AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ZARIA PROVINCE UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION: A CASE STUDY OF IKARA DISTRICT, 1907-1960

BY

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA

DECEMBER, 2012

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MA/ARTS/10806/2007-2008

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POST-GRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA-NIGERIA
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY (M.A. HISTORY)

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA

DECEMBER, 2012

DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis **'AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ZARIA PROVINCE UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION: A CASE STUDY OF IKARA DISTRICT, 1907-1960** was conducted by me in the Department of History under the supervision of Dr. Usman Ladan and Dr. Kabiru Suleiman Chafe.

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

_____

Salihu Zubairu Mustapha

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled: **AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ZARIA PROVINCE UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION: A CASE STUDY OF IKARA DISTRICT, 1907-1960** by Salihu Zubairu Mustapha meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Arts of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the following:

1. My Parents Alhaji Zubairu Mustapha Dabo and Hajiya Maryam Salihu Usman for their support and prayers
2. Oppressed Nigerians

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, all praise be to Allah, the beneficent the merciful who made the completion of this thesis a reality.

Multitudes of people have contributed in one way or the other to this research work hence deserve acknowledgement. Special appreciation and thanks to my supervisor Usman Ladan (Ph.D) for his valuable comments, and criticisms which have helped in shaping the thesis. May Almighty Allah reward him with al-jannatul firddaus, ameen.

I am also grateful to Kabiru Suleiman Chafe (Ph.D.) my second supervisor. I appreciate his useful suggestions especially on the title of the thesis as well as the encouragement he has given me right from the start of the work.

My sincere gratitude goes to Professor Abdulkadir Adamu, with whom I first started the work as my Supervisor. Inspite of the change of supervisors he continued to read my draft chapters offering invaluable suggestions, books and other materials which really contributed not only towards the completion of the work but also to its quality. Professor Abdulkadir also drew my attention to many materials in various libraries and linked me to people that helped to facilitate the work. I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to my

colleagues at the Department of History in A.B.U. To Mallam M.A. Nasiru I really appreciate his efforts toward the completion of this work. I enjoyed wise counsel offered for the improvement of the work may Allah (S.W.T.) reward him abundantly. I acknowledge my gratitudes to mal. Abubakar Ibrahim Zaria, who gave me moral support as well as materials needed for this research, I am highly grateful to him. To Mal. S.M. Aminu, Mrs. Hussaina Ibrahim B/K, Professor Mahmoud Mamman, Dr. Sule Bello, Dr. Sule Mohammed, Dr. John Ola Agi, Dr. M.M. Gwadabe, Dr. I.S. Jimada, Dr. George Amale Kwanashie, Mal. Toure-Kaza Toure, Dr. Hanatu Alahira, Dr. M.A. Mamman, I thank you all for your concern and advise given to me during the writing of this work.

However, this acknowledgement may not be complete without expressing my appreciation to colleagues and other people outside my Department such as Mrs. Ruhaimatu Lawal of Archaeology Department, Mal. Mohammed Mu'azu of Northern History Research Scheme and Murjanatu Mohammed Abba of Department of Mass Communication. I thank you all for the assistance rendered to me during the course of writing this thesis.

Some institutions and organizations have given me financial assistance which I used to cover some of the expenses for this research.

I am grateful to the McArthur Foundation based in the U.S.A. and the Ahmadu Bello University Board of Research (U.B.R.) for their generous contribution. I am grateful to the staff of Kashim Ibrahim Library (KIL), the central library of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria as well as the staff of National Archives Kaduna for their assistance.

Also I am grateful to the staff of Arewa House, the immediate past Director Professor Mahmoud Hamman and the current Director Dr. Kabiru Suleman Chafe as well as other staff such as Mal. Usman Suleiman, Mal. Shu'aibu and Mal. Salisu Bala for their assistance during my research at the Centre. Also my special thanks go to Prof. S.U. Abdullahi, Haliru Aminu Salihu and Hajiya Zulai S.U. Abdullahi for their prayers and concern.

I am also grateful to Mal.Suleiman Shehu and Professor A.M. Ashafa, of the Department of History, Kaduna State University for their advice.

To the people of Ikara, my study area I will like to express my great appreciation to the District Head of Ikara who made information available and people assigned to assist me with valuable information during my field research. I thank you all. Also Mal. Shitu Adamu who helped in most of the interviews conducted in Ikara and other villages

within Ikara District. Thank you for your assistance. Special thanks go to Mal. Garba Wada Librarian Centre for Democratic Research and Training for giving me permanent seat in their library and making all the books I needed available, thank you so much.

At home, I will like to express my gratitude to members of the extended family for their concern and prayers especially to Mustapha Magaji Zubairu, Aminu Zubairu, Maryam Zubairu, Ibrahim Zubairu, Kabiru Zubairu and Nuradeen Mustapha, Aisha Mustapha, Walid and Zainab Mustapha. To Victoria Ibrahim who assisted in the typing of this research work I say thank you a lot.

To my immediate family I will like to say thank you to my beloved wife Salima Nuhu and our lovely daughter Nana Aisha Salihu Zubairu for their patience in bearing with my frequent absences from the house during my field research may Allah reward you abundantly, ameen.

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study is the examination of the colonial economy in Ikara District of Zaria Province. The period 1902 to 1960 is chosen to be the period covered by the study in order to examine activities and impacts of British colonial domination on the economy of Ikara District. The study examined the policies introduced by the British aimed at the distortion of the indigenous economy in order to serve British interests. We argued and demonstrated that this was done by imposing colonial policies on land, labour, production, transport and taxation as well as the land revenue proclamation and land and Native Rights Proclamation of 1906 and 1910. These policies had the effect of forcing peasants to engage in export cash crop production in order to meet the need of the colonial state. However, the introduction of these policies and development of export cash crop production completely changed the nature of the pre-colonial economy from independent economy to dependent economy which subsequently resulted in total and complete distortion of indigenous cottage industries.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U.	-	Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
A.D.O.	-	Assistant District Officer
A.D.S.	-	Alhassan Dantata and Sons
A.H.	-	Arewa House
B.C.G.A.	-	British Cotton Growers Association
B.U.K.	-	Bayero University Kano
C.B.	-	Cotton Board
C.F.A.O.	-	Compagnie Francaise Afrique Occidentale
C.O.O	-	Certificate of Occupation
C.J.A.S.	-	Canadian Journal of African Studies
C.M.S.	-	Christian Missionary Society
C.O.	-	Colonial Office
C.U.P.	-	Cambridge University Press
D.A.	-	District Assessment
D.H.	-	District Head
D.O.	-	District Officer
D.P.	-	District Police
D.R.R.	-	District Reassessment Report
G.B.	-	Groundnut Board

G.B.O.	-	G.B. Olivant
G.R.A.	-	Government Reservation Area
H.M.S.O.	-	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
I.J.A.H.S.	-	International Journal of African Historical Studies
J.A.H.	-	Journal of the African History
J.H.S.N.	-	Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria
K.I.L.	-	Kashim Ibrahim Library
L.K.C.	-	London and Kano Company
M.A.	-	Master of Arts
M.B.	-	Marketing Boards
M.O.A.	-	Ministry of Agriculture
M.O.E.D.	-	Ministry of Economic Development
M.R.P.	-	Monthly Review Press
N.A.	-	Native Authority
N.A.K.	-	National Archives Kaduna
N.C.O.	-	Non Commissioned Officer
N.H.R.S.	-	Northern History Research Scheme
N.N.A.R.	-	Northern Nigerian Annual Report
N.R.C.	-	Nigerian Railway Corporation
N.T.	-	Native Treasury

O.U.P.	-	Oxford University Press
P.W.D.	-	Public Works Department
Ph.D.	-	Doctor of Philosophy
R.N.C.	-	Royal Niger Company
R.W.A.F.F.	-	Royal West African Frontier Force
S.N.P.	-	Secretariat of Northern Provinces
U.A.C.	-	United African Company
U.D.U.	-	Usman Danfodio University
U.S.A.	-	United States of America
Zarprof	-	Zaria Province

GLOSSARY

Aikin Gayya (H) - Communal work or labour often common among peasants. It is organized mutually to cultivate each others farms.

Aikin Tilas - Forced labour

Alkali - Judge

Amiyrul Mumimiyna (arb) - Commander of the faithful

Attajirai (plu) Attajiri (sing) - Wealthy merchant(s)

Baba - Indigo

Babbar riga - Gown

Bani-Bani - Give-me

Banzagari - Idlers

Barandami - Sharp and long cutlass

Barori - Clients

Bayt-al-mal - Treasury

Bazara - Hot season

Birni (sing) Birane (plu) - A city

Burtaloli - Cattle tract

Boko - Western education

Buhu - Sack

Ci-Rani - To spend the hot season somewhere in exercise of trade

Citta - Ginger

Dagaci - Village head

Dagi - Digger

Daji - Forest/woodland

Dako - Human portage

Damina - The rainy season

Dankali - Sweet potatoes

Dari - Severe cold/ hamattan season

Dawa - Guinea corn

Maiwa - Sorghum

Dillalai - Brokers

Dinya - Ebony (diospyros mesiliformis)

Dorawa - Locust bean (Parkia felicicoidea)

Dukanci - Leather work

Fadama - Marshy area or swamp

Faduwan ruwa - First rainfall

Fartenya - Hoe

Gafaka - Wallets

Gandu (sing) Gandaye (plu) - Family farmland(s)

Gandun attajirai	- Wealthy merchant(s) farms
Gandun mallamai	- Islamic scholar farms
Gandun saki	- Royal estate
Ganuwa	- Wall that usually surround a town or village
Gatari	- Axe
Gayauna	- Plots of land given to individual family members or slaves where they cultivate their own crops.
Gero	- Millet
Gida (sing) Gidaje (plu)	- House(s)
Giginya	- Palm tree
Gwaza	- Cocoyam
Gyada	- Groundnuts
Habe	- Hausa king
Hakimi (sing) Hakimai (plu)	- A Hausa traditional title holder/chief
Harraji	- General tax
Jangali	- Cattle tax
Jarkasa	- Red laterite
Jekada (sing) Jekadu (plu)	- Messengers or emissaries
Jigawa:	- Sandy soil

Jima:	- Tanning
Kabewa:	- Pumpkin
Kadi	- Spinning
Kaka	- Harvest season
Kala	- Goro
Kardanya	- Shea butter
Karkara	- Country side
Karofi	- Dye-pit(s)
Kasar Hausa	- Hausa land
Kasar Katsina	- Katsina land
Kauyuka (plu) Kauye (sing)	- Village(s)
Kibiyoyi	- Arrows
Kira	- Smithing
Kofa	- Toll gate
Kube	- Sheath
Kudin kasa	- Tribute
Kudin Sallah	- Sallah tribute
Kuka	- Baobab tree (Adansonia digitata)
Kurdi tama	- Mining rent
Kurdin gari	- Town tax
Kurdin su	- Fishing rent

Kwando	- Basket
Lauje	- Sickle
Ma'aji	- Treasurer
Mabuga	- Beaters
Madaci	- Mahogany (switenia)
Madugu	- Donkey – fleet master
Magatakarda	- Secretary / scribe
Maharba	- Hunters
Mai'unguwa	- Ward head
Maigida	- House head/ house hold
Maishela	- Town crier
Makeri baki babbaku	- Blacksmith
Mallam (plu. Mallamai)	- Muslim scholar/intelligentsia
Mankade	- Shea butter
Mashekari	- is a place or farms where postoralist spent dry season
Marina	- Dyeing pits
Marka	- Period of heaviest rainfall
Masallaci	- Mosque
Masara	- Maize
Masota	- Fishermen

Masu	- Arrows
Masu	- Spears
Munjagara	- Spade
Ningawa	- Raider from Ningi
Noman rani	- Dry season farming (irrigation)
Rijiyan furana	- Well of furana
Rogo	- Cassava
Runji Fulani	- Fulani slave estate
Runji/Rumada	- Slave estate(s) or settlement(s)
Ruwan farko/fari	- First rainfall
Saka	- Weaving
Salka	- Water bag
Sarki (Plu Sarakuna)	- Chief, king, Emir Hausa tradition title
Sarkin gandu	- Head of family
Sarkin Noma	- Head of farmers
Sarkin pawa	- Head of the blacksmiths
Sarkin yaki	- War chief
Sasassaka	- Wood carving
Saura	- Fallow land
Saura	- Virgin land/forest
Sirdi	- Saddle

Sunguma	- Long hoe
Takobi	- Sword, spears
Talakawa	- Commoners, non members of the aristocracy, largely the farmers and artisans
Tanda	-Rounded plates made locally by clay soil
Tsamiya	- Tamarindus (filicridea)
Tukurwa	- Virgin land
Tukwane	- Dye pits
Uban gandu	- Head of family farmland(s)
Umbutawa	- Inhabitants of Pala
Waziri	- Vizier
Wukake	- Knives
Yan baranda	- Touts/sharp practices
Yankatako	- Trappers
Zabira	- Berbers bag
Zakat	- An Islamic tax assessed on wealth earning annually
Zana	- Sage grass
Zango	- Stop over, resting points
Zaure	- Entrance room to a house, porch
Zobbe	- Rings

PREFACE

Chapter one of the thesis examines the land and people of Ikara District, and nature of physical environment, location, soil and topography, climate and hydrology, vegetation as well as the pattern of settlement. However, the chapter examines how the precolonial political organization and social relation of production influenced historical developments of the society. Chapter two examines the nature of the economy of people of Ikara District by 1902 including land tenure, agricultural production, pastoralism, fishing, hunting, and indigenous manufacturing industries such as blacksmithing, leather work, wood carving, pottery and textile industries as well such as spinning, weaving, dyeing, cloth beating, as well as trade and commerce and its roles in economic growth of pre-colonial society of Ikara District. Chapter three examines the British Colonialization: administrative and economic re-organization from 1907 to 1960. It also examines the creation of Ikara District and the role of District heads in labour mobilization and collection of taxes for the colonial state. Other issues examined by the chapter are establishment of colonial judiciary, police and prison aswell as the establishment of colonial infrastructure and social services. These includes railway and roads network. Chapter four examines the establishment of the colonial economy up to 1960 such as cash crop production, mixed farming and farming technigues, including shifting cultivation, rotational and irrigation farmings as well as the

arrival of European Trading Companies and development of import and export trade. Chapter five examines the impact of colonial rule on the indigenous economy the District from 1907 – 1960 including the role of colonial in the distortion and destruction of indigenous economy, significant role played by taxation and the proclamations of land revenue and native rights of 1906 and 1910 in the destruction and eventual collapse of the pre- colonial economy which resulted in the established of a dependent economy largely based on foreign or imports goods and manufactures. Finally, chapter six contains general conclusion and bibliography.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Much has been written on the history of Ikara, especially on the political and social aspect of that history, as part of the immediate area that formed the metropolitan section of the Zazzau Emirate, very close to Zaria the capital of the Emirate, Ikara is always mentioned in most of the historical writings concerning Zazzau Emirate both in the pre-colonial and the colonial periods.

Although, our literature review for the purpose of the present study is going to be limited to works which deal directly with the economic history of Ikara District during the colonial period, we will still make reference to some of the earliest writings pertaining to the economy of the Zazzau Emirate whether they make direct reference to Ikara or not because the economic history of Ikara District,-the focus of our study- cannot be understood meaningfully outside the larger context of the economic history of Zazzau Emirate.

Although we may not review them thoroughly, we must make a passing reference to such important works as M.G. Smith's ***"The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria"***[1] as well as Mahdi Adamu's ***"The Economy of a Hausa Capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th Century"***[2]**.** These works though not dealing directly with our area of study and may be liable to be regarded as

[1] M.G. Smith, ***"The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria",*** HMSO, London, 1955.
[2] Mahdi Adamu, ***"The Economy of a Hausa Capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th Centuries"***, Zaria, 1982.

irrelevant to our purpose, it is not exactly the case, they are relevant indirectly, if not directly to our subject because most of what had became the economic history of Ikara District had its origin in the social and economic developments which these works have studied.

In essence, they are useful for our study because they will serve as a general background to the study. These works present a fair picture of the indigenous economy of kasar Zazzau in general of which our area of study is a part throughout the 19th century down to the colonial conquest. There are also other works that may be included in this literature review because they are directly dealing either with the social, political, economic or general history of Ikara just before and during the colonial period. In this category, we may include ***"History of Ikara land up to 1900***[3] B.A. final year essay written by Yahaya Yusuf Daboh in the Department of History University of Maiduguri in 1996, as indicated by its title, this work is an essay which is divided in to five parts which the writer called chapters. The first section examines the physical environment and nature of human settlement of the area.

Chapter two contains the literature review; chapter three examines the social and political organization of the community of the area. Chapter four

[3] Yahaya Yusufu Daboh "History of Ikaraland up to 1900", a B.A. Final Year Essay, Department of History, University of Maiduguri, 1996.

dealt with the nature of economic activities and the organization of production. The last chapter is on contact of Ikara with the Europeans.

On the whole, only two chapters seem to be useful for our purpose, namely: chapter one and four. The first chapter contains information on the nature of the physical environment which our study may use along with other sources. Chapter four contained information on the nature of economic activities and organization of production which also seems to be useful for the purpose of our study.

The merit of this work seems to lie in the fact that it is one of the earliest historical research works that dealt with Ikara directly. However, regarding the weaknesses and other limitations of the study one can only say that, they are so many; the outstanding one being the lack of coherence in the chronology of the chapters.

Like the above work just reviewed ***A History of the Emergence and Development of Ikara Town 1808 - 1902***[4] a B.A. project written in 2006 by Umar Shehu in the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The information contained within its five chapters, but specially in chapter one on the physical environment, and in chapter four on the economic activities is useful if scanty for the early section of our study, however, along with the

[4] Umar Shehu, "A History of the Emergence and Development of Ikara Town 1808 – 1902", B.A. Project, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2006.

work cited above before it, the gap which exist in them which our work will help in contributing to fill is in relation to their period of study. They are works mostly on the pre-colonial period of the history of Ikara or Ikaraland while ours is decidedly dealing with the economics of history of Ikara District during colonial period.

Agricultural Activities in Ikara c. 1902 - 1960[5] this is also an undergraduate B.A. project written by Ibrahim Abdullahi. This project focused on the operation of colonial agriculture in Ikara. Though an interesting work on the nature and operation of colonial agriculture and its linkages with the cash crop or exports crops production, it appears to be limited by its failure to examine the colonial administrative and economic policies which were behind the establishment of colonial agriculture and commerce, the two important instruments which were used in the incorporation of Ikara District into the world capitalist system as our study intends to show. Apart from the works mentioned above, there are other works that are closer to our purpose although

[5] Ibrahim Abdullahi, "Agricultural Activities in Ikara c. 1902 – 1960". B. A Project Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2008. For

the scope of some of them is slightly wider than ours. The work of A.Z. Bonat[6] and S.M. Aminu[7] are a case in point.

In his work, Bonat sets out to debunk the colonial hypothesis which glorifies colonialism as an agent of economic development in Africa. This hypothesis subsists on the false claim that indigenous economies were backward or stagnant in contrast to the economies of European industrialized nations. Bonat shows that, far from being backward and stagnant, the indigenous economy of Zaria Province were built on real and dynamic sectors that operated in an integrated system of inter-related industries whose technology, raw-materials, skilled labour and markets were sourced locally pointing out that this indigenous industrial system was structurally connected with other productive activities in the area and formed part of the local and international commercial network to which Zazzau belong. The writer shows in conclusion how this self sustaining indigenous economic system was destroyed by the British through colonial administrative and economic policies. Though the work of Bonat comes very close to the present study both in terms of period (colonial period) and the subject of study (colonial economy) it differs from the present study in terms of spacial scope, having the whole of Zaria Province at

[6] Bonat, A.Z., "Colonialism and the Destruction of the Local Industrial System: A Case Study of Zaria Province 1902 – 1945" cited in **Savanna, A Journal of the Environment and Social Sciences** Vol. 9, No. 2 Published by Ahmadu Bello University Press Ltd, December, 1988.
[7] Aminu, S.M., "The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Zaria Native Authority 1902 – 1945" M.A. Thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1991.

its area of study whereas its conclusion seems to us to be narrower than the conclusions of the present study, while Bonat concluded that colonialism brought technological dependency our study will show that the dependency was not just technological, but multifaceted.

