitudes 7 º E and 9 º 10’ E with a size of about 15,386 sq miles (39,850 sq

kilometers).[46] It is on a stretch of the undulating land that fall within the vast high plains of Hausaland popularly referred to as the Zaria plains. This high plain forms the vast area from Sokoto region moving eastwards to the Lake Chad basin.[47] Zazzau was the seat of the most southerly of the *Kasashen Hausa* that thrived in the wide savanna plains for centuries up to the beginning of the 19th Century when it became an Emirate of the Sokoto Caliphate. This lasted almost a century to the British conquest of the Nigerian area in 1900. There are a number of geographical details on the area especially those provided in the accounts of the early European travellers and colonial officials that stayed in the territory or passed through on their way to the interior states such as Kano, Borno, and Sokoto among others.[48] Generally, most of the province is on the wide open territory of savanna plains and orchard bush that has within its spread various types of rock formation. These rock formations is noticed in the details of the topography that range between 1600 to 2400 feet and they occur in the form of inselbergs, lateritic ironstone-capped mesas under the crystalline metamorphic rocks of Pre-Cambrian basement complex.[49] Towards the southern edge of the area into what is geographically referred as to Southern Zaria, the bush tends to be denser with frequency of interspersing rocky hills which serve as abode for communities around the foothills.[50] Besides the valleys are also fertile with good source of water that attract settlement

[46] Provincial Annual Reports, Northern Region of Nigeria for 1959, Government Printer, Kaduna. See also the Zaria annual reports such as Zarprof/2552/National Archives/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1905, Zarprof/163/National Archives/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1918 and Zarprof/3810/National Archives/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1943 for a proper grasp of some of the boundary adjustments effected by the British colonial authorities that reduced and or enlarged the province in the years of colonial rule.

[47]Smith, A (1970) 'Some Notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings' in Mortimore, M. J (Ed) *Zaria and its Region,* ABU, Zaria, p.82 and Smith, M.G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*… p. 1.

[48] Clapperton H (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa: From the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo*, London, Frank Cass, Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*, Translated into English by Johanna E. Moody, Vol I-III, Athens, Ohio, Ohio University Centre for International Studies, Monograph in International Studies, Africa Series Number 56.

[49] Mortimore M.J, (Ed) (1970) *Zaria and Its Region*… especially pp. 102-108.

[50]Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*…and Clapperton H., *Journey of a second Expedition*…

around them. This has also been acknowledged in the records of some of the 19th century European travelers such as Hugh Clapperton, Richard Lander and Paul Staudinger. For example, a number of walled settlements were found at the foothills of the granite rocks, porphyry ring dyke, biotite, granite, basalt and extrusive volcanic rocks of the Breccia type, and alluvial deposits in the eastern side of Zazzau.[51] Some of these include the foothills of Garun Gwanki, Banki-Damau, Dutsen Wai, Kudaru and Kargi while towards the south are Leren Dutse, Kauru, Chawai, Kagarko and Surubu. In the northern half which, covers the wider savanna plains are the hills at Kufena west of *Birnin Zaria*, Madarkaci east of the *Birni*, Saye-Hange to the south west, Tukur Tukur and Hanwa towards the north central edge of the *Birni*. While in the case of Dumbi Dutse, Faraкwai, Zangon Aya, Turunku and Ruka, they are located in the surrounding areas not far from the *Birni*.[52] These rock formations in many parts of the province have contributed to the richness of the soil which translate to land for agricultural and pastoral activities.

Indeed, soils are mainly a mixture of rock particles loosened by weathering, mineral salts and vegetable matters decay.[53] This means the combined high incidence of rainfall and river systems would have a lot of impact on the richness of the soil types in Zaria province. In addition to this, there are also several drifting activities from the neighbouring Sahara, which influence the soil content, and texture.[54] This comes about

[51] Clapperton H (1966) *Journey of a Second Expedition* …pp. 282-305.
[52] Details of other geographical activities such as the River system were obtained from topographical sheets and maps available in the Archival section of Arewa House Centre for Historical Research and Documentation, ABU, Kaduna and Road Map of the colony and protectorate of Nigeria, survey department, Lagos, Nigeria (nd). There are also some details on this area in Udo, R.K (1970) *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*, Ibadan, Heinemann, p.156 and Zarprof7/251/Annual Report for 1906 (Map of Zaria Province).
[53] Iloeje, N.P (1965) *A New Geography of Nigeria*, Ibadan, Longman, p. 78.
[54] Aminu S. M (1991) 'Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority, C. 1902-1945', *M.A Thesis*, ABU, Zaria, pp. 6- 7.

during the seasonal activities of the Harmattan where the southern bound Northeasterly dry wind deposits large quantities of sand, alluvium, laterite and gravels that produce different soil deposits which, cover the underlying rocks. These deposits are also said to largely account for the suitability of widespread cotton production in many areas of Zaria province.[55] In this study, we have highlighted that the relief of the area is dominated by incidences of physical formations such as granite rocks, alluvial deposits in the river valleys and volcanic bearing hill formations where potentials of rich soils exist. Generally, the Zaria province falls within the zone of lateritic soil with three main categories in the form of sandy, clayey and loamy soils. A study on the soil types in this area reveals that a major part of the Zaria plains contain red laterite (*Jarκasa*), light brown sandy loam (*Dausayi*), clay, coarse, and light sandy loam (*Jigawa*) type, loamy (*Gargari*), gravel *Tsakuwa*) and black or dark brown clay loam (*Dabaro*) mostly found in the lower areas and river side.[56] This is quite noticeable in the southwest communities such as Sabon Birni, Kimerkwo, Ifira, Fauta, Rahama and Kurmin Malu.[57] In parts of the northeastern Zaria province, the *Dabaro, Jigawa, Gargari* and *Tsakuwa* soils are found in Rikoci, Mah, Gadas, Gurjia, Kargi, Anchau, Talata and Kwaraboro.[58]It is significant to point out that the spread of this soil types throughout the province largely contributes to the variety of crops produced in the area, with each part having their crop production specialization. For instance, in the south western part of the province where the Tubali and Damari rivers are located, the area with dark brown clayey loam soil (*Dabaro*) produces Cotton, Tobacco, Yams, Maize and Rice. On the other side of the

[55] Iloeje N.P (1965) *A New Geography of Nigeria*… p. 80
[56] SNP10/21 p/ Zaria Province Makama Babba's District Assessment Report, 1913, p. 2.
[57] SNP10/21 p/ Zaria Province Makama Babba's...and attached map of the District...
[58] SNP10/ 246/ Zaria Province Anchau District Re-assessment Report 1923, pp. 13-14.

same area with Light brown sandy loam (*Dausayi*), however, the main crops produced are Groundnut, Beans and Guinea corn.[59]

1.9.1 Drainage

The drainage pattern of Zaria province consists of many rivers and streams which wet the land and create around them major river valleys and flood plains. This influences human activities in the area of farming and grazing beyond the seasonal exercise with various types of crops that also vary with the soil type and other climatic conditions. The river systems are therefore important parts of the Nigerian drainage system principally relying on the river Niger and Benue that meet at the Lokoja confluence. Rivers Kaduna and Gurara are two important tributaries of river Niger from the north central area of Nigeria. They are the major rivers in the Zazzau area drawing their own tributaries from the many small rivers and streams in the emirate. The River Kaduna is however, the most important in the drainage of the emirate crossing through the North to the southern end drawing many tributaries. From the north east corner where it entered the emirate from the Bauchi highlands (Jos plateau) River Kaduna draws its waters from *Kogin* Fa, *Kogin* Babban Fadama, *Kogin* Baiyara, *Kogin Kofa*, *Kogin* Togo, *Kogin* Tukurwa, *Kogin* Dorro, *Kogin* Taffi and *Kogin* Daji to the south.[60] Some of these rivers include Galma which, apart from being a major tributary of River Kaduna, also drains most of the northeastern Zaria province. Other important rivers are the *Kogin* Rahama, *Kogin* arami, *Kogin* Sarkin Pawa, Kubanni, Saye, River Bai, *Rafin* Kinkiba and River Tubali which is located in the western end of Zazzau with its tributaries like Rimako and Damari Rivers.[61] The significance of the occurrence of

[59] SNP10/ 21 p/ Zaria Province, Makama Babba's...pp. 1-3
[60] SNP 7/3993/ Zaria Province, Wali District Assessment Report, 1912.
[61] SNP10, 21p Zaria Province, Makama Babba's...

these rivers is to be seen in the vast flood plains that produce fertile land called *Fadama* where dry season farming was famous in most of the Zazzau area. The rivers have thus contributed in favouring greater economic, social and political interaction especially around the wide valleys and flood plains found throughout the area. They also encouraged the movement of peoples into the area from neighbouring Katsina, Kano to the north, and Borno to the east over a long stretch of centuries.

1.9.2 Climate

The general climatic condition of Zaria province depend on the movement of two major air masses coming from the coastal area of the Atlantic Ocean from the south and the other from across the Sahara desert to the north. The Tropical Maritime Air mass crosses Nigeria from the Atlantic Ocean to the north passing through to the Sahara. This incidence influences the climatic condition of the area from the month of April up to October causing much of the rainfall under the wet season. The peak of this season falls in July when the entire Nigerian area is fully into the rainy season. On the other hand the dry Tropical Continental Air mass which originates from Eurasia and Arabia comes down south from November only to dominate the wind activities of the Nigerian area up till March. The equatorial maritime air mass has the nature of being humid, moving in a southwesterly direction and originating from the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean. This makes it the rain bearing and cool wind of the region. The dry tropical continental wind is the northeasterly or the Harmattan originating from the desert. These two activities are significant in understanding the pattern of the climate and vegetation of Zaria province throughout the year as summed up by N. P Illoeje:

> During the dry season, the whole area looks bare and hungry, with the tall skeletons of charred trees sticking out their silhouetted outlines above a ground surface blackened by the ashes of burnt grass. In the wet season, however, it is green again, with the fresh leaves and tall grasses swaying from side to side in response to the prevailing wind.[62]

From the above, it is clear that in the Zaria province, the two distinct winds which largely influence the weather and climatic condition of the area, with an oscillating zone where the two air masses converge at different times called the Inter Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ). The movement of the Inter Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) or Inter Tropical Discontinuity (ITD) also has a great influence in the seasonal changes taking place within the Zaria province throughout the year.[63] As a result of these activities, the year is classified in the province into four main seasons within the basic division of wet and dry seasons. First, there is the Dry cold season referred to as *Rani* that comes with winter or the Harmattan (*Ɗari ko Hunturu*) between the months of Novembers and February. This is said to occur at a time the tropical maritime air mass (moist South westerly wind) gets weaker in response to the tropical continental air mass (dry northeasterly wind) that gradually takes over the atmosphere as it comes from across the Sahara downwards to the coastal area of West Africa. In this circumstance, cool temperature is experienced in the area with low humidity, drop in moisture content of surface air and clear sky because of the dominating dry northeasterly in the atmosphere. With this cessation of the rain, the soil begins to dry up while dust haze start to appear in the atmosphere signifying harvest period for farm produce such as Guinea corn and Cotton which, require the disappearance of moisture of the rainy season to become full-grown. Closely after *Rani* is the hot dry season (*Bazara*) that falls within the months of March-April. This is generally the period of extreme heat with very dry atmosphere that signifies the approach of the rainy season

[62] Illoeje, N. P (1965) *A New Geography of Nigeria*…p. 77
[63] Hore, P.N (1970) 'Weather and Climate' in Mortimore, M.J., (Ed) *Zaria and its Region*... p. 50.

(*Damina*). The *Bazara* season for instance, as the driest time of the year witness influx from the northern *Kasar Hausa* of pastoral nomads with their herds in search of water and grazing areas especially around the wet *Fadama* lands in the eastern and southern parts of *Kasar Zazzau*. The weather and climatic condition is however not uniform throughout the province. In some parts of the southern end, the rain had started then hence not expecting this hot dry condition further north. The northern end of the Zaria plains reaching up to the border with Kano area has an average of between 40-50 inches up to 60 inches of rainfall while it increases southwards as high as 80-100 inches annually due to the Topographic effects on the wide plains of Kafanchan and slopes of Jos plateau.[64] This condition then gradually dovetails into the rainy season (*Damina*) when thunderstorms and squalls normally fall in most parts of the province. This happens mostly within the months of May-July. It is specifically the time when the moistly southwesterly wind is also fully established in areas up to 100-159 miles north of *Birnin Zaria* in the month of May.[65]

In this Rainy season (*Damina*), the main features are the thunder storms, heavy moistly wind approaching the north from the coastal area of Nigeria. Thus the rain begins earlier in the southern part of the province and seizes much later than most of the northern part. This is good for the cotton farmers in the north of Zazzau because after few months of rain the cotton farms would need some hot, dry and sunny situation for the cotton to appear and ripen without threat of moisture. Cotton needs to grow with rainfall and ripen with dry winds. The south westerly rain bearing wind is responsible for this high level of rainfall to the south of the province where in some areas incidences of double

[64] Udo, R.K (1970) *Geographical Regions*..., p. 157.
[65] Hore, P.N (1970) 'Weather and Climate'... p. 50.

planting for certain crops is normal. Besides, this same area also produce tropical crops as observed by the 19th Century European explorers Hugh Clapperton in the Zangon Katab area where he…"saw plantain, palm, and cocoa nut trees, in great abundance, and in a flourishing condition resembling some parts of Yariba land (Yoruba)".[66]

The next season according to the weather and climatic condition is the Wet/Harvest period (*Kaka*). The season that falls between August to October/November every year represents the consolidating (*Marka*) and concluding period of the rain involving the harvest of crops grown. It is also the height of farming activities in the plains of Hausaland where the off-season economic activity known as *Cin rani* temporarily seizes. This becomes so as by then the '*Yan ci rani* whom mostly moves southward from up north during the dry season are by the much rain made to be deeply engaged in their own family farmlands at home.[67] In the Kargi area northeast of Zazzau, iron smelters used to come in large numbers from Katsina and Daura for *cin rani,* after which they return home at the onset of the planting season. This has also been the case with fishing activities by '*yan ci rani* from Kano during the dry season at Sabon Birni and Ifira in the south west of *Birnin Zaria*, located southwest of Zaria. In addition, the pottery industry within the *Unguwar tukwane* area (Pottery Ward) in *Birnin Zaria* is mainly in the hands of '*yan ci rani* from Gaya town in *Kasar Kano*. This situation was also found in the Wucicciri area south east of *Birnin Zaria* and many other parts of the province.[68]

[66] Clapperton, H (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition* … p. 294.
[67] Hore, P. N (1970) 'Weather and Climate'…pp. 41-46.
[68]See SNP10/ 246/ Zaria Province Anchau District Re-assessment… p.18, SNP10/21 p/Zaria Province Makama Babba's...p. 6 and Leoni D., and Prichett, J (19 'Traditional Pottery in Zaria City' in *Savanna; A Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences*, ABU, Zaria Vol 7 No 1, pp. 9-10 and SNP 10/416p/ Zaria Province Notes on Re-assessment of Liman Kona's district, 1913.

1.9.3 Vegetation

The vegetation of Zaria province refers to the vast flora in the forests, those planted in the settlements, the grasses that breed and the agricultural produce in the farmland. This comes about with the combine influence of climatic condition, soil type, relief and the various dimension of human activity. Zaria province falls between the gateway of Guinea and Sudan savanna type vegetation or, as in some more specific classifications, the northern guinea zone.[69] With this gateway position, the area exhibit some basic geographical characteristics that include among others broad-leaved savanna woodlands, the floodplains having tall giant grass, Raphia palms and some relatively dense forests along riverbanks and valleys of the province. Trees such as Locust bean (*Kalwa*), Shea butter (*Kaɗanya*), oil bean and Isoberlina (*Doka*) abound in this belt, growing in clusters and interspersed by elephant grass that reach a height of over 3 meters. The period of high rain makes for fresh leaves and grasses growing all over thereby attracting the fauna in their search for food and water. However, up in the high plains of the areas of the northern end of the province, the vegetation is more of Sudan savanna with trees such as shrubs or low orchard bush, and fine leaved thorny trees, such as Isoberlinia (*Doka*) Acacia Arabica (*Bagaruw*a), Baobab (*Kuka*) and Silk cotton tree (*Rimi*), Shea butter (*Kaɗanya*), Date palms (*Dabino*). Similarly, in the Soba plains east of Zazzau, the major trees found in addition to those earlier mentioned include; *Tsamiya* (tamarindus indicia), *Ɗinya* (vitex cienkowskii) and *Chɛɗiya* (ficus thonningii).[70] These floras have varying importance ranging from industrial, medicinal, grazing and other economic uses depending on their type and location. For instance, in

[69] Buchanan, K.M and Puch, J.C (1955) *Land and People in Nigeria: The Human Geography Nigeria and its Environmental Background*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, p.36, Schwerdtfeger, F (1971) 'Housing in Zaria', in Oliver, P. (Ed), *Shelter in Africa, London, Praeger Publishers*...and Jackson, G (1970) 'Vegetation' in Mortimore, M. J., (Ed) *Zaria and its Region*..p. 61.
[70] Adamu, A (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…' p. 10.

the Soba area a large concentration of Borassus aethiopiea (*Giginya*) is famous as sources of making *Azara* and *Gwangwala*, all used as rafter for roofing, and other building purposes.

Apart from this geographical classification into Guinea and Sudan savanna human factors such as settlement, cultivation, grazing also influence the division of the plains of Zazzau into *Karkara, Saura* and *Daji*. The term *Karkara* refers to the farmlands in use or the one that has been used for some time and left in abandonment (*Saura*). In this area we have the grazing land (*Hurumi*) and cattle tracks *(Burtali*). The area stretches from within the settlement wall (*Ganuwa)* to the border with the woodland which is often without any settlement (*Daji*). The *Daji* or *Dazuzzuka* (Plural) thus refers to that area located far from settlements or portion of the land that separates one territory from another with the entire vegetation existing in the bushy original form. Not far away east of *Birnin Zaria*, there is a major concentration of the *Dazuzzuka* around Yakasai, Saibu, Maigana, Garun Gwanki, Ɗanjaba, Gurɓaɓiya and Katuka. The woodland goes further to the east towards Kudaru, Damau and Banki reaching the border with *Kasar Bauchi*. This network of woodland formed the nucleus of the colonial forest reserve established by the British with estimated size of 600 square miles later designated as the Galma River and Kogin Karami reserves.[71]Other reserved areas which originated as far back as the pre-colonial period were designated in the various parts of Zazzau. For instance by 1936, there were six of these forest reserves in the former Zazzau emirate under the native administration of the Zaria province.

[71] Arnett, E.J (1972) *Gazetteer of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria; The Hausa Emirates*, Vol.1 London, Frank Cass, p. 24 and Zarprof/112, Annual Report for1927, p. 1.

1) Zaria N.A Forest reserve No 1 located in the far eastern section of Zazzau that includes Kayarda, Kurumin Jura, Dajin Kudaru etc. This is also the area watered by Kogin Karami

2) Zaria N.A Forest reserve No 2 is located in the near North eastern area that is also covered by the River Galma flood plain. Major settlements in clude Doguwar Giginya, Hayin Kano, Banki, Kurfi, Anchau and Damau.

3) Zaria N.A Forest reserve No 6 (Anara) is located in the centre of the province. Settlements around include Rihogi, Fanshanu, Amana, Makeran Igabi and Kangimi among others. This forest is not far away from River Kaduna by Kurmin Kaduna, Likora, Bikaratu and Rubu.

4) Zaria N.A Forest reserve No 7 is found around the south east with Rubu, Ribaku, Girku, Majidadi, Kashirmo, Gwaraji and Hausawan Bugai. This area is well watered by River Kaduna.

5) Zaria N.A Forest reserve No 8 is found in the settlements east central area Zazzau such as Danjaba, Garun Gwanki, Katuka watered by River Gurɓaɓiya.

6) Zaria N.A Forest reserve No 20 is located west of the province with settlements like Buruku, Turunku, Afaka, Rigachikun, and Unguwar Liman. The area is drained by Rivers Gora, Sanda and Chidawaki.[72]

In addition to these reserves, there are a number of areas with the kind of dense vegetation that attracted series of economic and production activities throughout the year. Thus, on a general note the geographical location of Zaria province with its vegetation and drainage are significant factors in the historical social, economic and political developments of the area. *Kasar Zazzau* has for many centuries occupied a strategic place among leading states of the central Sudan, serving the middleman position between the *Kasashen Hausa* and communities of the middle and lower Benue

[72] Anonymous, General Map of Nigeria Department of Land and Survey, Lagos, 1939.

in their various forms of social, economic and political relations in pre-colonial times. This transformed *Birnin Zaria*; the capital of Zazzau and some of its surrounding settlements as cultural melting pots, and major centres for the integration of the different socio-cultural and political interests that have been converging in the area to get the benefit of its natural environmental setting over several centuries. Some brief remarks on the historical background of *Kasar Zazzau* would further reveal how this strategic positioning impacted on the social, economic and political transformation of the area up to the period of the imposition of British colonial domination in 1902.

1.10 The Emergence of Zazzau Kingdom

A discussion on the relationship between the nature of the environment and emergence of early Zazzau kingdom has been problematic. For one, details on the early history of Zazzau are scanty unlike in the case of its sister *Kasashen Hausa* such as Kano, Katsina or Gobir where some works on their early history have been produced in the 1970s and very early 80s.[73] The earliest of such works attempted on Zazzau were the "Some Notes

[73] The literatures on these areas were produced first by imperial writers and colonial researchers, and then later followed by the anti-colonial works of the 1970s and 80s. Zazzau was not among such early beneficiaries of this research project that was mainly centred at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. See Smith, M.G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*..., Arnett, E.J (1972) *Gazetteer of the Northern Provinces*…, Hogben, S.J (1972) *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London, Frank Cass, Fika, A. M (1978) *The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule 1882-1940*, Ibadan, OUP. Among those that can be classified anti-colonial writings include Usman, Y.B (1974) 'The Transformation of Katsina c1796-1903: The Overthrow of the *Sarauta* System and the Establishment and Evolution of the Emirate', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria, Bello, S (1982) 'State and Economy in Kano…', Augi, A.R (1984) 'The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin, C1650-1808 A.D, *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria. Their main inspiration however, remains Abdullahi Smith's series of works such as 'Some Notes Relating to the Formation of States…' and Smith, A (1976) 'The Early States of the Central Sudan' in Ajayi J. F. A and Crowther M., *History of West Africa*, Vol I, London, Longman.

and Some Observations"[74] in which the author regarded as scanty, and therefore not to the level of in depth research done on the other neighbours of Zazzau. Since then, research on some aspects of the area were attempted at various levels of academic work, but not comprehensive enough to the satisfaction that much is now on the ground about the history of early Zazzau. However, being the seat of Ahmadu Bello University where the department of history, geography and archaeology concentrated many of their early researches on Zaria and its surrounding territories, some details on Zazzau emirate were later obtained through departmentally sponsored researches and student's field trips within the area.[75] This has in fact contributed to lifting the richness of sources for understanding early Zazzau. For instance, the work of archaeologists around the hills of Kufena, Turunku, Dumbi, Hanwa and Madarkaci made some significant breakthroughs in the reconstruction of the history of early Zazzau.[76] Part of this step forward was in the location of some important early settlements around the hills that have existed several hundred years before the establishment of *Birnin Zaria* as the capital of *Kasar Zazzau* around the 16th century. Another problematic area with the study of early Zazzau that seems general and also closely connected with other *Kasashen Hausa* is the issue of tradition of origin especially the legend of Bayajidda has contributed to obscuring the past of *Kasashen Hausa*, and these includes Zazzau. However, since the breakthrough led by Abdullahi Smith on reconstruction of the history of early Central Sudan in the 1970s, the legend lost its traditional base as the dominant theme in the early history of *Kasashen Hausa*.

[74] Smith, A (1970) 'Some Notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings'…and 'Smith H.F.C (1961) 'The Dynastic Chronology of Fulani Zaria', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol, II No.2 are referred here.

[75] Most of the works can be accessed in the catalogue of the Northern History Research Scheme; the main Library, Archive and Resource Centre at the department of History, ABU, Zaria.

[76] Sutton J.E.G (1976) 'Terra cotta figurine from Zaria', *Zaria Archaeology Papers*…, Sutton J.E.G (1977) 'Iron Working around Zaria', *Zaria Archaeology Papers*, Vol I & II, ABU, Zaria and Sutton J.E.G (1976) 'Kufena and its Archaeology', *Zaria Archaeology Papers*, 15.

Thus, it is also our position in this research that understanding early community formation around the Zazzau territory has nothing to do with Semitic influence from the north or adoption of a foreign based socio-cultural civilization brought by some migrant superior White race to the Black people located south of the Sahara. Rather, the evolution of *Kasar Zazzau* is to be properly understood from the two fundamental human activities of reproducing human beings and the production of the means of sustaining the population so reproduced in the area. The beginning here is the family (*Gandu*) unit under which, the community evolved through this activity of reproduction and production as captured in the case of early states of the central Sudan. The evolution of *Kasar Zazzau* therefore is to be located in the dynamics of the early settlements that began as communities from the *Gida* (Household), with a hierarchy of leadership built under the head of the family called *Maigida*. It was the collection of these family units in the various locations of the Zazzau area called *Gidaje* that developed into larger cluster groups with common social and economic production referred to *Unguwa* (Ward or hamlet) and then a collection; *Unguwanni* (Wards or hamlets). The *Unguwanni* then expanded their frontiers and roles beyond the kinship ties of the *Gida* to the level of *Kauye* (Village) and *Gari* (Towns) *or Birni or Birane* (Walled City or Cities).[77] These *Birane* became the early settlements which, evolved over several centuries to form the nucleus of *Kasar Zazzau* that developed a powerful ruling class of aristocrats (*Masu Sarauta*), the *'Yan gidan Bakwa*[78] from the 15th century to the beginning of the 19th century when they lost political power to forces of the *Jihad* of Usman *bn* Fodiyo. The

[77] For much of discussions on this as it relates to the formation of states in *Kasashen Hausa* and the rest of Central Sudan, see Smith, A (1974): 'The Early States of Central Sudan' in… Ajayi, J.F.A and Crowder, M. (Eds) *History of West Africa*, Vols 1, London, Longman and on Zazzau See Smith, A. (1970) 'Some notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings' in Mortimore, M. J (Ed) *Zaria and its Region*. Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

[78] This title of *'Yan gidan Bakwa* followed the 15th century King of Zazzau, the father of *Sarauniya* (Queen) Amina, a leading war figure in the early history of Zazzau based in Turunku before relocating to the present site of *Birnin Zaria*.

entire process which, over many centuries produced the Zazzau political community is popularly known in the parlance of Nigerian historiography as state formation. This period of state formation was eventful with many activities of social, economic, military and political character, happening among the *Zazzagawa*, as well as in their relations with others. It was these activities that produced the early *Birni* type settlements of Kawuri, Kargi and Gadas to the areas of Rikoci, Wucicciri and then to Turunku, Kufena before the final settlement in *Birnin Zaria*. This was the high point of the establishment of the political community referred to as *Kasar Zazzau* of which the earliest known reference to its beginning is found in the Kano Chronicle and the writings of Leo Afrikanus.[79] *Ameerul muminin* of the Sokoto Caliphate Muhammadu Bello has also mentioned the extent of this Kingdom.[80] Thus, the evolution of *Kasar Zazzau* in its greater form did not happen overnight or at once as the legend of *Hausa Bakwai* may suggest. Rather, it was a process which went through several years to accomplish with the many social, economic and political activities that shaped the history of the area. Also, the evolution of this *Kasa* and its aristocratic *Sarauta* (Kingship) system can be understood from the beginning of human settlement in the various areas of Zazzau instead of the sudden appearance of some superior Semitic race or invaders from the civilized people of the north as in the legend of Bayajidda on *Kasashen Hausa* and Borno. Some early centres were found with archaeological evidences, which point to the possibility of human settlement as far back as the first millennium A.D.[81] For example are the archeological works at *Dutsen Kufena, Dutsen Tsauni, Dutsen Hange, Dutsen Hanwa* and Samaru in the Zaria area where the terracotta figurines and stone

[79] Palmer, H.R (1967) *Sudan Memoirs* Vol III, London, Frank Cass, p. 108 and Hogben S.J and Kirkgreen, A.H.M (1966) *The Emirates of Northern of Nigeria*, Oxford, p. 215.
[80] Caliph Muhammad Bello (1951) *Infāq al-Maysūr*. Translated by C.E.J. Whitting, London, pp. 18-19.
[81] Sutton J.E.G (1976) 'Terra cotta Figurine from Zaria'… and Sutton J.EG (1977) 'Iron Working around Zaria'...

implements were discovered and dated to some few years before 700 AD to 1300 AD.[82] This and other clues to the past of *Kasar Zazzau* we are examined in the next chapter on the society and economy of Zazzau on the eve of British rule.

1. 11 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the background of the area. It serves as the general introduction of the study with issues on its aim and objectives, justification, scope and review of relevant literatures to the study. Similarly, the chapter deals with the issues of forming a theoretical framework for the study and methodology adopted for the research. The general intent of the study is how the Zaria province was incorporated as a dependent contributor to the development of Britain industrial capitalist interest in cotton export production, which was a key part of the area's pre-colonial economy. The chapter gives some background on the land and environment resources which contributed to the nature of the economy and thus British interest in its economic exploitation agenda, colonialism. We also highlight the significance of the physical features of Zazzau such as land and environment in understanding the pattern of social, economic and political life among the various communities in the area. We have seen how the geographical setting contributed to issues of state formation, agriculture, cottage industries, internal and external trade relations, migration and other factors that encouraged the establishment of Zazzau as a Hausa Kingdom, then an emirate of the 19th century Sokoto Caliphate up to 1902 when it was proclaimed the Zaria province under British colonial domination. The next chapter attempts a study of the pre-colonial society and economic nature of the Zazzau emirate.

[82] Sutton J.E.G (1976) 'Kufena and its Archaeology'…and Sutton J.EG (1976) 'Iron Working around Zaria'...

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 THE SOCIETY AND ECONOMY OF ZAZZAU ON THE EVE OF BRITISH COLONIAL DOMINATION.

2.1 Introduction:

This chapter is on the society and economy of the Zazzau emirate on the eve of British colonial conquest and domination of the area. It studies the basis of social and economic formation in the light of the environmental setting and pattern of human activities, which was highlighted in the previous chapter. The study is significant in order to understand the general impact of British colonial domination and some specific colonial policies on the social and economic structure of the society. The chapter therefore discusses activities in economic production such as agriculture, manufacturing or cottage industries, as well as the supporting local, regional and international trade. These were driving factors to all other activities which, largely defined the social relations of production as entrenched in the political economy of the emirate before colonial conquest. This means that the foundation and establishment of the colonial economy by the British cannot be properly grasped without understanding the pre-colonial social and economic formation of the area. The argument is further strengthened by the British reliance on detailed information regarding the socio-economic and political formation of the area from the accounts of European explorers, writers and agents who visited the area in the Nineteenth century. Their reports were important to the British in the process of planning and shaping its colonial economic policies centred on agricultural production for exports.[1] Thus, with the declaration of

[1] These Explorers were keen on reporting Agricultural activities and cottage industries in the areas they passed through, including the Zazzau emirate. Clapperton H (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition…*, Landers, R (1830) *Records of Captain Clapperton Last Expedition to Africa*, London, Frank Cass, Barth, H (1965) *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa: 1819-1855*, London, Longman and Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*...

the colony and protectorate of Nigeria in 1900, the Zazzau emirate and other political communities were gradually incorporated to form the centres of colonial capitalist production under the northern protectorate. From the conquest, the Zaria province (largely consisting of the former Zazzau emirate) was declared and it experienced territorial adjustments and enlargement at different times up to when it became one of the largest provinces of Northern Nigeria under British colonial rule. A basic feature of the pre-colonial economy of the Zazzau emirate was that land and labour were the major forces of production concentrated around agricultural activities and cottage industries. In this chapter, we identify the major features of the society and economy of the area on the eve of colonial domination which the British had to undermine in the process of incorporating the area into the world capitalist economy.

2.2 The Society

An analysis on the pre-colonial economy of Zazzau brings one to the issue of state formation and the material basis of developments which took place under the various polities from the period of Kingdom up to its establishment as an emirate of the larger Sokoto Caliphate at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. *Kasar* Zazzau (State) like the other *Kasashen* Hausa (States) in the central Sudan region was organized on the basis of agricultural family units (*Gida*), with each headed by the *Maigida*.[2] This unit was basically formed on the activity of reproduction and the production of the means to sustain those so reproduced.[3] The unit in essence was formed and sized on the engagement of human beings among themselves, on the one hand and also between them and their natural environment on the other. Thus, the structure of the family unit

[2] Smith, A (1974) 'The Early States of the Central Sudan' in Ajayi, J FA and Crowder, M (Eds): *History of West Africa* Vol 1 London, p. 180.
[3] Usman, Y.B (1986) 'Political Economy and Political Community: The Significance of the Nineteenth Century', *National Seminar on the National Question*, Abuja, p. 11.

was formed mainly on the basis of agricultural production, manufacturing (Cottage industries), trade and such other specializations as can be identified in the social structure of the society. The collection of these family units in a defined territory created the *Unguwa* (Hamlet) which more than one *Unguwa* forms the *Kauye*, (Village) with the assembly of occupational heads, and the *Masugida* exercising authority in the *Kauye*.[4] This was the point where Abdullahi Smith's position, on the proposal he first made defining the *Gida* (family) based on Kinship was critiqued by Y.B Usman who rather offered a materialistic interpretation, arguing that the basis of leadership at the family and indeed other levels of human organization in *Kasar Hausa* have always been the social relations of production.[5] This, Usman further defined in the role each individual played in the process of production, called social division of labour.[6] However, inspite of this argument put forward by Usman, the fact that the *Maigida* primarily drew his headship of the family unit because he was the most senior in age or the father made the kinship ranking as emphasized by Smith the overriding factor in considerations on the formation of the family units and community in Hausaland. This was regardless of the fact that the headship gave the *Maigida* edge in the process of accumulating surplus than other members of the *Gandu*. Whatever this may mean, in the case of *Kasar* Zazzau, the family was both a social and economic unit operating under the structure of the *Gandu* (Family) system. This system refers to a family unit engaged in common production on the farm, with each individual member playing a

[4] Some of the examples of the early leaders cited by Smith in the case of *Kasar Hausa* include *Sarkin Noma* (Head of the Farmers), *Uban Farauta* (Head of Hunting), *Sarkin Ruwa* (Head of Water Resources) and *Sarkin Tsafi* (Chief Priest) while others followed in accordance with structure and pattern of social and economic developments in the society.

[5] The two articles were 'The Early States of the Central Sudan'…pp. 152-195, while for Yusufu Bala Usman it was titled: 'Abdullahi Smith and State-Formation in the Central Sudan: The Limitations of Kinship and Evasions of Fage and Oliver' in Kwanashie, G. A et al (2006), *Beyond Fairy Tales, Selected Historical Writings of Dr Yusufu Bala Usman*, Vol I, Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Research, Zaria, Nigeria, pp. 77-97.

[6] Usman Y.B (2006) 'Abdullahi Smith and State-Formation…' p. 96

definite role in the social production exercise. As the common production was organized so was the consumption, while the system of accumulation was to be found in the *Gayauna*.[7]This form of labour as shall be examined in detail was a sort of activity on the farms that encouraged production out of the *Gandu* system. In it, individual members of the unit of *Gandu* set up their private farms and other occupations, and operate on them after work on the *Gandu* obligation must have been completed for the day. This unit has encouraged some members to be richer and more prosperous than their *Maigida*, thereby moving them ahead in the quest for as many *bayi* (slaves) as they could afford to work in their farms, and seek such higher authorities as *Sarkin Noma*, *Uban Farauta* etc.[8] In this case therefore, the issues of land and labour formed the major factors of class division in the society of Zazzau, as it does in other *Kasashen Hausa*.[9]Apart from the *Gandu* economic and social system the institution of *Bauta* also helped in defining the societal hierarchy in the area, just as it also made important contributions in production, trade and other economic activities, which determined the speed of urbanization and thus the state formation process. This will be dealt with in the discussion on the agricultural activities of *Kasar Zazzau* before the Nineteenth century.

In the meantime, the *pre-jihad* society of Zazzau was basically stratified on the basis of production and ownership of means of production; land and labour. The *Masu Sarauta* (Ruling class) own these means while the *Talakawa* are at the political, social and

[7] Buntjer B.J (1970) 'Rural Society: The Changing structure of the *Gandu*' in Mortimore M.J (Ed) *Zaria and its Region…*
Region…pp. 15-16.
[8] Sani Maigoro, interview, 30 January 1987 cited in Shehu, S (1987) 'Changing Pattern of Cotton Production...' p39 and Ingawa T. B (1984) 'A Study of the Economic History…' p. 7.
[9]This basic division being between the *Masu Sarauta* and the *Talakawa*, who depended on permission to settle in and use the land resources located in their area of control. Several examples have been cited in the chapter on the evolution of settlements, both before and after the *jihad*.

economic bottom of the society being controlled by the *Masu Sarauta*. At the head of the *Masu Sarauta* group, and the aristocracy is the *Sarkin Kasa*, who was produced as a result of the formation of the Kingdom from the *Birni* type of settlements that were unified in a series of political and military incorporation exercise in the Zazzau area.[10] Some of the *Masu Sarauta* (Ruling class) in *Kasar Zazzau* held offices as well as areas of territorial control. This, they do on behalf of the *Sarkin Kasa* who sent them to these sections of the territory, normally consisting of *Gari, Kauyuka* and *Rugage* in a feudal relationship form as fief holders.[11] There were the *Rukuni* group of *Masu Sarauta, the 'Yan Sarki, 'Yan fada, Rawuna, Malamai* and *bayin/barorin Sarki*.[12] The *Talakawa* on the other hand consisted of the peasantry, commercial group and artisans, whom though formed the majority however were left politically and socially subservient and thus subjects to the *Masu Sarauta*. Close to the *Masu Sarauta* were those members of the merchant (*Attajirai*) and intelligentsia (*Malamai*) groups linked in an obvious relationship towards cooperating with one another in milking the resources of the *Kasa*.[13]

It is important to stress that land, the main source of economic production rests in the custody of the ruling class, which created for them a tendency towards acquisition of

[10] Smith, A (1970) 'Some Notes on the History…' p. 84 with additional analysis from Usman, Y. B (2006) 'Some Notes on the Three Weaknesses in the Study of African Cultural History' in Kwanashie, G. A et al *Beyond Fairy Tales, Selected Historical Writings of Dr Yusufu Bala Usman*… pp. 65-76.
[11] Smith, M.G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…pp. 350-352, Appendix C.
[12] Smith, M.G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…pp. 333-338 has listed in detail the various positions and their functions within the administrative structure of Zazzau before the jihad.
[13]Among the beneficiaries of the fief holding job one finds them, while some *Attajirai* acquire estates from the *Sarakuna* to be worked by their *Bayi/Barori* (Slaves/Freed Slaves and in some cases *'Yan Kwadago* (Labourers). However, in the palaces slave officials and free clients also benefit from the fief allocation business of the *Sarki*.

slaves and other cheap sources of labour for the purpose of establishing *Runji/Rumada* (Slave estates) mainly located in the *Saura* and *Daji*.[14] This formed a major driving force of the pre-colonial economy in the various components of agricultural production, manufacturing and the distribution of the goods so produced and services of *Kasar Zazzau*. We shall examine this in the next section specifically dealing with agricultural activities in the years before British colonial domination.

2.3 Land Tenure and Agricultural Activities in Pre-colonial Zazzau.

The pre-colonial economy of Zazzau is simply the way and manner in which the people of the area engaged in the process of producing their means of living, its distribution and ways of creating means of accumulation of the surplus produced therein.[15]

The issues of land and labour are very central in the process of understanding the economy of Zazzau because it was an economy which placed agriculture at the centre of all activities. Thus, agriculture was a profession geared towards economic production and a way of sustaining life as the source of food for all category of people in the society; the poor, or the rich, the ruling class or the *talakawa*. For the other economic activities such as pastoralism, craft and industry, hunting we find them also connected to land. Land is therefore the most important force by which the economy of *Kasar Zazzau* would be understood.[16] Not only that, it is from the land tenure system that an

[14] Abdulkadir bn Bello, 48 years interviewed at Albarkawa in *Birnin Zaria*, Kaduna State, 17 March, 2007 made this indication in the case of Umaru Wali bn Galadima Ahmadu, who was said to have been given a land mass to engage in agriculture by *Ameerul Mumineen* Aliyu Babba in *Kasar* Zazzau, when he (Umaru Wali) begged the Caliphate leadership to excuse him out of *Birnin Zaria* after Sokoto settled the feud between him and the then *Ameeru Zazzau* Sidi Abdulkadir who was deposed in 1855. As a result of Wali's establishment of the estate, the place was named Rahaman Wali. It is a part of Makarfi local government in Kaduna State.

[15] Adamu. M (1979) 'The Structure of the Economy of Hausaland before 1804', presented at the *International Seminar on the History of the Central Sudan before 1804*; Zaria, pp1-3.

[16] Mortimore, M. J (1970) 'Settlement Evolution and Land use' in Mortimore, M. J (Ed) *Zaria and its Region*…p113.

analysis of the organization of labour could be successfully made. This means the nature of land holding is closely connected to the various forms of labour system. For instance, the family unit of *Gandu* can both be discussed as a form of land ownership as well as labour in the production process. At the political level, the first step in the process of state formation which is the *Gida* or *Gandu* (family) no doubt required land to erect their shelter, and also where to engage in agriculture; one of the most popular production processes in order to sustain themselves to life. The *Gida* or *Gandu* also engaged in other economic activities such as pastoralism, hunting, and even manufacturing would still require land to extract the raw materials in case of manufacturing or allow the herds to graze in the natural environment. Based on these factors therefore, the centrality of land cannot be contested in understanding the production and general aspects of the economy of *Kasar Zazzau*. Because land is so much important in the production process, the issue of its ownership, accessibility and control of its resources is very important.

In *Zazzau*, all land including the *Karkara, Saura* and *Daji*, the water resources belonged to the community residing around it, except in the case of loss of it as a result of war, which the owners are conquered, and their belongings taken over. However, because in the political structure the leadership is seen as custodian of the community, all these resources come under the control of the *Sarki*, and or his representatives located in various parts of the state such as *Birane*, *Garuruwa*, and *Kauyuka*.[17] They were said to be responsible for holding these resources on behalf of the community. In the case of *Kauye*, the Village head (Chief), the *Gari* by the fief holders or the *Masu*

[17] Zarprof/3353/ Land Tenure System according to Mohammadan Law/1940.

Sarauta officiated for the *Sarki* in their designated areas.[18] The *Sarki* had the overall control on those in the *Birni* and other parts of the *Kasa*, because he was the *Sarki*. Hence, from the village level, the village chief's consent was needed to engage in any form of economic activity or clear any new land for use. This means, there is free chance by the village chief to allocate land to self or any one at any time. The same goes for the fief holders, normally selected as officials from the group of *Masu Sarauta* or their slaves to administer their assigned fiefs on behalf of the *Sarkin Kasa*.[19] They too in this case could appropriate as much land as possible, but with the approval of the *Sarki*. Thus the *Sarki* has the ultimate powers over all these resources, in such a way that through that institution land could be given to any one at anywhere in the *Kasa*, to go and reside or establish a slave plantation known as *Runji* for the purpose of agricultural production. Examples are the *Tabban Yamusa, Tabban Sani, Tabban Sidi, Dallatu, Jura, Maganda, Parda, Tsibirin Sambo* and several of them established by *Masu Sarautar* Zazzau at different times.[20] This has been one of the bases of the major links between the *Sarakuna* and their representatives with the *Attajirai* who easily obtained land for setting up the plantations because of their ownership a large number of slaves.[21]Although the land was not for sale, some *Gaisuwa* came from the solicitor in the form of *Ushira* and *Kud'in Kasa* to the *Sarki* for the allocation to be made to satisfaction.[22]

[18] See list of these Fief holders in Smith, S. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…, Appendix C, pp350-352.
[19] This has been cited in several District Assessment reports during the colonial era, where these settlements became *Garuruwa*.
[20] Abdulkadir Bello, 45 years, Civil servant, interviewed at Albarkawa…and Shehu Abbas, 42 years, Traditional ruler, interviewed at *Tsibirin* Sambo, Giwa local Government of Kaduna State, 26 March, 2006 (part of my M.A. research interviews).
[21] Adamu, A (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…' p 40
[22] SNP6/162/1907, Land Tenure and Revenue…

From this form of land holding generally understood to be the phenomenon in *Kasashen Hausa*, other forms of ownership developed but the nature of access, size of holding and type of use very much depended on one's hierarchical position in the family and society, ownership of slaves and other forms of labour used on the land.[23]The pattern of land holding were also influenced by fertility of the soil, its proximity to water resources, distribution of population, the nature of the economic activity, whether agriculture or hunting, and the level of social and political development in the society. Early centres of human activity in parts of *Kasar Zazzau* close to hills and inselbergs were influenced not only by the religious practices on the hills, but fertility of the soil around the plains as well as water resources. Similarly areas around the flood plains of the major river systems in the *Kasa* attracted the attention of people to own land because of the water and fertile soil. Pastoral activities around these plains especially during the dry season are high, attracting herdsmen from the neighbouring *Kasashen Hausa* north of Zazzau. The flood plains of River Galma, *Kogin Karami*, and River Kaduna are some of the examples of areas attracting land use because of the water and fertile Soil. Thus, it would be understood that in *Kasar Zazzau*, the struggle and desire to occupy a certain land and use it for production has been the same, and solely dictated by the search for fertile areas and water resources. Land has therefore become the major instrument of social and political power at various times. The most dominant form of land ownership seems to be the *Gandu.* It refers to the land owned by the family unit, which is normally an extended one, consisting of patrilineage group, wives, children, slaves, and other dependents under the leadership of the *Maigida.* The *Gandu* can also

[23] It is important to understand that all other forms of land holding developed from the basic foundation of the *Gandu*, which was also the beginning of community formation.

be defined in terms of form of labour, as it constitutes a production unit in the economy of *Kasar Zazzau*. This has been explained in the discussion on organisation of labour.

Suffice to say that the *Gandu* land owning structure is the first step in the process of community formation. Those settlements around inselbergs also included in their walls farmlands and water sources, while at the same time owning the larger farms in the *Karkara*. This situation has been found in Kufena, Kargi, Turunku, Hanwa, Hange, Dumbi, Madarkaci, Tukur-Tukur among several others. Also deep into the *Saura* and *Daji*, additional farmland were found, while the much of grazing activities, and hunting took place with the permission of the *Sarki* through his representatives. As land was generally owned by a communal policy, but held in custody by the *Sarki*, the *Saura* and *Daji* used for grazing were also used for *Farauta*, which is an ancient occupation acknowledged in *Kasar Hausa*. The rise of herbal medicine to prominence also included the '*Yar masu ganye* in the use of the *Dazuzzuka*.[24] While *Farauta* was normally organized on regular basis, thus using the *Daji* on temporary basis, the issue of grazing was in two folds. There were those pastoralists permanently settled in some areas of the *Dazuzzuka*, thus gradually leading to the establishment of permanent settlements. On the other hand, itinerant pastoralists searching for emergency areas of grazing came in and out on seasonal basis. This category mostly came into the Giwa, Sabon *Birni*, Igabi, Soba, Anchau and other flood plains of the rivers found in *Kasar Zazzau* during the dry season, and only returned home to the more drier *Kasashen*

[24] Muktar, M. I (1985) 'The Impact of British colonial domination on the social and economic structures of the society of Kano, 1903- 1950' *M.A. Thesis*, ABU Zaria, p. 15.

Hausa as the rain comes.[25] For all the categories of these land users, the *Sarakuna* still held the power of allowing them as custodians, not for fees, but patronage as *Gaisuwa*, sent through the representatives of the *Sarki*. Although, the sale of land was not part of the early policy on land, the *Sarki* was however at will to allocate whatever size of land he so wished to an individual. This probably explains the close relationship between the *Sarakuna* and some rich merchants, who owned large estates, worked by their *bayi*, because they offered more *gaisuwa* than the *Talakawa*. From this therefore, it is clear to us that the issue of land ownership is closely related to the forms of labour, in which case the bulk of it was found in agricultural activities, the dominant production process of the people in the emirate.

In the previous chapter, we saw how geographical setting of the emirate placed communities in the area on agriculture and other related activities as the major means of their socio-economic sustenance. The production of various types of crops for food and non-food purposes was a major pursuit in the whole of the emirate where in both cases the surplus was used towards the development of internal and external trade networks. *Birnin* Zaria was the political and economic centre of the emirate with diversified agricultural activities recorded around the metropolis.[26] However, most of the agricultural products in *Birnin* Zaria were appropriated from the rural areas of the emirate in order to meet up with the growing need of the urban population and trading communities who normally thronged to the centre of political power for their economic

[25]Mortimore, M. J (1970) 'Settlement Evolution and Land use'…p.114, Van RaaY. J. G. T (1970) 'Animal Husbandry' in Mortimore, M, J., (Ed) *Zaria and its Region*…p. 154 and Smith, M. G (1997) *Government in Kano, 1350-1950*, West view press, pp. 278-280 has brought this shift of pastoralists while discussing border problems between Kano, Katsina and Zazzau in the second half of the19th century.

[26] Adamu, A (2001) 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria…' is a study that was done on aspects of Food production and distribution within the Zaria Metropolis during the Colonial period.

activities. This periphery-centre relationship was a key element in understanding the agricultural and industrial activities of the emirate in the pre-colonial period. Apart from *Birnin* Zaria, there were other settlements which attracted long distance traders that came to exchange their goods from across the Sahara with the local food and non-food crops as well as products of their cottage industries such as textile and dyeing. Thus, at the base of the economy in *Kasar Zazzau* is agriculture, involving a larger percentage of the human population in the area, contributing to the process in a defined way. Because of the centrality of agriculture in the life circle of the society, all categories of members have one duty or another to perform, in the farms or after harvest. This has been classified, though not made a static rule according to age and gender background. For instance, the younger and more able bodied male adults performed the physically tasking work such as ploughing, weeding and harvesting in the case of some crops. The older ones also took part, but supervision was more expected from them as experienced hands in the process. On the other side women and young girls were usually active in planting, harvesting certain crops, threshing and preparing the crop to make food. In the case of crops like cotton, the women harvested and produced *Zare* and *Abawa* used to produce other forms of clothing such as for home consumption or the market.[27] The nature of agricultural activity depends largely on the climate, vegetation and the drainage system in the area, and the access to these resources by the individual or family. *Kasar Zazzau*, as clearly shown in chapter one is located within the large plains of the central Sudan with a series of drainages determined by the number of rivers crossing the vegetation and providing rich deposit of soils for agriculture and pastoral activities. The climate in *Kasar Zazzau* generally provide enough water for agriculture and pastoralism during the *Damina* and *Bazara*, because of the number of these rivers

[27] Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…' pp. 18-19.

which keep most areas wet throughout the year. With regards to vegetation, agricultural activities are mainly carried out in the *Karkara* close to the settlement, and around the rich soil of the foot hills of Kufena, Turunku, Kargi, and others in the area. The larger farms, and slave plantations were also located in the *Saura* and *Daji* areas of the vegetation. In these lands there are *Fadama* (Flood plain/River valley) and *Tudu* (Plain area), and both host agricultural activities, on seasonal and yearly basis.

A study of agricultural activities in the Soba plains has brought out clearly the involvement of *Sarakunan Noma*, *Masu arziki*, *Malamai* and other professionals in the ownership of many slaves, whom they utilized in the large farm estates, slave plantations and other trades.[28] This practice as it existed among the *Masu Sarauta* in different areas of *Kasar Zazzau*, was given emphasis after the *jihad*, where the leaders encouraged mass food production to sustain the population. The *Ameer* of Zazzau after the *jihad* in 1808, Malam Musa led this encouragement towards having farm estates, by allocating land to various categories of users among the leading jihadists.[29] This system of owning large estates was pursued in large scale throughout the period of the 19th century. However, what became a problem, to follow as emphasized in the principle of the *Jihad*, was the use of *Kwadago* and in a just way in place of the largely abused *aikin bauta* or *Gayyan Sarki*, which ultimately translates to *aikin tilas* (forced labour). Therefore, the *Gandu* (family) and the individual are the two most important units in the agricultural production of *Kasar Zazzau*. *Gayya* is also used to lift up the production capacity either of a particular *Gandu* or *Gayauna*. But the *Gayya* as noted operated on mobile basis; it was only a form of production rather than an independent

[28] Adamu, A (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…' pp. 48-51.
[29] Smith, M.G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…p. 144.

unit owning its portion of land. It is therefore more of labour, than a land based unit of agricultural production. A general point of note on agriculture in the region of the central Sudan during the period before colonial rule was the reliance on past experiences acquired through practical knowledge in the process of improving production. And, it seems this practical knowledge was also passed from one generation to another without having to be documented, as in modern practices. For instance the average farmer in *Kasar Hausa* is quite knowledgeable that the presence of grasses in a land are indications of fertile soil, the fertility of soil is closely related to its type (texture), and that regular weeding to remove grasses and wastes increased crop yields. The farmer in *Kasar Hausa* knows how better to utilize the soil through mixed cropping, while crop rotation revive the soil from its dwindling fertility position in addition to the use of wood ash and animal manure to improve soil fertility.[30] These techniques of improving agricultural production though not documented in the past, was however acquired over time through experience and passed in the very systematic way other experiences of life were taken by an emerging generation from an "outgoing one". This was others were added from the continued experience of human resources interacting with the natural environment. Along this also is the importance of knowing the seasonal movement climate and other aspects of the atmosphere which influence farming activities. The other aspect of agriculture and its development is in the use of implements and tools, which as in the skills, have been improving with more discoveries. The discovery and use of iron to produce the farming implements and other materials have been found to be of great significance in the development of polities such as *Birnin Zaria* and *Kasar Zazzau* between the 17th and 18th centuries.[31] From this

[30] Chafe, K.S (1999) 'State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate: Policies and Practices in the Metropolitan Districts, c 1804-1903', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria…p. 40.
[31] Achi, B (1985) 'The Development and Function of City walls…' pp. 136-137.

it would be understood that the area of *Kasar Zazzau* has appropriate climatic condition and vast land suitable for agricultural activities, with some specific areas throughout the year, while others or seasonal basis due to the nature of the rains. This variation also affects the crop type in the various areas and at different times of the year.

In the Soba plains, where part of the Galma river basin crossed to the far north eastern plains of Anchau, a variety of crops are grown, in the *Karkara* and *Saura*, and that depends on whether the land is *Tudu* or *Fadama*. Generally the food crops include *(Dawa*, *Kaura*,) guinea corn, *Gero*, *Dauro* (millet), *Iburu (*Botanical name: Digitaria iburua) and *Shinkafa* (rice grown mostly in the *Fadama*), *Wake* (beans), *Gyaɗa* (groundnut), *Rogo* (cassava), *Dankali* (sweat potatoes), *Doya* (Yams), *Acca* (fonio), *Tamba* (finger millet), *Riɗi* (beniseed) and *Risga* (Botanical name: Plectranthus esculentus). There were also variety of vegetables like *Alaiyaho* (waterleaf), *Yakuwa* (roselle), *Kabewa* (pumpkin) *Kuɓewa* (okra), *Rama* (kenaf) and *Zogale* (Botanical name: moringa oleifera) among others while some of the others include *Baba* (indigo), *Ganyen taba* (tobacco) and *Auduga* (cotton) [32] Because of the rich climatic and soil condition of the flood plains and the much wetter southern end of the emirate, root crops, indigo and other items formed part of the agricultural produce and they are produced in large quantity as noted by Clapperton in some of the markets he visited on their way from the coast to *Birnin* Zaria. This large scale production activity greatly

[32] Zarprof 267p/ Notes on re-assessment of Chawai District of Zaria province1913, Zarprof/750/ Annual Report of Zaria Province, 1916, Zarprof 6/5, 163 Annual Report of Zaria Province, 1919 and SNP10/ 415p, Re-assessment on Sarkin Ruwa District/1913 and other District assessment reports in the province.

stimulated trade with the neighbouring *Kasar Katsina* and *Kasar* Kano in the 18th and 19th centuries.[33]

In the Soba plains, all the settlements had specialization in agriculture and other processes which determined the nature of the economy of *Kasar Zazzau*. Further to this, colonial reports on Soba and neighbouring areas in 1919 have given additional information on the historical and ethnological back ground of many of the settlements.[34]The fact that a number of them were mainly used by the *Masu Sarauta* for large scale agricultural production has demonstrated the areas potentialities and contributions to the food economy and cottage industries, which were well organized in the *Kasa*. The vast agricultural riches also enhanced trading activities attracting those from *Birnin Zaria*, the states of Katsina and Kano as well as Azbin to purchase grains and other crops produced in the area. This was largely responsible for the eventual settling of many *Katsinawa* and *Kanawa* within the rich agricultural and pastoral areas of eastern *Kasar Zazzau*.[35]

West wards around the areas drained by Rivers Tubali and Damari, which include Sabon Birni, Ifira, Fauta, Rahama and Ruka forest zone, similar group of agricultural goods were produced, with emphasis differing from one section to another as dictated by the level of rains, soil type and other climatic conditions. This situation was also

[33] Adamu, A (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…'p. 18 and Mahadi, A (1982) 'The State and the Economy: The *Sarauta* System and its Roles in Shaping the Society and Economy of Kano with particular reference to the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria, p. 88 and p. 693. This had been originally cited in Ferguson, D.E (1973) 'Nineteenth Century Hausaland being a Description by Imam Imoru of Land, Economy and Society of his People', *PhD Thesis*, University of California, Los Angeles, p. 62 where it was estimated that at the peak of the trade between Zazzau and Kano in the 19th century, 20, 000 bales of cotton found its way to the Kano weavers from *Kasar* Zazzau.
[34] Adamu, A (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…'pp. 12-34 and SNP 10/236p Assessment Report on Makama Karami District /1919, pp. 14-26.
[35] SNP 10/236p….

found with regards to agriculture in the areas of Wucicciri, Bogari, *Birnin* Baruwa, Matari, Turunku, Dutsin Mai, Ashefu, Faraкwai, Ibada, Parda, Zango Aya, Gargai and Bargu among several others. Around the north and North West area of Zazzau, Fatika, Giwa, Kaya, Kidandan, Tsibiri, moving to Likoro, Kudan, Hunкuyi, Makarfi, Ruma, Kware, Anchau had all made contributions to the agricultural economy of *Zazzau*.[36]A study of the economy of *Birnin Zaria* in the 18th and 19th centuries, described Hunкuyi, as a well patronized regional market, while Likoro and Kudan were closely following.[37] Their position was basically on the account of their vast agricultural output, which attracted traders for grain, cloth and other food items from Maradi making these areas international markets patronized from across the Sahara. In fact, Hunкuyi and Kudan became major targets of constant attack launched by the *Maraɗawa* against the Sokoto Caliphate emirates in search of food and slaves during the second half of the 19th century. This same problem was frequently experienced by settlements in the north east and east of *Kasar Zazzau*, from the *Ningawa* whose aim it seems was the same as those of the *Maraɗawa* with attacks coming after the harvest season to take away food items and enslave the people.[38]Hugh Clapperton and his servant Richard Landers on their journeys through most of *Zazzau* in the1825 and 1826 described the various agricultural activities during the seasons of the year.[39]

Essentially therefore, the entire area of *Kasar Zazzau* was since the pre-colonial times agricultural, and the people through the advantage of the land tenure and labour system

[36] SNP10/21p, Zaria Province, Re-assessment Report on Makama Babba District/1913, SNP/246, Zaria province, Re-assessment Report on Anchau District/1923, SNP10/ 415p…, SNP 10/416p, Zaria province, Reassessment on Liman Kona`s District/ 1913 and SNP10/270p Report on Magajin Gari District/1913.
[37] Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…'
[38] Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…pp 183-185.
[39] Clapperton, H (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition*…pp 156-163 and pp297-305.

utilized this in producing food for sustenance and trade with other neighbouring States. The wide ranging crops were also produced along with other bounties of the natural environment to stimulate the development of manufacturing. All these ensured trade within and around the settlements making *Zazzau*, while *Birnin Zaria*, as the center of power benefited from this increased production by the surrounding communities. This process of appropriation further gave boost to the assuming power of the *Birni*, making it a center of political, social and economic activity in *Zazzau*. In line with the call by *Ameerul Mumineen* Muhammadu Bello to the *Ameers* (his deputies) in the emirates,[40] this policy was pursued during much of the 19th century. The many *Rumada* and *Runji* operated by the *Masu Sarauta* and *Masu arziki*, have their production from the farms to the *Birni,* because the source of feeding royal slaves, servants and even the cavalry was from this crops. The surplus was also brought into *Kasuwar Birnin Zaria* for sale on daily basis as witnessed by a European explorer who visited the area in the second half of the19th century.[41] Agriculture has thus been an important activity determining the economy of *Kasar Zazzau*. It was more than a means of production to sustain the population, as we have clearly shown its simulative role in the development of cottage industries and trade.

2.4 Pastoral Activities

Closely related to the crop production aspect of agriculture was pastoral activities. Indeed, there is a great relation between agriculture and pastoralism, in the sense that the agricultural population rare domesticated animals to boost or supplement their earnings, while the pastoralist used the end product of farmers to sustain the animals.

[40] Muhammad Bello bn Usman (1975) *Usulu al- Siyasa* in Yamusa, S 'The Political Ideas of the Jihad Leaders', *M.A. Thesis, ABC/ABU*, Kano, pp18-19.
[41] Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*…

The animal waste in turn was a source of manure for the farmer. Pastoralists rear cattle, sheep, goat and camel on a larger scale as their means of living. Pastoralism therefore is the activity of rearing cattle, sheep, goat, camel and other domesticated animals for the purpose of livelihood. Thus, it is the main avenue by which the group engaged in social relation of production with other members of the community. The pastoralist therefore engaged in animal husbandry of domesticated animals, and this was mostly carried out in our area by the Fulani nomadic group. However, this was not limited to the nomads, as agriculturalists and other professionals in the state do some form of it as a complement to their main production activities. In the case of the dominant nomads, pastoralism remains their central economic activity, where in the process they relate with the agricultural population, just as they were also relied upon to boost meat production. In most parts of the *Zazzau* emirate, nomads engaged in their rearing activities on transhuman basis, through seasonal and long term movement in search of food for their animals. This movement was enhanced by the provision of *burtaloli* (Grazing route) leading to the *mashaya* (Grazing reserve) or *mashekari* (Dry season grazing reserve).[42] In all areas of the emirate, the nomads were found in great numbers with their animals especially around the river valleys and wide plains that remain green during the high period of the dry season. A Study of the Zaria area has shown that;

> Zaria`s location between the main wet season pastures to the north and a sparsely populated bush area to the south, which is the dry season destination of many pastoral Fulani, has made the area an important thoroughfare. The ample supply of crop residues in the heavily cultivated surroundings, the presence of surface water, the healthiness of the cleared land, and the availability of a large urban population make many groups stay in the Zaria area for a prolonged period and return to it in the future.[43]

In the confluence area of the Soba plains *Mashekari* exist where studies have also shown that the areas with streams in Soba, Kwasallo, Richifa and Awai maintain some

[42]Adamu, A (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…' p. 55 has also identified this situation.
[43]Van Raay, J. G. T (1970) 'Animal Husbandry' in Mortimore, M.J., (Ed), *Zaria and its Region*…p. 154.

level of *Dausayi* and this is attractive to herders.[44] While the deeper areas of the plain at Kinkiba, Matari, Marwa, Gurɓaɓiya and Garun Gwanki witnessed large number of cattle rearing groups during the dry season.[45] To the South east in Kudaru, large numbers of nomads move in during the dry season. In the Anchau plains from the border with *Kasar Kano* and *Kasar Bauchi* to the stretch in Kuzuntu plains covering the wide Galma river valley a great number of livestock activities take place. However, this booming pastoral activity came to be seriously affected by incidence of Tse Tse fly in the flood plains of Anchau, which forced the movement of not only livestock but people into new areas.[46] The general activities of nomads in the area was closely related to the climatic condition and these cases of Tse Tse fly in which some parts of the emirate hardly tolerate cattle rearing especially during the rainy season. This explained the North- South movement into the various plains of the area during the dry season while at the commencement of the rains the livestock activities give way to the farmers as they return home northwards to *Kasashen* Katsina and Kano. Part of this movement also took place within the emirate from the flood plains they occupied during the dry season to their *Mashekari* up in the higher and drier part of the plains. This pattern of transhumant prevailed in various parts of the Zazzau, and their mobility came to be reliant on the movement from the neighbouring *Kasashe*, whereas some of the nomads

[44] In the years preceding the jihad of Usman bn Fodio in the 1800s, some of these areas had settled in them the Sullubawa groups that later moved in to the battle front of Kano and eventually formed the core of the emirate leadership there. Ibrahim Dabo was mentioned in such teams of Sulluɓawa Scholars who left for Kano along with his elder brother Ɗahiru, where Dabo became Galadima and later the *Ameeru* Kano. See Smith, M.G (1997) *Government in Kano 1350-1950*…p. 219 and 223.

[45] SNP 10/236p/1919.

[46] Shehu, S. (2007) 'A History of Anchau, 1750-1945'…with additional notes from SNP 10/246, Re-assessment Report on Anchau…Also from one of several field trips to the Anchau area, I was taken to the relics of the former site of European Quarters, and their burial ground located some distance to the North of Anchau Gari on the road to Haskiya, Kudumi and Gadas, the Zazzau border with *Kasar Kano*. The site which seemed to have deteriorated formed part of the archaeological remains of the colonial Anchau Resettlement Scheme started by the British but later abandoned. There was also the small Dairy production site presently located in the heart of the Anchau main market adjacent to the *Puloti* (Cotton Market). See Appendix 2.

found permanent settlement. Indeed, some of these large cattle owning nomads had contributed to the spread and development of Islam in *Kasar Zazzau* leading to the emergence of the class of *Masu sarauta* in the emirate system. These ruling groups were from those fully engaged in pastoralism, even though they may be residing in the *Birane* because of their new political status. Besides the large scale pastoralism, it was also a dominant feature to see animal husbandry among almost every family unit. This was because of the relevance of these animals and poultry in providing meat to the population.

The system of social organization in the pastoral economy was based on the patrilineal structure, covering the social, economic and political spheres of life. Accordingly, the group especially the Fulani were said to be operating this family unit pattern similar to *Gida* of the *Gandu* under the leadership of the senior male member.[47] Several of the units usually formed a *Ruga* where the leadership operations relied on kinship relations. The pattern of daily use of the milk resources is based on each family unit of the *Gida* satisfying its basic food requirements through the sale of the milk in the market. This was normally the responsibility of the wife on duty, and thus who was supposed to do the cooking for the family on that day. The woman did the milking and sale to get the money requirement for food of the day while all surplus milking by any other member goes to the family head who is the father. He was as in the *Gandu* responsible for other needs of members of the family.[48] It is to be understood that several of such *Ruga* (*Rugage*: plural) might be found within a grazing area or close to neighbouring lands. Their transhumant activity with the herds could be done collectively with several

[47] Chafe, K. S (1999) 'The State and Economy…'p. 46.
[48] Malama Hajara, 68 years, House wife, Interviewed at Fada Zaria, Kaduna State, 30 April, 2014.

Rugage moving at the same time or few out many. The pastoralists by virtue of the central role in the economy of *Kasar Zazzau* relate with every sector in a give and take manner. The emirate policy of opening up areas of grazing for the pastoralists, coordinating relations with meat buyers and butchers, as well as ensuring harmonious living with farmers were all entrenched in the writings of the *Jihad* leaders to their *Ameer* in each of the emirates. The extent to which pastoralism contributed to the economy in terms of production, consumption and trading activities had been recorded in the account of Richard Landers travels in the territories of Zazzau.[49]This can also be appreciated from the evolution of a number of settlements especially those around the river valleys and plains throughout the emirate. The constant friction between authorities of *Kasar Zazzau*, with those of Kano and Katsina over the cattle tax on migrating or moving Fulani nomads during the dry season had been a disturbing issue not only in the 19th century, but up to time of British colonial rule.[50]

2.5 Cottage Industries

The economy of *Kasar Zazzau* as in the other states of the central Sudan operated in such a way that no one sector operated without the others. We have just observed how pastoral activities were related to agriculture, marketing and some other aspects of production relations under the economy of the emirate. This same situation was found in the cottage industry and other related production process. The basic raw materials which determined the existence and development of many cottage industries were either

[49] Clapperton, H (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition*…

[50] A study of the Zaria Province Annual Report files at the National Archives consistently saw the Residents of the Zaria, Kano and sometimes Katsina Provinces contesting each other's claim to the right to collect *Jangali* from the moving Fulani nomads in their areas. See for example Zarprof/2552, Annual Report for 1905 and Zarprof/2706, Annual Report for 1937. Some discussion on such frictions regarding land tax and *Jangali* during the pre-colonial period can be found in M.G (1997) *Government in Kano 1350-1950*…p. 57.

found in the agricultural sector, pastoralism or in the other natural resources whose extraction took place within the vast physical environment of the emirate. The bulk of these industrial activities were also in the production of finished goods or processing of raw materials for other phases of the production activities such as in the works of *Mahauta* (butchers), *Majema* (tanners) and *Dukawa* (leather workers), *Masassaκa* (wood carvers) and *Maκera* (smiths, black or white) or *Masaκa* (weavers), *Marina* (dyers), *Maɗinka* (knitters or embroiders) and *Mabuga* (cloth beaters). Accordingly, therefore the growth and development of cottage industries in a particular area was a significant factor in understanding urbanization and class formation. It was also a factor in the evolution of *Unguwanni*, within the *Garuruwa and Birane* based on the location and concentration of the craftsmen, artisans and other professionals who contributed to the industry in the particular location. For instance, in *Unguwar Majema* of *Birnin* Zaria, it was exclusively a concentration of the *Majema* (tanners),[51] or as in *Unguwar tukwane* the settlement for pottery makers. This can be seen in the ward set up of most of the *Birane* and *Garuruwa* of *Kasar Zazzau*.[52] Similarly, the case of these industrial activities has been quite clear from a study by A.D. Goddard which shows that:

> Black Smiths used wood from nearby for their charcoal fire, bellows made from hides of animals kept in the community, and furnaces made from clay to produce hoes for farming and swords for fighting. Potters utilized the most suitable clay available for producing their ware. Whilst calabashes were also made and carved from gourds. Skins were tanned and used for drums, belt, horses harness Wallets, Bags, Shoes, Sandals, Royal Cushions and other items of Regalia. Mats and hats were made from grasses, and buildings were constructed using mud and straw. Local Tobacco was cured from smoking and chewing. The area was also famous for the production of handmade gowns, and trousers which were elaborately embroidered.[53]

[51] The quality and dominance of leather works in Zaria has been acknowledged by the German traveller Paul Staudinger. See Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of Hausa States*...
[52] Ladan, S (1973) 'Ethnic Identity in Zaria City', *B.A History essay*, ABU, Zaria and Achi, B (1985) 'The Development and Function of City Walls…'
[53] Goddard, A. D (1970) 'Industry' in Mortimore, M.J., (Ed), *Zaria and its Region*…p. 171.

As a matter of fact, the industries were each organized under a head appointed by the emirate administration who in some instances was assisted by title holders as in the political structure of the emirate. The *Sarkin Makera* was in charge of Smiths in the emirate while he was assisted in the fiefs by his officers. In addition within the capital Zaria, there were assistants such as *Madakin,kira, Galadiman kira* etc. Others that held these offices included Sarkin Pawa for Butchers, with assistants like *Madakin Pawa*, *Galadiman Pawa* down to the lowest members called *Ja Kiri* (those in charge of taking the animal to the Abattoir until it was slaughtered). The head of builders was called *Sarkin Magina*, *Sarkin Marina* for dyers with *Madakin Rini*, *Galadiman Rini* among others. These *Sarakuna* were significant to the state in many areas such as tax collection, skill development, organizing internal and external production and trade links, mass production for the state etc.[54]

2.5.1 Iron Works

In several areas of *Kasar Zazzau*, the existence of iron ore deposits has helped in the production of iron tools and weapons, which greatly facilitated increased agricultural production and expansion of the polity's sphere of influence.[55]Since the 7th Century, prominent areas especially the settlements around hills were discovered to have used iron for the manufacture of tools. The remains of this activity were found in Kargi, Samaru, Kufena, Dumbi, Tsauni, Hanwa and other important hill settlements.[56] In *Birnin Zaria* and other *Birane* and *Garuruwa* within *Kasar Zazzau*, there developed *Unguwar Makera*, where concentration of local and migrant iron workers live. The

[54] Yusufu Abdullahi, 100 years, interviewed at Rafin Busa, Anchau, Kubau Local Government, Kaduna State, 11 August, 2016 with additional information from Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital and Mahadi, A, (1982) 'The State and the Economy… pp. 495-496 and 592.
[55] Achi, B (1985) 'The Development and Function of City Walls…' and Oyedele, E. O (1987) 'Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria…'
[56] These had been documented in many research conducted in Archaeology at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria in the 1970s and early 80s.

German traveler Paul Staudinger while in *Birnin Zaria* resided not far away from what he called a Blacksmith's workshop where he tried to give some details on their major activities there.

> In Zaria, in the quarters of the Chief Master of the Smith, the finer work of casting and girdling was carried out by relations, sons and apprentice, and…a group of craftsmen who only pay dues to the *Sarkin Makera.* Some immediate products of this industry are hoes, Sickles, Choppers and hatchet shaped end pieces for lance arrow tips, Battle axe, Knives, Scissors, Bits for horses, Small chains for this tips, Stirrup iron, Tools and many other finer objects where I could see such industrious people working almost every-day morning, noon and night.[57]

These implements were all important tools serving the various military and economic functions of the society which also signify some technological advancement of *Kasar Zazzau*.[58]The *Makera* were thus centrally placed in the social and political process of the state in which from time to time they were made (by the *Sarki*) to produce arrowheads and spears for the royal arsenal.[59] Some of the Royal blacksmiths who lived close to the palace engaged in repairing guns and producing swords for the state army. However, the general demand of the *Sarki* for weapons was carried out mainly by blacksmiths selected within the emirate by the *Sarkin Makera* who would make the allocation to meet the target.[60] They were normally paid in cash or kind from the local treasury of the emirate. Thus, it could be said that the discovery and industrial use of iron ore in the area was an important point in the social and political development which took shape between the centuries before colonial rule. In fact, the situation was rather a reflection of the pattern of economic production than the ethnic set up being

[57] Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*…Vol II, p. 58 and 93 were particularly emphatic on this industry not only in Zazzau emirate but the entire Hausaland where it was not limited to Iron works, however included a wider endeavour in brass-casting, girdling, tin smithing and silver works.
[58] Achi, B (1985) 'The Development and Function of City Walls…'
[59] Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…' pp.19-20.
[60] Achi, B (1985) 'The Development and Function of City Walls…' The importance of the *Sarkin Makera* was also highlighted in Staudinger's account of the key officials in the entourage of the Emir of Zazzau Muhammadu Sambo (1881-1888) when he was travelling to Sokoto in 1885. See Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*…pp. 258-259.

orchestrated especially by the anthropologists and historians of the colonial period.[61] It has been clearly observed that for these *Unguwanni* small groups of tanners, leather workers, dyers, tobacco careers, potters…are to be found normally concentrated in a smaller cluster of nearby compounds in one or possibly two wards in the city.[62] And, the fact that most of these professions were hereditary and members linked by kinship, makes the social division of labour in line with the *Gandu* structure. Hence, even from the process of the emergence of *Unguwanni* we would understand the basis of the formation of the larger *Garuruwa and Birane* to be more from the relations of production developed from the local family unit to the industrial level.[63] In virtually every small settlement within the *Kasa, Makera, Marina, Mahauta and Masaka* were found and the relations of production in these industries was closely connected to agriculture and pastoralism also the main sources of food for the people.[64]

2.5.2 Cotton and Textiles:

Cotton and textile production was the most wide spread of the pre-colonial local industrial activity in the Zazzau emirate, which ensured the employment of larger labour force in a chain of agricultural and related activities, from the farm up to the market where the final product was sold. The cloth produced from this activity in pre-colonial rural and urban settlements were necessary to meet the basic clothing requirements of the population. The textile products of *Kasar* Zazzau were among the popular trade items in the Central Sudan regional trade network and beyond.[65] Some of

[61] Anthropologists like M.G. Smith based their analysis of the society of *Kasar Zazzau* on a distinct ethnic dichotomy between Habe and Fulani which was one of the many issues Y.B. Usman raised with him and other colonial historians in 'The Problem of Ethnic Categories…'
[62] Goddard, A. D (1970) 'Industry' in .Mortimore, M.J., (Ed) *Zaria and it Region*…p. 180.
[63] The *Unguwanni* even though some are ethnically identified by name they were in no way homogeneous but strictly heterogeneous.
[64] This is evident in the Districts Assessment Reports of the Zaria Province.
[65] Adamu. M (2012) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…'

these famous cloth were quite noticed as important items of the *Fatauci* engaged by merchants from Zaria and its rural settlements to the far eastern emirates such as Bauchi, Gombe and Adamawa and Borno, or those merchants coming from the emirates into Zazzau. This was a regular feature in the activities which defined the economic relations of the emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate and their immediate neighbours through most of the 19thcentury. Thus, in the area of textiles, *Kasar* Zazzau most particularly developed the series of stages in cloth production from cotton cultivation to spinning, weaving, dyeing, tailoring and embroidery. The famous *Girken Zazzau* and '*Yar Madaka* embroidered cloth was a product of this chain of textiles activity, carried out by these sets of professionals.[66]In most parts of the emirate especially around the Northern and eastern sections where the dark clay loamy soil suitable to cotton existed, the agricultural production of raw cotton was very common. In fact, since the pre-colonial times, the textile industrialists of *Kasar* Kano drew a substantial part of their required cotton raw material from what was seasonally produced around the farms in the northern border settlements of Zazzau which were serving as the entry point to *Kasar* Kano by its southern districts. From the raw cotton after it was separated from the seed, the production of the *Zare* and *Abawa* was normally the first level in the production process known as *Kadi* (spinning) using the refined cotton product. This spinning exercise produced the *Zare* which goes to the *Saka* (weaving) stage to make available as much plain cloth that were put into tailoring to make the various types of wears and garments such as *Gwado, Riga, Wando, Tofi* and *Zane, Hula, 'Yar Shara, Bante* and a number of clothes used by men and women. Richard Landers on a visit to Zaria in 1825 observed how all the wives and concubines of the eldest son of *Ameeru* Zazzau Malam Yamusa (most probably Hammada) were engaged in preparing cotton,

[66] Adamu. M (2012) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…'

making thread, and weaving same into cloth.[67] Some of these products were marketed within the *Kasuwanni* in Zazzau, while as we observed, a substantial number were taken out for export to various local, regional and international markets. According to Mahadi Adamu, although *Birnin Zaria* was not directly on the Hausa-Gwanja international trade route which started from Kano, merchants on this route camped at the outskirts of the *Birni* to add more of its textiles and leather goods on their way south or from there.[68]

Similarly, a great deal of this form of direct exchange of textile goods took place between Zazzau on the one hand and *Kasar Kano* and *Kasar Nupe*, both famous in the central Sudan for their fine textile products.[69] By the 19th Century, Hunkuyi was already a great centre of cotton textile industry patronized by Tuaregs from Agades. This settlement alone was found to have over one hundred dye pits during the period making it one of the most industrious in *Kasar Zazzau* which had no need to carry its goods to *Birnin Zaria* in search of foreign buyers.[70] In other areas of the emirate, dyeing was also an important activity engaged in by the people, where the products were traded locally within the markets as well as exported to neighbouring communities and states. According to an informant, Yusufu Abdullahi, whose father seem to migrate from Soba to Anchau 1905 he grew up in the compound of his Grandfather Malam Yahaya at Unguwar Cinnaka, *Tsohuwar Anchau* (Anchau ta Gabas) to learn weaving and produce *Arkilla* (Black and white strips cloth) which, traders from Borno travelling with *Kanwa*, *Mangul* and other goods came to purchase in large quantity every dry season. They also produced other clothes with single black and blue colour popular among highly placed

[67] Clapperton, H (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition*…p. 304.
[68] Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…' p. 26.
[69] Staudinger, S (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*…p. 181.
[70] Adamu, M (2012) 'The Economy of a Hausa capital…'

Women, and *Kanawa* merchants that regularly visited the Anchau Market.[71] It is also important to note that in the chain of textile works was *Rini* (dyeing). For instance, the institution of dyeing in *Kasar* Zazzau was wide spread and found even in the smallest settlement of the emirate. In *Birnin Zaria*, the largest concentration of dye pits (*Marina*) was located few metres north of the market at a quarter named *Karofi* (Site of Dye pits) while another smaller concentration was also maintained west of the market on the way to *Kofar Kuyambana* (City gate). This area was an important outlet linking *Birnin* Zaria to the trade routes of Zamfara (most of the former Katsina Laka), Sokoto and other western emirates and communities in the pre-colonial era. The relevance of this industry in the economy of the area has been highlighted by the German Explorer, Paul Staudinger when he visited many parts of the emirate from the south to the north on the way to Sokoto in the mid-1880s.[72] The famous cloth dyeing (*Rini*) in Kudan and Hunκuyi was quite noted as an important source of the international trade link between Zazzau and the Tuareg groups across the Sahara Desert. Also in a study, Yusufu Bala Usman has shown that the pre-colonial economic relations between Zazzau and southern Katsina was largely in the area of cotton, textiles, dyeing and other related trades including movement of manpower for these industries to or from both sides as the case may be.[73] A similar trend of this form of economic relations has also been identified in the case of southern areas of Kano with Zazzau where it was again the dominance of cotton, textiles and dyeing activities. According to Abdullahi Mahadi, a belt stretching from east to west between Kano and Zazzau territories and which curves

[71] Yusufu Abdullahi, 100 years… and Isa Lilo 79 years, Farmer, Cotton Tout (*Ɗan Baranda*), interviewed at Haskiya, Kubau Local Government, Kaduna State, 10 August, 2016.
[72] Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*…pp. 181-183 and Shehu, S. (2015) 'The Economy of Hausaland from European Traveller's Account: A Critical Assessment of Paul Staudinger's Notes on Local Industries in the Late 19th Century *Kasar* Hausa' *International Conference on the Hausa People, Language and History: Past, Present and Future*, Kaduna State University, Kaduna.
[73] Usman, Y.B (1974) 'The Transformation of Katsina c1796-1903…' p. 439-443.

to the north-west through southern parts of Katsina to Zamfara formed the "cotton belt" of Hausaland.[74] In this area, trade relations was established in cotton (*Auduga*) and indigo (*Shuni*) between Kano and Katsina, Zazzau and Zamfara in a cluster form to meet up with requirements of the textile producers of Kano who were facing domestic, regional trade demands and from markets across the Sahara.[75] This cluster was also an avenue for exchange of the variety of textile and dyed cloths produced in villages and towns of the various states with their unique designs and tastes that usually attracted markets from all sides.[76] This was why in spite of the expansion of the Kano textiles presumably more than the other states of Hausaland and the central Sudan, textiles and dyeing activities was very much existent as common occupations in all the villages and towns of these states. For instance, in other parts of Zazzau, many remains of the dye pits were found in field works around the eastern settlements such as Maigana, Soba, Karre, Rahama, Anchau, Kargi, Kudumi, *Unguwar* Maigaru, Damau, Kuzuntu, Gadas, and Haskiya.[77] In some of the interviews conducted in those areas, the locally grown cotton developed the spinning, weaving, embroidery, dyeing and cloth beating sectors

[74] Mahadi, A (1982) 'The State and the Economy…', p. 88.
[75] Mahadi, A (1982) 'The State and the Economy…' pp. 693-696.
[76] This meant traders from Kano traders brought textile goods for sale in the markets of Katsina, Zazzau or Zamfara , and then buy other varieties produced by the weavers and tailors of these states for Kano and other markets northwards up to the Sahara.
[77] See Appendix 4 showing one of these pit remnants found at a pre-colonial site of Haskiya, which had remained a remote settlement north east of Anchau District of Kubau Local Government as at July, 2016.

into popularity not only for local markets but for neighbouring and far states as in the case of trade relations with Kano, Katsina, Nupe, Zamfara, Sokoto, Bauchi, Gombe, Borno and Adamawa.[78] Further details on the cotton and textile factor in the pre-colonial political economy of Zazzau would be discussed ahead on aspects of commerce and trading activities. What seems clear is the importance of textile as an aspect of the economy of communities in the Zazzau emirate before the coming of the British. This same situation was largely maintained up to the emergence of the British Cotton Growing Association with its cotton production for export programme which was fully backed the powerful instruments of the colonial state. It was from then that all channels which sustained the local textile industries were gradually blocked and such activities that built this important intra and interstate economic relations were coercively terminated by the British to pave way for the colonial cotton export project. The cotton and textile activities that included dyeing known to be popular in the economic relations of Zazzau emirate with Kano, Borno, Katsina, Zamfara, Bauchi and other communities of the Sokoto Caliphate and the Nigerian area faced serious setback as a result of British colonial domination and the BCGA programme which mainly favoured the British textile industries of Lancashire and Manchester.

[78] Isa Lilo, 79 Years, Farmer and Cotton tout..., related from his Grandfather, Late Adamu *Sarkin* Haskiya incidences of Merchants from Kano, Borno and other territories east of Zazzau patronising both the locally grown Cotton and its products at Haskiya, Kudumi and Gadas that stood as the North eastern border settlements of Zazzau since the Habe era. Also a check of some of the Letters (*Rasa'il*) which were normally accompanied with gifts from the Emirs and other ruling class members of Zazzau to the *Ameerul Muminin* in Sokoto, the *Wazir* and indeed the other emirs of the Sokoto Caliphate during most of the 19th century seem to be consistent with such embroider cloth type known as *Girken Zazzau*. Some of the few studied *Rasa'il* at the National Archives and Repository of the Arewa House, ABU, Kaduna include AH/D/ARLO/Vol I/31, Letter from *Ameeru* Zak Zak Abdullahi to *Ameerul Muminin* Ahmad, AH/D/ARLO/Vol I/ 47, Letter from *Ameeru* Zak Zak Muhammad Sambo to *Wazir* Abdullahi, AH/D/ARLO/Vol II/ 130, Letter from *Ameeru* Zak Zak Uthman bn Abdullahi to *Wazir* Muhammad Bukhari, AH/D/ARLO/Vol I/42, Letter from *Qaa'idul Jaish* (Madaki) Muhammad Auwwal bn *Ameeru* Zak Zak Muhammad Sambo to *Ameerul Muminin* Umar bn Aliyu and AH/D/ARLO/Vol II/ 124, Letter from Magaji Mahmud bn *Ameeru* Zak Zak Abdulkarim to *Ameerul Muminin* Umar bn Aliyu. The German Explorer, Paul Staudinger who accompanied the contingent of Zazzau emirate during the reign of Muhammadu Sambo bn Abdulkarim in the late 1880's also noted the prevalence of the Zaria textile materials in the gifts set for the *Ameerul Muminin* by the emir. See Staudinger, P. (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*…p. 181.

2.5.3 Leather Works:

Leather works was also an important industry which boosted the economy of *Kasar Zazzau*. The raw material mainly came from the hides and skins processed from the livestock of the pastoralists, mainly by the *Mahauta*. This provided range of products produced by professionals in many parts of the emirate. However, *Birnin Zaria* was known to have attracted the main producers of the final goods at *Mazangudu* ward, who got all the tanned skins they needed from *Unguwar Majema.*[79] Paul Staudinger in the 1880s acknowledged the superior quality of the hides and skins industry in *Birnin Zaria*, which was only comparable with the most spurious product in Sokoto.[80] An export trade across the Sahara beyond the Mediterranean Sea had been in existence on the Hides and skins produced by *Kasashen Hausa* in addition to the local manufacture of local goods before period of colonial rule. These goods which included items like bags, shoes, sandals, leather carpets, leather pillows, leather shield, and loin cloth also generated trade activities within and outside the *Birni*.[81]

2.5.4 Other Local Industries:

Other aspects of production in craft and industry located in areas of *Kasar Zazzau* were Bee keeping, Fishing, and Hunting. An interesting thing to note was the active participation of the seasonal migrant artisans and industrialists in some of the professions, which they came into during the dry season as '*Yan cin rani*. This was most particular to pottery, fishing and blacksmiths. In the case of dyeing, weaving,

[79] Abubakar Muhammad, 70 Years, Leather worker (*Baduku*), interviewed in his workshop at Mazangudu, *Birnin* Zaria, Zaria Local Government, Kaduna State, 23 March, 2012.
[80] Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*, Appendix C, p. 84 and Abubakar Muhammad…who recalls in his young age his father Malam Muhammadu and his other craft partners in Mazangudu area sell their leather products through a merchant agent to as far as Accra and Abidjan. This was merchant activity was maintained up to early 1970's.
[81] Achi, B (1985) 'The Development and Function of City Walls…'

butchery and others the professionals seemed more settled even if they might have migrated from other areas of *Kasar Hausa*.[82] In the case of fishing, it was one of the important industries which sustained the food needs of the people *of Kasar Zazzau*. This was mostly found in areas with rivers and streams, which mostly survived the dry season. Some of the fishermen were the seasonal migrants from neighbouring areas, who also came in with their techniques. In the western part of Zazzau, the Rivers Tubali and Damari, with their smaller tributaries provided good fishing areas in Ifira and Sabon Birni both were attracting fishermen from *Kasar Kano* during the dry season.[83] Also around the river Bai and its tributaries, as well as *Rafin Kinkiba* in the Soba plains, a great deal of fishing industry had developed. At Ashefu, which is on the high ground overlooking the right back of river Bai fishing was practiced at all seasons, with different methods for the different seasons.[84] The *Suru* and *Mairefia* (two handled net) were common methods of catching the fish. Mass poisoning is also sometimes employed especially during the dry season in ponds, using shrubs. The fish industry was maintained by smoking and sun drying for local consumption and sell internally within the community. To the Southern area on the Kaduna River and its tributaries were found some fishing activities in local settlements. Richard Lander also observed this trend on the River Makami, which he said gave the town of Makami a great advantage of relying on fish for their food supplement. He was well entertained with the fish of Makami by the chief.[85] Fishing had also flourished on the Galma river basin, in the Soba and Anchau plains, especially during the dry season, when farming

[82] This was supported by the existence of the *Sarakuna* in charge of such professions, with some of them occupying an important position in the administration of the area. For instance the relevance of *Sarkin Pawa* in the daily meal of the *Sarki* as Richard Landers saw in Zangon Katab. We have mentioned the role of *Makera* under their *Sarki Makera* in producing weapons to the state army.
[83] SNP10, 21 p/ Zaria Province, Asessement Report on Makama Babba District, 1913.
[84] Zarprof 416p/1913.
[85] Clapperton, H (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition*…p. 302.

activities got reduced to the minimum around the *Fadama.*[86]From this it would be understood that the institution had made an important contribution not only in the sustenance of the people but in the process of its evolution as a political community, independent of but related to other polities in the Central Sudan region. It was also this symbiotic relation of production, within the agricultural, pastoralism and industry which helped in the development of the *Birane* and *Garuruwa* that constituted *Kasar Zazzau*. They were later to become a source of attraction not only for trading activities but raids and attacks for the purpose of food and goods by the *Ningawa* and the *Maraɗawa* in the eastern and north central areas of Zazzau throughout the remaining years of the 19th Century.[87]

2.6 Commerce and Trading activities

Indeed, commercial activities was a key feature of the economy of states in the Central Sudan region for many centuries. The sector developed over time because of several factors such as the differences in the natural environment and geographical setting in the states. This enabled sates to produce diverse agricultural and natural resources that encouraged forms of trade to take place within and among these states in the region. Furthermore, this atmosphere of local, regional and international trade ensured regular movement of people and migration in these communities. Thus, we find the case of *Kasar Zazzau* serving as the major link or gateway in the historic relations which developed between the various states of central and southern Nigeria like the Nupe, Ebira, Igala, Idoma, Yoruba, Edo, Jukun (Kwararrafa), Tiv on the one hand, and *Kasar*

[86] Adamu, A (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…'and Shehu, S (2007) 'A History of Anchau…'

[87] Patton, A. Jr (1975) 'The Ningi Chiefdom and the African Frontier: Mountaineers and Resistance to the Sokoto Caliphate c 1800-1908', *PhD Thesis*, Wisconsin…with additional information from an interview with Yusufu Abdullahi ,100 years, interviewed at Rafin Busa, Anchau…

Hausa, Borno and peoples across Sahara on the other.[88] There was also the uneven distribution of resources which stimulated the necessity to reach out to neighbouring and distant territories to seek exchange for goods not obtainable yet necessary. This also went with the aspect of specialization in certain production and the maximization of opportunities in a production process. The fact that in the Zazzau area cotton was produced more than Kano that was also known to be into textile manufacturing beyond its cotton production capacity opened the way for *Kanawa* traders to be visiting the markets of *Kasar Zazzau* for the their much needed bales of cotton. The British cotton ambition in Zaria province was constantly threatened by these resilient *Kanawa* traders up to the time the state exerted its colonial political might against the rivalry. Thus, the importance of commerce in the economy of Zazzau could not be regarded as small in the way the other economic sectors were incorporated. Commercial activities served as the linkage between the producers of raw materials (agriculture and cattle rearing) and the manufacturers of the various industrial products in the area. They were also responsible for the exchange of the goods produced under the various cottage industries in the emirate production system. The various settlements owed their growth and development to the high commercial activities which attracted people from neighbouring areas. In commerce, the profession of *Kasuwanci* involving *Dillalai* (Broker), *'Yan Fatauci* (Merchants), *'Yan Koli* (Condiments traders)and *Masu arziki* (The Rich) were found in all markets with the major political and urban settlements attracting more of this activity where they serve as appropriation centres of the rural surplus. Richard Landers met with *Kanawa* traders moving around in *Kasar Zazzau*

[88] Most of Zazzau territory was located along converging points for traders coming from the far north and those from the south. Zaria as the capital of Zazzau was an important entrepot for trade from North Africa and the Maghreb, Kano, Katsina, Borno, Nupe, Oyo and the lower Niger- Benue region. See Adamu, M. (1979) 'Some Essential Features of the Economy of Hausaland, c. 1500–1804'. ABU, *Zaria Seminar Papers,* Vol.1, pp. 34- 35 and Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…'

during the early 19th century. The range of trading activities has also made a lot of contribution in the evolution of settlements as long distance traders patronized these markets; some of them ended up settling permanently in the area they found themselves.

In Anchau on the eastern part of Zazzau this has been shown in the case of the evolution of *Unguwar Agalawa*.[89] In *Birnin Zaria* also, commercial and industrial activities contributed to the establishment of some *Unguwanni*. A case in point was *Unguwar Nupawa* located close to the *Birnin* Zaria market. This was the same attraction some of the earliest communities in *Birnin Zaria* and *Kasar Zazzau* established their settlements.[90]. This process witnessed a rapid increase during the most part of the 19th Century, because of encouragement given to aspects of trade and commercial activities between the emirates of the Sokoto caliphate. The peopling of areas along the trade route from *Kasar Kano* and *Kasar Borno* through the plains of Anchau, then to *Zangon Katab* on the way to the Rivers Niger-Benue confluence, was mainly boosted by traders. This can be said of *Zangon Katab*, which took its name from *Zango* (Trade route Camp). There were two forms of trading in the commercial activity of *Kasar Zazzau*.

The first was the internal trade type, which involved mainly exchange or sell of different goods between the communities neighbouring one another in the *Kasa*. This was normally found in the local markets, where the '*Yan Koli, Dillalai* had a field day selling products brought from various parts of the *Kauyuka* or *Garuruwa*.[91]There was also the

[89] Shehu,S., 'A History of Anchau…'
[90] The tradition of Zazzau credited the founders of Zaria to be the first in opening up *Kasashen Hausa* to *Kasar Nupe* for trade in Slaves, Eunuchs and Kola nuts. Another study of this however has revealed that the trade in slaves was not only limited to being essentially from South to North but both ways. See Jimada, I. S (1998) *The Nupe and the Origins and Evolution of the Yoruba c 1275-1897,* Ceddert, Zaria, pp. 40-42. Y.B. Usman had in an interview granted Radio Nigeria Kaduna in the programme *Matambayi ba ya bata,* June 2003, made a broader analysis of the development of this two way traffic in slaves as it affected not only the *Kasashen Hausa* and *Kasar Nupe* but all over the world.
[91] Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…' p. 22 and 'Some Essential Features…' p. 17.

long distance trade, which saw the local producers, marketers, with the visiting *Fatake* (long distance traders) whose entry may be at regular intervals. There were some markets that witness this type of traders as it operated on daily or weekly basis because of its importance. The Zangon Katab market, apart from satisfying the surrounding settlements also hosted passing *Fatake* (Long distance traders) on their way to the Niger-Benue Confluence region. Regular visiting traders mainly aiming at that market also came from *Kano* for slaves and other products as observed by European travelers who were at the market in the 1820s.[92] The market in Hunκuyi was also weekly patronized by the Tuaregs who came in for trade in grains and dyed cloths.[93] In the Soba plains, a number of *Kanawa, Katsinawa, Gombawa,* and others from Bauchi patronized the various markets for products such as Cotton, Indigo, textile products, luxury goods, Salt, Natron, Leather, Beans, Pottash, mats and other goods. Some form of trading activities have also been reported on the Azbin-*Birnin Zamfara*- Zurmi-Kiawa- 'Yandoto- Kogo trade route with *Kasar Zazzau*, where *Baba* (Dye Stuff), *Shuni* (Indigo), *Kore/Kwarya* (Calabashes/Calabash) were involved. A good number of traders with donkeys load of *Daddawa* (Porkia been cakes) from Zazzau were seen in the area of Zurmi, *Kasar Zamfara* during the 19th Century, while the trade in slaves between the two states was taking place up to the coming of the British.[94] The internal trade network also enhanced a balancing system in the distribution of goods produced in the various localities probably in larger volume than the international one. These activities were conducted on a network of regional and international trade routes that

[92] Clapperton, H (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition…*
[93] Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…' pp. 24-25.
[94] Na - Dama, G. A (1977) 'The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria, pp. 245-247 and Barth, H (1965) *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, being a Journal of an expedition 1849-1855*, Vol III, London, Frank Cass, p. 98.

have been variously mentioned. For instance, *Birnin* Zaria and surrounding settlements of Zazzau operated a regional/ international trade network involving the following:

Table 2.1: Major trade routes in Pre-colonial Zazzau.

Kano- Zaria- Nunkoro[95]- Toto- Magami (Koton Karfe)[96] - Panda- Umaisha[97]

Kano- Zaria- Kachia- Keffi- Loko

Kano- Zaria- Jere- Abuja- Lokoja

Kano- Dan Alhaji (Lere)- Zangon Katab- Keffi- Loko

Sokoto- Maska- Tsibiri (Giwa) - Zaria

Kuyambana- Maska- Kidandan- Sabon Birni- Ifira- Jere- Abuja

Zaria- Maigana- Soba- Dutsen Wai- Kudaru- Naraguta (Jos Plateau area)

Zaria- Kwaba- Sabon Birni- Afaka- Barnawa/Makera

Zaria- Hunkuyi- Kudan- Makarfi- Filatan (Kano)

Zaria- Parda- Turunku- Dutsen Mai- Abuja

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[95] Oral sources from Nunkoro Kingdom indicated that it was an important convergence point for traders of Hausaland with their partners from the Benue valley. Late in the 19th Century, it was attacked and part of its territory incorporated into Keffi; an important vassal of the Zazzau emirate around the Benue valley. See details in Adamu, M (1979) 'Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' in Usman, Y. B., (Ed) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar Papers*, Third Press International, Lagos, pp. 59-104.

[96] This market was strategic to the economic relations between the Northern and Southern communities of the Nigerian area particularly in the exchange of materials such as Iron (The same area has maintained its dominance in Iron ore deposits where today Nigeria's biggest extraction centre was found side by side with the Ajaokuta Steel company all located within the zone covering the Benue valley and Niger-Benue rivers confluence), Rock salt, Beads, Ivory, European goods, Horses, Cotton products, Onion and Condiments. The market centre at Magami was however not the earliest link on the Hausa trade route to the coastal areas before the 19th Century. There was Igalaland (consisting of Idah on the bank of River Niger and others like Oguma, Ejule, Ankpa, Itobe and Gbobe) which thrived as major links with both the Niger-Delta City-States and the Northern communities. These activities opened up the centre at Magami with those of Panda and Umaisha where a radical change was experienced in the regional trade and production activities in Nupeland, the *Kasashen Hausa*, Borno and peoples from across the Sahara. The significance of citing this here is that in all these activities *Kasar Zazzau* was involved as an important entrepot to both sides. This most probably explained the settlement of Nupe Smiths (*Makeran Fari*) in *Birnin Zaria* before the 19th century and the claim of vassal relations between Zazzau and communities on the route to Toto, Keffi along the Benue valley. Details of this discussion can be followed in Adamu, M (1979) 'Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan…' pp. 59-104 and his detailed research work Adamu, M (1974) 'The Hausa Factor in West African History', *PhD Thesis*, University of Birmingham, and Abdulkadir, M. S (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland*…pp. 47-53.

[97] This was one of the two most important trade routes linking the Northern and Southern fringes of the Central Sudan especially the Nigerian area up to the doorsteps of the Atlantic coast that thrived centuries before 1900.

Zaria- Zangon Aya- Faraкwai- Gargai- Rigachikun- Abuja
Zaria- Igabi- Rigachikun- Kujama- Kajuru
Zaria- *Birnin* Bauchi- *Birnin* Barwa- Keffi.[98]

These and several other networks of the trade routes formed the main connections which ensured the development of wide ranging trading activities throughout the Zazzau emirate in the pre-colonial period. In Soba plains, a well-organized local commercial activity was found among seventeen *Garuruwa*, which helped in the general economic organization of *Kasar Zazzau*. The various settlements operated different days for their market normally attended by agents from and outside the emirate like *Kasar* Kano and Borno. It has been observed that *Birnin Zaria* benefited a lot from these weekly markets in the various parts of the emirate, appropriating the surplus food produced, while providing the external goods traded in large scale at the *Birni* Market. Indeed, commercial activities have made meaningful contributions in understanding the social and political history of *Kasar* Zazzau up to the end of the 19th century. This important aspect of the economic life ensured the movement of people from and into the area, thereby contributing to the evolution of settlements which were dedicated to trading activities. This had also boosted production, distribution as well as other aspect of the economy of *Kasar Zazzau.* Commercial activities also encouraged inter-state relations and indeed integration between *Zazzau* and its neighbours such as *Kasar* Kano, Borno, Katsina, Zamfara, Bauchi, Gombe, Nupe, Sokoto and the Gbagyi communities to its South West. It has also been noted that the prosperity of some of its market centres exposed the area to constant raids and attacks from surrounding or

[98] SNP 10/97p, Annual Report of Zaria Province/ 1919, SNP10/ 415p…, Zarprof 267p…, Zarprof/105p/ Annual report of Zaria Province for 15 Months ended March, 1921 and SNP 10/21p... and Sirajo, H (2007) 'The British Administration and the Creation of the District Head System in Zazzau Emirate: A Case Study of Igabi District 1907-1976', *M.A Thesis*, B.U.K, p. 25.

neighbouring areas in search of food and slaves. The rich Soba plains and much of eastern Zazzau were particularly regular targets to the *Ningawa* who launched surprise attacks in the dry season from their base bordering south eastern Zazzau. These activities internally developed a class of rich merchants who benefited from the local and long distance trade and therefore developed other means of wealth accumulation through the mass purchase of slaves from their profits to work in their *Runji* (Slave farms), allocated to them more easily by the *Masu Sarauta*. From this, the power of the *Masu arziki* or *Attajirai* of the commercial sector began to take the centre stage in the economy thus signifying the gradual process of the crumbling of the *Gandu* system. This new structure was to be fully encouraged after the *jihad* which established the emirate political economy not far away from the path of the pre-*jihad Sarauta* system. The emirate by its geographical location at the gateway to and from *Kasashen Hausa* and Borno remained a strategic point in the pre-colonial Central Sudan trade network which was also exploited by the British in the years of the colonial rule.

2.7 Pre-colonial Organisation of Labour

Because agriculture is the backbone of the production system in *Kasar Zazzau*, the form and content of labour is mainly defined along participation in this activity. Thus, a study of the organization of social labour should best be located in the *Gandu* System where peasant labour dominates the production process of the state. There is *aikin bauta* carried out by slaves to their owner and this affect all areas of production demanded by the owner. This meant there was *aikin Bauta* in agriculture, craft, and trade as it also played substantial role in domestic, political, military and other functions within the

Kasa.[99] *Aikin bauta*, by its content expressed some form of force, because it was organized at the will of the owner, whether the *Bawa* agreed to it or not. As a property of the owner, the *Bawa* was at no liberty to refuse carrying out any work required of him or her. Beside this, there also existed *aikin tilas*, which the *Sarki* and other state officials could mobilize from the peasant population for the purpose of construction or *aikin gonar Sarki*. These were the basic forms of labour to be discussed as important components of the production process of *Kasar* Zazzau. However, we found that from the period of the *Sarauta* system to the emirate era, some modifications were experienced, while in some other forms they were entrenched in the economy.

2.7.1 *Gandu* (Family Labour)

The *Gandu* as a system of social production has been briefly discussed under the land tenure system above. From that examination, it can be understood that there hardly existed demarcating line between *Gandu* as a labour or production unit. This is because the most popular form of land ownership rested in the *Gandu* while at the same time the most common form of labour in the production process is indeed the *Gandu*. Again, the *Gandu* system served as the motor engine of the emerging political community because all human activity owed its beginning from the *Gandu* (family). In this form of labour, there were provisions for private activities, not only for those in the *Gayauna*,[100] but also women and other members could engage in extra-earning works. Women engaged in making *Zare, Abawa* and *Gwado* in addition to snacks or food sent to the

[99] Oyedele, E.O (2004) 'Some Thoughts on Slavery and Urbanization in the Sokoto Caliphate', *International Conference on the Sokoto Caliphate and its Legacies, 1804-2004*, Arewa House, ABU, Kaduna, p. 9-10.

[100] *Gayauna* refers to the farming activity engaged by any member of the *Gandu* as a source of earning outside the collective owned under the *Gandu*. However, it was only engaged in after the labour input demanded under the *Gandu* had been met. This explained the regularization of the hours of the *Gayauna* to be in the evening time, when the *Gandu* which was mostly done in the morning hours must have been discharged.

markets especially on the arrival of long distance trade caravan, which was normally announced to the Community.[101] This earning by women was also independent of the *Gandu* as it was also independent of the authority of the husbands. Organisation of functions in the *Gandu* for its members largely depended on age and sex; women and children did the lighter work comprising picking, threshing of grains, fire wood and other produce, while the younger adults did the ploughing, weeding and harvesting.[102] This gave the group less mobility to engage in the *gayauna* without the *gayya* help from their pears in other *gandu*. They were therefore the backbone of the *gandu* by virtue of being the most able bodied, as well as heirs to the *Maigida* and his type. Although the *gandu* as a form of labour was essentially towards agricultural production, its structure also operated in other production processes found in the *Kasa*. Pastoralism, hunting, craft and industry were centred on the *gida*, and accordingly…" the *Gida* constituted the basic labour unit, where the *Maigida* as head of the farming, *Kiwo, Farauta, Kira, Jima, Dukanci,* or any other craft activity of the family, was responsible for supplying equipment, raw materials, food requirement and for the regulation of labour in the *gida*.[103] For instance, in the case of pastoral family, the *Maigida* took major decisions on the herds and the division of labour among the members of the *gidan makiyaya*. The same form of headship of the family, power of decision and division of labour existed in other forms of economic production, with the structure of the stronger member carrying out heavier duty while the younger were encouraged to work towards becoming leaders of the *gida* in future. Hence, a younger member hardly found support to raise his status within the family structure unless he discharged his duties diligently.

[101] Adamu, M (2012) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…' pp. 11-13.
[102] Sarkin Fatika Muhammadu, 100 years, Interviewed at Fatika in Giwa Local government of Kaduna State, 18 March, 2006.
[103] Muhammadu, Sarkin Fatika, 100 years …

2.7.2 *Aikin Gayya* (Communal Labour)

Gayya was a reciprocal means of involving non-family labour among friends, relatives, neighbours and other members of the community for various purposes.[104] These purposes cut across production in the farm, which served as the main source of economic activity in *Kasar* Zazzau. *Gayya* is solicited by the individual or the state authorities. The individual often called for *gayya* to work his farm either because he was sick or the season was passing or that he had increased his farmland for cultivation in order to meet up with food challenges or had a means of excess produce but that his physical and material capacity was inadequate. This kind of solicitor was expected to pay back when called to do same by others in the same manner.[105]The weak and elderly members of the community also benefited from *aikin gayya* on their farms, or repair of damaged buildings by rain, fire or any other form of disaster. This was the *taimako* aspect of *gayya,* where no reciprocal labour was expected, except as a help to the needy, which one expected in his old age. *Gayya* was called by means of *Shela* (Public announcement or Town cry) or sending *Goro* (Kolanut as invitation) to each family that sent their representative to the labour occasion on the specified date. Each participant got equipped from home in order to deliver the required services, but would be entertained by the *Gayya* solicitor. The community also carried out public works such as bush clearing, street drainage dealing with flood problems in residential areas as well as farmland areas as *Gayya* with the permission of the state.[106]*Gayya* was also found in situations where a young adult seeking marriage of a girl in a particular family organised his friends and well-wishers to work on the farm of his *Suruki* (father in law)

[104]Ingawa, T. B (1986) 'Rural Labour in Southern Katsina Emirate during the Colonial Period, 1900-1939', *History Seminar*, Bayero University, Kano, p.10.
[105] Zarprof C 4003, 1920-22.
[106] Zarprof C 4003... This form of *Gayya* was encouraged by the British during the colonial period because most public works were carried through this form of mobilisation shouldered on the native authorities.

in order to win his favour when giving the girl out to one of her several suitors for marriage.[107] In the case of the authorities, there was the *Gayyan Sarki*, though this was called *Gayya*, however, its form and content looked more of a mandated or forced labour, because those called had no option but to attend. The *Gayyan Sarki* was also mobilised for the farm, but it went also to the public works area of clearing the *Gari*, and other areas commonly owned and used by the people. The *Gayya* therefore provided avenue for mass mobilisation of labour for increased production in the case of agriculture. Thus, it had a tremendous material benefit as a give and take strategy of production. However, the *Gayyan Sarki* for whatever reason was not reciprocated, and this was what further brought it to question as really the type of communal form of labour discussed above. Whatever the case may be the *Gayya* form of labour organisation in *Kasar* Zazzau has contributed in the area of production and construction, which gave the community another means of mass production against the weakening *Gandu* system. The *Gayya* really boosted the capacity of individuals to increase their *Gayauna*, making them in some cases larger producers than their *Gandu*, because they had more material capacity to mobilise *Gayya*. It was an effective instrument of increased production, which the British had to effectively utilize in the name of *aikin tilas*, though disguised it as *Gayyan Sarki*.[108]

2.7.3 *Aikin Bauta* (Slave Labour)

The Phenomenon of *aikin Bauta* in the line of production relations of *Kasar* Zazzau seems to be the cheapest whether in terms of agricultural production, craft and industry, domestic duties or wars and other public works. Some even saw the basis of slavery to

[107] Umaru Muhammadu, 80 years, Farmer, interviewed at Kusfa Zaria Local Government, Kaduna State, Nigeria, 12th April, 2013.
[108] Shehu, S (1987) 'Changing Pattern…' p. 45.

the need for slave labour in whichever form it was exploited from the *Bawa* or *Baiwa*. The major source of this labour was enslavement as a result of descent, capture in war or special raids or those acquired through purchase in the slave market among other sources.[109] As one of the dominant forms of labour in pre-colonial Zazzau, *aikin bauta* was more extensively utilized in agricultural production. It was also used in craft and long distance trade. Slaves also formed a sizeable number of the Zazzau fighting army.[110] By the 1890s *Sarkin Zazzau* Usman Yero was said to have initiated the '*Yan bindiga* (Musketeers) arm of the emirate force, which consisted of slaves under their captains such as *Sarkin Ciyawa* (Chief of grass), *Sarkin Magudantai* (Chief of the young slave boys), and *Sarkin Bindiga* (Chief of the musketeers).[111] The formation of this military outfit helped stabilized Zazzau to scare away its raiders such as the *Ningawa* up to the coming of the British in 1902. Some of the more brave ones among them held important military and political offices. This was found more during the pre-*jihad Sarauta* System. Some of the important military offices held by slaves include *Banaga*, *Sarkin Karma* (Chief of the foot-soldiers), *Sarkin Bindiga*, *Sarkin Baka* (Chief of Archers), *Kunκeli* (Chief of foot-soldiers holding shields) in addition to the '*Yandoka* and *Dogarai*.[112] While in the case of holding territories, there were slave officials during the emirate period such as *Sarkin Yamma*, *Sarkin Yara*, *Sarkin Ciyawa*, Shantali, Hauni among others given different areas. The *Sarkin Zana*, Garkuwa, Tafarki, Wagu, Shamaki, Jagaba, Kilishi, *Sarkin Dukawa*, Barwa, *Sarkin Lifidi* and Kwara Masa were also another retinue of important military titles but without fiefs.[113]

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[109] Adamu. M (1975) 'The Delivery of Slaves from the Central Sudan to the Bight of Benin in the Eigtheenth and nineteenth Centuries' in Gemery H.A, and Hogendorn, J. S., (*ed*) *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, New York, pp. 166-167.
[110]Oyedele, E. O (2004) 'Some Thoughts on Slavery…' p. 7 with addition of stated domestic function of Slaves in Adamu, M. (1979) 'Some Essential Features of the Economy of Hausaland…p. 14.
[111] Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*….p. 190.
[112] Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*….Appendix A, pp. 337-338.
[113] Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…Appendix C, p. 351.

The late 19th century saw some of them given areas to administer such as *Sarkin Zana* in 1893.[114] In this kind of arrangement, the *Bawa* was always at obligation to provide any kind of labour required by the *Ubangida* at no cost other than his maintenance as a property. In agricultural production, *aikin Bauta* was often used in the *Gandu, Gayauna, Gandun Sarki* or *Gonakin attajirai,* who bought these slaves and acquire large area from the *Sarakuna*. The Slave Plantations were the *Rumada,* while *Runji* refers to the slave estates established by *Attajirai*. The settlements of Katuka, Rahaman Wali, Surdu, Magadda, Taɓan Sani, Taɓan Yamusa, Parda came about as slave plantations or estates, where production in the farms was carried out by the *Bayi* for their *Iyayen giji* mostly from the class of *Masu Sarauta* or *Attajirai*. *Birinin* Zaria, the capital of *Kasar* Zazzau has been known as a famous slave market where buyers came from North Africa across the Sahara.[115] This position was said to be a historical one as tradition gave credit to the legendary Amina *Sarauniya* Zazzau as the first importer of slaves and eunuchs from the southern lands into *Kasashen* Hausa. Generally therefore, the substance of *aikin bauta* in shaping the pre-colonial political economy of Zazzau was widespread. It greatly increased the material position of the *Sarakuna, Masu Sarauta* and the *Attajirai,* whose easier access to land has been explained. The institution of slavery as a form of labour in the production process however began its decrease following the implementation of Islamic teachings which encouraged integration of slaves under the emirate system that regarded children of concubines as free.

[114] Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…Appendix C, p. 351.
[115] Oyedele, E. O (2004) 'Some Thoughts on Slavery…' pp. 8-9.

2.7.4 *Aikin Kwadago* (Paid/ Hired Labour)

This is a kind of paid contracted labour offered by free, but mostly poorer members of the community during the pre-colonial period. The '*Yan Kwadago* were both found within the community and among those migrating during the season on *Cin rani*. In both the dry and wet season, *Kwadago* existed, although much is available during the *Cin rani* around the *Fadama* areas; where crops were produced on commercial quantity by the land owners. The mode of payment for *Kwadago* was done in an agreed term between the *Ɗan Kwadago* and the employer. But as of the pre-colonial period such payments mostly came in farm produce or other goods, which the *Ɗan Kwadago* need and or could exchange for grains.[116] Labour has thus been converted to a commodity that could be sold at an agreed value. Such labour was not necessarily restricted to agricultural activities, it was found in building and construction, pastoral activities especially during the emirate period, where some of the emergent ruling class members owned cattle but were settled in the *Birni* and *Gari.* Hence, the employment of such '*Yan Kwadago* for the *Kiwo* job in the farm estates became necessary. Similarly, cases of food shortage, lack of seeds and other requirements to start a new farming season pushed for *Kwadago.* This meant the socio-economic conditions of the '*Yan Kwadago* was a major determinant in the mobility of this form of labour. Natural disasters such as drought, flood which creates shortage of expected supply in some areas, push for *Kwadago* in the new season so as to meet up with the means of sustenance. The gradual disintegration of the *Gandu*, and its inability to satisfy the land requirements of the growing population also helped in the development of the *Kwadago* form of labour. This has been attested to by some information, where some of the *Attajirai* employed

[116] Sale Maigoro, 75 years, Cotton agent, Interview conducted 30th January, 1987. This was part of my field research for B.A. Dissertation.

other members of a less economically buoyant *Gandu* for wage labour in their farms, in exchange for grains to enable them survive the difficult cropping period.[117] Thus, the *Kwadago* form of labour has also made contribution in shaping the social and economic structure of *Kasar* Zazzau. In addition, the basis of *Kwadago* can be understood from the policy of redeeming slaves, who were expected to work for their market value to their master after which they become free. This method called *Fansa* had helped in turning labour into an important commodity for sale within the social production of the *Kasa*.[118] This was opposed to *Murgu* which only allowed the slave use his labour elsewhere and earn money outside his normal slave service on condition of remitting some amount to the master.

2.8 Taxation and other Forms of Revenue in the Zazzau Emirate.

Taxation and other means of revenue collection formed an integral part of the pre-colonial political economic formation in the Zazzau emirate. This had its beginning from the pre-*jihad* period after which the emirate system under the 19th Century Sokoto Caliphate further expanded the scope of this taxation for the ruling class and the polity. The *Sarauta* system of taxation operated based on the hierarchy of the ruling class from the *Unguwa* (Ward) under the *Mai unguwa* (Ward Head) to the *Kauye* (Village) under the *Dagaci* (Village Head) then the *Gari* (District) under the care of the *Hakimi* (District Head) who was represented by the *Jakada* (Messenger). The *Hakimi* had a defined share of the total sum collected and brought to him in *Birnin Zaria* before handing the proceeds to the *Sarki*. From this stage, the ruling structure was linked directly to the *Sarkin Kasa* (King); the highest political office under whose firm control were the

[117] Sale Maigoro, 75 Years…
[118] Ingawa, T. B (1985) 'Rural Labour in Southern Katsina…' pp. 11-13.

forces of production of the State. This pattern of collection was only peculiar to *Kudin Kasa,* which was normally paid in farm produce and the *Kuɗin Gado*. In addition to these there was the *Sarakunan Sana'a* appointed by the *Sarki* to head each of the trades, industries or other forms of occupations that existed in the emirate. They were monitored and paid their various *Kuɗin Sana'a* to the *Sarkin Mai* appointed by the *Sarkin Zazzau*. The *Sarkin Mai* was responsible for going round the Kingdom/emirate as the case may be to collect these amounts and property for the state to use in various functions. These would include renovations on city wall and government edifices, social support to the needy and so on.[119] These were the category which M.G. Smith referred to as multiplicity of officials or semi officials required for the object of tax-collection alone in the districts and villages. Some of these village title-holders and the tax which they collected included *Sarkin Rafi* in charge of tax on Cassava, Sugarcane, Onions, Groundnut, Potatoes, *Sarkin Taba* who took control of Tobacco and tobacco-grinding tax and *Sarkin Marina* that was in charge of Indigo (*Shuni*) and dyeing (*Rini*) tax. Similarly, *Sarkin Pawa* was responsible for Butchers' (*Mahauta*) tax, *Sarkin Dillalai* took charge of the Brokers' tax while *Sarkin Makera* had under him the Blacksmiths' (*Makera*) tax.[120] There were also some within the emirate officials as *Sarkin Magina* (Head of Builders), *Sarkin Kasuwa* (Head of Market) and *Sarkin Noma* (Head of Farmers). However, unlike what M.G. Smith seemed to have implied on these officials as purposely created for tax collection, they had other functions which were also fundamental apart from tax collection. These officials or semi officials served as important source of state mobilisation for mass production and construction in times of need. Some of the leadership also mobilised their members in displaying their industrial

[119] Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…' pp. 54-58 has discussed some aspects of pre-colonial taxation and Revenue in pre-colonial Zazzau.
[120] Smith, M. G (1955) *The Economy of Hausa Communities*…p. 97.

expertise and skills aimed at gaining international fame for the emirate. We need to cite here the case of *Sarkin Magina* of Zazzau whom Hugh Clapperton met in Sokoto and discussed his skills while he was constructing a mosque under the supervision of *Wazirin* Gidado *ɗan* Leman. Details of the discussion revealed how the builder's leadership in *Kasar* Zazzau were very much concerned with advancing their industrial capacity, skills and internationalization through accepting to incorporate new styles of construction obtained from different parts of the world.[121] A study of the Zaria Friday Mosque highlights some of the key connections in the elements of the architecture and decoration with those of Egypt and the Sudan, which were familiar areas that had historical relations with the Western and Central Sudan. Though there were yet enough evidence to strengthen what Clapperton heard from the Zaria builder he met in Sokoto on their connection with Egyptian Architectural design…"to the eye of the architect there are clear similarities in character between the building forms used by the Egyptians and those in the older mosques in Hausaland." Further… "…some of the piers used by *Babban Gwani* (The chief Builder of Zazzau) are distinctively Egyptian in style and mosques such as that at Bauchi and Sokoto are similar to the Egyptian hypostyle hall."[122] The same could be cited of the *Sarkin Makera* who was said to be at the centre of state mobilisation for the mass production of weapons which boosted the military capability of the emirate in war situations.[123] Thus, to think and believe the issue of these occupational officials only stopping at the function of tax collection is narrow and an under estimation their significance in the general political economy of the emirate. This linkage with tax collection seem to occupy the mind of the British to

[121] Clapperton, H., (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition*…
[122] See Moughtin, J. C (1972) 'The Friday Mosque, Zaria' in *Savanna, A Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences*, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Vol 1 Number 2, p. 153.
[123] This example has been cited in Bonat, Z. A (1985) 'The Colonial Phase of the Underdevelopment of Zaria…p.123.

justify whatever form of taxation they imposed under colonial taxation, in which that too had been challenged. A study on the colonial destruction of local industries in Zaria Province has shown that in spite of British claims to the existence of tax on crafts and industries in 19th century Zazzau… "Nowhere were taxes imposed on the crafts by the state high enough to even retard their growth. On the contrary…the pre-colonial craft taxes were actually on the professional craftsmen, and not on the part-time craftsmen (who the British heavily taxed) that produced the bulk of industrial products."[124]

It is significant to understand that this structure was the operating mechanism during the later years of the emirate government which overthrew the Hausa rulers of Zazzau in 1808. A key issue highlighted by the leading *Ulama* and groups that fought the *Sarakunan Kasashen* Hausa as gross injustice of the *Sarauta* system were tax and other forms of levies that were imposed on the people.[125] In spite of this however, the main focus of taxation and other levies seemed common in *Kasar* Zazzau as in other *Kasashen Hausa* under the *Sarauta* and emirate systems. There were both levies and tolls defined based on the social and economic activities of production and exchange. The most important of these levies was the *Kuɗin Galma (*Hoe) paid for each household based on its ownership of land which served as the land cultivated by each *Gandu*.[126]The *Maigida* therefore was responsible for the payment of *Kuɗin Galma*. A study on the incidence of this tax under the emirate before the British conquest in 1902 has shown the amount being paid by each household based on geographical location.

[124] Bonat, Z. A (1988) 'Colonialism and the Destruction of the Local Industrial System: A Case Study of Zaria Province, 1902-1945' in *Savanna*, Vol 9, No 2, pp. 6-23.
[125] A general statement on this is found in the famous work of Usman bn Fodiyo. See Arabic text, *N.H.R.S, J.M 2/34/Kitab al-Farq bayna Wilayat Ahl al-Islam wa bayna Wilayat Ahl al-Kufr.* There are also many of the translated copies of this book.
[126] The unique thing about Zazzau among *Kasashen Hausa* was the basing of the Land tax or levy on Hoe (*Galma*) representing the main identity of the production unit which was the *Gandu*. See for instance….

For instance, towns located east of *Birnin Zaria*, the capital of the emirate paid 7,000 Cowries per Hoe (*Galma*), those to the south paid 6,000 Cowries, to the west 4,000 Cowries and the north also paid 6,000 Cowries per hoe (*Galma*).[127] However, other forms of levies and tolls were charged on the individual producer or trader in all parts of the emirate by the ruling classes at the Ward, Village, District and central administrative levels on behalf of the government whose treasury was an important source of draining the economy for them. Thus, we have in *Kasar Zazzau* the *Kuɗin Noma*/*Shuka/Rafi* and *Kuɗin Sana'a* with the amount varying from the various trades, industries and agricultural produce. By the closing years of the 19th century these tax rates had been subjected to adjustment by the different past leaders of the emirate. Accordingly, the rates of special produce tax under *Kuɗin Noma/Shuka/Rafi* on the eve of the British conquest of the emirate in 1902 showed some of the following:

Table 2.2 Some selected Tax (Haraji) rates in Pre-colonial Zazzau

Kuɗin Rogo (Cassava)- - - - - - - -4,000 Cowries per one cultivated plot
Kuɗin Albasa (Onions)- - - - - - --2,500 Cowries per one cultivated plot
Kuɗin Rake/Kara (Sugarcane)- - -8,000 Cowries per one cultivated plot
Kuɗin Shuni (Indigo) - - - - - - - --3,000 Cowries per one cultivated plot

A close observation of the above taxes revealed some points. First, there existed distinction between perishable and non-perishable goods coming from the farm. This accounted for the lower rate on onions, whose cultivation was more intensive and perished faster than sugar cane or cassava. The same situation could be said of Indigo which was the most commonly needed industrial raw material or textile production and dyeing activities. Indigo was a popular product purchased in Zazzau by the textile producers and dyers of Kano.[128]

[127] Smith, M. G (1955) *The Economy of Hausa Communities*… p. 96.
[128] Ferguson, D.E (1973) 'Nineteenth Century Hausaland…' p. 62 and Mahadi, A (1982) 'The State and the Economy…' p. 696.

The rate collected as *Kuɗin Sana'a* by the period before the British conquest included among others:

Kuɗin Kira (Blacksmith) - - - - - -7,000 Cowries per person

Kuɗin Karofi (Dyers) - - - - - - - -3,200 Cowries per dye pit

Kuɗin Pawa (Butchers) - - - - - - -5,000 Cowries per person

Kuɗin Dillalai (Brokers) - - - - - --5,000 Cowries per person.

Source: Ernett, E, J (1920) *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, London, 1920, p 17. This was the data base of analysis by M. G. Smith referred in *The Economy of Hausa Communities*…pp 96-97.

It is significant here to highlight the fact that most of the taxes were paid in kind. In the early years of British attempt to establish colonial political machinery for ruling the people, they met a system of paying certain taxes and levies with Swords, Hoes and Iron.[129]This was also another method which encouraged the development of industrial skills under the pre-colonial cottage industries.[130] Another important issue on taxation in the emirate was the exemption of cotton from the *Kuɗin Noma/ Shuka* and the collection of caravan tolls based on either a Camel, Donkey or Ox load was intensified and strengthened. One twentieth of every total caravan load was charged on merchants camping at the daily Market of *Birnin* Zaria as duty as witnessed by Richard Landers on a visit to the market in 1826.[131] This was a flowing source of revenue for the state where the main beneficiaries were the *Masu sarauta*. Its importance remained particularly so because the Zazzau emirate was located along some of the major regional and international trade routes linking the Central Sudan region with communities up to the coastal area of the Atlantic Ocean.[132] An indication to this has

[129] SNP 7/ 3997/1907 Report of the Zaria Province for September, 1907, p. 3.
[130] Bonat, Z. A (1988) 'Colonialism and the Destruction of the local Industrial System…' p. 13-14
[131] Clapperton, H. (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition*…p. 158.
[132] Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…' has cited a western location on the outskirts of *Birnin Zaria* where in the 19th century caravans bound for the southern part out of *Kasar* Hausa erected their camp for some days and were visited by sellers and buyers from the *Birni* and surrounding settlements. This was an important activity that impacted on the economy of *Birnin* Zaria and the surrounding communities to the west.

been discussed in the section dealing with pre-colonial commerce and trade. These taxes really formed sources for the ruling class consisting of the *Ameeru* Zazzau, his *Jakadu/Hakimai* and other title holders to extract as much wealth from the populace in the name maintaining state affairs.[133] The accounts of Richard Landers and Paul Staudinger in Zazzau had testimonies of tax collection on goods at the market in Zangon Katab and *Birnin* Zaria at the various times the two Europeans visited the areas.[134]

In the case of *Zakka*, it did not form part of the *Kuɗin Noma/Shuka/Rafi* (special crops/ Market gardening tax). The *Zakka* was exclusively instituted under the emirate era as a special Islamic portion on some agricultural produce (Grains), livestock and money personally accumulated by the owner at the time of harvest (for these agricultural produce only) and after one year of possession (in the case of money and livestock) respectively.[135]The first government of Zazzau emirate in 1808 appointed a *Sa'i* whose main function was the collection of livestock *Zakka*. Malam Abdulkarim bn Abbas, the third in the line of leaders of the Zazzau community (emirate) under *jihad* government of Usman *bn* Fodiyo with its central headquarters in Sokoto was the first *Sa'i* of the Zazzau community. The *Zakka* for agricultural produce was one tenth of total grains harvested like in the case of Guinea corn, Millet and other similar crops. The group of livestock included Cattle, Sheep and Goats where the rate was calculated based on the Islamic injunction. Along with the *Zakka* on livestock, the *Jangali* as a yearly tax on the grazing activities of the pastoral community remained one of the main sources by which the *Masu sarauta* maintained and indeed consolidated their means of economic

[133] The *Jakada* was the title holder appointed by the *Ameer* to supervise governing affairs in the fiefs and vassal states under the authority of the emirate. See Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…Appendix C for more details.
[134] Richard Landers was in Zazzau in 1825-26 while Paul Staudinger was there in 1884-85.
[135]This was mostly operational during the emirate years under the *Shari'a* policy of the Sokoto Caliphate. It remained until the British gradually phased it out of the new colonial taxation policy.

survival and sustenance up to the coming of British rule. In addition to these sources of tax and levies, the emirate appropriated money and property from *Kuɗin Gado* (inheritance or death tax), *Tara* (Fines), *Ganima* (Booty), *Jizya* (Non-Muslim levy) collected from *Dhimmis*. Others included *Aike* which represented some indirect levies on rich members of the society during special occasions and *Gaisuwa* (Gift to superior officials by their subordinates) as paid by the *Sarakunan Zazzau* to the Sokoto Caliphate leaders during the annual visit to the *Ameerul mumineen*.[136] It is also significant to mention that *Kasar Zazzau* led many vassal states especially on its southern end up to the Niger- Benue confluence.[137] These states were expected to give a yearly *Gaisuwa* to Zazzau as the suzerain out of which some portion of the wealth was taken to the *Ameerul Mumineen* in Sokoto.[138] Some clear examples can be cited in the case of *Ameeru Zazzau* Hammada *bn* Yamusa in 1847 who was ordered by the *Ameerul mumineen,* Aliyu Babba to give some Horses as Sokoto parting gift to an Arab Sherrif who had earlier visited Sokoto. The Arab Sherrif was on the way back to his land through Adamawa in the eastern end of the Caliphate. Similarly, in 1886, *Ameeru Zazzau* Muhammadu Sambo bn Abdulkarim had it very tough struggling to source for the One million Cowries which *Ameerul mumineen* Umar bn Aliyu ordered him (Zazzau) to give the explorer Paul Staudinger as one of his parting gift from the Caliphate as he was returning back home to Germany. Another instance was a letter from *Ameeru Zazzau* Muhammadu Sambo to *Ameerul mumineen* Umar bn Aliyu with a *Gaisuwa* of twenty (20) slaves and thirty (30) sets of cloth with apologies for not

[136] Following the entourage of the *Ameeru* Zazzau Muhammadu Sambo, Paul Staudinger described the size of the *Gaisuwa* being taken to the *Ameerul Mumineen* on the annual visit by emirs. See Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*…Also M. G. Smith mentioned the annual gift to the *Ameerul Mumineen* by *Ameeru* Muhammadu Sambo as some of the property lost by the Zazzau contingent when the *Ningawa* commanded by Haruna Ningi ambushed the forces of Zazzau around *Kofar Tukur Tukur* (*Kofar Kibo*). See Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…p. 183.
[137] Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…Smith, A., 'Some Notes on the History of Zazzau…' Adamu, M (1974) 'The Hausa Factor…' pp. 27-37 discussed some details on these vassals of Zazzau.
[138] Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…'

being able to visit Sokoto over a long period.[139] This was therefore part of the entitlements collected by the *Wazirin Sokoto* who was the *Kofa* of Sokoto[140] sometimes represented by his *Sarkin Fada* and *Ɗangaladima* to the eastern emirates of the Caliphate.[141] In all these, most of the wealth collected in the emirate from within and outside were mainly shared in hierarchical order among the class of *Masu sarauta* reaching up to the *Ameerul mumineen*.