While the study by Bonat attempted to show how colonialism destroyed the indigenous economies in Zaria Province, the work by S.M. Aminu entitled ***The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority c. 1902 – 1945*** examined the role of the so-called Native Authority as a collaborator of the colonial state in the establishment of colonial economy in Zaria province as the writer himself explained:

> *The object is to bring out the role and impact of this institution on the economy and societies of the area with particular reference to Zaria Native Authority System*[8]

As a matter of fact the focus of the study by Aminu is on Zaria City and its metropolitan districts. Although the above constitutes the general outline of the work, its substance lies in its examination of the colonial policies on land use, taxation, agriculture, infrastructure i.e. the railway, roads and how the local rulers mediated in their provision. This work relates to our work in terms of its proximity to our area of study as well as in subject matter. The

[8] Ibid., p. vii.

fundamental difference between this work and the present study however is that of spatial scope, while S.M. Aminu's work focuses on Zaria City and its metropolitan districts, our study is confined only to Ikara District.

Following the work of S.M. Aminu is the work by Abdulkadir Adamu entitled ***British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1902 – 1945: A Case Study of Soba District***[9] conducted two years later than the study of S.M. Aminu, it differs with it in the sense that the focus of the latter is strictly on the British agricultural policies in Northern Nigeria with particular reference to Soba District and the role they had played in changing the nature of indigenous economy and to some extent community of Soba District For example, the work explained how indigenous land tenure, social relations of labour, indeed the whole gamut of indigenous production and its social relations were influenced and changed under the impact of the colonial policies referred to above. Like other works before it, it seems to share the now widely accepted view that the role of the *gandu* as basic unit of social production and reproduction in the pre-colonial society of Northern Nigeria was undermined by the British colonial economic policies which led to the incorporation of the indigenous economies of this area to the world capitalist economic system.

[9] Abdulkadir Adamu "British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1902 – 1945: A Case Study of Soba District" M.A. Thesis Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1992.

Two limitations appear to exist in the work of Abdulkadir Adamu in relation to the present study: the scope of its period of stud 1902 – 1945 leaves out fifteen years uncovered, our study which includes the period 1907 to 1945 and up to 1960, will therefore, cover up the gap left by Abdulkadir Adamu's study.

The second limitation or gap associated with this study still in relation to our study is the narrowness of its subject matter: it is a study strictly on British agricultural policies in Soba District whereas our study even when limited to Ikara District as that of Abdulkadir is limited to Soba District, the subject matter of our study is larger: our study focuses on the whole economic history of Ikara District from 1907 – 1960 not just on mere British colonial agricultural policies from 1902 – 1945.

The next group of work all of them Ph.D. theses will be reviewed for the purpose of our study not so much for their limitations or the gaps that exist in them, for our study to fill up, as for wealth of relevant information they make available from which our work can draw extensively. The first is the work of Sule Bello.[10] Entitled ***"State and Economy in Kano, c. 1894 – 1960: A Study of Colonial Domination"*** Sule Bello chose as the central focus of his study the relationship between the colonial state and colonial economy within

[10] Sule Bello, "State and Economy in Kano, c. 1894 – 1960: A Study of Colonial Domination, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1982.

the larger framework of the history of the establishment and consolidation of colonial domination in Kano, which, he divided into three broad phases: the decades just after the colonial conquest, when the colonial state devoted most of its time to destroying the indigenous economy in Kano, the period devoted to the development and consolidation of the colonial economy, and thirdly the final entrenchment of dependency through the total control over the indigenous production and commerce of Kano society. Kano being very close to our own area of study, the work of Sule Bello proves to be very useful to our purpose as a source of information.

Lesser than the work of Sule Bello by any yardstick, the work of Mansur Mukhtar[11] entitled ***"British Colonial Labour Policies and the Changing Roles of Labour in Kano Emirate, c. 1903 – 1960",*** Ph.D. thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1994, is relevant to the purpose of our study on account of its large store of information on the British Colonial labour policies which is the focus of its study, otherwise, its lacks of any definite theoretical/ideological perspective makes it very unreliable as a source of inspiration to new radical study such as the present one.

[11] Mansur Ibrahim Mukhtar, "British Colonial Labour Policies and the Changing Roles of Labour in Kano Emirate, c. 1903 – 1960", a Ph.D. thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1994

The study by M.A. Mamman[12] entitled **"*The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903 – 1960"***, a Ph.D. Thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, examines the same subject matter as that of S.M. Aminu i.e. the role of the Native Authority in the implementation and operation of the British Colonial Economic Policies only M.A. Mamman's study is on a larger scale. However, the proximity of the area of this study i.e. (Katsina Emirate) to that the of present study makes it very useful as a source of information to our study.

There are other categories of works which we may not review in any detail except in the form of general critique of their theoretical perspective such works includes Alan Macphee[13], ***"The Economic Revolution in British West Africa",*** *London, 1926,* G.K. Helleiner,[14] "***Peasant Agriculture: Government and Economic Growth in Nigeri"a****, Homewood, Irwin, 1976*, A.G. Hopkins[15] ***"An Economic History of West Africa"****, Longman, 1973,* Myint, H.[16] ***"The Economics of Developing Countries",****London, 1974,* Ekundare, R.O.[17] ***"An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860 – 1960"****, APC New York, 1973*, all of these

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[12] M.A. Mamman "The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903 – 1960", a Ph.D. Thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2002.
[13] Alan Macphee, **"*The Economic Revolution in British West Africa*", London, 1926,**
[14] G.K. Helleiner, **Peasant Agriculture: Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria",** Homewood, Irwin, 1976
[15] A.G. Hopkins, "**An Economic History of West Africa",** Longman, 1973.
[16] Myint, H., **"The Economics of Developing Countries"**, London, 1974
[17] Ekundare, R.O. **An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860 – 1960,** APC New York, 1973.

works were firmly established within the vent for surplus theoretical framework and its false claims have largely influenced and shaped the conclusions of these studies and ought to be challenged using a different and more useful theoretical perspective. The present study is a modest effort towards that objective therefore; we intend to adopt the political economy theoretical perspective in our analysis in the present study.

NOTES ON SOURCES

In the process of this research study, various source materials have been used. The following are some of the attempt made to explain an evaluation of the categories of source materials used in the course of writing this thesis.

0.3.1 PRIMARY SOURCES

0.3.1.1 Written Records

These include European travelers accounts, the records of British colonial officials compiled in the years following the conquest of Zazzau Emirate, now deposited in the National Archives Kaduna. This category of sources consist of district Assessment Reports, District Re-Assessment Reports, District Note Books and Provincial Annual Reports. They contain information based on direct observation on the nature of agriculture, trade and manufacture in the Zazzau area of which Ikara is part and parcel of in the early decades of the colonial period. They give a picture of the indigenous society and economy of the area as they were before the British conquest of the area.

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

0.3.1.2 Travelers Account

These categories of source materials include accounts by European travelers in the form of journals which were later published among them were the journals of Clapperton Barth, Richard Lander, and Paul Staudinger consulted for this study. It should be noted that we only make reference to their reports only where necessary to complement information derived from the secondary sources.

0.3.1.3 Archival Materials

This category of materials made entirely of British colonial officials records preserved in the Nigerian National Archives Kaduna and some in Arewa House Centre for Historical Documentation and Research. They exist in the form of District Assessment Report, District Notes and Provincial Annual Reports. The virtue of this category of source materials, the colonial records and reports lie in the fact that they contain information based on direct observation on the condition of agriculture, trade and manufacture in the Zaria Province. They portray a fair picture of the indigenous society and economy of our area as they existed before the arrival of the colonialist.

However, these sources are often heavily influenced by colonialist perspective and agenda, especially the observation to justify colonial conquest and the subjection of the area to exploitation. This has made both the

objectivity and accuracy of many of these colonial reports and records suspect and often unreliable, and therefore, has been used in this study with circumspection and caution. We also used reports of the colonial Department of Agriculture. The major weakness of these records is that most of the sources of their information were from the indigenous ruling class. In addition the records were written for colonial administrative purposes and therefore lacked details and indepth analysis.

0.3.1.4 Oral Sources

In order to obtain original information for the writing of this research work. Oral information was obtained from different individuals and group of people through interviews. These oral interviews took place in the villages, hamlets, and towns under Ikara District.

For us to ensure that the information we collected from our informants are correct to the best of our knowledge, a careful examination, interrogation and scrutinization have been made on the sources by careful interpretation and analysis. Finally, the biographical details of our informants are provided on the list of informants at the end of the work.

0.3.2 SECONDARY SOURCES

0.3.2.1 Unpublished Thesis

A reasonable number of secondary sources were also used in the writing of this thesis, many of them in the form of unpublished Ph.D and M.A. theses based on research on various aspects of the social, economic and political history of Kasar Zazzau, of which Ikara District is a part. Therefore, we have drawn extensively on the information which they have supplied on the district. Others in this category were studies conducted more recently on the colonial economy or it related aspects in the area, such as the work by S.M. Aminu "The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Zaria Native Authority c. 1902 – 1945" M.A. thesis Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria; 1991, and A. Adamu "British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1902 – 1945: A Case Study of Soba District" M.A. thesis Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1992.

0.3.2.2 Published Materials (Books and Journals)

There are also several published books and journals on the history of Kasar Zazzau such as M.G. Smith, "The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria", HMSO, London, 1955 and Bonat, A.Z. "Colonialism and the Destruction of the Local Industrial System: A Case Study of Zaria Province 1902 – 1945" cited in Savanna, A journal of environment and Social Sciences

Vol. 9, No. 2, published by Ahmadu Bello University Press Limited, December, 1988.

In addition, many of the published books and journals consulted during the writing of this work were obtained from Kashim Ibrahim Library, Northern History Research Scheme Library both at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. Also such books and journal were obtained from Arewa House: Centre for Historical Research and Documentation, Kaduna. We have also read and made use of government official records and documents all pertaining colonial economy.

We have listed many titles of both primary and secondary works in the section on bibliography in the last pages of this study. The strengths and limitations of many of these works and their relevance to our study have been stated in the literature review section of the study.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LAND AND PEOPLE IN IKARA

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter attempt is made to examine the land and the people of Ikara. In this regard the geographical position of Ikara vis-à-vis other areas would be critically examined. These include the soil and topography, the climate, rainfall and vegetation. However, their roles and significance are also examined in order to find out their impact on the land and society of the area at large.

1.2 Location

Ikara lies within latitude 102^0 to 11^015 north and longitude 7^030 to 8^015 east.[1] It is located at the extreme east of Zaria province. It shares common boundaries in the east with Tudun-Wada in Kano Province, in the south by Anchau and Kubau Districts, in the West by Soba District and to the north by Makarfi District[2] all within Zaria Province. It has an area of 350 square miles. According to 1923 census figure Ikara had a total population of 25,352 people[3].

[1] Udoh, the Geographical Region of Nigeria, Longman Group Ltd. 1977 p. 63.
[2] NAK/ZARPROF/SNP9/368/1923/Ikara District Assessment.
[3] Ibid Zarprof

1.3 Soil

Ikara is located in an area with rivers, streams and mineral resources. These contributed immensely toward agricultural production and other economic activities. Ikara is possessed with three different types of soil, namely clay, loamy and sandy. In addition *Fadama* (marshy land) surrounded the area. These soils were generally fertile and easily fillable and hence supported the production of various agricultural product or crops in large quantity, which is important for development of human society. This attracted the growing population of the area.[4] The nature of the soil is supported by the large deposit of a important mineral resources which existed long before the advent of British colonialist to the area. The types of mineral resources that can be found in the area include copper, iron, columbite and other important mineral resources. [5] However, in an attempt to harness and make maximum use of the large deposit of mineral resources in the area in 1912 the colonial state extended railway from Zaria which passed several villages such as Gimi, Auchan, to Koya then passed through Yako all within Ikara District. This could be justified by critical assessment of different applications submitted by a

[4] An Interview conducted with Alhaji Hamza Abubakar popularly known as Alhaji Yaro, age 85 years, 28th December, 2009. See Balarabe Abdu Ikara, scope soil and land use relation in Ikara town, BSc. Geoigrphy dissertation, Bayero University, Kano, 1990, P. 12.
[5] NAK/ZARPROF/3439/General Schemes for Improvement of Livestock 1941 – 47.

number of British firms, companies and other individual businessmen for exclusive mining rights in Ikara during the colonial period.[6]

Furthermore, ferruginous tropical soils of the area are developed over crystalline acid rocks, while hydromorphic soils of the river valleys and flood plains (*fadama*) are developed over alluvial deposits of diverse origin.[7] On the scopes of most residual laterite outcrops are weakly developed lithosols. A common feature of the ferruginous tropical soil is the down ward movement of clay within the profile. This process tends to produce a sandy surface soil, which is low in organic matter and Base Exchange capacity and the compact sub-soil where the clay has accumulated, which the people of Ikara exploit to produce cooking pots and other household utensils.[8]

The hydromorphic soil has a higher organic matter status than the adjacent well-drained ferruginous soils. The fertile soil of the valley bottom along river and streams are usually rated as high or at least higher than that of the adjacent well-drained soils. Different crops were therefore, grown ranging from food crops such as millet, guinea corn, maize, rice, cassava, yam, potatoes, coco yam, beans and wheat, as well as cash crop such as cotton

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[6] Tomlinson P.R., Soil of Northern Nigeria, Samaru Miscellaneous Papers, II and H.A. Abdul, the Properties and Agricultural Potentials of Soils in Kubau and Ikara Districts, 1965.
[7] W.D. Clayton, A Preliminary Survey of Soils and Vegetation in Nigeria (Kaduna Soil Survey Section, M.O.A.) p. 78. See Balarabe Abdu Ikara, scope soil and land use relation in Ikara town, BSc. Geoigrphy dissertation, Bayero University, Kano, 1990, P. 12.
[8] A. Adamu, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria. C. 1902 – 1945: A Case Study of Soba District, M.A. Thesis A.B.U. Zaria, 1992, p. 3.

groundnut and sugar cane. These soils often support dry season garden in which the following items were planted in the fadama, i.e. tomatoes and sugar cane and these came to constitute the mainstay of the economic life of the people in the dry season.[9] Ikara was rated as second largest producer of sugar cane, tomatoes, rice and maize in Zazzau Emirate.[10]

1.4 Topography

The topography of Ikara consists of gently undulating plains that stretch almost incessantly from Sokoto to Lake Chad and beyond. However, the topography of is Ikara generally undultating surface with heights ranging from 610 metres to 700 metres. Maritime air masses influence the weather condition of the area during the dry and rainy seasons respectively. Ikara District is located in an open plain but its surrounding villages are featured by hills of two types; rock and inselberg and lateritic iron stone capped mesas. The geomorphic features had profound effects on the people of the area, especially in the ancient period as defence against external attack. Mild microclimate and ground water, has attracted the attention of many communities who migrated from one geographical location to Ikara District. It was observed that the

[9] A Foung, Tropical Soils and Soil Survey, C.U.P. London, 1976. P. 136 cited in A. Adamu British Colonial Agricultural Policies op. cit.

[10] Alhaji Suleiman Abubakar, Age 65 years, 28th December, 2009. However, under these considerations the then Kaduna state government under Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa identified the area as potential for the cultivation of tomatoes. In 1979 a tomatoe processing factory was constructed with the aim of providing not only the Emirate or the state, but the entire nation with the preserved and processed tomatoes needed for different usage.

presence of Jukun in Ikara has largely do with this reason.[11] This influx has contributed to the increase in the population size of Ikara District. However, the presence of the surrounding inselberg and granites outcrops has significantly contributed to the growth of Ikara District.

The evolution of new social, economic and religious groups and the system of authority that transcend the family structure, as well as new form of production, i.e. hunting, wood carving and blacksmithing and other socio-economic activities.[12] It should be noted that the topography of Ikara contributed immensely in influencing and determining the settlements pattern of the area as well as the economic, social and cultural activities and even the nature of its security.

However agricultural activity and other crafts and manufacture emerged as a result of influence of the climatic conditions and vegetation and the general topography of the area, which led to the emergence of organised political communities and economic growth. This must have been the reason why the British colonial state paid its attention to the area.[13]

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[11] An Interview Conducted with Alh. Mohammadu Bello on 29 December, 2009 at Anguwan Magajin Gari, Ikara, Age 57, Occupation Farmer. See Yahaya Y.B. the pre-colonialHistory of Ikara up to 1900. B.A Project unimaid 1996 p. 12.

[12] Ibid.

[13] An Interview Conducted with Alh. Muhammadu Shitu on 29 December, 2009 at Gidan Maganin Gari Hayin Bawa, Ikara age 61, Occupation farmer.

1.5 Climate

Ikara District is located in an area which has a tropical Savannah climate, with distinct wet and dry seasons. The wet season occurs in the high sun period.[14]

The climate of Ikara is influenced by two air masses, which determine rainfall and temperature of the area. The relief does not exert much influence upon the climate, although areas around the rivers of *Galma*, *Karofi* and *Tsoma* and other tributaries which surround the entire District seems to have contributed to the low night time temperature particularly in the western part of Ikara.[15]

On the basis of relative importance of the two air masses dry continental north-easterly air and the humid south westerly air and their influences, the year in Ikara could be divided into the following seasons:

Wet Season

Although the beginning of the first rainfall usually changes. However, the first rainfall usually starts around May. This is because the north easterly air must have moved away from Ikara and the humid south westerly air must have established itself with the progress of the wet season. The cloudiness

[14] Balarabe Abdu. Ikara; Slope Soil and Land Use Relationship in Ikara Town, Undergraduate Project, Department of Geography, Bayero University, Kano 1990 p. 12.
[15] Udoh, The Geographical Region of Nigeria Op. Cit. p.

increases with consequent reduction of daily hours of sunshine[16] this used to be the period of intense agricultural activities. After the first rainfall, cereals like maize, guinea corn and millet are usually planted. In addition, the topography is generally undulating surface with heights ranging from 610 metres to 700 metres maritime air masses influences the weather condition of the area during the dry and rainy seasons respectively. Dry season is characterized by cold, dusty and dessicating wind, from the month of November to the end of February.[17]

The wet season starts from May to about September. The total rainfall is fairly high. The total annual rainfall distribution ranges from 150 centimetres to the north to about 500 centimetres to the south of the land.[18]

The weather is neither too hot nor too cold to cause considerable inconveniences for day to day running activities there at any time of the year. The soil in the land contains 30 – 40 percent moisture retention.[19]

This period could be regarded as the peak of the rainy season. There is very low temperature and high humidity and there is frequency of rainfall. In other words, *Marka* is the period when the rainy season becomes fully established. The period was usually characterized by heavy rains, lower

[16] Balarabe, A.I. Slope Soil and Land Use. Op. cit. p. 12.
[17] Hore, P.N. "Weather and Climate" in M.J. Mortimore (ed) in Savannah Zaria and Its Region Occassional Paper No. 4, Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1970, p. 50.
[18] Ibid, p. 52.
[19] Udoh, the Geographical Region of Nigeria Op. cit. p. 25.

temperatures and high humidity. It sometimes marked a period of respite from the strenuous work of the early *damina*, with the first weeding and early crops like millet already harvested. It was also the period when large herds of cattle return to their *Mashekari (*where postralist stay and spend a year) which they left in the dry season. The return of the herds sometimes leads to clashes or conflicts between agriculturalist and pastoralists whenever the herds stray in to individual farms. The occurrence of this was however, minimized by the government through the maintenance of *Burtaloli* cattle tracks.[20]

Dry Season

The period is usually from November to February. The amount of rainfall in the area of study begins to become less frequent so that by October it finally ceases. This therefore, marked the beginning of dry season. The coming of rainfall hastens the ripening of crops. Is followed by harvest, harvest period is a period of intense socio-cultural activities.[21]

Furthermore, *kaka* is normally the period of harvest and storage of crops, accompanied by festivities marking thanksgiving. The stalks of the crops were left on the farms for the pastoralists who usually enter in to special

[20] An Interview Conducted on 9th December, 2009, with Mallam Ibrahim Magaji Dalibi Ikara, A Staff of the National Archives Kaduna and Indigene of Ikara. He argued that Ikara unlike other villages, towns and states in Nigeria, there is no Frequent Clash between Agriculturalist and Pastoralist (Manoma da Makiyaya) because of the Mutual Understanding and Cordial Relationship that has been in Existence between the two parties.