2.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have attempted a look at the origin and development of the interplay between the human and natural resources located in the area of study. The study also extended to the issue of how the various dimensions of this relations between the productive forces were built, and the nature of impact this relationship had in shaping the society and economic well-being of *Kasar Zazzau* up to the 19th century. First was the understanding, we tried to establish of the social content of the society, which we observed was stratified along the line of political relations between the *Masu Sarauta* and *Talakawa*. It was also based on this categorization that the social relations of production was built with the *Masu Sarauta* being in the control of the most important means of production. By the closing years of the 19th Century the Zazzau emirate had

[139] See Adamu, M (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…' pp. 6-7. See AH/Zas/5, S.2840 Notes on the Emirates and Tribes of Northern Nigeria, Hausa History; A contribution to the History of Mohammedanism in Hausa land/1933 and Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*, p. 328. Late in 1888, Muhammadu Sambo *bn* Abdulkarim was removed as *Ameeru* Zazzau by the same *Ameerul mumineen* Umar bn Aliyu for reasons discussed in various literature on the Zazzau emirate. See for example Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*… p. 187-188 and Shehu, S (2010) 'The Sokoto Factor in the Politics of Zazzau…'

[140] As *Kofa*, the *Waziri* was the representative of the *Ameerul Mumineen* in the emirates of the Caliphate. The position drew meaning from the word in Hausa referring to gate. Thus, the *Waziri* was the gate through which the *Ameerul Mumineen* administered the emirates, including installation of new Ameer, deposition, settling disputes, collection of annual *Gaisuwa* and other administrative activities. For more details on this and other issues relating to the Caliphate-Emirate political relations see Last, M (1967) *The Sokoto Caliphate*, London, Longman Group Limited.

[141] Smith, M. G (1960) *Government in Zazzau*…p. 74.

developed a dynamic production and distribution system in its economy that made it an important player in the political economy of the Central Sudan region. This was the situation when the emirate was conquered as part of the larger Nigerian territory set for incorporation a colonial entity claim by the British in Africa. The conquest and establishment of political machineries for the effective economic exploitation of the area is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIVE ADMINISTRATION IN ZARIA PROVINCE 1902-1939.

3.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on the establishment of colonial native administrative machinery in Zaria province. As a general background, the British conquest of Zazzau emirate in 1902 and subsequent deposition of its emir Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau followed series of events which began in the late 19th century. The gradual foreign penetration into the region was not fully effected until the British mobilised enough force to conquer the emirates and other polities of the Nigerian area in such a manner that the consolidation was only completed during the second decade of the century. Part of these general military activities included the conquest and incorporation of the Zazzau emirate into the British controlled territories in February 1902. In April 1903, the British appointed *Wambai* Aliyu bn Abdulƙadir (*Alu Ɗan Sidi*) that seemed more friendly member of the aristocrats as emir of Zazzau to head the Zaria native authority. This marked the beginning of British entrenchment of its instruments of rule in the province, and subsequent penetration to Kano and Sokoto considered to be the economic and political centres of the Sokoto Caliphate. As soon as the conquest was achieved, the colonial system of administration was proclaimed and machineries of governance began to emerge. This chapter examines the unfolding events in the evolution of native administration in Zaria province. The native administration was the key political instrument which the British used in creating the colonial economy and development of cotton production and export as an important part of the colonial exploitation project in the area.

3.2 The British Conquest and Emergence of the Colonial State in Zazzau

The British conquest of Zazzau emirate in September, 1902 was an important mark in the emergence of the colonial state as the main instrument responsible for the transformation of the political economy of the area. Accordingly, this new trend of colonial domination was necessary because of the contradiction which immediately came up and confronted the colonialists on the impracticability of the British realizing its colonial goals amidst obstacles inherent in the pre-colonial structure under the socio-economic and political apparatuses of the emirate system.[1]Hence, an imminent political action of tighter control of all the emirate affairs by British agents who were acting on behalf of their metropolitan government in London. An indication to this can be understood from the immediate appointment of Captain G. F. Abadie by Lugard in 1901 to serve as Resident of Zaria province which was then only proclaimed without practically effecting control or conquest of the area.[2] Thus, from 1902 when the British arrested the emir of Zazzau Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau and banished him to Wushishi, Zaria and the surrounding settlements were brought under British control. This signified the creation of the colonial state which was to serve as ruling instruments for the incorporation of conquered polities as appendages of the British capitalist economy. The colonial state therefore consisted of the hierarchical order of colonial ruling agents from the Village and District headsmen to the Emir at the Native Authority level then to the District officers, their assistants under the Resident. They were in turn responsible to the Regional Governors, to the Governor General then to the Secretary of State for Colonies in London.

[1] Shoyebi, A (1991) 'The Consequences of the Construction and Operations of the Railway…' p. 68.
[2] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 346…

The hierarchy of the colonial state in Zaria province was headed and run by the Resident as the chief implementing power with relative jurisdiction on policy initiation at that particular provincial level. Following the Resident were the District Officers (D.Os) and their Assistant District Officers (A.D.Os) responsible for the number of districts approved in the province, and the other Native Authority officials. The Emir (*Sarki*), District heads (*Hakimai*), Village heads (*Dagatai*), the Ward heads (*Masu unguwa)* and other supporting staff to these aristocrats constituted the Native administration responsible for carrying out all work and implementing all laws enacted and designed for implementation by the British government to the full satisfaction of the state. This meant that the form of relationship built between the Resident, D.Os and A.D.Os on the one hand with the emir, district and village heads as in the case of the province also obtained at the protectorate government level initially under the High commissioner and later Governor General with the Colonial office in London headed by the British Under Secretary of State who was reporting to the British parliament and the Crown. This hierarchy of the ruling class constituted what was referred to as the colonial state that served as the main instrument of all laws and policies for the creation and entrenchment of the colonial economy in colonial Nigeria. This can be further understood from the bulk of colonial records which have been serving as sources for carrying out research work on the various aspects of colonial history in Nigeria. At the highest level of the colony, the colonial reports were compiled and sent on annual basis to the British parliament for a general assessment and review of the colonial administrative policies in line with the prevailing needs and aspirations of the metropolitan political economy.[3] In one of the earliest reports sent by Lugard to his

superiors in London, one would grasp the efficacy of the reports in the context of the role of the colonial state in the transformation of the political economy of the colonies:

> Sir, I have the honour to submit my Annual Report for the year 1902, and, since the events (in connection with the campaign against Kano and others) which were in progress at the end of the year have extended over the first part of 1903, I have ventured to include this period in the report...This Report was written on my way home last May, and I very greatly regret the delay which has occurred in submitting it. This has been due to the fact that I have awaited replies to certain queries I had sent to Northern. Nigeria. These replies have not yet reached me, but I feel I can no longer defer the submission of the Report.[4]

In a descending order, the Northern/Nigerian colonial annual reports draw records from the provinces and government departments, whereas the district assessment/Re-assessment reports and other local based records make up the resource base of the provinces as reported by the D.Os to the Resident. We therefore agree that the British administrative system in the Zaria province as it obtained in others….was externally determined and essentially geared towards executing decisions that were also externally formulated to solely promote the interest of the colonial power.[5]These and other arguments have come to make us understand that the concept of indirect rule was also one of those hoaxes traded by the British to detach itself from any blame in the governance of its colonies while in reality only what the British government agreed to was made legal, and what it did not approve of remained void. This was regardless of the fact that the British administration of Zaria province especially in the rural

[3] In the National Archives, Kaduna, Ibadan, Enugu, Arewa House, A.B.U. Kaduna and other many centres of documentation these number of records are titled and preserved as Files, Manuscripts and Memoirs for the purpose of research and other uses. See section on primary sources for some samples of the files and colonial records which clearly shows how the hierarchy of externally initiated policy formulation and implementation was working under British colonial rule.

[4]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 409 for 1902, F. Lugard to Mr Chamberlain, 1903, p. 3.

[5] Bello, S (2011) *State and Economy in Kano*…pp. 80-81. Similar to what Bello has observed on the defects of these materials for a proper understanding of our colonial past, the fact remains that many a literature especially built on the ramifications of colonialism on our societies got slipped into these colonial records uncritically thereby ending up with an outcome justifying the colonialist political and economic activities at a time even the Europeans were poised to apologise to the Africans for slavery and colonialism on their peoples. This issue has been treated in much detail in the preamble of chapter one. The point being raised again here however, is not an attempt either at taking cover from the impact of colonialism to continuously justify the failures of African leaders in the post-colonial era.

production centres had in its employ the bulk of those members of the emirate ruling class as agents of the colonial Native administration. In any case, these agents of colonial rule owed their appointment and terms in office to the wishes and desires of the British imperial government represented by the colonial officer at the particular level in question. For instance, Lugard, as the British High Commissioner of the Northern protectorate was on such assignment in the appointment of Aliyu Dan Sidi as new emir of Zazzau after deposing Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau. The Zazzau electoral council was made the arrow head in justifying Dan Sidi's choice with Lugard saying:

> I told them to debate the matter (choosing a new emir), but indicated that I preferred Dan Sidi, the Wombai (Wambai). To this they agreed, and after a long explanation of the conditions on which he would hold his position, and the main characteristics of British suzerainty, I installed him as Emir. This was done (as already at Sokoto and Kano). [6]

These series of events on the removal, appointment of colonial agents to offices needed to work for the colonial state together with policies on adjustment of territories and spheres of governance gradually ensured the incorporation of the Zazzau emirate into the colonial political system. There was nowhere the so-called "Indirect rule" system could be considered at work here. From the above, the fact remained that even the appointment to key positions such as emir and district heads belonged to the British officials who were fully in charge. Lugard's role in the appointment of Aliyu as emir as highlighted above is a clear indication to this. The installation also indicated the hegemonic ascendance of the British where the ceremony was done in the British way by troops, with guns and Maxims mounted in front of the Emir's royal enclosure. Lugard was received by the troops with a royal salute after which he personally presented to the emir a gown and turban thus signifying it was henceforth the right of the British to make such appointments against the old order under the Sokoto

[6] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 409 for 1902, p. 15.

Caliphate.[7] The same way when in 1921 Aliyu was deposed and Ɗalhatu appointed, this process was repeated in a more elaborate form where the emir was presented with a letter of appointment, Staff of office, sword of honour, horse and state saddle by the Governor of Nigeria. Before the presentation, the swearing-in process took place with the new emir assisted by the *Waziri*.[8] Through this gradual hegemonic ascendancy, the former emirate was joined with some other neighbouring communities to form the colonial political entity of Zaria province while some other communities of the emirate were removed and made parts of different provinces.[9] The southern part of the former emirate was most affected by this colonial re-alignments which were all effected to facilitate better ways of milking the resources of the communities.[10]

The British colonial administration in Zaria province took away the land and mineral rights from the ruling classes and transferred same to the Crown. The hegemonic control also manifested in the imposition of taxes with reforms effected as the system demanded. The British currency was also introduced to replace the diverse media of exchange as a way the colonial state facilitated the monetization of the colonial economy. The issue of slavery was also tackled in the laws of the British because the dependent economy was towards wage labour that would serve the capitalist agricultural and mineral production sectors. These and many more political decisions of the colonial state were articulated in the form of proclamation and ordinances in the province. In the Zaria province deliberate policies were introduced to impose cotton

[7] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 409 for 1902, p. 17
[8] Zarprof/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 15 months ending March 1921, No 77.
[9] These included the south eastern and western portion of the emirate which formed parts of Nasarawa and Nupe districts.
[10] This has been discussed in the section on District heads as colonial agents and also Table 3.4 ahead for the statistics of the districts. The statistics generally pointed to constant adjustments and excising of some communities and or their incorporation into the province for administrative convenience as was always argued by the British colonial administration.

production and export, as well as other components of the colonial economy in the province. From this structure of the colonial state, its relevance is quite clear in the imposition and consolidation of the colonial economy in the Zaria province.

3.3 The Establishment of Zaria Native Administration

The Zaria province as an instrument of British colonial administration was proclaimed even before the military conquest of the Zazzau emirate and other territories included in the new colonial entity. However, it was not until in April 1903 when the emir of Zazzau Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau was deposed and Aliyu Ɗan Sidi was appointed that the British had full hold on the area and changes began to be implemented. The Resident of the province Captain G. F Abadie had been in Zaria since his appointment in 1901, intriguing on how to takeover affairs of the emirate from the emir Kwasau who, though inclined to the British at the beginning, however turned to be difficult to deal with until he was arrested and later deposed. The resident in Zaria Captain Abadie became the chief bureaucrat of the Province with mandate to govern the people of the area under the Zaria province in all aspects of administration on behalf of the Governor General who was also the chief Administrator acting for the British metropolitan government in London.

The province was at the initial stage divided into three administrative divisions consisting of Zaria, Kachia and Wushishi headed each by an assistant Resident.[11] These three units were also significant military centres used by the British to consolidate the conquest of communities in the area. As the adjustments continued, all major decisions on the administration of the colony, its provinces and districts were taken on the basis

[11] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report*, No 516 for 1906, p. 37.

of the top to the bottom. The emir whose appointment and removal was solely in the hands of the Resident and the Governor General, was the chief colonial agent in the implementation of all laws and policies desired by the British in the province and its districts. Thus, when Aliyu Ɗan Sidi was appointed by Lugard in 1903, he was made the head of the native authority (Native administration) who led the district heads in their work as agents, acting on directives from the head of the provincial administration, the Resident (assisted by District officers, D.Os and Assistant district officers, A.D.Os). In addition to the emir, the central office of the province had the office of the *Waziri* as in the case of Zaria, taking charge of the Secretariat where all records of the province on district basis were collected and maintained. From the beginning of the British administration in 1903, all the correspondences and other records were in Arabic normally translated to English by officers of the provincial office. Gradually, *Ajami*[12] was first used before turning to Roman letters in Hausa. By 1919, the Resident of Zaria declared that all records were henceforth to be made in the Hausa Roman only reiterating the Arabic text as "duplication". This office served as the central secretariat of the province collecting information from the District *Malams* known as *Magatakarda* who were employed in the Districts to assist the district heads in keeping records of the district as they were collected by the *Dagaci/Dagatai*: plural (Village heads) and sending them to the office of the *Waziri* in Zaria. The records usually include census population of each district, Livestock population, incidences of immigration and emigration, and such other details on the land and population resources. This was compiled on quarterly and annual basis for the purpose of tax assessment, allocation of

[12] *Ajami* is the writings in Hausa and other non-arabic languages using Arabic letters.

labour supply quota to each district for the purpose of constructions and other colonial policies and plans in the villages, districts and the province. [13]

In 1903, the Resident inherited 65 fiefs (Districts) operating under the emir of Zazzau, with each having a *Jakada* who was the fief holder but was represented in the district in most cases by the *Jakada's* slave representative. This arrangement was opposed by Lugard who in 1904 proposed and changed the structure to what gave the British officials not only powers to determine who was made district head in future, but they also got the opportunity to "reward" those who worked for them at one point of their consolidation either as intelligence, political messengers, translators/interpreters or even collaborators. This was a common feature of appointments to positions of political importance in the colonial administration throughout the provinces of the colony and protectorate of Northern Nigeria.[14]Here there is obviously the need to cite the case of Lugard's preference for Aliyu Ɗan Sidi (*Wambai*) as emir of Zazzau in 1903 which according to him was because he (Aliyu) had been "friendly disposed".[15]In the same

[13] See example of these Annual reports in the case of the Zaria province such as Zarprof/2551…, Zarprof/2557…, SNP 7/ 3997/1907…and SNP 10/97p…

[14] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report*, No 409 for 1902, p. 51. See much of the details on this as it affects the Protectorate and Colony of Northern Nigeria in Afeadie, P. A (1996) 'The Hidden Hand of Overrule: Political Agents and the Establishment of British Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria, 1886-1914', *PhD Thesis*, York University, North York, Ontario.

[15] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report*, No 409 for 1902, p. 15. It is interesting to stress the origin and development of cordial relations between Lugard and *Wambai* Aliyu which seem to have started even before Kwasau was deposed. Aliyu was said to be generous as indicated by Lugard himself, sending gifts and items of hospitality to the High commissioner's team while they were preparing to launch the Kano- Sokoto expedition from their main base in Zaria. This accommodation and protection from Lugard and other top British Bureaucrats Aliyu enjoyed as emir in Zaria until the appearance of Dr Walter Miller, the evangelist/colonial agent in the scene of Zaria province affairs. The open ambition of Miller to aggressively convert the Hausa to Christianity by all means and his blatant hatred for the "Fulani rulers" opened up the stage for clashes of interests between him on the one hand and emir Aliyu with the some of the British officers in the Zaria province on the other leading to intrigues, blackmails and clandestine allegations against the emir until he was finally deposed in 1921. This deposition was said to be a vow which Dr Miller made as Aliyu stood against most of his evangelist programmes until his adventures in *Birnin Zaria* were frustrated and the Medical/Mission of Miller was booed out of the *Birni* and later relocated to Wusasa by the Resident. See Shehu, S (2015) 'The Consolidation of British Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria: The Case of Deposition of the Emir of Zazzau Malam Aliyu Ɗan-Sidi in 1920's 'Al-*Mahram International Journal of the Centre for trans-Saharan Studies*, University of Maiduguri, Nigeria for a critical examination of this crisis in the Zaria province.

manner, in 1907, the Resident of Zaria province Captain Abadie made the emir appoint his *Turaki Karami* as *Hakimi* (District head) of Damau, later merged with Kudaru where its *Hakimi*, *Iyan Kurama* was sacked. The new District head*; Turaki Karami* was said to be an employee of Lugard as "guide" to the Kano-Sokoto expedition having fully known through his local political agents and informants that the man was appointed to the title during the time of Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau who also appointed him as official messenger of Zazzau to Kano.[16] Following this pattern of appointment, the British took full control of the administration of the district with the emir merely serving the errand position since from the day of his appointment he had no power to appoint or remove any of his officials without approval of the Resident and the Governor General.[17] The fact that the appointment of Aliyu like all other emirs made by the British was with the oath to serve the King of England and His representative the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, meant the loss of these powers and independence to the British. This however does not preclude the usual consultation of the emir at any time the resident wanted to decide on some colonial state policy in such a way it would not be of any influence to change the direction or real interest of the British in the matter. On a regular basis reports of the activities of the Native administration in the

[16] This was a common trait in the emirates where emirs identify specific individuals among their title holders or even promote those capable of working for them as their designated and dignified messengers to sister emirates; a sort of Ambassadorial position normally assigned to persons with closer affinity by either blood or other relations to a particular emirate. Persons with persuasive ability in diplomacy were also considered in this regard, so that better relations could be fostered because of the fact of the person being there that could be more acceptable to the emirate leaders he was sent to by his emir. The British as a matter of fact used this opportunity extensively throughout the campaigns to conquer and dominate the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and other communities of Northern Nigeria. See for example *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report*, No 409 for 1902 and Zarprof/163/1919, No 73, Annual Report of Zaria Province and Afeadie, P. A (1996) 'The Hidden Hand of Overrule…'

[17] This was contrary to what Kirk Greene and Hogben seem to be suggesting that emir Aliyu's first action as head of the Native authority in Zaria was very much his own; meaning issues such as appointments and major decisions on running the province was his making and not the British. See in Hogben, S J, and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M (1966) *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria…*, p. 231 for their argument which seem to suggest the oath of office sworn to by Aliyu in the presence of Lugard was thrown to the dustbin of governance.

Zaria province contained list of district and village heads that were either deposed and or imprisoned as shown in the figures for 1918 below:

Table 3.1 List of Village Heads deposed in 1918 in the Zaria Province:

Name	District	Cause of Deposition
Sarkin Awai	Soba	Embezzlement of tax
Sarkin Kinkiba	Soba	Embezzlement of Tax
Sarkin Taba	Soba	Embezzlement of Tax
Sarkin Yakasai	Soba	Malpractice
Sarkin Marwa	Soba	Embezzlement of Tax
Sarkin Maigana	Soba	Embezzlement of Tax
Sarkin Farin Kasa	Soba	Malpractice
Sarkin Kubau	Kudaru	Embezzlement of Tax
Sarkin Anchau	Anchau	Embezzlement of Tax
Sarkin Marmara	Soba	Malpractice
Maianguwa Chigero	Zaria Town	Embezzlement of Tax

Source: SNP 10/95p/ Annual Report of the Zaria province for 1918.

The table above showed how very much concern the British colonial administration was taking issues of tax collection because it was the main source of maintaining the native administration activities. It also showed that one of the most recurring offences in the native administration of the area during the years in review revolved around handling the revenues and finances of the native administration which the Village and District heads were directly responsible to the emir and head of the native authority. The emir was directly responsible to the Residents. As a matter of fact, the British policy on the discipline of Native administration agents was not limited to deposition alone, but also include imposition of fines and imprisonment for ranging offences that included concealing taxable capacity of a village or district, malpractices, assuming judicial functions where there was none etc. In the 1918 report fifteen (15) district and village heads were fined various amounts that totalled thirty pounds and fifteen pence

(£ 30:15) with *Madakin* Zazzau, the district head of Tsibiri paying ten pounds (£10:00) in addition to his deposition.[18]

Also under the central provincial administration, the office of Native treasury (*Beit-al mal*) headed by the *Ma'aji* was established in March 1909 but came into full operation in 1910 to take charge of all tax and financial matters in Zaria, and all other receipts and revenues coming into the province. The treasurer was assisted in taking receipts from the districts and the courts by what the British referred to as *Malams* who began with writing in Arabic/ *Ajami* and later the Roman figures in Hausa.[19]This creation was an important step in linking the emirate financial system into the British economy in a way that such revenues would service the process of colonial exploitation of the resources in the area.

The agricultural sector, mineral exploitation and even the labour force required for the construction of the colonial bureaucracy relied on this financial source to pay the meagre amount where in some instances it ended up as forced labour. These areas of labour need included the construction and repairs of the railways, roads, and the clearance of waterways, erection of government offices and official residence and rest houses. They were all significant sources for the local ruling agents such as emirs and district heads to continue to benefit from the labour of the people through diversion to private gains and also underpaying the stipends paid by the Native administration in some of the labour work.[20] Details of the colonial labour policy would be discussed

[18] SNP 10/95p…
[19] Zarprof/163/1919, No 73…
[20] A key issue in the controversy surrounding reasons for the British deposition of Aliyu as the emir of Zazzau and head of the Zaria Native authority was the allegation of diverting colonial labour to his private farms in Likoro village. See SNP 10/105p/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1921.

ahead in colonial works and as they were related to the agricultural production policy as well as other key aspects of the colonial economy. The *Beit-el mal* was also reliant on the district heads for the new revenue system which the British wanted to create from the wide ranging forms operating under the pre-colonial emirate structure to make it more efficient and yielding to the colonial administration.[21] This financial system ensured the appropriation of revenues from the people through taxation for the province where the central administration retained fifty per cent of total collections.[22] Through the native treasury, the British began regular monthly payments to the emir of Zazzau as approved by the Governor, to all the staff of the native administration connected with headquarters, from the emir himself down to the town scavenger, and including the judiciary. At the lower level, district heads were maintained with approval to draw 25 per cent of the total taxes they collected in their districts while village heads were entitled to 15 per cent of the taxes collected by them. Thus, the native administration was one of the sources of colonial accumulation which the British made sure surplus was retained from the general collections of the native authorities. A picture of this mode of accumulation can be seen from the general revenue and expenditure of the native administration in the colony of Northern Nigeria.

[21] This has been discussed in the previous chapter under Taxation and other forms of Revenue.
[22] This was the first revenue allocation formula introduced by the British, which was reviewed as the revenue profile increased and the exploitation of the people through taxation became entrenched in the colonial system.

Table 3.2 Revenue Generation and Expenditure by the Zaria Native Administration

Year	Revenue (£)	Expenditure (£)
1912	146,101	132,761
1913	325,652	252,085
1914	326,508	319,940
1915	324,155	289,675
1916	394,848	307,123

Source: SNP 10/410p/National Archives/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1913 and Zarprof/750/ Annual Report of Zaria Province, 1916.

The table above consistently showed efforts by the native administration not only to maintain balance in the revenue generation and expenditure, but some extra work in generating as much surplus which were used by the state in other areas outside the N.A. It is significant to highlight that part of this surplus of the native treasuries was used to cover the World War I costs of the British against the Cameroons, one of the major African battle fronts the allied powers fought against the Germans. Funds appropriated to this course of the war amounted to £98,405 of the total £350,105 that was required in 1916 alone. The Native Administration continued its contribution to the war up to the end. It is however important to say here that the colonial state made what it called repayment of amounts contributed to the imperial war expenses for the years 1917, 1918 and 1919. The Native Treasury was of course the beneficiary with the instructions of the secretary for Northern Provinces to the Resident of Zaria to execute some public works in the area.[23] Similarly, Lugard in his annual reports on colonial affairs in Northern Nigeria usually sent to the British parliament clearly brought out the picture of this mode of surplus accumulation and capitalist profiteering by the colonial

[23] Part of the fund was used to build an all season road between Zaria to Kudan, then considered one of the gateways from Zazzau to the Kano commercial zone. See SNP10/67p/ Repayment of amounts contributed to Imperial War expenses for 1917, 1918 and 1919 to Zaria Province Native Treasury/1920.

administration in the provinces to which Zaria was a contributing member when he said:

> The surplus funds belonging to the Native Administrations in the Northern Provinces amounted to £129,979 on the 31st December. 1916, as compared with £121,449 at the end of 1915, after deducting a sum of £53,041 contributed by them during the year towards the war expenditure of Nigeria. £56,436 on account of these surpluses remained invested in England at the end of the year, the balance being on deposit in the Protectorate Treasury at interest.[24]

From the above, it is clear that the native treasury created by the British colonial government in the provinces was really a multi-functional means where various aspects of economies in the provinces were incorporated into the British metropolitan economic system. This was made in such a way for the system to service the financing infrastructural developments and also as saving grace for the British in times of financial difficulties such as we have seen in the case of paying for the War costs of 1916. The Native Treasury was therefore an important instrument of colonial exploitation which under the British cover and protection also strengthened the local ruling class such as Emirs, District and Village heads who were gradually converted to rather become paid agents in the stocking of the Native treasury on behalf of the colonial government located in the provinces of Northern Nigeria. The key role played by this financial outfit in the imposition and consolidation of agricultural production and export in the Zaria province would further expose their role in the political economy of British development of capitalist relations of production in Northern Nigeria and indeed Nigeria during the years of colonial rule. However, the extent to which the Native treasury contributed to the monetisation of the economy of Zaria province would be demonstrated in the chapter dealing with the foundation and consolidation of the colonial economy in the area.

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[24], *Northern Nigeria Colonial Annual Report, no 946* for 1916, HMSO, London, 1916, p. 6.

3.3.1 The Emirs of Zazzau as Colonial Bureaucrats

The British conquest of Zazzau emirate gave the colonial power unlimited opening for the incorporation of its institutions into serving as subordinates in the colonial exploitation of the resources of the area. The first major step taken by the British towards incorporating the emir as a key partner in the chain of colonial agents and officers was the removal in 1902 of Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau as emir of Zazzau having refused to give in to the authority of the Resident. This was the period Lugard set in to implement his country's conquest project in the interior of the Sokoto Caliphate with the intent of using Zaria as an easy window for conquering Kano and then Sokoto. By this conquest and deposition of the emir, the ascendancy of the British as the ruling power in the emirate was achieved without much difficulty. Thus, following many intrigues and events which dragged on for six months, the British appointed the next emir Aliyu *Ɗan* Sidi who was launched as the first subordinated ruler to work towards achieving the programmes of the British in contrast to the pre-colonial situation where the Sokoto Caliphate was regarded as the central power house of the emirates. Between 1903 when the British proclaimed Zaria Province up to Nigeria's independence in 1960, five appointments were made to the emirship position by the colonial government in Zazzau emirate even though the last emir; Muhammadu Aminu was virtually appointed under the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) led self-government in 1959.[25]

[25] Musan Wambai of *Rimin Kambari*, {aura Zaria, interviewed in June, 2014 claimed the Premier of Northern Nigeria, Sardaunan Sokoto, Ahmadu Bello mentioned the name of Iyan Zazzau Alhaji Muhammadu Aminu to the then Resident of Zaria Province as the person to succeed the Late Emir of Zazzau Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiaku. This conversation Musa said took place in his presence before the late emir was buried and just when the Sardauna and the Resident came to see the dead body of the late emir on the very spot he collapsed and died by the door to his private chamber inside the Palace. Musan Wambai as one of the close personal aids of late Malam Ja'afaru was in the emir's entourage on the journey to Kaduna on the morning of that Friday of his death.

Table 3.3 The Emirs of Zazzau and Heads of the Zaria Native Authority in the Colonial Period.

Name	Period in office	Number of Years
Aliyu Ɗan Sidi	1903-1921	18 years
Dalhatu Ɗan Yero	1921-1924	3 years
Ibrahim Ɗan Kwasau	1924-1937	13 years
Ja'afaru Ɗan Isiyaku	1937-1959	22 years
Muhammadu Aminu	1959-1975	16 years

Source**:** Last M (1966) 'A Solution to the problem of Dynastic chronology in 19th Century Zaria and Kano', *Journal of the Historical Socety of Nigeria*, Vol.III No.3 and Wapanda, A.S (1979) 'An Assessment of Politics in Zazzau and the Emergence of the Four Ruling Dynasties, 1804-1957', *Post Graduate Seminar*, History, ABU, Zaria.

Accordingly, all the emirs were made to be the key officials to work under the Resident at the native authority level of the provincial administration with their appointments totally owed to the Resident and by extension the British colonial power. The aristocracy of the Zaria province was fully used as administrative front in carrying out programmes of the British colonial power to all the remotest areas of the province. This was significant in the cotton production campaign programme launched in the province way back in 1905.

3.3.2 District Heads (*Hakimai*) as Colonial Agents:

The districts heads constituted the administrative agents stationed in the rural areas and fully subordinated to the British colonial regime through the emir in his position as head of the Native administration. The district level of colonial administration was checked by the District officer and his assistant popularly referred to D.O and A.D.O respectively. The districts headmen as they were called by the British were directly responsible for the mobilisation of labour in all cases of colonial constructions in their domains, the assessment and collection of taxes, distribution of seeds, erecting produce markets and all other directives by the British through the emir on whatever may come

up in the district. This way the districts gradually became the centres of British policy implementation where they continued to face re-organisation and the headmen also deposed or even imprisoned for offences ranging from tax embezzlement and other actions considered by the British officials as misappropriation and malpractice. Some of the territorial adjustments were done to reduce expenses and maximize tax fund coming into the government while others were to reward British "friends" with appointments. The following is a breakdown and chart on the number of districts maintained under the Zaria native administration.

Table 3.4 Statistics of District Heads during the Colonial period.

Year	**No of Districts**
1903	65
1907	32
1910	32
1916	29
1919	18
1920	29
1921	26
1931	27
1932	21
1934	17

Source: Zarprof/2552/Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1905, Zarprof/750/Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1916, Zarprof/163/…Zarprof/ 2572/Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1925, Zarprof/125/Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1930, Zarprof/378/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1931 and Zarprof/142/Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1935-55.

From the table above, it was clear that trends in the British adjustment of districts and territorial re-organisation in the case of Zaria Province were not static. In fact, mergers were common to "cut cost" and mobilise labour and to effectively collect taxes as well as exploit resources of the area and run the administration. The statistics of 1916 dropped sharply by more than half in 1919 due to the cut in the cost of running the province which was at that time mandated to even contribute to the British imperial war

effort in the First World War of 1914-1918. This reflection could also be seen in the years of the great depression when the colonial administration tightened its hold on exploiting the colonies while spending less in their administration because of the crisis that fell on the global capitalist economy. The districts had to be maintained no matter how they would be trimmed because they were important to the success of the native administration in the rural production areas.

Therefore, based on their centrality to the colonial political economy, the issue of who was appointed to head each of the district became the full business of the British represented by the Resident assisted by the District officers (D.Os). From our discussion so far it has been clearly explained that the British showed every intention to incorporate those aspects of the emirate pre-colonial political system into the colonial system, which was to ease their administration of the colony. However, from the conquest of the emirate the British colonial agents clearly showed that they wanted to change the *Jakada* system of administration in the *Gunduma/Gundumomi* (District) for their interest. In fact Lugard was in the habit of referring to them as "Absentee Contractors" who must be replaced with the village headmen that were residing in the various communities and villages of the districts. This was the basis of the establishment of the district heads in the districts under the colonial political system in the emirate and the rest of the protectorate and colony of Northern Nigeria. In the Zaria province, an immediate attempt to abolish the *Jakadu* met with problems because the village heads which the British wanted to take direct charge lacked the political strength to administer the areas where only recently they were messengers. The result was the British pressure on the emir to reduce the number of *Jakadu* and use his political influence to push forward whoever they wanted appointed to the districts. The resident

had to take personal supervision of the appointments and inauguration of the district heads. For instance in 1905, the Resident of Zaria C. W. Orr went to Kachia in the southern part of the province and installed the district head who was immediately instructed on tax assessment and collection among the many communities in the area.[26] In the case of removal, in 1911, the District officer of *Sarkin Ruwa* district plotted the removal of the district headman who was the *Sarkin Ruwa* on reasons of incompetence and replaced him through the emir. The anticipation was an attraction to the district by large migrating communities from Katsina and Bauchi. With the area also having large grazing land, there was hope of more tax collection which the British officer insisted the *Sarkin Ruwa* was incompetent to handle.[27] Some of the depositions of the district heads were so severe that they faced banishment to areas outside the emirate and the province. During the years of Aliyu *Ɗan* Sidi as emir of Zazzau, Galadima Musa was removed and exiled to Ilorin by the British.[28] Similarly, in 1921 Galadima Idris son to Ex-Galadima Musa lost out and was also removed for what the Resident reported as Slave dealing, employing forced labour and his political romance with Ex-emir Aliyu *Ɗan* Sidi who had just been deposed then. Thus, the new Galadima one Tukur was carefully chosen by the British to accomplish all that the colonial native administration wanted. According to the Resident F. F. W. Byng-Hall Tukur as *Majidadi* to Aliyu in his emirship days had established good understanding of the Native administration and the British officials he constantly related with on behalf of the emir. In addition, from the remarks of the Resident on *Galadima* Tukur, it seemed that he was an old recruit who was lifted to among other things complete his collaboration in exposing the "evils of Aliyu" that this …good looking man who, owing to his position as Mijindadi, has

[26] Zarprof/2552/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1905.
[27] SNP 7/2136/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1911.
[28] SNP 10/95 P/ Zaria Province Report for 1919.

been in touch with different Residents and knows the views and wishes of the government, he should therefore make an excellent district head…[29]

To further demonstrate what he meant, the Resident continued:

> During the few months since he was promoted he has done very good work…part of which include…it was due to him that after the installation of the new emir (Ɗalhatu), the fact that Ex-emir Aliyu had lied when he said that he had given up his farm at Likoro was brought to light.[30]

Another similar deposition of district heads and appointment was Abdu *Sarkin Kajuru* who was removed despite the unproved case against him. The result was that Kajuru district was liquidated and joined with Bishini to form Kofana district where *Sarkin Zana* Umaru (District of former Bishini) was now appointed *Sa'i* and given district head of Kofana.[31] These actions of the British which came through the emirs ensured the consolidation of the subordination of the local rulers at the district and village levels and they described the general nature of the Native administration in the districts and villages throughout the period of colonial rule. Determining who was capable to be a village and district headman as far as the British was concerned rested on the collection of tax, mobilisation of labour for all colonially sanctioned works, fighting slave dealings and being in the fore front of promoting agricultural production and export. An instance can be cited on reasons given by the resident to the Governor of Northern Protectorate to approve the appointment of two District heads proposed by emir of Zazzau Aliyu:

> Both Ɗanmadami and Magaji Ɗalhatu, have been very well reported on by the emir, especially in regard to enlisting labour for the railway. I would therefore recommend their appointments may be confirmed.[32]

[29] SNP 9/ 105 P/ Zaria province Report for 15 months ended 31st March, 1921.
[30] SNP 9/ 105 P/ Zaria province Report for 15 months…p. 22.
[31] SNP 9/ 105 P/ Zaria province Report for 15 months…p. 23-24.
[32] SNP 10/410P/Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1914.

Apart from appointments, even adjustments of districts, re-organisation and amalgamation were carried out only by the Native administration with the approval of the Resident and even Regional governor as in the example of 1931:

Table 3.5 Amalgamation of Districts in Zaria Native Administration in 1931.

1. Kujama District amalgamated with Chikun under the District Head of Chikun.
2. Kudan " " " Makarfi " " " " " Makarfi
3. Jaji " " " Zangon Aya " " " " Zangon Aya
4. Bishini " " " Kajuru " " " " Kajuru
5. Kagarko " " " Jere " " " " Jere
6. Chawai " " " Garu " " " " Chawai

Source**:** SNP17/18939 Vol I/ 1931/Annual Report of the Zaria Province.

3.4 The British Colonial Judicial System, Police and Prison Services.

The creation of a colonial judicial system, police and prison services in Zaria province was part of the evolutionary process of the colonial state as the main ruling instrument in the province. This process began almost immediately Zaria as the centre of the Zazzau emirate, was occupied at the same time the other remoter areas were being subdued as fast as possible to allow for the take-off of the colonial economy. The judiciary in the colonial era was in addition to the general issues of personal and state matters under the Sharia system taking charge of cases of breach of laws imposed by the new colonial system its desire to subordinate and turn the emirate political economy into a dependent part of the metropolitan system. Thus, the pre-existing judicial system of the emirate was regarded incapable to deal with such cases on regulating the production and marketing of designated crops which was the concern of the colonial state in order to drive the local economy towards serving British interest. The colonial police force built around the emirs body guards (*Dogarai*) and also recruits from the freed slaves gradually replaced the army of the West African Frontier Force which was used to defeat any opposition to the imposition of British rule in the emirate. In the case of the prison it was obvious as a place for those sentenced or detained for violating the

laws and orders of the colonial government. In Zaria, the official residence of *Sarkin Zazzau* Abubakar (1870-73) was converted in 1903 to become the first prison (Gaol) which and so far remained in that function.[33]

3.4.1 The Colonial Judicial System

The evolution of the colonial justice system in the Zaria province like in other parts of the colony of Nigeria was closely related to the establishment of the colonial economy, with all the supporting policies needed to be backed by a judicial shield against any breach. With the colonial conquest of the Zazzau emirate by the British in 1902, the process for the establishment of the colonial state to control the imposition of colonial domination began in all sectors driving the political economy of the emirate. These obviously included the system of justice, law enforcement and other key matters on security, law and order which were needed to promote the new colonial system. The colonial state had earlier in the years since the British flag was hoisted in 1900 to signify the launching of formal colonial rule began to implement its policy of subordinating the judicial system with sustained proclamations on the establishment of courts and those institutions directed at liquidating the socio-economic and political structures of the pre-colonial emirate system. The following figures give backing to understanding the British resolve to impose its colonial structures generally in the colony and protectorate of Nigeria, Northern Provinces and the Zaria Province for the effective incorporation of the area as a part of the British colonial territory.

[33] The Zaria Prison is located some metres south east of Kofar Doka. See Zarprof/2551/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1904.

Table 3.6 Laws and Proclamations enacted under the British in Nigeria by 1939.

Year	No of Legislation (Proclamation)
1900-1901	17[34]
1901-1902	22
1904-1905	32
1905-1906	13
1906-1907	25
1907-1908	08
1908-1909	20
1910-1911	04
1911-1912	07
1925-1926	07
1926-1927	09
1927-1928	07
1938-1939	09

Source: *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* Nos. 346, 409, 476, 516, 551, 594, 633, 674, 704, 735, 782, 1315, 1335, 1384 and 1904.

A close examination of the table showed the speed with which colonial laws were enacted within a decade to enable effective British control of the area occupied and set pace in the commencement of the colonial economy. With the establishment of different provinces and the consolidation of native administration most of the laws and policies were left to local areas. Thus, the provinces were given more powers of policies to enhance closer monitoring of native administration.

However, the process of the evolution of the colonial judicial system began with the Native Courts proclamation of 1900-01 in the protectorate of Northern Nigeria that the

[34] Lugard listed the 7 most important that were hurriedly enacted majority of which actually protected the incoming colonial regime and also took control over land and labour). See *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 346 for 1901…p. 16-17.

way for the establishment of *Alκali* courts in the districts of the Zaria province were opened as in other provinces. The basis of the operation of these courts was also colonial, regardless of the courts title linked to the Sharia based *Alκali* as well as the British claim of the court being established essentially to meet the requirements and needs of the people in the districts.[35] Judgements made by the *Alκali* courts on all cases were subjected to the High Commissioner who, as the highest agent of the colonial state had the mandate to final decision. With this colonial policy in place, certain points become clear on the British administration of the province. That all laws governing the colony were subjected to the needs and aspirations of the British colonial state, whether the laws were in conformity with the social and economic cultures of the people or not. This was because according to Lugard… "…in the matter of law and justice; Mohammedan law, so long as it was not contrary to the law of the Protectorate, would not be interfered with, and the Emir's and *Alκali's* courts would be upheld and strengthened under the supervision of the Resident."[36] Thus, while new laws alien to the people were enacted, the existing ones were also either completely removed or adulterated in such a way they would no longer be serving the deterrence function they were meant to be. For instance, what the British called… "Mutilation and imprisonment under inhuman conditions would not be allowed, and no death sentence would be carried into execution without the prior concurrence of the Resident."[37]That the right to make laws on all matters of the colony was now the exclusive of the Colonial state through the High commissioner (Governor General), Lieutenant Governors (Regional Governors) and Residents in the provinces was also a settled matter. Lugard in the early years of British colonial rule… "…emphatically forbade all slave raiding and all

[35] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 346 for 1901, p. 16-17
[36] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 409…, p. 34.
[37] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 409

transactions in slaves, and imposed taxes in such way as the High Commissioner saw fit."[38]

3.4.2 The Colonial Police and Prison Services.

The creation of Police and Prison arms of the colonial security system is closely connected to establishment of the colonial judiciary which was itself a part of the major instruments of colonial domination. The Police as an arm of the colonial security network was created to perform the basic function of enforcing all laws created by the colonial administration at the district, provincial and regional levels. The duties of the force consisted mainly in escorting prisoners, guarding gaols and convicts, investigating and detecting crime, serving summons and executing warrants, patrolling, prosecuting offenders, aiding and protecting revenue and customs officials, guarding specie, and escorting Residents and other officials.[39] Therefore all aspects of colonial repression in the name of creating law and order were carried out by the colonial Police force. With this, the police became an important part of the Colonial state which acted as the midwife in the imposition of British colonial domination in Zaria Province and the Northern Protectorate.

However, as in other ruling instruments of the pre-colonial emirate the *Dogarai* were incorporated to form part of the Police, thereby transforming the palace guards into agents of enforcing colonial law and order. A policy of paying them in form of votes through the Native authority was started until later when they were fixed on individual salaries under the same Native administration. Although the *Dogarai* were placed under

[38] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 409, pp. 34-35.
[39] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 476 for 1904, p. 117.

the emir, he had no powers to appoint, discipline or dismiss anyone of them without the approval of the Resident who was also duty bound to report such action to the Lieutenant Governor. Prior to the creation of the Police force under the British, the officers and recruits of the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F) at the initial stage of conquest were responsible for the law enforcement function, carrying out the so-called patrol, expedition, and pacification on those communities that attempted to oppose the British actualisation of its claim of the Nigerian area and even cases of initial resistance to paying taxes. The W.A.F.F itself inherited this enforcement work from the Royal Niger Company Constabulary that was disbanded in 1900 and its members converted to become a part of the new British government force; W.A.F.F. The fact that the colonial state needed a uniform system of policing the territory necessitated the centralisation of recruitment, training and deployment of those employed as Police to the provinces from the headquarters of the Northern protectorate.

By 1902, the number of provincial police in the Northern provinces was increased, with each province having one (1) British police officer known as District Superintendent commanding Fifty (50) recruits as a constabulary.[40] These officers in the provinces were directly responsible to the Commissioner of Police of the Northern Protectorate (Inspector General of Police) who reported directly to the High Commissioner (Governor General). The provincial police force in Zaria province was placed under an Assistant commissioner of Police confined to the township and the provincial office affairs. The provincial police were assigned to the Railway, Gaol, Banks, Office guards, Beat duties in Zaria, as escorts and accompanying travelling Rails.[41] In 1915, there were

[40] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No. 409 for 1902, p. 94.
[41] SNP 10/138p/1916/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1915.

73 police officers and men in the Zaria with 12 of those deployed to serve at Kaduna junction.

Beside the provincial police, the *Dogarai* also function in the colonial administrative system in maintaining colonial peace, law and order confined to native administrative areas. Hence, the detachment of the *Dogarai* from being exclusively employees of the emir and their attachment to the Native administration, which was new authority directly controlled by the British. Thus, it could be said that the establishment and consolidation of the colonial economy in the Zaria province was fully supported by the *Dogari* system through ensuring strict compliance with all laws and policies governing the production and marketing of the agricultural produce needed under the economy and tracing criminals sabotaging the Railway facilities and other infrastructure of the colonial state. The *Dogarai* also took active part in assisting and protecting the interest of foreign companies involved in the buying of export crops such as Cotton and Groundnuts at the designated markets. The incorporated *Dogarai* who formed the core of the Native authority Police were also deployed to assist the *Hakimai* at the district level in the collection of taxes, mobilisation of labour for colonial constructions, and as escorts or guards protecting colonial agents. In 1915 a total of 99 *Dogarai* of which 13 belonged to the Mounted unit while the rest 86 as Foot *Dogarai* were serving in various units of the Native administration as Guards and Warders in the Zaria province.[42] In an annual report on the Zaria province, the Resident was clear as to the responsibility of the Emir and his *Hakimai*, the Native Courts (*Alkalai*) and *Dogarai* (*my emphasis*) in enforcing rules and laws of the colonial government on Cotton and agriculture among which included:

[42] SNP 10/138p/1916/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1915

1. Prevention of touting for Produce
2. Improvement of the quality of Cotton.
3. Rules regarding Cattle disease[43]

In addition to this, by the late 1940s when the Colonial administration held tight its policies on agricultural export production and marketing, the Emirs of Zazzau and Kano were made members of the powerful Cotton Advisory Committee of Northern Nigeria.[44] This was the highest advisory body to the British in the colony on all issues regarding improvements on Cotton production and marketing.

3.5 Land Policies under the Colonial Economy in Zaria Province:

One of the key policies used by the British in establishing colonial control on the economy of Zaria province especially aspects of cotton production and export was the issue of land and land resources. The first law was the general Land Proclamation of 1900 on Nigeria which clearly stipulated that title to land can only be acquired through the approval of the High Commissioner.[45]This proclamation was amended in 1906 and 1910 to make for more effective control of lands and their designation as either the so-called Native lands, Waste lands or Crown lands.[46] All these laws were grounded in the provision that… "…the whole of the lands of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, whether occupied or unoccupied on the date of the commencement of the laws are

[43] SNP 10/162/1918/Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1917.
[44] Zarprof/4398, Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1949.
[45]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 346*…, p. 15.
[46] This categorisation was initiated in the various land related proclamations of 1900-02 and reinforced in the amendment of the land proclamation of 1910 and 1913. The Native land refers to those areas "already occupied" by the natives, while the Crown lands was the "inherited lands secured by the Royal Niger Company during its pre-1900 commercial activities while Waste lands are from the British point of view all the "fallow, abandoned or unoccupied lands". SNP 17/50897/ The Land and Native rights Proclamation/1910.

hereby declared to be native lands."[47] However, the provision was quick to add (what seemed to expose the real motive of the law) that:

> …all the lands and rights over them are declared to be under the control, and subject to the disposition of the Governor, and shall be held and administered for the use and common benefit of the natives of Northern Nigeria; and no title to the occupation and use of any such lands shall be valid without the consent of the Governor.[48]

In addition to this more powers were appropriated to the interest of the British with the Governor reserving the exclusive position to:

1) Grant rights of occupancy to natives of Northern Nigeria and to persons other than natives of Northern Nigeria.
2) Demand rental for the use of any native lands granted to any native or non-native.
3) To revise the said rental at intervals of not more than seven years.
4) All lands can be recovered by the Governor in case of failure to pay rentals, illegal mortgage/sell of the allocated land or the land was required by the government for public purposes.
5) All land matters were only to be dealt with by the Supreme Court.[49]

All these provisions enacted and amended in the course of the colonial administration were contained in the various proclamations directly and indirectly related to land matters thus:

The Land Proclamation of 1900, amended as Public Lands Proclamation No 13 of 1902, 1906, 1910 and 1913.

The Lands Registry Proclamation, 1901

The Supreme Court Proclamation, 1902 (Section 13 and 18).

The Provincial Courts Proclamation, 1902 (Section 9).

[47]SNP 17/50897/ The Land…
[48]SNP 17/50897/ The Land…
[49]SNP 17/50897/ The Land…and *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 812* for 1913, p. 6.

The Crown Lands Proclamation, No 16 of 1902 (Vesting the lands taken over from the Royal Niger Company in the High Commissioner).

The Minerals Proclamation, 1902 (Section 9 and 45) amended and further amended 1904 up to late 1930s.

The Land Revenue Law, 1904.

The Land Development (Provision for Roads) Ordinance, 1933 (No. 35 of 1933).[50]

From a close examination, these laws and policies on land matters as they affected Zaria province from their origin in Northern Nigeria and later the Nigerian protectorate were essentially designed with the purpose of dispossessing the traditional land owners; the native population consisting of its primary users such as peasants and pastoralists, and then handing over such powers of ownership to the colonial state.[51] This was regardless of the provision of the first proclamation on the so-called recognition of the rights of natives to their land which seemed a mere shenanigan on the side of the British but which the local people were made to believe it was all to protect their interest. For one, the colonial state was mainly acting as the redistributor of these land resources strictly in accordance with an agenda which defined the relationship between the colonial power and its subordinate indigenous population. The basis of this has since been spelt out by the British which, claimed suzerainty on the ultimate title to all lands, the right to appoint Emirs and all officers of state, the right of legislation and of taxation.[52] This

[50] SNP 17/50897/ The Land… and *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 409*, p. 73, *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 476*, p. 115, *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 51*, p. 32, *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report, No704* for 1910-11, p. 15, *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 821* for 1913, p. 6, *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 878* for 1914, p. 13, *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 946* for 1916, p. 17, *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 1245* for 1924, p. 19 and *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 1668* for 1933, p. 80. Some more details are also in Alahira, H. A (2012) 'Colonial Land Policy and Tin Mining on the Jos Plateau' in Mangut, J and Wuam, T., (Eds) *Colonialism and the Transition to Modernity in Africa*, IBB University, Lapai, Nigeria, pp. 714-730.

[51] This has also been demonstrated particularly in the mining sector of the Zaria province.

[52] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 409…*, p. 25.

way not only the peasants and other local producers whose life activities were attached to these land resources were alienated, but the British colonial administration moved to embark on allocating whatsoever size of land to as many European companies that were struggling to reap from the vast resources found in the area to their benefit. The situation offered the firms wider and a sort of monopolistic opportunity with their British currency at hand to acquire as much land and sites that were regularly "auctioned" to them by the Colonial state in strategically identified areas with mining prospects and those even certain to have mineral deposits. The local communities of eastern and south eastern Zaria province lost a lot of its land to European mining companies when Tin was discovered extending up to over 9,000 square miles of the territory, extending from Ningi (Bauchi) to the extreme east to Duchin Wei (Dutsen Wai), situated about 40 miles east of Zaria, to the extreme west; and from Lirue-n-Kano (Ririwai) in the north, to the Ninkada and Mada Districts (Plateau) in the south."[53]This report of 1910-1911 also confirmed that mining leases were granted to 149 prospectors covering over 12,000 acres, and exclusive prospecting licenses over about 355 square miles where the year's activity yielded 800 tons of cassiterite (Tin Ore) which were all exported to Britain.[54]Similarly, the trading companies got plots "auctioned" to them in the settled areas and new townships in most cases close to infrastructure like the Railway and Road junctions in Zaria, Kaduna and other areas for their trading activities.[55] In the rural

[53]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 704*…, p. 19.
[54]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 704*…, p. 19.
[55]An examination of the Surface Archaeology of European trading companies in Zaria shows that their Ware houses were located within the close areas of the Railway line or the main station in the Sabon Gari area. This was to facilitate the uploading and offloading of goods. It was the colonial government that "auctioned" these appropriated lands to the companies on preferential basis to the early big members of the trading agents such as UAC (Niger Company), BCGA, Paterson Zochonis and GB Ollivant, John Holt, L. Ambrosini, Miller Brothers of Liverpool, G. Gottschalk, London and Kano Trading Company, A. J Tangalakis and Company, Bank of British West Africa, The Colonial Bank etc. Similarly their administrative/operative offices were located within the same distance. This colonial trend was common to the other areas such as Kaduna, Dutsen Wai, Soba, Awai (Before the Bauchi Light Railway Line was closed) and indeed other provinces such as Kano. This has been discussed in much details in the chapter

production centres these foreign companies were also dominant in the acquisition of large expanse of land for various purposes connected to experimental farms and for export crops stores.[56] In 1915, there were such incidences of the dubious "auction" of plots of land as trading sites to various companies at Gimi, Duchin (Dutsen) Wai, the Zaria Native location, Karre and the native location plots at Kaduna as shown below.[57]

Table 3.7 European Firms owning plots of Land in Rural areas of Zaria Province by 1920.

Name of Firm/Company	**Station**
Niger Company Ltd	Kaduna, Rigachikun, Soba, Anchau, Dichin Wei, Rahamma and Gimi
John Holt and Co Ltd	Kudaru, Rahamma, Anchau, Duchin Wei and Soba
Lagos Stores Limited	Kudaru, Rahamma and Dichin Wei
Paterson Zochonis and Co Ltd	Gimi and Duchin Wei
G B. Ollivant and co Ltd	Gimi, Anchau, Dichin Wei, Soba and Rahamma
B.C.G.A	Dichin Wei, Kudaru, Birnin Yero, Bakin Kasua (It also own a ginnery and big stores in Zaria).
L.Ambrosini and Co Ltd	Rahamma
W. B. MacIver and Co Ltd	Gimi
London and Kano Trading Co Ltd	Gimi and Soba etc.

Source: Zarprof/750…

In this same list there were 12 other companies whose detailed land grap was between Anchau, Duchin Wei (Dutsen Wai), Gimi, Kudaru and Karre Tin mining area of the east and south east of Zaria province. However, because the records recovered in the archives have been damaged beyond full recognition the companies could not be fully ascertained.[58] In addition to these, other companies that were designated "Native traders" numbering about ten benefitted from the land grab in these areas for their

on the role of the BCGA and European trading companies in the development of cotton production and exports. See for example Zarprof/750…, Zarprof/163…, Zarprof/ 978…and Zarprof/ 2572…

[56] Maigana was the earliest area to experience this expropriation of large tracks of the peoples land for the purpose of setting up colonial experimental and demonstration farms. The most fertile areas were chosen in each case of these experimental farms. What was often referred to as seed beds were also established in parts of Soba district for only cotton seed multiplication.

[57] Zarprof/750…

[58] See Zarprof/2569/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1922.

trading and mining operations at such places like Gimi, Kudaru, Dutsen Wai and Karre. The British also opened up an easy way for further land grab especially by foreign mining companies in the name of either lease, mining or even water rights where the peasantry were seriously affected with loss of wide expanse of land to these mining prospectors. This has been vividly demonstrated in the several allocations of these lands to the companies by the authorities of the Zaria province on annual basis from the opening years of the colonial rule up to independence. For instance besides the designation of a large expanse of land as cotton market known as *Puloti* and permanent premise for the companies, in 1936 the Native administration moved to expropriate plots of land adjacent to each gazetted cotton market for the companies buying cotton to use as their temporary cotton storage plots. The BCGA was a land lord in its own right in which having been the closest agent of the British colonial state in the cotton campaign needed not to apply.[59] The others applied and got their share of these plots at locations they desired throughout the major cotton markets in the province as shown below:

Table 3.8 Cotton Market plots for European Companies in the Northern Districts of Zaria Province before 1939.

1) Awai: C.F.A.O, U.A.C, John Holt, G.B Ollivant and P.Z
2) Birnin Yero: U.A.C, John Holt and G.B Ollivan
3) Dutsen Wai: C.F.A.O, U.A.C, G.B Ollivant and P.Z
4) Gimi: C.F.A.O, U.A.C, John Holt and G.B Ollivant
5) Kudaru: C.F.A.O, A.J Tangalakis, U.A.C, John Holt, G.B Ollivant and P.Z
6) Rahama: U.A.C, John Holt, G.B Ollivant and A.J Tangalakis
7) Soba: C.F.A.O, U.A.C, John Holt, G.B Ollivant and P.Z.

Source: Zarprof/ 2652/ Annual Report of Zaria Province/ 1936.

[59]The BCGA was indeed the "Big Fish" in the whole business of Cotton export production in Zaria Province and other cotton producing areas of the Northern provinces and protectorate of Nigeria. Details of this has been discussed under the BCGA. On the other hand the European and other trading companies were operating as major agents to the BCGA as far as cotton marketing was concerned. They also dominated the other areas of colonial trading activities as we shall examine the origin, spread, nature and operations of these companies under the colonial economy in the Zaria province.

In addition to these, some of the companies such as PZ also expropriated plots of land in other cotton markets and established presence in Kidandan, Kudan and Shika. John Holt Liverpool Ltd owned these plots in the Anchau, Shika, Kaya, Kudan, Gamagira, Kauru, Ikara and Gangara cotton markets as at 1936.[60] In 1913 the foreign companies scrambled for and got Land lease and mining rights that reached about four thousand Acres which they shared among themselves. For instance, Benue (Northern Nigeria) Tin Mines Ltd located in Leren Duchi (Dutse) and Karre Mining sites got about 1,000 Acres, Champion Tin Fields Ltd in Duchin (Dutsen) Wai, Leren Duchi was given over 2,460 Acres and Rafin Fa Tin Ltd secured over 400 Acres while Wassalco Concession Ltd in the Kogin Karami area of Kudaru had over 100 Acres to mine for Tin in the area.[61] However, by the 1920s to 1930s the number of companies expanded as their land claims also widened, thus further closing in on the peasantry whom were mostly pressured to look up to mining and other construction labour (in the form of forced labour, "voluntary" and wage). This was a safe haven for them against the uncertain prices of cotton and other crops that could not make them realize what they needed to meet their tax obligations or risk the intimidation of the British colonial agents that could lead to imprisonment, or force those unable to generate what they could pay their taxes with, to migrate to other neighbouring provinces.[62] Aspects of food production also suffered from the constant diversion of labour to the mining, railway and other colonial construction works where labourers mobilised to these areas hardly work on

[60]Zarprof/ 2652…
[61]Zarprof/2560/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1913 and Zarprof/ 2601 Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1926.
[62] The incidence of this type of forced migration or crossing provincial borders was common in the south eastern part of the Zaria province where the incidence of higher taxes or demand for labour in colonial constructions forced some communities in the southern districts to migrate to Nasarawa and Naraguta regions where there was no railway construction. Also in the later years of colonial rule especially during the closing years of the second world war (1939-1945) when colonial exploitation was intense without much returns in prices of export and food crops, mass migration to southern Kano province from northern districts of Zaria province such as Paki, Makarfi, Ikara were recorded. See Zarprof/3810/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1943.

their farms during the planting season. The figures below for the years that followed were further indications of the implication of the British land policy as it concerned the Mining industry.

Table 3.9 List of Mining Companies Operating under British control in Zaria Province.

Mining Company	Land Leased/Mining Rights/Location
Benue (Northern Nigeria) Tin Mines Ltd	40 Acres in Leren Duchi, Kudaru District
Karre Tin Company Ltd	51.2 Acres in Kudaru District
Docherty D.M	28.87 Acres Banki, Dutsen Wai, Kubau
" "	53.54 Acres N.E Leren Duchi, Kudaru
Mr Rex Tollemache	43.32 Acres in Kubau District
" " "	11.28 Acres in Karre, Kudaru District
Mr W.C Smith	49.5 Acres River Kataba, Kudaru/Lere
A.L.G Gillies	60 Acres of Lease, Takalafiya, Kubau
" " "	64 Acres of Lease, Kubau District
Tin Properties Ltd	83.96 Acres Rafin Bawa/Rafin Wooso, Kudaru District.
Karre Tin Company	Mining Lease/Rights with Nos 430, 434, 479, 516, 542, 557, 588, 589, 646, 647, 886, 887, 1275 and 1484.[63]

Source: Zarprof/2560, Zarprof/2601, Zarprof/2607A, Zarprof/2609, Zarprof/2616, Zarprof/2617, Zarprof/2618, Zarprof/2659, Zarprof/2872, Zarprof/3054, Zarprof/3299, Zarprof/4757 and Zarprof/4800.

It is significant here to note that even with these few examples, the nature of the spread and dominance of these companies in the economic activities of the Zaria province would only be clearer in the discussion on the role of European and other trading companies under the colonial economy. However, with specific regards to the colonial

[63] According to Alhaji Badamasi Aliyu *Sarkin Karre*, Damau, 70 Years, Farmer and Merchant, interviewed at Karre Village, Kubau local Government, Kaduna State, 09-11-2016, some of the mining sites are still being exploited by "*Yan Kwaranda*" from various parts of the country.

land policy, it is necessary to understand the significant connection these companies had with the colonial state on the appropriation of land which enabled them to dominate economic activities in the province without threat from the dispossessed peasants. This has been demonstrated in Maigana, Soba and parts of Kubau area from 1914 when the British-American Tobacco Company established its Tobacco cultivation programme east of Zaria with more land committed to tobacco than to growing food crops. These colonial land use policies which emphasized on export crop agriculture and mining pushed more people away from food production while they struggled to commit their labour for money to pay taxes and buy the food they could not produce. Next the study examines the aspect of colonial labour policy and its impact on the colonial economy in Zaria province.

3.6 Labour Policies under the Colonial Economy in Zaria province

The British colonial labour policy in Zaria province has its basis in the general approach of the colonial administration in controlling the productive forces of the Northern protectorate of Nigeria. This principally affected large scale production in agriculture, cottage industries, regional and long distance trade, allowing some aspects of domestic slavery including concubine for the few initial years. Another colonial labour policy was the use of what the British refer to as “political labour” or “free labour”, but which was a form of forced labour imposed on the local ruling agents to conscript from their subjects based on rationing. Under this policy, communities where the construction of colonial infrastructure passed through such as roads, railway line and other colonial buildings were obliged to provide a specified number of able bodied men for the construction work there. The district and village heads were responsible for such mobilisation of labour. This form of labour partly contributed to the creation and

establishment of the cheap colonial wage labour which was extensively utilised in the later years of colonial domination by the Railway Department, Public Works Department of the provinces, the Native administration and European trading and Mining companies throughout the period of colonial rule. In the railway construction alone, the distance contributed by the peasants of Zaria province was 141 miles of the total 356 that covered the Northern provinces at different times since the railway construction commenced around 1909.[64] In one of the southern districts with large concentration of Gbagyi (Gwari) communities, the able bodied men were cleverly divided into two equal groups of their total number which was counted as 3,191.[65] The first group was sent to the Railway construction sites with stern warning on the district head to assist the government policy and make sure they work their part while the other half remained at home to intensify food production for the challenges in the season ahead.[66] This implementation strategy was only encouraged to the extent that at a point the food situation was taking the dangerous course of scarcity. Thus, the food produced therein greatly assisted mainly in servicing the mass labour force diverted from their traditional domain in the farms, although there were instances when in some seasons preference was placed by the colonial administration more on the "political labour" than the peasants own production in the farm, industries or trading activities.

Other sources of colonial labour extraction included the areas of production of export crops Cotton and Groundnut and all works related to processing them for export. The area of agriculture also involved the deliberate mobilisation of peasant labour in the production of food required to feed the colonial army that was at the initial stage of

[64]SNP 10/2559/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1912 and SNP 7/360/Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1909.
[65]SNP 7/360/Annual Report…
[66]SNP 10/2559/ Annual Report…

imposing colonial domination busy conquering communities and bringing them under the full grip of the British. As we noted above, the same peasants were also continuously pressured by the colonial system through the Native administration to produce much grains needed to feed the labourers in the Railways and Roads construction, those of the emerging mining fields in the east and south east of the province. This labour policy did not only entrench monetization of the economy but also threw the farming population of the Zaria province into social and economic crisis not common to them in their history. In the year 1912, the railway labour alone accounted for 6,000 men conscripted from various parts of the Zaria province, particularly areas traversed by the line which were mostly in the northern and central districts.[67] Similarly, an examination of the record of 1914 when the demand for colonial labour from the peasant population was at its peak in the province for various construction works over 10,750 men were demanded by the British from the emir through his districts headsmen.[68] There was the Eastern railway line project that was almost entirely to draw its labour force from the eastern and south eastern districts of Zaria province. These communities were also the leading producers of food and export crops such as guinea corn and cotton in the area. Over 3,300 men were engaged in the Bauchi light railway line portion in Zaria province covering more than 20 miles, and these labourers continued to work through the whole of the rainy season until October when it was too late to go into any farming that season.[69]

[67] This was the same period of the increase rate of peasant migration from some of the Northern districts to Kano. Although the colonial officers reporting were quick to defend such migration as normal routine of the Maguzawa in the region, however, since the migration was also recorded elsewhere in the province which was facing the numerous pressures discussed above, the British argument could not be justifiable enough. See SNP 10/2559/Annual Report…

[68] SNP/10/2562/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1915.

[69] SNP/10/2561/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1914.