[21] Kaka (Dry Season) which coincide with harvest season period. This is a period of intense socio-cultural activities in Ikara. A lot of marriages were contracted during this period.

agreements with farmers at the end of the harvest which was to the mutual benefit of the two. The pastoralist benefitted from the nutritions corn, beans and groundnuts stalk left for their herds. While the farmers got their farms manured from the cow dung deposited in the duration that the herds stayed on their farms.[22]

Hot Season

This is a transition period between dry and raining season. It is very hot and very uncomfortable until the break of new rains cooled off the earth once more. *Bazara* has always been a period of hunger when food could be scarce and there could be a great deal of human suffering.[23]

1.6 Vegetation

Many factors influenced the vegetation of an area over a given period of time. The impermanence of vegetation given a time dimension is as a result of changes in rain and more decisively human activities. Y.B. Usman in his examination of factors that influenced the vegetation of *Kasar Katsisna* pointed out that the amount of rainfall, the types of soil and the impact of

[22] During dry season kaka pastoralist usually entered into a special agreement with farmers at the end of the harvesting period which was to the mutual benefit of the two parties. The pastoralist benefitted from the nutritions corn, beans and groundnuts and other of agricultural byeproducts while on the other hand the agriculturalists benefitted from the manure deposited by the cows during the period on their farms.

[23] Ferguson, D.E., 19th Century Hausaland being a Description of Imam Imouro of the land, Economy and Society of his people, Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U. Zaria 1973 p. 61.

human activities are the major factors that determined the nature of vegetation of *Kasar Katsina*.[24] This applied to vegetation of Ikara, which can be divided into three major areas of *Karkara, Saura* and *Daji*. The three vegetation zones of human activities. They "formed roughly a series of concentrate belts around *birane garuruwa, kauyaka* and other farming settlement".[25]

Karkara vegetation covers the District of Ikara.[26] The major trees that dominate the space of the *Karkara* of this area were *dorawa* locust bean tree (*Perkia filicoidea*), silk cotton tree (*Ceiba petandra*), *Tsamiya* (*Tamarindus indica), dinya (Vitex ceakowskii), giginya (Boeasis flabelifer), Kuka (Adansonia digitata) kadanya (Butryrosperm parkil)* and *cediya (Ficus thinning)*.[27] *Mankade (shea butter)* was produced in large scale in Ikara area and it constituted one of the item of trade.

These trees played an important role in the economic life of the inhabitants of the District. The fruit from the *dorawa* tree for example, was used in making *daddawa* essential in the preparation of soup. The husk of fruit was also used in plastering mud buildings and floors (*dabe*). The leaves were used in the preparation of a staple soup, *Miyar kuka*. The fibre from rimi tree was used in making pillows, mattresses and its seedlings were crushed to get

[24] Op. cit. Y.B. Usman 'The Transformation' p. 12.
[25] Ibid pp. 18-19.
[26] Op. cit. Interview with Mallam Ibrahim Magaji Ikara on 9th December, 2009.
[27] M.G. Smith, The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zazzau. A Report to the Colonial Social Science Research (London, 1955), pp. 33-355.

oil *man angurya*. The *giginya* tree was of major economic importance in the life of the people in view of the fact that almost every part of the tree was utilized. The body (trunk) of the tree was cut to make *azare* (rafter) used in roofing houses, while the fronds were used in making ropes and baskets. The fruit was eaten and the seed sown to get a condiment known as *Muruci*.[28]

The *Saura* is made up of fallow lands where cultivation had temporarily stopped in order to allow the land to regain its fertility. The vegetation cover in the *Saura* depends on the duration to which cultivation had stopped on the land. Most of the vegetation there by the late 19th century consisted of bushes, shrubs and grasses. Likewise the number of trees in the *Saura* depends on the duration to which it has been exploited for firewood. It was in the Saura that the cattle, sheep and other animals of the towns and villages of the District grazed. In addition to serving as pasture the various grasses were also used for thatching buildings and fence (*Zana*). Some of the major grasses were *gamba* (*Cymbopagan gayauna)*, *guda-guda, harkiya* and *sheme*.[29]

Daji we cannot determine the actual extent of the daji of the Ikara plains in the early nineteenth century. However, real daji areas seemed to be limited to the area between Jibis, Kuya, Yelwa, Alla-Gaba, Kan-Kanki, Zakau,

[28] Op. cit. A. Adamu British Colonial Agricultural Policies p. 10.
[29] A. Abdulkadir Adamu, British Colonial Agricultural Policies op. cit. p. 11.

Kwari and Pala. *Giginya, tukurwa* and *kardanya* are predominant plants in the area.[30]

1.7 Settlement Pattern

Like most of the human settlement, the evolution of human settlement in Ikara District was influenced by three factors namely: environmental, economic and social factors.[31] The strategic location of the area paved way for rapid economic development. The area is lying in the Northern most part of the guinea savannah belt of the Nigerian area, which has a lot of advantages in the establishment of human settlement.[32] One of the major advantages of environmental influence on the plain of Ikara District was the soil and climate. However, the favourable nature and conducive atmosphere of the soil attracted people who later came and inhabited the area.

The availability of ground water very close to surface supported agriculture in the areas where there are presence of streams, rivers, and valleys. This has greatly contributed in the emergence of human settlement in the area. The *fadama* soils also found all over the plains of Ikara District which served as important economic resources for agricultural production. In addition, the

[30] An interview conducted with Alh. Hamza Abubakar popularly known as Alh. Yaro, age 85 years, 28th December, 2009.
[31] Abdulkadir Adamu "British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria. C. 1902 – 1945 A Case Study of Soba District M.A. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, p. 12.
[32] A. Mabogunje, "The land and people of West Africa" in J.A. Ajayi and Michael Growther", History of West Africa Vol. I. p. 6.

soil contains large percent of clay soil which is excellent for the cultivation of cotton, groundnuts, and important industrial crops used in the textile industries of the District.[33] This was one of the major reasons for the British colonization of the area, as we shall examine in chapter three.

The area was predominantly peopled by the Hausa, Fulani, Jukun and Maguzawa[34] The major occupation of the inhabitants were agriculture, cattle rearing and handicraft industries viz: blacksmithing, leather work, wood carving and pottery. Also textile industries were one of the major occupations engaged by the people of Ikara. Textile included dyeing, and cloth beating, while some part of the population engaged in trade and commerce[35] as we shall examine in chapter two of this study.

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[33] An interview with Mal. Musa Wakilin Sarkin Makurdi popularly known as Bareda, age 70 years, farmer, 7th January 2010.

[34] An interview conducted with Malam Lawal Adamu Auchanawa age 71 years, farmer, 11th January, 2010 at Auchanawa. Maguzawa were smaller groups of non muslim Hausawa (Hausas) who were originally pagan. However, the maguzawa were people who said have fled the 1804 jihad, which led and masterminded by Shehu Usman bin Fodio. These groups of maguzawa were mostly found in the areas of Katsina, Kano and Northern part of Zazzau Emirate to which Ikara Dsitrict, part of such areas. It should be noted that there were immigrants communities who came and settled there. They were said to have come to settle there for economic and security reasons. The people who migrated to Ikara district, were mainly kurama people from lere District, Zaria province, Mangu from plateau province There were group of migrants from, Kano (Known as Kanawa) and Katsina (known as Katsinawa) as well as sullubawa from Sokoto provinces. With regard to jukunawa they were said to have migrated from adamawa was said they migrated to Ikara District for economic reason. While Fulani migration cannot be disconnected with the fertility of the soil and availability of water for animal grazing. It is important to note that there was a cross-cultural fertilization among these immigrants and original inhabitants especially among the kurama, Sakkwata (Sullubawa) Kanawa, Fulani and Katsinawa who were mostly Muslims.

[35] Ibid.

It should be noted that the predominant occupation of the population was agricultural production. Therefore, the settlement pattern that emerged in Ikara followed the production pattern of its population.

Several studies have shown that the settlement pattern of *Kasar Hausa* and Ikara area in particular by the late nineteenth century was made up of towns *garuruwa* and surrounded by villages *kauyuka* and hamlets *unguwani* located in the areas of permanent cultivation as shown by M.J. Mortimore:

> *With a gradual increasing degree of political centralization and social control, the growth of more complex and larger settlements in Zaria became possible. This led to the emergence of birni (usually meaning a city) of Zaria as the unchallenged head of a hierarchy of settlements grading from indisputably rural to urban. Generally, a distinction is made between gari (usually translated as 'town' or smaller settlement of politically dependent status) and birni. Both were normally surrounded by wall garuwa at least by the nineteenth century.*[36]

These towns *garuruwa* over time became centers of political and economic activities on which the surrounding village and hamlets depended.

It has been observed that most of the major towns of *kasar Hausa* are walled serving as fortification and security in times of war or siege. In the

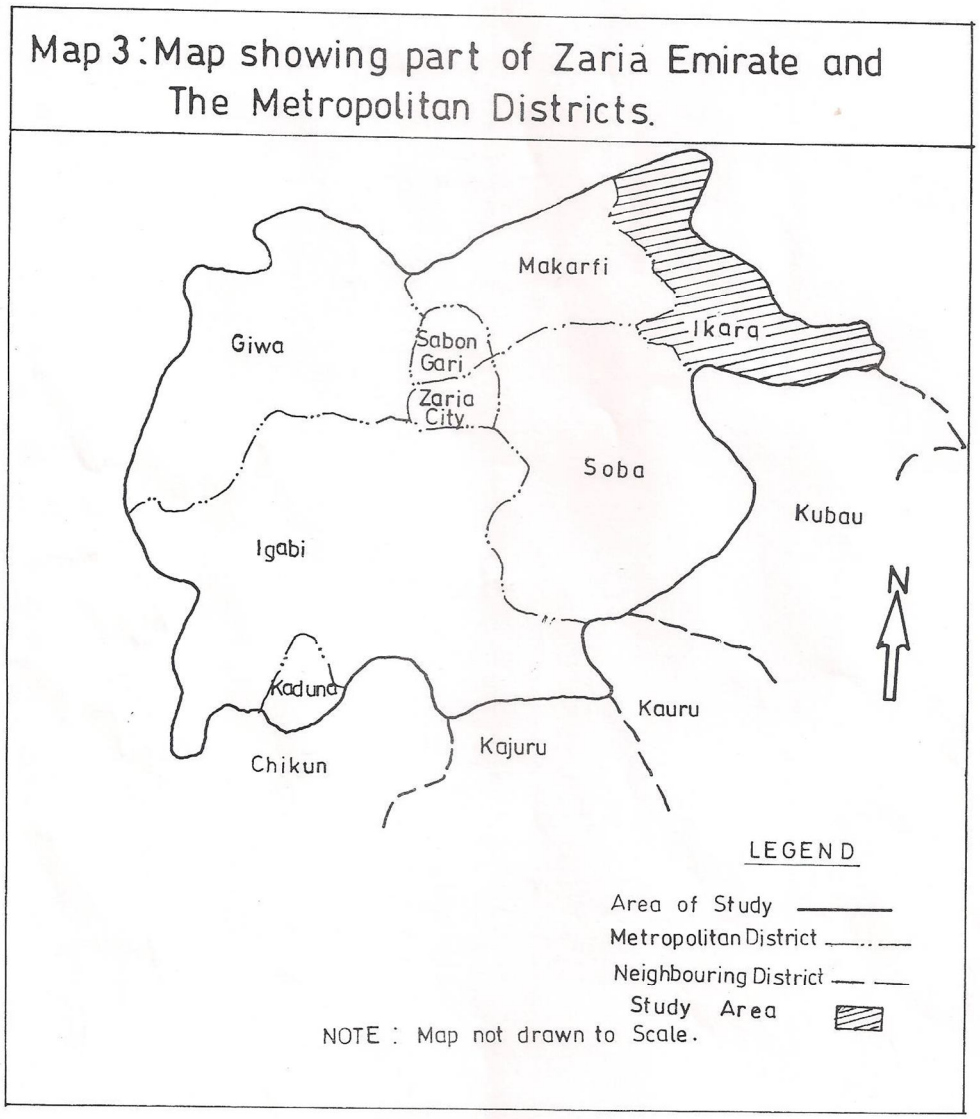
[36] M.J. Mortimore, "settlements evolution and land", in Mortimore, M.J. (ed) Loc. Cit. p. 108.

event of attack by the enemies all population from the far and nearby villages and hamlets run to for safety.[37]

The presence and wide spread use of city wall in the area of study cannot be disconnected with raids and attacks by the *Ningawa* raiders as we shall examine on the origin and evolution of towns, villages *kauyuka*, and hamlets *unguwani* in Ikara district or on the plains of Ikara. However, it should be noted that several factors contributed in the emergence of settlements in the area, as we shall examine:

[37] See Abdulkadir Adamu, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria C. 1902 – 1945: A Case Study of Soba District, M.A. Thesis Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria p. 14 also see Smith M.F. Baba of Koro. A Woman of the Muslim Hausa, Faber and Faber, London p. 43.

Map 1.1



SOURCE : S.M. Aminu, "The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria. A case study of Zaria Native Authority, C.1902 — 1945." M. A. Thesis submitted to the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 1991.

1.7.1 Ikara

Ikara initially derived its name from Dutsen Ikara located at the centre of Ikara with passage of time people dropped "Dutsen" and used "Ikara" for easy communication.[38] Ikara was said to have been founded by Kwararrafa people few years before the 1804 Jihad led by Shehu Usman bin Fodio.[39] Ikara lies at the foot of a large granite hill at summit of which may be distinctly seen signs of early Kwararrafa inhabitants. On the southern side the slope is just not too steep to ascend and descend, and the rock is bare and smooth: here one can clearly distinguish the track used by the ancient inhabitants from the summit to the foot of the rock a track which must have taken many years for naked feet to wear.[40] According to our informant one of the reasons that attracted the people of Kwararrafa to settle in the area was fertility of the soil and availability of water which supported agricultural activities in area.[41]

Another version of the legend of origin of Ikara and early settlers indicates that because of injustices and oppressions by the King of Gobir Bawa Jangwarzo on the eve of the 1804 Jihad, people migrated from Gobir and other parts of old Gobir kingdom in search of where to live peacefully Ikara was

[38] An interview conducted with ALhaji Shitu Muhammadu Gidan Magajin Gari Hayin Bawa, Ikara, age 65, farmer on 29/12/2009.
[39] Ibid.
[40] NAK/Zarprof/17224/SNP17/1921/Ethnographical Notes on the Tribes in Zaria Province.
[41] Interview, Alhaji Shitu Muhammadu Gidan Magajin Gari Hayin Bawa, Ikara, age 65, farmer on 29/12/2009.

among such places where such people settled.[42] It should be noted that whatever might have been the cause of migration of people to come and settle it cannot be unconnected from factors of land and security. After the success of the Jihad against Bawa Jangwarzo king of Gobir in 1804, Kingdom of Zazzau fell under the leadership of Sokoto caliphate. Finally Ikara and other villages around were incooperated into Zazzau Emirate under Sarkin Zazzau Malam Musa Bamalli (1804 – 1821 AD).[43]

1.7.2 Jibis

The neighbouring village of Jibis was said to have been established by one Badau a Bamaguje from Katsina.[44] According to the source, Badau fled at the approach of 1804 Jihad, his son Usman embraced Islam after the Jihad. Usman was appointed as sarkin Jibis by Sarkin Zazzau Mallam Musa Bamalli[45] Usman reigned for 27 years from 1805 – 1832 and he was succeeded by his son after his death. Eighteen years later the Ningawa sacked Jibis in 1850.[46] The inhabitants of the town fled and took refuge at *Turawa* a neighbouring village which must have been about the only chance of escape they had; for southward of the *Jibis-Kargi* road was already occupied by the raiders, and the

[42] An interview with Alhaji Mohammadu Bello, Anguwan Magajin Gari Ikara, age 67 farmer on 29/12/2009.
[43] Usman Dalhatu "mallam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku: The Great Emir of Zazzau" Wood Pecker Communication Limited, Zaria, 2002, p. 48.
[44] NAK/Zarprof/SNP17/17224/1921/Ethnographical Notes on the Tribes in Zaria Province.
[45] Op. cit. Usman Dalhatu, Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku Great Emir of Zazzau, p. 48.
[46] Op. cit. NAK/Zarprof/SNP17/17224/1921

road northward led straight to the Ningi military camp at Furana. [47] The Jibis people however, got away to Gadas[48].

According to an informant[49] not quite long, the old town of Jibis was later occupied with the consent of Abubakar Madakin Jibis by the Madakin Durum, a town lying some 30 miles north west of Ikara in Galadima District. From the onset what always attracted people to come and settle there was the nature of the hills which had a bearing on security and economy.

1.7.3 Kurmin Kogi

Kurmin Kogi derived its name from a river located in the area. This settlement was founded after the Jihad, during the reign of Emir of Zazzau Abdulkarim Bakatsine (1834 – 1846 AD)[50] by a Fulani man named Yako who left his native town of Busayi in Kano Province and asked the Emir of Zazzau to grant him a site on the eastern side of the river Galma.[51] The permission was granted and he settled with his followers in the dense forest by the river, (kurmin kogi). He started to build but later changed his mind and moved further from the river, building a walled town at the crossing of the Bebeji-Turawa and the Dan Lawal roads. He died soon after and his people returned to

[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] An interview with Alhaji Ibrahim Makera Jibis, Ikara Age 65, Makeri (blacksmith) on 8/10/2010.
[50] Op. cit. Usman dalhatu Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku "The Great Emir of Zazzau" p. 50.
[51] Op. cit. NAK/Zarprof/SNP17/17224/1921

the old site nearer the river. It should be noted that the walls were in process of completion by Yako's successor, when the latter suffered the common fate at the hands of the raiders of Ningi. Zakari and his people took refuge at Richifa where they were allowed to dwell and did so for many years.[52]

The settlement was reoccupied after the British conquest of Zazzau Emirate in 1902.[53] It should be noted as we indicated above that most of the people occupied the area as a result of its strategic location, fertility of the land and availability of ground water which paved way for agricultural activities.

On the other hand, kurmin kogi was purported to have been established by the Europeans. On their arrival they settled at old kurmin kogi very close to the galma, because the prevalence of tsetse fly forced them to relocate to where the present kurmin kogi is located. What attracted them was the fertility of the soil and its location according to the source.[54]

1.7.4 Dan Lawal

The settlement of Dan Lawal was founded in the reign of Emir of Zazzau Abdulkarim Bakatsine (1834 – 1846 AD)[55] by a Bamaguje named Zaki. He was given the Sarauta by the Emir who settled the annual tribute for the Emirate. Zaki reigned for twelve years and was succeeded up his death by

[52] Ibid
[53] An interview with Alhaji Idi Sarkin Kasuwa Kurmin kogi, age 65 on 3/01/2010.
[54] An interview with Alhaji Salisu Musa Wambai age 76, farmer on 3/01/2010.
[55] Usman Dalhatu, Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku: The Great Emir of Zazzau p. 50.

his eldest son Kuburu, who reigned for two years.[56] Like many villages and towns within Ikara area the settlement suffered from raids by the Ningawa. Shortly after the appointment of his successor Chibuki, the town was sacked by the Ningawa raiders and remained deserted for thirty-eight years.[57]

During Kwasau's reign the place became reinhabited. However, the origin of the name of this village is obscure, but is thought to have some connection with the Kano title (Sarauta) Dan Lawal.[58]

1.7.5 Furana

The fenced settlement of furana was founded in the reign of the Emir of Zazzau Abdullahi Dan Hammada (1857 – 1871 and 1874 – 1879 AD)[59] by one Zangoma a *Babarbari;* he was appointed Sarkin Furana by the Emir and reigned for ten years. He was deposed and succeeded by Alabo who died after one year and was succeeded by Usman. After a year in office Usman revolted and joined the *Ningawa* raiders, and a year later, the settlement was sacked by the *Ningawa* people. The area remained empty for 28 years, until during the reign of Kwasau when it was reinhabited, and one Baba was appointed village head by the Emir of Zazzau. According to some sources[60] Baba retained the

[56] Op. cit. NAK/Zarprof/SNP17/17224/1921.
[57] An interview with Alhaji Musa Danlawal age 63, farmer, 6/01/2010.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Op. cit. Usman Dalhatu, Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku: Great Emir of Zazzau. P. 55.
[60] Op. cit. NAK/Zarprof/SNP17/17224/1921.

position for five years during which he was said to have misruled his people, and fearing detection and punishment, fled across the eastern border to Tudun Wada in Kano Province. Adamu was appointed by Emir of Zazzau Muhammad Lawal as village head. He reigned for about 14 years. It is important to note that half a mile south of the village is a rocky hill, at the southern foot which there was a pool. Beside this rock and pool, the Ningawa established their head camp from where so many destructive raids were carried out in Zaria country.[61]

The *Ningawa* or *umbutawa*, are known in the Kano dialect as the Nafurana; and such was the reputation they acquired that throughout Kano and Zaria, there arose the common saying "*Nafurana kowa barde*", (the town where everyone was a warrior)

It served as a major commercial centre for Jibis, Ikara, Dan Lawal and neighbouring settlments.

1.7.6 Pala

Pala is one of the most significant settlements in present Ikara District. It provides a significant percentage of food for the Emirate of Zazzau. It was one of the factors that made the colonialist to ensure maximum exploitation of its resources which we shall explore in the proceeding chapters of this study.[62]

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[61] An interview with Alhaji Saidu Tailor age 64, farmer, G.R.A. Ikara, Kubau, road, 29/12/2009.
[62] Op. cit. NAK/Zarprof/SNP17/17224/1921.

Regarding the origin and historical background of the area one can say it shared so many things with the above examined settlement. Pala was said to have been established by one Fulani man who was said to have come from Bauchi Emirate around the late 18th century.[63] Though the name of the first founder of the area is obscure, there are indications that he came from Bauchi and built the area. As a result, after some time, several people moved to the area in search of fertile land or other resources especially agriculture.[64]

It should be noted that at a point Pala was referred to as Birr or Fulani. In addition, the first founder of the Runji Fulani slave camps where people were camped and farmed for him and other form of slave work. After the demise of the founder he was succeeded by his son Jibir. Jibir left old Pala and founded a new walled village near the old site of old Pala, this was during the reign of Emir of Zazzau Mallam Usman Yero Dan Abdullahi (1888 – 1897 AD). Jibir built this village close to a certain spring which was known as well of pala "*Rijiyan pala*". The well of Pala is an abundant source of water up to the time of writing this research.[65]

In addition to these major settlements or towns there was a grpoup of hamlets and villages that formed the suburbs of the Ikara District these include

[63] Op. cit. an interview with Alhaji Saidu Tailor.
[64] Op. cit. NAK/Zarprof/SNP17/17224/1921.
[65] Ibid.

of Kurmin Jau, Makurdi and Kawuri and are grouped together along the extreme eastern border of the District i.e. Zaria – Kano boundary. Historically, they were closely connected to one another. Administratively, they are separate village units under the District, District head, but they were originally part of the single unit of Birr a Fulani man from Bauchi Emirate who was said to have founded and occupied the village.[66] According to sources Jatau was first Sarkin Birr who reign during the latter days of Sarkin Zazzau Mallam Musa Bamalli (1804 – 1821 AD).[67] It was Jatau who founded Kurmin Jau, Makurdi and Kawuri, and put each in charge of one of his chief Runji "slaves estates"[68] these group of family chain ruled the villages for a very long time until when Ningiwa raiders conquered the villages.[69] Finally, the Birr group was broken up by the Ningi raiders and the Fulani fled with their chief to Gadas. The villages then remained empty for many years. The Fulani returned to Bauchi and the villages now contain none of their descendant though some of the inhabitants (including the three village chiefs) were descendants of their Runji "slave estates". According to some accounts, the period may be said to commence with the reoccupation of the villages during the reign of Emirs of

[66] Op. cit. Usman Dalhatu Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku: The Great Emir of Zazzau.
[67] Ibid.
[68] An interview with Malam Lawal Adamu Auchanawa, age 70, farmer, 11/10/2010.
[69] Ibid.

Zazzau Mallam Usman Yero Dan Abdullahi (1888 – 1897 AD) and Mallam Muhammadu Lawal Kwasau Dan Yero 1897 – 1902 AD).[70]

It should be noted the villages were deserted for a very long time till the times of the Emirs of Zazzau when the villages were reoccupied with new leaders. The first Sarkin Kurmin Jau to hold the Sarauta during this period was the sarkin Yaki of the Rujin Fulanin Birr. After his death in 1898, he was succeeded by his son *Alhass*.[71] While Kawuri became repeopled during the reign of Emir of Zazzau Muhammad Lawal Kwasau as mentioned above. One Rajab a Kado native of Kargi (from Dallatu District) appointed as Sarkin Kawuri. According to the source Kawuri derived its name from a tree called Kawuri (specie of ficus).[72]

However, as other villages became repeopled, Makurdi so also became re-inhabited and reoccupied again during the Emir of Zazzau Malam Usman Yero Dan Abdullahi. Laute who was said to have come from *Jigawar Tsaba* in Kano Emirate was appointed as Sarkin Makurdi. According to sources Makurdi derived its name from Kurdi which conveys the idea of "zigzagging" and was evidently suggested by the formation of the village among the rocks.[73]

[70] Op. cit. NAK/Zarprof/SNP17/17224/1921
[71] An interview with Mallam Adamu op. cit.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Op. cit. NAK/ZARPROF/SNP17/172274/1921

Charra like other villages was reoccupied during the reign of Emir of Zazzau Muhammad Lawal Kwasau.[74]

The other settlements that we did not discuss and examine above were mainly Malikanci, Auchanawa, Zakau, Paki, Kuya, Yelwa, Runji, Jafalan Auchan, Wambai, Yauran, Alla-gaba, Auchan, Romi and Kankanki. This is not to underrate their significance in our area of study both before and during the colonial periods, but because of inadequate and obscure information on the areas.

However, it should be noted that Zakau, Paki, Kuya, Runji, Yauran, Alla-gaba Auchan, Romi and Kankanki were not initially part of Ikara District at the time of its creation in 1907. They were under Paki District.[75] The District head of Paki was accused of cheating peasants and embezzlement of N.A. funds, through his representative and village head in his District. The Village Head, who was District Head's representative was sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. On his part, (though there was definite proof that he benefitted from the dubious activities of his subordinate officers), the District Head was found guilty of gross negligence,[76] thus causing the loss of N.A.

[74] NAK/Zarprof/C12/Paki (Magajin Gari) District Head Area Report on 1923 – 1936.
[75] An interview with Mallam Lawal Muhammadu, Paki 28th December, 2010 age 66, farmer.
[76] NAK/Zarprof/C12/Paki (Magajin Gari) District Head Area Report on 1923 – 1936.

funds. This affair finally resulted in his removal and his District Area was merged with the Ikara District in 1936.[77]

7.8 Conclusion

The chapter has examined the geographical location of the area. The geographical location of Ikara District paved a way for its economic activities. Located at the centre of the northern part of emirate, people came from different places for security and economic reasons. The soil of the area is fertile as we have examined in this chapter, therefore, it supported agriculture, various crops were of crown and people from all over came and settled there. The topography of the area is generally undulating surface with heights ranging from 610 – 700 metres which influences the weather condition of the area during the dry and rainy seasons respectively.

Climatic condition of Ikara district is favrouable. It is influenced by two air masses which determine the rainfall and temperature of the area. As we have examined in this chapter there were three different seasons these are rainy season, the first rainfall usually starts around May. This is because the north easterly air must have moved away from Ikara and the humid south westerly air must have established itself with progress of the wet. Second was *marka,* this season is regarded as the period when the rainy season becomes fully

[77]S.M. Amin opcit

established. While third season was *bazara* this is transition period between dry and raining season. The issue examined by the chapter are vegetation and pattern of settlement.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ECONOMY BY 1907

2.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter we have discussed the land and people and geography of Ikara and their relationship with the physical environment. This chapter therefore, will examine the nature of the economy of Ikara District on the eve of the British conquest.

Agriculture was the backbone of the area in the nineteenth century. It is logical then to examine development within agriculture as a means of appreciating the nature of the indigenous economy. A critical examination will be made on the nature of relationships that existed between the state and the economy. However, the chapter will examine social relations of production as well as access to land, organization of production, distribution, and exchange.

It will examine the role of the state in industrial production and commerce before the British conquest. In addition, it will analyze the changes that occurred after the British conquest.

It should be noted that agriculture was the basic foundation of the economy of Zazzau Emirate and its villages including Ikara as observed by Imam Omoru:

> *These economic activities constituted the main stay of the economy of Hausa peasants' farmers herdsmen, and fishermen, who came to constitute the majority of the population. It is therefore, important to note that the development of a stable rural economy greatly supported the producers and non producers i.e. rulers, bureaucrats, priest, traders, and craftsmen who normally lived in the urban centres. It was also upon these strong rural foundations of peasant cereal agriculture that the Hausa state was built by the urban dwellers of the distant past.*[1]

Imam Omaru also observed that the pattern and nature of state formation in Hausaland was mostly based on rural agricultural economy which resulted in cultivation of large volumes of cereals[2] this led to production of surplus of agricultural products by the peasant farmers. Some parts of it were taken to cities to feed the people in authority, and those who had never engaged in agricultural production. Therefore, the surplus which was mostly produced by peasants farmers in the villages and hamlets were also used to settle heavy taxes and tributes to Sokoto. For example, during the 19th century Zazzau Emirate paid tributes to Sokoto the headquarters of the caliphate. These tributes were gathered from agricultural produce collected from various districts (including Ikara district), villages and hamlets within Zazzau Emirate.

[1] D.E. Ferguson, Nineteen Century Hausa Land: Being a Description of Imam Omaru of the Land, Economy and Society of Its People. Ph.D. University of California Loss Angeles, 1973 p. 23. Cited in a S. Shuaibu History of Anchau c1700-1945 M.A. Thesis Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, p. 82, 2006.
[2] Ibid.

All the surplus were collected, gathered and separated at the capital of Emirate (Zaria City) before final dispatch to Sokoto the headquarters of the caliphate.[3] This position was demonstrated by S.J. Hobgen and A.H.M. Kirk-Greere,

> *At such times, the kings of Zaria were expected to visit Sokoto, taking with them tributes in forms of slaves, Zaria cloth, horses, mats, and some cowries currency… levies of grains were collected for Waziri of Sokoto on his visit to Zaria, this collection were known as "Bani-Bani" (give-me, give-me). By 1860, it has become customary for kings of Zaria to make donation of money and goods to both the Waziri and the Sultan of Sokoto on his appointment to the throne, this "Kurdin Sarauta" (money of taking office) was introduced in the years between 1835 and 1845 when Sokoto asserted its right to select the ruler in Zaria.*[4]

2.2 Land Tenure

For a better understanding of the nature of changes that occurred or were introduced by the British colonial state, and the role of Emirate in control

[3] P.E. Lovejoy: The Characteristics of Plantation in the Nineteen-Century Sokoto Caliphate (Islamic West Africa), American Historical Review, Vol. 8 No. 5 pp. 1267-1292. However, during my Undergraduate Field Research in 2009 I interviewed Mallam Umar Abdulsalama, who was the former Personnel Secretary to the then Emir of Zazzau Mallam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku, before his demised in 1959. He confirmed that up to 1959 Zazzau Emirate got over 80% of its grains from villages and districts within the Emirate. He also confirmed that up 1975 when Emir Muhammadu Aminu died, the Zazzau Emirate paid tributes to Sokoto caliphate. Despite the British conquest of the caliphate in March 1903, Zazzau remained loyal to Sokoto, 23 September, 2005 at his residence Kaura, Zaria City, as at 2005 he was 81 years old.

[4] S.J. and A.H.M. Kirk Greene, The Emirate of Northern Nigeria, London Oxford, 1960 pp. 221 – 227 Cited in S.M. Zubairu; "A History of the Creation of Additional Districts in Zazzau Emirate of Kaduna State 1999 – 2005," Undergraduate Project, Bayero University, Kano, 2006, p. 24.

of land, it is pertinent to examine the nature of land tenure system in Zazzau in the 19th century. The roles of land in the economic activities in the 19th century cannot be over emphasized. Land tenure in the 19th century involved the right to access land, as Nasiru Mohammed Abubakar has explained:

> *Land tenure refers to the customary system which embodies a set of rules and regulations which guide the control, sharing as well as the use of land. For at least three centuries before colonialism, land, being the most important natural resources in our area had become a central and most significant issue in the relations among the various societies inhabiting the area."*[5]

Land utilization and ownership in Ikara District by the 19th century was guided and controlled by the state or emirate. The state was represented at various levels, for example in Ikara District, the state or emirate was represented by fief holders *Hakimai* and *Sarakunan garuruwa* and *dagatai* at local level i.e. villages, *garuruwa* and towns who themselves were representing the Emir who was entrusted with the control of land on behalf of the people.[6] Therefore, nobody had right whatsoever to confiscate land from any body as

[5] Augi, A.R. "The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin 1750-1808 A.D. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis) Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1984, pp. 205-206 Cited in M.A. Nasir; "Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure: A Study on the Impact of the Railway in Kaura Namoda Area 1929-1960" M.A. Thesis Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 2011.

[6] NAK/SNP6/162/1907/Land tenure, land and revenue cited in A. Adamu British Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1902-1945 A Case Study of Soba District, M.A. Thesis Department of History A.B.U, Zaria, 1992 p. 38.

long as he had paid *kudin ushira* or *kudin kasa*.[7] Even taxes paid by the people were decided and instructed by the Emir. According to an informant, one of the reasons all the ruling dynasties of Zazzau emirate i.e. (Mallawa, Barebari, Sullubawa and Katsinawa) had possessed large area of lands in various villages and district within the emirate, was largely due to the influence the Emirs had over land in the 19th century.[8] However, there was cordial relationship in the 19th century that existed between the state (Emirate aristocracy) and the peasants. This was the payment of taxes for the use of land, and *kurdin jangali* for the use of cattle routes as shown by Watts that:

> *Subject to the payment of rental on a year-by-year basis. The average of tenure within the bounds of local customs and bounded by the capacity of the Emir (and representatives) to dispossess.*[9]

At the level of community, the land was owned collectively by the members of family unit, *gandu* or household. The social production was organized under the headship of *maigida*. Being the most senior person in the household *gida.* All agricultural productions were carried out by the Gandu members ranging from land clearing, plantation and harvesting under the

[7] An Interview with Alhaji Mainasara Conducted on 29 Dec., 2009 at Gidan Goroba, Anguwan Makera Ikara. He is Messenger to the Present District Head of Ikara, Age 64.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Watts, Michael Silent Violence: Foods, Famine and Peasantly in Northern Nigeria, University of California Press. Berkely and Los Angeles. 1983 p. 65 Cited in a S.A. Mohammed. The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902 – 1945 M.A. Thesis Department of Histpry A.B.U., Zaria 1991, p. 202.

leadership of *maigida.* Infact, the right to use the land by the Gandu members was obtained from village heads *Dagatai*. However, these rights can be transferred to others as a result of demise through inheritance, gifts, loans, pledges, sales or mortgage and lease.[10] Apart from *gandu*, there were other *gandu* such as *gandun sarki, gandun attajirai* and *gandun mallamai*. There were large agricultural estates which belonged to the title holders, and other members of the *masu sarauta* class as well as merchant class and scholars. Agricultural production such as clearing, plantation and harvesting were carried out through the use of slaves and free labour by members of the community.[11]

The caliphate policy encouraged farming therefore, land was allocated to individuals and members of a family in order to get surplus of agricultural products for payment, taxes and domestic consumption[12] as observed by S.M. Aminu that:

> *...Maliki law by its nature encouraged the progressive subdivision of land holdings in the area of inheritance when children of the*

[10] See S.M. Aminu Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902 – 1945, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1991, pp. 5. 8, A. Adamu British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1902 – 1945: A Case Study of Soba District 1991 M.A. Thesis Department of History A.B.U. Zaria 1992 pp. 37 – 41 M.A. Nasir Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure, A Case Study on the Impact Railway in Kaura Namoda Area 1929 – 1960, Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 2011, pp. 19-24.

[11] An Interview with Alhaji Suleiman Abubakar Sarkin Ikara (Village Head) 29th Dec., 2009. Age 65 at Ikara.

[12] Ibid.

> *deceased are entitled to divide up the farmlands amongst themselves.*[13]

Furthermore, Caliph Muhammad Bello indicated a high level of interest in agricultural production. Therefore, as indicated in his guide lines to the Emirs and rulers of Ribats (garrison towns) as observed by Bello Omar that:

> *Caliph Muhammad Bello was emphatic on it and included it in his guide lines to Emirs and rulers of garrison towns… …advised the Emirs to assign plots to individuals who were in need.*[14]

2.3 Agricultural Production

Agriculture was the mainstay of the economy of Ikara District. Over 80% of the populations were farmers, they had not any other business more than farming as observed by S.M. Aminu that:

> *The societies of the 19th century Zaria were predominantly rural and therefore agricultural. About 80% of the population lived in the country side.*[15]

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[13] Op. cit. S.M. Aminu Colonial State… p. 2002.

[14] Bello Omar, the political thought of Muhammad Bello (1781-1837) as revealed in his Arabic Writings (Ph.D. University of London, Nov., 1983) p. 78 cited in A Adamu Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria C. 1902-1945 A Case Study of Soba District, 1992, p. 40

[15] Op. cit. S.M. AMinu Colonial State… p. 9. Also see Nak/Zarprof/368/1923Ikara District Re-assessment report by Captain Meerer., Yahaya, Y.B. the pre-colonial history of Ikara land upto 1900 B.A. prlject unimaid, 1996, pp. 38-48.