During the World War of 1914-1918 a compulsory enrolment of 119 men into the colonial army for the war was made in the province while the Native administration was made to mobilise the sum of £1,750 as contribution to the British war fund[70] Under the same labour demand on the Native administration, the main railway line deviation, military camp construction at Kaduna junction, work on the new capital of Northern provinces at Nasarawa (Kaduna), the Railway headquarters, the construction of the Kaduna aerodrome and even the Zaria- Maska to Sokoto road were all included.[71]In 1925 over 13,500 labourers were called from Zaria and neighbouring provinces to the British political labour camp of the eastern railway where they worked on till December, recording 26 deaths. The foreign trading firms also employed over 1,000 labourers for various works thus causing further diversion of the peasant labour farther from the farms.[72] As it were, with these various faces of labour pressure already firmly established in the Zaria province area, this demand could not be met while at the same time desertion was experienced among the able bodied men to neighbouring territories. The result of this was the British opting for the conscription of labour from Kano, Niger and Sokoto provinces.[73] In spite of this "saving grace" by the neighbouring provinces on the Zaria province, these works had devastating impact on both production and the demography of the areas. For instance, in 1910, the population of Zaria was 26, 000 but in 1914, a total of 19, 260 only were recorded. This was attributed to several factors as contained in the official pronouncement of the British agents,[74] However, the same

[70] SNP/10/410p…
[71] SNP 10/2572…
[72]SNP 10/2572/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1925
[73] SNP 10/410p…has sown that labourers brought from Kano were deployed to the building of the new capital of Northern provinces. Kaduna and Sokoto based labourers principally from Gusau and environs were joined with their Zaria province counterparts on the Zaria-Maska-Sokoto road project. Those from the Niger were sent to the construction work on the railway headquarters in Kaduna. This was the rationing policy with which the British implemented the construction of these colonial infrastructure, while little concern was given as to the loss of peasant production in the farms which were not only needed by the community but the colonial administration in the maintenance of this huge labour force.
[74]SNP 10/410p…

event was happening at the height of the Railway works and internal pressure exerted on the population to produce food to meet up with the rising demand for food from the colonial state to supply the tin miners in neighbouring Naraguta (Jos) and south eastern Zaria province around tin mining Kudaru district.[75] This also came at a period when the colonial state was busy clearing all obstacles to the development of cotton and groundnut production in the province having shifted from the central provinces of Northern protectorate such as Ilorin and Lokoja that could not meet up with the cotton demand of the British Cotton Growing Association. Besides all these, the supposed "pay" for the railway and other construction labour was too meagre to cover what these peasants seemed to be losing in their farms since most of the works were carried out as and when they arose having no regard to the particular season. During the same period, in 1912 the Northern districts were affected by water shortage in the dry season farming areas. This seriously affected agricultural production and grazing activities by the cattle rearing Fulani that made the region their *Mashekari* (area of seasonal migration) attracting those from the neighbouring Northern parts in Kano and Katsina.[76] This threw the Northern provinces especially, into multiple crises of food shortage (Corn which was neglected in preference for the money earning cotton and groundnut) and migration to neighbouring lands. Consequently, from this labour conscription by the colonial state wage labour evolved in the railways, public works department of the Native and provincial administration, the European and other trading companies, and even the

[75] SNP 10/410p…
[76]SNP 10/410p…

conscripts for World Wars I and II which, the colony of Nigeria made some substantial contribution in terms of manpower.[77]

Another area of great significance in understanding the nature of colonial labour in Zaria province was in mining activities which has been mentioned in the previous section on colonial land policy. Since mining activities for Tin, Columbite and other related minerals started in the eastern and south east area of the province, the increasing demand for mines labour had exerted a lot of pressure on the peasantry to the extent that in some cases it had devastating impact on the food situation. This tended to affect neighbouring provinces that drew their foodstuff from the province especially around the southern border towards the Naraguta (Jos plateau) mining area. In the years 1941-1942, the Minefield labour demand in the southeastern districts of Zaria province had reached 3,500 men. This came at a time when a requisition of 1,000 tons of Guinea corn was compulsorily placed on the Zaria Native administration to extract from its peasants for the Mines, the army and other consumers mainly drawn from the parasitic colonial agents of exploitation in the area.[78] Long before the 1940's when the grain levy imposition became more pronounced, by 1918, statistics of the grain and other food supply from the Zaria province to the tin miners of the plateau province was substantial. From the Kudaru district, 17 tons of Guinea corn was sent to the plateau province, from Soba 45 tons were supplied.[79] This, with the colonial pressure and inducement on the peasants to also produce cotton and groundnut as well as the increasing non-farming

[77] Apart from the main army mobilised in the Native areas to fight on behalf of the British state, supporting personnel were also conscripted in their hundreds from the Zaria province to the neighbouring Cameroon which was taken from the Germans in the World War I. For instance, in 1915, about 300 labourers were recruited from the Zaria province and taken to work for 6 months in a place called Victoria plantation located in the Cameroons that was just taken from the German enemy forces. See SNP 10/750…

[78] Zarprof/3662/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1942.

[79] SNP 10/162p…

activities around the railways and mines had the effect of causing food shortage that year. This problem kept recurring year after year as the colonial pressure for the production of export crops to the detriment of food continued.

In the area of labour extraction by foreign firms, they were mainly concentrated in the Zaria Township where they operated large stores and warehouses for their purchased export crops. Some of the firms also mobilised labour in the rural production, produce markets and mining sites. On the whole, the British colonial labour policy was a major contributor to the series of Famine recorded intermittently throughout the formative years of the colonial rule. It was on record that famine in the Zaria province, and which were mainly the result of the colonial labour disorientation by the governing agents of colonial domination happened recurrently in the years 1914-1933. The severest of the catastrophe were experienced during the high period of the inter-war crisis years stretching from 1927 up to 1933.[80] The result was that these policies afforded the British opportunity to subdue the indigenous economic system and established a colonial economy that mainly emphasized the production of export crops such as cotton. Indeed, other colonial policies connected to fiscal and monetary matters such as taxation, and the introduction of a colonial currency also contributed to the development of cotton production and export in the colonial economy of Zaria province.

3.7 Taxation and Monetisation Policies under the Colonial Economy.

Another key area where the colonial state functioned in the process of subordinating the local economy was taxation and the establishment of a colonial monetary system.

[80]SNP/10/2561, SNP/10/2574, SNP/10/2575, SNP/10/1783, SNP/10/1258, SNP/10/1693 and SNP/10/2152.

As a result all components of the local economy were to be subordinated to the British capitalist economy. Thus, the imposition of colonial taxation was one of the earliest and policies introduced by the British to subordinate the economy of Zazzau emirate as the same situation was experienced in other parts of the Northern protectorate.[81] Taxation under the British colonial system came to play important roles in the local economy of the province. First, from the point of view of the general situation, the government wanted a source for funding the administration of the province and maintenance of the Native authorities since they were the main agents through which the political economy of the rural production areas would be subordinated and fully exploited. This way with adequate funding, the colonial structures created by the British would be fully subservient to the colonial administration as the one that pays the piper dictates the tune. Taxation became an easy means of generating the funds through its many forms collected by those put on the colonial payroll such as emirs, district heads, village heads, ward heads (in the native administrative capitals), accompanied by such colonial security agents as the Constabulary, the *Dogarai*, '*Yan doka* and Police. This had been vividly brought out in the general terms of creating a taxation system for the Northern protectorate which Lugard defended that… "…the cost of the machinery increased, notably on account of the need of more administrative officers and of additional police, and thus the necessity for raising a local revenue to meet that cost consequently becomes imperative".[82] This was just to say a sort of rendering the country not only self-supporting, but also having a situation where the product of the tax did more than pay for that staff and thus generate a revenue base which continually grew from year to

[81]Tukur, M. M (1979) 'The Imposition of British Colonial Domination…'pp. 532-702 has done some detailed study on the Imposition of British Taxes, their nature and impact on the pre-colonial social and economic structures of the emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and other areas of Northern Nigeria, though there was little on the Zazzau emirate, which was certainly one of the earliest to be subdued and it had some unique pre-colonial structures as discussed in other studies.
[82]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No. 409*…p. 53.

year. [83] The general local revenue profile of the Northern protectorate in the initial years seem to indicate this development:

Table 3.10 Tax Revenue in Northern Nigeria for 1904 to 1910.

Year	Total Revenue in Pound Sterling (£)
1904- 1905	94,020
1905- 1906	110,544
1906- 1907	142,087
1907- 1908	143,005
1908- 1909	178,445
1909- 1910	213,430
1910- 1911	274,989
1912- 1913	658,309

Source: Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 704...

The statistics above have shown the significant way the revenue profile kept increasing for the entire Northern provinces. Without having to argue to the contrary, the rise reflected the increasing squeeze on the provinces including our area of study to make for this rise.[84]

In the Zaria province, the British launched an aggressive tax collection as soon as Zaria and other eastern and central parts of the province fell to the colonial forces. Similarly, the same British continued to face resistance against the imposition of taxation in the remoter areas. Sometimes the dogged resistance was followed with British mobilisation of patrol or "expedition" as popularly called to "punish" such communities. In the previous chapter, we highlighted some of the incidences of British military brutality against some communities in the form of killings, burning homes, destroying settlements and sacking of villages. This was indeed quite paradoxical of the

[83] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 409…*
[84]As a matter of fact, a similar rise or more is reflected in the tax revenue history of Zaria province as we shall see.

"sympathetic" Lugard whose accusations of "tyranny" against the overthrown local chiefs of the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and other areas of the Northern protectorate especially on tax and revenue collection was clear at the very point he (on behalf of the British colonial government) was frantically justifying the British conquest project as would be demonstrated in this discussion.

Another key function of the imposed taxes was the mobilisation of labour force for the colonial economy. This was in such a way that general high tax was imposed whereas the existing basic means of local production was crippled by caravan tolls and other elimination tactics and thus not capable of generating such amount without causing serious economic dislocation to the sustenance of the family and community. Some of the pre-colonial means of production were easily defeated by the competing imports of foreign firms and laws to back their activities to the detriment of local producers.[85] The alternative for most of the people therefore would be their immediate submission and show of readiness (under social and economic pressure) to engage in the colonial, "political", "voluntary" and whatever form of labour that was always readily available for no matter how little amount of money. This they had to do in order to get out of the shackles of taxation where refusal to pay attracted severe "punishment" from the Native authority. In any case these forms of labour were carried out with the coercive role of the Colonial State which designed a compulsory rationing system through the Native

[85]The Salt industry as the commonest of the local productions needed everywhere all the time was one of those easily crippled pre-colonial production systems because of the continued massive importation of foreign salt. The good was also used by European firms to barter with raw materials such as Cotton, Groundnut, Hides and skin, Shea nuts. This trend persisted up to the later years, especially whenever the British currency was short in supply to enable the peasants obtain what to pay their taxes with. For instance, during the years of World War I, the price of export products fell sharply, there was low level of trade, no cash in circulation and hence foreign firms took the export crops and products from the peasants at very low price paid mostly in salt. The tax rate was not reviewed however as shown in the table on collection above. In this sense therefore, Salt played a significant role in the commoditisation of the economy and its various components.

administration Residents who imposed on the emirs and districts heads of the province. This, we have pointed out in the study on colonial labour policies. In this instance therefore, a very close relationship existed between colonial taxation and the commoditisation of labour under the British administration of the Zaria province all for the purpose of effectively exploiting the human and material resources of the area to the economic advantage of British capitalism. It was also from this structure that we come to understand the imposition of colonial taxation as a general means by which the entire pre-colonial economy of the Zazzau emirate and its surrounding communities were made subservient to the British capitalist economy. This came out clear from claims by the chief colonial agent, Lugard that…

> …the primary object of my (taxation) policy in Northern Nigeria, by dividing the country into provinces, and deputing a Resident to the charge of each,…is to effect throughout the whole Protectorate a demarcation of existing jurisdictions, and a reassessment (in accordance with the actual taxable capacity of each village) of the tribute, rent, or dues which it shall pay to the over-lord (British), to replace the present unequal incidence and the arbitrary and tyrannical levies of the past. Recourse to force for the collection of tribute, "lawful" or otherwise, by the chiefs, with its waste of life, and its continual unrest and war is now prohibited, and the British administration is, therefore, responsible for the enforcement of such dues as it may decide to be justly payable. [86]

It is significant to state here that all subsequent policies on colonial taxation were hinged on this general framework submitted by Lugard to his superiors in London. However, the real issue with the method of tax collection by the British as quoted above seems to be obscured by Lugard's concentration and outburst in criticizing what he called "tyrannical levies collected through waste of life, continual unrest and war" by the Fulani chiefs. For one, it is clear that the extraction of British taxes in the Zaria province was in many instances accompanied with unrest and the sending of expedition teams that went "punishing" rebelling communities. As the situation of this form of resistance

[86]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 409*…

persisted, the British added the collective punishment clause where a certain amount was imposed on a particular community in conflict with the colonial administration over taxation and related matters. This the communities concerned were forced to pay through confiscation of their foodstuff and property or even outright attack on the entire community and the sacking of heir settlements. This was always done through the backing of the local chiefs and their agents with the British forces hiding under the pretext of coming on the orders of the chiefs. An instance has been cited in the 1915 colonial report referring to Kauru district south east of Zazzau where the Rumana and Ruruma were fined £15 and £20 for refusing to pay their taxes.[87] Three years later in 1918 the situation had not changed where tax collection would be free from expeditions. In the same Kauru district of Zaria province, some 10 members of Kinono community refused to pay taxes. This led to an expedition against them led by the District officer (D.O) with an escort of 10 policemen. Rather than give up, the men escaped to the hills beyond reach. The colonial agents alternatively took away their foodstuff and sold it to the value of their taxes while their dwellings were completely destroyed.[88] Typical of the habit of British colonial agents as the usual case with Lugard and his lieutenants during the period of the military conquest of the emirates and communities of what emerged as the Northern protectorate, the Resident of Zaria province defended this action that… "The reprisal taken was not too severe, for had some action not been taken, the effect on the other hill tribes would have been very bad; the action was therefore necessary. And, the Resident reporting to the Governor General said "I concur".[89] These were few of the several cases of British handling of refusal to pay taxes imposed solely for the running of its colonial administration and incorporating the local economies into

[87] SNP 10/ 138p…
[88] SNP 10/162p…
[89] SNP 10/162p…

the British capitalist economy. However, under this ordinance, it was not all the way strictly on issues of taxation, generally on the refusal to recognize the hegemonic position of the British and their local agents while dealing with matters of community dispute and interests. In 1915, we saw how the communities of Kurmin Bi and Kaje were collectively fined £15 (pounds) and 100 Bows and Arrows[90] under the collective punishment ordinance for attacking some neighbouring communities in their Zonkwa area where 25 policemen accompanied the colonial officer in charge there to impose the fine. Another interesting case was that of the Kauru hill communities of Juwafa and Chinuku who were also given collective punishment of £25 and £18 respectively for driving off and slaughtering some cattle belonging to herdsmen flocking with their cattle in the area. Their punishment resulted from a combination of the "stealing" and refusal to recognize the authority of the British and its agents while they were attempting to investigate the alleged criminal act as was reported to the authorities in Kauru.[91]

Another important point on the issue of taxation in the Zaria province was that it was not only communities refusing to pay that attracted punishment, even the local colonial agents such as the Native authority staff, district and village heads had continued to face deposition, imprisonment and other means of reprisal on account of "embezzlement" of taxes whose collection was their main job under the Native administrative system. In the 1918 financial report of the province, 11 village heads were deposed for tax and related malpractices, while 15 others were fined or imprisoned

[90]This policy was clearly aimed at disarming the communities to make them incapable of causing further military threat to the British colonial officials as the implementation of the colonial domination agenda continued.

[91]SNP10/212p/ Fines Imposed on Juwafa and Chinuku Pagans under the Collective Punishment ordinance/1920.

for similar offences.[92]This was a trend which the colonial administrative bureaucracy at the provincial level headed by the Resident maintained throughout the colonial period. Dozens of district heads and their subordinates in the villages were consumed by the yearly deposition for tax and other financially related offences whose penalty were solely defined by the Resident and the ensuring order passed to the emir for implementation. In addition, the origin and development of colonial taxation is generally connected to the desire of the new British rulers in the Northern protectorate towards asserting their ascendancy over the various polities conquered in the region. The argument on this was hinged on the fact that taxation would be a symbol which confirms that the colony and its people by paying to the British submits to its full authority and hegemonic control over them.[93] This explained the initial general approach to the issue which according to Lugard was *ab initio* based upon the pre-colonial revenue system of the chiefs or communities. The first forms of tax imposed throughout the provinces of the Northern protectorate were the Caravan toll, Canoe license, Local liquor tax and Salt (imported) tax as they were all carried over from the Royal Niger Company taxes imposed in the areas it claimed control before 1900.[94] Next was the arrangement where according to Lugard, all chiefs who collect tribute with the sole support of the colonial Government were to pay a levy of one quarter of the total tribute so collected. On the other hand those communities in the new assessment who had not been making any tax payment to any authority or chief shall pay their tribute directly to Government.[95]This was to be accompanied with constant assessment of the areas to be taxed.

[92]Zarprof/ 163/…
[93]Lugard, L (1970) *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on subjects chiefly Political and Administrative*, 1913-1918, Third Edition, Frank Cass, pp. 165-167.
[94]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No. 409*…p. 55.
[95]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No. 409*…p. 53.

In the case of Zaria province as in many of the provinces of Northern Nigeria, tax collection was to be carried out by the Native administration which consisted of the emir, district heads, village heads all of them under the Resident, District officers and their supporting British political staff. The initial tax consisted of one quarter of the total tribute, *Zakka*, *Jangali* and other levies collected as it was under the pre-colonial emirate system. The first collection of this government share of the tribute was 1,200 bundles of Guinea corn sold at £615.00 while the caravan toll fetched the colonial administration £4,257.00.[96] The caravan toll figure was indicative of the volume of trade in the area which significantly served as a strategic link between the northern and southern communities before the coming of the British. Because of the promising prospect, the British began the process of re-organizing the districts of the Zazzau emirate in readiness for the full assessment and taxing of the communities brought under control while the conquest of those yet to be reached also went on. The fundamental difference between the emirate taxes with that of the British system was on the basis of the assessment and imposition on individuals rather than compounds. Thus, while under the emirate system, tax was collected on the basis of the household, the British taxation was purely based on the individual and the economic pursuit of each citizen male or female, young or old. Therefore, an individual could be paying *Kuɗin Kasa*, *Jangali*, *Kuɗin Shuka* or *Sana'a* provided that he was engaged in these forms of economic activity.[97] At the inception of colonial rule, taxes were paid in cowries as well as more in swords, hoes and iron products.[98] The new colonial currency of Silver coin was introduced and spread into the local economy. One of the methods used was what the British called "daily contact" with influential traders who were known to the local

[96]Arnett, E,J (1920) *Gazetteer of Zaria*…p. 27.
[97]Malam Garba Jaki Dadi, 80 Years, Farmer (Tobacco and other Export Crops), interviewed at Anchau Takalafiya, Kubau local Government, 20th January, 2014 and 26th July, 2016.
[98]SNP 7/3997/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1907

communities and could integrate them (through buying their products with the new currency without resistance) into the currency tax instead of the old system in kind.[99]

A similar problem was tactically avoided later by the British concerning the *Jangali* that was at the initial stage accepted in Cattle but soon the government felt it could not spend on maintaining the herds with its own money.[100] Hence, the insistence on cash payment for all taxes and levies came to define the collection of taxes henceforth.[101] This was a decisive point in the subordination of the economy through the incorporation of its major producers such as the peasants, pastoralists, artisans and merchants into the colonial taxation system. By 1912, the *Kuɗin Galma* was later fixed at 7 shillings while the *Jangali* paid by the Cattle rearers was 1shilling 6 pence for each head of Cattle.[102] This was also reviewed after more than five years of trial to uniformly charge all adults what came to be known as *haraji* (Income tax) which was ten per cent of total yearly earnings of the individual as assessed by the Native administration in the villages, districts and Zaria provincial capital.[103] The following figures of the revenue collected

[99]SNP 7/3997/ Annual Report of Zaria Province…

[100]KadMinAgric/606 Cotton Regulations Vol III/1938. The original reference to this payment of *Jangali* in kind can be found in Lugard, L (1970) *Political Memoranda…*, p. 189. Similarly, Bello, the colonial administration also categorized the tax payment in kind but as the years went on those items accepted for tax payment and found to be difficult to convert to cash were quickly phased out with instructions to the N.A officials to insist on cash. Among the most accepted were cotton, livestock, foodstuff needed to feed the colonial army, police and prisoners and labour. This was the same way salt, cloth and other foreign products were used to pay for crops and other export products from the peasants. See SNP 10/138p...

[101] This policy direction by the colonial state further pushed the peasants into export crop production and the sale of their foodstuff to enable them raise what would afford them enough cash to pay their various tax obligations, whether it was the *Kuɗin Kasa, Jangali, Kuɗin Shuka, Kuɗin Karofi, Kira, Jima, Kuɗin Kasuwa, Kuɗin Awaki, Kuɗin Doki (Dawaki) da Jaki (Jakai)* etc. See Lugard, L (1970) *Political Memoranda*…pp. 185-187 and also p 206 for the Lugardian perspective of Taxation in the colony of Nigeria.

[102]*SNP10/178p*…

[103]As a matter of fact the colonial state kept reviewing the tax higher and higher, and using various systems of assessment such as *Taki*(Based on the size of compounds), Hoes, each adult paying his due or based on occupations such as in the cottage industries, trade and other economic activities engaged in the area. See SNP 7/2729/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1907, SNP 7/1508/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1908, SNP 7/ 6607/ Annual Report of the Zaria province for 1912, Zarprof/277/Organisation of Tax Collection and SNP 7/ 4252, Zaria Emirate: Taxation on Industrial Organisation of Hausa Towns /1909.

in the Zaria province under the general Land tax and *Jangali* was indicative of the commitment of the colonial administration to entrenching the taxation system under the colonial economy.

Table 3.11 Tax Revenue generated for selected years in the Zaria Province from 1907- 1929.

Year	**Land Tax**	***Jangali***
1907	£6,450-1-1d	£3,006-9-9d
1908	£7,493-5-6d	£2,742-7-6d
1909	£8,872-14-9d	£3,168-0-0d
1910	£13,504-3-2d	£1,901-15-6d
1911	£15,202-11-5d	£11,310-7-6d
1912	£514-19-6d*	£9,757-14-6d
1913	£24,429-7-9d	£7,395-9-0d
1914	£25,629-14-0d	£17,627-17-6d
1915	£25,777-8-0d	£10,488-18-0d
1916	£26,677-2-1d	£12,291-10-6d
1917	£27,770-0-0d	£11,321-11-0d
1918	£34,262-7-0d	----------
1920	£32,841-8-2d	£ 8,404-1-6d
1926	£63,823	£14,959
1927	£58,722	
1928	£56,636	

Source: SNP 10/750p…, SNP 10/105p/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1920, SNP 17/ K III, Vol I-III/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1926 and SNP 17/ 1894, Vol I/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1929.

From the statistics given above, certain observations were made regarding tax collection in the area. The land tax kept increasing by the year except for 1912, which the figure fell beyond the imagination of the British. This exceptional case unless it was presented as an error of some sort, all accessed records in the colonial files seem to affirm the fall. The case of *Jangali* was quite different with erratic figures between rise and fall. The reason would not be far-fetched in the case of a migrating group that moved from one prince to another on seasonal basis. Part of issues with *Jangali* was constant friction between Zaria N.A and other provinces especially with neighbouring

Kano over where migrating cattle rearers were to pay their taxes. Consequently, the figure was kept stable as the colonial state also stabilized its authority in the rural production areas of the province.

Thus, from the above, the central role of taxation in the funding of colonial administration through this source of revenue. However, the issue of colonial taxation as a policy had more wide ranging impact on the political economy of the province. We have seen that the commoditization and monetization of the economy was facilitated with much ease through the colonial taxation where the social and economic pressures exerted on the peasants forced them into a mandatory offer of their labour for a few coins to pay their tax. In some instances, the peasants abandoned their farm duties in order to meet up with this new colonial obligation of obtaining British currency and also answering the calls for political labour that was forced on them. This way both policies as important components of the dependent capitalist relations being built in the province had an easy go through the constant imposition and review of taxation by the colonial state. The colonial taxation policy was also responsible for forcefully graduating the peasant producers from their production for subsistence to production for export without any significant change in their farming tools such as hoes, cutlass etc. This was in a desperate bid to produce what they would sell at the commodity market so as to raise the only recognized British currency to pay their taxes especially in the years of colonial domination. Colonial taxation was thus a major institution which contributed to the fiscal, administrative and legislative measures that combined to break the self-sufficiency, and independence of peasant producers turning them into becoming highly vulnerable under the colonial capitalist structure.

In the Zaria province, the process of tax collection ensured a constant assessment that was mainly organized by the Native administration through every section of the province and in such a way that the community with as small number of people as 15, 20 or there about were counted along with full assessment of their sources of income.[104] The people were taxed according to these statistics, which also became records on the general population and their mobility during the season. This regular assessment mainly for the purpose of tax collection thus gave a track of every movement to and from the remotest part of the province at all the time. In 1930, as a result of the depression, famine and higher taxes, there was mass migration of Fulani herdsmen from Zaria to Borno and Gombe provinces. This mass movement also involved other peasant groups who migrated out to neighbouring provinces in search for food and lower tax rate not up to the high incidence of the Zaria province which had been much higher than many areas since the upward review of 1920/21.[105] In a similar way, the peasants who had earlier left export crop production because of the usual collapsing price was hit with the fall in the prices of food stuff in 1931.[106] This was followed by the outbreak of Cattle diseases in southern Kano which pushed many cattle rearing Fulani into Zaria only to be confronted with high *Jangali* rate. Thus, these migrating groups found themselves at the crossroads between the high tax of Zaria and the ravaging Rinderpest of southern Kano which had already hit the Zaria province too.[107] Such was the general character of this migratory trend of peasants and the cattle herdsmen not only in regards to the Zaria province but the Northern provinces. The extent of devastation caused to the peasants/herdsman by these high tax rates, commoditisation and the various dimensions of colonial infiltration into the fiscal aspect of the local economy has been captured in

[104]Zarprof/277/Organisation of Tax…
[105]SNP 17/16679/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1931.
[106]SNP 17/16679…
[107]Zarprof/C4032 Vol I/ Intelligence Report of Zaria Province for 1920.

a report on the mass migration of over 20,000 discovered in the 1931/32 assessment thus:

> In the past his (the peasant of Zaria province) taxes have been paid from export crops, Cotton and Groundnut, and with the collapse of prices he was left with little or no margin. The food shortage of 1930/31 further induced him to abandon exports in favour of food crops with the result that the food price itself collapsed.[108]

From the foregoing, it is clear that tax assessment was a sort of annual population census on the entire community, its animals, craft and trade as listed in one of several assessments conducted for the purpose of imposing or reviewing taxes.[109]Among these categories include:

Manya (Adults), *Yara* (Young), *Maza* (Males), *Mata* (Females).

Taxable trades and crafts include: *Ginin Tukunya* (Pottery), *Dillanci* (Brokery), *Sai da Goro* (Kolanut merchants), *Koli* (Condiments),*Dinki* (Tailoring and embroidery), *Dukanci* (Leather works), *Bugu* Cloth Beating), *Saκa* (Weaving), *Sassaκa* (Wood carving), *Kira* (Smithing), *Jima* (Tanning), *Gini* (Building), *Rini* (Dyeing), *Fawa* Butchery), *Wanzami* (Barber),*Jinka* (Roofing), *Mai Kidî* (Musician), *Roκo* (Praise Singing) etc.

Marasa Lafiya (Those with illness) such as *Tsoffi* (the Old), *Masu ciwon Barci* (Sleeping sickness), *Kutare* (Lepers), *Makafi* (Blind) etc.[110]

Source: SNP 10/286p/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1920.

With the above situation, there could be no system more exploitative to the local community than the taxation policy of the British. The colonial policy earlier defended by agents like Lugard as a "liberating" replacement to the "exploitative" pre-colonial

[108] SNP 17/16679…
[109]Zarprof/277/Organisation of Tax collection.
[110] These groups were exempted but not after they were counted.

emirate taxation cannot hold water.[111] In the British tax system even the so-called *Banzan gari* or *Masu zaman banza* (the idle or unemployed) had to pay tax.[112]

The monetisation policy of the British colonial state rested on the general concept of eradicating all existing pre-colonial fiscal and monetary policies and replacing them with the colonial capitalist structure which was predicated on satisfying the interest of the colonialists. Hence, with the immediate conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate and its emirates, one of the key issues the colonial agents paid attention to was the establishment of a uniform system of currency whose value was determined in all senses and regulated by the British.[113] An example of this can be seen from the rate which the British liquidated the cowries widely used and accepted by the pre-colonial communities in the Nigerian area. The rate of this demonetisation has been collected by E.J.Arnett on the Zaria province:

Table 3.12 Demonetisation of cowry currency in Zaria Province 1901-1919.

Year	**Rate of Cowries to British 1/-**
1901	800-1,000 cowries
1903	1,200-1,600 cowries
1908	2,000-2,400 cowries
1917	2,400-3,000 cowries
1919	Cowries ceased to be legal tender in Zaria province.

Source: Arnett, E.J. (1972) *Gazetter of Zaria Province*, Frank Cass, New Impression.

Indeed, an essential pre-requisite for the imposition and nurturing of commodity production which was the focus of the colonial state was largely the availability of a uniform currency system to service the newly imposed exchange relations in the local

[111]Lugard, F (1970) *Political Memoranda*…p. 167 and Zarprof/2552...
[112]Zarprof/277/Organisation of Tax…
[113]Mukhtar, M.I (2013) *The Impact of British Colonial Domination*…' pp. 84-85.

economy.[114] Like we have seen, taxation was the major means by which British money was imposed on the local economy. Similarly, the token money paid to the labourers who were compulsorily engaged in the construction of the Railways, Roads and other colonial infrastructures was also in the new currency that first came in the form of Coins then the pound sterling in paper. The allowances paid to the newly recruited Native administration staff from the head of the Native authority, the emir to the *Dogari* was all in the British approved currency. The foreign companies engaged in the purchase of export crops and sales of imported goods such Textile goods, Salt, Liquor conduct their exchange in currencies which they were adequately supplied with through the Bank of British West Africa and Colonial Bank all located in the Zaria Township area.[115] These same financial institutions also took large deposits from the local producers and serve as the financial windows to foreign firms who keep and transfer their funds and transactions through these banks. All government monies were paid into the Bank of British West Africa, which means any injection of new currency by the colonial state or withdrawal of old ones were done though the bank as in the case of 1920 when the British withdrew 1/- and 2/- (sterling pound) notes for the new copper coins.[116] Thus, the banks were important instruments in the foundation and entrenchment of the colonial monetization policy which was designed to serve the interest of capitalist concerns struggling to exploit the resources of the province. However, it is significant to point out that during the period of poor cash availability, companies bought export crops with such goods as Salt and textile products. The pressure was rather on the peasant to sell than the companies because of the desperate need to obtain money to pay tax. Therefore, taxation forced the peasants to become perpetually tied to the

[114]Yandaki, A.I., 'The State in Africa'…p. 144.
[115]SNP10/105p…
[116]SNP10/105p…

agricultural production of export crops which was the major source of obtaining the British approved currency to pay taxes. The search for this currency also intensified the commoditization of labour which was beneficial to the colonial state, mining and trading companies as the chief employers of labour in the variously introduced production and construction policies of the colonial economy. The old system of economic exchange was thus eliminated paving way for the one determined by the colonial authority. This meant the British government could change or withdraw such imposed currencies at any time like it did in the 1920's when the action caused serious problems to the economy especially shortage of currency and high prices of food commodities. A report on this situation explained clearly the nature of the crisis thus:

> The first part of 1920, which is the active season for the produce buying firms, was marked by extra-ordinary high prices and great currency difficulties….The price of food commodities became very high and was severely felt by the wage earning classes. Paper currency was one of the causes of this high price. Copper coins were difficult to obtain…Attempts to intervene failed as European firms were willing to buy the food they required for as high as possible since they recovered the money by charging excessive prices for cloth and other imported manufactures that flowed the market with. Since that time the trade depression has gone from bad to worse, affected by the trade depression in Europe (World capitalist economy of the post-world war I).[117]

This incidence alone shows the extent of dependent relations that was established and which made all economic activities in the Zaria province to remain clinched to developments in the British capitalist economy. It also shows that not only in prices of export crops even food and other locally produced goods were systematically engulfed in such crisis whenever they happened, and those at the receiving end (as also acknowledged in the colonial reports) were always the Africans, whether they were of the peasant or labourer classes. With these, the colonial taxation and policy and monetisation of the economy was significant to the development of colonial cotton production and export pursued by the British colonial state. This it achieved through its

[117]SNP 10/105p…

agent such as the Native administration responsible for collecting and depositing the tax monies with the banks from where in the end they were gradually injected into the economy. There were also European firms whose main activity was maintained around the injection of such currencies into buying cotton and other needed agricultural produce at prices seasonally declared by the colonial administration,. They also engaged in the sale of imported manufactured goods at prices they determined based on their monopolistic and or oligopolistic position in the colonial economy. An important firm in the business of cotton in the Zaria province and indeed the cotton producing areas of the colony of Nigeria that benefitted from the taxation and monetisation policy of the colonial state was the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA). This detail we shall examine ahead in the next chapter which specifically dealt with the activities of the BCGA and other European trading firms in cotton production and exports.

3.8 The Establishment of Infrastruture under the Colonial Economy

The conquest of the Zazzau emirate and its surrounding communities was for the purpose of exploiting the various resources found in the area by the British through agents such as the colonial state and European firms, especially those protecting cotton interests like the British Cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A), and then the United African Company (UAC). From the onset one of the major challenges of the colonial administration was the establishment of colonial infrastructure in such a way that they would serve in the effective exploitation of the various human and material resources located from the remotest areas up to the urban settlements. Thus, the issue of railway, roads, foot paths and dust roads, navigable Rivers, colonial administrative buildings, military camps and company sites became central to the activities of the Colonial state

throughout the Zaria province. These infrastructures were needed to facilitate the penetration of the rural production areas in order to extract agricultural export crops such as cotton, collect tax to finance the Native administration and push the European imported merchandise to the local markets. The Chief military and political officer for the British colonial government Lugard had brought out the desire of his imperial state thus:

> The great urgency is for an immediate line to serve the needs of the Administration in lieu of the failing supply and costly method of human carriers, and to secure to British ports the trade of the north, as well as to render feasible the development of the cotton and other possible industries, These objects cannot be achieved otherwise than by the rapid construction of a light (Railway) line.... Moreover, Zaria was identified as the real centre of all caravans and trade, the point from which the roads to the north, east, and west diverge where the line would traverse the greatest trade route in Nigeria, and render possible the export of cotton and other produce grown around. In essence, without the line cotton cannot, be profitably exported from those districts.[118]

From the above, it appears that the British imperial powers were only being reminded by their agent Lugard on the various ways to achieving colonial domination in Northern Nigeria. Another significant point of note was that the entirety of economic activities in the area was in the monopoly of European firms under the full protection of the colonial state manifested in the Native administration and the Native authority agents such as the emirs, district and village headsmen. One of the areas the colonial state gave full cover to the trading activities of the European firms was in the provision of infrastructure in such way that their construction were basically determined by their specific profitability in terms of available resources for exploitation. These were based on access to areas of rural agricultural production, mining areas or even areas of specialised labour mobilisation of some sort.[119] This is examined in relation to the

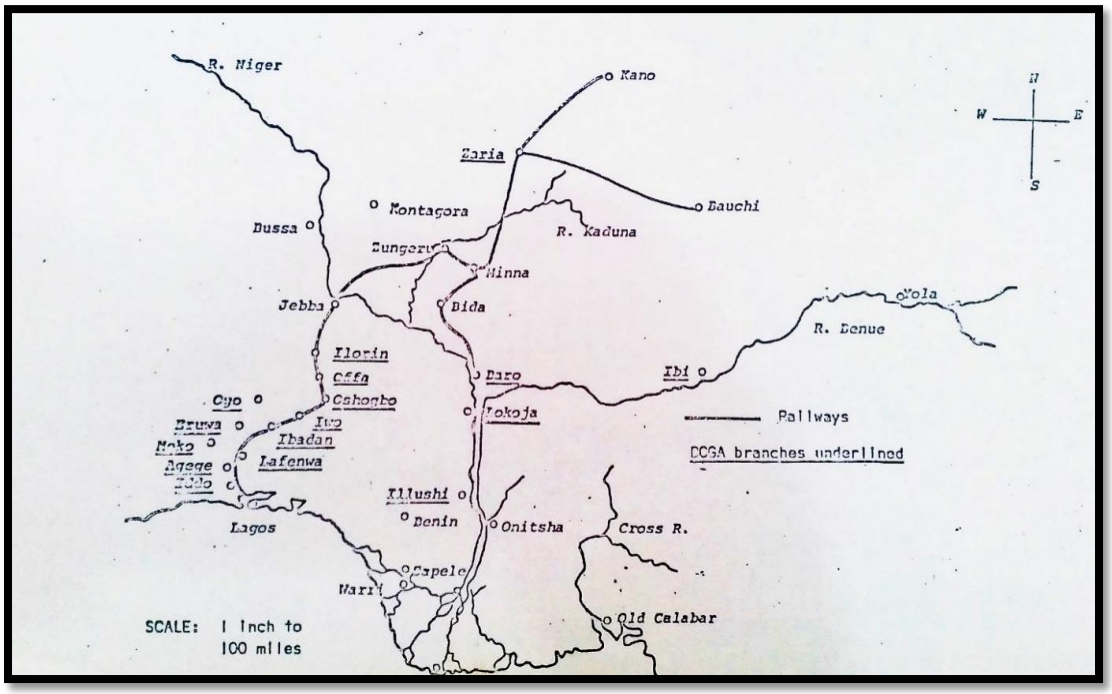
[118] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 409*, pp. 58-59.

[119]For instance in Zaria, the Railway terminus was significant to the area as a strategic centre of economic convergence for the northern and southern communities of Nigeria. This was utilized by the British in their military attacks on Kano and Sokoto during the conquest of the Caliphate. The military camps were

Railway and Road projects which were at various times implemented by the colonial state in parts of the Zaria province.

3.8.1 Railway and Roads:

Sketch map of the Railway lines and BCGA offices in Nigeria by 1914.



Adopted from: Wardle, W. A (1980) 'The British Cotton Growing Association and Cotton Export development in Northern Nigeria, 1902-1939' in Colonial Rule and Local Response in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, *Postgraduate Seminar*, Institute of Common Wealth Studies, University of London.

Before the declaration of the colony of Nigeria in 1900, the Royal Niger Company had penetrated far into the central area of the Sokoto Caliphate with powers of even deposing emirs and taking over total political and economic activities as in the Zazzau emirate (the centre of Zaria province). Thus, by the time of the conquest of Northern Nigeria, the British had already nurtured the idea of having trans-regional transport

maintained in Zaria, and at various times the Railway and Roads in Zaria eased the transportation problems of the colonial state whenever there was mobilisation of troops. The Zaria military Depot played a key role in the stationing of troops of not only Britain but even those of allied powers that fought in the Cameroon during World War I.

system from the coastal area of Lagos to the far northern end of the Sokoto caliphate which, was the border claimed by the other imperialist power France against the Germans and the British. These were the main rivals in the struggle for sphere of influence in their outburst to further expand their capitalist tentacles in the region. This British position on the transport network linking the colony of Nigeria was demonstrated by Lugard while echoing to the imperial powers in Britain the significance of the Railway to the region:

> The Railway Surveyors sent out by the Secretary of State completed their work, and their report will be submitted during 1905, I trust that it may lead to the construction of the light and very cheap line from Baro on the Niger to Kano, which I have long advocated. The section already constructed between Zungeru and the Kaduna at Barijuko (22 miles) is invaluable. It has been much improved. 1,240 trucks of material and stores were hauled, and 15,524 passengers. All Government material, as well as provisions for Europeans sold by the Niger Company, were carried free.[120]

This push for the railway was further orchestrated by the capitalist interests promoting the establishment of Cotton Empire in the Northern areas of Zaria and Kano. The BCGA as a frontline propagandist for cotton imperialism in Northern Nigeria had earlier begun a campaign calling on the British colonial state to throw much weight on the Northern cotton belt. This was because the geographical region was at various times assessed as capable of providing the textiles of Lancashire with the much cotton they needed having lost the supply from America and Asia.[121] The area was also said to have high level of manpower to provide free and cheap labour for the railway, roads and other constructions. Thus, the colonial government did not waste much time in commencing the Railway project. The early and successful BCGA lobby to the British

[120]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No.476*…pp. 103-104.This transport network was to among other things provide the British capitalists the chance to wrestle the influential Trans-Saharan trade and divert its route towards the Atlantic coast. It was also to provide faster means of Troops mobility in the colony where resistance to imposition of British rule or policies could be countered within a short period of time using the Railway transport.

[121] This has been referred in Atkins, J.C (1906) *The Story of British Cotton Growing Association*… and also SNP 9/3329 / *Cotton/1920*.

was obvious because a number of its members were in the imperial parliament and also serving as key political officials in the other sectors of the British government. Hence, it was no surprise for the multinational cotton monopoly to mobilise 64 members of the British parliament, 30 mayors and other influential Britons to press for the royal approval and order of commencement of the Railways from Baro up northwards in which the largest part of the project traversed through the Zaria province. From Kogin Sarkin Pawa in the south end to the Northern border town of Faki in the Magajin Gari district, the Zaria province was covered by the Railway on its way to the commercial centre of Kano.[122]Apart from the cotton dream the British seriously needed to divert the large volume of regional and international trade and merchant activities taking place along the various routes linking the hundreds of political economies from the Niger-Benue Rivers confluence to across the Sahara.[123] Records of the pre-colonial trading activities between the *Kasar Zazzau* and *Kasar Kano* especially in Leather, Cotton and Textile products were of particular concern to the British firms such as BCGA and UAC. This was because of their hope to reap much from this wide ranging economic opportunity while on their part the local industries were resisting this attempt at domination by the British capitalist agents. As studies have clearly shown the trade relations between these two emirates in various agricultural and industrial products had reached a stage where especially for the Kano city it was well on the way to emerging

[122]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report, No 516*…pp. 65-66 and Arnett, E. J., *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*...p. 19.

[123]This point has been a constant source of reference whenever Lugard was reporting to his superiors in London on the activities of establishing British colonial rule in Northern Nigeria. As far as the British was concerned this was one important inter-state link (with Zaria serving an important entrepot role for the Northern and Southern polities of the Nigerian area) that must be taken over and its economic base broken for the colonial economy to succeed in penetrating the areas with the mission of creating a dependent economy based on export production of raw materials and consumption of imported industrial products. This was a necessary action the British must take because the colonial power could not imagine any successful project of economically exploiting the local resources where the main trade routes traversing the area was seen with a continual stream of laden men, women, and asses, numbering thousands, together with ceaseless herds of livestock and other goods. See for example *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 409*, p. 59.

as a large scale industrial centre for the production of textiles that was already competing with the textile products of Europe.[124]

In 1907 the Railway project from the central areas of Baro to Kano was announced by Winston Churchill, the undersecretary at the Colonial Office and a Minister in the British parliament.[125] With the immediate approval of the parliament, work was ordered to commence with financial guarantee from private capitalist concerns in London. In the same year, the British replaced Lugard as the High commissioner with a Transport Engineer Sir E. P. C. Girouard who was expected to execute the colonial Railway project in the Northern Province.[126] The various Residents and Divisional Officers in the colony were already used to the mobilisation of labour for colonial public works such as in the clearing of Cart roads, Footpaths and Rivers for the colonial army.[127]

[124]Mukhtar, M.I (2013) *The Impact of British colonial Domination*…p. 13 and Shehu, S (2015) 'The Economy of Hausaland from European Traveller's Account: A Critical Assessment of Paul Staudinger's Notes on Local Industries in the Late 19th Century *Kasar* Hausa', *International Conference on the Hausa People, Language and History: Past, Present and Future*, Department of Nigerian Languages and Linguistics, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, Nigeria, 2015.

[125]From the initial stage Lugard wanted the Railway line Zungeru to Zaria only, but had to succumb to a necessary extension to Kano, despite Zaria been argued as… "…the centre of all caravans and trade, and the point from which the roads to the north, east, and west diverge." See *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 409*.

[126] Mohammed, A. M (1985) 'European Trading Companies and the Underdevelopment of Northern Nigeria 1855-1939: The Case of the Royal Niger Company/United African Company', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria, p. 188. It is also very important to highlight here the fact that the Company contracted to ship materials for the construction of the Baro- Kano and other Railway lines was Elder Dempster Lines Ltd whose Chairman Sir Alfred Jones was also a founding member and President of the BCGA. The same Elder Dempster was also most famous for the Steam and Shipping line business handling most of the imports and exports on the Sea from and to Europe. This meant as far as the colonial exploitation of Northern Nigeria was concerned to the British, the Railway from Baro to Kano or the Zaria to Bauchi line were neither exclusively targeting Cotton production of Zaria and Kano or Tin mines in Naraguta, but part of a holistic strategy of colonial imperialism in the incorporation of all the means, forces and relations of production of the areas with a view to totally subordinating the local political economy to British capitalist interests. This is typical of capitalist development where these interests and priorities usually kept changing as more challenges continue to confront the metropolitan economy in its contradictory struggle and competition with other capitalist economies of Europe and America. There was therefore nothing "unexpectedly or unintentionally" in the sudden emergence and triumph of Groundnut export production which led to the eclipsing of Cotton in the forefront of reaping the economies of colonial Northern Nigeria in general and Zaria province in particular as claimed by Hogendorn. The Groundnut overturn happened despite the "sustained promotion" of cotton by the BCGA and its like for the colonial exploitation of Zaria province and Northern Nigeria.

[127]These works have been indicated in the colonial annual reports of Northern provinces by Lugard for the years of 1902 and 1903.

However, with the railway construction introduced as one of the key strategic economic policies of the colonial state, a decisive point was reached in the demand for labour. This led to a major turning point in the political economy of the communities of the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and other polities of Northern Nigeria. Apart from taxation, the second most important specific job in the general functional role of the emirs and district heads of the Zaria province and indeed other provinces of Northern Nigeria under the colonial political economy was in the Railway project in the manner of surrendering land areas, compulsory supply of apportioned labour and food supply to the labourers so mobilised. Thus, the whole of the railway construction work was executed with peasant labour of the areas where the line passed at the same time contributions of the food supply were also expected according to districts.[128] This was an important point in the colonial labour mobilisation process, with each of the affected Residents such as those of Zaria given the powers of ordering the emir of Zazzau to lead his district headsmen to organise such peasant manpower to meet up with the number of labourers expected of them whenever the construction reached their territories. In this respect, the Zaria province was to account for more than 230 miles of the line which, beginning from Baro around the confluence of the Niger-Benue Rivers passed through the major settlements of Kaduna (later capital of Northern Nigeria) and Zaria to the northern border of the Zaria province to Kano.[129] Thus, the ration for the supply of labourers on the province was far more than the other provinces whereas it was this same province that was thronged by the emergent European firms, among them

[128] However, this was not a rule for the emir and district heads to strictly follow in limiting the mobilisation to their territory, as also in desperation to avoid being deposed by the Resident for inability to mobilise their own share of the labour, the district heads mobilise such labour from areas not included in the rationing such as was found in some of the Gwari (Gbagyi) and other communities in the southern part of the Zaria province.

[129] See Map titled: Northern Nigerian Government Railway, Baro-Kano Survey in Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 633 for 1908-1909.

the BCGA desperately ready to exploit the peasant producers in the development of Cotton export production. The other firms were also looking towards extensive hides and skin production, shea nuts, ginger and even foodstuff for the increasing colonial labour force concentrated in the military, the railways, minefields and other areas of colonial labour.[130]

The years 1909 to 1914 were significant in the contribution of the Zaria Province to the Baro to Kano, Zaria to Bauchi and Eastern line Railway construction. In addition, these lines having traversed through parts of the production areas of the provinces were significant conduit pipes for the exploitation of the resources of the provinces such as agricultural produce and minerals. These were the very difficult and trying periods for the peasantry whose labour was central to the execution of all works through these years of the Railway project from Baro to Zaria to Kano, Zaria to Naraguta and Kaduna (Kakuri) towards eastern Nigeria. It was certainly a common feature of British administration in the provinces to make an annual estimate of the population primarily for the purpose of taxation. However, the demand for labour in colonial constructions further boosted this imperial obligation which was usually handled by the Native administration at the village and district levels. The early years of British administration in the Zaria province enabled the annual presentation of its population, first on estimate then the head count was pursued in all corners of the province using the services of British officers and the Native authority, especially District and Village headsmen with their scribes. With such statistics always guaranteed, the colonial state began the apportioning of labourers on each district according to the movement of the Railway

[130]Prominent in the Province and other parts of Northern Nigeria was the Niger Company (UAC). For further details see Arnett, E. J (1920) *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*…p. 32.

and even Road works. The population of the province was a significant parameter for drawing the labour force for these works.

The year 1909 was almost devoted by the British colonial state to the construction of the Baro - Zaria -Kano Railway line charging the Native administration through the Resident, the emirs and chiefs, district and village headsmen for labour and food supplies. The work began not far from Kaduna junction in March with 300 men growing steadily to over 3100 by the closing of the year. A similar demand was made from the Zaria end up north to the border with Kano, but this was in July when the farming period of the season was at its peak. However, the number of labourers grew from 400 to more than 4000 by the end of the year. These types of pressure obviously sparked off some resistance and unrest that was dealt with militarily by the colonial state as in the incidence of 1909 with Gwari communities (Gbagyi) living south of Kaduna junction.[131]

Thus, while the process of constructing infrastructure such as the Railways and Roads were decisive in the exploitation of the people of Zaria province, the same impact could also be identified in the activities which took place around these infrastructure. Particular to this was in the area of providing easy means of expropriating the agricultural and other primary products taken to Britain as raw materials for the textile and other capitalist industries. The Railways and Roads were designed with this goal for the colonial state, where the routes were opened for the firms to penetrate and take out the goods at rates they could easily afford, but which the local merchants, because of the imposed caravan tolls and cost of the new transport system had to decide on two

[131]Zarprof/2556…

things. First, some of them were automatically edged out of the business which they had been doing since pre-colonial times. The others continued their activities despite the colonial pressures up to a certain period. This could be said appropriately of the case of *Kanawa* merchants coming to Zaria and those of the West to southern Katsina, Gusau up to Sokoto where the animal transport and carriers continued to crawl through the colonial period up to a point they were completely defeated by the combined pressure from the colonial state and foreign firms.[132]Thus, the arguments that these modern roads in themselves liquidated the local merchants moving around the area does not seemed to be case. For one, despite the early construction of roads to link Zaria Railway with cotton producing districts of the Sokoto province, the farmers and local trading agents preferred carriers in bringing their cotton to Zaria for sell and ginning that seem cheaper then, and it also gave them free choice whether to sale their cotton to the BCGA and its agents or to the local weavers of Kano and Maradì.[133] Both of these were dealt with by the colonial state through the laws guiding the sale of cotton at designated cotton markets only. This was followed much later by the introduction of a motor transport service running from Zaria to Sokoto Provinces, mainly between Zaria and Gusau in 1924.[134] The services comprised modern Lorries owned by the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation. This same motor service was moved further afield when the branch Railway line opened operations between Zaria and Gusau in 1928.[135] These roads as they were constructed at different times and maintained using the peasant

[132] In 1917, the Zaria province employed the services of carriers in the township were 3,558, to carry loads to Sokoto and Birnin Kebbi 1,617 Carriers were employed to among other things convey mail bags. See Arnett, E. J., *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*…p. 37.

[133] This was a common part of the intelligence reports submitted annually to the colonial administration especially as it concerned the movement of people and goods within the Northern provinces and between Nigeria and the French colony of Niger. See for instance Zarprof/ C 4032/Intelligence Report/ Vol I and II, 1922-1929 and 1929- 1932.

[134] *Nigeria Annual Colonial Report, No 1315* for 1925, p 24 and Arnett, E.J., *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*…

[135]*Nigeria Annual Colonial Report,* Nos…

labour in the name of political/voluntary or public works facilitated means of easy penetration for the firms interested in raw materials such as crops and minerals. Similarly the roads were thought to serve as alternative to the railway that was said to face rejection from the cotton and other merchants from southern Katsina and Sokoto province who felt the freight charge was uneconomical to the animal and human transport widely available there.[136] From the initial stage, the government of the Northern protectorate constructed motor roads such as from Zungeru to Zaria via Kaduna, the Zaria to Kano and so on. However, with the immediate consolidation of colonial rule in the provinces, it became the responsibility of the provinces acting through the Native administration to construct and maintain what came to be known as "feeder" roads. These roads were mainly approved for construction where and when there was the "need". This meant that the more these exploitable resources were found in a particular community the better chance the area would have in such roads and other infrastructure constructed there. In fact there were instances when labour was mobilised from the so-called less resourceful areas to construct these infrastructure in "resourceful areas."[137] In a similar situation there were firms such as the BCGA engaging in construction of some roads that provided easier access to cotton producing areas.[138] Still on the roads infrastructure, a similar situation existed with the location and construction as in the Railway line. The colonial state did not miss anything in affirming

[136]SNP 17/ 1894, Vol I/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1929 and Zarprof/ C 4032/Intelligence Report…

[137]This was the case with the road from Rigachikun to Naraguta which was built for the purpose of evacuating minerals resources of Kudaru district south east of Zaria and the far away Tin mines of Naraguta and Bauchi province. In a similar situation, the Sheds and Stores at the small Railway station also in Rigachikun were constructed through the peasant labour mobilised in the area, but it was for the Tins mines of Naraguta and Bauchi. Not even the peasants of Kudaru district made any serious contribution to the construction of the Stores and Sheds. In any case, the exportable produce of Rigachikun would not have to require such Railway Station stores and Sheds for any goods since the town was very close to the main station at Kaduna junction, or else their products could be easily moved to Zaria where there was the cotton ginnery and the Railway station was a major collection centre.

[138]SNP7/ 727/ BCGA Report on work done in Northern Nigeria/ 1909.

that their location was mainly to serve as feeders to the Railway in reaching the rural production and mining areas of the province and even beyond. This fact can be demonstrated in the case of the cart and light motor traffic from Rigachikun to as far as Naraguta in Plateau province.[139] The Baro to Kano railway passed through Rigachikun where before the Bauchi light line (From Zaria to Naraguta) was conceived, the bulk of Tin mined there was moved there for the Railway to evacuate same to the Sea port of Lagos.[140] Similarly, the BCGA opened cotton buying stations in Soba, Fatika, Maska and Danja in 1911 and immediately, this was followed by the commencement of work on the road from Zaria to Maska to Gusau to Sokoto.[141] Another of such networked roads connecting to the railways included the N.A construction of road from Rahama south east of Zaria along the Bauchi light line to reach Kachia vie Lere to Chawai to Zangon Katab to Zonkwa up to Kachia. This road was intended by the N.A to join up to Kajuru then to Kujama to Kakuri, Kaduna and finally to Zaria by road just as the Railway passed through those areas.[142] These feeder roads constructed with peasant labour across the Zaria province covered 666 miles as were maintained by the Zaria Native administration.[143] On the other hand, the public works department under the Northern protectorate, later Nigeria had 84 miles of roads mainly linking the major urban collection centres with the rest of the province or with other provinces.[144] For instance in the Public works department roads were:

1) Kaduna- Zaria- Kano
2) Zaria- Kudaru- Naraguta- Bauchi
3) Zaria- Maska- Gusau- Sokoto
4) Rigachikun- Kudaru- Naraguta- Bauchi etc.

[139]Arnett, E. J., *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*…p. 32.
[140]Zarprof/ 2556/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1909 and Zarprof/2557/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1910.
[141]Arnett, E. J., *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*…p. 33.
[142]Zarprof/21304/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1922, Vol II.
[143] SNP 17/9159/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1928, Vol I.
[144] SNP 17/9159…

Among the roads under the Native administration which also linked the rural production areas and also some of the neighbouring provinces include:

1) Makarfi- Paki- Ikara- Dutsen Wai
2) Gimi- Gubuchi- Ikara
3) Zaria- Birnin Gwari
4) Ƙaya- Fatika- Kidandan
5) Auchan- Gubuchi
6) Zaria- Hunkuyi- Kudan- Rogo (Kano)
7) Zaria- Maigana- Dutsen Wai- Kubau- Zuntu- Pambeguwa- Kudaru- Bauchi
8) Zaria- Kwaba- Sabon Birni- Afaka- Rigachikun- Kaduna etc
9) Zaria- Tsibiri- Giwa
10) Zaria-Soba- Dutsen Wai- Anchau.
11) Rigachikun-Igabi
12) Zaria- Zangon Aya- Igabi.[145]

These and many of the road networks constructed by the Native administration and the public works department in the Zaria province ensured the systematic penetration of the rural production areas by European and other firms, and the exploitation of the forces and means of production in these areas for the benefit of British capitalist interests. In the later years, particularly from the ascendancy of the Marketing board system in the business of export agricultural products, some of these roads were regularly maintained from funds allocated by the marketing board on seasonal basis. The significance of the railways in the development of cotton export production was also noticed in the close relationship between the European firms particularly the BCGA in the handling of the cotton produced from the ginnery for export or the imported seeds for distribution. Several times the Railway was asked by the British administration to lift purchased quantities of cotton or seeds belonging to the BCGA

[145]Details of the roads, time of construction, communities around and their major links to major Roads and the Railway are contained in the Zaria province annual reports. See Bibliography. It is significant to state that all the rural roads were strategically linked to major roads or the three main Railway lines in the province through which the various agricultural and mineral produce were evacuated to the ginneries and large stores of the European firms that were actively involved in the rural produce markets and mining sites.

from Zaria free of charge. This was from the early period of the railways when it reached Zaria and Kano in 1911 and 1912, when the colonial state was desperately searching for all possible ways to eliminate the local cotton industries of Zaria and Kano that had been threatening the imperialist cotton export production programme of the British.[146] In the later years, there were many times when the BCGA and other European firms had cause to make case over what they considered high freight charges on their goods either as import or export products. This form of intervention by the colonial state was always expected throughout the period of British colonial rule for the simple reason that the whole project of colonial exploitation was dictated to reflect the interest of the Metropolitan capitalist economy. Apart from cotton, hide and skins, shea nuts, shea butter, ginger, groundnut, gum arabic, tobacco, tin etc, the Railway was very much instrumental in the massive importation and distribution of imported products such as salt, textile goods, liquor/gin, hardware materials, bread and biscuits, kerosene, tobacco/cigar, furniture and other finished goods.[147] According to reports from the Railway authorities, in 1915, which was just 3 years into the beginning of Railway transport through the Zaria Province, 782 tons of Ginned Cotton was freighted for the BCGA from Zaria to Lagos sea port for export to London.[148]

The bulk of the cotton in the province was purchased through a well-organized colonial market system that undermined the traditional market system of districts and towns in the province. This colonial strategy started as produce buying stations later transformed into Cotton markets which were all connected either directly by the railway stations located just close to the markets or through the cotton evacuation roads. Through this,

[146]SNP 7/ 362/1911/Cotton and Railway...
[147]*Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 1030* for 1918, pp. 4-6.
[148] Other goods such as Hides, Timber, Shea nuts, Groundnut also increased in the year's export freight by the Railway. See Nigerian Railway Administrative Report for 1915.

the railway maintained a significant position in the evacuation of agricultural produce for export which provided it a wide window for capital accumulation and its repatriation to Britain, all at the expense of peasant labour. The following figures of Cotton and Groundnut evacuated to the Lagos Sea port by the Railway from the Zaria province indicates this major role of the Railway infrastructure in the colonial economy.

Table 3.13 Cotton and Groundnut taken to the Sea Port by the Railway 1931-1937.

Year	Cotton Lint	Cotton Seed	Groundnut
1931	2,459 Tons	1,944 Tons	4,538 Tons
1932	110 "	189 "	4,763 "
1934	951 "	1,502 "	5,136 "
1935	2,306 "	4,418 "	3,771 "
1936	1,598 "	2,383 "	4,332 "
1937	1,718 "	3,032 "	2,102 "

Source: KadMinAgric/2/3/COT/National Archives/Cotton Marketing: Memoranda and Instructions, Vol I and AH/SNP/31802/ Cotton Marketing in War time, Control Scheme Proposed, 33904/Import of Cotton Goods and 22185/ Cotton Advisory Committee Minutes of:

A close examination of the above figures shows drastic efforts to raise the position of groundnut to become a major export crop in the Zaria province whereas the years following the depression was worst for cotton. The reason for this being the record low price offered for cotton for northern Nigeria where the peasants in areas with the climatic advantage to grow cotton and groundnut had to leave cotton.[149]The harsh economic conditions of the depression was too much to be left for cotton alone. Thus, the activities around which the Railways and Roads infrastructures contributed to the colonial exploitation of the peasants of Zaria province was also greatly facilitated by

[149] See Wardle, W. A (1980) 'The British Cotton Growing Association, the Lancashire Cotton Industry and Colonial Cotton Development, 1902-1939', *Postgraduate Seminar*: Institute of Common Wealth Studies, University of London.

the presence and role of European firms and their agents in the marketing operations of the colonial economy in the province. This can be understood from an examination into the nature, operations and impact of the consolidation of cotton production and marketing on the general and specific aspects of peasant production in the period under study.

3.9 Conclusion:

This chapter has examined the basis upon which the colonial state with all its powers and influence worked with other colonial capitalist interests to begin the foundation of the colonial economic system in the Zaria province. This was accomplished with the introduction of several policies related to aspects of land, labour, taxation, currency system and the provision of infrastructure especially in the major production areas of the province. In the study, we also saw that these policies were connected to the imposition colonial agriculture, mining and other forms of production considered profitable by the British and thus the local producers were incorporated into the new system with the use of the instruments of the colonial state located at the level of Native administration. Further to understanding the nature of the operations of the colonial economy in the Zaria province was the contribution of other agents such as the European trading firms, the BCGA in the imposition of cotton production and export during the years of colonial domination. Our next focus is on the colonial cotton production and export programme as an example of the workings of the colonial economy in the province during the period of colonial domination.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 THE FOUNDATION OF COTTON PRODUCTION AND EXPORT IN ZARIA PROVINCE.

4.1 Introduction:

The establishment of British administration in the Zaria province paved the way for the creation of the colonial economy and the immediate imposition of export crop agriculture. This justified the need for clear policies which would ensure the implementation of strategies towards achieving the maximum exploitation of resources that were identified in the province especially those related to cash crops before other areas were incorporated. Thus, the agricultural policy introduced and promoted by the British in the Zaria province was in its pursuit of the general exploitation of the vast human and natural resources of the area. These resources were needed as raw materials to serve British capitalist industries which were facing challenges of competition from the other rising capitalist economies of Europe and America. In the Zaria province, the imposition of cotton production and export was first a priority in the major producing areas and then later throughout the province. The establishment of the colonial economy therefore, the main function of the political administrative structures that were established in the former Zazzau emirate and surrounding communities incorporated into the Zaria province from 1903. This meant that the establishment of the colonial economy was closely related to the laws and policies enacted by the administration in order to control the productive forces in the province. This chapter therefore discusses the foundation of the colonial economy and the imposition of cotton production and export in Zaria province.

4.2 The Basis of Colonial Agricultural Policies in Zaria Province:

The whole idea of agricultural export particularly cotton lay under the general needs of British for raw materials that were needed for the survival and growth of its capitalist industries. The key industries driving the British economy at that period were textiles in the cities of Lancashire and Manchester which meant that the exploitation of the agricultural resources of the Northern Nigerian provinces was first focused on cotton. However, apart from cotton in the Zaria province, the British also had developed trade interests in other agricultural products and goods in the area such as shea nuts, tobacco, sugar, ginger, groundnuts, bee wax, hides and skin, guinea corn, millet and yams. All these products were listed as items of trade by the emergent European firms that scrambled to dominate trading activities in the interior of Nigeria since the early stage of colonial domination. Some of these items had also been important in the European trading activities with the emirates and communities under the Royal Niger Company rule. It was from the time when the operations of the colonial economy began to take shape in the Zaria province that the British took special interest in cotton, groundnuts and hide and skin for export from the province. Guinea corn was also given particular attention as a means of sustaining the food requirements of colonial troops and the massive labour force that had begun converging in the province for railway construction and other colonial works on behalf of the Provincial and Native administrations.

In spite of these agricultural products, cotton was the major focus in the districts of Zaria Province throughout the period of British colonial domination. In our analysis on pre-colonial Zazzau emirate in the previous chapters, we demonstrated how cotton and textile production occupied a weighty position in the social and economic affairs of the emirate. Similarly, in the Zaria province, the main focus was on the development of

cotton with the British Cotton Growing Association in the forefront of all strategies and propaganda in favour of cotton production and export. Hence, the British strategy in the first instance was, towards diverting the cotton produced in the emirate from going to the local cottage industries of Zazzau, Kano and farther north to the British textile industries.[1] This came instantaneously in the form of inducements and employment of both coercive and non-coercive colonial political instruments on the people to such a level that made the production and or sale of cotton for export essentially geared to satisfy the production needs of the British textile industries in their competing struggles to create and accumulate more wealth. These policies were implemented with constant adjustments essentially dictated based on the recommendations of colonial agents in the districts and province such as D.Os and Residents, who had the primary responsibility of presenting reports annually to the metropolitan government in London on all issues under the administration of the protectorate. Some of the key strategies that assisted the British establishment of colonial economic structures in the province included the imposition of colonial taxation and the influx of European trading firms into the economic environment of the province on multiple fronts. Apart from the activities of European trading firms, another strategy was the development of colonial infrastructure especially in areas where agricultural or minerals resources were identified for exploitation. This was an important policy of the colonial state as reflected in the provincial and native administration in the Zaria province. This massive labour

[1]This was the most important weapon used by the British colonial state in the takeover of the cotton market of the Nigerian area under colonial rule. Part of the methods of achieving the goal was in seeing to the destruction of the local industries which no doubt posed some serious threat to the successful development of dependent capitalist relations of production between the metropolitan economy in London and the local economies in the colony and protectorate of Nigeria. For details on the viewpoint on this destruction of local industries under colonialism see Rodney, W (1972) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*…. In the case of Northern Nigeria see Muktar, M.I (2013) *The Impact of British Colonial Domination on Kano C 1903-1950 A.D: A Study of Colonial Change*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, pp. 83, 93 and 105 and Bonat, Z. A (1988) 'Colonialism and the Destruction of the Local Industrial System…'

constantly mobilised for colonial constructions especially the Roads and Railways linking the provinces had devastating impact on rural production where in some instances food production fell short of the required. The situation was such that at a point the Zaria province could not meet up with the mandated labour force on it to carry out the various colonial works that passed through the area.[2]

From the above therefore, it is clear as to the role which the various components of the colonial governing apparatus played towards the evolution of colonial agricultural production which, we noted was principally laid on the development of export crop production. In the case of Zaria province emphasis was placed on cotton production before others were added to form the main components of the colonial economy in the area. This production process was throughout the period of colonial rule dependent on the dictates of the British capitalist economy. The next area of focus in this section is the development of Cotton export production with details on the role of the Colonial state and other key partners in the implementation of the various policies. For instance, the activities of the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) and other European trading firms such as the Niger Company Ltd, John Holt and Co Ltd, G.B. Ollivant and Co, L. Ambrosini and Paterson Zochonis and co, among some of those that maintained some resilience in their economic exploitation. This was mostly in the cotton producing districts of Zaria province up to the closing years of colonial rule.[3]

[2]For the Railway construction, Military camp at Kaduna Junction, Railway headquarters in Kaduna and Roads passing through Zaria province where over 10,000 Men were required, Zaria could not cope, until more came in from Kano, Sokoto and Niger provinces. This had its impact on local food production that was evident in the province as we shall demonstrate in the chapter. See SNP 10/410P/ Annual Report…

[3] The surviving edifice of these companies and the business function some perform at the sites up to today is indicative of their survival up to independence. As a matter of fact, some of the companies only left the sites in the early 1990's leasing to other new economic outfits such as Banks and private individuals who established Ware houses for their businesses. See Appendix I for some of the recently captured sites in Zaria now owned by different outfits.

It is significant to point out that while some of the agricultural items were grown in the Northern districts with lighter vegetation than the southern end, there were similarly unique crops to the south itself. Still there were others found in all of the province. Ginger was common to the southern part while cotton and groundnut were mostly grown in the central and northern end. Guinea corn was common to all the province along with Shea butter.[4] Tobacco was unique to the eastern part of the province in the Soba and Kubau districts.[5] The case of Guinea corn in the Zaria province needs some special mention and examination. The fact that it was a common food crop throughout the province made the British to pay much attention to its cultivation. Most importantly, Guinea corn was a staple food which maintained the population and indeed the large colonial labour force conscripted into the diverse areas of the colonial economy. This way, the Guinea corn produced in the Zaria province was made to first serve the local needs, then the neighbouring areas and provinces whose production level was stunted by concentration of their labour force in other colonial economic activities such as export crop production and mining activities. For instance, the major Guinea corn producing districts were always made to supply Kano, Bauchi and Plateau provinces where the bulk of their labour force had been diverted from producing foodstuff. Guinea corn from the province was also constantly a source of food supply for the colonial army from the early years of conquest up to the two World Wars in which Nigerians were conscripted to fight on behalf of the British Empire.[6] However, in the years of colonial rule, Guinea corn production in this province also suffered many setbacks sending alarm of shortage and eventual famine that could have been avoided. For

[4] SNP 9/1885/1914/Agricultural Department Report for 1913, SNP 9/978/1924/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1923 and SNP 9/640/1925/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1924.
[5] SNP 7/236/Soba District Assessment Report/1919, SNP 9/687/Anchau District Assessment Report/1924 and SNP 9/632/1925/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1924.
[6]Hajiya Rabi Muhammadu Sani, 85 years, Widow, interviewed at Rimin Kambari, Kaura Zaria, Zaria Local Government, Kaduna State, Nigeria, 10 October, 2015.

instance, 1919 witnessed serious shortfall in the supply of Guinea corn for both local consumption and those neighbouring areas regularly relying on Zaria province for their requirement. A report from the Native administration in Zaria confirmed this shortage which was attributed to increased cultivation of cotton and groundnut to the detriment of corn and the ever increasing non-farming communities on the Plateau and Railway.[7] This prompted an official order on the Resident to search for and expropriate all "surplus" corn especially in the districts of Soba and Kudaru which, were the main supply channels of the foodstuff to the Bauchi, Kano and Plateau provinces.[8] As a result of this order, Soba alone supplied fifty tons of the Corn to Plateau and Zaria. Other areas were tasked to make similar supplies until the Resident finally reported to his superiors that there was no surplus in the market, and thus nowhere anymore in the province was corn being cornered by natives and nowhere was it being withheld." [9]This was the pattern of agricultural production and other related economic activities utilized by the British in the colonial exploitation of the people of the province with cotton given priority because of the capitalist interests of the textile producers of Lancashire. We have also briefly seen the significance of guinea corn in the colonial agricultural policy. Our next attention is on the British development of cotton export production which was a programme essentially introduced based on pressures from the textile capitalist interests.

[7]Zarprof/163/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1918.
[8]Zarprof/163…
[9]Zarprof/163...

4.3 The Imposition of Cotton Production for Export in Zaria Province:

> …Cotton product is…largely grown, and the cotton expert, who went through this part, was much struck by its suitability…and quality of the cotton already produced. Cotton…is grown in large quantities all over the Protectorate, the Zaria province alone producing between 30,000 and 40,000 bales, all of which is used up locally. Every town and village has its field of cotton, and the people thoroughly understand its cultivation. The capabilities of the country for the production of cotton are enormous, and it is the development of these capabilities that deserves the attention of the Government. Experiments are being tried in all the Colonies, and large sums of money are being spent to discover whether they are adapted for cotton-growing, the idea being to supply the home market with cotton grown within the Empire, and thus make us independent of American…raw cotton. The opening up of Northern Nigeria by providing means of transport, and bringing it within reach of the home market, would, I am firmly of opinion, go a long way towards the practical realization of this idea.[10]

The above was part of a larger body of report on the agricultural potentiality of the Northern protectorate by High Commissioner Lugard in 1905. The specific analysis on cotton in the protectorate and in particular the Zaria province laid the basis for cotton imperialism in the area that covered the entire years of colonial rule and beyond. Therefore, from the above the imposition of cotton production and export, and other components of the colonial economy in the Zaria province, and the colony and protectorate of Nigeria is generally related to what was happening in the industrial economy of Britain where the textile industries faced crises of raw materials. Among these crises was that which arose from the dwindling of the source of supply for the cotton lint the British textile industries in Lancashire and Manchester needed to remain afloat in their leadership of world textile production. It was therefore on the basis of this that the British Cotton Growing Association, BCGA, was established in London in the year 1902 by the textile capitalist industrial interests of Britain. The potential of Zaria province in cotton production has been clearly stated by Lugard in a submission to the British government on prospects of the various economic and trading activities

[10]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report, no 476* for 1904, HMSO, London, p. 133.

planned by the colonial power in Northern Nigeria including the Zaria province which showed thus:

> From Zungeru to Zaria and thence to Bautshi (Bauchi) and the tin district at Badiko (Naraguta and Kudaru on the Bauchi and Jos plateau)…Much Shea, Ground nuts, Beniseed and Balsam. While on the Wushishi to Zaria section (South west) trade prospects is very promising with much shea, cotton, a little palm-oil, ground nuts, and tobacco. At Zaria hardly any Company's (Foreign) cloth (the dominance of local cloth)…while Native leather work and cloth are found in quantities…At Lere (southeast of Zazzau) Cotton, cattle and some rice and beeswax. I believe that the Company (Niger Company) has contemplation to open trading depots at Zaria and other interior towns, a proposal I welcome with great pleasure. [11]

The area of the Zaria province had favourable climatic and soil condition for the cultivation of cotton. Thus, in addition to meeting its domestic textile and cloth industry requirements also served as major supplier of the cotton needed by the textile industries of *Kasar Kano*. This was the principal reason for the British effort to end this economic relations which had helped to push the industrial capacity of *Kasar Kano* well ahead. At the formative stage of the imposition of colonial domination the general atmosphere was very cloudy for the economic exploitation project of the BCGA and other firms eager to reap from the local human and material resources found in the area. The picture presented by Lugard pointed to this gloomy situation for these capitalist agents which was only to be overcome with the colonial state using its might against the local peasantry and owners of the cottage industries;[12]

> Native cloth is manufactured in great quantities and competes favourably with Manchester cottons; locally won salt competes with British salt; locally grown kolas with imported kolas. The leather work and dyes of Kano and other large cities supply local wants to the exclusion of imported goods; while the natron from the north-east permeates the whole Protectorate, penetrating to Lagos itself, and fosters the native manufactures which are largely, though not entirely, bartered in exchange for it. [13]

[11]Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No. 409…pp. 63-64.
[12]Lugard was just doing the propaganda in the usual character of his reporting on the situation in the Northern protectorate so as to justify whatever repressive colonial policy he wanted to sell to the powers that be in London.
[13]*Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No. 476…*p. 86.

This colonial desperation was clearly shown in one of the colonial annual reports on how to divert the industrial raw materials produced by Zaria away from the local industries of *Kasar Kano* to the new British interests:

> …Steps are being taken to develop this industry (Hides and skin), but it will probably be found more profitable to export the skins untanned, in which case they can be bought more cheaply and in greater quantities in the villages and towns throughout the length and breadth of the country, and their export in this state will strike a blow at the great tanning industry of Kano instead of increasing its output. I foresee with great regret the decline of Kano as a commercial centre when European goods supersede her manufactures, and the exports of other provinces are diverted by more direct routes to the factories of British merchants, instead of passing through the hands of her middlemen and brokers. The cotton of Zaria will then cease to come to the looms of Kano, or the skins and hides to her tanneries, but she will for many years no doubt continue to supply the Sudan by her industries, more especially in leather-work.[14]

With this policy focus on the economy in the Zaria province, the appointment of a new emir of Zazzau signaled the beginning of British control whereby the full-fledged implementation of its colonial economic policies were pursued. One of the very first major steps taken by the colonial power in subordinating the social and economic activities of the emirate was the imposition of colonial taxation. Under this strategy the entire social and economic production system of the people was to be destroyed for a system dependent on the British metropolitan capitalist economy. Aspects of agriculture was commercialised through taxation ordered to be paid even in the British introduced currency or in cotton. Apart from taxation, the British also employed policies which encouraged the commercialisation of agriculture with land and labour policies where European firms were given access to buy agricultural produce only on the basis of prices approved by the colonial state while a lot more of the firms were also encouraged to undertake other different economic activities such as trade in imports and mining. Another important feature of the new colonial economic policy was the

[14] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 476*…, pp. 88-89.

establishment of infrastructure especially in areas of "economic viability". These were some of the main components which facilitated the foundation of the colonial economy and the imposition of cotton production and export in Zaria province. The earliest British involvement in the business of cotton purchase for export was made through the British Cotton Growing Association and the few companies that began stationing their activities in the province. In 1907, a staff of the BCGA, visited the major cotton producing districts of Zaria where the association was advised to… "...open a small buying station at Zaria with hand machines for ginning and processing."[15] However, in 1911 the BCGA entered into the cotton market already dominated by the *Kanawa* with a total purchase of 40, 721 lbs from Zaria province which included total domination by the Europeans of the western district markets of Kaya and Fatika. In Giwa, Danmahawayi and Kudan, the *Kanawa* buyers out smarted the BCGA and other European agents. The Kudan cotton transaction was rated at 1-2 tons, but the BCGA bought only 215 lbs of the total.[16] It was indeed such a disappointing trial which drew the attention of the agents of the colonial state to prepare against the local weavers for the coming season. This came in the form of attempts to bring in new seeds, and the distribution of same through the Native administration officials from the emir to the village heads while the BCGA continued its propaganda to assure farmers of ready market for all the cotton they produce. This was a significant shift from the early form of activity and the colonial state came out fully to take charge of the cotton business. Our next focus here is on how the components of the business as they were driven by the colonial state ensured the imposition of a dependent capitalist relations of production between Zaria province and Britain throughout the years of colonial

[15]Zarprof/2554/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1907.
[16]SNP 10/622p/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1911.

domination. In the Zaria province, cotton was very central to economic activities while other activities in the agricultural production sector and mining also combined to determine the nature and impact of British colonial domination up to the attainment of independence in 1960.

4.4 The Development of Cotton Production and Export 1902 - 1939

The imposition of cotton production and export by the British in the Zaria province dated back to the years of the military conquest of communities of the Nigerian area. This we have seen in the colonial emphasis on agricultural policies that pointed towards export to Britain. In this section, the study examines further developments in the colonial policy of promoting cotton production for the purpose of satisfying the export needs of the British textile industries from the period of the completion of the railway to Zaria in 1911, the World War I and the inter-war years[17]. This means an examination of the various colonial strategies from 1914 to 1939 when the World War II broke out in 1939. This period marked another important phase in the colonial production and export of different agricultural and non-agricultural products in the Zaria province. For instance, a look at the production of cotton as the main export crop in most of Zaria province during the World war years is indicative of this increase in production. In 1917, the British Cotton Growing Association ginned 216 tons of seed cotton at its Dutsen Wai ginnery.[18] The purchase of the following year increased by a wider margin to 270 tons of seed cotton for ginning. In the same year, Soba (Makama) district alone, which was a major supplier to the Dutsen Wai ginnery accounted for 199 tons compared to the previous year's purchase figure of 172 tons.[19] Other major areas of cotton

[17]By inter war years, we are referring to that period from the end of the First World War in 1919 up to 1939 when the Second World War broke out.
[18] SNP 10/95p/1919/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1918…
[19] SNP 10/163/1919/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1918

production in eastern Zazzau often referred as the Bauchi line included Zuntu, Kubau, Kargi, Anchau and Leren Dutse up to Kudaru. However, in spite of the rise in production, the price was still lower than the 3d per Ibs paid by the local weavers.[20] The Niger Company, one of the main agents in the business bought 35 tons of seed cotton 2¾ d per Ibs at Gimi.[21] The years of World War I also witnessed intense mopping up of the cotton produced through a number of strategies including banning of touts around the cotton markets, instructions to the emir to issue strict orders against the planting of any other seed type apart from the officially recognized American Allen seed.[22] The cotton policy of the colonial administration also directed the pulling out of all local cotton seed found to be planted in any farm in the districts. In this, the American Allen seed introduced in the earlier years was coercively pushed and declared the official seed from the varieties tested since the cotton project began in the Zaria province in 1904.[23] This also concluded the process of conquering the "Native Cotton" that has been giving problems to the British desire to get as much seed cotton as possible for its collapsing Lancashire and Manchester textiles at home, and which in times of the war the need to make more profit out of it increased considerably. A brief look at the figures of cotton purchased for export from the Zaria province especially during the years of World War I and the inter war years up to the depression of 1929 revealed this increased exploitation of the peasantry in the area where it was mostly production without reward. This trend kept the pace until the collapse of production and of the economy in 1930-1931 referred to as the great depression.

[20] SNP 10/163/1919
[21] SNP 10/163/1919…
[22] SNP 10/95p/1919
[23] SNP 10/750/1916/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1915

Table 4.1 Cotton Seed distribution and production for exports in Zaria Province 1915-1939.

Year	Seed Distribution	Export in Bales of 400 lbs	Price per Ibs
1915-16	44	121	1¾ d
1916-17	144	433	1¾ d
1917-18	31	855	2½ d
1918-19	595	2,248	2¾ d
1919-20	760	3,568	3¾ d
1920-21	437	5,405	4½ d
1921-22	371	8,313,023 Ibs	2 d
1922-23	--	---	2½ d
1923-24	632	7,892	3½ d
1924-25	751	9,961	3 d
1925-26	813	11,074	2½ d
1926-27	788	5,244	1½ d
1927-28	517	3,549	2½ d
1928-29	572	4,830	2¼ d
1929-30	621	5,631	1.4 d
1930-31	480	1,667	0.7 d
1931-32	314	643	0.6 d
1932-33	432	4,407	0.8 d
1933-34	620	5,311	0.9 d
1934-35	923	5,520	1.2 d
1935-36	1,128	11,405	1.3 d
1936-37	1,152	9,973	1.2 d
1937-38	1,153	8,062	0.8 d

Source: SNP 10/162/Annual Report of Zaria Province…, SNP 10//163/Annual Report of Zaria Province…, SNP 10//105p/ Annual Report of Zaria Province…, SNP 9/100/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1924, SNP 17/ K III, Vol I-III/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1926, SNP 17/ 1894, Vol I/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1929, SNP 17/16678/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1931, SNP 17/25673/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1935, SNP 17/29615/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1937, SNP 17/32067/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1939 and Cotton Report for Half year ending March 1935 by the Agricultural Department in Zarprof/1385/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1935.

Generally, the statistics above indicated the erratic way cotton from Zaria province got to the British with no guarantee of increase even when higher amount of seed was distributed for the next planting season. For instance in the 1928-29 season the 572

tonnes of seed distributed fetched 4,830 bales of 44lbs each at the price of 2¼ d. But in the 1930-31 the cotton purchase for export was only 1,667 bales said to be what was "realized" from 480 tonnes of seed. However, looking at the price that same year which fell to 0.7 d per lb, the farmers found alternative buyers from the Kano weavers that kept reaping in some way from colonial price blunders which the British agents used to insist on even when advised against such action. And, true to the general nature of cotton and sale to the European designated agents the pricing was very central determining the amount offered at the cotton markets than counting on the higher amount of seed distributed.

Also these figures have shown some significant rise in cotton activity during the years of the war as it kept increasing immediately afterwards. This seem to signify some major return of economic activities in the post-war British economy where the key project was reconstruction that would involve refabricating the industrial machines of the textile industries earlier converted for arms manufacture to service the war needs.[24] However, not long after the war settlement, with its attendant consequences such as the war reparations imposed on the defeated allies (as part of the Versailles treaty), and the renewed rush by leading states of Europe and America to revive their economies, the global market plunged into a fresh crisis. This time, it was the great economic depression which detailed issues are not of concern to us except the impact it created on the economy of Northern Nigeria in general and Zaria province in particular. The economic depression was for the colonial economies a period of collapsing prices of export crops such as Cotton, Groundnut, Palm oil and other produce which the colonies

[24]Part of reasons for the British lull attitude to cotton export during the World War I and II was the conversion of its major Textile factories in the war years to arms manufacturing. However, with the ending of the war, the machines were reverted to their old function of textile production.

solely depended on their exportation for money. The years following the end of World War I saw the rush for recovery by these capitalist economies which pushed the local price of cotton and other export crops from 2¾ d rising steadily to its all-time peak of 4½din the 1920-21 season. No sooner than this was achieved than the price began to tumble back to its pre-war price of less than 1d, reaching what was adjudged to be the worst of the Inter war years in the 1931 season. To add to these obvious economic problems were the series of natural occurrences such as inadequate rainfall and other climatic conditions needed for bumper production. There was also the locust and other pest invasions of crops that became a common event to the agricultural circle of the peasants of provinces of Northern Nigeria for many years. There was also was the increased colonial demand for food such as Guinea corn to feed the army and other class of labourers working in the Mines and Railways, hence food prices went up beyond the ability of most citizens who though needed food, yet had to sell off their harvest because they wanted money.

In the Zaria Native administrative area, a bundle of Guinea corn weighing 45 lbs was bought for 10-/ in September of 1927, but the price tumbled to 2-/ just two months later.[25] This was indeed disastrous to most peasants who because of the poor climatic condition coupled with the collapsing price for cotton expected to reap much from Corn. Already, with production level at less than 50 per cent of the 1925-26 season and its price of 1½d compared to the previous 2½d, cotton was no longer seen as alternative for bailing the peasants out of their financial crisis in the 1926-27 buying season.[26] The

[25] SNP 17/ 1894…This situation was common to seasonal purchases of food crops especially before the new crop was harvested and some fears of poor output was anticipated because of one factor or another. Again by September there were normally early varieties of food crops available in the markets that could reduce the anxiety over guinea corn.
[26] Cotton Report in Zarprof/1385…

colonial state in connivance with the BCGA tried to save the situation with price adjustment to the former level of 2½d which came too late. Cotton production further collapsed to an embarrassing level of 3,549 bales from the Zaria division of the cotton producing districts of the province.[27] This wobbling price was a serious setback to the cotton business in Zaria province which was only able to recover in the 1935-36 season that is after about ten years and even then the level never got near the all-time high achieved in 1923-24 season.[28] By way of further explanation, the 1926-27 cotton crop in Zaria division of the Zaria province was very poor, owing to the early termination of the rain throughout the Northern Provinces. Thus, the production of bales for export was a disappointing less than 50 per cent of the production level of the previous season with low prices throughout.[29] The poor seed cotton production with a corresponding failure in food crops and a general desire on the part of the peasants to safeguard themselves against food shortage (Famine of the previous seasons) considerably affected the peasant enthusiasm or what we can refer to the demand for cotton seed against the planting season for 1927.[30]While Cotton suffered this much, the main rivals in the economy were said to have fared well. Groundnut production and trade in the province were described as fairly good and normal.[31] The few beneficiaries of the depression seem to be Tin mining whose price went as high as £300 per tonne and activities around the mines bubbling with ten new exclusive prospective Licenses, Thirteen Mining Leases and One Mining right.[32]We have so far seen how the province was affected especially with regards to cotton production as a result of events from the British involvement in the World War I. Similarly, this situation was experienced

[27] Cotton Report in Zarprof/1385…
[28] SNP 10/2574/1927…
[29] SNP 10/2574/1927…and Cotton Report in Zarprof/1385…
[30]Zarprof/ K6653/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1926-27/Vol I
[31] SNP 10/2574/1927…
[32]Zarprof/ K6653/Annual Report…

immediately after the war with cotton production and other economic commitments imposed on the Zaria Native administration as its own contribution to re-building the war torn British capitalist economy. All these were showing the obvious dependent capitalist relations of production developed between the colonial economies and the metropolitan political economy based in London. These were the main issues in understanding the impact of the great economic depression of 1929-30 on the peasantry in the colony of Nigeria. An example of the 1930-31 season in Zaria province would reveal this relationship and the extent to which it affected the export production of cotton and other major produce in the area.

Table 4.2 Showing the collapse and return of cotton exports in the years of the Great Depression in Zaria Province.

Year	Seed distributed (tons)	Cotton Export (bales of 400 lbs)	Price
1929-30	621	5,631	1.4d
1930-31	480	1,667	0.7d
1931-32	314	643	0.6d
1932-33	432	4,407	0.8d

Source: SNP 17/21304/1933/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1932.

The above clearly showed the collapse of the cotton market and which also meant serious depletion on the amount of currency in circulation since cotton production was a major source of earning for most peasants in Zaria province. Analyzing the situation from the 1929-1930 buying season price of cotton tumbled by 50% and the following season nosedived by another 50%. In the 1928-1929 buying season, cotton was sold at 2¼d per lb but the following season it fell to 1.6d and then in the 1930-1931 season which was the critical year of the great depression it witnessed a record collapse of all times to 0.7 d per lb further tumbling to the worst the following season with the lowest ever 0.6 d per lb never experienced throughout the colonial period but in 1937-1938. However, looking at the production table, the fall in production was only in the two

years preceding the price collapse of 1929-1930. For the peasants of Zaria province, the 1929-1930 seed cotton sold to the export agents was 5,631 Bales of 400lbs as against the following year of the collapse that fell to 1,667 Bales. The worst was the following season of 1931-1932 where Zaria province produced only 676 from the total 4,811 Bales bought by the BCGA and European firms from peasant farmers of the Northern Provinces. This was the fate suffered by cotton as shown in the figures comparing the local with international price of cotton which further demonstrated the crisis of exploitation suffered by the local peasant producing cotton for the benefit of many agents at his own expense.

Table 4.3 World Cotton Price at the Liverpool Market for West Africa and Price in Northern Nigeria.

Year	World Market Price	Price in Northern Nigeria
1915-1916	7.51d per lb	1 ¾ d
1916-1917	12.33d per lb	1 ¾ d
1917-1918	21.68d per lb	2 ½ d
1918-1919	19.73d per lb	2 ¾ d
1919-1920	23.31d per lb	3 ¾ d
1920-1921	11.89d per lb	4 ½ d
1921-1922	11.37d per lb	2 d
1922-1923	14.92d per lb	2 ½ d
1923-1924	17.66d per lb	4 d
1924-1925	13.36d per lb.	3 d
1925-1926	10.43d per lb.	2 ½ d
1926-1927	7.92d per lb.	1 ¾ d
1927-1928	10.91d per lb.	2 ⅜ d
1928-1929	10.50d per lb.	2 ¼ d
1929-1930	9.07d per lb.	2 ½ d
1930-1931	5.73d per lb.	¾ d
1931-1932	4.84d per lb.	¾ d
1932-1933	5.66d per lb.	1d
1933-1934	5.99d per lb.	1 ⅛ d
1934-1935	6.84d per lb.	1 ½ d
1935-1936	6.53d per lb.	1 ¾ d
1936-1937	7.01d per lb.	1 ½ d
1937-1938	4.81d per lb.	1 ½ d

Source: Wardle, W. A (1980) 'The British Cotton Growing Association, the Lancashire Cotton Industry and Colonial Cotton Development, 1902-1939', *Postgraduate Seminar*: Institute of Common Wealth Studies, University of London.

From the figures above, the fact was obvious on the level of colonial exploitation of the local peasant producers of cotton. While there was no time a pound of cotton sold up to 5d, the situation was different for the world price. The high price gained in the world market were not reflected in the local price. This meant the colonial agents and companies responsible for the rest cotton activities made the gains. They included LBAs, the BCGA, railways, shipping companies and the marketing agents in London.

For instance, in the 1915-1916 season the world price was 7 shillings 51 d for a pound of cotton lint compared to the local price of 1¾ pence (d). However, in the next season of 1916-1917, the local price was kept at the same 1¾ pence (d) by the colonial state whose agents the department of Agriculture or Marketing board (in the later years) announce the price every season. For the world price, it went 12 shillings 33 pence (d), which translated to more profit for the middle marketers with nothing to the peasant. The same exploitation was perpetrated in the following season where in spite of the rise of cotton price at the world market by more than 9 shillings from the last season's 12 shillings 33 pence, only ¾ pence was added from the 1916-1917 season price. Again, local price of cotton was at various times 2½ d per lb while the world price for those years per lb were 21 shillings 68 pence, then 10 shillings 43 pence and 9 shillings 07 pence respectively. This generally meant the pricing of cotton under the colonial economy from the peasants was not necessarily a reflection of the world market. The process therefore opened up a good channel for profiteering mainly by the colonial agents with virtually nothing going to the peasants in the rural production areas.

This case with cotton as further demonstrated by Z.K.A Bonat was such that apart from the cotton farmer all agents in the marketing chain both at the local and the international level extracted the maximum benefit they could every season the crop was purchased. This was happening when even for the local peasant producer the minimum price usually announced by the government hardly reached them. The study by Bonat however, fell short of comprehending and exposing the general trend within which British colonial exploitation operated in the provinces by limiting the predicaments of the cotton farmers to those of Southern Zaria province alone, and with a rather ethno-centric argument that… "…for most farmers in Southern Kaduna (Southern Districts

of Zaria province), the agents of European companies they ever saw in the cotton trade were Hausa merchants, and they apparently did not know the distinction between '*Yan Baranda*, '*Yan Tarabi* and "*Yan Saki*."[33] But when closely examined, the major cotton producing districts located north and east of the province were most affected with this problem. Hence, it was not only limited to the southern districts which were only fully introduced to cotton production for exports in the early 1920s. And besides, the contribution of these southern districts was so small that cotton producers there would not attract the direct presence of companies or their clerks as in the major production areas.[34] This way, the caging of the peasant producers from reaching the designated cotton markets mainly by the '*Yan Baranda, "Yan Tarabi* or *"Yan Saki* as they were known in the various cotton producing provinces of Northern Nigeria was a common problem which both the colonial state and European trading firms were reluctant to confront especially from the later years of colonial rule.[35] A number of informants consulted who operated in different capacities as '*Yan Baranda*, middlemen, agents of Company Clerks, Carriers in the Cotton markets and Dumps, Cotton Examiners in the major cotton producing areas of the Zaria province such as Soba, Dutsen Wai, Anchau ta Gabas, Maigana, Rahama, Awai recognized that peasant producers of cotton hardly reach the market with their seed cotton without being led, tele-guided or even remote

[33]Bonat, Z. K. A (2015) 'Agricultural Development Policy Implementation and Relations of Exploitation in Zaria and Katsina Provinces of Northern Nigeria 1926-1966', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria, p. 428.

[34] See Appendix showing the designation of cotton markets and the output of each in relation to the general contribution of the Zaria province to the total seed cotton produced from the Northern provinces and Nigeria. In any case, cotton growing seem new to the Southern Zaria area where the so-called "Hausa" merchants have been responsible for the development of trade and merchant activities centuries before colonialism. These forms of economic intercourse involving the largely "Hausa" merchants was also responsible for the emergence of urban settlements in the southern Zaria region where cotton cloth and other goods were exchanged in the markets according to Hugh Clapperton and John Landers who visited Zangon Katab in the 1820s and Paul Staudinger around Kachia and other settlements late in 1880s. Mahadi Adamu's study of trading activities in the Sokoto Caliphate and the Niger-Benue confluence also highlighted most of these issues that seem neglected on the pre-colonial society and economy of southern Zaria region. See Adamu, M (1979) 'Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan…, pp 59-104, Clapperton. H (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition…*, Staudinger, P (1990) *In the Heart of the Hausa States*…

[35]Zarprof 510…..

controlled by the so-called middlemen or '*Yan Baranda.*[36]These agents were not acting on their own but worked as fronts for the company clerks who also used to organize pre-buying operations in the areas, scouting for active middlemen that would be getting seed cotton for them from the peasants that they could hardly reach in the rural production areas but for these middlemen.[37] It was very common that the so-called Hausa merchants referred to by Bonat were the same middlemen and '*Yan Baranda* found in the major cotton market areas. And, if anything because of the volume of cotton these areas turned out in the province, the areas matter more to the BCGA, European trading firms and even the colonial state in the general design to completely conquer the cotton marketing process and maximize exports for the textile industries back home in the United Kingdom. Therefore, these problems have been in discussion over and over as they affected activities at the cotton markets of the major producing districts in the same way the claim was made against so-called Hausa merchants. It was not until 1950 when the colonial state officially decided to stop chasing the '*Yan Baranda* and allow them to continue their "business" as captured from what the Secretary of the Northern provinces told the Resident of Zaria Province the prohibition

[36] Malam Umaru Tela Gidan Liman, 84 Years, Cotton Agent (Middleman), interviewed at Karaba, Kubau Local Government, Kaduna State, Nigeria, 9th August, 2016, Alhaji Musa Ibrahim 84 Years…, with Alhaji Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 Years…, Alhaji Sani Zakari (Teacher), 79 Years…and Malam Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 79 Years, Cotton Agent (Middleman), interviewed at Anchau Takalafiya, Kubau Local Government, Kaduna State, Nigeria, 9th August, 2016.

[37]According to Alhaji Sani Zakari (Teacher), 82 Years, he had worked as middleman for one of these clerks (UAC), Mr Johnson (Alhaji Junaidu Haske) who after independence became an agent for one of the indigenous LBAs. Umaru Tela GidanLiman Karaba also said he worked as an agent/middleman for one of the indigenous LBAs where he was given money in advance to buy as much cotton from farmers at the cotton market. But before coming to the cotton market, his team of '*Yan Baranda* who also work as Carriers had finished securing the required cotton for him in the remote areas where they go with different kinds of "incentives" to the peasants. Similarly, Alhaji Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 Years in his testimony gave instances of how he secures cotton from the remote villages and from Fulani cotton farmers in Haskiya and Gadas areas of Anchau (Dallatu) district. He claimed to outplay other agents with gifts of *Alawa* (Sweet) to an influential household leader of the *Rugar Fulani* whose children after taking the *Alawa* broadcast to the other households that a cotton buying agent has arrived with *Alawa*. This was significant in helping his team secure more cotton than their *Baranda* rivals who come from neighbouring *Kasar Kano* desperately looking for cotton.

was laid to rest because of the impossibility of obtaining evidence for enforcing the regulations."[38]

Meanwhile, while this was going on in the cotton market at this period, Groundnut production continued to be higher and brighter with 57 per cent increase in 1931 compared to 1930 production.[39] New production centres were nurtured by the colonial state which encouraged firms like the Niger Company to establish stations.[40] For instance Gimi, in Galadima (Makarfi) district along the Railway line to Kano became a major production centre. Even at Dutsen Wai which was a centre of cotton production with a Ginnery established by the British Cotton Growing Association to mobilise cotton produced in that section of the province had its peasants opting to move to groundnut production as indicated in the purchase records. The same year Groundnut, which was usually sent to Zaria for export increased by 10 times from the previous buying season.[41]Under this situation, two years into the great depression 1931 was described as a black year for Zaria.[42] This simply meant that things were extremely difficult for the economy as it was solely reliant on export production, particularly cotton. First, was the locust damage to agricultural produce in the previous year, then the consequent shortage of food and the collapse in prices of export crops which was caused mainly by the market confusion in the world capitalist economy.[43] In the

[38]Zarprof 510….See further discussion on the colonial state regulation of cotton marketing to licensed buying agents only in the next chapter.
[39] SNP 10/125/1931
[40] SNP 10/125/1931. The reason for this was that in spite of the depression, the European capitalist economic recovery was looking towards more groundnut export to revive the industries that were still crawling since the war. There was more need for groundnut than cotton. Besides the disappointing fall in the price of cotton pushed many farmers away to groundnut in the province. See also AH/SNP/31802…for further details on the situation with cotton and groundnut production and exports during the war time period.
[41]SNP 10/125/1931
[42]SNP 10/125/1931
[43]SNP 10/125/1931 and SNP 17/16678/1931/ Annual Report of the Zaria province for 1931

southern end of the Zaria province the locust invasion caused severe damage to food crops in certain districts. Rice, *Iburu* and the popular *Accha* were said to be almost totally destroyed for their vulnerability to the pests more than the other food crops.[44]All of these as they were related to the domestic system of production in the Zaria province and indeed the colony of Nigeria combined to put the Zaria Native administration in some severe crisis.[45] They included lack of cash in circulation, withdrawal of credit offer by colonial banks, difficulties in collecting and paying taxes, confused migration from province to province, poverty, malnutrition, disease, rising criminal activities, low state social services, and tighter hold on economic activities by foreign trading firms and so on.[46] This was the period when cotton farmers and other peasants for shortage of what to pay their taxes with at the time it was demanded had to sell their produce for salt and other items in a barter trade. Others submitted to the dubious dealing of the foreign firms who gingered their "newly found" middlemen with cash and kind to engage in advance system of paying the producer while the crop was still in its root.[47] This was the height of the crisis in which rural peasant producers found themselves in the province, all as a result of the pressure on agents to satisfy the desperate need of the capitalist industries in Britain and other economies controlling the world commodity market.

[44] SNP 17/16678/1931… and KadMinAgric/14429/Famine Relief.
[45]SNP 10/125/1913
[46]Abdulkadir, M.S (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland*….pp 141-142.
[47] This was a common feature of colonial trading since the take-off of the colonial agricultural exports programme. The gradual introduction of colonial currency later replaced the Barter system. However, firms like the UAC continued to take advantage of their monopoly of trade in such imported goods as salt and cloth by engaging in exchange of the goods with local crops for export such as groundnut, cotton, shea nuts, ginger and even guinea corn. The same method was also used by some European firms in the 1940s to outplay their opponents in the purchase of seed cotton in the Zaria province to which the loser companies complained to the colonial authorities. See Report on marketing of cotton for three seasons ending with 1943-1944 submitted by the Agricultural Department, Ibadan to the secretary for Northern Provinces, Kaduna in AH/SNP/31802/ Cotton Marketing in War time….

The taxation aspect of the Native administration was as well not favourably disposed to the realities of the crises in the province and the entire Northern provinces. Despite the falling price of export crops from which earning the rural peasants off set their tax obligation, the amount paid per adult in the Northern provinces was said to be up to 40 per cent of his assessed annual income.[48] The money realized or manufactured goods collected in lieu of cotton was thus used to pay taxes, buy foodstuff and where they were not adequate, the peasant resorted to wage labour in the various sectors demanding his services for a few cash.[49] Also as a reaction to the high taxes and other seeming symptoms of the crisis of capitalism heaped on the people, the population of the province dropped by over 23,000 in 1932.[50] Similarly, a number of the cattle rearing Fulani groups in the province were said to have moved further east to Gombe and Borno to take relief from the food shortage, high tax and other problems they could not overcome in Zaria province.[51] On the colonial labour policy during this period, in spite of the many crises in the economy the large wage earning population under the Public works department and indeed many other departments of the Native and provincial administration had their daily wages cut. This colonial decision was said to be after a "meeting" of representatives of the various labour employing departments in Zaria who later instructed the Divisional Engineer to immediately effect the wage cut as follows:

[48]Zarprof/1269/Incidence of Taxation, Vol II/1934, SNP 17/23562/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1934 and SNP 17//25670/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1935.
[49]For further details see Shea, P.J 'Notes on Cotton Exports', *Northern Nigeria under British Over-Rule*, Arewa House Special Collection of Late Philip John Shea, nd, SNP 17/10199/Annual Report of Agricultural Department/1929-1939 and Zarprof/1491/ Annual Report of Agricultural Department / 1925-1943.
[50] See the following annual reports of the Zaria province; SNP 17/1894. Vol I, SNP 17/14830, SNP 17/16678 and SNP 17/21304…
[51] SNP 10/125/1931.

Table 4.4 Colonial Downward review of workers' wages in the Zaria Province 1932.

Category of workers	Old pay per day	New pay
Labourers	8.d	6.d
Watchmen	11.d	10.d
Road Overseers	3/5	2/6
Masons	3/-	2/3
Painters	1/3	10.d
Blacksmith and Fitters	3/-	2/6
Motor Drivers	2/4	2/2
Rail Drivers	2/-	1/10
Time Keepers	2/6	2/-

Source: SNP 17/18939/1932/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province.

The impression built by the colonial administration on the above wage cut was that of less work because of the economic depression. However, a statistics of works carried out by these same labourers representing the various departments of the Provincial and Native administration seem to show a different scenario. For example works undertaken during the same period the wages were reduced included dismantling of the office of Posts and Telegraph while an entirely new construction was made for the same office in the Post office compound. Another was the expansion of the Medical officer's complex in order to accommodate the new office of the Superintendent of Sanitation. Similarly, a well water supply was constructed in the Shika Stock Farm. Permanent Latrines were dug in Police lines and the African Hospital. There were also the reconstruction of the Zaria town market site located in the former Leper Camp, then the construction of more Native administration offices, the Emirs house in Kaduna, Alkalis court in Sabon gari Zaria and the Female wing of the Lunatic Asylum.[52] All these works were carried out by the labourers whose daily wages were cut in the name of crises of

[52]SNP17/18939/1932/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1931

the great economic depression. Another important feature of the same period was the retrenchment of workers in the name of the difficult economic situation in the colony where the workers in the government service, Railways and Mines were included as their services were affected during the period.[53]A major consequence of these production crises in rural Zaria was indebtedness and increased poverty which further pushed the peasants to intensify production in order to meet up with the social responsibility of maintaining the household (*Gandu*) in food requirements, tax obligations and other social needs throughout the year. With the crisis of production, pricing and consumption in the colonial economy, it became obvious that the rural producers especially those accustomed to cotton production were plunged into a situation where they could neither sustain themselves nor their households through to the season. One of the suggestions offered to the colonial state to address these economic problems was the introduction of what came to be referred to as Mixed farming. As soon as it took off the N.A officials reported the commencement and progress that:

> Extension work was started in 1928, with three farms near the Agricultural Station at Samaru, Zaria; there were in 1937 1,435 farmers taking part in the movement. Practically all these farmers have been enabled to start mixed farming by receiving advances of from £5 to £10 per head from their Native Administration to cover the cost of bullocks and implements. [54]

For many years, mixed farming formed one of the key colonial agricultural policies which the British hoped to use in the province to achieve a sustained cotton and other export crop production while at the same time not allowing for "detraction" of the peasant to food production where the export crops cultivation suffer. Hence, in all cases of the mixed farming policy, the attention of the colonial administration was on

[53]Zarprof/C. 2408/1932/Retrenchment of Employees.
[54] *Nigeria Annual Colonial Report No 1886 for 1937*,

maintaining or even increasing the size of cotton cultivation by way of incorporating crop production with animal husbandry. A report from the agricultural department at Samaru, gave a summarized picture of the challenges of agriculture in the Northern provinces and how to improve it for the British to achieve its export target in the major export crops such as cotton and Groundnut. This was the outcome of an experimental work carried out to address the question of improving the fertility of the soil, having noticed serious degradation as a result of excessive cultivation in the past years since the beginning of colonial domination.[55] The improvement strategy was targeted at using green manure and farm yard manure which was the basis of the mixed farming policy. Under the policy, selected bullocks were to be bred and given to farmers as loan with strict orders to maintain the animals for ploughing and cultivation only, and then use their manure to enrich the farmlands. The animals so given were never to be mixed with the mainstream Fulani cattle, in addition to many other conditions on maintaining the animals. The Native administration was made fully responsible for funding the purchase of the cattle from the markets of Zangon Katab and Zonkwa, said to usually have the best stock during their market days. In Kauru district, the *Sarkin Kauru* was one of beneficiaries of the mixed farming loans as he had bulls and ploughs for that particular activity. The district head rather gave priority to producing guinea corn and maize in his farm instead of the mandatory cotton.[56] This was considered an important issue to the colonial administration that the agricultural officer of Zaria Province had to explain and defend the decision of the district head saying:

[55]Zarprof/2574...
[56]SNP10/142/Mixed Farming Routine Correspondence/ 1935-55.

> He has a good Cattle-pen and a large, good farm of about 20 Acres of Guinea Corn and Maize, quickly adding…Being a salaried official with a large household his main concern is his Corn and he would therefore not be judged by his cotton of which however he has about 2 Acres of well grown cotton. He was probably anxious to demonstrate ploughing to you as he is in fact an enthusiastic farmer and the fact that he will apparently have some extra late cotton this year may be ascribed to this reason and to your interest in his agricultural activities.[57]

Although this was defended by the British officer concerned, it was however a significant pointer to the British concern insisting on the continued production of cotton for export.[58] Thus, while cotton was being pushed to become a second fiddle export crop to the newly favoured groundnut especially in the Northern Provinces, it continued to attract the attention of the colonial state and the foreign firms because cotton and textile industry was still relevant in Britain as a large employer of labour.

This was the general character of the crises in the economy of Zaria province especially cotton production and other key aspects of crops, revenue and taxation during the years of World War I and the inter war years from 1914 up to 1939 up to when the World War II broke out. A study of the impact of the World War II is significant in understanding the deliberate official interference and undermining of cotton production by the colonial state especially when in the early 1940's cotton was declared to be less needed compared to Groundnut.[59] The case of cotton was mentioned because it was quite different from the other export crops, where its farmers still maintained links to local users and those other local agents ready to buy and transport the produce to the

[57]SNP10/142/Mixed Farming Routine…

[58]Not only that the British insisted… "a start must now be made with cotton farming…." to be mixed with millet and other food crops, but the *Sarkin Kauru* (D. H) whose shortcomings on cotton was excused by D.O after the submission of the agricultural officer in his defense, the beneficiaries of the mixed farming facility were encouraged to increase the output of food very much and to provide for contingencies such as the occasional corn shortage that was usually brought about by the colonial demand to feed its army and labourers in the mines. The District head was in the end tasked to make sure his food harvest in the mixed farming exercise was stored for the coming year's supply. This was made a mandate in lieu of his failure to produce as much cotton in his mixed farm. See SNP 10/142/Mixed Farming Routine Correspondence…

[59] See AH/SNP/31802/ Cotton Marketing in War time…

neighbouring Kano province and the French territory of Niger.[60] Cotton was also significant in the chain of activities which shaped the colonial economy in most of the Zaria province. It is evident that up to the 1950s when factories began to emerge in Zaria and Kaduna, the textile industries were always jostling to take as much cotton produced by the rural peasants but with the monopolistic marketing board which was protected by the colonial state laws, their move was always curtailed. In such a situation the peasants were forced to submit to the prices offered to them by the marketing boards. According to the policies of operation of the Northern Regional Marketing Board which was carried forward from the previous boards, all cotton purchases by the textile industries could only be made through the Board and at the world market rate. It was first the Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board in 1949, then by 1954 the control changed to the Northern Regional Marketing Board which was later centralized under Nigerian Produce Marketing Board.[61] With the full backing of the government, the Marketing Boards maintained their hold on the peasant producers taking up all that they could gain in the season through their right to declare prices in the domestic cotton market and having the sole right to trade the products (Lint and Seed) up to the United Kingdom market where all agents appointed into the trade by the imperial state were acting on behalf of the Nigerian Marketing Board.[62] This was the situation with cotton and other key export crops as they were handled by their various marketing boards up to the merger to form the Nigerian Marketing Board. We shall examine much of this on the emergence of the Marketing Board system in the colonial economy. Meanwhile, the next chapter will focus attention on the role of the BCGA and these European firms in

[60] This has always been a point of reference for the colonial officers in charge of cotton affairs whenever they were reporting to their superiors such as the Resident, Governor and Secretary of state on the cotton buying season. The Weavers of Kano and French Territory. See some of Annual Reports of the Zaria province in the Bibliography.
[61] AH/1/26/ Marketing and Exports/ 1948-1949 and 1945-1950.
[62] AH/2/1/ Agriculture, 1913, 1958, 1959 and AH/26/ Marketing Board, 1956-1957.

consolidating the colonial economy in the province with special reference to cotton production during the years up to the formal take over by the Marketing Boards late in 1949.

4.5 Conclusion:

In this chapter, we highlighted issues on the foundation of cotton production for the purpose of export from Zaria province as part of the larger British colonial ambition of establishing a cotton belt in northern Nigeria. We brought out some of the key policies established through the colonial state in order to articulate this programme. The chapter discussed the role which the Native administration played in the pursuit of this production of cotton for purpose of export to Britain. Some of these policies as we saw continued to influence both production of cotton and other key agricultural crops in the province as they were also vital to determining the well-being of the people. In the next chapter, studies will be on the role of European trading companies and the British Cotton Growing Association in the imposition and entrenchment of cotton based agriculture in the Zaria province.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 THE ROLE OF EUROPEAN TRADING COMPANIES AND OTHER AGENTS IN COTTON PRODUCTION AND EXPORT IN ZARIA PROVINCE.

5.1 Introduction:

The focus of this chapter is the role of European trading companies, the BCGA and other colonial agents in cotton production and export in Zaria province. In the previous chapter, we saw the specific roles the colonial state played on behalf of the British Imperial state in the imposition of cotton production and export in the area which was part of the cotton belt targeted by the British in northern Nigeria. It was demonstrated that throughout the period of colonial domination both the colonial state and the Imperial government in London maintained a fore front role in major policy decisions that shaped the development of cotton production and marketing in the province and indeed the Northern provinces for the exclusive benefit of the British textile industries. The focus of this discussion is the role played by these agents particularly in aspects of cotton marketing from the rural production areas to the world market in Britain where they remained the fronts of the colonial government in Zaria province in particular and northern Nigeria in general.

5.2 The activities of Foreign/European Trading Companies in the Zaria Province.

By the middle of the Nineteenth century European companies became fully entrenched in the trading activities around the Niger-Benue river region. They began to seek the protection of their government in order to have full opportunity for exploitation of the resources in the area. This way, the British capitalist political economy which at that time was faced with the crisis of raw cotton for its textile industries began to attract the attention of leading political figures in the British parliament. This was the basis of the

formation and influence of the textile interests in British colonial activities which soon culminated in the emergence of the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA). The association became the chief agent in the exploration for and exploitation of cotton resources in the colony and protectorate of Nigeria especially the Northern provinces. Thus, it could be said that the activities of the BCGA in the colonial economy was a continuation of the works of the earlier companies such as U.A.C in which case the issuing of the Royal charter brought it under full control of the British as a key trading agent in the Nigerian area.[1] The new case was only emphatic on special interest in the development of cotton exclusively to save the capitalist crisis which befell the British textile industries so that the social consequences would not spell doom for the country. It was not only the BCGA that served as agent cotton activities in Zaria province and the colony and protectorate of Nigeria. In fact from 1900 more companies began to follow in the struggle for exploitation activities which mainly focused on cotton production and export in the area. Generally, these companies began with the establishment of depots and securing agency in shipping with the purpose of collecting and purchasing existing products as well as introducing new ones.

With cotton as the main focus of the colonial administration, all the existing and incoming companies intensified their penetration of the hinterland carrying European goods to the local markets and exchanging them with products like raw cotton, shea

[1] The Royal Charter among other things empowered the Niger company to "maintain law and order" in the Nigerian area, levy and collect duties, maintain "free trade", "administer justice" and secure abolishing of slavery. With these powers, the company administered most parts of the British Empire as well as expanded the scope of British imperialism in the territory through trade and the use of military might against those political communities opposed to the company's policies. The case of Ilorin, Bida and Kontagora have already been discussed in the previous chapter. For detailed discussion see Yandaki, A.I. (2009) 'The State in Africa…' while for Nigeria see Dike, K.O (1956) *Trade and Politics*…and Modibbo, A.M (1985) 'European Trading Companies and the Development of Northern Nigeria, 1855-1939', *PhD Thesis*, ABU, Zaria.

nuts and butter, beeswax, hide and skin.[2] Therefore, some of the key strategies that assisted the British establishment of colonial economic structures in the province included this influx of European trading firms into the economic environment of the province on multiple fronts. First these firms were responsible for the trade in primary agricultural products and extraction of mineral resources as well as buying them at prices not even determined by market forces but fixed by the colonial state in connivance with these buyers. These companies were also responsible for the importation and trading of the foreign goods flooded into the local markets such as textiles, leather goods, salt and other items expected to replace those locally produced in the area under the pre-colonial economic production system. We shall examine in details some of the methods used by the European trading firms in flooding the local markets with these imported items including paying for export crops purchased from peasants with imported goods such as cloth and salt. This in a way killed the local industries while promoting European made goods which was part of the onslaught to create a dependent production system to service the British capitalist economy. These European firms also became major sources in the introduction and entrenchment of the colonial monetary policy where all local currencies were gradually replaced with the British currency. With close relations firmly established between the European firms and Banks, new currencies were easily obtained by the firms which they used to pay for agricultural products purchased from peasant farmers who, because of policies of the colonial state on taxation were dearly in need of the currency to meet up with their tax obligation. These European firms emerged as licensed buying agents in the imposed cotton production and export in the Zaria province.

[2] *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No 476…

By 1905, the earliest firms to establish presence in the Zaria province were the Niger Company, BCGA, Messrs. Holt and Co (John Holt) and Kano Trading Company with mainly trading interests in Shea nuts, Shea Butter, Hides and Skin, Raw Cotton.[3] These produce were exchanged with European manufactured goods or cowries before cash was introduced by the colonial administration. The stationing of the firms in Zaria was predicated on the details obtained on the pre-colonial economic and strategic importance of the *Birni* and its peripheral settlements as entrepot to and from the Northern interior emirates and communities such as Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Katsina across to the Sahara by the north and the coast of the Atlantic Ocean by the south.[4] In addition to this, the early construction of the Railway line from Niger-Benue rivers region to Zaria and Kano by 1912 also attracted the attention of these firms in their desperate search for areas of milking the economy of the province from the wide ranging opportunities which abound in the local production system. The Niger company was one of the most influential and largest of the firms, with interests in many trade items including Kolanut which, was brought up to the Northern protectorate from the southern protectorate and Gold coast, taking cue from the pre-colonial central and western Sudan trade route to Gwanja. Although the company was involved in local cotton trade even before the declaration of the colony of Nigeria in 1900, the appearance of the British Cotton Growing Association in the colonial scene changed the fortunes of the Niger Company and others that came to be part of the exploitation galore, at least at the level of purchasing cotton for export to Britain. The Niger Company and all others

[3] Zarprof/2552…

[4] A number of the peripheral settlements were first established and developed as centres of the regional trade networks linking these *Kasashe* with the Zazzau territory, which mainly served as passage to the flourishing trade areas of the middle and lower Niger-Benue valleys. This has been discussed in the chapter on the pre-colonial Society and Economy of Zazzau. See also Shehu, S (2013) 'Peripheral Settlements and the making of *Birnin* Zaria before 19th Century' in *Kaduna Journal of Arts*, A Publication of the Faculty of Arts, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, Vol. 7 No 1.

that engaged in the cotton export trade became agents to the BCGA which was a sort of senior agent, having the right to own ginneries, gin the raw cotton and ship the lint to London. Still on cotton production, the colonial state stepped up its support to the BCGA in conquering the cotton market from the local weavers and textile producers. The colonial state used the tactics of collecting tax in cotton, then the idea of loan to the peasants ready to cultivate more land for cotton (This was not implemented),[5] the appointment of BCGA as the sole colonial agent on all cotton production and marketing affairs. There was also the enactment of laws to protect colonial interest on incorporating the agricultural policy of the colonial administration to be mainly in line with the development of cotton production for export. With this happening to the cotton sector, the Niger Company therefore turned more of its attention to other areas such as Shea nuts, Gum Arabic, Mining and the importation of European goods such as Salt, Spirit, Textile materials. The company established its dominance in the purchase of Guinea Corn and other foodstuff considered vital to the feeding requirement of the thousands of labourers engaged in colonial constructions throughout the province. Guinea corn trade was particularly a strategy of food movement to re-align the supply chain among the provinces to avoid shortages in areas whose main labour was diverted to either mining or Railway and Road construction for longer period during the planting season.[6] On the other hand the firms used the imported items to flood and conquer the local markets that had become problems to the cotton ambitions of the British fronted by the BCGA. Thus, the Niger Company (U.A.C) which was making all efforts to continue earning favours from the British imperial powers back in London emerged at

[5] Even as this was rejected at the early stage of the colonial administration, the crises of production in the provinces forced the introduction of Mixed farming as a saving grace as well as new way of boosting cotton production and export. See MinAgric I/T 164A Vol I: Land settlement schemes in Zaria province.
[6] This has been discussed in detail under British colonial Labour policies in this last chapter.

the centre stage of flooding the markets and Barter trade for cotton with Salt.[7] The same U.A.C was also involved in the exportation of Guinea fowl eggs and Ghee made from the Fulani Butter, and although the company defended its interest as an experiment, this has aptly demonstrated the extent to which the firms and indeed the British was looking at the colonial exploitation project in the province in particular and Nigeria in general. Another company which also made its mark in other sectors was L. Ambrosini that established presence in Zaria around 1913 and soon became famous for Hides and Skin trade in the Zaria province and Kano.[8] The following figures of the Import and Export trade which was exclusively monopolized by these European firms revealed the extent of their dominance in the colonial economic activities of the colony and protectorate of Nigeria with the full backing of the colonial state.

Table 5.1 Showing items and value of Imports to Nigeria for 1913-1914.[9]

Type of Goods	**1913 (£)**	**1914 (£)**
Fish	134,998	109,625
Grain and Flour	125,192	131,527
Kola Nuts	117,324	155,144
Spirits	452,939	347,796
Tobacco, Cigars and co.	230,962	192,473
Cutlery, Hardware and co.	154,857	153,211
Cotton piece goods	1, 529,361	1,392,654

[7] Not only the U.A.C, many other firms also took to the barter trade again especially during the First World war of 1914-1918. Barter was common with firms purchasing Groundnuts, Hides, Cotton, Shea nuts using Salt. With this exchange for instance, in 1914 on the outbreak of the war Messrs Ambrosini bought 315 tons of Hides and increased the level to 525 tons one year later. See SNP/10/138p/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1915.

[8] SNP 10/2561/Annual Report of the Zaria province for 1914.

[9] The wholesale and majority of the retail marketing of these goods within the provinces was controlled and handled by the Foreign/European firms spread across the key production and distribution areas of the provinces. Zaria was one of the earliest of such Northern provinces that attracted these firms to its territory. This has also been discussed in the chapter dealing with role of the marketing boards in the development of cotton production for export as from the World War II. The figures of LBA's appointed by the NRMB include most of these firms. See List of Cotton Licensed Buying Agents for the Northern Regional Marketing Board as at 1st November, 1955- 31st October, 1956 in *AH/A.462/ Northern Region of Nigeria...*In addition to cotton business, these firms also dominated the other merchant activities in the province. This function has been clearly brought out and dealt with in much detail as it was generally related to Northern Nigeria particularly the UAC in Modibbo, A.M (1985) 'European Trading Companies and the Development of Northern Nigeria…pp. 191-209.

Table 5.2 Showing items and value of Exports from Nigeria for 1913-1914.

Type of Goods	1913 (£)	1914 (£)
Cocoa	157,480	171,751
Cotton Lint	159,223	50,791
Hides and Skins	197,214	505,785
Ground-Nuts	174,716	179,219
Tin ore (tons)	568,428	706,988
Timber	106,050	86,522
Palm oil	1,854,384	1,571,691

Source: *Nigeria Annual Colonial Report* No 878 for 1914.

In addition to having the exclusive hold on the Import and Export trade,[10] these firms with their capital base and readiness of the colonial state to back them in all aspects of economic activities established their dominance in the distribution of these items not only on the wholesale but even the retail sales. They also had links to the Colonial Banks established in Zaria where they got financial facilities to enhance the purchase of produce during the buying season, thus out smarting those indigenous concerns that later tried to join the commodity trade. The trading firms also got plots allocated for the purpose of constructing stores and Warehouses that were located very close to the Zaria Railway Station. An examination into the surface archaeology of the railway station site and some of the warehouses of the firms in the Zaria township revealed the close relationship between the colonial transport network with the location of the these company sites.[11] With these series of supports and incentives, the firms became fully entrenched in the colonial economic structure which placed British and other foreign interests above the existing local system. This way, the colonial state provided conducive working ground for all potential investor companies in the various branches of the colonial economy such as agricultural export, production and trade (including

[10] See *Northern Nigeria Annual Colonial Report*, No. 594 for 1907-1908.
[11] See Appendix 1 showing some sites of the firms and their closeness to the railway.

foodstuff regarded as staple such as guinea corn), mining, import and export trade of goods approved by the colonial administration, shipping and other transport business etc. Companies such as Elder Dempster Line Ltd, The Niger Company and Messrs. John Holt Limited held substantial part of the Sea and Inland Water transport network moving Import and Export goods between the Northern and Southern province of the colony and protectorate of Nigeria.[12] These firms with their various goals in the diverse economic activities therefore swarmed the province especially as from the year 1911 when the Railway line reached Zaria, and the line to the Bauchi tin mining zone took off a year later. For instance in 1915, there were 13 European trading firms and 4 Native companies located in Zaria and other rural production and produce collection centres. In 1918, there were 18 of these European Firms spread across the main centres of agricultural production and export in the province such as Zaria, Rigachikun, Gimi, Kaduna, Rahama, Soba and Dutsen Wai. By 1923, the following firms have established full presence in the Zaria province that was barely ten years after the Railway was fully on ground in the area.

Table 5.3 List of Trading Companies engaged in economic activities in Zaria by 1923.

1. Miller Brothers (of Liverpool Ltd, Zaria)
2. W. B. Me Iver
3. John Walken and Co Ltd
4. African and Eastern Trade Corporation
5. The Niger Company Ltd (Cotton and other products)
6. John Holt and Co Ltd (Cotton and other products)
7. G.B. Ollivant and Co (Cotton and other products)
8. L. Ambrosini
9. African Oil Nuts and Co Ltd
10. Wm. Redfearn and Son
11. A. J. Tangalakis and Co
12. G. Gottaschalk and Co,
13. Paterson Zochonis and Co (Cotton and other products)
14. The Trading association of Nigeria

[12] *Northern Nigeria Colonial Annual Report* No. 594…

15. The Lagos Store Ltd
16. The French Company; CFAO (Cotton and other products)
17. London and Kano Trading Company (Cotton and other products)
18. British Cotton Growing association; BCGA (Cotton products only).[13]
Source: KadMinAgric/ 606/Cotton Regulations...

It is important here to stress that most of these firms were engaged in cotton trade which they did on behalf of the BCGA. Even though the Association also established its presence in the cotton markets during the buying season, the firms widely took part in the cotton marketing activities around the gazetted markets where they employed the services of local middle men in order to outsmart one another. It was this cut throat competition between the firms and the supposed "agents" that led to the serious corruption in the cotton marketing system which usually ended up cheating the unprotected producers. This, with the connivance of the colonial state officials the firms started while the agents perpetrated through advance payment for the crop, dubious grading of the seed cotton, limiting gazetted areas for marketing so that the producer spends more on transporting his goods to where again he would have to endure with the crowded market. In the Kudaru district of the Zaria province, one Danjuma Shehi had to petition the District officer in Zaria against the cotton authorities posted to the area and the agents of the firms that: "*Kuzo ku taimamkemu bisa cinikin auduga talakawa na shan wahala*", meaning… "You (the authorities) should come and help us on the sale of cotton, the peasants are suffering".[14] The petitioner alleged deliberate frustration created by the firms buying cotton in the area, especially the United African Company (UAC) which closed its buying point for more than ten days. This created overcrowding in the other stalls operated by Messrs. John Holt ltd as it could not handle the many

[13] KadMinAgric/ 606/Cotton Regulations. However, this seem to fall short of another comprehensive list found in the Zaria Province annual report for 1922. See Appendix 5 for details.
[14] Zarprof/ 510…

producers waiting to dispose of their cotton. The '*Yan Baranda* and other "legally" appointed agents of the firms used such an opportunity to manipulate the price which the producer being eager to dispose his goods to preserve its grade had little or no choice but to succumb to these agents. The earlier laws enacted to control this racketeering notwithstanding, operations around the cotton markets were always dictated by the activities of these groups who acted as fronts to the European firms such as the U.A.C, John Holt, G.B Ollivant, London and Kano Trading Company, Paterson Zochonis and Co, CFAO, SCOA. An informant who acted as front for these companies before they were replaced at the turn of the colonial period by local business individuals explained how each of the firms through their clerks maintained a local agent in the villages who went out on the eve of harvest to secure as much assurances from the cotton farmers located in the rural production areas normally inaccessible not only to the European company officials but even the local indigenous clerks.[15] These firms were significantly influential in determining a number of decisions on the colonial economy in the province.

5.3 The activities of British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) in Zaria Province:

As a prelude to discussing the strategic position which the British Cotton Growing Association occupied in the colonial economy of Zaria province in relation to cotton production and export, it is significant to cite some of the important works presented by those regarded as of the core imperial based researches whose works were basically to present colonialism in Africa as a development mission to the continent and its people. Writing as part of a major research work on the story of the British Cotton

[15] Alhaji Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 Years

Growing Association (BCGA) in the economic past of Northern Nigeria under British colonial domination, Wardle suggested thus:

> The broad significance of such a study lies in the importance of the cotton industry and trade to the well-being of the British economy and the relevance of cotton exporting to several colonial economies by 1939. The BCGA formed….at a moment of crisis of cotton supply from the United States, it was defined as a 'Philanthropic' body because of its declared intention of always placing the earning of profits and the distribution of dividend behind the requirements of cotton growing and exporting industries.[16]

Thus, to Wardle the coming of the BCGA was intended to link the Lancashire cotton industry's search for an alternative or supplementary source of raw cotton to the empire's capacity to produce that cotton.[17] In essence, our examination of the formation of the BCGA, the nature of its operations and forms of the relations of exploitation it established with other interests in the cotton production base of Northern Nigeria was important in this sense. The Zaria province was important to the British in the production, trade and processing of cotton products throughout the years of colonial domination. Thus, the role of the BCGA in these activities was clear in the rural production areas of the province. An indication to this was the fact that the biggest ginnery operated by the BCGA since the imposition of British colonial domination in Nigeria was located in *Zaria*, the heart of the Zaria Province. There was also a major railway terminal and junction linking the major production areas of the Northern provinces with the south of the colony to the sea port.[18] Again, the south and south eastern districts of the province maintained their important contribution to the volume of seed cotton produced in the province and the region up to independence.[19] However,

[16] Wardle, W.A. (1980) 'The British Cotton Growing Association…'p. 1.
[17] Wardle, W.A.(1980) 'The British Cotton Growing Association…' pp. 1-2
[18] The Railway reached Zaria in 1911 and soon passed to Kano, Bauchi and Sokoto Provinces which further boosted colonial exploitation of the areas in Cotton, Groundnut, Tin and other agricultural and mineral resources.
[19] For few figures on the annual output of cotton from Zaria province see Table 21 in chapter four with additional figures in chapter six ahead. However, much details can be found in SNP 10/162/Annual Report of Zaria Province…, SNP 10//163/Annual Report of Zaria Province…, SNP 10//105p/ Annual Report of Zaria Province…, SNP 9/100/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1924, SNP 17/ K III,

ours seem quite unlike what obtained in some of the literatures on the activities of the BCGA with regards to cotton production and export from the Northern provinces of the colony of Nigeria. In these studies, the issue of cotton imperialism was viewed as if it was BCGA that had its own end to achieve, and therefore in the whole cotton project the Association was using the might of the metropolitan and colonial states to push through to its own exclusive goal. This was clearly the impression built in the studies of Hogendorn, Wardle and Onyeiwu, while they underplayed the fact that the emergence of the Association in the scene of British cotton imperialism was itself a part of the general response by the capitalist textile industrial owners to save their investment from collapsing in the face of the global challenges facing the sector.[20] Perhaps a detailed look at the story of the formation and activities of the Association in the development of cotton exports under British colonial domination in the Zaria province in particular would expose the relationship in the better form that can be appreciated.

The British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) was established in 1902 in the textile city of Manchester, Britain by a group of capitalist commercial and industrial interests as part of their response to the threat to the survival of capitalist industrialisation in

Vol I-III/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1926, SNP 17/ 1894, Vol I/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1929, SNP 17/16678/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1931, SNP 17/25673/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1935, SNP 17/29615/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1937, SNP 17/32067/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1939 and Cotton Report for Half year ending March 1935 by the Agricultural Department in Zarprof/1385/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1935,KadMinAgric/COT/Stat/1/Cotton Statistics/1955, KadMinAgric/COT/11/General Cotton Marketing/1956, KadMinAgric/COT/5/General Cotton Seed Distribution/1955-1956, AR/19/25/479/Fourth Annual Report of the Northern Regional Marketing Board and AR/19/25/465/Sixth Annual Report of the Northern Regional Marketing Board.

[20] Hogendorn, J. S. (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut Exports…* Wardle, W.A. (1980) 'The British Cotton Growing Association and Cotton Export…' and Wardle, W.A (1981) 'The British Cotton Growing Association, The Lancashire…'and Onyeiwu, S (2000) 'Deceived by African Cotton: The British Cotton Growing Association and the Demise of the Lancashire Textile Industry.' *African Economic History*, No. 28, pp. 89-121. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3601650.