The agricultural activities were undertaken mostly during raining season *damina*. Different varieties of crops were cultivated such as guinea corn, (sorghum), millet (Pennisetum) these were cultivated in the farmland of *karkara* on the plain of Ikara District. Groundnuts, cassava, potatoes, *dankali* were also cultivated extensively in Ikara district. Vegetables such as *yakuwa* (red dowel), *kabewa* (pumpkin), okro and sugar cane were extensively and largely cultivated in the *fadamomi* mashland.[16] It should be noted that the nature and quantity of crops cultivated in pre-colonial Ikara period and colonial Ikara were varied. Before the British conquest and subsequent domination of Ikara, the peasant farmers cultivated crops mainly for domestic consumption not for cash crops. The surplus were taken to the cities to feed the aristocrats and other people living in such places, but at the advent of colonialism peasant farmers were compelled to produce what suited the interest of the colonialist such as groundnuts, cotton etc. The details will be discussed in chapter four.

Farming and other related agricultural activities or production began with land clearing just before the beginning of rainy season. Planting was done at the beginning of the season usually in the month of May or June.[17] However, agricultural production usually extended into the dry season, in the form of dry

[16] An Interview with Malam Umaru Gado on 29 Dec., 2009 at Anguwan Turaki, Ikara, Age 68, Farmer, also see A. Adamu op. cit and S.M. Aminu op. cit.
[17] An Interview with Alhaji Bala Malikanchi Age 73, Farmer, on 5th Jan., 2010 also see op. cit A Adamu pp. 40-53, S.M. AMinu pp 9-13.

season farming *noman rani*. Maize *masara*, sweet potatoes *dankali*, cassava *rogo*, cocoa yam *gwaza* were cultivated during dry season on the alluvial soils of *fadama*.[18]

However, it should be pointed out that the dry season farming in Ikara during pre-colonial period were carried in order to provide enough food for the communities and to provide occupation for the youths and other inhabitants.

The agricultural activities were largely organized on the basis of household unit *gida* or *gidaje*.[19] The household (gida) comprised of the household head *maigida* or *ubangandu*. The *gandu* was made up of the wives, children and relatives of the *maigida* and in some cases attached non-family members or clients (*barori*) and slaves. The size and composition of the gandu is largely dependent on the status and of the head of the family *maigida*.[20] *Maigida* household head was responsible for the organization of production and distribution for the purpose of consumption and division of surplus. The *Maigida* was also responsible for the fulfillment of the household's social obligations like taxation and marriage.[21] In other words, the *gandu* was an economic work unit in which two or more adults function as the senior and took decision about allocation of time and labour to the land as well as mode of

[18] Ibid.
[19] Op. cit. S.M. Aminu Colonial State p.10.
[20] Ibid., p. 10
[21] Ibid., p.11

distribution.[22] The labour in the household unit could be increased through the use of *gayya* to overcome labour bottle neck. Apart from the household land, members of the household often had portions of these lands for their private cultivation. These portions of land were called *gayauna* (Plural *gayaunu*)**.** In this *gayauna* plots individual household members cultivated at his own free time.[23]

The economic importance of the slaves cannot be over emphasized. In industries, they provided the bulk of the labour, but it was for farming that slaves were mostly employed.[24] Slave labour was employed at *gandu* by households who could afford them. The *attajirai* had several lands, the super rich among them had several slaves' estates and used considerable hired labour on their land which they could afford with the capital secured from the large trading network they dominated.[25] Many *attajirai* had large farm land worked by the slaves. However, in our area of study slaves largely worked for the ruling class and merchants. They were often settled in villages *rumada* (sing runji) under the supervision of *sarkin gandu*.

[22] Ibid., p. 34
[23] Ibid., p. 34
[24] Op. cit. and interview with Alh. Bala Malikanchi.
[25] Ayandele E.A. "Observation on Some Social and Economic Aspects of the Slavery in Pre-Colonial Northern Nigeria" *Nigerian Journal of Social and Economic Studies* Vol. 9 No. 3 Nov. 1967 pp. 68.

2.4 Pastoralism

Pastoralism was another important economic activity of the people of Ikara. Pastoralism involved the rearing of cattle, goats, sheep and keeping of poultry. This economic activity was associated with Fulani; a pastoralist involves moving of animals in their herds from one place to another or from one geographical location to another in search of pastures for their cattle. In fact as early as the 14th and 15th centuries the pastoral groups had begun to occupy an important place in the social and economic life of Ikara.[26] In later time, the Emirate of Zazzau was impressed by such important economic activities therefore, to avoid clash and other crises between Fulani pastoralist and agriculturalist, the Emirate created *Burtalo* (cattle tracks) for pastoralist camp *Mashekari* (resting places) where pastoralist stayed for some time. In Ikara Districts, there were such *burtaloli* (cattle routes) at Malikanchi, Saulawa, Jibis and Janfalau villages.[27] However, the rearing of cattle and other animals was not limited to the Fulani pastoralist, other people in the community engaged in it because of its economic importance. For example, in Ikara District, *masu sarauta* and other wealthy individuals and members of the society especially *sarakunan pawa* kept large herds of animals especially

[26] An Interview Conducted with Mal. Magaji Dankamosho, Farmer, Age 81, 7th January, 2010 at Malikanchi, Ikara also see S. Shuaibu History of Anchau up to 1700 M.A. Thesis Department of History A.B.U., Zaria p. 94.
[27] Ibid.

cattle. These were reared by their slaves or *babori* some time they enter into an agreement with Fulani pastoralist to tend for them.[28] The agreement was based on payment of cash or crops yearly based on land rent to pastoralist.[29] However, animal husbandry was one of the most important aspects of pre-colonial economic activities. Different kinds of domestic animals were reared and kept. This was because of their economic importance. Donkeys were used for carrying loads and horses for transportation. There were also grazing lands for animals. There was a symbiotic relationship between rearing of animals and farming. The cattle provided an important source of manure. The farmers while allowing cattle to be reared on their farms, they also benefitted from the manure. Domestic animals played a significant role in the economic life of the people. Donkeys particularly were used for carrying loads for long distance trade. The animals formed an important article of trade both at local markets and in long distance trade.[30]

It should be noted those here pastoralists played a significant role in the pre-colonial economy as observed by A. Adamu that:

> *it seemed that pastoral economy was closely linked to other sectors of the economy. The livestock kept by the pastoralists served as a source of food and raw materials demanded*

[28] In Interview with Alh. Idi Sarkin Kasuwan Kurmin Kogi on 3rd January, 2010, Age 65, Farmer at Kurmin Kogi, Ikara.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

> *by all sections of the population. While pastoralists especially the baroro obtained a large percentage of their life requirements like cereal, spices, clothes, implements from the farmers and artisans…*[31]

The role of the pastoralists in the societal and economic development was crucial. They supplied manures for farmers, meat, hides and skin for the large population of the society. Because of their importance in the society, the Emirate made it a point of duty to demarcate between areas of cultivation and of grazing *makiyya* and cattle paths[32] as observed by Y.B. Usman:

> *It was in the interest of both farmers, pastoralists, hunters wood carvers and honey collectors to preserve the woodlands, and bushes of the kasar Katsina*[33]

2.5 Fishing

Fishing was one of the dominant occupations of the people of Ikara, particularly in the 19th century. This was largely because of the presence of rivers and streams within the District. The people who engaged in this occupation were mostly people from villages where such rivers and streams were found. However, peasant farmers engaged in this business to serve as

[31] Op. cit. A. Adamu Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1945-1902: A Case Study of Soba District p. 36.
[32] See Bello Omar, the Political though. P. 113.
[33] Y.B. Usman, the transformation of Katsina: The Emergence of Overthwo of Sarauta System 1400 – 1884, Ph.D. Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1974 p. 134.

complementary to their primary occupation which was farming.[34] Fishing was extensive by fishermen *masota* during dry season. According to my informant Malam Magaji Dunkamasho Malankanchi, during dry season fish cannot travel long distance because the water level was low and *masota* finds it easy to catch during this time. In fact it was the season that such occupation was booming.[35] The river where fishing was carried out was Galma River which it passes through sabo district to Ikara. Kariya River located at the eastern part of Ikara passes through Kubau District into Malikanchi and Auchanawa all within Ikara District. Other rivers are river Kahugu, Rafin Anguwan Kanawa, Rafin Maiganga and Rafin Kasa.[36]

For example, I have identified prominent fishermen families; these include Malam Audu Dan-Kiya Malam Mahammadu Mangawa and Alhaji Gambo. According to them, fishing was and still is the major occupation of the families. Fishing became the main occupation of the people who live at the river areas[37].

[34] An Interview with Malam Magaji Dankamasho Malikanchi Farmer Age 81, 7th January, 2010.
[35] An Interview Conducted with Muhammadu Suraji Auchanawa Fisherman *Masoci* Age 60, at Auchanawa, Ikara 11 Jan. 2010.
[36] Malam Musa Abubakar Mungawa, age 65, masoci fisherman, mangawa, Ikara, 9th October, 2013. According to him, fishing is one of important economic activities in Ikara distict. Peopleresident at river side were those whose mostly engaged in fishing. (One of thefishes usually caught by the fishermen includes: tilapia there are two common localspecies tilapia zilli (red throat mantle tail) and tilapia gulitatea silver colour. Cat fish are also guite common and make a reasonable diet. .
[37]Also oral evidence: Dankano Yanbankwai, age 67 years old, Danbankwai, Managawa, Ikara, 9th October, 2012

They occupied a very important place in the society. According to Malam Musa Abubakar Mangawa fishermen provided first class protein to society, infact fish oil was used for medicine especially for children and new born babies. They also provided cures for adults especially those who were affected by cold *ciwon sanyi*.

In addition, fish was used for consumption and commercial purposes. The fishes were sold to agents whose called *yanbankwai*. Based on the information obtained from malam Dankano yanbankwai said that they followed fishermen to the river side and purchase from them. Also some times, people followed them to their places and buy from them.

It should be noted during pre-colonial Ikara, the surplus of fish were collected by representative of the Emirs and carried to the capital of Emirate (i.e. Zaria). The fishermen were among the categories of occupations that paid *haraji* tax to the emirate (state). They played a significant role in social and economic relation of pre-colonial Ikara. However, with the coming of the colonialists *masota* were integrated to important economic activity, heavy taxes were imposed on them as we shall examine in chapter three.

2.6 Hunting

Hunting was also an important occupation in Ikara. It is believed by many scholars that hunting predated the development of agriculture itself.[38] The people of Ikara engaged in hunting and gathering since time immemorial.[39] Hunting activities were carried out in the forest within Ikara. There were three categories of hunters. There were professional hunters *maharba* who took hunting as occupation that earn living for them. The second categories were those who used hunting as business, they provided herbal medication to the people afflicted by different ailments.[40] The third category was those who took hunting as a part-time or as a game or sport at their leisure time.

However, hunting is usually conducted during the dry season; it was also conducted in groups. The *maharba* hunters played a vital role in society as security providers etc.

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[38] Chafe, K.S. State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate Policies and Practices in the Metropolitan districts (Ph.D. Thesis Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1992, pp. 47-48.

[39] An Interview conducted with Mallam Bawa Furana Age 80 Years on 11 Jan. 2010 at Furana Ikara, He has confirmed that hunting has been old occupation that people of the area and *Kasar Hausa* practiced since time immemorial. However, hunting is interesting it supplies meat bush meats which could not be obtained in the markets. Even the district heads and other people in the society acknowledge their role in the society. He further informed me that if there was disaster such as appearance of wild animals like lion, elephant and hyena in the town or among the herds of cattles it was hunters that were called to curb the situation.

[40] Ibid

2.7 Manufacturing

Agricultural production led to other economic activities which were closely related to it. Those were craft manufacturing activities. Most crafts manufacture were done in such occupations as blacksmithing, weaving, leather working, wood carving and pottery by the beginning of 19th century. Societies under the Sokoto Caliphate had developed a highly complex technology and industries producing different goods of high standard during the period. The use of this technology to attain maximum production with ample surplus necessitated the use of a lot of labour, which made collective efforts necessary, especially in the basic peasant production units which solely formed the basis for the supports.[41] One very significant industrial activity was iron working. It played a significant role in the economic activities of Zazzau emirate. It provided the basic technology for both agriculture and manufacturing. The technology was the same, there has always been variation from one area to another, and it also varied at different period. Unfortunately, it is common that many who have considered the economic history of West Africa or (Africa as a whole) have assumed that technology was uniform and remained basically unchanging, at least over long period of time and over a wide expanse of territory. It is often forgotten that even if identical technologies are available

[41] Muktar I.M. **The Impact of British Colonial Domination on the Social and Economic Structures of the Society of Kano 1903-1950 M.A.** Thesis Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1983 p. 17.

(i.e. now) in different communities they may not always be employed in the same way or at the same time or in the same combinations with certain other technologies.[42] This was the general situation of the 19th century technology, the variation also existed even between one locality and another.

2.7.1 A Brief History of Anguwan Makera, Ikara

Anguwan Makera is one of the oldest wards in Ikara District its emergence is linked with agricultural development of the area. The early inhabitants of the area were predominantly farmers; they needed agricultural implement such as live *fartanya* axe *gatari* etc. for agricultural activities[43].

The first person who settled at Anguwan Makera was said to have come from kayarda in Kubau District, a neibouring distcit of Ikara whose name was Mallam Audu Gurgu. Other groups of people came and settled in the area from Ikara town in around 1837. These people were Malam Mamman, Malam Ibrahim and Malam Safiyanu, their parents and grand parents were initially blacksmiths. However, after they settled there they started their occupation (blackSmiths) which they were known for. Another informant claimed that the first set of people to occupy Anguwan Makera were Makira (blacksmith) who came from Ikara town, initially they were there practicing this occupation, but

[42] Shea P.J. "Approaching the Study of Production in Rural Kano" *In Studies* in The History of Kano, Bawuro B.Ed. Heinemann Education Book Nigerian Limited 1983, p. 94.
[43] Additional information: interview with Malam Ibrahim Jibril Wanzami (barber) on the 9th October, 2012 age 97.

due to increase need for farm implements for agricultural activities they had to leave and moved to the place which later came to be known as anguwan Makera, because of the need for raw materials *tama* from the area[44]. The present anguwan makera was said to have large deposits of iron ore tama. However, because of its proximity with other villages where there were such large deposits of iron ore *tama* (i.e Daujin Mariga), the *Sana'ar Kira* blacksmithing profession flourished in the area, in fact most of the farm implements used in the area before and during colonial periods were produced in the area[45].

One thing worth nothing in the area (Anguwan Makera) was symbiotic relationships that existed between barbers and blacksmiths. These relationships may not be disconnected with of mutual reliance among *makera* (blacksmiths) and *wanzamai* barbers.

2.7.2 Blacksmithing

A blacksmith (*makerin baki)* is best defined as a man who manufactures certain products in iron (*bakin karfe)* used in the production of iron tools and implements: fire charcoal, an anvil, tongs, skin bellow and a

[44]Another oral evidence, Malam Abdul Inuwa, age 70 years old, makera (barber) Anbguwan Makera, Ikara 9th October, 2012.
[45]Another informant: Malam Umaru Jibril, age 70 years old wanzami (sbarbar) 9th October, 2012, Anguwan Makera Ikara.

variety of hammers.[46] Blacksmithing was one of the most important pre-colonial industries in Ikara District. In fact up to now there is ward called Anguwan Makera. The predominant occupation of the inhabitant is blacksmithing.[47] One fundamental factor explains this, pre-colonial societies were predominantly agricultural societies it was the blacksmiths that produced the agricultural implements such as hoe *fartanya,* sickle *gatari, lauje, garma, sungama,* rake *munjagar, dagi* besides, they were also producing weapons like aro *kibiyoyi,* knife *wukake, takobi, barandami* and spears *masu*. They were also producing domestic items such as *kusa basilla* and also produced ornaments such *zobba* and *kaca*.[48] Smithing was very much dependent on mining. Production was largely organized on household and in some cases hereditary; some non members could also join as apprentices. Smithing was a highly complex occupation, which requires close observation and dedication. It was a guild industry of sorts. However, other dedicated members of the society could also be incorporated after showing so much dedication and loyalty to the jobs.[49] However, even the emirate encouraged such occupation within the emirate capital and its villages, as observed by S.M. Aminu thus:

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[46] Jagger P.J. "Kano City Blacksmith: Pre-Colonial Distribution, Structure and Organization" In Savannah Vol. 2 No. 1. June 1983 p. 11.
[47] An Interview with Alhaji Ibrahim Makera Jibis Age 65
[48] Murtala A.R. A Socio-Economic History of Ringim Town 1903-1991, M.A. Thesis Department of History B.U.K., 1993 p. 57.
[49] Op. cit. An Interview with Alh. Ibrahim M.

> *Apart from direct participation, the ruling class also intervene to encourage agricultural production through the sarakunan noma, chief of farmers in all towns. In industrial activities, the emirate administration intervened to ensure quality control. Intervention was done through the sarakunan sana'a (occupational chief) such as chiefs of blacksmiths, sarakunan makera, sarakunan mabuga, chief of dyers.*[50]

It should be noted however, even the colonialist were interested in this economic activities. Several explorers were sent to *kasar Hausa* to explore and study the economy before the eventual conquest as demonstrated by Staudinger when he visited Zaria in 1880. He was hosted by the *sarkin makera* and was highly impressed by the level of technology of the blacksmiths.

> *The blacksmith trade is particularly well represented makers of knives, sickles, bridle bits, and hat chest are at work here as in other towns. I did not see anywhere else the art of metal working taken to a high level than in Zaria. Here I saw cast and wrought metal work in connection with other crafts, for instance the metal work on the sheaths for swords.*[51]

[50] Op. cit. S.M. Aminu Colonial State p. 43

[51] P. Staudinger; in the Heart of the Hausa States, Vol. 1 and II Translated by Johanna E. Mordy (Ohio University Press, Ohio) 1990 p. 183 Cited in a S. Shuaibu History of Anchau C. 1700 – 1945 M.A. Thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria p. 99 2006.

2.7.3 Leather work

Leather work was another important occupation on which a large section of pre-colonial Ikara depended.[52] Leather working *dukanci* or *jima* involved the use of animal hides and skins for the manufacture of various leather products used for various purposes ranging from making bellows *zuga-zugi* used by blacksmith saddles, *siridda* for horses leather shields, sword sheathes, *kube* water vessels *salka* foot wears and bags such as book cases *gafaka,* berbers wallets *zabira*. It should be noted there has always been interdependence among the various manufacturers. For example, the blacksmith needs bellows in order to carry out his occupation while leather worker *baduku* need knives and other similar implements from blacksmiths.

According to some informants leather working *dukanci* was a very important economic activity done by the people of Ikara since time immemorial. In fact, leather working seems to be as old as blacksmithing in Ikara and the Emirate of Zazzau in general.[53]

2.7.4 Wood Carving and Pottery

Wood carving and pottery were also occupations that were practiced by pre-colonial Ikara society. Wood carvers *masassaka* were very important in

[52] Interview Conducted with Mal. Nadabo Waziri Jibis on 7th January, 2010 at Jibis, Ikara, Age 65, Occupation Leather Working also See K.S. Chafe state and economy in the Sokoto caliphate policies and practices in the metropolitan District. Ph.D. Thesis Department of History A.B.U. Zaria and op. cit. M.A. Nasir Colonial Economy p. 35

[53] Ibid.

pre-colonial economic growth. They provided wooden handles for various implements and weapons. They also produced household items such as mortars and pestles. However, pottery was widely practiced by some section of the society particularly those who were located along the river side. Despite the changes that happened over time with respect to technology, this occupation has been flourishing. This was largely because of the need to use during burial and other social and economic activities such as *tanda tukunyar fulawa* etc.[54]

2.8 Textile Industry

One of the important pre-colonial industries was the textile industry. There is quite an ancient legacy of cloth production in Hausaland, and weaving as a rural occupation of the *Hausawa* certainly predates the colonial period. Since the 16th century the account of many European travelers to *Hausaland* have referred to cotton and its product as major aspect of the pre-colonial economy of the region.[55] The existence of the textile industry could be attributed to its necessity for human existence and also the availability of its basic raw-material – cotton in the area of the study.