Europe.[21] Sir Alfred Jones, the Chairman of Elder Dempster Shipping Lines, another Multinational Shipping Company followed others to push forward the idea of Cotton project in Africa through parliamentarians such as Winston Churchill and Duke of Marlborough. As soon as the BCGA was established, Sir Alfred Jones emerged as its first President with a pledge to mobilize Fifty thousand pounds (£50,000) to serve as guaranteed fund for their West African Cotton campaign and propaganda. Over twenty individual and companies with this common Cotton interest mobilized about Nine thousand pounds (£9,000) for the take-off, in which their political interests were fully backed in the British parliament. The origin of this has its root in the crisis of industrial raw material supply faced by the textile industries of Lancashire in which case they were no longer getting the cotton lint they needed to import from the United States of America; the chief supplier of the raw material to the leading textile industries of the world. Thus, the scramble to create a chain of cheap raw material supply for these capitalist industries especially the textiles of Britain was one of many driving factors for the colonial conquest of Africa and its incorporation into the world capitalist economy. The BCGA therefore came to be a leading agent that played a key role in the foundation and entrenchment of the colonial agriculture policies which shaped the economy of Nigeria with an initial emphasis on cotton production. This position came out clear at the meeting where the BCGA was formed to promote the campaign to seek and develop cotton agricultural production anywhere in the British colonial empire.

[21] The Association was composed of spinners, manufacturers, merchants, shippers, and representatives of the various industries and labour bodies connected with the cotton trade. See Onyeiwu, S. (2000) 'Deceived by African Cotton: The British Cotton Growing Association and the Demise of the Lancashire Textile Industry' in *African Economic History*, No 28, pp. 89-121 Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3601650.

Before the emergence of the BCGA on the colonial scene, a number of the pre-colonial merchant capitalist interests had already began making headways into the cotton and textile business of the communities in the area. Prominent among these business concerns was the United African Company which began its mercantilist penetration of the interior communities towards the River Niger-Benue region from the 1880's. Details on the penetration by this company and its impact on the future political and economic relations in the region have already been discussed in the chapter on the British conquest and establishment of colonial administration. The significance of bringing this issue to light here lay in understanding the basis of the general and specific roles played by European firms and associations like the BCGA in the economic exploitation of communities in the Northern protectorate. Therefore, the activities of the BCGA in cotton production and export in Zaria province represented a major push by the capitalist interests of Britain to convert the local resources of the Northern protectorate communities into sources of raw materials for the their industries at home. The BCGA and its activities in Nigeria was a brain child of some of the measures employed by the big capitalists interests of Britain to save the Textile industries of Lancashire and Manchester from the embarrassing collapse as a result of their inability to compete with America that was the emergent capitalist power challenging the industrial superiority of Europe in the world capitalist economic system. Some colonial writers however portrayed the activities of the BCGA as if the Associations operations was exclusive of the general agenda of British colonial capitalist exploitation in Nigeria.[22] Also among these views was Robins who contended thus:

[22] Some of these writers include Hogendorn, J. S. (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut Exports…* Wardle, W.A. (1980) 'The British Cotton Growing Association and Cotton Export…' and Wardle, W.A (1981) 'The British Cotton Growing Association, The Lancashire…'and Onyeiwu, S (2000) 'Deceived by African Cotton…

> When markets for cotton did not work the way the BCGA wanted, the Association tried to use state power to impose policies like monopolistic cotton buying, ginning monopolies, fixed prices, and expert supervision in colonial economies. These policies made fictions of Britain's supposedly free markets in colonial produce, and increasingly limited the economic freedom of Africans as the BCGA operated in the hazy region between state power and the market. By 1918, the BCGA's "semi-philanthropic" model was thoroughly discredited, clearing the way for new development ideologies that emphasized rigorous scientific knowledge of soil, crops, and cultivation techniques alongside thorough management of rural labor and commodity markets, rather than private enterprise and free markets.[23]

But far from this being the case, the situation seemed the other way round. The fact was that the formation and entrenchment of the BCGA in the colonial economy of Nigeria was only a part of the project of British colonialism where the colonial state was serving as the arrow head. It was because the state occupied this central position in the agenda of colonial capitalist domination that investments were made by the imperial power to create and support it with all the means available whether in the military, economic or political sectors.[24] This tended to show as if the colonial project was rather driven by the Association and not the colonial state. However, the Association was always on the lobby to the imperial state for favours that were only granted in line with the colonial capitalist agenda. After all the scramble and partition of Africa which preceded the military conquest was for the metropolitan states of Europe to provide political shield to their capitalist industries and their agents struggling for raw materials and markets for their industrial goods in Africa and Asia. That was why the arrow head company in actualizing the British claim to the Nigerian territory was the Niger Company (RNC).[25]

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[23] Robins, J (2009) ' The Black Man's Crop: Cotton Imperialism Public-Private Development in Britain's African Colonies, 1900-1918', Commodities Empire Working Paper No 11, The Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies, The Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, Retrieved from *www.open.ac.uk./arts/ferguson-centre/commodities-of-empire/index.*

[24] The military conquest and subjugation of the Nigerian communities was therefore an inevitable stage in the establishment of British colonial domination over the people and the total control of their productive forces through the transformation of the relations of production for it to be in line with the agenda of creating a dependent capitalist economic system in these colonized societies.

[25] At a critical point in the development of the colonial relations of production the Niger Company merged with Unilever, both early comers to the Nigerian territories before 1900 to form the United African Company (UAC).

Certainly, the BCGA was not that quiet different as the sole agent of the Metropolitan state which the Colonial state had to work with in the exploitation of the people and resources of Nigeria. The number of its major owners being mostly at the centre of power in Britain particularly the British parliament further strengthen our position on this. Thus, like it began in some parts of Nigeria, the BCGA operations in the Zaria province was fully backed and politically fortified by the British colonial state as it was always acting through its many political institutions and agents. Some of these institutions included the central administration of the colony, the provincial and Native administration and their ruling agents such as the emir, district and village headsmen. All were done to achieve the "direct and indirect coercion" Under all these include the colonial army, Police (the Provincial and *Dogarai* of the NA), the *Alƙalai*, officers from the Agricultural, Forestry and other relevant departments directly or indirectly connected the agricultural production system of the province.[26]

The Association got involved in the colony and protectorate of Northern Nigeria almost immediately the British claim of the territory was announced and the military operation was going on. By 1904, the BCGA had begun its inroad into the provinces of the protectorate with preliminary details of each area's potential and the varieties of cotton grown in the different parts of the region. The colonial government of Northern Nigeria was very much involved in offering direct assistance in form of advances to the Association in its bid to begin the purchase of cotton grown by the local peasants. Although not much was obtained in view of the unwillingness to trade with the association and its agents against the traditionally known internal trading partners from

[26] *KadMinAgric/606/Cotton Regulations*. In this file, all the Cotton Regulations, powers of Alƙali Courts, Cotton Marketing regulations, Agricultural ordinances concerning Cotton are spelt out clearly in respect of the Zaria province and other cotton producing provinces of Northern Nigeria.

one emirate to the other as in the case of the huge cotton trade between the emirates of Kano, Katsina and Zazzau.[27]

A significant point for the BCGA was the full backing it got from the colonial state in penetrating the provinces with its cotton growing gospel. For instance, in 1904-05, the headquarters of the Northern provinces in Zungeru instructed the Residents of Kano, Bauchi, Sokoto, Nupe, Borno and Zaria to liaise with the agricultural officers in Lokoja on cotton development. In a similar situation, Lugard as High Commissioner and later Governor General of Northern Nigeria established direct linkage between officials of the BCGA and the Residents in the cotton producing provinces of the region. Thus, the business of developing cotton export production became a point in the agenda of both the BCGA and the provinces. With this challenge, the first few years was those of campaigns for cotton growing by the Association using the goodwill of the Residents in the provinces, emirs and district heads who were eager to convince their peasants on the need to grow more cotton for instant purchase by the BCGA and other companies around. In the Zaria province, the newly appointed emir of Zazzau, Aliyu took time to go round some of the major cotton producing districts to urge the farmers to plant more cotton particularly using the seeds which the BCGA gave to the Native administration for free distribution. The new Caranovica cotton was one of the early introduced seed type, before it was gradually replaced with others such as America Allen, Georgia type and others found to be "better alternatives" to the local seed planted by the peasants. As a key player in the field of cotton production and export, the BCGA continued to attract various forms of assistance from the colonial state such as the seasonal advances

[27] As a matter of fact, this trade was not only limited to seed cotton but also in the exchange of the different cotton and cloth manufactures produced by all the emirates and their neighbours in the central area of the River Niger and Benue confluence up to the coastal communities. This has been discussed in the chapter on the pre-colonial economy of the Zazzau emirate.

that enabled the Association to purchase as much seed cotton from the peasants who were beginning to be exposed to the dire need for cash to pay their tax. In addition to this, there was a marked shipment subsidy to the Association for the cotton it purchased from the local farmers, ginned and sent to the seaport of Lagos for export to Britain. In addition, the freight charges were subsidised, the cotton lint was in fact shipped for the Association free to Britain by the major shipping company Elder Dempster. The Chairman of this company had also been a leading member in the Association since it was founded in 1902. Another privilege secured by the Association from the colonial state was in the mass allocation of lands to it with full certificate of Occupancy. These plots of land were allocated either for the purpose of stores and warehouses, or ginnery and experimental farms as shown in the number of plots, size and spread across the province at different intervals of the colonial period.[28]

Table 5.4 Land Allocation to the BCGA in the Zaria Province.

Company	Location	Size of land	Expiry of C of O	Rent paid per annum
BCGA	Gimi	30, 000 Sq ft	16/10/1949	£10
"	Awai	30, 000 Sq ft	16/10/1949	£ 6
"	Duchin Wai	640, 000 Sq ft	27/6/ 1984	£ 14.14
"	Rahama	10, 000 Sq ft	12/8/1949	£ 3
"	Rigachikun	30, 000 Sq ft	13/11/1949	£ 6
"	Duchin Wai	15, 000 Sq ft	12/1/1927	£ 3.12
"	Duchin Wai	5, 000 Sq ft	01/10/1930	£ 1

Source: Zarprof/ 1723...

[28]The earliest attempt by the BCGA to appropriate land for the purpose of promoting cotton export production in the protectorate and colony of Nigeria was in 1899 when it acquired over10 kms of land for experimental work on cotton and named the experimental area Moor Plantation in lbadan. This was the same way another experimental farmland was later acquired in Maigana, Zaria province. All these activities of the Association were responsible for the location of the agricultural department of the Northern Provinces in Ibadan and Zaria respectively. See Ijere, M. O, 'Colonial Policy in Nigerian Agriculture and Its Implementation' in *Agricultural History Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 2. Agricultural History Society Publishers, 1974, (http://www.jstor.org/stable/3741237 and http://agriculture.onlinenigeria.com.

The above figure revealed the support given to the BCGA by the colonial state on matters of cotton production and export which the Association had been championing in northern Nigeria. It was also clear that these land allocations to the BCGA were concentrated in the major cotton producing areas of the province except for Gimi and Rigachikun which were located on the northern gateway to Kano and the central area of the province respectively. In the case of Awai, Rahama and Duchin Wai they were all located in the north eastern districts of the province where the main production of cotton was concentrated. These allocations were also cheaply made to the Association as the sole agent in cotton marketing activities in the province and northern Nigeria.

Another area of the colonial state assistance to the BCGA was in providing funds. For instance, in 1916, the BCGA sought permission of the government to draw cash from N.A treasury for buying cotton. This was discussed and it was granted with the sum of £100, 000, while other firms were also later included in the "government intervention" as the BCGA succeeded in securing the tax fund extracted from the peasants. Thus, the assistance which started in the 1916 season had by 1919 extended to other foreign firms to use the NA funds for boosting their cotton buying activities. The Bank of British West Africa, based in Zaria disbursed the approved fund to the BCGA, also seized an opportunity of issuing the money, which largely went to the peasants in Silver coins, Notes or imported goods such as cloth and salt. This was a strategy for pushing the largely unknown notes into the economy as well as the promotion of imported goods, particularly textile products that were facing quality competition from the local textile of Kano and other key cotton and textile industrial hubs of the Northern provinces.[29] This trend continued in the Zaria province where the aim was to push these colonial

[29] SNP 9/4427/1916/BCGA: Permission to draw cash from government treasury for buying cotton.

agents to win the drive for more cotton for exports to the detriment of the local weavers always traversing around the Zaria province for their raw cotton requirements at the harvest season of each year.[30]All these special considerations by the colonial state to the BCGA were significant in the ensuring the Association's dominance in promoting cotton cultivation, its purchase, ginning and exports to Britain. It was only with the crisis of the World War II that the Marketing Boards were directly brought in to replace this monopoly of the BCGA in the cotton business. Even then, the colonial government maintained the Association as the chief agent of the Marketing Board in the collection, ginning and transportation of the lint to the Sea port for export. Thus, the Association remained a major player in the capitalist development of cotton export business beyond the period of colonial rule in 1960, maintaining a strong hold on the ginning of seed cotton before it was exported out of the country.[31]

5.4 The Role of Empire Cotton Growing Corporation (ECGC).

A significant colonial agricultural policy which also influenced the pattern of inputs to the development of cotton for exports in the Northern provinces particularly in the major cotton producing areas was the establishment of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation in 1921. The Imperial government of Britain through a Royal Charter moved to extend and promote cotton export interests in all its colonial territories where there was the condition for production. To demonstrate state interests in this initiative which was part of the post-world war reconstruction efforts of the colonial powers, using the resources of their protectorates and colonies, the imperial government granted about One million pounds (£ 1,000,000) while the combined textile interests of Britain

[30] SNP 9/1326/1925: BCGA Advances of NA Tax monies to: Katsina NA tax money was directly given to BCGA.
[31] Robins, J (2009) 'The Black Man's Crop…'

were ordered to cover up other expenses with funds raised from levy on their spinning activity on an annual basis. With this, the BCGA was somewhat relieved of all activities regarding scientific and technical matters regarding the production of cotton in the Northern provinces. Thus, the BCGA was entirely left with the commercial affairs of cotton from the provinces to Britain whereas from the 1921 Royal Charter, the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, ECGC began to penetrate the cotton producing areas of the Northern provinces with experimental and research works. The ECGC began with the establishment of a two thousand acres cotton farm at Daudawa and special settler scheme where local peasants were settled and incorporated into the cotton production and improvement policy. The ECGC's aim was to create a sustainable seed multiplication enclave in the area with local peasant fully engaged in cotton and other crops cultivation such as Soya Beans, Tobacco and Guinea Corn. However, in spite of the ECGC, in the Zaria province, the Maigana farm centre and seed bed created at Awai continued the cotton improvement programme there under the Department of Agriculture. The ECGC was itself taken over by the department of Agriculture much later in 1941. This was the critical situation when the crisis of exports and trade under the World War II situation forced the British imperial state to take over all of colonial activities regarding the production and exports of crops in the way groundnut production and export was preferred to cotton for some years. The BCGA was thus dropped down to being a cotton buying agent of the Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board (NCMB) and later Northern Regional Marketing Board (NRMB) while at the same time maintaining its absolute monopoly of serving the Marketing Board as the ginning agent. The ginnery in Zaria was significantly made the centre of all ginning activities of the region, in spite of the fact that production of cotton in southern Katsina and the cotton

producing areas of Sokoto province together accounted for more cotton than Zaria province in the later years of colonial rule.

5.5 Cotton Markets (*Pulotai:* singular *Puloti)* in the Zaria Province:

The basis and establishment of agricultural produce stations or markets as they were later referred seem to be closely related to the general desire of the British to take over, and shape all activities around the imposition and consolidation of cash crop production and export as a key feature of the colonial economy in Nigeria. As a matter of policy, cotton became one of the first agricultural produce to be given attention by the British in the Northern protectorate especially the Zaria Province. The colonial state worked with, and also for such agents as the British Cotton Growing Association, BCGA in the establishment of the produce buying stations that started with exclusive buying rights of seed cotton directly from the peasant producers. This approach was not the initial stance of the colonial power because in the earlier years, some of the European firms present had tried buying the cotton and other goods for the purpose of exports in the traditionally known local markets.[32] The Niger Company which had established presence earlier than many of the other firms was involved in Gimi market in Galadima district of the province and purchased 35 tons of Seed Cotton at the price of 2¾d per pound.[33] However, with the eventual consolidation of colonial rule and establishment of political ruling machinery, it became obvious that the colonial state had to design policies that would ensure the total control of the local political economy and its subordination to the metropolitan capitalist economic system where orders came from London. More so, with the general appetite of the British and the European firms to immediately reap as much profit from the colonial economic relations on the one hand,

[32] Zarprof/2551/ 1904/Annual Report of the Zaria Province and Zarprof/2552/1905/Annual Report of the Zaria Province.
[33] Zarprof/163/…

and the resilience of the peasant cotton producers and local weavers, the BCGA was confronted with bigger challenges than was thought. Among the several challenges was in the local weavers beating the utterly low pricing habit of the BCGA and the Native administration almost every season, so that tons expected to be bought were diverted to the local weavers from Zaria itself and Kano, then from the French colonial territory of Maradî and Zinder. These groups were always ready to put in more for the peasant in the pricing. And it was a competition that the power of the colonial state in administrative and non-administrative manipulations had to confront up to the critical years when the colonial economic activities were fully incorporated into the metropolitan system.

An instance on this was in the 1911 buying season when the BCGA was only able to buy 215lbs of the total 2 tons of seed cotton sold in Kudan, Ɗanmahawayi and Giwa markets while at Marmara; described as a busy market to the south of Giwa, the market was completely left to the *Kanawa* weavers.[34] Hence, the deliberate and constant policies sometimes initiated by the BCGA and pushed to the colonial state officials who wasted no time in enacting appropriate guidelines and seeing to their implementation by the local agents of colonial rule such as the Emir, district and village headmen. Thus, in spite of this mass failure of the Association to capture the market in some of the major cotton producing districts of the province, a renewed vigour started especially in collaboration with the Native administration to win the peasants in many ways in the rural production areas. These included aspects of the penetration of agents of the Association right into the doorsteps of rural peasants to assure them of the BCGA readiness to buy as much as they would cultivate in the coming season. In 1911, the

[34] SNP 7/2136/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1911.

Emir of Zazzau was given 500 bags of seeds to distribute to farmers all over the province free of charge.[35] The initial seed mainly came from the experimental farms at Lokoja then the one at Samaru and later in 1913, the Maigana centre in Makama Karami district (Soba) began production. This was a way of replacing the local cotton mostly needed by local buyers and weavers in preference to the Bassa and American varieties promoted by the BCGA and the Native Administration. Interestingly, the colonial state through the agricultural department had for some years since the cotton campaign started tried many varieties of cotton seed with the intention of eliminating the local cotton, which was not wanted by the textile industries of Lancashire, and that its elimination would eventually push the local weavers out of the scene of the competition to purchase the cotton produced by the local peasants. While the British agents were hoping for all their cotton requirements from Northern Nigeria, they could not tolerate any competition from these local loom owners from Zaria, Kano and the French occupied territory of Zinder and Maradî. This was also the basis of the annual gazette of cotton markets, market areas and buying areas established under the Zaria Native administration for the purpose of buying seed cotton by those European firms permitted to purchase the produce on behalf of the BCGA.

By the 1916 cotton season, there were 14 gazetted markets where cotton was bought up by the European firms who also sent their agents to get more customers. The seed cotton was transported to the ginnery mainly in Zaria for the BCGA as the major dealer in all cotton matters. This was the type of rush by the firms and their agents which transformed the gazette markets and adjourning stations, into places for Touting (*Baranda*) and the touts known as '*Yan Baranda*. The same year, the N.A moved to

[35] SNP 7/2136…

abolish *Baranda*, ordering all prospective cotton buying agents to register with the government and abide by the buying regulations. A total of 220 individuals were registered as cotton buying agents spread through the gazette markets.[36] This way the issue of cotton markets was regularly reviewed upwards or downwards, dependent on the outcome of purchase of the current season or the case of penetration by the N.A in promoting the growth of the cotton crop in "new areas". For instance, under gazette no 78 of November, 1918, the cotton markets approved were Duchi-N-Wai (Dutsen Wai), Soba, Gimi, Rigachikun and Tsibiri. An idea of the changes in the number of these gazetted cotton markets is given below:

[36] SNP 19/750…

Table 5.5 List of Approved Cotton Markets in Zaria Province for some selected years.

YEAR	GAZETTED COTTON MARKETS
1918	Duchi-N-Wai (Dutsen Wai), Soba, Gimi, Rigachikun and Tsibiri.
1920-1921	Bakin Kasua (Kasuwa), Gimi Dabosa, Birnin Yaro, Zaria, Rigachikun, Kaduna Junction, Soba, Duchin (Dutsen) Wai, Rahama, Tsibiri, Kudaru and Zangon Katab.
1922-1923	Zaria, Soba, Duchin (Dutsen) Wai, Kudaru, Rahama, Tsibiri, BirninYaro, Rigachikun, Kaduna Junction, Bakin Kasua (Kasuwa) and Gimi Dabosa.
1923-1924	Zaria, Gimi Dabosa, Guga, Birnin Yaro, Kaduna, Soba, Duchin (Dutsen) Wai, Kudaru, Rahama, Zonkwa, Rigachikun, Kidandan, Anchau and B/Gwari.
1926-1927	Zaria, Gimi Dabosa, Guga, Birnin Yaro, Kaduna, Soba, Duchin Wai, Kudaru, Rahama, Zonkwa, Rigachikun, Kidandan, Anchau, Farin Ruwa and B/Gwari.
1933-1934	Awai, Soba, Duchi-N Wai (Dutsen Wai), Kudaru, Rahama, Anchau, Gimi Dabosa, Kidandan, Kaya, Gama Gira, Rigachikun, Zonkwa and B/Gwari.
1934-1935	Awai, Soba, Duchi-N Wai, Kudaru, Rahama, Anchau, Gimi Dabosa, Kidandan, Kaya, Gamagira, Rigachikun, Zonkwa, B/Gwari, Shika, Gangara, Kachia and Gwagwada.
1947-1948	Anchau, Awai, Birnin Yaro, Dutsen Wai, Gamagira, Gangara, Guga, Kaya, Kidandan, Kudan, Kudaru, Soba and Zaria.
1949-1950	Anchau ta Gabas, Awai, Birnin Yero, Dutsen Wai, Gamagira, Gangara, Giwa, Kaya, Kidandan, Kudan, Kudaru, Rahama, Sabon Birni, Shika, Soba, Tabanni, Zaria and Zonkwa.
1956-1957	Zaria, Anchau, Birnin Yaro, Doka, Dogon Dawa, Bakin Kogi, Dawakin Bassa, Dutsen Wai, Fanshanu, Gamagira, Gangara, Giwa, Gimi Dabosa, Gubuchi, Ikara, Iyatawa, Kajuru, Karaba, Kerawa, Kasuwan Dandaura, Kauru, Kaya, Kidandan, Kudan, Kujama, Maigana, Makera, Pambeguwa, Sabon Birni, Shika, Soba, Takalafiya, Anchau ta Gabas, Unguwar Yarima, Zangon Aya, Kayarda, Kurmin Biri, Jere, Banki, Kagarko, Kafanchan and Idon.

Source: Zarprof/431/Cotton markets…, Zarprof/2571…, MinAgric/1/1/11201/Cotton marketing… MinAgric/1/1/10179/Cotton Market and Export Regulation…

From the figures above, it would be understood that from the beginning, the colonial administration maintained its policy of maximum cotton exports from the rural production areas. This was manifested in the balanced number of cotton markets which were mainly located in the major cotton producing districts in the northern part of the province. These were also the areas where the European firms established presence since they were the main agents of the BCGA in buying seed cotton from the peasants as spelt out in the policies of the Zaria native administration. However, another key feature of these markets was that except for few like Anchau, Soba, Dutsen Wai, Zaria, Gimi, Rigachikun and Awai, most of the others were not constant throughout the colonial period. Though they were usually dropped from being cotton markets with stalls, they remained as market or buying areas based on the categorisation given by the native administration on seasonal basis.[37]The cotton markets were therefore traversed by the different firms with their agents thus totally monopolizing the buying exercise trailing behind the BCGA as the main colonial agent on all aspects of cotton in the colony.[38] Thus, side by side with cotton markets there were other areas where cotton was produced but because of lower quantity, they were designated as either market areas or buying stations (areas). This meant that the companies were not to be found in every district of the province even though in all these districts particularly in the later years when cotton was produced for sale to the BCGA.[39] And, it was in such recognition that in the later years, the marketing activities in cotton was designated based on either cotton market, or market area or buying area as shown in the figure below of the areas approved for the 1933-1934 cotton buying season:

[37] See table on the designation of Cotton Markets, Market Areas and Buying Areas in Zaria Province for the years 1933-1934 ahead with details.
[38] SNP/10/162p…The BCGA had experimental and seed bed farms in Awai, Soba district, it owned the ginneries, it was responsible for exportation of the lint and also the distribution of cotton seeds for the next season.
[39] MinAgric/1/1/10179/Cotton Market and Export Regulation…

Table 5.6 Designation of Cotton Markets, Market Areas and Buying Areas in Zaria Province 1933-1934.

Cotton Markets	Market areas	Buying areas
Awai	Anchau District	Birnin Gwari Emirate
Soba	Giwa District	Bikaratu District
Duchi-N-Wai	Igabi District	Chawai District
Kudaru	Ikara District	Chikun District
Rahama	Kudaru District	Kachia District
Anchau	Lere District	Kagarko District
Zaria	Makarfi District	Kajuru District
Gimi Dabosa	Paki District	Katab District
Kidandan	Sabon Birni District	Kauru District
Kaya	Soba District	
Gamagira	Zangon Aya District	
Rigachikun	Zaria Home District	
Zonkwa		
Birnin Gwari		

Source: MinAgric/1/1/10179/Cotton Market and Export Regulation…

Accordingly, this designation which came ahead of every buying season kept changing based on the level of production in the previous season by each of the districts of the province. Some production areas permanently remained as cotton markets, while others interchange positions as either market areas or got downgraded to buying areas. It was under this that most of the southern districts were designated as buying areas for middlemen to buy cotton instead of the LBAs.[40] This situation contributed to the kind of racketeering in paying the officially declared price by the middlemen who were incidentally from the "Hausa" merchant class that people like Z.K.A Bonat that seem to be protesting were favoured in a deliberately designed segregation policy by the British colonial state officials against the ethnic groups in Southern Zaria province.[41] However, while not intending to drag this issue, it is imperative to stress that the so-called Hausa dominance particularly in aspects of trade and

[40] MinAgric/1/1/10179/Cotton Market and Export Regulation…
[41] Bonat, Z.K.A (2015) 'Agricultural Development Policy Implementation…' p. 428.

other key economic activities in the southern Zaria and beyond was a historical event that spanned several centuries before the coming of the British in 1900s.

Also as the sole colonial agent in cotton activities, the BCGA had the mandate of the imperial government in London to have the monopoly of all other cotton buying processes. These included paying for transporting the seed cotton to the ginnery, the ginning and packaging of the cotton lint for export as well as the duty to make available new seeds to the peasants that was usually distributed free through the Native administration.[42]Under this policy, the designation and approval of cotton buying stations throughout the Zaria province and indeed other cotton producing areas was the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture of the Northern provinces. The fact was that under this policy, the European firms greatly benefitted from this government policy of fixed location for the buying, and also of the fixed prices for the produce which sometimes was announced even before the harvesting season.

Another fundamental point on the designated cotton markets or buying stations was the grading of all cotton brought for sale. This was carried out by cotton examiners popularly known as *Malaman Auduga.* These staff were appointed to serve under the Native administration and they usually received training courses from experts of the department of Agriculture at Samaru Zaria.[43] The official pricing was determined by the grade of the seed cotton brought to the buying stations and markets by the farmers

[42] This was before the establishment of commodity marketing boards in the later years of colonial rule. In the later years, the Marketing board took up such responsibility where the BCGA itself was relegated to being a commissioned agent of the government established marketing monopoly. However, seed distribution free to farmers was maintained throughout the colonial period. This too eventually benefited the colonial government in the sense of making sure only the variety required in London was planted and exported.

[43]Alhaji Musa Ibrahim, 82 years, interviewed at Soba, Soba Local Government area of Kaduna State, 24th July, 2016.

who were always at the mercy of what the *Malamin Auduga* decided on their consignment at the buying stations.[44] All the policies and measures were decided upon and reviewed as the British authorities desired in line with the colonial aim of achieving as much as possible export production of cotton from the province and other provinces of Northern Nigeria. There were Ordinances, Orders and Cotton regulations which were mainly initiated by the department of agriculture of Northern Nigeria based in Samaru Zaria.[45] The Review of these regulations came from the reports of cotton buying and seed distribution activities by the department of agriculture, BCGA, other European firms, the Native administration officials within and outside the cotton buying stations and markets, the Railway and all other stakeholders in the production, trade and transportation aspects of cotton.[46]The Zaria Native administration played significant roles in the general and specific affairs of the cotton markets and this situation was maintained up to the late 1940s under the full control of Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board policies. A memorandum by the Board in 1949 clearly states that the Native administration in the Northern provinces had been responsible for the maintenance of all cotton markets, particularly in the following areas:

[44] Part of the provisions in some of the cotton regulations clearly stipulated this function for the *Malaman Auduga*. See Zarprof/1385/Cotton Report of Northern Nigeria/Vol II, SNP7/750…and KadMinAgric/606/Cotton Regulations/1937.

[45]These regulations have been further discussed in the chapter ahead, which deals with the final push of the colonial administration from the Inter war years up to 1950's on the development of cotton export production and the socio-economic impact of such on the cotton producing districts of the Zazzau emirate.

[46] It is important to stress here that of all the stakeholders in the business of cotton production and export during the British colonial period the peasant farmer was the only one of them all, that did not have a role in any of the decision making processes except to produce when it was required and change to other crops as he was either enticed, manipulated or coerced by the market and colonial state instruments.

1) Building of Cotton Markets
2) Salaries of Cotton Examiners
3) Policing of Cotton Markets
4) Employing and paying Runners and Gate Keepers
5) All transport expenses in relation to the Markets.[47]

These activities at the Cotton mark**e**ts and the market sites were taken over by the NCMB immediately it began operation in 1949.[48] Some of the other laws which were very significant to the cotton production and marketing as it affected the producing districts of the Zaria province included: the Agricultural Ordinance No 4 of 1926 which was subsequently amended in the 1930's and 1940's up to the years of independence.[49] In it, the Governor of Northern Provinces was given the sole power to appoint areas as Cotton Markets, identify within such an area buying stations, and appoint licensing authority for any market so that no person would be allowed to buy cotton within a market area and buying station without being issued license. Even in case of the large firms such as the BCGA, those to buy cotton on their behalf must also be a licensed individuals or companies. Any contravention of these and other regulations of the Ordinance was to attract measures such as fines and or, imprisonment as would be further discussed in the next chapter. An order against touting which had already been in force as we discussed above eventually placed *Dogarai* in the cotton markets and buying stations to arrest offenders and send them to the *Alkali* courts for prosecution.[50] All these were created and implemented by the colonial state through the department

[47] Those functions were also narrated by Malam Nuhu Audi, 92 Years, Former Cotton Examiner interviewed at Unguwar Kaura, Zaria, Zaria Local Government of Kaduna State, 9th October, 2014.
[48] See AR/SNP 45956/S.1, Vol 1/ Agenda and Minutes of Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board/1952-1953/Memorandum on the abolition of Scale fees and Re-imbursement to the Native Administration of the cost of maintenance of Cotton Markets.
[49]KadMinAgric/606/Cotton Regulations
[50] SNP 10/2562/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1915. Some of the offences have been discussed in the section above on the role of the colonial state. See for details KadMinAgric/606…

of agriculture until the emergence of the Marketing Board system in the 1940's.[51] The implication of these measures was that the rural producer was forced to have little alternative in selling his cotton so that he was left with no chance to benefit from the advantage of price differentiation that existed in distant markets away from his village area and district. Thus, instead of allowing free environment for this economic activity, the colonial state rather tightened the grip on the peasants who were always at the mercy of the "legally authorised' firms and their agents.[52]

The Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board was established in 1949 marking another crucial phase in the changing colonial policies towards the production and marketing of export crops from the Northern provinces to Britain. Indeed, the establishment and empowerment of the marketing boards in this sequence was the direct impact of the World War II where the enormity of its crises necessitated a tighter control on the economy. This was especially on production and marketing of the export crops produced by peasants in the rural areas. The introduction of the marketing board system therefore brought to an end the era of monopoly for the BCGA and several of the European trading firms that had a field day on what went on around cotton export. Yet it opened another door for these same European agents as second fronts to the new monopoly, the marketing boards. This therefore meant it was not yet time for any major participation of local licensed buying agents in the cotton export marketing activities.

[51] The BCGA remained the reference point in all dealings on cotton production and export. However, with the depression of the early 1930's and the outbreak of the World War II from 1939-1945, the British tightened hold on its colonial entities especially in the intensification of commodity production such as Groundnut, Cotton and other export crops in Nigeria and other colonies. This was the period of the takeover of all activities connected to export crops under the Produce Marketing Board system with emphasis on Commodity Marketing Boards such as for Cotton and Groundnut in the case of Northern Nigeria. This we shall discuss concerning the activities of the marketing boards on cotton production and export.

[52] Details on this had been discussed under the role of European trading firms and their agents.

Prior to this period we saw how the British Cotton Growing Association, BCGA through the backing of the colonial state maintained itself as the monopoly in seed cotton trade, ginning and export. The European firms such as UAC, John Holt, SCOA, CFAO, G. B. Ollivant and Paterson Zochonis and others were the main buying agents given full support and protection by the government through the Zaria Native administrative machinery like the Emir, District and Village heads. These local rulers/agents had the advantage of direct contact with the rural production communities and thus were effectively used in the campaigns by the British. Again as these companies could not effectively penetrate the rural production areas and capture the market directly from the peasants without local intermediaries, the institution of *Baranda* which was in the past banned thrived well in a disguised form that the colonial state officials knew but had to leave each firm operate its way.[53] These were the so-called local sub-agents in the days when the Northern Regional Marketing Board took over while the board was referring to the existence of local participation in its operations in the Northern provinces. Until late in the 1950s, there were no direct Native presence in the licensed buying agents for cotton but only these sub-agents that had no capital base and therefore entirely relied on the funds provided to them by the European firms, the officially appointed LBAs. At the height of the war period in the early 1940's, these European firms struggled to outplay one another in the cotton buying stations as the more purchase the higher the commission. In fact there were instances the competition for seed cotton turned a cut throat one instigating protest and call for intervention of the colonial state. A clear example was that by C. Zard and Co Ltd, a General Merchant Company struggling to make relevance in the midst of giant firms recognized by the colonial administration like the UAC, SCOA, John Holt, PZ,

[53] Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 Years...

G.B. Ollivant, London and Kano. On 23rd December, 1943, this company had reason to write a telegram to the Chief Commissioner of the Provincial Office, Kaduna:

> Vigorously protest against pool firm's action of increasing cotton prices to present fantastic and absurd level of sixteen tenths when all firms…are...buying on behalf of the government. The sole purpose of increase is to squeeze outside companies (Non-pool members) like ourselves out of the cotton market. This surely is not a government policy to allow combined firms to gain monopoly thus eliminating outside competition. We request you to take up this matter with the secretariat and colonial office in the strongest possible terms.[54]

From its base in Funtua, Katsina province the Branch Manager of this Lebanese company wrote twice from December, 1943 to early January, 1944 asking for what the government decided on their protest against these so-called pool firms. The significance of what the government finally acted on was in throwing its weight not to protect the protesting companies or the peasant producers, but only in reaffirming its stand that existing government pushed Groundnut priority should not be tampered with under whatever circumstance as clearly stated by the Secretary for Northern Provinces to the Chief Secretary to the Government in Lagos that… "…the policy of pushing prices of cotton by firms to outplay one another as it benefits the peasants could be regarded as good, and thus sustainable as far as the administration was concerned even to the disliking of Zard and Co Ltd and its type. This however came with a condition that if groundnut was to retain its present measure of priority so that its cultivation in soil partly unsuited to it (Groundnut) but wholly suitable for the cultivation of cotton may be encouraged in future, then the little encouragement given to cotton by this action of the pool firms in paying above the government fixed price may affect the groundnut position in future. He went on that…If Groundnut is to have absolute priority and Northern Nigerian cotton be in no demand, (which was the British target then), His

[54]AH/SNP/31802/ Cotton Marketing in Wartime…

Honour (Governor of Northern Provinces) is in favour of steps being taken to induce the firms to pay the fixed price for cotton." [55] Some years before the outbreak of the war of 1939-1945, the whole marketing regulations for cotton was controlled under Regulations 43 of 1937 that provided for the Cotton advisory Committee to serve as representative of all colonial cotton interests. The membership of this committee was self-explanatory about the level of interest which the colonial state placed in the activities around which cotton was produced, marketed and exported to Britain:

1) The Director of Agriculture (DA) of the colony of Nigeria based in Ibadan was the Chairman of the Cotton Advisory Committee (CAC) with the following members:
2) Assistant Director of Agriculture (ADA), Northern provinces based in Samaru Zaria.
3) Residents of Kano, Zaria, Katsina, Sokoto, Plateau, Bauchi, Niger Provinces.
4) Chief Inspector of Produce (CIP).
5) Representatives from Messrs United African Company, John Holt, G.B.Ollivant, Paterson Zochonis, London and Kano, Societe Commerciale de L'Ouest Africain, C. Zard, P.S.Mandrides, British Cotton Growing Association and the Bank of British West Africa.[56]

This Colonial committee was empowered to discuss all issues on the marketing of Cotton at the beginning and closing of buying season and make submissions to the Chief Commissioner (CC) of Northern Provinces who transmits the same report and add with suggestion to the Nigerian Government.[57] The same way, all interests in the production, marketing and export of cotton were represented in the committee except

[55] See Copy of Letter from the Secretary, Northern Provinces to the Honourable Chief Secretary to the Government, Lagos, dated 9th January, 1944 with attachment of the protest letter from Zard and Co Ltd and letter from the Resident of Kano Provinces who wrote to advise on the government response in AH/SNP/31802/ Cotton Marketing in Wartime…The response of the Resident of Kano as demanded by the Governor of Northern provinces dated 21st December, 1943 no 118/307 was the basis of the submission made by the Governor of NP to the central colonial administration of Nigeria in Lagos. This has indeed been the general pattern of all policy initiatives, decisions and implementations in the operations of the colonial government in the provinces, regions and the colony of Nigeria.

[56] AH/ SNP files no 31802/Cotton Marketing in War time…, and Zarprof/1385/Cotton Report… As a matter of fact, under the NRMB the committee was enlarged and renamed Cotton Representative Committee with a widened membership to include the voice of many local interests, particularly the Native Authority Chiefs and their agents. See the full list in AH/19/25/462/ *Northern Region of Nigeria.*

[57] AH/19/25/462/ *Northern Region of Nigeria...*

the peasant farmer. The local chiefs who were always acting for the colonial state in seeing to the implementation of all policies as it affected the peasants were not part of this committee. Even though the colonial administration was heavily reliant on this committee for operational directions under the colonial economy. This was the situation up to the war when the colonial administration reorganized the system in favour of more state control as detailed by the Secretary of State for Colonies in a telegram to the Governor of Nigeria in Lagos.[58] Through this, the Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board emerged in 1949 just as the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board earlier emerged in 1947.[59]

On its part, the Nigeria Produce Marketing Company Limited (NPMC) worked with the Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board (NCMB) to monopolise aspects of purchase and export of cotton to the foreign market.[60] These groups of colonial institutions remained the sole monopoly for buying and exporting cotton and all the other agricultural produce whose development was facilitated by among other facilities, including the establishment of research centres and experimental farms to make the peasant produce more with the same implements.

5.6 Ginneries and Cotton Production:

A major feature of the development of cotton production and export in Northern Nigeria was the establishment of ginneries. They were responsible for the processing of all the raw cotton purchased from the peasants by the firms on behalf of the main colonial

[58] See Telegram No 1147 of 24th November, 1941, in AH/ SNP files no 31802/Cotton Marketing in War time…

[59] Helleiner, G. K. (1976) *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth*…pp. 153.

[60] This company was established in 1947, and worked with the Nigeria Produce Marketing Boards and the Regional Marketing Boards up to 1955 when another board was created by the law of Nigeria. Details of this have been discussed in the next chapter.

buying agent; the British Cotton Growing Association. The cotton crop was only exported when the seed cotton was ginned and the cotton lint extracted from which the seed was also partly exported and the rest was maintained as seed to be distributed to the famers free for the next planting season. By 1907, a number of ginning facilities had been established at Abeokuta and Ibadan, then smaller ones at Meko, Eruwa road, Oyo and Iwo all in the southern provinces. In 1908 a fully equipped modern ginnery was established at Oshogbo signifying the beginning of a new era in the British colonial cotton production and export project in Nigeria.[61] In the case of the Northern provinces, the first ginnery was established at Lokoja earlier in 1906 with the focus to extract the cotton grown in the Niger-Benue riverine areas. The figure below shows the historical development of ginneries in Nigeria with the quantity of cotton ginned by the BCGA for 1957-1958.[62]

[61] Maiden, R.L.B. *A Survey to ascertain the possible expansion of Cotton Production in the Northern Region of Nigeria*, Zaria, Gaskiya Corporation, p 10. See also Table 5.7 and two Maps ahead on Ginneries in northern Nigeria.

[62] The British Cotton Growing Association Annual Report papers for 1957-1958 Season, 333-350, The Royal Exchange, Manchester, England and Zarprof/1723/BCGA Ginnery at Dutsen Wai.

Table 5.7 List of Ginneries established in Colonial Northern Nigeria 1906-1958.

Ginnery	Year of Establishment	Production in Bales of 400 lbs
		(1957-1958).
Lokoja	1906	7,973
Agudu (Ilorin)	1906	---
Zaria*	1911	28,562
Dutsen Wai*	1924	---
Gusau	1925	32,575
Funtua	1926	31,202
Malumfashi	1927	37,439
Mai Inchi (Mayanchi)	1935	29,300
Kontagora	1945	11,579
Misau	1950	8,291
Gombe	1952	20,846
Kuru	1957	12,481
Kumo	1958	16,227 = 236,835

*These ginneries were located in the Zaria province.

Source: The British Cotton Growing Association Annual Report papers for 1957-1958 Season, 333-350, The Royal Exchange, Manchester, England, Zarprof/1723/BCGA Ginnery at Dutsen Wai and Northern Nigeria Colonial Annual Reports, 1900-07…, p.75.

According to the table above, the output of cotton lint from the ginneries in Zaria province were significantly trailing behind those of Gusau and Mayanchi in Sokoto province as well as Funtua and Malumfashi in Katsina province. Similarly, for Gombe and Kumo though the two were new entrants compared to Zaria, their combined output was ahead of the biggest ginnery in Zaria. For ginneries in Sokoto and Katsina provinces it was obvious as the cotton production in those areas had consistently surpassed the Zaria province that had only the northern districts as major producing areas. Besides as we will find out in the chapter ahead, when the groundnut production campaign persisted in Zaria some of the areas such as Ikara, Gimi and even parts of Anchau, whose soil type could accept groundnut were compellingly excised out of major cotton areas to make them produce groundnut. This seems to explain the failure of the ginnery in Dutsen Wai to take enough seed cotton for ginning in those years

although the groundnut itself could not succeed as envisaged by the colonial administration.

The earlier arrival of the Railway to Zaria in 1911 and to Kano in 1912 signified a major breakthrough for the dream of cotton imperialists to colonise this strategic industry whose activities in the central Sudan had been acknowledged several years before the British infiltration into the region. We have seen in the previous chapter how Zaria became the centre of the British cotton activities in the Northern provinces and Nigeria through the establishment of related agencies and colonial institutions. Almost immediately with the conquest of the Zazzau emirate, the BCGA established its operating office and headquarters in Zaria, then agricultural department which was in charge of all the Northern Provinces. In the same year the railway passed Zaria in 1911, a ginnery was established by the BCGA as part of its grand design to conquer the cotton produced in the Northern cotton belt covering Zaria, Katsina, Sokoto and Kano provinces. The coming years saw the BCGA expanding the cotton areas to parts of Bauchi, Gombe, Borno in addition to the Niger and Benue areas that were earlier exploited through the Lokoja ginnery. This way the ginnery in Zaria could not sustain the pressure from the expanded cotton activity in these Northern provinces, hence the gradual establishment of more ginneries as shown in the list above which by 1958 were able to produce cotton lint amounting to 236,835 bales of 400 lbs.[63]

Under the Wartime cotton production policy of the British colonial government also there was some significant impact on the activities of the BCGA owned ginneries, particularly in the Zaria province where the ginnery became a centre of ginning and

[63] *The British Cotton Growing Association Annual Report papers* for 1957-1958…

distribution of seeds to places beyond the province. While the ginneries in Funtua, Malumfashi, Mayanci and Gusau were mostly serving the rural peasants of the Katsina and Southern Sokoto provinces, the Zaria ginnery, which was the earliest and biggest was located in the heart of the Urban Sabon Gari centre of Zaria province and in the most strategic railway junction serving most parts of the Northern provinces. It was thus easier to bring in seed cotton to Zaria from the eastern provinces and southern Kano, considered less of cotton but all the same important evacuation centres for other goods such as groundnut because of the direct railway access to and from Zaria. For instance, in the 1955 seed distribution exercise, the Zaria ginnery was saddled with the responsibility of supplying parts of the province and its neighbouring production areas as shown in some of the figures below:

Table 5.8 Cotton Seed supplied by the Zaria Ginnery to Zaria and other provinces in 1955.

Distribution Centre	Province	Cotton Seed in tons
Kudaru	(Zaria)	14 tons of cotton seed
Kachia	(Zaria)	07 tons of cotton seed
Gwarzo	(Kano)	10 tons of cotton seed
Sumaila	(Kano)	05 tons of cotton seed
Gwaram	(Kano)	10 tons of cotton seed
Kano	(Kano)	70 tons of cotton seed
Birniwa	(Kano)	14 tons of cotton seed
Malam Madori	(Kano)	5½ tons of cotton seed
Jogana	(Kano)	25 tons of cotton seed
Gagarawa	(Kano)	16 tons of cotton seed
Madobi	(Kano)	16 tons of cotton seed
Yaku	------	17 tons of cotton seed
Baddegi	(Niger)	29 tons of cotton seed
Minna	(Niger)	15 tons of cotton seed
Jos	(Plateau)	80 tons of cotton seed

Source: KadMinAgric/COT5/12/National Archives/Cotton Seed for Distribution…

Above, it would be observed that most of the cotton areas of the Zaria Province were absent in the Zaria ginnery list. These areas which were mostly located in the north and north east of the province relied on the Dutsen Wai ginnery for their seeds. By the end of the distribution exercise, the BCGA ginnery in Zaria had supplied Borno, Kano, Kabba, Niger, Plateau with part or all of their seeds.[64] All this distribution was facilitated by the railway through which Zaria was linked to all the areas mentioned. The Funtua ginnery was made to supply about two thousand five hundred tons to most of Zaria province with the seed. This way too the urban part of Zaria was fully involved in cotton production activities around the metropolis where seed cotton was taken to the ginnery and lint produced therefrom. The cotton seed was also utilised in accordance with instructions from the colonial government.[65] Between the BCGA ginnery and the railway junction there existed the famous Zaria cotton market. An informant who served as cotton examiner in the early 1950s confirmed this.[66]

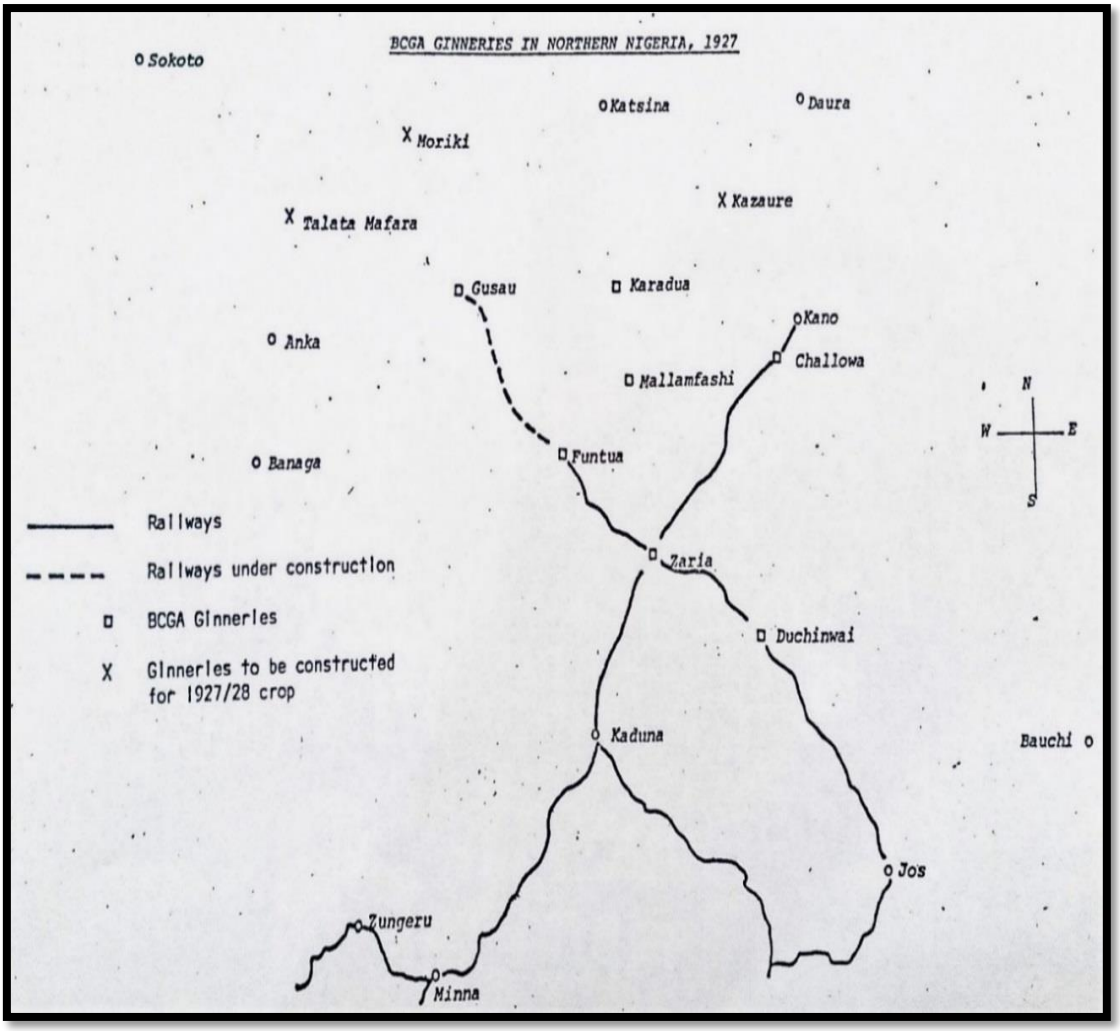
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[64] MinAgric/COT/STAT/1… That plateau province received the highest single allocation of 80 tons was quite normal since the amount covered the entire province unlike the others especially Niger and Zaria where the more producing areas not included in the Zaria ginnery list were supplied from the ginneries of Kontagora and Dutsen Wai respectively. The case of cotton production for Kano was clear as to the fact that it was more of a groundnut area. Besides, the total seed distributed to Kano areas was more than that of Plateau. See MinAgric/COT/STAT/1…

[65] Under the colonial cotton production policy, seeds set for distribution free to farmers were always realised after ginning. The remaining were exported or sold to milling industries and for producing animal food. This made cotton quite profitable where everything from it produced money both for the British and its agents such as the BCGA, foreign trading firms, shipping agents, the Marketing Boards and their agents in Britain. Thus, as far as the seeds realised from the ginning exercise was concerned it was an extra profit made apart from the one made on the cotton lint. This was quite different in the case of groundnut where the farmers were fully responsible for buying their seeds. This was also an issue which became difficult for the colonial administration in having to divert the farmers from cotton production to groundnut especially where the climate and soil conditions allowed for production of both groundnut and cotton. According to Musa Ibrahim, 82 Years…some of the cotton farmers at the Anchau cotton market mocked the groundnut farmers that came to sell their produce at the few stalls allocated to the firms buying groundnut for not having any free seed to carry home as provided in the case of cotton by the Native Administration at every cotton market. This was in 1949-1950 when he served as Assistant Cotton Examiner.

[66] Nuhu Audi Sa'adu, 92 years, Former Cotton Examiner, interviewed at *Unguwar* Kaura, Zaria, Kaduna State, Nigeria, 9th October, 2014 and a recorded weekly Radio interview programme at the KSMC Radio, Kaduna titled "*Iyayen Al'umma*" broadcast between October to November, 2016 (I am in possession of the edited version of the interview as was broadcast). I am grateful to the producers Yusufu Jibrin and Kasimu Shu'aibu Bamalli for making copies of the series available to me. The adjourning area North

BCGA Ginneries in the Cotton Producing Provinces of Northern Nigeria by 1927

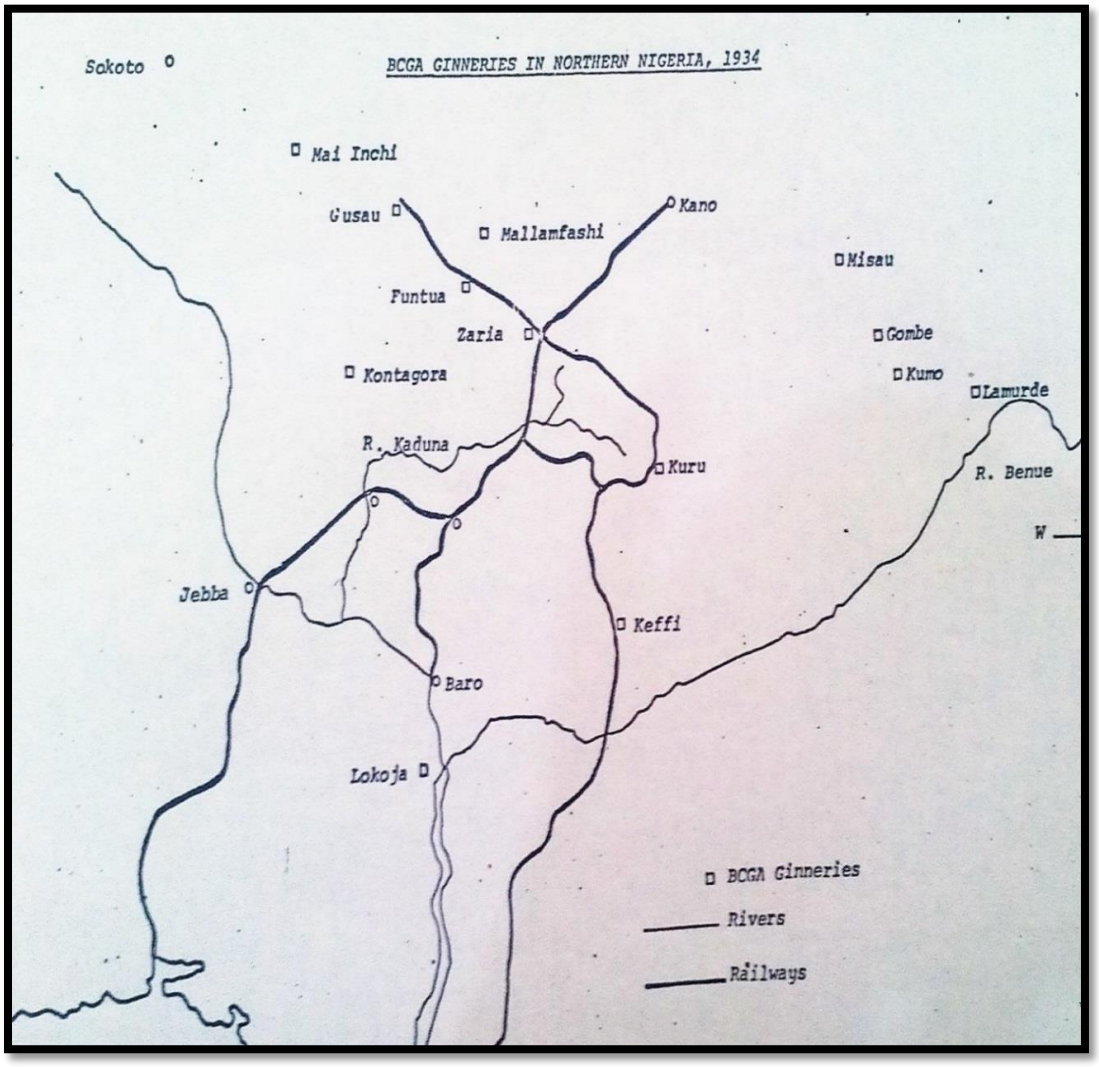


Adopted from**:** Wardle, W. A (1980) 'The British Cotton Growing Association and Cotton Export development in Northern Nigeria, 1902-1939' in Colonial Rule and Local Response in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, *Postgraduate Seminar*, Institute of Common Wealth Studies, University of London.

According to him, the cotton market, in addition to taking produce from the surroundings of Zaria and Sabon Gari, got the railway as an advantage for those peasants who brought their cotton right to the doorstep of the ginnery where the series of activities which prevented the peasants from getting their actual prices was minimal**..**

West of the BCGA ginnery just by the railway entrance to the station was the seat of the cotton market where Nuhu Audi worked as cotton examiner in the early 1950s. This location as at 2016 formed part of Albabello trading complex at Sabon Gari, Zaria.

BCGA Ginneries in the Cotton Producing Provinces of Northern Nigeria by 1934.



Adopted from: Wardle, W. A (1980) 'The British Cotton Growing Association and Cotton Export development in Northern Nigeria, 1902-1939'…

5.7 The Establishment of Experimental Farms and Research Centres in Maigana and other areas.

The establishment of Experimental farms and research centres under the colonial agricultural policy in Northern Nigeria in general and in the Zaria province in particular was initiated and implemented by the colonial state, acting through its institutions and departments. These bureaucratic institutions and departments were divided on the basis of the specific roles each of them played in the economy such as agriculture, Veterinary and Forestry. The department of agriculture was one of the earliest British colonial

governing institutions established after the declaration of British claim to the Nigerian territory and people of 1900. This department was considered one of the key institutions that would facilitate the colonial exploitation of the vast economic resources of the area under study, Zaria province. Its establishment was preceded by series of surveys and researches on the entire colony and protectorate by Botanist and Forestry officers commissioned by the Imperial power just as Geologists and other experts were tasked to produce a sort of compendium on the mineral resources to be found in the area.[67] Lugard thus lobbied the government to locate headquarters of the department of agriculture in Bida because it was… "…the most advantageously situated as to means of transport, the Niger flows along its southern border, and other navigable rivers, the Kaduna and the Bako, flow through it; its agricultural development, therefore, present no difficulties. It was also in the immediate extension of the cultivation of cotton that this province offers the best field."[68] Thus, Bida was made the headquarters of the department of agriculture of the Northern provinces. While in Bida as part of the colonial "development of agricultural activities" in the production of cotton, the experiment was also committed to other export crops such as Groundnut, Tobacco, Benniseed and Ginger. In the same period round 1905, the British Cotton Growing Association acquired an area of 50 acres of land in the Lokoja area and established its first experimental cultivation of cotton. Similarly, the Association had built a ginnery in Lokoja which was followed by another in Ilorin province having secured the Niger Company to serve as the main purchasing agent for seed cotton.[69] This was also how

[67] *Northern Nigeria Colonial Annual Reports,* No. 476 for 1904, pp. 97-98.
[68] See Appendix I of *Northern Nigeria Colonial Annual Reports,* No. 476, p. 133.
[69] *Northern Nigeria Colonial Annual Reports,* No 516 for 1905, p. 131 and No 551 for 1906-1907, p. 74.

other firms that were *ab initio* engaged into direct trade in cotton for export were also incorporated into the agent ship for cotton trade on behalf of the BCGA.[70]

However, in 1913, the headquarters of the department of agriculture was relocated from Bida to Samaru, Zaria where it was charged with dealing with all matters of agriculture in the provinces of Northern Nigeria, thus signaling a new stage in the British push for increased agricultural activities into the interior territories of Northern Nigeria where the "cotton empire" was in the making.[71] This was obvious, because of the new strategic position of Zaria to the colonial economy as one of the envisaged centres of the cotton business in Northern Nigeria.[72] With this strategic position accorded the Zaria province where its cotton farmers were first targeted before the others, this relocation of the department of agriculture headquarters for the Northern provinces became significant in many senses. However, for our attention in this section, it offered further opportunities for experimental and research works around which cotton was placed in the northern districts of Zaria province as a major priority for the British colonial state that was also working in close relations with the BCGA. The Association had earlier in the years before the establishment of the department of agriculture in the province also relocated to Zaria, establishing a ginnery and thus fortifying its cotton drive and purchase agreement with the Niger company.[73] In the same year of 1913, with pressure from the BCGA, the department of agriculture appropriated more than 80 acres of land and established an experimental farm at Maigana in the Makama Karami (Soba) district

[70] An example was John Holt Ltd followed by London and Kano Trading. These companies together with the main cotton agent, BCGA stormed further into the interior with Zaria first then Kano to begin the renewed exploitation of the cotton and other potential ahead of the Railway line construction which commenced in 1908 and ended in 1912. See the various Northern Nigeria colonial Annual Reports for the 1905 to 1913 for details.
[71] *Northern Nigeria Colonial Annual Reports,* No 821 for 1913, p. 33.
[72] *Northern Nigeria Colonial Annual Reports,* No 551…
[73] SNP 10/ 178 p/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province…

east of *Birnin* Zaria while a research centre was established at Samaru all in the Zaria province.[74] According to the colonial officers who were always quick to link such policies to the interest and development needs of the so-called natives, the primary objective of such plantation at Maigana was to carry out experiments for the improvement of cotton and also other principal native crops, which meant the principal beneficiary was the so-called native."[75] However, beyond the colonial position, both were designed and established as key parts of the colonial agricultural policy on the development of export production where the peasants continued to produce as much cotton and other export crops for the benefit of the textile and other industries of Britain and Europe. This was pursued through direct intervention and inducements from the colonial state in the form of proclamations, colonial laws, ordinances and offer of full protection and guarantee to the emergent European firms on critical issues of production such as land ownership and control, labour and even the pattern of distribution of the goods from the village to the districts and the townships.[76] The key issue of land and labour policies under the British administration in the Zaria province have been examined earlier in this chapter while the role of these firms is to be discussed ahead. Meanwhile, turning to the specific agricultural policy of experimental farms and research centre, within the context of British imperial agricultural goals in the provinces

[74] *Northern Nigeria Colonial Annual Reports,* No 821…p. 33.

[75] This is normally drawn from the general perspective of those looking at colonialism in the light of bringing development to the primitive economies of Africa such as the colonial officers in Nigeria presented in most of their reports and early write up on the British administration of the provinces of protectorate and colony of Nigeria. An example in this regard is A.H.M Kirk-Green's collected work; Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, which contained reports mostly by top British officers on the provinces they served such as in the *Gazetteer of Zaria Province* written by E.J.Arnett; twice acting Resident in 1906 and 1908 in the area.

[76] For instance, the colonial state determine aspects of price of the crops, legality of exchanging the crops with imported items like Salt, longer years for lease on appropriated land to foreign firms, offering them expanse of land around crop buying centres in the rural production areas declaring them as the legal produce market as well as declaring dates within which all buying and selling of cotton and later other export crops like groundnut must be concluded usually tagged: "Buying season".

of Nigeria, the colonial state through the Native administration became responsible for the ideas which led to the establishment of these institutions with the specific objective:

> …to primarily test the suitability of the respective districts (in the Zaria province) for cotton growing. In addition…a number of other crops were also under experiment, including green leguminous crops of various kinds, groundnuts, maize, and fodder crops. A special point was made at both these plantations of the training of native instructors, or overseers, with a view to placing them in charge of trial plots in out-districts, and other agricultural work. At Maigana the use of oxen in agriculture was attempted and the areas for cotton planting were ploughed with success.[77]

Thus, with cotton as the major focus of the experimental farm centre at Maigana all agricultural policies specifically dealing with developing the crop were implemented there for the very fact of the centre's location within the major cotton producing areas of the Zaria province. Similarly, the numerous agricultural research programmes on other crops such as Groundnut, Tobacco, Guinea corn, Maize, Potatoes were later focused on at the Maigana Plantations. From its establishment in 1913, the Maigana plantation became fully committed to the pursuance of maximum production of cotton and export at the expense of growing food crops. This situation soon became a recurring event in the agricultural season of the Zaria province, sometimes translating into serious shortage of food whose demand was also on the increase to colonially mobilized labour in the Railway and other colonial projects construction, Mines and Military.[78] The Maigana Experimental farm became the centre for the British piece meal conquest of local cotton and its replacement with the imported American seed. From inception, the colonial state through the department of agriculture mandated the BCGA to serve as the main company to buy seed cotton, send to its ginnery for ginning, dispose or treat the seeds for re-distribution to farmers. [79] This was usually accomplished through the emir,

[77] *Northern Nigeria Colonial Annual Reports,* No 821 for 1913, p. 33.
[78] Both Adamu A. (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…' and Adamu, A. (2001). 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria… have detailed discussion on the Maigana Experimental Centre and issue of food crop economy in Zaria Province under the British.
[79] Local seeds were not to be distributed while newly introduced American Allen and others approved by the colonial state were multiplies at Maigana farms and re-distributed free to farmers.

district and village headsmen while the cotton lint was to be transported then to the nearest inland waterways at Lokoja and in the later years using the Railway to Lagos seaport. The Maigana conquest of the local farmers in cotton production was organized in the piece meal way…

> "…the seed from the selected cotton seeds grown in Maigana plantations was distributed amongst farmers at Awai and Gimba (Villages in Soba District). This was then purchased and ginned separately from the rest whose seeds was from other local sources, and the resulting seed distributed to the farmers in Marmara and Rahama (also villages in Soba district). The seed from this area was then distributed to the farmers around Kudaru and this way the next season the whole of Zaria province was covered with the new seed."[80]

This policy was taken as a response to the consistent failure of the native administration to eliminate the "native seed" which the British considered unwanted by its textile industries.[81] The measure was also taken in a bid to end the embarrassing manner the BCGA always trailed behind local weavers in buying larger quantity of the cotton from peasants who, despite threats of rejecting their local cotton yet offered their crop to the highest bidder who were obviously the Kano and Zinder weavers. This "illegal sale" was pursued by the local weavers from behind the scene in spite of efforts by the firms and their agents to counter the move. The firms got the full backing of the colonial authorities to such level that the firms had no difficulty following the peasants to their farms and offer to pay them higher than the government price or in some cases pay for the seed cotton at the government price in lieu of the harvest.[82]

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[80] Zarpprof/2572…

[81] The main cotton type found in the northern area before the coming of the British belonged to the *Puntatum* variety of *G. Hirsutum*. But the BCGA wanted a higher yielding type especially from the already tested American, Egyptian and Peruvian varieties. The American upland Allen was settled by the department of agricultural after some experiments on the suitability of the soil and yield per acre which was found to be more than the indigenous variety. See Maiden, R.L.B. *A Survey to ascertain the possible expansion of Cotton Production*…pp. 7-11.

[82] Alhaji Sule Turawa, 79 years, Cotton Farmer, interviewed at Turawa Village, Soba Local Government of Kaduna State, Nigeria, 30 July, 2016. Similarly, Alhaji Musa Ibrahim, 82 years, in his version said it was unusual for agents of European firms being in the habit of giving items of gift which they sent to the cotton farmers in their homes before the harvest period. However, from the discussions both ways were found as the European firms and their agents were involved in this market manipulation strategy, first in the formative years of developing cotton export production where the firms go directly to the farmers as a way of making them to have interest in cotton cultivation. Then in the later years, especially the inter

The colonial administration operating through the department of agriculture shouldered the responsibility of implementing the mixed farming policy which was introduced in the late 1920's and early 30's. The initial stage of the role played by the Maigana farm centre under the mixed farming scheme was in the area of setting up demonstration mixed farms, with the major crops such as Cotton, Groundnut, Guinea corn and Beans. The centre began with 20 new mixed farmers from Soba, Zaria, Lere and Kudaru at the farm centre in Maigana. It later expanded to Saminaka and other areas of eastern Zazzau. This was in the early 1930's, the time inter war years production collapsed.[83]

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, discussion was mainly centred on the role of European trading companies including the British Cotton Growing Association and other institutions of the colonial state in the development of cotton production and export in Zaria province. The study showed that following establishment of the BCGA in London in 1902, the Association became the leading link in the drive for cotton production and export in northern Nigeria. The Association led the other European companies to establish a marketing chain between the imperial state in London, the colonial state in the cotton producing provinces and peasant cotton producers where a lot of the profit from cotton production was repatriated through these companies and agents of the colonial state. The chapter also gave further details on the role of colonial state institutions such as the native administration and the department of agriculture in the designation of cotton markets, marketing personnel and agricultural research and experiment centres with the focus on boosting cotton production and export in Zaria province in particular and

war years and the World War II of 1939-1945 where the firms and their agents were struggling to outplay their trading rivals in buying as much from the total seed cotton harvested in the season.

[83] Zarprof/1693/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1933.

northern Nigeria in general. In all these activities, the chapter concluded that the colonial cotton production and export project was fully guided by the colonial state and guarded by the interests of the British imperial state which was linked to happenings in the global capitalist economy. Therefore cotton production and export activities as they were related to the BCGA, European companies and other colonial state institutions were mainly dictated by the unfolding events and challenges on the global scene. We shall discuss some of these instances and their implication from the outbreak of the World War II of 1939-1945 when the Colonial Commodity Marketing Boards emerged in the colonial economy of Nigeria.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 THE CONSOLIDATION AND IMPACT OF COTTON PRODUCTION AND EXPORT ON THE ZARIA PROVINCE 1939-1960.

6.1 Introduction:

This chapter generally focuses on aspects of the consolidation and impact of colonial cotton production and export on the Zaria province and northern Nigeria. Specifically, the chapter discusses the activities of the Commodity Marketing Boards in relation to cotton production and export where the colonial policies were carried out in strict compliance to the recurring challenges of the global capitalist economy. Thus, the major colonial institutions used in the various policy implementation of the period were centred on the commodity marketing boards and their chain of agents from the colonies up to Britain. The chapter also attempts to examine some of the significant impacts of these colonial exploitation activities on the people of Zaria province within the general context of the economy of the area. However, we need to understand the process of the evolution and operations of these commodity marketing boards as they were established to continue the systematic exploitation of such agricultural produce as cotton for export to the world commodity market from Zaria and other provinces of Northern Nigeria.

6.2 The Emergence of Commodity Marketing Board System in the Colonial Economy of Nigeria.

In the previous chapters, the most glaring evidence of this was in the collapse of commodity prices, the higher or status quo level in taxation in spite of the collapsed cotton and other export crop prices which the peasants heavily depended on to fulfil their regular tax obligations. Added to these was the locust invasion disaster, drought and eventual shortfall in food crops required for survival. At this stage was the outbreak of the 1939-1945 war, which again marked another critical stage in the phases of

colonial exploitation experienced in the Zaria province and the entire colony of Nigeria. This was the period when new turn of events began showing their ugliest signs on the colonial economic system where peasant production was even regarded as "production without reward".[1] This was the era of the Colonial Commodity Marketing Board system first established in Nigeria and in particularly the Northern Provinces as from the outbreak of the World War of 1939-1945 under the close monitoring of the British Imperial government and the colonial state. The general intent of the marketing system was to properly coordinate the production and export of Cotton, Groundnut, Palm Oil and Cocoa in Nigeria. The first step towards concretising the Nigerian Marketing Board system began late in 1939 with the setting up of the West African Cocoa Control Board (WACCB) to deal with some looming economic challenges facing the British capitalist system which were all the result of the World War II.[2] Soon in 1942, British colonial economic activities in the purchase and export of Palm oil and Groundnut were collectively included in what emerged as the West African Produce Control Board (WAPCB). However, as from 1947 the West African Produce Control Board gave way to the Produce marketing boards where each of the major commodities had its own body. It was then that the major export crops from the Northern Provinces like Groundnut and Cotton were incorporated into the new commodity marketing policy of the British. Thus, the marketing activities of agricultural exports was transferred from the WAPCB to the Nigeria Groundnut Marketing Board (NGMB) and the Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board (NCMB) in the Northern Provinces.[3] The establishment of

[1] Abdulkadir, M.S (2014) *An Economic History of Igalaland*…pp.140-173 was devoted to this discussion. In the case of Zaria province, Adamu, A., 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria…' has highlighted some of these critical stages in the colonial exploitation chart of the British in the area of agriculture particularly food production. The basic problems were those of tighter control by the colonial state and employment of measures to push the level of production higher while prices especially of export crops continued to fall. The years were also hit with disasters such as pest invasion of crops, inadequate climatic condition for bumper production etc.

[2] Helleiner, G. K. (1966) *Peasant Agriculture*…, pp. 152-153.

[3]Zarprof/1385/Cotton Reports…and KadMinAgric/606…

NCMB in 1949 marked a major shift in the British colonial policies on the production and export of Seed Cotton and Cotton Seed especially from the Northern Provinces and Zaria Province in particular. The NCMB remained at the centre of all marketing and exports activities for Cotton from Nigerian territory up to the United Kingdom. This new economic hegemony of the board was achieved after the long standing monopoly over Cotton affairs of Nigeria by the BCGA. Under the new structure, the BCGA was reduced to an agent in the buying and ginning of cotton on behalf of the board. The NCMB was therefore the main link between the colonial state and the Raw Cotton Commission in London which took over from the United Kingdom Board of Trade that earlier had the mandate to buy all Cotton lint exported to Britain from the colonies.[4] This was the situation until 1954 when the new constitutional arrangement under colonial political governing structure in the colony of Nigeria gave more powers to the regions. It was in response to the new political development that the Northern Regional Marketing Board NRMB was created.

6.3 The Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board in the Zaria Province to 1954.

In the previous chapter we gave a general overview of the activities around which the Marketing Board system emerged in the colonial exploitation of the agricultural resources of the Northern provinces. It is indeed significant to give further details on the Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board, and examine how it contributed in the production and export of Cotton in the Northern districts of Zaria province particularly as a general response to the series of challenges faced by the British on the outbreak of the World War II from 1939-1945. The Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board was established through

[4] Zarprof/1385/Cotton Reports… and Zarprof/1723/British Cotton Growing Association…

the Nigeria Cotton Marketing Ordinance No 13 of 1949.[5] Accordingly, the Board became fully settled to its function which included the purchase of all exportable seed cotton in the Northern Provinces as from the 1949/1950 buying season. In a similar function, the Marketing Board was to make the cotton so purchased available to the local industrial outfits in the Northern region and Nigeria for sale so that they could boost their processing and production capacity at home.[6] These local industrialists were compelled to buy from the Marketing Board at the world price of the particular crop. This was arrived at after removing the assumed freight charges that would have been added if the particular raw material was to be shipped from Nigeria to point of sale in Europe.[7] By this, it meant the price of cotton lint purchased by the emerging textile industries in Northern Nigeria from the Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board/Northern Regional Marketing Board was based on the prevailing world market price. According to the law, these textile industries were not in any way to engage in the direct purchase of seed cotton either from the farmers or those firms licensed by the respective Marketing Boards to make seasonal purchases on its behalf. It was therefore a total monopoly by the Boards in the buying of the produce and its disposal at the world market. The process of exportation and disposal was handled by another company; the Nigeria Produce Marketing Company Limited (NPMC). All the seed cotton realised from the seasonal markets and ginned by the BCGA in its ginneries for the NCMB were taken over by the NPMC. The same went with the cotton seed which also belonged to the ginning authority; the Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board. In all cases, the Nigeria Produce Marketing Company was solely responsible for the shipping and eventual sale

[5] Zarprof/1385/ Cotton Reports…
[6] AH/19/25/462/ *Northern Region of Nigeria*…and AH/19/25/463/ *Northern Region of Nigeria*, Third Annual Report of the Northern Regional Marketing Board, 1st November, 1956-31st December, 1957
[7] See *The Industrial Potentialities of Northern Nigeria*, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Northern Nigeria, Kaduna, 1st October, 1963, p. 8.

of the lint and even the seed when required at the world market price, all on behalf of the NCMB. The department of Agriculture on its part was made responsible for the distribution of seeds to the peasants through the Native administration officials such as the Emir, District and Village heads. All improvements and seed multiplication was also the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture through the Samaru Agricultural Research centre and the Maigana Farm centre as discussed in the previous chapter. In addition to these marketing functions, the NCMB was also left entirely with the responsibility of improving all that it would take to boost cotton production for export. For instance, the Board was expected to promote research into better method of production such as in the seeds and other extension services. However, the colonial policy was only left to improvements not beyond using the plough and other farming implements introduced under the wider state mixed farming. This meant the peasant was left to the usual traditional farm and method of cultivation as large scale mechanised system was neither envisaged nor encouraged on individual farmers, groups or plantations owned by firms. During the period of the NCMB, the seed distribution method improved the tonnage as can be seen in the figures for Northern Nigeria and the Zaria Province:

Table 6.1 Seed Distribution for Northern Nigeria and Zaria Province 1945-1955

Year	Northern Provinces	Zaria Province
1945	4, 349 Tons	1, 061 Tons
1946	5, 574½ "	1, 193 "
1947	5, 655½ "	1, 095 "
1948	6, 468 "	1, 164 "
1949	7, 576 "	1, 325½ "
1950	9, 475 "	1, 508 "
1951	11, 087½ "	1, 622½ "
1952	12, 924½ "	1, 845½ "
1953	13, 588½ "	1, 945 "
1954	14, 421½ "	2, 085 "
1955	16, 562½ "	2, 536 "

Source: Zarprof/431/Cotton markets, Erection, Gazetting, opening and closing of; Cotton Purchase and Evolution of; Vol V and Vol VII.

A breakdown of the seed distribution for the Zaria province carried out through the BCGA ginnery in Zaria showed a close level of consumption while for the Northern Provinces the tons of seed distribution kept increasing. This showed continued British expansion of production not only in the major producing areas but by way of opening new provinces to cotton production. From 1945 to 1958 (13 years), six ginneries were established in these newly discovered areas of cotton production located mostly in the eastern provinces of Northern Nigeria. This was faster than the so-called traditionally known cotton areas which only had the same six ginneries between the years 1911 to1938 (27 years).[8] The distribution of the seeds and cotton lint realized for ten years demonstrate the push to improve cotton production during the years of the NCMB, before it was replaced by the NRMB as from 1955. An important part of the link which greatly enhanced cotton trade was the Sub-agent (*Maigida*) and his Fronts (*Yaran*

[8] See MinAgric/COT/STAT/1/National Archives/BCGA Annual return of Seed Distribution and Bale produced 1950-1955, The British Cotton Growing Association Annual Report papers for 1957-1958 Season, 333-350, The Royal Exchange, Manchester, England, Zarprof/1723/BCGA Ginnery at Dutsen Wai and Maiden, R. L. B. (1956) *A Survey to ascertain the possible expansion of cotton production*…, pp. 10-14.

Maigida), Touts (*'Yan Baranda*) and his Fronts known as *'Yan Tarabi*, *'Yan Kore* or *'Yan Saki* around the rural production areas that served the cotton markets and ginneries of the province located in Zaria and Dutsen Wai.[9] At the bottom of the list were the farmers on whose produce the others struggle to make maximum gains. Some of the cotton farmers from the various districts of Zaria province during this period included:

I. For Kudaru and Anchau (Dallatu) districts: Sarkin Noma Dutsen Wai, Turaki Rafindodo Kudaru, Tanko Zuntu, Limamin Danmaliki, Dauda Tabanjama, Bawa Tabanjama Kubau, Galadima Yero Taudama Lere, Sarkin Kargi Usman, Maiwada Kargi, Kubau, Ibrahim Dan Sale, Sarkin Kudumi, Sarkin Haskiya Adamu, Sarkin Pala, Sarkin Zagi, Bala Takalafiya, Sarkin Noma Anchau, Nafaska Karaba Kubau and Sama'ila Anchau.[10]

II. In Soba district the cotton farmers included among others Makama Soba, Maigora, Dangude, Malam Jemo, Biso, Saidu Rahama, Shekarau Marwa, Sarkin Gurbabiya, Kwando Bagaldi, Malam Shehu Bagaldi, Abdu Danhaya Soba, Tanko Taba Soba, Abbas Saidu Soba, Sarkin Awai, Sarkin Gimba, Sarkin Richifa, Malam Dangude, Goje Awai, Bature Yakasai, Sarkin Bakura and Dan Jatau.[11]The list also include M. Mailafiya, Dan Jatau, Sardau, Shamaki, Usuman, M. Abdu, M, Kadiri, Sarkin Fagachi, Sarkin Zango (Zango), Chitumu and Malam Biso. Still in Soba there were famous cotton farmers that emerged in the early 1950s like *Sarkin Yelwa*, Sabiu Yusuf, Sule Turawa and Yakubu Kanti (one of my informants).[12]

III. In the central and western part of the province that include Zaria, Igabi and Giwa the list continued, from Zaria and surrounding settlements with Basso Bomo, Audu Masassaki Bomo, Zaria Kewaye, Bayaro Magatakarda, Sarkin Zabi, Balarabe Kufena, Galadima Dambo Zaria, Magajin Gari Dambo,

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[9] According to Alhaji Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 years, Farmer, Cotton Tout (*Dan Baranda*) to an agent of the LBA, many times, he led his Fronts; the *'Yan Tarabi* and *'Yan Saki* to neighbouring territories of Kano in desperate "search" for cotton, because groundnut was more to the marketing board there not cotton.

[10]MinAgric/1/1/8109/National Archives/Mixed Farming Finance, Zaria with additional information from Alhaj Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 years..., Malam Umaru Tela Gidan Liman Karaba, 84 years, Farmer, Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*), interviewed at Karaba, Kubau Local Government, Kaduna State, 9th August 2016 and Malam Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 79 years…According to results of an Agricultural Show that held at Anchau in 1950, *Sarkin Zagi* of Anchau Takalafiya emerged the best Cotton farmer followed by Bala Takalafiya and then Sama'ila Anchau. See 'Anchau's First Show a Great Success' in *The Nigerian Citizen*, 10 February, 1950, Vol 1 No 76, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, p.15.

[11]This set of farmers from Soba, in addition to being dedicated to cotton cultivation; they were also among beneficiaries of the colonial mixed farming scheme since the early 1930s but by 1940 they were still indebted. For the full list of all beneficiaries of the scheme especially in the Zaria Province during the early 1930s up to the 1940s see Zarprof/1784…and MinAgric/1/1/8109...

[12]Alhaji Musa Ibrahim, 84 years, Former Cotton Examiner from 1948-1978 (*Malamin Auduga*) and Farmer, interviewed at his residence in Soba, Soba Local Government, Kaduna State, 24th July, 2016.

Bazariye II Dakace, Madaki Madauci Dakace, Malam Dogo Jama'a Zaria, Saidu Parda, Sarkin Yaskwa Audi and Mai Anguwa Yaskwa, Zaria among many others. Futher in the western districts of Zaria there were cotton and mixed farmers like Tanko Birnin Barwa Igabi, Madugu Birnin Barwa, Igabi, Adamu Sabon Birni, Sarkin Dutsen Abba and Shekarau Mangi. In the Giwa district such famous farmers include Musa Danmahawayi, Aminu Gangara, Umaru Shika, Haruna Aginsawa, Maiwada Panhauya, Jumare Panhauya, Fagachi Giwa, Tambaya Panhauya, Sarkin Fatika Muhammadu and Mai Anguwa Shehu Giwa among several others.[13]

IV. The districts located further north that include Makarfi, Kudan and Ikara had farmers like Sarkin Pawa Dandako Makarfi, Tanko Durum Makarfi, Amadu Gwanki, Abubakar Durum Makarfi, Usman Mudi Taba Makarfi, Madakin Gubuci, Makarfi, Galadima Kurmin Kogi Ikara, Sarkin Jibis, Ikara, Tanimu Kurmin Kogi, Saidu Hurana (Furana), Bala Malikanci, Umaru Gimi and Dankaka Durum. The others are Maijari Pala Ikara, Abu Auchanawa Ikara, Abu Dan Lawal Ikara, Madaki Makurdi Ikara and Malam Balarabe Funkwuyi (Hunkuyi).[14]

Certain points need to be highlighted here:

1) That they were all farmers who also benefitted from the mixed farming scheme since the programme commenced 1930s, and they cut across the small and big farmers even though some of them may have been in "privileged" positions as District heads, Village heads.[15]

[13] See details of the names in MinAgric/1/1/8109....while some of the farmers were confirmed by my informants such as Malam Nuhu Audi Sa'adu, 92 years, Former Cotton Examiner, interviewed in Kaduna State Media Corporation (Kaduna State Radio) programme "*Iyayen Al'umma",* October-November, 2016 and Alhaji Musa Ibrahim, 84 years, Former Cotton Examiner from 1948-1978...

[14]MinAgric/1/1/8109... In addition, most of the farmers on this list from Makarfi, Ikara and neighbouring areas of the far northern Zaria province were rather diverted to groundnut production especially from the 1940s when the propaganda to grow the crop above cotton and others was at its peak. Much of this British groundnut cultivation propaganda has been discussed in this paper with its attendant impact on cotton production in the province. Farmers from Makarfi, Ikara and Gimi were mostly affected by this relegation of cotton production. For some of the direct, official colonial policies on this issue see Zarprof/839/ /National Archives/Instructions on Groundnut Production and Marketing Vol III, SNP 17/36883/ National Archives/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1943 with some analysis in Adamu, A. (2001) 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria…', pp. 82-89.

[15]From the complete list in MinAgric/1/1/8109, these farmers were over 600 drawn from all parts of production areas of the province.

2) They represented just a fraction of the entire farming population in the province in which many of them engaged in cotton production. This can be compared to the list of groundnut (which was far less than cotton) farms in the province.[16]The mixed farming scheme in the Zaria Province was initially targeted towards cotton before the later years when groundnut came in and took over.[17]

In addition to the above, more of the unregistered farmers helped to grow cotton on such a scale that the cotton markets ended their buying season with a volume that could show the contribution of farmers in each of the production areas. But according to accounts from some of the informants, the production capacity of the individual farmers ranged between one to ten tons and even more. In trying to measure, 2 *Kichingiri* of seed cotton could make one packaged sack, while 20 sacks of the packaged seed cotton make 1 ton. [18] In Karaba, Mah, Kargi and other neighbouring villages of Anchau and Ikara borders, there were farmers producing much cotton that reached over 10 tons. The case of Alhaji Halliru, Alhaji Ɗanbala from Bagwiwa village and Alhaji Ɗantata from Doka had been cited here. There were also other smaller cotton farmers such as Malam Haruna and Isiaka from Kamfani, Labiru from Dokan Tagwai.[19] Umaru Tela as a sub agent of UAC in the area also had loaders/ labourers such as Mato Kuraye, Bako Gudugu and Saminu all from Karaba cotton producing area. This was generally how the team of cotton stakeholders such as the *Maigida* or his Assistant and the Touts employ temporary agents, labourers and loaders at every season.[20]A similar situation has been shown in other areas of the Zaria Province.[21]

[16] See Appendix 6 for details of total number of groundnut farms in the Zaria Province by 1943.
[17]Refer to discussion on the section of this chapter dealing with groundnut propaganda.
[18] *Kichingiri* is produced by opening two jute sacks used for packaging grains and then stitched as one spread. When filled with the seed cotton, it is then tied up and carried on Donkeys or by Porters as in appendix 9.
[19] Malam Umaru Tela Gidan Liman Karaba, 84 years, Farmer, Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*)…
[20] Malam Umaru Tela Gidan Liman Karaba, 84 years, Farmer, Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*)…
[21]Adamu A. (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…and Shehu, S. (1987) 'Changing Pattern of Cotton Production in Zaria Districts since 1900', *B.A Dissertation*, Bayero University Kano.

Still at the local level of the cotton market activities, we examine the general guidelines of the activity as they were practically implemented in the buying stations and the markets during the buying season as narrated by an informant Alhaji Musa, an Assistant Cotton Examiner in 1949 and Examiner in the following year of 1950:

> I started work at Anchau Takalafiya Puloti (Cotton Market) as Assistant Examiner in 1949 under a *Malamin Auduga* (Cotton Examiner), Malam Lawal from Zaria who was later replaced by Malam Nuhu Audi. After two (2) years, I was made *Malamin Auduga*. All Cotton officials were under a Native Administration officer called *Mardanni* who saw to the implementation of all guidelines at the cotton markets as the N.A agricultural officer. The designated markets were usually announced for the season together with the price per lb, then the grading system, licensed buying agents (LBAs) and the other rules of operation.[22]

According to the programme of activities at the cotton market, on the approach of every harvesting time around November, the government announced the guidelines as reviewed during the season by the departments and offices concerned. They included the N.A, the department of Agriculture, the BCGA (later by the Marketing Boards), the Cotton Advisory Committee, Kano Committee of Cotton Buyers (later Kano Chamber of Commerce), European and other major trading firms etc. These were the stakeholders in cotton affairs under British administration. It was also the responsibility of the government to appropriate land where the market was to operate, usually at the outskirts of the villages or towns to avoid incidences of fire and other forms of disaster that could disrupt the marketing activities. Smoking was prohibited to 50 yards from the main stalls, Sugar cane was also banned for its fuelling capacity to cause fire. Hawking was also made illegal within 250 yards of the market while the enforcement of the laws was to be facilitated by the cooperation of *Malamin Auduga* with the Police personnel deployed from the N.A police (Initially the *Dogari, later* to *Ɗan Doka* and

[22] Alhaji Musa Ibrahim, 84 Years, Retired Cotton Examiner…See Appendix 8 for the table of hierarchy in the process of cotton evacuation from the peasant producer to the international commodity market in London.

'Dan Sanda). The Seed cotton was graded as I, II and III according to their quality and the best way the peasant farmer was able to protect the originality of his crop up to the cotton market. Grading of the seed was part of the work of *Malamin Auduga* and other agricultural experts from the Produce Inspection section always deployed to each market.[23]Those rated Grade One were given a white card to present to the clerks of the LBAs in their stalls for the weighing and other buying processes. No produce was ever accepted by any company (LBA) clerk without the grading confirmed. Thus, it was the responsibility of the peasant to ensure he was properly graded to earn his produce more money.[24] Most of my informants agreed that there were a lot of corrupt practices that took place between the *'Yan Baranda* and *Malamin Auduga*, with sometimes the peasant getting directly involved in the racketeering where adulterated cotton could go for Grade I provided that every actor was given "his share". Otherwise the Yellow or Red card indicating Grade II and III was issued to the farmer not considering what quality the Seed cotton actually carried, provided there was no "cooperation" from the owner.[25] However, another informant, retired Cotton Examiner, Musa Ibrahim denied such incidences happening rampantly at the cotton markets, but outside the designated areas. In fact, he said those caught with adulteration were punished instantly with various forms of penalties from degrading to delaying the farmer and forcing him to dry the cotton before it was sent for grading and weighing. [26] From the analysis provided

[23] Alhaji Musa Ibrahim, 84 Years, Retired Cotton Examiner… His experience mainly covered the years of the establishment of the NCMB, because he started work as Assistant Cotton Examiner in 1949 and continued until retirement in 1978.

[24] The entirety of these cotton marketing procedure started from the early years of colonial activities on cotton. However, the laws and guidelines went through reviews on regular basis, as the colonial state continued to face perculiar challenges in the cotton markets.

[25] Alhaji Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 Years…, Malam Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 79 Years… and Umaru Tela Gidan Liman Karaba, 84 Years… all agreed this was happening in the markets, but not in the open as the '*Yan doka* and other agents were ready to deal with such cheats in accordance with the guidelines provided by the government. This attitude in the cotton market was common even before the establishment of the NCMB in 1949. Umaru Tela had served as Loader to the UAC at Karaba and Kargi two years before the coming of NCMB.

[26] Alhaji Musa Ibrahim, 84 Years, Retired Cotton Examiner…

on the type of uses the graded cotton were put to it seems to demonstrate some desirability of all the grades in some quantity. Grade I was certainly the best and meant for export to the London Market. The grade II and III were in the later years used by the emergent textile industries for making blankets and cotton wool for treating wounds at the clinics and health centres of the colonial Northern Nigeria. Local weavers were also approached with these grades of the seed cotton in the local markets.[27]During the weeks of marketing, all days were open to the farmers, though some of the big farmers chose specific days to send their seed cotton for grading and sale in line with the guidelines usually announced by the government. The importance of this was seen as some way to afford smaller farmers the chance to come and accomplish their mission without the delay usually caused as a result of the larger consignments brought by the big farmers. However, according to some informants, there were more reasons to that. First, the big farmers were linked to the clerks of the trading firms (LBAs) through a relationship built by the *'Yan Baranda* and other self-styled local agents in search of a place within the cotton export trade circle. According to Sani Zakari Teacher, he served as a local agent "mobilising customers to one Mr. Johnson (later Alhaji Junaidu), who was then a clerk to the United African Company in the Anchau Cotton Market.[28]

In another way, some of these firms developed to the habit of raising prices in order to outplay their rivals in the stalls of the cotton market, and this was articulated right from outside the market, sometimes in the homes of the big farmers with "gifts" advances and other forms of enticements.[29] This method was very well known in the circle of

[27] Alhaji Musa Ibrahim, 84 Years, Retired Cotton Examiner…
[28] Alhaji Sani Zakari Teacher, 82 Years, Former Cotton Agent… According to this informant, after independence and the opening of LBA to more Nigerians, Alhaji Junaidu left the UAC and set up himself as a commissioned agent to one of the local LBAs where Sani Zakari became his purchasing agent directly getting money to buy cotton for him at the opening of the buying season.
[29] Malam Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 79 Years…

cotton marketing where various forms of the gifts were floated in the production villages via the agents even before harvest.[30] This case threw the firms into competition, complaints and petitions against each other to such extent that forced the colonial state to intervene to save the situation.[31] As a matter of fact, there were many corrupt practices that encircled the marketing of cotton. This was found from the so-called Sub-agents/touts and *'Yan Baranda* to the Middlemen, the Clerks of the LBAs, the LBAs, the Cotton Examiners and indeed Produce officers in charge of inspection at the cotton markets.[32]

Some of my informants fell into these categories and they gave accounts of the specific roles they all had played in the cotton marketing process from one stage to another up to when the seed cotton was taken to the ginnery in Zaria and Dutsen Wai. For instance, in Anchau area, the local LBAs had as their middleman one Alhaji Mai Tala Gidan Gata who had all the money in his custody to buy cotton during the season. His agent or front at the centre in Anchau sent their touts to the villages and production centres in order to secure as much cotton as they could from the peasant farmers. The peasants were tipped with gifts by the touts as they were also allowed to use all other possible means to outplay their rivals coming from within and outside the province for cotton.[33] The hierarchy was built as below:

[30] This was a phenomenon that went on throughout the period of colonial rule and even after independence as confirmed in an interview with Malam Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 79 Years…

[31] See the letter from C.Zard and Co Ltd to the chief Commissioner of the Northern Provinces on the sharp practice by rival companies in the cotton marketing of 1942-1943 in AH/ SNP files no 31802/Cotton Marketing in War time…

[32] Alhaji Musa Ibrahim, 84 Years, Retired Cotton Examiner…, ZARPROF 510…and ZARPROF 431…

[33] It is important to state here that the Alhaji Mai Tala in discourse, according to one of his middlemen Malam Yahaya Zakari, his *Maigida* (Mai Tala) started the business in the early 1940s when Yahaya and his tout Isa Lilo were young up to when they joined his team of *Yara* and *'Yan Baranda* in the early 1950s. Thus, according to Yahaya and Isa Lilo the pattern of middlemanship and *Baranda* was the same way only carried forward from the colonial period.

The LBAs (European firms)
↓
Alhaji Mai Tala Gidan Gata (Agent of LBAs)
↓
Malam Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani (Middleman/Sub-agent)
↓
Alhaji Isa Lilo (Haskiya) *Dan Baranda/*Tout
↓
Team of Loaders/Porters/ Sub-Touts (*Yara*)
↓
The Peasant farmer.[34]

It is significant to note that some of the purchases in the villages which in most cases was left in the hands of the '*Yan Baranda* and their boys were not actually paid for, rather the sub-agents were allowed to take the goods based on trust to the cotton market and bring the money afterwards. The meaning of this was that the peasant farmer hardly knew how much his cotton was actually worth until the '*Yan Baranda* reported back from the cotton market. Again, this kind of agreement usually attracted 10 per cent popularly known as *Tiya* for the sub-agents to serve as transportation charges for conveying the produce to the cotton market. The gains from the *Tiya* added to the short changing which took place when returns were given to pay the peasant, a huge source of accumulation for the sub-agents earning sometimes more than the peasants and the main agents/middlemen (*Masu gida*). Alhaji Isa Lilo who operated as sub-agent in the villages around Anchau district for his *Mai Gida* (Malam Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani) in the early 1950s confirmed making more than £20 (pounds) in one of the several deals he and his team organised to mobilise cotton for his *Maigida*. According to Umaru Tela, a middleman to the LBA in Karaba, Anchau district, the *Tiya* was usually removed after the successful conveyance of the cotton either by porters or on donkeys before it was

[34] This is a Template of appendix 8, based on those stakeholders interviewed in the course of the research.

taken to the scale for weighing and payment by the LBA at the cotton market.[35]This was the general picture of the operations on the cotton activities as it involved the peasants, local agents, the European firms and the Marketing Boards particularly in the late 1940s and late 1950s. This meant the rules, guidelines on the operations of the LBAs, cotton officials representing the N.A, producers/sellers and other stakeholders were continuous although the era of the Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board was a milestone in cotton activities. This same process was continued after the NCMB up to independence. More details of the cotton production process can be seen in appendix 10.

6.4 The era of Northern Regional Marketing Board (NRMB) 1954-1960

The Northern Regional Marketing Board (NRMB) was established by the Northern regional law No.7 of 1954.[36] The main Commodity Marketing Boards of the Northern Provinces were the offshoots of this new Regional Marketing Board in the Northern region the same way as in the two other regions of Nigeria.[37] They were the Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board and the Nigeria Groundnut Marketing Board, which together handed over to the Nigerian colonial government more than £30,000,000.00 (Thirty Million Pounds Sterling) as trade surplus which they gained from their past Cotton and Groundnut export trade.[38] From these two and other produce interests under the Minor Produce Representative Committee, the Northern Regional Marketing Board was

[35] Alhaji Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 Years…, Malam Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 79 Years… and Umaru Tela Gidan Liman Karaba, 84 Years…, Malam Yusufu Tela Dutsen Wai, 75 years, Cotton Farmer… and Alhassan Sani Liman Karaba, 74 years, Assistant Cotton middleman interviewed at Karaba, Kargi district (formerly a part of Anchau district), Kubau local Government, Kaduna State, 9 August, 2016.
[36] See AH/A.462/ Northern Region of Nigeria, Second Annual Report of the Northern Regional Marketing Board, 1st November, 1955-31st December, 1956.
[37] Each region was uniquely operating its commodity boards based on the crops or produce dominant in the area. In the East, it was Palm Oil and Rubber Marketing Boards while in the West, the Cocoa Marketing Board was fully in charge. See Helleiner, G. K. (1976) *Peasant Agriculture*…
[38] Helleiner, G. K. (1976) *Peasant Agriculture*…

instituted as the sole agency responsible for matters on Cotton, Groundnut and other considered crops.[39] From then, all the export crop marketing and exports interests were handled by the Northern Regional Marketing Board on behalf of the colonial government. This was generally the pattern of marketing and export in the agricultural produce designated by the British imperial state, and which the colonial government was tasked to organise exports to the international market in a way that the British industries, its trading and shipping interests would draw much of the benefits. Much after independence, the Regional Marketing Boards were re-structured into the State Marketing Boards. This was in 1974 and in three years, the federal government brought back the commodity board system of the 1950s. Though this seem outside the scope of our study, it is important to stress that in all circumstances, aspects of cotton production and export remained at the centre of the reforms in the marketing and export policies of the colonial and post-colonial leadership in Northern Nigeria. This, we intend to attempt bringing out especially as it was related to the Zaria Province and in particular the Northern districts where cotton remained the major crop of attention under British colonial domination and beyond. The NRMB had the following functions as stipulated in the law establishing it by the Northern Regional Government:

- Arrange to purchase Produce from farmers
- Evacuate same intended for export to Ports for shipment.
- Promote the development and rehabilitation of processing industries
- Promote the benefit of and prosperity of Producers and areas of Production.

These were to be achieved through the methods of:

- Having the right to announce produce price for each season to be paid at its buying station to the LBAs.
- The right to appoint Licensed Buying Agents (LBAs

[39] In the Northern Provinces, the NRMB mandate extended to Benniseed, Soya Beans, Cocoa and Palm Produce as these crops were cultivated in some exportable quantities in parts of the region. See AH/A.462/ Northern Region of Nigeria…and all other annual reports of the NRMB.

- Pricing to be done based on a grading system provided by the Produce Inspection Services of the Regional government at buying centres, and by the Central Colonial Government at the Port of shipment.

Under the NRMB, attempts were made to expand the LBAs as in the days of the NCMB which would include few individuals and organisations expected to compete along with the already established European firms. This was a difficult task for these individuals and the smaller trading companies who as the years revealed opted out for the wider playing field in the Groundnut trade. From the approved list of LBAs by the NRMB from its maiden operation in 1955 to 1960, prominent local trading groups such as Alhaji Ibrahim Musa Gashash and Bros and Alhaji Alhassan Dantata and Sons made a tactical withdrawal from the Cotton trade which their home province was not well known for but established firm presence in the Groundnut trade.[40] In the case of Cotton, there were more African presence in the Middlemen and '*Yan Baranda* as stressed by most of my informants while responding to questions on the general as well as specific issues concerning the marketing activities around cotton from the rural production areas up to the cotton markets in the designated buying stations of the province.[41] These informants explained that the situation was not very much different from the days of the BCGA monopoly to the NCMB and the NRMB which was the last to dominate the whole processes of produce marketing up to 1974.[42]The NRMB was not operating alone at all levels of the trade but assisted by related governmental bodies and departments. Up to the late years of colonial domination, the supervising ministry for the board was Trade. This was however changed to the ministry of agriculture, while the ministry of

[40] See AH/AR/A.462…, AH/AR/19/A.463..., AH/AR/A.479…, AH/AR/A.464 and AH/AR/A.465…
[41] It is interesting to note that by colonial law all sales of seed cotton outside the buying stations where markets are located were prohibited and thus punishable in fines and imprisonment.
[42] Alhaji Musa Ibrahim, 84 years…, Alhaji Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 Years…, Umaru Tela, 84 Years…and also with Alhaji Sani Zakari (Teacher), 82 Years...

Finance was also added to the governing board. The Nigerian Produce Marketing Company Limited as a private company established by the Regional Marketing Boards of Nigeria remained at the centre of trading cotton and other commodities in the international market. The company was granted the exclusive license to export all produce bought by the marketing boards under the terms provided in the Export of Nigerian Produce Ordinance of 1958.[43] However, all the produce was received at the ports, stored in the warehouses and shipped overseas by the department of marketing and Exports, while the same department stood in for all activities expected of the Marketing boards at home. This was how cotton produced and bought from the peasants at the designated cotton markets in the province was conveyed to the world commodity market after it was ginned at the BCGA ginnery in Zaria. The ginnery remained the most strategic area of activity for the BCGA since the company was stripped of its position as the monopoly in the trade and export of cotton lint and cotton seed to the international market in London.

6.5 The Consolidation of Cotton Production and Exports in the Zaria Province 1949-1960.

The establishment of the Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board in 1949-1950 marked a crucial phase in colonial policies towards the production and marketing of export crops from the Northern provinces to Britain. Prior to this period the BCGA with the backing of the colonial state maintained itself as the monopoly in seed cotton trade, ginning and export. In the Zaria province, European firms such as UAC, John Holt, SCOA, CFAO, G. B. Ollivant and Paterson Zochonis (PZ) and others were the main licensed buying agents given full support and protection by the government through the Zaria Native

[43] AH/A/A.465/*Northern Region of Nigeria, Sixth Annual Report*...

administrative machineries like the Emir, District and Village heads.[44]These local rulers/agents had the advantage of direct contact with the rural production communities and thus were effectively used in perpetuating the relations of exploitation under British rule. Again, as these companies could not effectively penetrate the rural production areas and capture the market directly from the peasants without local intermediaries, the institution of *Baranda* which was in the past banned thrived well in a disguised form that the colonial state officials knew but had to leave each firm to operate its own way.[45]At some points in the process it used to be a free for all struggle by the firms to outsmart one another not minding the "official price" declared by the marketing board. This was basically the chain through which the bulk of cotton produced by peasant farmers in the province was bought over and set for export to Britain where the textile industries were in dire need of the lint while oil mills took away the cotton seed. Thus, discussing the consolidation project of the British in cotton export in the Zaria Province would involve understanding the process of production and all that the colonial state, along with other interests had to do to ensure maximisation of the relations of exploitation. This, we shall attempt to examine in relation to the colonial policies on land under cotton cultivation, labour, the introduction of inputs such as fertilizer, the issue of mixed farming and other related matters imposed on the production and marketing of cotton in the province and indeed other major producing areas of colonial Northern Nigeria.

[44]The licensed buying agents (LBAs) were reviewed every buying season, where some were dropped while new firms got admitted to the list. However, the main firms above seem permanently retained, thus constituting the "Pool" firms that dominated the cotton market. The others, mostly Levantine always fought it out before getting "their share" of the allocation.

[45] Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 years... and Nuhu Audi (personal communication, January 07, 2017).

Right from the initial stage, the British did not hide anything regarding the desire towards making the peasants dedicate as much land as possible for cotton production. However, unlike in some of the British colonial territories in Africa where settler farms were introduced, the peasant production system was maintained in the case of Northern Nigeria.[46] The issue of land was also maintained in the aristocracy, but as overseers on behalf of the British Crown which now had rights to all the lands in the colonial territory.[47] The traditional holding only remained because peasant production was heavily reliant on it, and as far as the colonial economy was concerned, the peasantry was central to the agricultural production of food and export crops. However, as time went on, key colonial policies especially on taxation led to the breakup of the *Gandu* (family) holding in favour of the individual ownership of land since individual taxation and other monetisation policies inclined towards individualism against communal production were introduced. The introduction of mixed farming was to further entrench this break up of communal production and thus encourage a structure purely built on the individual peasant to produce more for the benefit of the colonial economy. As far back as 1923, the mixed farming scheme was introduced in the Zaria Province by the use of manure to achieve higher yield in crop production. By 1930, the scheme had expanded under the wider programme of Agricultural Extension work based in the Department of Agriculture at Samaru, Zaria.[48] The major goal of the scheme was to increase the production of export crops particularly cotton and groundnut in the province through selected peasants that were to be given loan of inputs and monitored

[46]There is less concern for this study to go into the details of why the British preferred this system of peasant production.
[47]SNP 17/50897/ The Land and Native rights Proclamation/1910.
[48]Zarprof/1784/ National Archives/ Mixed Farming Policy.

to ensure increase in their output for the sake of export.[49] In the light of this, the old experimental centre at Maigana became the leading mixed farming demonstration centre with focus on cotton production just in the manner the scheme had already been firmly entrenched in the surrounding districts of Soba, Zaria, Lere and Kudaru (then including Anchau and Rahama).[50] A demonstration farm covering ten acres was also established at Saminaka to handle groundnut production under mixed farming scheme.[51]Elsewhere in Anchau district, as from various mixed farming programmes were initiated in a 40 Acre mixed farming scheme that was launched under the Galma river valley project.[52] Under this, the department of Agriculture boosted the scheme with experimental farms producing varieties of seeds for cotton, groundnut, corn, rice, yams and potatoes. Similarly, under the same scheme a manure production programme was added using large livestock population in the area.[53] This was a sort of general pattern in the implementation of the mixed farming policy in the Zaria Province as can be understood from the role of the NA and its ruling agents. For all selected participants in the scheme, the Zaria Native Administration was the intermediary, handling aspects of acquiring land through the forestry department, the securing of advances (using the NA funds from the treasury) in form of Bulls and equipment while the agricultural extension staff trained and monitored the farmers. Therefore, the mixed farming scheme instead of using the local farming method with hoe and other implements emphasised plough driven by the bulls supplied on loan basis to be paid by the farmer as from the end of the first harvesting season. By the beginning of 1939, there were more than 500

[49]Indeed, the marketing process for whatever crop that was produced by the peasants whether they were mixed farmers or not remained exclusively in the monopoly of the marketing board. It was either the NCMB from 1949-1954 or NRMB from 1955 up to independence.
[50]Zarprof/ 1693 /National Archives/ Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1933
[51]Zarprof/1693...
[52]MinAgricI/I 164A: Land Settlement Schemes, Zaria Province.
[53]Bonat, Z.K.A (2015) 'Agricultural Development Policy Implementation…p 327-328.

mixed farmers registered under the scheme in the Zaria Province.[54] The mixed farming scheme list in the Soba area of the province in appendix 11 threw more light on the situation particularly on the number of farms put to cultivation and the level committed to cotton production by the average mixed farmer up to the 1940s.[55] Below is also how mixed farming fared in terms of participation in the province:

Table 6.2 Registered Mixed Farmers in the Zaria Province 1937-1948.

Year/Season	Number of Registered Mixed Farmers
1937-1938	485
1938-1939	524
1939-1940	452
1940-1941	443
1941-1942	404
1942-1943	369
1943-1944	383
1944-1945	339
1945-1946	368
1946-1947	372
1947-1948	382

Source: MinAgric/1/1100…, MinAgric/1/8190… and Zarprof/1784…

The record above is indicative of the gradual ineffectiveness of the mixed farming scheme to the colonial economy especially in the major cotton districts of the Zaria Province where the project commenced and was given full attention in order to produce more cotton and groundnut. There is no doubt that as a colonial project, the mixed farming scheme had its many problems with some of them linked to the general dependent structure of the colonial economy in which all that the peasant could earn was tied to the prices of cotton and other key exports, and even the food crops produced every season. This has been vividly captured by agents of the colonial state at a time

[54]Zarprof/1693...and Zarprof 1784…
[55] See details in Appendix 6.

the mixed farming debt became unbearable to the farmers from the 1939-1940 season. The difficulty was clear as the peasants had the burden of paying back their loan, then having to do with the poor harvest or low price for cotton which was their main source of cash, then to the inadequate food crops to meet up with the colonial grain requisition on every adult male tax payer which reached 70 lbs of corn in the 1942-1943 season. In addition to these challenges the personal food requirement was also very hard hit since major attention was always on either cotton or groundnut with little attention to the basic foodstuffs. Another serious burden was the high taxes while money was not easily available. All attention on policies by the British Imperial government through the colonial state was towards helping Britain in the World War II of 1939-1945 as well as its quick economic recovery capitalising on the energies and resources of the province in particular and colonial Nigeria in general. These manifested themselves in the form of low price of export crops or less need for some of them like cotton in the early 1940s, the near or even total absence of imported goods and services that had already been entrenched in the dependent colonial economic structure, the conscription of the able bodied men to defend Britain in various fields of the War, feeding the army through expropriation of peasants with the seasonal grain requisition, and the constantly maintained high tax etc. A report from the Resident of Zaria concurs with this repressive situation experienced by the generality of peasants also expressed in the exposure of the mixed farmers from the province to indebtedness and hopelessness, so much that the N.A had to raise an alarm:

> Last year was an extremely dismal one for all sections of the community and, as I have already reported, the payment of the ordinary general tax was a matter of some concern to every tax payer in the Province. In many cases food stuffs were sold to raise money since the prices of produce had fallen to such an extent that no other course was possible.[56]

[56] See Memorandum by the Resident of Zaria Province F. M. Noad to The Secretary of Northern Provinces, Kaduna dated 29th, December, 1939 in MinAgric/1100… This meant the worst situation was yet to come as the World War II had just broken out.

In 1939, out of the total 524 beneficiaries listed under the scheme in the Zaria Province only 31 of them were able to pay some amount back from the advances they took. The total amount owed the scheme was £2,578.10.1 while only £23.5.10 was paid back.[57] In 1942, it was recorded that only 47 of the beneficiaries were able to pay some amount that reached £49.4.34d out of the outstanding £1,349.8.1d.[58]The mixed farming scheme was also incorporated into the Anchau resettlement schemes, and later others that were also established in other districts of the province.[59]The Anchau modification of the mixed farming project was done to further integrate local cattle rearing into crop production, in which case both the bulls and the manure they produce would be important inputs in crop production. It should be noted that the Anchau settlement scheme and mixed farming was also used to rehabilitate the demobilised soldiers that fought on the side of the British Imperial state in the World War II.[60]

Another important policy of the British colonial state was the application of imported superphosphate fertilizer in the peasant farms from the closing years of the 1940s. With the disappointing performance of the mixed farming scheme especially from the frequent loss of bulls to diseases and in some cases giving unacceptable reasons, together with the rather increasing indebtedness of beneficiaries who hardly earned enough to settle their overburdening taxes let alone pay back their advances, the superphosphate fertilizer initiative was envisaged as the next saving grace for increased export crop production. At the initial stage, the fertilizer issue was linked to the

[57]MinAgric/1/1/8109/Mixed Farming Finance, Zaria and /Zarprof/1784/Mixed Farming Policy.
[58]MinAgric/1/1/8109/Mixed Farming Finance…
[59]The Anchau scheme was the biggest in Zaria province. There were the Galma River scheme, the Ruruma settlement scheme, Kwassam (Kauru) settlement scheme and Kudaru settlement scheme. See MinAgricI/I 164A Vol. I: Land Settlement Schemes...in a report dated 17th September, 1954.
[60] Rabi Muhammad, 85 years, House Wife, interviewed at *Unguwar Kaura*, Zaria City, Kaduna State, 10 October, 2015.

groundnut propaganda in a desperate search by the colonial administration to produce more groundnuts in some provinces of Northern Nigeria. It was discovered that the years of intense cultivation for cotton, groundnut, and other food crops such as rice had seriously eroded the soil which was reducing the yield of the crops annually, hence the necessity for the scheme to "save the soil". Thus, in the 1949-1950 season it was started on a regional scale targeting the main groundnut producing areas located along seasonal roads. Eighty tons worth £250,000 provided under the Northern Regional Production Development Board funds were set for each 3,200 farmers at 60 lbs bag for every acre.[61] All these were to boost groundnut in the Northern Provinces and not cotton as indicated in the policy statement.[62] This was why in the initial implementation, Zaria Province was not included along with the major groundnut producing provinces like Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto in the exercise of free distribution.[63]It was later that fertilizer was sold to cotton farmers and other peasant producers in the districts of the Zaria province. However, much of the propaganda by agents of the colonial state and the training of extension workers on educating farmers on the proper application of fertilizer in their farms was taking place at the department of agriculture Samaru and also the Maigana experimental and demonstration centre in the Zaria province.[64]In all these policies of boosting agricultural production, the colonial agents of propaganda and implementation were mainly the Native Authority officials such as the emir, district and village heads with the assistance of NA agricultural officers and extension workers.

[61]*The Nigerian Citizen*, 21, April, 1950, Vol I, No 87, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, p1.
[62]*The Nigerian Citizen*, 13, January, 1950, Vol I, No 72, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, p 15.
[63]*The Nigerian Citizen*, 13 January, 1950..., p 15.
[64]Samaru and Maigana in the Zaria Province remained at the centre of all colonial agricultural development policy implementations especially in experiments, seed multiplication and demonstration of research findings. This relevance has continued since independence. Today, Zaria is home to the Institute of Agricultural Research, IAR, ABU, Samaru, Zaria, the Division of Agricultural Colleges, ABU, Samaru, Zaria, National Agricultural Extension Research and Liaison Services, NAERLS, ABU, Samaru, Zaria, National Animal Production Research Institute, ABU, Shika-Zaria. While Maigana is the Zonal headquarters of the Kaduna State Agricultural Development Project, KADP apart from serving as centre of various agricultural development programmes initiated for peasant farmers in the state.

Thus, especially for the mixed farming scheme, it was an open opportunity for these members of the aristocracy to enroll as beneficiaries whenever there was any new initiative aimed at the peasant producers. In any case, farming activity especially in the large scale that could serve the production for export project of the British was common among the community, and therefore the involvement of these aristocratic groups was not surprising because of their easier access to land even though the British claimed control of land matters. This could also be one of the critical factors for the failure of the mixed farming scheme to achieve the goal of incorporating as many peasants into the new drive aimed at boosting crop production for export. The issue has been discussed by A. Adamu in the case of Soba district and also expounded by Z.K.A Bonat as it affected the Zaria Province.[65]The common position they presented seem to emphasize total failure of the scheme in Soba district or all of the Zaria Province for various reasons. Prominent among these was the hijacking of the benefits to the local ruling class who were claimed to have little to do with actual agricultural activities like the peasants.[66] The fact that the scheme was described a failure translates to the general fate of agricultural production and export in the province and the specific manner cotton and other key areas were affected. In fact as would be demonstrated with the groundnut propaganda, cotton production and export activities in the Zaria Province was a victim of British colonial policies that kept changing up to independence.

6.6 The Groundnut Propaganda and Cotton Production and Export 1939-1948

Until recently, the dominant literature on the emergence and development of groundnut as the leading export crop from Northern Nigeria had been mainly linked to the failure

[65]Adamu A. (1992) 'British Colonial Agricultural Policies…and Bonat, Z.K.A (2015) 'Agricultural Development Policy Implementation...'

[66] See Appendix 11 showing some of these mixed farmers from Soba district with statistics of the total acreage they cultivate in relation to cotton.

of cotton to take the lead of export crops despite the years of preferential treatment given to it by the British through the BCGA. This "success" of Groundnut was mainly connected to market factors as expounded by J. S. Hogendorn, A. G. Hopkins, and G. K. Helleiner, and further discussed by P. J. Shea.[67] For instance, in a paper on the rise of the export trade in groundnut, P. J. Shea who mainly drew on the works of J. S. Hogendorn submitted thus:

1) The rise of groundnut was the result of peace and security provided by the British in the colony.
2) The emergence and sudden rise in demand by European capitalist industries producing margarine.
3) Existence of infrastructure that facilitated easy flow of trade, such as Railway, which was initially targeted for cotton production.
4) Suitability of the climate and soil in the areas where Groundnut was encouraged such as Kano, Northern Katsina, parts of Zaria province etc.
5) The overcoming of shipping difficulties at the Port of Lagos.
6) A large number of European, Lebanese and African firms who were working with Kano Merchant agents with "Incentives" of cloth and salt to convince the farmer to plant groundnut.
7) The willingness of the Farmers to "leave" cotton for groundnut, because it was paying more and had less pressure on expenses and tax obligation.[68]

However, a careful look at the colonial war-time policies of the British especially as it concerned the production of export and food crops revealed more issues beyond what was mentioned by Hogendorn and others on groundnut production in Northern Nigeria. The central issue was that the British inspired an organized propaganda backed by

[67] These works included Hogendorn, J. S. (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut* Exports…Hopkins, A. G. (1975) *An Economic History of West Africa*…and Helleiner, G.K (1966) *Peasant Agriculture*…

[68]This is summarized from the details provided by Hogendorn and Shea in their works. See Hogendorn, J. S. (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut Exports*…. And Shea, P. J. (nd) Notes on the Rise of the Export Trade in Groundnuts, *Lecture Notes, Northern Nigeria under Colonial Rule*, Special Course, B.A. History, Part III, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano. All Papers and manuscript collections of P. J. Shea can be accessed at the Archival section of the Arewa House Library, ABU. Kaduna under the P.J. Shea Special Collection.

imperial directives for preference to the production of groundnut ahead of all other crops from a particular period of colonial rule.[69] By the beginning of World War II in 1939, the groundnut propaganda was officially pursued to meet up with the demand for the produce by the Metropolitan state which was working desperately to raise funds for its war against the Germans and their allies.[70] Also, the groundnut oil was needed for lubrication in factories in addition to being a source for margarine and other foods. Some of the Asian sources for obtaining groundnut by the British had been blocked by Japan which was fighting on the side of Germany and its allies. Groundnut was a good source of raising funds to finance the war by the British. Similarly, the textile industries of Britain were converted to war equipment production factories, hence the little or no need for cotton export from the colonies. [71] To further buttress these points, we quote from an official survey commissioned by the colonial government which showed that:

> For many years to the war (World War II), Lancashire's export trade had been on a depressingly downward trend, largely owing to the cutthroat competition with Japan and her low wage standards. Even though Japan itself abandoned the competition because its attention was diverted to the war which it joined on the side of Nazi alliance, Lancashire itself was pre-occupied with releasing its manpower to the British war effort. The textile industry was also made to switch to ammunition production, something that made their need for Nigerian cotton suspended. Nigeria was naturally affected by Lancashire's new challenges as a major supplier of its cotton requirement since the beginning of British colonial rule in the area.[72]

Accordingly, all these directives were made to trap groundnut produced in the provinces for export with the only exception being what was to be stored as seed. The study has shown that all groundnut movement through the railway and other transport was prohibited except it was carried for exports after being traded by the colonially gazetted European firms. Similarly, government labour units and reserves such as prisons,

[69]Adamu, A. (2001) 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria…', pp. 82-89.
[70] This has been cited in Adamu,A (2001) 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria…' p. 81 quoting sources such as Watts, M. (1983) *Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, Berkeley University, California Press.
[71] A.H/SNP/31802/Cotton Marketing in Wartime…
[72]A.H/SNP/31802/Cotton Marketing in Wartime…

schools were mobilized into groundnut production, while the attention of agricultural officers was diverted to groundnut propaganda, giving less preference to the other crops especially cotton which was seen as the major threat.[73]An example of use of state power and authority on groundnut production and mobilisation to the colonial market is cited in the southern districts of Kauru, Kagoro and Kwai area. A colonial report prepared on groundnut production and marketing activities in Geshere and other areas of Kauru for the year 1943 showed that:

> "…the *Sarkin Kauru* issued strong warnings to groundnut farmers through his *Yara* that henceforth no groundnut was to be used for anything except selling at the colonially designated market,[74] and that anyone who eats any of his groundnut or keeps back any apart from those for seeds will be tried and punished, stressing it was an order from the emir of Zaria and Mr Elliot."[75]

Although the British official, Dr East on such assessment tour and monitoring from his base at Dutsen Wai accused the *Sarkin Kauru* of over reacting going beyond orders and being too harsh, the same British officers compelled the *Sarkin Kagoro* and *Sarkin Kwai* with strong warnings to compulsorily mobilise groundnut produced in their areas to the designated market at Kafanchan which was already an important produce evacuation centre of Southern Zaria districts through the railways.[76]Again, in the major cotton areas located north of the Province there was no renewed drive for cotton as

[73]Cotton was regarded as a threat to the new colonial groundnut deal because it was the most grounded in terms of state and company support. Besides, the majority of the peasants producing cotton for export were those expected to be diverted to groundnut. Cotton had attained the status of international trade commodity from pre-colonial times, and thus always had alternative market at home especially under low pricing situations. The Kano and Zinder weavers had consistently posed serious challenge to the BCGA and other cotton interests year after year in cotton trade until the full takeover of marketing activities under the Marketing Board system of the 1950s. In any case, it would be difficult for the Zaria peasants to give full energy to the production of groundnut when they were not even allowed to use it for the normal domestic food support. Besides, groundnut cultivation period in the season falls at the same time with Maize, Millet, Beans, Corn and other crops that supported the food requirements of the people. Therefore cotton and groundnut cultivation was very risky to the food economy of most communities in the Zaria province.

[74]The groundnut markets were located in the cotton markets called *Puloti*, which was operated for groundnut and ends just few weeks before the take-off of the cotton buying season. Musa Ibrahim, 84 years, Former Cotton Examiner (*Malamin Auduga*)…who worked in the cotton areas famous with groundnut production such as Anchau, Rahama and Soba said there were times the buying of groundnut overlaps for few days into the cotton buying period.

[75]Zarprof/839…

[76]Zarprof/839…

groundnut was also not discouraged. The requisition on corn was also suspended in groundnut designated areas with promise of bonus to village heads with high production output. Firms were also given policy incentives to push the groundnut production drive with the full backing of the colonial state officials.[77] All these seem to have exposed the British intention and policies with regards to the new groundnut direction which the colonial economy of Northern Nigeria was being driven to, quite contrary to the general impression built in the submissions of Hogendorn and Shea. The major emphasis in their position was the incentives to farmers and influence of Kano Hausa merchant entrepreneurship to the point of linking the groundnut success in Kano and other key provinces almost solely to some merchants namely Adamu Jakada, Alhassan Dantata, Maikano Agogo and Umaru Sharubutu.[78] This was a gross oversimplification of the nature and form which the colonial economy was designed and pursued to ensure maximum benefit for the capitalist interests of the British Metropolitan State at any time new economic challenges came up. From the records of correspondences on groundnut propaganda in the Northern Provinces and the extent to which it was implemented through the colonial officials in the agricultural department and some of the views of informants, there was more on the factors which pushed groundnut ahead of cotton in northern Nigeria than the reasons peddled by J.S Hogendorn, P.J. Shea and others.

It was a desperation openly expressed at all levels of the colonial bureaucracy up to the secretary of state for colonies. For instance several telegrams messages, memos, letters and circulars on pursuing the groundnut policy or discussing how it would be achieved

[77]See Adamu. A. (2001) 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria…' pp. 81-83.
[78]Shea, P. J. (nd) Notes on the Rise of the Export Trade in Groundnuts, *Lecture Notes*….

even at the expense of cotton and other crops were exchanged by these colonial agents during the years of the implementation. The popular campaign "*A shuka gyaɗa a kada Hitler*" (Plant groundnut and defeat Hitler) was refreshed in the memory of an informant who was in the early 1940s a middle school student in Zaria, now Alhudahuda College. He remembered vividly how they (as students of the middle school) were officially made to clear the whole bushy, unoccupied land between *Kofar Doka* to *Kofar Kibo* for the sole purpose of creating a farm for groundnut cultivation, all as contribution to "defeat Hitler."[79] A similar trend of groundnut cultivation under the British war time production policy in the colonial prisons was also pursued.[80]In addition to this, under the Zaria province rural production centres, the major cotton producing districts north of the province were particularly designated as both cotton and groundnut areas, so that the peasants were "allowed" to produce both crops in the name of mixed farming. Others that were designated "not very suitable" to cotton were pressed to be part of the Kano groundnut production zone. The case of Ikara district and its adjourning village areas was clear in this circumstance. There, the Native administration officials were ordered to close the cotton market at Ikara area for the 1942-1943 buying season, and allow only groundnut to be traded at the sites of the cotton markets. They were told... "…the British needed groundnut there, thus no cotton market was planned for Ikara because it is our groundnut area."[81] In addition, selected cotton markets were closed and those that survived were made to operate for the

[79]Nuhu Audi Sa'adu, 92 years, Former Cotton Examiner, interviewed on Kaduna State Media Corporation (Kaduna State Radio) programme "*Iyayen Al'umma",* October-November, 2016.

[80] The prison farm system was instituted in the very early period of colonial domination, where the labour of the Prisoners was utilised in agricultural production of both food and export crops. The major emphasis was in the production of part of the food they eat and also dispose the surplus, and the proceeds taken to the Native Administration. Under the War time agricultural policy however, groundnut became more important than the food grown under the Prison farms. See Zarprof/3810/National Archives/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1943 and PRI/2/Zarprof/ Prison Annual Report, Zaria Province for 1948-49.

[81]Zarprof/1723..., Zarprof/1491…and AH/SNP files no. 31731/ Campaign Staff for Groundnut Propaganda/1934.

purpose of buying groundnuts side by side with cotton. According to a former cotton examiner in the late 1940's and who grew up as a young boy patronising activities around the seasonal cotton markets, the groundnut buyers were provided with their own stall in the large markets in Dutsen Wai, Anchau Takalafiya and Lere where he was born and raised to primary school level.[82]Information on this was further supported by more[83] informants from Anchau, Dutsen Wai, Haskiya, Soba, Karaba, Kargi and Mayere.[84]Other key cotton markets that served groundnut trade included Awai, Kudaru, Kaya, Taɓanni, Guga, Gamagira and Gangara. Part of the official recognition of the groundnut push was the constant follow up on the statistics of groundnut farms in the major producing areas and the available local donkey transport for the purpose of evacuating groundnut, especially in areas not on the cotton roads route. Appendix six and seven provide some details of such studies carried out on the groundnut farms and donkey statistics in 1943, which was considered an important period of the groundnut propaganda in the Zaria province.[85]

Thus, as the war went on, the British turned attention to the supply of oil seeds which eventually diverted energies of the peasant producers in the major cotton producing districts of Zaria province to groundnuts. This was one of the significant factors on the cotton production crisis of the Zaria province in particular and the rest of the major cotton producing areas of the region from the years of World War II. Situations between cotton and groundnut at times caused crisis of production and loss of all production

[82] Musa Ibrahim, 84 years, Former Cotton Examiner (*Malamin Auduga*)...

[83]Zarprof/839/ /National Archives/Instructions on Groundnut…

[84]According to Umaru Tela Gidan Liman Karaba, 84 years, Farmer, Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*) and Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 79 years, Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*), the groundnut buying season commence half way into the cotton growing period. Thus, they had little problem with space or clash of activities.

[85]See Appendices 6 and 7 showing the number of groundnut farms and donkeys in the Zaria province.

opportunities on either of the two crops or even including food production which was usually given less attention as far as the colonial marketing board and the N.A were concerned. A report submitted by the Resident of the Zaria Province in 1943 seems to speak for this crossroad situation faced by the peasants in the area. He affirmed that:

> Zaria has always been a cotton producing area with only two of the northern districts alone being interested in the groundnut trade. It seems possible that the intensive propaganda for groundnuts production has adversely affected cotton production and this combined with the unfavourable distribution of rain for the cash crops caused Zaria to fall between the two stools of Groundnut and Cotton. On suggestion against the future, the resident pointed to Zaria "reverting" in the main time to a Grain and Cotton producing area.[86]

From the 1941 season when the British colonial state had to organize this intervention strategy in order to "control" cotton production, the level of production and trade collapsed, and only regained its position ten years later as shown in the Table below:

[86] SNP/17/36883...

Table 6.3 Summary of Seed Distribution and Cotton Lint Export for the Zaria Province from 1930 to 1951.

Year	Seed Distribution in Tons	Cotton in bales of 400 Ibs
1930-1931	480	1,667
1931-1932	314	643
1932-1933	432	4,407
1933-1934	620	5,311
1934-1935	923	11,359
1935-1936	1,128	8,675
1936-1937	1,175	9,886
1937-1938	1,153	8,062
1938-1939	1,110	5,058
1939-1940	2,000	8,648
1940-1941	1,159	6,000
1941-1942	959	5,232
1942-1943	910	6,518
1943-1944	997	4,479
1944-1945	1,061	2,658
1945-1946	1,193	7,267
1946-1947	1,095	3,244
1947-1948	1,164	1,774
1948-1949	1,325	4,986
1949-1950	1,509	6,632
1950-1951	1,623	9,307

Source: MinAgric/1/1/10199/National Archives/Agricultural Department Reports on Cotton Industry in Nigeria, MinAgric/COT/STAT/1/National Archives/BCGA Annual return of Seed Distribution and Bale produced 1950-1955, SNP 17/16678/National Archives/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1931, SNP 17/21304/1933/National Archives/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1932, SNP 17/23562/National Archives/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1934, SNP 17//25670/National Archives/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1935, SNP 17/30862/National Archives/Annual Report of the Zaria Province for 1938.

Thus, while the war situation added new demands for other export crops such as groundnut, the case of cotton through most of the period from the outbreak of the world war of 1939-1945 and even beyond to late 1940s was very erratic. As soon as the war ended and the textile industries earlier converted to weaponry in Britain returned to production, the Imperial state pressured the colonial state agents to resume the cotton

propaganda. However, by then it seemed difficult for the local peasant to recover from the huge loss due mainly to the inconsistent policy on cotton production. Thus groundnut became a regular export crop from Zaria province every season with steady increase, though highly insignificant when compared to other key producing areas of the Northern Provinces.[87]

Table 6.4 Groundnut production in Zaria province 1939-1948

Year/Season	Groundnut purchase in Tons	Cotton in Bales of 400 Ibs
1939-1940	7,830	5,058
1940-1941	14,537	8,648
1941-1942	6,032	6,000
1942-1943	1,688	5,232
1943-1944	4,264	6,518
1944-1945	2,666	4,479
1945-1946	4,151	2,658
1946-1947	5,712	7,267
1947-1948	3,731 (27-05-1948)	3,244

Source: AH/31731/S.26/3/5/29/Groundnut Weekly Report of Purchases: 1946-194 and 1947-1948.

The figures above revealed the early years of the groundnut propaganda showed some good results for a start although the situation was not bad for cotton either. However, from the critical years of the war in 1941 up to 1945 when it ended groundnut consistently fell below expectation while cotton remained resolutely on top. Thus with the uncertainties for groundnut in spite of the propaganda, cotton remained at the main scene of exports in the province as the figures below demonstrated from the early 1950s to 1960:

[87] The emergence of the commodity marketing board system was part of the Imperial state's pressure to intensify the colonial exploitation of the export crops to fast track the revival of the war ravaged imperial economy. This situation further showed how in times of crisis, the state take at least regulatory control of the productive forces and relations of production in its territory instead of leaving it all for the so-called market forces as the proponents of the vent for surplus model of capitalist imperialism want to push forward in the discourse of colonialism in Africa. See more discussions on this in Williams, G (1985) Marketing without and marketing boards: the origins of state marketing boards in Nigeria, *Review of African Political Economy* 34, pp. 4-15.