Cotton was widely grown in Ikara and other parts of the district. Pre-colonial textile industry was a complex and integrated industry with many

[54] An Interview Conducted with Mal. Musa Wakilin Sarkin Makurdi (Barade) on 7th January, 2010, at Ikara, Age 70 Years, Farmer.
[55] Ingawa B.T. **A Study of the Rural Economic of the Major Cotton Producing Districts of State Emirate during the Colonial Period C. 1900 – 1939** an Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U. Zaria 1984, p. 322.

specialists in the different aspects of production. One of the first stages was spinning of cotton. The thread making craft known as *kadi* was the most vital input (or raw material) of the weaving industry. It was essentially the process of the production of thread from raw cotton and has always been dominated by women across the population.[56] *Kadi* was a very important aspect of the domestic economic ventures of Hausa women.[57] As earlier pointed out, the textile industry like other industrial activities was characterized by forward and backward linkages.

Spinning though an exclusive reserve for women, existed in all households. Its basic technology of production includes *taskira, alli, magari* spindle. These often constitute part of the bride wealth at all levels, spinners provided the raw material for the numerous weaving industries. Weaving *saka* was a craft for both males and females. Using various tools, the weavers produced cloth of different makes and of remarkable quality some of which feed the dyeing industries, as we shall examine in chapter five. The destruction and distortion of such indigenous industries by the colonialist, however, while weaving was done by both sexes, those who produced for sale were full time specialized weavers, with farming as secondary occupation.[58] Many industries

[56] Y.B. Usman Transformation of Katsina C. 1796-1903 The Overthrow of Sarauta System and the Establishment of Emirate Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U., Zaria 1974, p. 137.
[57] Op. cit. Ingawa B.T. A Study of Rural Economic p. 321.
[58] An Interview Conducted with Alhaji Mu'azu Sadi (Bakin Kasuwan Ikara) on 29th Dece. 2007 at Ikara, 67 years old farmer and trader.

spring to provide other allied services – dyers *marina* beaters *mabuga*and brokers *dillalai* and lodgers *fatoma* all provided different services to the industry.[59] It was this complexity that brought specialization among the various villages around the district. Other areas with professional weavers, *masaka*, within the vicinity of our area of study included Saulawa, Jibis and Janfalan etc.

2.8.1 Dyeing

Another important pre-colonial industry in Ikara was indigo dyeing. Dyeing has for many centuries been one of the most popular rural farming occupations of many farmers in Hausaland. Although the occupation is obscure, its antiquity is indicated by the fact that some of the major dyeing centers of Northern Nigeria may be probably many centuries old.[60] One of the basic raw materials for indigo dyeing was *baba*. There were the wild and domestic types of *baba*. The wild variety *talaki* papition a *lonchocarpus cyonescens* has a thick trunk which sends out creepers. The domestic variety, *baban gida* is the type liked by Hausa people.[61] This type of Baba was extensively grown in Ikara, it was even exported to other areas outside Ikara. The dyers *marina*, had their dye pits established on location. In some of the

[59] Ibid.
[60] Op. cit. Ingawa B.T. A Study of Rural Economic p. 330.
[61] D.E. Fertuson, Nineteen Century Hausa land, being a description by Imam Imoru of the land, Economy and Society of his people unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, university of California, 1973, p. 8.

towns, some of the dyers had as many as 100 dye pits *tukwane*. While some establishments were spread all over, depending on the size and commercial importance of the towns. Some of the towns with large dyeing establishment included Zaria, Kudan, Fatika and Ikara.[62]

However, indigo dyeing was very important to the economy of Ikara and Zazzau Emirate as observed by Paul Lovejoy that:

> *Dyeing activities in Zaria and its environs especially on the town situated at the border with Kano was highly impressive. He estimated the existence of about 15,000 – 20,000 dye pits which were presumed to have the capacity to employ about 809,000 workers at the end of the 19th centuries.*[63]

2.8.2 Cloth Beating

Closely associated with the dyeing industry was the cloth beating (*bugu*) which emerged to provide anciliary services to the cloth dyeing industry. Cloth beating was for quite a long time closely connected with dyeing, as part of the whole dyeing process, and was mostly done by dyers themselves. It eventually became a separate craft of a specialist group of

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[62] An Interview Conducted with Abdulrahman Madaki (Sarkin Chara) on 7th January, 2010 at Chara, Ikara, Age 55, Occupation Rini (Dyeing) my informant told indigo at one point supplies indigo to people of Kano Emirate, particularly

[63] Lovejoy P.E.; Plantations in the Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate; Journal of African History, xix, 3 1978, pp. 341-368 and also see P.E. Lovejoy: The characteristic of plantation in nineteenth-century Sokoto caliphate (Islamic West Africa) American Historical Review, Vol. 8 No. 5 pp. 1267-1292 Cited in a S. Shuaibu History of Anchau up 1700-1945 M.A. Thesis Department of History A.B.U. Zaria, 2006 p. 100.

mabuga (cloth beaters) as innovation began to be made in the dyeing industry.[64] As earlier pointed out, cloth beating industry emerged as an important industry, which fed the dyeing industry. Many centers emerged as observed by P.J. Shea's in his study of the dyed cloth industry in the Emirate of Kano in the 19th century. He pointed out in areas outside the city of Kano; there were famous beating centers at Kura Bunkure, Zarewa, and Dawakin Kudu as well as some just over the border in Zaria Emirate.[65]

It should be noted that Ikara cloth beating was practiced along side with dyeing. It was an important economic activity that was practiced long before the coming of colonialists. An examination would be made in chapter five to see the efforts made by the colonialists with regard to the survival or destruction and distortation of such important economic activities.

2.9 Trade and Commerce

Trade and commerce were important precolonial economic activities. The people participated in both internal and long distance trade. Internal trade took place at various market centers. Prominent among these commercial centers were Ikara, Anchau, Giwa, Makarfi, Likoro and Kudan. These markets

[64] Op. cit. Ingawa B.T. A Study of Rural Economy p. 329-330.
[65] Shea P.J. The Development of an Export Oriented Dyed Cloth Industry in Kano Emirate, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis University of Wilson 1975, pp. 210 – 211. Professor P.J. Shea, was on Economic Historian, Most of his researches were based on Indigenous economy of the People of Kano Emirate ranging from Pre-Colonial, Colonial and Post-Colonial Economy, till His Death He was working on Dyeing and Cloth Beating in Kura, Kano Emirate.

served as regional market where locally produced goods from local markets were brought. At the local markets, trade used to be between households. The local markets were often visited and patronized by grain dealers (*yankwarami)* who traded in grain and locally manufactured goods. The *yan kwarami* brought these products to the commercial centers. Though the activities of *yan kwarami*, trade was carried out between local communities.[66] The markets were located in Ikara and Saulawa. The importance of these markets and their role as platforms for the exchange of agricultural produce and textiles materials and other commodities were traded at such important markets.[67] The Ikara area also benefited from immigration of people into the area particularly from Borno and Adamawa areas who brought different commodities such as cattles and natriun in exchange for the dyed cloth for which Ikara was known. About the medium of exchange generally markets in 18th and 19th centuries, *Hausaland* all prices were quoted in cowries, which were used for payment for all transactions.[68] In larger transactions, however, the buyer was free to pay in any commodity mutually agreed by himself and the sellers, Gold dust, slaves and expensive gown were used quite extensively for payments in large

[66] Op. cit. S.M. Aminu Colonial State p. 19.
[67] Interview Conducted with Alh. Suleman Abubakar Village of Ikara (Ang. Waziri) on 28th Dec., 2009 Farmer, and Village, Age 65 Years.
[68] Mahadi Adamu. **The Hausa Factor in West African History**, A.B.U., Press Zaria 1978, p. 91.

transactions.[69] The people of Ikara participated in long distance trade (*fatauci*) particularly with the neighbouring Emirates of Kano and Katsina, which took them to Adamawa and Bornu areas where slaves were brought.[70] However, trade and commerce being important components of economic growth, were regarded by Sultan Muhammad Bello as great responsibility of every responsible administration to ensure that it succeeds. This position was demonstrated in one of his writing Usul-al-Siyasay where stated that:

> *The… amir should provide public amenities for the people. The people of his state for their temporal and religious benefits. For this purpose, he should foster the artisans and be concerned with tradesmen who are indispensable, such as farmers and smiths, tailors and dyers physicians and butchers and carpenters and all sorts of trade which contribute to the proper order of this world. The ruler must allocate these trademen to every village and locality. He should urge raiyyah to see food stuffs and keep them for future use. He must keep villages and country side in prosperity… maintain markets and roads; and realize for them all that is public interest so that the proper order of this world may be maintained.*[71]

2.10 Pre-Colonial Taxation

When we say pre-colonial taxation we are talking about two different successive periods i.e. the system of taxation during *Sarakunan Habe* (pre-Jihad Hausa Society) and taxation system during the Jihad period. It should be noted that Islam has been in existence since the13th century in *Hausaland* and

[69] Ibid., p. 91.
[70] Op. cit. Interview with Alh. Suleiman Abubakar.
[71] Muhammad Bello 'Usul-al-Siyasuli' cited in A. Adam op. cit. Colonial Agricultural Policies p. 59.

beyond. However, the system of taxation that was in existence around those periods was not purely an Islamic system of taxation, it was mixed with other un-Islamic kind of taxation, imposed on the masses by the Habe rulers. In the case of Zazzau Emirate, the sources of revenue for the Emirates after the Jihad were based on the principle of Islam. According to Sultan Muhammed Bello the sources of revenue for the *bayt-al-mal* were seven, namely:

i. One fifth of the booty got from fighting Jihad;

ii. Fay – that is conquered land, which was not divided into fiefs and therefore belonged to all Muslims;

iii. Kharaj or land tax, on this, he emphasized the observance of justice for both treasury and tax prayer and condemned the practices of the *Habe* regimes of Hausaland whom he accused of extortion;

iv. The fourth source of revenue was wealth from the property of those without heirs;

v. Lost property those owner could not be traced;

vi. Jizya – poll tax imposed on non Muslims for protection and

vii. The tenth levies on commodities sold by infidels in the Islamic state.[72]

[72] Bello Omar, The Political Thoug……. Op. cit. p. 92 Cited in A Adamu Colonial Agricultural Policies op. cit. p. 63.

In Zazzau Emirate taxes were collected on the instruction of the Emir. *Ma'aji* was the chief treasurer. All taxes collected by his official were kept in treasury *bayt-al-mal*.

However, taxes were usually collected at the end of farming season, at which time the Emir summon all his officials instruction on collection of taxes and the amount to be collected or charged. The *Hakimai* in their turn being residents in the capital directed their own representative the *Jakadu*, also *Masu garuruwa* assisted in tax collection. It was noted that in the process of tax collection, the tax collectors enriched themselves at the expense of the state and the tax payers. In certain instances they charged more than the amount demanded and in some places the tax collectors corruptly exempted able-bodied men from paying taxes.[73] In addition, the ruling class (emirs and other title holders) were exempted from paying tax. Taxes were imposed on some special crops and other things. Apart from general Zakkat imposed on agricultural producers as observed by Arnett as shown below.

Kurdin garma	-	hoe tax	C5,000 per hoe
Kurdin albasa	-	Onion tax	C5,000 per plot
Kurdin kara	-	Sugar cane tax	C8,000 per plot
Kurdin rogo	-	Cassava tax	C5,000 per plot
Kurdin taba	-	Tobacco tax	C2,000 per plot

[73] S.M. Aminu Colonial State op. cit… pp. 39-42.

Kurdin bori	-	Bori dancers tax	C5,000 per dancer
Kurdin zuma	-	Honey tax	C5,000 per man
Kurdin fawa	-	Butchers tax	C5,000 per man
Kurdin kira	-	Blacksmiths tax	C7,000 per man
Kurdin dillanci	-	Brokers tax	C5,000 per man
Kurdin madaka taba	-	Tobacco grinders tax	C5,000 per man
Kurdin shuni	-	Indigo tax	C300 per man
Kurdin kidi	-	Drummers tax	C4,000 per man
Kurdin karof i	-	Dye pit tax	C4,000 per pit[74]

The taxes collected by the Caliphate, authorities particularly during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Bello (1817 – 1837) were generally for economic development and welfare of the society. This could be seen in the medium in which the tax was collected. The burden of taxation per individual was limited in the sense that they were mostly levies on economic activities and the basis of their assessment was largely the households rather than individuals. The medium of payment of these taxes were not restricted i.e. taxes paid in kind and cash depending on the tax. Agricultural produce such as cotton and

[74] Ibid. pp. 39-42 Also see A. Adamu Colonial Agricultural Policies op. cit. pp. 62-66 and S. Shuaibu, History of Anchau op. cit. pp. 106-110.

groundnuts were exempted from tax, this was largely to encourage manufacturing and create wealth among the society.[75]

On the other hand, the *Habe* regime tax collection system was completely different from the above mentioned. Heavy taxation was imposed on people regardless of income and occupation. This was one of the reasons Shehu Uthman Bin Fodio accused the *Habe* rulers for imposing unjustifiable and unnecessary system of taxation on their people. This position was demonstrated in one of his writings that:

> *One of the ways of their government is their imposing on people monies not laid down by the Shari'ah being which they called jangali, and kurdin gari and kurdin sallah…*[76]

2.11 Conclusion

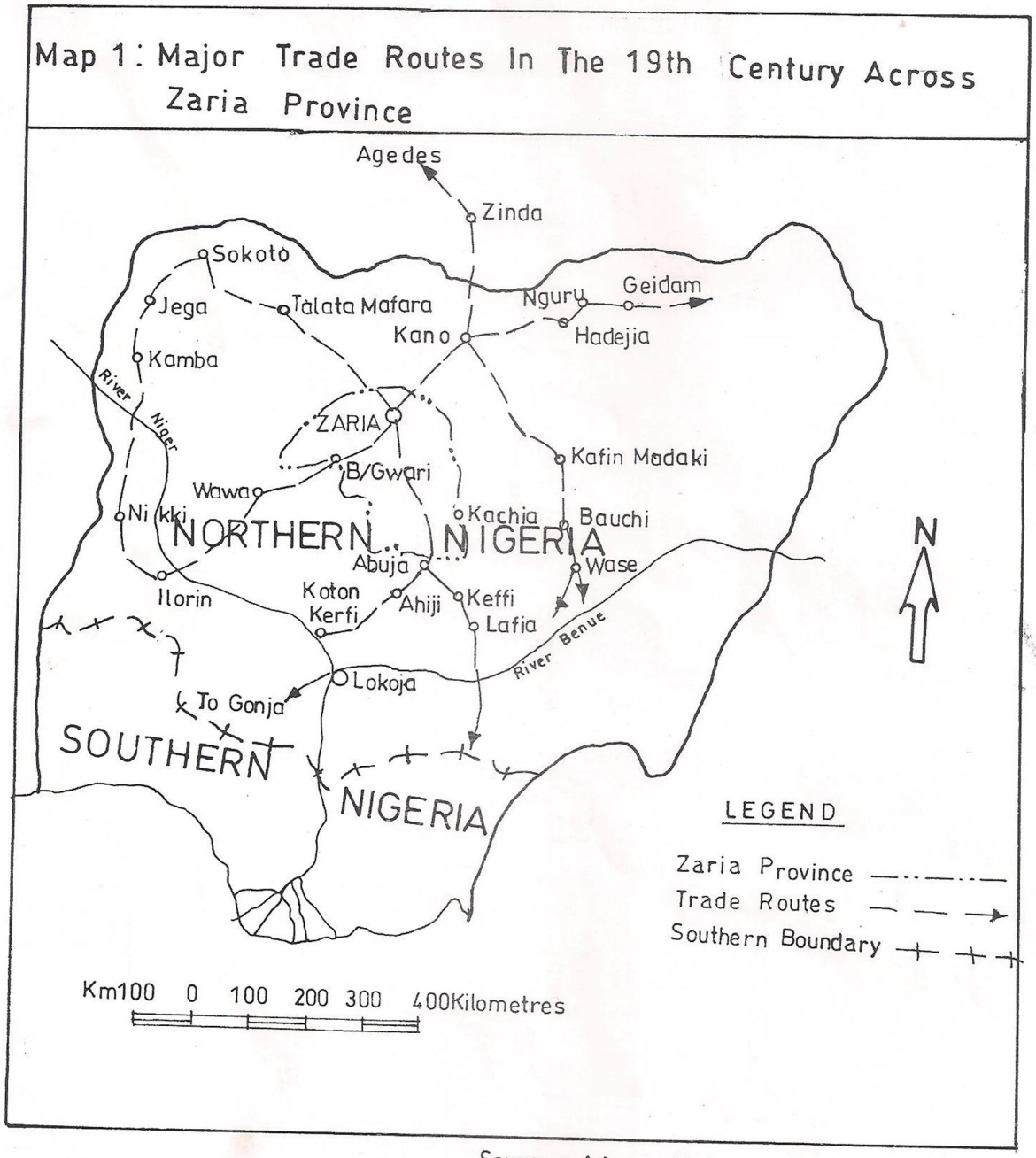
In conclusion, the chapter examined the role of agriculture as the foundation of the economy of Ikara District. The land tenure system as one of the factors of production in pre-colonial Ikara, the individual and community rights regarding access to land utilization and rules and regulation guiding the use of land were also examined. Fishing, hunting and manufacturing industries

[75] Ibid. A. Adamu Colonial Agricultural Policies pp. 62 – 66. Also see Mahdi A. The Economy of Hausa Capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th Centuries pp. 6-12.
[76] Shaykh Uthman B. Foduye, **Kitab Al-Farq**, Edited and Translated by M. Hiskett, Reprinted by Baraka Press, 2004 pp. 6-7.

such as blacksmithing, lead working, wood carving, pottery and textile were also studied and examined. However, their role in economy of Ikara examined.

Finally, the chapter examined the role of trade and commerce during pre-colonial period. The taxation system of pre-colonial Ikara was also examined.

Map 2:2



Source : Adamu Mahadi
A survey of external commerce of Hausa land from 1500 to date.

CHAPTER THREE

BRITISH COLONIZATION, 1907

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter attempt would be made to examine the British Colonial Conquest of Zazzau Emirate, this is because Ikara is part and parcel of the Emirate. It is therefore, logical to examine it within that context. In this regard, attempt would be made to look at the different views put forward particularly by the colonialist to justify the conquest of the emirate. The British Colonial administrative re-organisation and the creation of Ikara District would be critically examined. The duties and responsibilities of District Heads such as tax collection enforcement of law will be discussed. The British socio-economic policies, such as taxation, forced labour for various purposes, cash crops production are also going to be examined.

3.2 Imposition of Colonial Domination

British Colonial Conquest of Zazzau was very important and significant. This was important because of the strong influence the colonial sources have on the existing literature dealing with the conquest of Zazzau. It is also significant because it provides the background to the nature and character of the transformation of the emirates political institutions and for the establishment and consolidation of the colonial economy and control. It would

also correct the view that the rulers of Zazzau did not put any credible resistance to the invading forces.[1] To understand the conquest of Zaria Emirate, the response to the conquest and the subsequent transformation of the political institution must be understood.

Therefore, one needs to examine them within the context of the existence of certain contradictions between the socio-political and economic set-up in the emirate and the need for merchant capital to extend its spheres of control. There seems to be strong reliance on colonial sources in examining the conquest of Sokoto caliphate in general and Zazzau in particular. But while one finds these colonial sources very useful in providing detailed information regarding the composition of the colonial troops, their weapons and location etc. these are in most cases sectoral.[2] However, apart from being unscientific in their explanations of the activities of the colonial forces they were also parochial by their justification and explanations of the circumstances and events. This indeed influenced the view of later writers, particularly non historians, who saw the history of the caliphate and Zazzau Emirate in particular before 1900 as that of long toil of war and raids, subjugation and

[1] Safiyanu M.A. "The colonial state and colonial economy in Northern Nigeria: A case study of Zaria Native Authority c. 1902 – 1945 (Unpublished M.A. Thesis), Department of History Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 1991 pp. 52, 53.
[2] Ibid. p. 52, 53.

tribute, whose conquest was stimulated by the determination to stamp out slavery and slave raiding throughout the area.[3]

Another justification given for the conquest of these 'trouble' areas according to the colonial sources was the need to establish at least in the colonialist view peace, law and order which would guarantee agricultural production and trade. Other ground for the conquest was the need to protect their area of influence from colonization by rival colonial powers. Further, on Lugard argued that the people of the area would derive more good than harm from British rule.[4]

These arguments provided the basis for justifying the British conquest. But it is important to note some contradictions in the reasons given by the colonialist for the conquest. For example, while the picture of chaos and warfare was often used to smear the caliphate, European travelers who were colonial agents and for whatever reasons, gave accounts of the area, disproving the claim made that the societies were chaotic and turbulent.[5] It has further been argued that slave raids often cited as examples in the area can be explained only in so far as they were means through which trans-Atlantic slave trade flourished. It is therefore, simplistic to argue that the chaotic character of

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[3] Smith M.G. **Government in Zazzau 1804 – 1950**, Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 52.

[4] Lugard F. D. **Political Memoranda: Revision of instruction to political officers on subjects chiefly political and administration** (Second Edition 1919 London: Frankcass and Co. Ltd 1970) p. 8)

[5] Heinrich B. *Travels and Discovering in North and Central Africa 1849 – 1855 Vol. I – v* (London Frankcass Ltd 1965 p. 60).

colonial conquest could substitute or stop slave raid and destroy slaves mode of production.[6]

A manifestation of these contradictions was the ardent need by this economic system (capitalism) to invest capital and to serve, as sources for raw materials and for markets. In the period following 1870, the empire and not merely Great Britain, became a world power as its attained coherence and world unity.[7] Expectation of the wealth to be won somewhere in Africa had been conjured up by reports of the first exploration and the interest taken in the second phase of exploration which opened in 1874, was quite as much commercial interest as scientific philanthropic or political. However, in order to achieve its final goal of imperialism the explorers that were sent to Nigeria were Clapperton, Henrry Berth and Mungo Park who conducted feasibility studies and provided useful information for the European advancement.[8] This resulted in the struggle amongst these systems (capitalists) for the division of the rest of the world and hence partitioning of the African continent.[9] As for the Caliphate, its incorporation began with the activities of merchant capital as represented by trading companies. These trading companies championed the process of incorporation. For instance, from 1860s the developments of

[6] Op. cit. Safiyan p. 55.
[7] Nabudere D. *Imperialism in East Africa* Zed Press, 57 Coledonion Road London, 1981, p. 15.
[8] Couplany the exploitation of East Africa (London Faber and Faber 1968, p. 15).
[9] Dhiliwayo, A.V. A history of Sabon gari, Zaria 1911 – 1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Department of History A.B.U., Zaria, 1986, p. 56

European trade on the Niger Benue Rivers were characterized by the proliferation of British companies which were engaged in keen competition.[10] By 1870, this competition had degenerated in a commercial war of attribution which was brought to an end by the amalgamation of all trading companies to form the United African Company (U.A.C.) in 1879 under the inspiration and leadership of George Taubman Goldie.[11] The government played a prominent role for instance, soon after the formation of U.A.C., the British government gave it a charter to rule the region. Thus Goldie desire for political power on the Niger arose directly from his analysis of the difficulties of the Niger trade. This was because without political power there could not be stable commerce with Europe and no secure profit.[12] Therefore, the conquest of the area of study is largely informed by the rivalry among monopoly capital in Europe such rivalry was manifested in the culmination of the Berlin Conference in 1884, when the capitalist powers carve their colonial territory.[13] As an epoch of imperialism, the last half of the 19th century marked the period when European merchant capital completed the work of incorporating the remaining parts of Africa and Asia into the metropolitan economies of the capitalist countries.[14] According to some scholars, these companies immediately after their formation

[10] Adeleye R.A. Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804 – 1906: The Sokoto Caliphate Longman, 1971, p. 119.
[11] Ibid. 119
[12] Ibid. p. 57
[13] Op. Cit. Safiyan p. 57.
[14] Ibid. p. 57.

started mapping out strategies for the final British annexation. The most important strategy adopted was signing treaties with the Emirates and other traditional rulers. By 1886 just before it was granted a charter, the company concluded about two hundred and thirty seven treaties. All this time the indigenous rulers were not aware of the dimension and threats of the treaty to their own authority as most of these treaties were tricks that appeared at face value not to convey any danger as far as the Africa rulers were concerned. Obaro Ikime interpreted the charter as follows:

> *The obtaining of a charter meant that the company was not just a trading company; it conferred on it certain powers of government and law making, as well as power to raise and maintain an armed forces, for the pursuit of its trade as well as for the maintenance of law and order.* [15]

The British occupation of Ikara could only be understood within the context of the occupation of Zaria, since Ikara was part of the Emirate of Zazzau. It has been shown that between 1200 A.D and 1600 A.D. the territory which came to be occupied by the kingdom of Zazzau had become very significant as a center of commerce with attendant social and political developments that later accounted for the emergence of the kingdom of Zazzau with vast potentials of being the most strategically located and imnmensely wealthy in the whole of

[15] Ikime O. The fall of Nigeria… The British Conquest, Heinemann, London, Ibadan, 1977 p. 33.

Hausaland. Such that by 1600 it had come to assume this position incontestably.[16]

However by 19th century the Emirate of Zazzau had become the second most prosperous territory next only to Kano in the Sokoto caliphate. Its economically and politically strategic location put it midway between Sokoto and the far eastern dominions of the caliphate i.e. the territories of Fombina and Borno. Its remote cultural and economic connections with the kingdom of Nupe in the south as well as its proximity to Kano in the North made it a most strategic vantage point in Northern Nigeria.

R.A. Adeleye[17] and Obaro Ikime[18] offer some of the most authoritative views on the occupation of Zazzau. Although relatively comprehensive, the two studies nevertheless leave a very big gap in their account on the actual circumstances surrounding the occupation of Zazzau and the Emirates' response to such occupation.

R. A. Adeleye's uncertainty is brought out clearly by his confusion about Nagwamatse's action of slave raiding in the territory of Zazzau.

[16] Mahadi Adamu The Hausa and the other people of Northern Nigeria. 1200 – 1600 in Nigeria studiesin Nigeria culture Vol. 2, number 1 occasional papers of the centre for culture studies, ABU, Zaria 1982. pp. 76-77.
[17] A.R. Adeleye *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804 – 1906*. Longman, London, 1971 pp. 243 – 244.
[18] O. Ikime, *The fall of Nigeria* – The British conquest, Heinemann, London, 1977 p. 185

> *There is no evidence that I have come across to explain the purpose of Ibrahim's (Nagwamatse) raids and his disobedience of the caliph.*[19]

Obaro Ikime on the other hand writing several years after Adeleye has modestly admitted his ignorance about the exact relationship between the Caliph in Sokoto and the Emir Kwasau of Zazzau by 1902. The views of these scholars, given as recent as the 1960s, tend to question the credibility of the colonial records on the alleged slave raiding activities of Nagwamatse whom the Emir of Zazzau (Kwasau) was purported to have sought the assistance of the British (Lugard),[20] on the basis of which a military garrison was first established in Zaria or the bad relations which the colonial records claimed to have existed between the Emir of Zazzau and the caliph in Sokoto which was supposed to have made the Emir to enter into friendly relations with the British.

> *"We do not know the full story about relations between Zaria and Sokoto".*[21]

This recent cautious remarks by outstanding Nigerian historians, provide us with the opportunity to suggest if not to prove that the purported "surrender" of Zazzau without resistance to the British occupation, was a colonial thesis that was put together with deliberate care.

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[19] Op. cit. A.R. Adeleye *power and diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804 – 1906* p. 245.
[20] Op. cit., O. Ikime: *The fall of Nigeria* – The British conquest pp. 186 – 187.
[21] Ibid., p. 185

Thus long before 1902, the British already established in Zungeru almost a stone throw from Zaria, had carried out repeated reconnaissance activities, in an attempt to get intelligence pertaining to the military strength and economic potentialities of the Emirates of Northern Nigeria. However, the case of Zazzau, Kano and Sokoto were more urgent, hence more pertinent, but Zazzau as the potential base from which the British intended to secure the conquest of Kano and Sokoto had to be secured first. And to achieve this, the British did not spare any trick.

One of the overt moves taken toward securing Zazzau itself was the subtle maneuver represented by the mission undertaken by Bishop Tugwell which Obaro Ikime reported:

> *In 1899 Bishop Tugwell led a C.M.S. missionary team into Northern Nigeria. The missionaries wanted to establish a centre in Kano. On their way to Kano, they stopped at Zaria. According to the missionaries, the Emir of Zaria received them very well. The same missionaries say that the Emir received them well because he was at that time, not on very friendly relations with caliph Abdul of Sokoto. He therefore, thought it wise to show friendship to the Europeans. We do not know the full story about relations between Zaria and Sokoto.*[22]

If there is any doubt or uncertainty with regards to the relationship between Zaria and Sokoto which historians like Ikime could not clear up to the

[22] Op. cit. Ikime O. *The fall of Nigeria* – The British Conquest p. 185.

time he was writing, then the whole story as related by Bishop Tugwell about circumstance in Zazzau, Kano or even Sokoto remain suspect. Seeing that a Muslim Emir within the Sokoto Caliphate is less likely to join forces with infidel white men to wage war against the commander of the faithful. Just as the moves by Bishop Tugwell are liable to exposure as a convert espionage activity, the affairs of Nagwamatse of Kontagora was manufactured as well to be deployed as a convenient excuse to invade Zaria. Although we are not in a position to say with facts whether Nagwamatse was culpable of the crime for which he was widely condemned in the dominant literature, but a few logical conjectures will show that the "slave raiding activities" in the Zazzau territory against which the Emir of Zazzau was purported to have sought the assistance of the British was another hogwash. It was very unlikely that Nagwamatse, having escaped the British after their invasion of Kontagora would be in a position to carry out slave raiding much less to constitute a threat to the Zazzau Emirate on whose territory he was no more than a fugitive. Thus the unilateral decision by Lugard to establish a military base at Wushishi without consultation with Bida or Kontagora, the hostile reaction of the two Emirates against this act of aggression by the British, had provided the British with a strong reason to neutralize the opposition and resistance which the two emirates were poised to offer. Bida and Kontagora, who felt threatened by this move, reacted quickly to this unprovoked aggression on the part of the British.

As an excuse to attack it, later in August 1900, Lugard reported that Kontagora had attacked a British party carrying mail to Wushishi. By November, he was complaining to the colonial office that major O'Neil's detachment was being constantly harassed by Bida and Kontagora acting in alliance.[23]

Given the above scenario, it is not surprising that the charge of slave raiding was slammed against Kontagora. It is in view of this development that we are inclined to suspect that the purported appeal by the Emir of Zazzau to the British against Nagwamatse was a small part of the larger scheme of the British to colonize not only Bida, Kontagora and Zazzau, but also Kano and Sokoto and the remaining part of Northern Nigeria. Herein lies the foundation of the whole propaganda about the ostensible surrender of Zazzau without resistance.

Sarkin Zazzau Kwasau who succeeded Usman Yero in 1897 seemed to have ascended the throne after a keen contest. He carried out some far reaching reforms "he reorganized administrative set up of the Emirate most especially by reducing the power of the Galadima."[24] This re-organisation did not seem to go down well with a section of Zazzau aristocracy who ensured through intrigues that Kwasau's had been at least a chequered tenure. For this reason, some how, the emir did not seem to be viewed in much good light by the

[23] Op. cit. O. Ikime. *The Fall of Nigeria*, The British Conquest. P. 8.
[24] S. Shuaibu: A History of Anchau up 1700 – 1945 Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2007, p. 5

leadership of the caliphate in Sokoto. It is probable that negative reports sent to Sokoto by the Emirs' detractors back in Zazzau might have contributed to the strained relations between the Emir and Sokoto.

The question of Ibrahim Nagwamates's "slave raiding" on the territory of Zazzau on account of which the Emir was alleged to have appealed to Lugard for military assistance was in our view a convenient ruse which served the British well, but left the Emir vulnerable to further machinations of the British. The visit and activities of Bishop Tugwell between 1899 – 1900, and the visit of colonel Kembell and his pledges of "peace and friendship"[25] with the Emir hid, more than they revealed of what must have been a pact between the Emir and the British. It would seem, the ambivalence of the Emir revealed in his letter to Lugard which he also copied to Sokoto reveals more than any of his other acts, the extent of his dilemma. It may not be totally wrong to say that Zazzau was occupied well before 1902, the date given as the formal day of it's occupation. What with the clandestine operations undertaken by the Christian missionaries led by Bishop Tugwell appointed by the colonialist to spy on the extent of the military strength of the Emirate of Zazzau and Kano.[26] The Bishop seemed to have carried out his brief well, having established the Christain mission station in Zaria as early as 1901. The missionaries according

[25] Op. cit., O. Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria* – British Conquest, p. 186.
[26] A.R. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria* p. 118.

to Shu'aibu Shehu[27] became so close to Emir Mohammed Lawal Kwasau, that they got access to certain important information and the nature of correspondences that took place between the Emir and the Sultan as well as the Emirs of Kano and Katsina. Thus having been around for a whole year these colonial spy masters in the guise of Christian clergies had been able to infiltrate the security network of the Emirate and its defenses. Using subtle threat and propaganda by making frequent reference to the war against Bida, Ilorin and Kontagora and their defeat. Emir Kwasau by now a virtual prisoner of the British had become humstrung in a dilemma. His belated statement:

> *"If the caliph instructed me to fight the white men would do it."*[28]

As he reportedly informed captain Abadie give us an insight into the extent of his dilemma, henceforth, the succeeding events notably the appeal to Lugard to send troops to help Emir Kwasau against Ibrahim Nagwamatse and the arrival of British troops in March 1902 and the capture of Nagwamatse followed by the establishment of the military garrison and the appointment of Abadie as resident were as we said earlier only parts of the grand plan. Meanwhile, the intelligence correspondence with Kano, the hostility against the missionaries and the eventual detronment of the Emir Kwasau and other forms of passive resistance to the British occupation are enough evidence to

[27] Op. cit., Shu'aibu History of Anchau c. 1700 – 1945, p. 144.
[28] Op. cit. A.R. Adeleye Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria pp. 245 – 247.

the fact that official Zazzau did not submit to British occupation without resistance as colonial accounts seem to suggest. Thus it could be said that the British were responsible for preventing what might have a wide military confrontation with Zazzau been through under cover spy activities. If Kwasau must bear any blame for what was made to appear like surrender without resistance it must be his failure to see through the ploy of Tugwell early and to act fast.

The colonialists also gave another reason for the conquest of Zazzau which seemed to have served their personal interest. In October 1902 Dan Yamusa, the Magajin Keffi, a representative of the Emir of Zazzau in Keffi (a vassal of Zazzau) killed a British Resident, Captain Moloney, not a mere ordinary citizen being a principal office holder and the most powerful man in (Keffi) Emirate[29] the action of Danyamu must be regarded as official. Shu'aibu has observed that the eventual deposition of Emir Kwasau not very long after Zazzau was occupied with the alleged role of the Emir in the "Murder" of captain Moloney by the Magaji of Keffi Danyamusa.

> *"The murder of Captain Moloney in Keffi… was alleged to be conducted under the instruction of the Emir."*[30]

[29] J.M. Muffet: Concerning Brave Captains Being a History of the British Occupation of Kano and Sokoto and the High Stand of Fulani Forces, Andre, London. 1964, p. 62.
[30] Op. cit., SHu'aibu: History of Anchau p. 6

It should be noted that by the dethronement of Emir Mohammed Lawal Kwasau in April, 1902 and appointment of Captain Abadie as the resident of Zaria Province this marked the birth of colonial state in Zaria or colonialism.

3.3 Administrative Re-Organization and the Creation of Districts

Immediately after the British occupation of Zazzau Emirate and the subsequent establishment of Zaria Province under the Headship of Captain Abadie by the Colonialist the colonial administration faced a crucial problem. There was need to reform land tenure system in such a way that can suit the colonial economic interest. There was urgent need to tackle the issue of the abolition of the slave trade which was also used as the source of labour for the colonial state.

3.3.1 Creation of Ikara District, 1907

There have been a lot of arguments regarding the motive for the creation of districts. However, it has been argued that it was purely a British colonial creation. One of the proponents of this view is professor Isah Abba Alkali in which he stated that:

> *"When we attempt to reconstruct the pattern of local authority in the Emirates in the 19th century in to ascertain what form the latter, took under the British, we find that we are confronted with the problem of vague definition for or conception of the terms such as brief holder, District head,*

> *territorial magnate, estate and traditional system."*[31]

He further argued that:

> *"The District head system, which has been regarded as a traditional political system in Northern Nigeria was, both in structure and form a British creation."*[32]

However, in most of the Emirates those appointed district heads were nearly all strangers to their districts who had been appointed without consultation by outside authority, not chief or ruler who had risen from among the people. In fact even in some cases where those appointed happened to come from the district, they were made the head of (or their relations) had been in pre-colonial period only rulers or leaders of single town or village in which case therefore, these men were just promoted as rulers or traditional authorities over a number of town and villages carved out as district or administrative unit by the British.[33] There were, however, in existence various officials at the headquarters in this case Zaria who were allotted fief dotted around the Emirate. They appointed representatives to collect taxes on their behalf and other obligations to them, through j*akadu*. A government by proxy of sort this differed radically from what came after the imposition of colonialism.

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[31] I.A. Abba, Changing Patterns of Local Authority and the Evolution of District Head System in Gombe Emirate c. 1804 – 1960. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Department of History A.B.U. Zaria, 1985, p. 10.
[32] Ibid., p. 5.
[33] Ibid., p. 10.

One of the first policies of the British colonialist was the carving out of districts. The idea of delineating district areas was with the view to carving out manageable administrative units. However, the territorial re-organisation of Zazzau area had not been an easy task for the colonial administration as early as 1905, it was reported that the administration was unable to affect the division of Hausa portion of Zazzau Emirate into districts.[34] The division becomes very difficult, since the towns owned by various headmen who lived in Zaria were dotted at random around the Emirate. It therefore, became an urgent necessity to divide the emirate into administrative districts, each with a headman residing in his district and visiting his towns, and this formed the main work of the year 1905.[35]

Therefore, the scheme was completed in 1907 as reported by the resident of Zaria Province C.W. Orr:

> *"In my report for last year I stated that I was engaged on a scheme for dividing the Emirate into a number of District headmen residing in each. In April I was able to put this scheme into execution. The number of district is 32, and each is under charge of a headman who except in three cases were their local chief, is a Zaria headman who formerly resided permanently at the capital but will in future reside in his district. Hitherto, as I have previously reported, each Zaria hakimi has been nominally incharge of one or more towns dotted at random about the*

[34] NAK/ZARPROF/2552/Zaria Province Annual Report for 1905.
[35] NAK/55/1906-1907, Northern Nigerian Annual Report p. 494.