Table 6.5 Cotton purchase for the Zaria Province: 1952-1960.

Year	Cotton purchase Bales of 400 Ibs
1952-1953	9,008
1953-1954	10,092
1954-1955	26,130
1955-1956	11,569
1956-1957	8, 439
1957-1958	13,198
1958-1959	11,675
1959-1960	9,552

See AH/19/2/A.12/Provincial Annual Reports, Northern Region of Nigeria for 1954, Government Printer, Kaduna, AH/19/2/A.13/ Provincial Annual Reports, Northern Region of Nigeria for 1955, Government Printer, Kaduna, AH/19/2/A.14/ Provincial Annual Reports, Northern Region of Nigeria for 1956, Government Printer, Kaduna, AH/19/2/A.15/ Provincial Annual Reports, Northern Region of Nigeria for 1957, Government Printer, Kaduna, AH/19/2/A.16/ Provincial Annual Reports, Northern Region of Nigeria for 1958, Government Printer, Kaduna, AH/19/2/A.17/ Provincial Annual Reports, Northern Region of Nigeria for 1959, Government Printer, Kaduna and AH/19/2/A. 18/ Provincial Annual Reports, Northern Nigeria for 1960, Government Printer, Kaduna.

The figures above was indicative of the maintenance of cotton in the export crop list of Zaria province, though with occasioned fall which was basically dictated by prices announced by the Marketing Board on seasonal basis. Indeed, the colonial exploitation of the peasantry in cotton production by the Marketing Board intensified with its control on pricing for the purpose of exports only. The rising textile industries in Northern Nigeria was not significant in the effort to boost cotton production for domestic industrial development. The whole activities around the marketing and export of seed cotton, cotton lint and cotton seed ended with the monopolistic influence of the NRMB and its agents in Nigeria and Britain. This position was firmly maintained by the colonial government as it was either sustained or strengthened under the Nigerian government after 1960. Consequently, it impacted on the social and economic life of the people of the province as we shall discuss in the next section.

6.7 The Impact of Colonial Cotton Production and Exports in the Zaria Province.

One of the remarkable impacts of the British colonial cotton production and exports in the Zaria province was the creation and entrenchment of a dependent system of production and exchange between Britain as the colonising power and Zaria Province being a part of the larger colonised Nigerian area. Under this condition, cotton production by the peasants of the province became tied to the needs of the British textile industries on whose behalf the colonial state designed and dictated policies governing the processes of production and marketing. Some examples of these had been cited in the chapter which discussed the role of European trading companies on the strategies used by the British to eliminate local seeds and replace them with the imported, then on banning the sale of cotton to local weavers but, only to license buying agents (LBAs) at the designated locations. Apart from buying cotton, these LBAs wholly drawn from foreign firms were also responsible for the importation of goods such as cloth, salt and other industrial products that in the long run replaced products of the local cottage industries in the markets. The local aristocracy under the name of the Native Authority and other colonial officers were the main implementation machinery in this open and clandestine campaign towards cotton production above all other crops in the province.

Related to this impact was the systematic destruction of the local textile industries and all production activities under the pre-colonial economic structure especially those related to cotton in the province. Before the advent of British colonial domination, the Zazzau emirate was sufficient in cloth and textile production where cotton and its related industrial activities formed one of the wide spread and advanced sectors of the economy. In almost every settlement of the area there were evidences of cotton and textile production activities involving cultivation, spinning, weaving, knitting,

embroidery, dyeing and other related skills.[88] However, with the imposition of cotton production and exports under the colonial economy of Zaria Province, this chain of jobs was subordinated to the BCGA activities. Hence, with the marketing and export of cotton handled by the British, the local cottage industries position was gradually eliminated as the major source of clothing to the population and even its role in the regional and external trade that went beyond the Central Sudan region collapsed. This process of destruction faced by the local industries as a result of colonial domination in the Zaria Province has been studied in some earlier works.[89]

In this same situation, the local textile chain of producers with its wide ranging manpower was systematically disarticulated and exposed to unemployment crisis while the unfolding colonial economic policy quickly provided all areas for the conscription of such labour to operate in its various segments. With the mass of imported cloth and textile goods by European firms, and the penetration of the local markets through barter and advance payment for cotton and other export crops, the foundation and strength of the local textile industries was further broken to complete submission as the major supplier of these goods to the people. Again, the colonial taxation policy also pushed a larger part of the population to cotton production, the colonial army, mines, roads and railway construction as well as European firms.[90] These were then the common means

[88] Adamu, M. (1981) 'The Economy of a Hausa Capital…', Ferguson, D.E (1973) 'Nineteenth Century Hausaland being a Description by Imam Imoru…, Smith, M, F (1977) *Baba of Karo: A woman of the Muslim Hausa*, London, Faber and Faber and Shehu, S. (2015) 'The Economy of Hausaland from European Traveller's Account: A Critical Assessment of Paul Staudinger's Notes on Local Industries in the Late 19th Century *Kasar* Hausa' *International Conference on the Hausa People, Language and History: Past, Present and Future*, Kaduna State University, Kaduna.

[89] Bonat, Z. A. (1978) 'Colonialism and the Destruction of the Local Industrial System: A Case Study of Zaria Province, 1902-1945' in *Savanna: A Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences*, ABU, Zaria Vol 3, No. 2, December 1988, pp. 6-23.

[90] In the case of the railway construction which was the earliest colonial labour conscripted in large numbers, it was rather forced labour shouldered on each district head through whose territory the rail line passed to mobilise and attain the number required of him. It was not until after some level of the work

of earning the British currency to pay tax, buy cloth and other European goods that flooded the local markets. In a way, the colonial cotton production and export programme forced a segment of the population to seek elsewhere for earnings because all that cotton was giving them before had been coercively appropriated by the colonial state in collaboration with its agents. Local spinning, weaving, knitting, embroidery cloth beating and dyeing were pushed back while European imported cloths took the centre stage. This gradually destroyed the local base that today left nothing of the cottage industries in the major markets of the province and the region but only as items of exhibition and remembrance of the glorious past.[91]

Another impact of the colonial cotton production and export in Zaria Province and Nigeria was the blockage on the peasant producers against any direct access to retail marketing for selling their crops due to the creation and institution of a colonial marketing machinery which was not the case under the pre-colonial situation. While the traditional cotton customers that attended the local markets from far and near were being forced out of the business with the use of colonial laws and policies that controlled marketing activities, the peasants had to turn to the colonial state officials and agents for the pricing of their seed cotton every season. The colonial state officials also announce how to sell the seed cotton, when to sell, where it must be sold and those permitted by the law to act as buyers on behalf of the British textile industries. This totalitarian method of the colonial marketing activities was similar to the one done at

was accomplished than token maintenance payment started, and even that was not direct, but through the local ruling class who in most cases diverted the funds.

[91] Paradoxically, this unfortunate fate of the local textile industries is however more prevalent in the major cotton producing areas which include the former Zaria Province. The spinning, weaving and traditional dye pits have disappeared. This was unlike the local cloth industry of Tivland, Ilorin and parts of Yoruba land that still thrive in the local production areas and beyond. However, they have not attained the level of competing with the imported textile mainly coming from Europe but Asian countries. In the case of the Tiv textile, see Igirgi, A. D (2005) *A History of the Tiv Textile Industry C 1850-2000 A.D*, Makurdi: Aboki Publishers.

the level of production where it involved the introduction of new seed, its multiplication and systematic distribution to selected areas while at the same time eliminating the local seed. This went to the level when laws were enacted against the use of any other seed not officially certified by the Department of Agriculture. This was the real meaning of the free distribution of cotton seeds to farmers under the colonial economic policy of the British in Zaria Province and other cotton producing areas of Nigeria.

At the initial stage of the imposition, some aspects of cotton marketing were in principle protected by laws and ordinances such as those against *Baranda* (Touting) and other acts of market racketeering which diverted the cotton market away from the BCGA and its agents to the local weavers from Kano and parts of Zinder in the French territory. This, however collapsed as the colonial state itself gave in to the activities of these touts because the European firms found them good partners in helping them to outsmart one another in the rush for seed cotton in the remote areas not close to the railways or around colonially built roads. With such cumbersome policies since the marketing boards took over, and the circling of the process with corruption, many peasants were pushed away from direct contact with the cotton market only to seek a 'way out' by trusting this group of middlemen such as '*Yan Kore*, '*Yan Baranda*, *Yaran Maigida* and the *Maigida* with their produce.[92] Those peasants who were courageous enough to follow the cotton market channel also had to learn how to 'do it' with the cotton examiners and clerks of the LBAs using 'tips' at all the stages of the marketing. Accordingly, the farmer who

[92] Alhasan Sani Liman Karaba, 75 years, Farmer, interviewed at Bakin Kasuwa, Karaba, Kubau Local Government, Kaduna State, 09 August, 2016 and Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 years, Farmer…both cited examples of this phenomenon in Haskiya, Gadas, 'Yar Doka, Damau, Bugau, Danhauya, Gandari, Binigi, Gidan Mai Auduga, Gidan Maigaru, Unguwar Lutu, Rikochi, Talata and Dole. According to Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 79 years, Cotton Sub-agent (*Yaron Maigida*)…, these agents were regarded by the farmers in their respective villages as *Jagora* (Guide).

wanted good grading began with an offer of 'tips' to the cotton examiner in form of *Tiya* (a certain measure from the cotton brought by the farmer for sale in *Kichingiri*)[93] to be removed after the grading by the examiner, but before the weighing exercise. The White card was given as Grade one whereas red card represented Grade two. [94] In this deal also, some of the farmers adulterate the cotton by sprinkling water on the cotton or mixing with sand, kaolin and other stones to make it weighty on the scale. This was discovered to be a very common happening in the cotton markets involving the peasants, agents, touts, cotton examiners, produce inspectors and other officials of the N.A and Department of Agriculture.[95] For instance, some farmers and '*Yan Baranda* in the remoter areas teamed up to collect all seed cotton from surrounding villages at an agreed point, sprinkled water, mix with stones before approaching the nearest cotton market where the appropriate officials might have been foretold, and promised 'settlement' by agents running around the cotton markets and clearing all obstacles for the coming farmers. This, they also did for some reward from the farmer's money usually given after the deal had been successfully struck.

The entirety of these events finally trapped the peasants and other colonial labour groups under the colonial economy in the province to the peril of reduced income, poverty and indebtedness as they continuously struggled to overcome their financial shortfalls and survival difficulties. Indeed, the cotton and other crops the peasants were recurrently compelled to be producing under conditions dictated by the needs of the Metropolitan economy rather worsened the situation for the peasant. Some of these

[93] See Appendix 7 of Porters carrying *Kichingiri* of cotton to the market.
[94] Alhasan Sani Liman Karaba, 75 years, Farmer…. Grade one has higher pay than Grade two. For grading guidelines see KadMinAgric/2/12/MB-42M/National Archives/Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board, Northern Cotton Representative Committee Meetings, Agenda, Memos and Minutes/1955
[95] Almost all the informants connected to cotton activities agreed with one or two aspects of these corrupt practices as they happened on the way to the cotton market up to the ginnery.

difficulties have already been demonstrated especially with regards to the War time challenges and even on the situation at home such as drought, soil degradation and so on. The result was that not only in the problematic mixed farming scheme in the province, indebtedness became so much common that by the commencement of cotton buying season, many peasants had already collected advances from agents of firms and '*Yan Baranda* that they only got a token remain not enough to redeem their tax obligation after the debt was settled from their earning. In Haskiya, Gadas, '*Yar Doka, 'Yar Tsakuwa* and neighbouring villages of Anchau district for instance, some of the farmers became indebted through funds provided by one Maitala Gidan Gata who was then a sub-agent (*Maigida*) for John Holt company ltd at Anchau district.[96] Umar Tela also faced the problem of inability of the farmers to pay their advances at their point of sale in Ɗanwata, Soba and in Buruku, Afaka. The story was also the same in other cotton producing districts such as Kudan, Giwa, Zaria Kewaye, Soba, Rahama (Saminaka).[97] The case of such indebtedness in Ikara and Makarfi was different with the colonial designation of the two districts as groundnut rather than cotton areas.[98] These were some of the ways the *Yaran Maigida* and '*Yan Baranda* undercut the peasants with low prices, while they in turn made more money using all means which they knew well at the cotton market on how to manipulate their way. Among some of the ways peasants settled debts they could hardly redeem at once included disposing foodstuffs, export crop proceeds and *Jingina* (Mortgage) such as farmland and house.[99]

[96] Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 years, Farmer, Cotton Tout (*Ɗan Baranda*)… and Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 79 years, Cotton Sub-agent (*Yaron Maigida*)…

[97] Zarprof/223/National Archives/ N.A Grain Reserve-1931-1948, Zarprof/318/National Archives/ Agricultural Reports and General/1943-1953 with additional information from Musa Ibrahim, 82 years, Former Cotton Examiner (*Malamin Auduga*)… and Gidado Musa Kaya, 76 years, Farmer, interviewed at Kaya, Giwa local government, Kaduna State, 10 October, 2015.

[98] Zarprof/839… and Saleh na Bala Malikanci, 80 years, Farmer, interviewed at Malikanci, Ikara local government, Kaduna State, 15, August, 2016.

[99] This was most prevalent in the rural production areas where peasants were easily exposed with the slightest problem in the cropping season. Such cases of *Jingina* problem were common for settlement in the district head's offices.

In all situations, taxation remained at the top of the adverse situation, with the colonial state in most cases relying on 'bumper seasons' to increase the rate, while in reality most of the farmers had given much of their energy to cotton and other export crops, and so the money went to foodstuffs and other requirements that had also been witnessing price increase. A report on grains prices from 1945-1950 in the Northern Provinces showed that the price in the Zaria provinces was highest as at 1950 with Guinea corn at £2.10s per cwt, Millet £2. 4s, Maize £2.8s and Rice £5.[100]

One of the greatest impacts to come for the future of the Zaria Province and the Nigerian economy in the post-colonial years was in the continued designation of cotton as first and foremost an export crop under the full control of the Marketing Board that inherited all its policy direction and focus from the structures of the colonial economy. While the textiles of Lancashire and Manchester grew with the full protection of their capitalist interest by the British Imperial State through the instruments of the colonial state up to independence, the post-colonial Nigerian state continued with these structures that mainly benefitted the foreign industrial economies to the detriment of the indigenous economy. The newly established textile industries even with their imported technology played the second role to these giant global capitalist buyers that again continued to send in their cotton goods for consumption. With uncertainties in the cotton price as always determined by the Marketing Board, the crop gradually disappeared in the farmlands of Zaria Province. As new alternative sources began to come up, cotton farmers switched to tomatoes, other vegetables and maize. This was the conclusion of the likes of Sani Zakari, Umaru Tela and Musa Ibrahim on the collapse of cotton

[100] *The Nigerian Citizen*, 14th April, 1950, Vol I, No 85, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, p1. However, for much of the discussion on the impact of colonial activities on the food situation in the Zaria area, see Adamu, A. (2001) 'The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria…

production and exports in the Zaria Province area from the late 1980s. Some of the other informants also concurred with this position.[101] Further research is therefore necessary on this issue under the post-colonial period.

6.8 Conclusion

The chapter examined the consolidation of cotton production and marketing activities in the Zaria province. The study laid particular emphasis on the closing decades of British colonial domination when aggressive and repressive commodity marketing policies dictated the direction of the colonial economy. There was the establishment of commodity marketing boards to make the colonies contribute maximally to the revival of the metropolitan economy that was faced with crises of the World Wars and demands of the post-war economic reconstruction. The activities of the Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board regarding the ownership of rights on all matters of cotton production and export was further consolidated. The chapter also discussed activities of the Northern Regional Marketing Board which, continued to shape cotton production and export up to independence. A remarkable result of this was more energy to the production of cotton shrewdly imposed on the people with poor rewards in terms of price and in making the peasants. Quite unusual, the peasants were also compelled to commit more of the money they earned to pay taxes, and then domestic issues such as buying foodstuff that was most of the time not cheaply available due to a multiple of factors including those created by the colonial state. One of the key factors connected to the issue of food shortage was the colonial propaganda towards promoting the production of export crop such as cotton and groundnut to the detriment of food crops.

[101] Garba *Sarkin Karaba*, 80 years, Farmer, Village head, interviewed at Kofar Fada, Kargi, Kubau local government, Kaduna State, 9 August 2016, Lawan Buga, 65 years, Farmer and Trader…and Magaji Fuloti, 70 years, Farmer and Trader…

These colonial activities left the peasant producers of cotton and other crops in the Zaria Province in growing indebtedness, burden of taxation, exhaustion of their farmland from the uninterrupted cultivation without assurance of a readily available remedy in form of fertilizer or manure on the soil. Besides, the mixed farming and other schemes of development which would have assisted the peasants were limited, selective and not realistic to the earning capacity of the peasants. Similarly, the marketing system opened room for those in the chain of such activities to engage in corrupt practices particularly those agents sent by the European companies to buy cotton in the remote rural production areas. All these combined to pose serious operational challenges for the post-colonial era that was also mishandled until cotton production collapsed along with the textile industries of the nation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 GENERAL CONCLUSION

The general theme of this thesis was centered on the creation and consolidation of the colonial economy in the Zaria province of Northern Nigeria. It specifically focused on the colonial economic programme of cotton production initiated with the objective of developing exports to Britain where the textile industries needed sources of raw cotton supplies. Thus, throughout the period of British colonial domination from 1902-1960, the Zaria province was maximally exploited for the development of cotton exports and other key sectors that generally constituted the base of the colonial economy in Northern Nigeria. The Northern districts of the province were particularly known as the major cotton producing areas since the years of the Zazzau kingdom and emirate. These areas, with their climate, soil and vegetation suitable for the cultivation of cotton, had for the past centuries been meeting the need of the emirate domestic weavers as well as supplying those of the neighbouring Kano emirate, Borno and parts of what became the French territory of Niger. This practice of exchange was indeed a crucial part of the historical socio-economic and political relations which developed between Zazzau, Kano, Borno and other states of the Central Sudan region on the one hand, and the other dozens of polities around what became the central and southern part of the Nigerian area. Prior to the establishment of British colonial domination, relations were established between the various polities in many dimensions, and this was the way the communities involved, mutually benefitted from one another though sometimes the more powerful ones overran the weaker ones. This pattern of relations kept changing in response to the new challenges of survival and development the region continued to face up to the coming of the British at the end of the 19th century. Like the others, it was this way that the pre-colonial society and economy of *Kasar Zazzau* developed in

the area up to the British conquest and establishment of colonial domination in 1902. As part of political developments in the pre-colonial period, the *Sarauta* political system evolved complex administrative machinery headed by the *Sarki* who came from the ruling class of *'Yan gidan Bakwa.* The ruling class was able to entrench itself through a strategy of maintaining clients, agents and slaves in the kingdom. This way the *Sarauta* system headed by the *Sarkin Zazzau* was strengthened through the centuries until it was confronted and overthrown by the political forces of the *Jihadists* that built their activity on Islamic teachings to establish the Sokoto Caliphate. Under the Caliphate most of the Hausaland and other polities of the central Sudan were incorporated as emirates of the new political community. The former Zazzau Kingdom was thus transformed into the new Zazzau emirate which represented a sort of provincial governing unit of the Caliphate. This was the trend up to the British overthrow of the emirate in 1902 which marked the period of colonial domination.

In the same pattern, the economy of Zazzau developed and became famous in many trades and cottage industries in the central Sudan region. For many centuries, communities of the Zazzau area had strived to develop local and regional network of trade because of the strategic positioning of the area between the southern end of the Hausa states and the northern fringes of the non-Hausa polities of the central and southern Nigerian area. Therefore, *Kasar* Zazzau emerged as an important functional political and economic zone of convergence to the northern as well as southern peoples and polities of the Nigerian area for many centuries.

The climatic condition of the *Kasar* Zazzau being along the transitional zone between the wet and dry sections of the central Sudan was also a source of attraction to both

sides of the Nigerian area. It remained a historical attraction for dry season economic activities known as *Ci rani* to its neighbouring polities like Kano, Katsina, Borno and others that had most of their territories located along the Sahel vegetation region. The conducive grazing atmosphere also attracted the northern pastoral groups to move into Zazzau territory as their *Mashekari* until the dry months were over. In the midst of these activities, numerous cottage industries developed to such regional and even international recognition in *Kasar Zazzau* before the coming of the British. They included cotton and cloth related industries like knitting, dyeing and embroidery, all famous in *Birnin Zaria* and many of its peripheral settlements. Indeed, it was this kind of development in the industries which confirmed the importance of the sector in the political economy of pre-colonial Zazzau. Other industries that became famous in *Kasar Zazzau* especially as they concerned the trade and economic activities of the central Sudan region included Leather works, trade in slaves, food production and Islamic scholarship. Through these activities there was greater social, economic and political relations between Zazzau with its immediate neighbours, and indeed the distant political communities whose peoples traversed on seasonal basis for trade and exchange of goods. These activities have been acknowledged and documented in the works of pre-colonial writers and visitors to the territory including European explorers and travelers. It was also part of the details provided in the explorer's records that prompted the British colonial agents to conclude that one of the best assurances which the establishment of colonial domination brought was the availability of resources to make Northern Nigeria the Cotton belt for Lancashire textile industries in London.

The study has shown that the process of colonial domination started with the military conquest and political subjugation of the emirate in a process that followed the

piecemeal way the Sokoto Caliphate and other polities of the region were conquered. The case of Zazzau was not so easy for the British to accomplish, even though most of the urban settlements were overrun without much of the fierce resistance offered in some of the states like Kano and the contingent of the *Ameerul Muminin* of the Sokoto Caliphate. However, the full conquest and imposition of British control over the emirate and its peripheral settlements was not to be accomplished till half way into the second decade since the Lugard declaration of the protectorate in 1900. With this, the colonial state began to infiltrate into the economy of the various communities with the aim of subordinating the productive forces and relations of production. These were immediately replaced with a colonial economic structure that was based on the production of crops for export, mining activities and other services mainly targeted for the benefit of the political economy of Britain. These activities of the colonial era were mainly facilitated through major changes in the structure and content of the political administrative machineries at all the levels of governance in the province from the emirate to the districts and villages. The emirate and its governing institutions headed by the emir, were immediately subordinated to the British colonial state and gradually transformed into employees of the government who could be sacked at any time. The first High Commissioner and later Governor General of Nigeria, Fredrick Lugard designed the policy and always read it out to the new puppet emirs on their appointments to head the Native Authority in their local areas. In the Zazzau emirate, the British followed event after event to finally overthrow Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau as the emir in 1902 and then appointed Aliyu *Ɗan* Sidi (1903-1921) as the first colonial emir and head of the Zaria Native Authority as from 1903. This was an important political structure that was extensively used by the colonial state to develop the colonial economy particularly in the implementation of cotton export drive which dominated

colonial agricultural policies of the province for many years. An administrative hierarchy was developed by the colonial state beginning with the Emir and his Native Administrative Council to the district heads then the village headsmen. These were the political and administrative agents of the colonial regime at the Native authority level where all activities were supervised by designated British officers from the District Officer in the district office (DO) to the Resident in the province. These officers were responsible to the Governor of the Colony who reported to the Secretary of State for Colonies based in London. With this, an articulated administrative machinery was established for pursuing the cotton export project and indeed with other programmes under the colonial economy throughout the period of British colonial domination of the Zaria province.

The creation of the colonial economy was primarily based on the production of agricultural raw materials, extraction of mineral resources and massive consumption of imported European manufactured goods. Because cotton was one of the unique export crops needed by the British, two major fronts were used to suppress the power of the local producers and their traditional consumers by the agents of colonial domination. First was the administrative instruments which included the coercion exerted directly by the colonial state or enacted through laws which required all citizens to abide. These laws were both on land tenure, crop cultivation, marketing guidelines, taxes, conscription of labour for colonial construction works etc. The other front had to do with the economic policy of floating the local markets with imported manufactured cotton goods by European firms as they were backed in their activities by the imperial government and the colonial state. All these measures were pursued at different times of colonial rule with an oscillating tempo that dictated the relaxation or intensification

of certain policies, all with the aim of defeating the pre-colonial local cloth industries which were believed to be some of the most advanced cottage industries in the region. It was therefore obvious that European manufactured cotton products always emerged top in the list of imported goods since the beginning of British colonial rule in Nigeria. Another interesting point was that through this form of subordination of the cottage industries, the manpower was rendered unemployed, thereby guaranteeing the colonial state a cheaply available labour force to work for the newly imposed colonial relations of production. The subduing of the cotton industry meant exposing those in the seed cotton merchandise, weaving, spinning, knitting, embroidery, dyeing, cloth beating, and cloth merchandise to become cheap source of labour for the colonial economy. These included the various fields of colonial works such as agricultural production, railways and roads construction, mining, labour for trading firms and other money earning jobs that were created under the British colonial economic policy. This was a mission the colonial state pursued with all the instruments of power and influence up to the time of political independence in 1960. The fact that cotton and textile industry was one of the key sectors of the pre-colonial economic activities of communities in the Zaria province, one of the major effects of the colonial development of cotton exports in the area was the destruction of the pre-colonial relations of production which turned around the cottage industries. The pre-colonial *Gandu* social production structure was destroyed by the colonial land tenure, labour policies and the various nature of taxes imposed under the colonial economy. The study examined the extent of the colonial state's involvement and other agents of colonial domination such as the BCGA, European trading firms in the foundation and consolidation of cotton exports, particularly in the major cotton producing areas of Zaria provinces, from where all other

inroads into cotton production in the Northern Provinces were spread by the colonial administration.

The Zaria province was an important part of the cotton belt which contributed to the building of the colonial economy for the benefit of the Metropolitan state. This was quite contrary to assertions in some of the literature that cotton production for export under British colonial domination in Northern Nigeria was a worthless exercise with stories of "colossal failure" especially in the face of the rise and triumph of groundnut export from Kano and other provinces of Northern Nigeria. Some of these works by J. S. Hogendorn, P. J .Shea, K. D. Nwora, M. Candotti that seem to promote the perspective had been discussed in the research and some of the issues raised in their works critically assessed in the preceding chapters. The position taken was that the creation and nurturing of the colonial political economy in the Zaria province and indeed the colony of Nigeria remained for the purpose of promoting the interest of British capitalist development. Other "developments" claimed to have reached the local communities by the "grace of Colonialism" were essentially designed and worked out as a means of effective exploitation of the resources found in the areas concerned. Further poof to this was the selective nature in the development of these infrastructure that mainly cover areas economically beneficial under the colonial economy. For instance, at certain points the colonial commodity marketing boards which were presiding over the milking of the peasant farmers in export crop trade became fully responsible for the construction and maintenance of many road infrastructure in the rural production areas. This meant that those rural areas not producing the designated export crops were automatically excluded from such "developmental infrastructure". For cotton in the major producing districts of the Zaria province, they were known in

the British official records as Cotton Evacuation Roads, as they were given special consideration both under the N.A and the Marketing Boards.

Another crucial issue in the cotton export development was the colonial tax policies. Taxes were accepted to be paid in cotton while the European trading firms also went into the habit of making advance payments to peasants for cotton before its harvest period on the pretext of "helping" the peasants to have what they would settle their taxes with. Similarly, in the later years export crop sales (cotton) became one of the quickest and easiest means of raising money to relieve the peasant farmers of their tax obligation. And, the fact that the tax burden gradually became unbearable to the *Maigida*; the head of the *Gandu* to pay for each adult, *Gayauna* became popular with cotton production or in some instances the *Gandu* took to cotton production for the purpose of raising what would settle the household's tax obligation. In this case, the old collective production of food for the up keep of the *Gandu* was either left to die "naturally" or an instant death of the unit occurred and individual household members were left to themselves. Whichever prevailed, the eventual breakup of the *Gandu* was essentially caused by the taxation policies exerted on the rural production sector of the colonial economy. One of the major effects of these policies was the over-dependence of a large section of the peasant population on the production export crops to the detriment of food. This caused numerous problems of food shortage particularly during critical periods of drought where there was hardly any storage of surplus from the previous season because in most cases the food produced was fully utilised in feeding thousands of non-farming population created to serve the colonial system. There were thousands of railway and road construction labourers, those in the colonial mines and the colonial army. The food requirement of these groups ensured the creation and

sustenance of food production ration based on each district of the province supplying the colonial pool some tonnage of the food produced. This was regardless of whether the peasant families would have something to keep in their granaries or not. Thus, throughout the period of British colonial domination *Yunwa* (Famine) was a common occurrence in the Zaria province where large number of the rural population were pushed to migrate to other provinces with less severity of the food shortage.

In addition to the colonial agricultural, land and labour policies designed and implemented to shape the establishment of a dependent system of production in the Zaria province, the colonial state supported the exploitation process in the province with infrastructure such as roads, railways and other means of communication. The local labour force was very central to the construction of these infrastructure that were selectively located in the production areas. The local ruling agents did the labour mobilisation exercise on the basis of each district supplying the number of able bodied labourers as required and rationed by the British colonial state officers in the province. A substantial population of the districts of Zaria province provided this forced labour for the construction of the Railway lines that traversed the province from Zaria to Kano, then the Zaria to Naraguta in Bauchi province and from Zaria to Gusau and *Kauran* Namoda in the Sokoto province. This, added to the provincial and Native administrations roads construction, contributed to fast tracking the local labour extraction process and the evolution of an urban working class under the colonial economy. By the 1920s, there was in the Zaria province a fully functional colonial labour force created by the British and broken into segments for the production of agricultural exports such as cotton, mining activities in the province and neighbouring Bauchi and Plateau mines. There were also the regularly mobilised labour for

construction of the Railway, Roads, Colonial buildings, European firm jobs which reached a level where peasants in some of the districts spent the farming season in labour camps, thus losing their production for the year. The situation with Zaria province also reached a point where the local population could not cover the various areas of colonial labour demand so that more supplies were made from neighbouring provinces of Kano, Katsina and Sokoto into works in the Zaria territory. This was most devastating to the social and economic well-being of the local population and their neighbours that were usually exchanging goods and services especially food items. Thus, while the colonial economy fully incorporated agricultural production, it however primarily emphasised the production of cotton in the Zaria province, and later other export crops. An important segment of the colonial labour force was the area of cotton production for export to feed British textile industries. This can best be fully understood and appreciated with a picture of the production process clearly brought out in respect of cotton.

A report of the Agricultural survey of Northern Nigeria by a team of FAO/ICA experts submitted in 1960, made suggestions on the need to boost cotton production in the Northern region in order to enhance local textile industrial activities. It was emphasised that considerable efforts should be made to ensure that the cloth used for "*rigas*" (Shirts and other traditional attires) and other articles of clothing in the region are produced at home.[1] Thus, the report further suggested that…"…the government should aim at an increase of fifty (50) per cent in the production of cotton over the next ten (10) years (1960-1970)".[2] However, contrary to this suggestion and as clear as the political

[1]A.H/The Industrial Potentialities of Northern Nigeria, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Northern Nigeria, Kaduna, 1st October, 1963, pp. 59-76.
[2]A.H/The Industrial Potentialities of Northern Nigeria…p. 59.

economy of cotton production and marketing in Nigeria illustrated, the NRMB remained preoccupied with purchasing agricultural produce for export to the International market of Europe. Conversely, the local textile industries which were mostly located in the Kaduna area of Northern Nigeria received very insignificant attention from the Marketing Board. In any case, the trend towards increased production was inherited from the post-world war II economic policies which emphasized more production and export of cotton, groundnut, palm oil, and cocoa among others. Thus, while this increase in production and export was pursued with all commitment, there was also little done on securing increased price for the local peasant producers in the way their labour would be fully rewarded. This had a corresponding effect on the local peasant producers in the main cotton producing areas of the Zaria province as they were pushed into crisis of mass production "without reward". In spite of the attainment of independence in 1960, the Marketing Boards therefore continued to give top priority to the exportation of cotton and other agricultural produce because of the huge profit accumulation from such deals at the International market. This way also, the Marketing Boards monopolized this important aspect of the economy opened avenues for corruption at all levels of the process that left the producers in the hands of neo-colonial agents and those backing them under the colonial state structure.[3] Under this, the peasant farmer was surrounded by individuals and groups taking various positions as sub-agents, touts and fronts (*Masu gida, 'Yan Baranda,* '*Yan Saki* etc) operating and gaining profit at the expense of the peasant. This was found at various levels of the cotton trade before it reached the European firms, BCGA, and eventually the British

[3]See Appendix 8. This was also the same attraction which the marketing board offered to corrupt state officials as a source of the rip off that gradually led to the collapse of the board system under the preceding post-colonial administrations in Nigeria. See Williams, G. (1985) 'Marketing without and with Marketing Boards…

textiles in London through the shipping companies.[4] These were the greatest beneficiaries of all activities in the cotton export trade while for the peasants there was never any guarantee as the prices were fixed every year by pronouncements from the department of agriculture (later the marketing boards) on behalf of the colonial state. There was also the claim that the cotton farmer in the southern Zaria districts only was the one caged by the Hausa merchants and therefore made to produce but with little or no gain in terms of reaping the benefits thereof.[5]However, this analysis seems to be rather trivialising the colonial political economy in its general aim, content and modus operandi. Indeed, the colonial exploitation scheme as driven by the colonial state was beyond ethnic categorisation or consideration in the manner portrayed here. From evidences in the heart of the Anchau district and other neighbouring production areas of the northern districts, some '*Yan Baranda* and their *Masu gida* explained how they were involved in reaching the Hausa and Fulani cotton producers to the remotest areas where they even took away cotton belonging to the peasants and only return to pay the farmers after selling the seed cotton at the closest designated cotton market.[6] Besides this cheating on the peasant producers by these middlemen and their '*Yan Baranda* which was more perpetrated in the remote areas of the major cotton producing districts, the arrangement of markets and buying areas also added to the possibilities of cheating on the producer. Under the colonial marketing policy, there was the designated cotton markets with access roads and closeness to the railway where only the big European firms were licensed as LBAs to buy seed cotton. Then the selected market and buying

[4]A.H/SNP/31802/Cotton marketing in Wartime…and Appendix 8.
[5]Bonat, Z. K. A (2015) 'Agricultural Development Policy Implementation…' p. 428.
[6]Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 years, Farmer, Cotton Tout (*Dan Baranda*)…supported by Sani Zakari Teacher, 82 years, Farmer and Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*)…, Umaru Tela Gidan Liman Karaba, 82 years, Farmer, Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*)…and Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 79 years, Cotton Sub-agent (*Yaron Maigida*)…in separate responses to the same question.

areas which mainly identified districts where seed cotton was to be bought by middlemen for the LBAs because of the expected low total quantity.[7]

As part of the colonial policy, there were times when the pricing of cotton was determined by the colonial state desire to lower the income of the peasants whose prosperity in case cotton price went high would push the economy to demand more goods and services. These, the British wanted to control in people whose main sources were primarily linked to the production of crops such as cotton for export. Some informants interviewed gave account of this process and how each of the participating interests gained profit at the detriment of the peasant producers, taking advantage of the peasant's ignorance of the dynamics of the world cotton market. Details on how the cotton touts and agents perpetrated this cheating with the full knowledge and endorsement of the middlemen and LBAs has already been cited. Thus, while the colonial system opened this means of profiteering for the touts, agents, the LBAs and the colonial government, the cotton producers were exposed to the unholy practices of the system, the so-called laws against *Baranda* and other behaviors notwithstanding. In fact, from the critical period of interwar years, World War II and its aftermath, the situation only deteriorated for the peasants who were always tricked around with tips and gifts of European goods such as salt, cloth, sweets and even cash advances for their cheap cotton. That was why, in spite of the many structures created and entrenched by the colonial state to continue the monopolistic exploitation of the cotton production sector in the Zaria province, some of the peasants, especially in the border districts to

[7] Details of this form of cotton marketing policy and designation can be obtained in MinAgric/1/1/10179/National Archives/Cotton Market and Export Regulation Vol V and VI, 1937.

the north of the province rather sold their cotton to the Kano weavers through local agents that carried the goods away on donkeys.[8]

In the final analysis, the colonial state policy of encouraging groundnut above all other crops for exports seriously undermined cotton production and export in the Zaria province particularly in the major cotton producing districts of the province. This was especially so from the years of World War II when Britain had to do all it could with its colonial territories in order to win the war and also recover from its ravages. With the attainment of independence, the NRMB and its other sister boards in the regions remained as full monopolies in the areas of agricultural produce marketing where both the domestic and foreign buyers relied on the boards for supply. This meant that even the Nigerian textile industries which first emerged from the establishment of the Kaduna textiles mills by the Northern Regional government in 1956 had to rely on the monopolistic NRMB for its supply that was rationed along with its foreign rival industries. Other textile industries came on after independence with the marketing board system firmly entrenched in the agricultural produce trade. In the same period, the emergent local LBA and their activities proved even more disastrous for the rural peasant producers who were continuously overwhelmed by the corrupt practices happing around the cotton markets and buying areas. With the dominance of the marketing boards there was continued entrenchment of the parasitic accumulation and profiteering by the state, touts and agents from the peasant surplus. However, the system tried to create an impression of guaranteed market in the peasants who, in spite

[8]Up to the closing decade of colonial rule, there were accounts of local cotton traders from Kano and Borno traversing around the northern and eastern border villages of Anchau and Ikara districts for seed cotton every buying season. Garba *Sarkin Karaba*, 80 years…, Isa Lilo Haskiya, 79 years, Farmer, Cotton Tout (*Ɗan Baranda*)…supported by comments from Sani Zakari Teacher, 82 years, Farmer and Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida)*…

of the unfair price offered during some of the seasons had to produce cotton than the other crops. At least, to some of them there was the security of having buyers every season however low the price of the season might be. The worst that the peasants did as in the early years of British colonial domination was to shift to other products. But since by the closing years of colonial domination, the peasants in the cotton producing areas of Zaria province had become very much addicted to cotton production. Therefore they had little or no alternative but to follow the "Cotton way". Cotton had indeed transformed into a leading crop whose cultivation, marketing, processing and even industrial production dominated the social and economic activities of peasants in the Zaria province. The result of these years of British involvement in cotton activities was that thousands of farmers, cotton canvassers, sub-agents, middlemen, local and modern transport owners, agricultural officers, produce inspectors, cotton examiners, N.A staff, and the workers in the ginneries and railways combined to shape the social and economic activities of the Zaria province. This was the situation until the collapse of cotton production in the post-colonial period. The unfolding events in the former Zaria province was quite different from the other cotton producing areas of Northern Nigeria such as the former Katsina and Sokoto Provinces. In their case, the two areas still produce some quantity of seed cotton for export. With the climatic condition in most of the cotton areas of the former Zaria province being quite receptive to maize and vegetables, and due to what can be referred to as the demobilisation of state structures in the marketing and export of cotton, the peasant farmers gradually switched to these emergent crops.[9] Although, these events which shaped the future of post-colonial cotton production activities in the area do not form part of the scope of this research, the turn

[9]This was the reason given by some informants in Makarfi district for abandoning cotton in preference to other produce in the area. Lawal Buga, 65 years, Farmer, interviewed in Mayere Makarfi local government, Kaduna State, 22 January 2015 and Magaji Fuloti, 70 years, Farmer and Merchant, interviewed in Mayere, Makarfi local government, Kaduna State, 22 January 2015.

of events had basis from activities during the colonial period. Therefore, understanding the fate of cotton activities in the former Zaria province today should form another area of research to students of economic history. As a matter of fact, this collapse was not immediate because apart from the colonial BCGA ginnery, the Zazzau ginnery emerged in the 1970s but it also went moribund when the cotton spectre hit the former Zaria Province and other areas in the neighbouring territories of Northern Nigeria in the early 1990s.

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Abdulkadir Bello	48 Years	Civil Servant based in Abuja.	Albarkawa, Zaria	17 March, 2007
Abubakar Muhammad	70 Years	Farmer and Leather worker (*Baduku*).	Mazangudu, Zaria	23 March, 2012
Alhassan Sani Liman	75 Years	Farmer and Assistant Sub-agent (*Yaron Maigida*)	Bakin Kasuwa, Karaba	09 Aug, 2016
Aliyu Yahaya Sa'ad	72 Years	Worked with Marketing Board.	Sabon Gari, G.R.A Zaria.	20 Aug, 2016
Badamasi Aliyu *Sarkin Karre*.	70 Years	Farmer and Merchant.	Karre, Damau	10 Aug, 2016
Garba Jaki Dadi	83 Years	Farmer in Cotton and Tobacco.	Anchau Takalafiya.	20 Jan, 2014 11 Aug, 2016
Garba Haruna Sarkin Karaba	80 Years	Farmer and Traditional Ruler.	Kofar Fada, Kargi	09 Aug, 2016
Gidado Musa Sarkin Kaya	76 Years	Farmer and Traditional Ruler	Kaya, Giwa	10 Oct, 2015 20 Sept, 2016
Hamidu Wambai	73 Years	Farmer and Assistant Sub-agent (*Yaron Maigida*)	Haskiya, Anchau	10 Aug, 2016
Hassan Muhammad	63 Years	Civil Servant and Farmer	Dogon Bauchi, Zaria	11 Oct, 2015 20 Nov, 2016
Ibrahim Umaru Sanda (Na Dandari)	95 Years	Former District Staff in Zangon Katab, Anchau, Kaduna and Rigachikun	Rigachikun	June, 2017
Isa Lilo Haskiya,	79 Years	Farmer, Cotton Tout (*Dan Baranda*).	Haskiya, Anchau	6 Sept, 2015 10 Aug, 2016
Lawan Buga	65 Years	Farmer and Trader	Mayere, Makarfi	22 Jan, 2016
Magaji Fuloti	70 Years	Farmer and Trader	Mayere, Makarfi	22 Jan, 2016

Malama Hajara	68 Years	House wife	Kofar Fada, Zaria	20 April, 2014
Muhammad Auwal Adamu *Sabon Birnin Rahama*.	43 Years	Farmer and Traditional Ruler (*Sarkin Baka*)	*Sabon Birnin* Rahama	12 Aug, 2016
Musa Ibrahim	84 Years	Farmer, Retired Cotton Examiner	Soba	24 July, 2016
Musan Wambai,	85 Years	Retired Messenger in the Zaria Native Authority	Rimin Kambari, Kaura Zaria	22 June, 2014
Nuhu Audi Sa'adu	92 Years	Retired Civil Servant and Cotton Examiner (*Malamin Auduga*)	Kaura, Zaria	20 June, 2014 15 Aug, 2016 07 Jan, 2017
Rabi Muhammadu,	85 Years	Widow	Rimin Kambari, Kaura, Zaria	10 Oct, 2015 07 Jan, 2017
Saleh Na Bala Malikanci	80 Years	Farmer and Trader	Malikanci, Ikara	15 Aug, 2016
Sani Zakari Teacher,	82 Years	Farmer and Former Cotton Agent for LBAs.	Tsohon Gari, Anchau	10 Aug, 2016
Shehu Muhammad Harande	55 Years	Civil Servant	Babban Dodo, Zaria and KSMC, Kaduna	10 July, 2014 11April,2015 20 Aug, 2016
Sule Turawa	79 Years	Farmer	Turawa, Soba	30 July, 2016
Umaru Muhammadu,	93 Years	Farmer and Family Head.	Kusfa, Zaria	12 April, 2013
Umaru Tela Gidan Liman Karaba	84 Years	Farmer and Agent to LBAs (*Maigida*)	Bakin Kasuwa, Karaba	09 Aug, 2016
Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani,	79 Years	Farmer, Assistant Sub-agent (*Yaron Maigida)*	Anchau Takalafiya,	09 Aug, 2016
Yahaya Ahmadu	50 Years	Civil Servant	Kajuru	15 May, 2014
Yahaya Musa Balarabe (*Turakin Iyan Zazzau*)	62 Years	Retired Ginnery worker and Traditional Ruler	Sabon Gari, Zaria	11 Oct, 2015 20 Nov, 2016

Yahaya Turakin Sarkin Fulani, Damau.	74 Years	Former Cotton Tout (*Dan Baranda)*	Damau	09 Aug, 2016
Yakubu Kanti	81 Years	Farmer	Makura, Soba	31 July, 2016
Yusufu Abdullahi,	100 Years	Farmer and Community Elder	Rafin Busa, Anchau	08 Aug, 2016
Yusufu Tela	75 Years	Farmer/Tailor	Dutsen Wai	26 April, 2016

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KadMinAgric/4200/National Archives/Groundnut and cotton production 1938

KadMinAgric/31731N/National Archives/Groundnut campaign

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KadMinAgric/COT8/National Archives/Cotton Seed Multiplication/1956 Vol I

KadMinAgric/COT11/3/National Archives/Seed Cotton Marketing (General)/1956

KadMinAgric/COT/11/4/National Archives/Cotton Marketing Board Circulars/1956

KadMinAgric/2/12/MH: 161/National Archives/Zaria Province Produce Committee/1956-1958.

KadMinAgric/2/12/MH: 341/National Archives/Cotton Marketing Schemes, Vol I and II/1955-1957 and 1957-1958.

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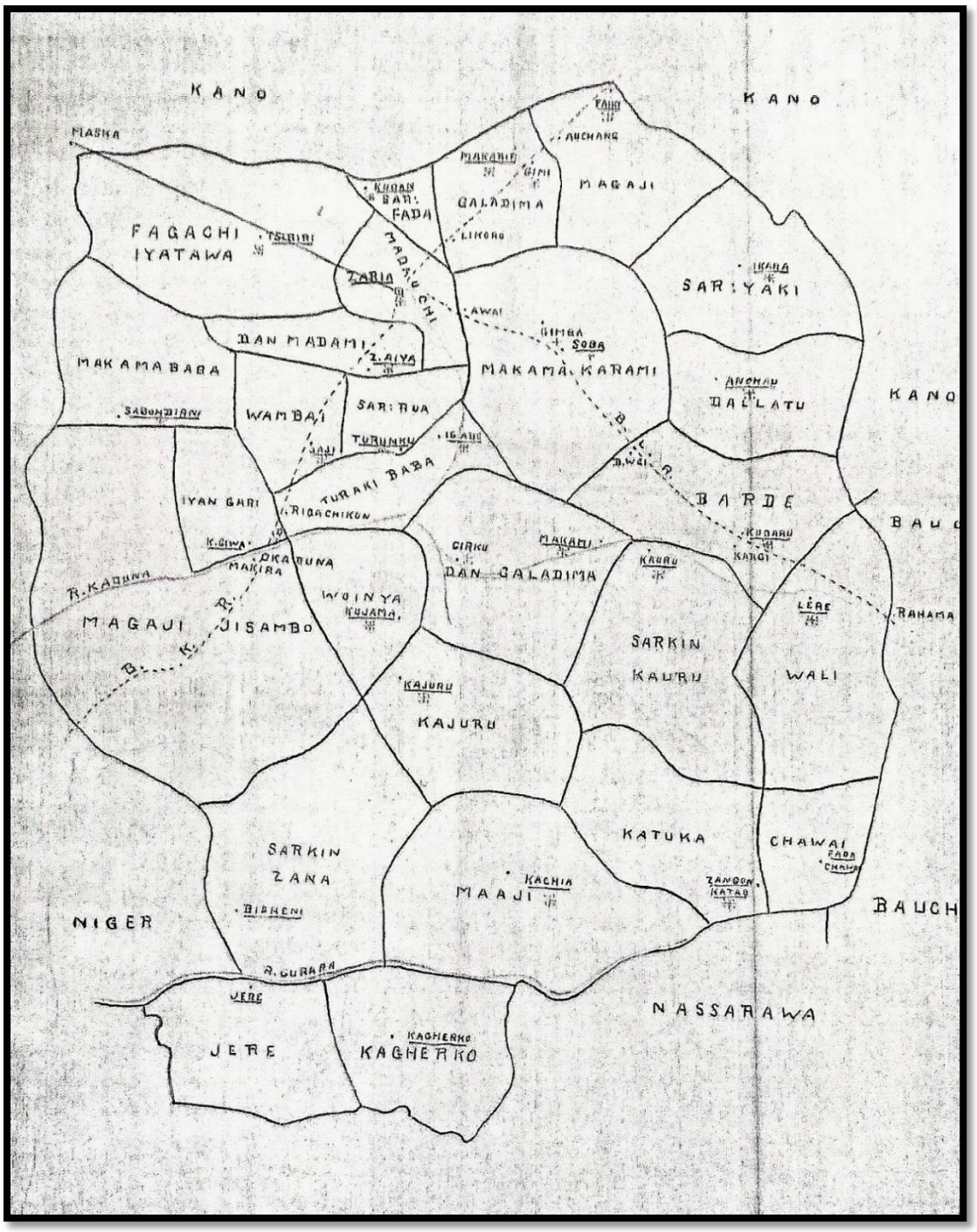
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Districts of the Zazzau emirate under Zaria Province



Source: SNP 10/178p…

Appendix 1

Remains of some offices of the European Firms that served as Cotton Agents in Zaria Province.









Pics 1, 2, 3 and 4 is Manchester Street, Sabon Gari, GRA, Zaria**.** Showing are some of the Warehouses of the European trading firms that served as LBAs under the colonial marketing of cotton produced by peasant farmers in the Zaria province. Details of their activities has been discussed in chapter five. As at 2016, most of the stores have either been hired or leased out serving as Banks, Schools, Grain stores, Shops, Drinking spots while few remained under the foreign firms that are still in business. Taken on 27 August 2016

Appendix 2

Site of the Former Cotton Market and Cotton Dump at Anchau (Dallatu District, Zaria Province.



Pic 1 Remains of the Main colonial cotton market where firms (Licensed Buying Agents) have their stalls for buying seed cotton from farmers at Anchau Takalafiya. This site is presently part of the Day Market operating on Tuesdays in Anchau Takalafiya, Kubau Local government, Kaduna State, Nigeria. The Cotton Market was established in the early 1920's. Taken on 11 August 2016.



Pic 2: This is the Relics of the Cotton Market Dump where all purchased seed cotton was stored before evacuation to the ginnery at Zaria or the Dutsen Wai ginnery established in 1924. Taken on 11 August 2016.



Pic 3: This is the heart of the Cotton Market at Anchau Takalafiya showing the Roofed Iron cage used by the Cotton Examiner known (*Malamin Auduga*) as official operating point during the cotton buying season. Taken on 11 August 2016.



Pic 4: A Dairy factory established under the Anchau Settlement Scheme at Anchau Takalafiya (Dallatu District), Zaria province. A major focus for the scheme was the development of Cotton production in the area. 11 August 2016**.**

Appendix 3

Inside view of the premises of the BCGA Ginnery at Sabon Gari area of Zaria Township as at 2016



Pic 1: One of the power relay points to the seed cotton ginning engine rooms at the BCGA Ginnery established in 1911 in the Sabon Gari area of Zaria. The site has been bought by Federal Ministry of Defence for the Nigerian army in Chindit Barracks which share its borders with the ginnery to the south. The premises was heavily guarded by military personnel its walls fortified with the inscription "Military Zone Keep off". 12 November 2016.



Pic 2: Part of the ginning room and some adjourning stores at the BCGA Ginnery, Sabon Gari Zaria. Taken on 12 November 2016.



Pic 3: The Stores and ginning room at the BCGA Ginnery, Sabon Gari Zaria. 12 November 2016.



Pic 4: Some of BCGA ginnery warehouses for storing seed cotton, ginned cotton (lint) and cotton seed on the way to the railway loading area just beside the Ginnery at the popular commercial enclave known as *Gidan Fata*, Sabon Gari, Zaria. 12 November 2016.



Pic 5: An open field of the BCGA ginnery site for movement of large Lorries that convey seed cotton and take out seeds to remoter areas not reached by the Railway in Zaria province and other parts of the Northern provinces. 12 November 2016.



Pic 6: The Street hosting the BCGA Ginnery with *Gidan Fata* (Hides and Skin stores). In the 1970s up to the 1990s, the street (*Gidan Fata*) was a notorious den of criminals in Sabon Gari, Zaria hiding under the warehouses and abandoned stores. The site still has traces of this past darkness mainly caused by the collapse of the ginning and other industrial activities in the area. The fact that the activities of the peasant farmers producing the required seed cotton for ginning at the factory began to collapse also meant the end of the ginnery was only a matter of time in Zaria.. 12 November 2016.



Pic 7: Part of the Zaria BCGA ginnery from behind the walls on the west end. See the Railway line close to the stores as it enters direct into the ginnery where the ginned cotton and seeds are easily evacuated with the cargo train to the main Railway station just few meters away for onward conveyance to the Lagos Sea port. 11 December 2016.



Pic 8: Here used to be the centre of colonial cotton and other European trading activities at the popular *Gidan Fata* junction. To the right is leading to the BCGA ginnery while opposite (the new building to the left) is the site of the former Sabon Gari Cotton Market that operated up to the late 1950s. 11 December 2016.

Appendix 4

An abandoned Dye pit site in the outskirts of Haskiya in Anchau, Kubau Local Government of Kaduna State.



Pic 1: Remains of Dye pits in Haskiya village, which used to be an important part of the larger cotton producing Anchau district under the Zaria Province. A visit to the site on the outskirts of the village neither witnessed any trace of cotton production, dyeing or any local textile activity. Taken on 9 August 2016.

Appendix 5

List of Trading Firms and Companies situated at Zaria as at January, 1922

S/No	Name of Firm/Company/Association	Station established
1	United African Company Limited	Zaria
2	John Holt and Company Limited	"
3	Lagos Stores Limited	"
4	CFAO French Company	"
5	Paterson Zochonis and Company Limited	"
6	G.B. Ollivant and Company Limited	"
7	L. Ambrosini and Company Limited	"
8	British Cotton Growing Association	"
9	John Walkden and Company Limited	"
10	W.B. MacIver and company Limited	"
11	London and Kano Trading Company Limited	"
12	Bank of British West Africa limited	"
13	The Colonial Bank	"
14	African Oil Nuts and Company Limited	"
15	African Association, Limited	"
16	G. Gottschalk and Company Limited	"
17	R. Hassan and Company Limited	"
18	Miller Brothers of Liverpool, Limited	"
19	Grace Brothers and Company Limited	"
20	Henderson (Manchester) Limited	"
21	A. J. Tangalakis and Company	"
22	Mann Poole and Company Limited	"
23	Swedish Company	"
24	The Diocesan Synod of W/Equatorial Africa-C.M.S	"
25	Bookshop	"
26	S. Thomas and Company	"
27	A. Victor Johnson……..(Native/Nigerian	"
28	traders)	"
29	J. L. Aderoku	"
30	S. P. Quaijah	"
31	P. L. Showumi	"
32	F. S. Soremekun	"
	A. O. Dekalu	

Source: SNP 9/ 73/ Annual Report of Zaria Province for 1922.

Appendix 6

Yawan Gonakin Gyada a Lardin Zazzau a shekarar 1943 (No of Groundnut farms in Zaria Province by 1943).

Chikun	4,650
Giwa	5,477
Igabi	5,415
Ikara	6,410
Kacia (Kachia)	3,569
Kagarko	3,610
Kajuru	3,044
Katab (Zangon Katab)	9,882
Kauru	3,070
Kubu (Kubau)	6,545
Lere	6,345
Makarfi	8,626
Soba	5,194
Zaria and Zaria da Kewaye	3,987
Sabon Gari	292
Kaduna	490

Source: Zarprof/839/ /National Archives/Instructions on Groundnut Production and Marketing Vol III.

Appendix 7

Lissafin Jakuna dake Kasar Zazzau (Population of Donkeys in Zaria Province).

Chikun	138
Giwa	646
Igabi	641
Ikara	1,018
Kacia (Kachia)	45
Kagarko	38
Kajuru	24
Katab (Zangon Katab)	----
Kauru	131
Kubau	738
Lere	500
Makarfi	1,650
Soba	611
Zaria da Kewaye	1,065
Sabon Gari	154
Kaduna da Kewaye	98

Total====7,497

Source: Zarprof/839/ /National Archives/Instructions on Groundnut Production and Marketing Vol III.

N.B: The statistics was collected as a significant part of the village transport system for the evacuation of cotton to the nearest cotton markets and the distribution of seeds during each buying season throughout the Zaria province. The major means of transporting cotton and other agricultural produce from the villages to the railway lines in the Zaria province was either by Donkeys or Carriers. There was no Camel transport in the province as in the neighbouring Katsina and Sokoto.

Appendix 8

Stakeholder participation in the Marketing activities of Cotton and other Export Crops in Zaria Province and Northern Nigeria by 1960.

1). United Kingdom Board of Trade/Raw Cotton Commission (This was at the early period of colonial rule up to World War II, 1939-1945).

↓

2) Nigerian Produce Marketing Company Limited (NPMC) trade Cotton overseas for the NCMB

↓

3) The Nigeria Department of Marketing and Exports (initially handled by the Nigeria Central Marketing Board), Lagos

↓

4). Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board/Northern Regional Marketing Board (Owner of the Cotton lint for export).

↓

5) Licensed Buying Agents (LBAs): Mainly European firms and BCGA (as from 1949).

↓

6) Sub-agents/Middlemen (*Maigida or* Retired Company Clerks) with sometimes an Assistant (*Yaron Maigida*).

↓

7) Cotton Tout/ *Dan Baranda (plural: 'Yan Baranda.*

↓

9) Agents of Tout *Yaran* '*Dan Baranda/ plural 'Yan Kore/ 'Yan Tarabi (Tarba)/'Yan Saki.*

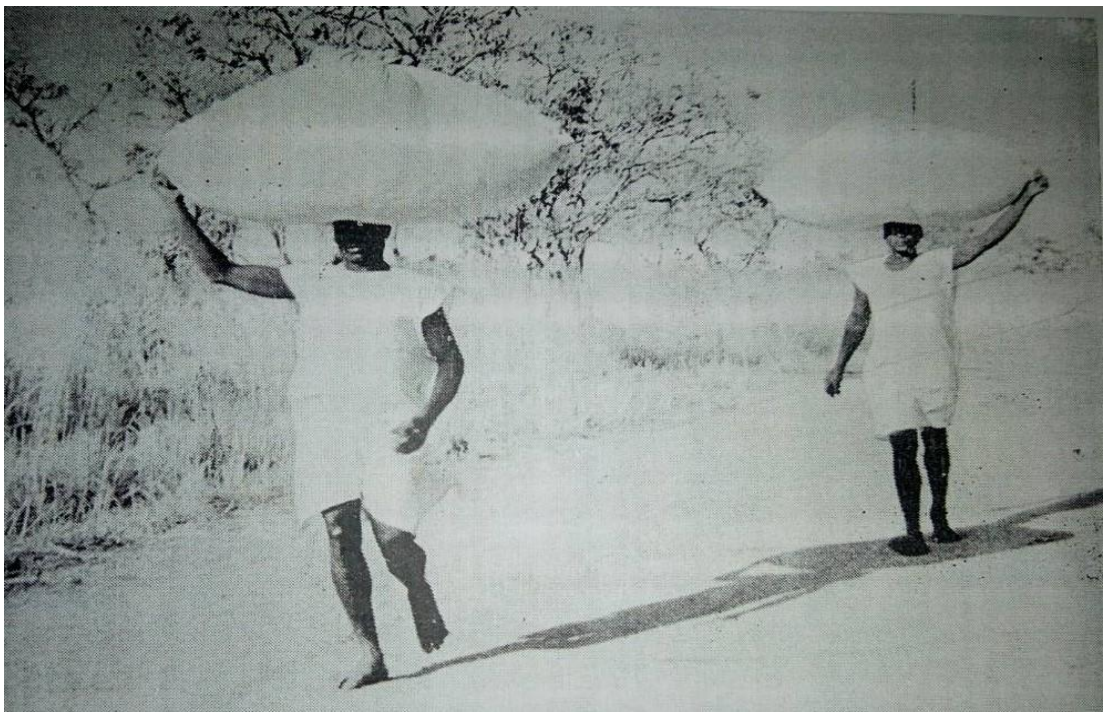
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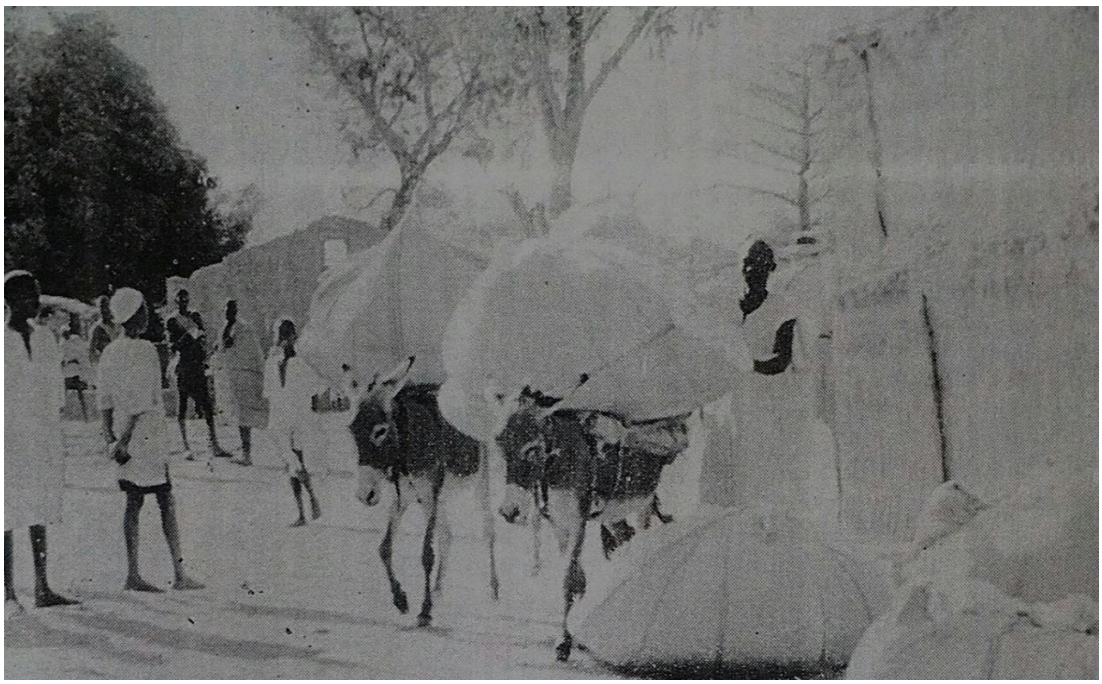
10) Peasant Farmer or Farmers as in the *Gandu* (Family) production unit

Source: AREWA HOUSE/A/1/26/ *Marketing and Exports*/ 1948-1949 and 1945-1950, KadMinAgric/COT/11/4/National Archives/Cotton Marketing Board…, MinAgric/C.89/National Archives/Cotton Marketing Board Minutes of Meeting..., Nuhu Audi Sa'adu, 92 years, Former Cotton Examiner…, Isa Lilo Haskiya, 75 years, Farmer, Cotton Canvasser (*Dan Baranda*)…, Umaru Tela Gidan Liman, Karaba, Farmer, Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*)…, interviewed in Karaba, Kubau Local Government, Kaduna State, 9 August, 2016 and Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 70 years, Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*), interviewed at his Residence in Anchau Takalafiya, Kubau Local Government, Kaduna State, 9 August, 2016.

Appendix 9:

Farmers/Porters carrying seed cotton in *Kichingiri* to the Cotton Market.





Source: Maiden, R. L. B. (1956) *A Survey to ascertain the possible expansion of cotton production in the Northern Region of Nigeria during the next five years*, Zaria, Gaskiya Corporation.

Appendix 10

Cotton activities in the Zaria Province from the Peasant farmer to the United Kingdom (UK).

1. Cotton picked at the farm mainly by women and children referred to as *Cin Auduga.*

↓

2. Seed cotton taken to the Cotton Market in *Kichingiri* (sack) by Porters or on donkeys.

↓

3. Grading of seed cotton at the Cotton Market site (Cotton Examiners and Inspectors).

↓

4. Weighing of graded seed cotton for payment according to officially declared price.

↓

5. Collection and repackaging of seed cotton and storage in the dump at the cotton market.

Or

↓

6. Direct loading of the produce by the licensed buying agents (LBAs) and conveyance from cotton market to the officially designated BCGA ginnery by lorry and rail for ginning (Zaria and Dutsen Wai in the case of the Zaria province).

↓

7. a) Cotton lint is packaged and transported by rail to the port for export to the UK.

b) Part of cotton seed handed to the Native administration in readiness for free distribution to farmers on behalf of the department of agriculture against the next season.

c) Some of the cotton seed is taken to the experiment farm centre (Maigana) for multiplication and improvement.

d) Most of the cotton seed is exported for sale to the UK Department of Food and Supplies by the NPMC.

Source: AREWA HOUSE/A/1/26/ *Marketing and Exports*/ 1948-1949…, Nuhu Audi Sa'adu, 92 years, Former Cotton Examiner…, Isa Lilo Haskiya, 75 years, Farmer, Cotton Tout (*Dan Baranda*)…, Umaru Tela Gidan Liman, Karaba, Farmer, Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*)…, interviewed…and Yahaya Zakari Mai Fulani, 70 years, Cotton Sub-agent (*Maigida*)...

Appendix 11

List of selected mixed farmers with acreage of cotton farms in Soba district of Zaria Province 1934.

Name of Farmer	Old Acreage Cultivated	New Acreage Cultivated	Acreage of Cotton	Acreage for Other Crops
Makama Soba	6	18	10	8
Malam Boro	9	17	4½	12½
Malam Momo	6	15	6	9
Malam Jemo	7¾	13	6½	6½
Sarkin Richifa	5	12	5	7
Malam Biso	4	7	4	3
Chitumu	5	8	4	4
Sarkin Awai	2	9	6	3
Sarkin Gimba	4	11	7	4
Sarkin Bagaldi	6	12	4½	7½
Maigora	2	8¼	4	4½
Dangude	4	9	5½	3½
Mamuda	5	14	6	8
Goje	3	13¼	7¾	5½
Chiroma	2	8	4½	3½
Turaki	2	6½	4	2½
Aliyu	2½	5	3	2
W. Gworzo	5	7	4	3
Mal. Mailafiya	3	8½	4	4½
Sarkin Zongo	1½	5½	3½	2
G. Marwa	2½	3½	3½	--
Shamaki	5	11	4½	6½
Sarkin Noma	1	5	3	2
Mijinyawa	6	12	7½	4½
Malam Abdu	3½	9½	4	5½
Malam Shehu	3	7	4	3
Malam Kadiri	8	13½	3	10½
Dan Jatau	6	6½	3½	3
W. Dumaru	7	9½	3	6½
Maude	6	9¼	6	3¼
Usuman	4	7½	5	2½
Sadau	3	5	4	1

Source: Zarprof/1784/National Archives/Mixed Farming Policy.