> *Emirate. He resided entirely in Zaria, sending messengers to the towns, from which he was entitled to exact a certain amount of labour, building material and a portion of the tax. The problems before me, had been a group towns, in to district and place each district under a hakimi, and to arrange that, the total tax in a district should be as nearly as possible the same as the total tax of the scattered towns which the hakimi had previously possessed.*[36]

By 1907, the Emirate of Zazzau was divided out in to thirty-two (32) administrative districts. Further territorial re-organization was effected by 1917 when the number of the districts was reduced to twenty-eight (28) and named after their respective district headquarters. However, later in 1918 the districts were reduced to seventeen (17) districts.[37] The creation of homologous self contained district was informed by financial cost. First, the institution of the *Jakadu* intermediaries was abolished. The abolishing of the *jakad*a was said to have been aimed at reducing financial cost of administration for by 1931 it was found that less 54% of the Native Authority (N.A.) share of the revenue in Zazzau Emirate was devoted to administration. The greater part of this went into the payment of salaries. The twenty seven districts drawn after 1918 district re-organization each with a resident chief which contains seven hundred and fifty (750) villages units. The districts are as follows:

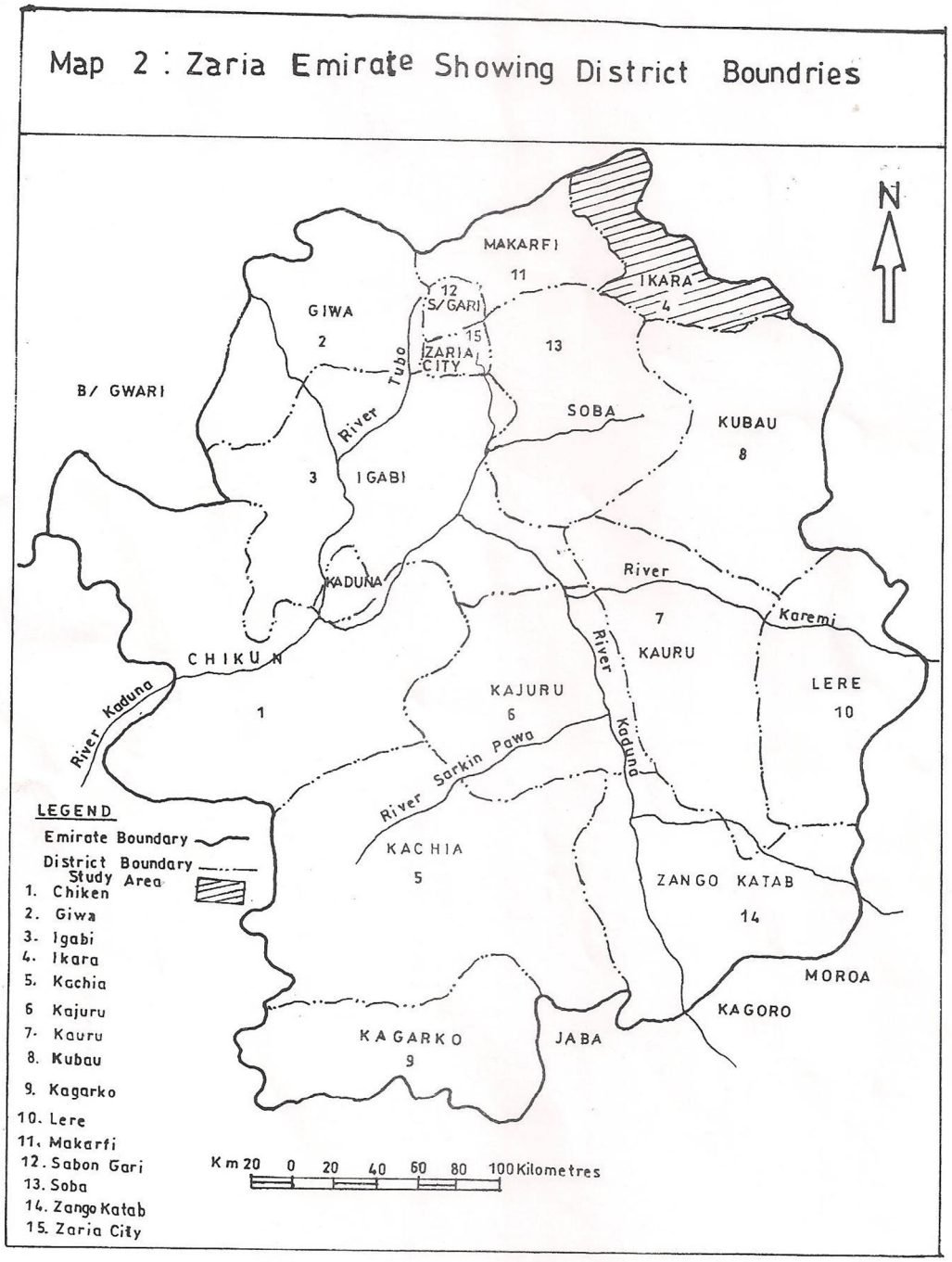
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[36] NAK/SNP/7563/Annual Report for Zaria Province 1907 by C.W. Orri. Also NAK/SNP/10,239p./1919 and Ikara District Reassessment Report by D.M.H. Beek.
[37] NAK/Zarprof/2552/Annual Report for 1905

1	Anchau	Dallatu
2	Anchan	Magajin Sani
3	Bishini	Sarkin Zana
4	Bikarah	Dangaladima
5	Chawai	Sarkin Chawai
6	Giwa	Fagachi
7	Igabi	Turaki Babba
8	Ikara	Sarkin Yaki
9	Jaji	Wambai
10	Jere	Sarkin Jere
11	Kachiya	Ma'aji
12	Kagarko	Sarkin Kagarko
13	Kan-Giwa	Iyan-gari
14	Katab	Katuka
15	Kajuru	Sarkin Kajuru
16	Kauru	Sarkin Kauru
17	Kudan	Sarkin Fada
18	Kudaru	Turaki Karami
19	Kujama	Wan'Iyan
20	Lere	Wali
21	Makarfi	Galadima
22	Makera	Magajin Jisambo
23	Panhauya	Madauchi
24	Sabon – Birni	Makama Babba
25	Soba	Makama Karami
26	Turunku	Sarkin Ruwa

27 Zangon – Aya Dan-Madami[38]

Map 3:3



SOURCE : S. M. Aminu
The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria : A case study of Zaria Native Authority C.1902 — 1945
M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1991.

It should be noted that Ikara District was one of the first districts to be created in the Emirate of Zazzau which served as one of the basic units through which indirect rule system was administered. At regional and provincial levels, the resident officer carried out the policies of the imperialist power with the assistance of other subordinate colonial officers, the District officers (DO's) and their assistance (A.D.Os). These Dos and ADOs were responsible for touring of the districts to ensure strict compliance with colonial policies and directives.[39] The lowest level of the colonial state structure was the native administration, under the Emir through whom the districts and villages were effectively brought under colonial control. This is often referred to as indirect rule system. The native authority provided the link between the colonized society and colonial administration.[40] Added to this is the fact that the link was vertical rather than horizontal through a hierarchy of titled official. The Emir appointed district heads subject to the approval of colonial administration who were responsible to him. Each district head, in turn recommended to the Emir for appointments as village heads *(dagatai)* candidates from hereditary line of the various village area; and the village heads in turn appointed ward had who occupied a similar position vis-à-vis the village head, as he occupied vis-à-vis

[39] Op. cit. Safiyanu Colonial State pp. 68 – 69.
[40] Ibid., p. 69.

district head.[41] Further more, under the territorial offices, and many titles as a result now have no holders. Instead, offices of new departments organized by government such as forestry, agriculture, veterinary etc offer suitable objects of political composition. These new officers, such as forest, guard agricultural inspectors etc have territorial aspect in that each Hausa district of Zaria usually has one or more officials posted.[42]

3.3.2 Duties of District Head

The Colonial State had well defined the duties and responsibilities of the district heads in order to control the conquered societies for maximum economic and political exploitation for their personal gain. As we have pointed out earlier in this work, the whole idea of colonial administration in Ikara, Zazzau Emirate and the whole Nigeria was to achieve their economic and political interest through the use of various methods and systems.

Furthermore, the native chiefs have well defined duties and acknowledged status and must understand that he had no right, to his place and powers unless he renders his proper services to the colonial state.[43] Their legitimacy was upheld in so far as they performed the roles set for them by the colonial administration. True to this all the district heads of Zaria Emirate were

[41] M.G. Smith The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Published by her Majesty's Stationary Office for the Colonial Office, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 p. 115.
[42] Ibid. p. 115.
[43] Op. cit. Lugard Political Memorander p. 295.

placed on salaries as from January, 1st 1913. For this purpose the district headmen were classified in to six grades with salaries ranging from 100 pounds per annum.[44] This was meant to encourage them to carry out their assigned responsibilities. Accordingly, in addition to general loyalty to the British, the basis upon which the British assessed the effectiveness of districts heads (DH) included the firmness with which they controlled their districts.[45]

The following were the duties and responsibilities of district heads as spelt out by the colonialist:

1. To maintain law and order in their various domain and villages
2. To collect taxes
3. To encourage their subject/masses to work in harmony and to advise to live peacefully, so that, the colonialist will have more opportunity to exploit resources.
4. Organize and coordinate communal and public works in his district i.e. roads construction and maintenance, building of school and dispensaries. They also assigned to oversee the clearing of road paths and culvets inorder to make the raw materials produced in the rural areas, easy and accessible for the colonialist.

[44] NAK/SNP10/103) Annual Report by J.M. Frementle for 1914.
[45] Temple C.L. Kano Provincial Half Year Report for June 1909, Cited in M.M. Tukur. The Imposition of British Colonial Rule on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and the Neighbouring State 1807 – 1904: An Interpretation of Colonial Source Vol. I p. 63, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U. 1979).

5. Encourage the peasantry to cultivate cash crops such as cotton, groundnuts etc
6. Supply free labour when needed by the colonial state, primarily in most cases for the construction of European quarters and roads within his area of jurisdiction.
7. Stop evil characters from corrupting the towns and villages.[46]

However, it should be noted at the initial stage of imposition of colonialism, the district heads were said to be pre-occupied with clearing of road path, road construction and culvert as part of the ground design for colonial exploitation. They also performed the duty of mobilizing the people to be involved in literacy enlightenment.[47]

Furthermore, it can be said they were forced/encouraged to involve in carrying out various colonial policies such as cash crop etc.

3.3.3 District Heads of Ikara 1907 – Date

1. Sarkin yakin Zazzau Muhammadu Gidado 1907 - 1918
2. Sarkin yaki Zazzau Abdullahi Gidado 1918 - 1945

[46] Op. cit. Sufiyan M.A.P. and A. Isah Alkali Changing patterns of Native Authority in Gombe Emirate. An interview conducted with Sarkin Ikara Alhaji Suleiman Abubakar (Village head of Ikara), Age 65 years 28th December, 2009.

[47] An interview conducted with Alhaji Hamza Abubakar popularly known as Alhaji Yaro, Age 85 years old, Anguwan Magajin Gari, Ikara, 28th December, 2009. Although they were expected to mobilize the people for political participation, they ended up supporting the political party in power. During 1950s politics, the district heads and the village heads were all supported the ruling party of NPC, for a simple reason being the party was in power.

3. Sarkin yaki Zazzau Muhammadu Lawal 1946- 1949
4. Madakin Zazzau Shehu (Dan Sarki Dalhatu) 1950 - 1956
5. Dallatun Zazzau Muhammadu 1956 -1962
6. Faikan Zazzau 1962-1964
7. Makaman Zazzau Halliru 1964 - 1969
8. Walin Zazzau Ummaru (Dan Sarki Dalhatu) 1969 - 1984
9. Magajin Mallam Zazzau Alhaji Musa 1984 - 1986
10. Madakin Zazzau Abubakar Aminu 1986-1987
11. Danmajen Zazzau Alhaji Balarabe Hussain 1987- date

Source*: Ikara District Office file, Interview with Alhaji Nalado Anguwan Yari, Ikara, Age 80.*

3.4 Economic Re-Organization

3.4.1 Taxation

The problems and difficulties associated with Nigerian and Nigerian economy it has link with the British colonial economy domination and exploitation enforced on Nigeria for the past/last one hundred years ago.

Several scholars, especially historians have made research in order to find the effects, causes, and impact on society and the economy. Therefore, this work will attempt at finding effect on Ikara and examine the impact of British colonial economic policies on Ikara.

The native administration did not have any power. They only implemented those political and economic decision made by the Governor or Resident.[48] One of the important colonial policies was taxation. This was imposed on the colonized societies in order to achieve a number of colonial goals, primarily to have revenue in order to execute other policies. This was demonstrated by Lugard in his Dual Mandate where he wrote

> *"No system of rule can be effective unless it enjoys some measure of financial independence. Such financial independence is derived from direct tax based on the principle of an income."*[49]

Secondly, colonial taxation was an important weapon for establishing colonial control and bringing the economy of all colonized people under effective foreign domination.[50] As early as 1906, the colonial administration promulgated another proclamation, (land revenue preclamation of 1906 and land and native right proclaimation of 1910), the native proclamation. This proclamation authorized the levying and collection of taxes in accordance with certain detailed provision. Under this proclamation assessment was based on the annual value of the land and produce, of the profits from trade and manufactures, flocks and herds of nomads. This was consolidated in to a single

[48] Lugard L. The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, (Wilham Blackwood and Sons, London 1922) p. 231.
[49] Op. cit. Safiyan A.M. Colonial State p. 143.
[50] Annet Gazzetter of Zaria Province, Waterloo, London, 1920, p. 21.

tax, but this time around the colonial administration took 5% while Native Authority (N.A.) took 50% half of which went into the Emir.[51]

Meanwhile, before the establishment of the Native Treasury in 1920, a study was undertaken in 1909 titled taxation and industrial organization of Hausa towns of Zaria Emirate by the Resident Gill. It identified two problems associated with the old system of taxation. The first was that by custom, Sarakuna, district heads and their fadawa were exempted from taxation. Furthermore, only gainfully employed were taxed. Those tagged banzagari (idlers) and followers of minor occupations who did not farm escape their duty to the state.[52] This was not acceptable to the British, and hence in 1912 the previous forms of taxes were replaced by the following:

1. Kurdi gida compound tax 6d per compound.
2. Kurdin galma assessed per hoe
3. Kurdin banzan gari at 3s 6d every industrial enterprise.
4. Kurdin kara 4s per sugarcane.

Tax on corn, *gero, dawa* (assessed/hoe) every adult cultivator paid between five shillings per plot of the crop while tax for tobacco license fee of one shilling six pence was charged per every plot of tobacco, in the case of cassava, 3 shilling one garden of the crops. For industrial activities, butchers

[51] NAK/ZarProf/2552/Taxation and Individual Organization of Hausa Towns of Zaria.
[52] NAKZarProf/5227/Zaria Province Annual Report for 1910 by Wither Gill also See Annet p. 17.

were made to pay a license fee ranging from one shilling half pence to three shillings half pence. Dyers license fee ranged from one shilling three pence two shillings depending on the number of dye pits controlled by the dyers while carpenters (massaba) paid a flat rate and this could be due to colonial difficulties in determining their performance. Therefore, *Maharba* (hunters) were charged a flat rate of one shilling seven pence, *yan katako* (trappers) paid a license fee of three and half shilling. Bee keepers paid a shilling and seven pence. Bori dancers paid a shilling and half, basket makers seven and a half pence. Cotton spinners and *gammo* makers of the rope paid one shillings three pence per person. While corn measurers *(ma'auna)* paid two shilling and miscellaneous salesmen one shilling three pence.[53]

The significance of bringing this out is to show the wide range of crop and trade that were taxed many times and this was very discouraging to productive activities. It is important to note the amount demanded by the British was at variance with what was collected in the pre-colonial period. The license fee of sugar cane and tobacco amounted to 11% and 23% of the earning of their producers respectively. The condition of the tax payers was made worst by the fact that they had to pay in British currency which was not readily

[53] Op. cit., Sufiyan M.A. Colonial State p. 101.

available. In addition, all crops were taxed according to estimates of properties the British claimed accrued to each individual.[54]

3.4.2 Method of Tax Collection and Assessment

Successful running the affairs of colonial domination was only possible when there was financial backing. According to Lord Lugard taxes must be collected from people.

Therefore, taxation was aimed at making the economy of all colonized societies to be placed under effective exploitation and control. In Ikara district and Zazzau Emirate in general, the village heads and their assistants carried out a census of male taxable individual every year a copy of which was sent to the district heads. The census included the man's name, his tribe, his wives, children, his livestock and his farm. When the census, under the supervision of the district was completed it was sent to the Emirs scribe. The district head and village heads were invited to Zaria where the census figures of each council in consultation with the administrative officer, the district head and village head concerned and tax was assessed. Each village head received a tax demand, with Emir, seal, stating the amount to be paid by his village while the district head received a list of the villages in his district and the sum each village was to pay. The village heads apportioned the tax of the villages, among tax payers roughly

[54] An Interview Conducted with Ibrahim Magaji Ikara. Age 42 Year Old He is a Staff with National Archives, Kaduna.

according to wealth. The village heads made a proper documented tax return to the district head of Ikara on Wednesdays, while he himself fortnightly to the *beit-el-mal* in Zaria. Each village maintained properly documented tax returns. The collection of taxes from the district was brutal. If there was any way in which the British Colonialism made it marks of notoriety and brutality was in the area of tax collection. The peasants were forced to migrate from Ikara district to neighboring districts of Katsina and Kano Provinces.[55] The people were forced to grow cash crops to the exclusion of food crops. It was in reaction to a serious food shortage experienced in the 1931 season that led to decrease in the acreage of cotton in Ikara.[56] On the whole, colonial taxation was rigid and inflexible in method of assessment and collection. The colonial administration paid little or no attention to exceptional situations like drought and famine[57]

3.5 Forced Labour

Another important colonial policy was forced labour in the area of construction of roads, barracks, rest houses, mines and railways. The Northern District of Zazzau Emirate constituted an important network of railway

[55] NAK/ZarProf/482 Annual report for 1910 by Wither Gills Close, See Annet p. 17.
[56] Safiyan Colonial State p. 153.
[57] Ibid Safiyan Colonial State p. 153.

particularly the Baro – Kaduna – Zaria – Jos and Zaria – Gusau lines.[58] It passed through some of the most difficult terrain in the country. The Zaria peasants suffered a great deal from the use of forced labour on earth work almost throughout the year to ensure that the construction work was completed on schedule. The Emir of Zazzau was ordered to throw the whole of his influence into railway work.[59] One of the first things the colonial administration did was to abolish slavery throughout the Emirate. This was to liberate the people for them to have supply of the labour needed. This was a very thorough tax particularly at the early stage of colonialism. However, things started easing later just as reported by the resident.

> *The number of slavery cases which came before me during the year is astonishingly small, and I can only presume that the country is rapidly settling down to the new state of affairs. I have encouraged in every way self redemption and manumission, and no fewer than 513 case of slaves either being freed or purchasing their ransom. It has been reported to me during the year by native court.*[60]

The labour requirement was only used for colonial projects. Even the Emir was not allowed to use the labour of the peasant. In a letter from Dr. Miller he called on the attention of the Resident against the use of labour in the

[58] NAK/SNP7/3997/Report on Zaria Province for September Quarter 1907.
[59] An Interview with Alhaji.
[60] NAK/ZarProf/c4003 Forced Labour and Gayya.

Emir's private farm located at Likoro in Makarfi district. The letter reads in part as follows:

> *It is true also that not only are these forced gayyas in vague for sowing time, but that the enormous farms which the Amir is said to have gradually accumulated, by the forcible acquisition of the people farms, are entirely worked by such forced labour, and have been for at least two years…*[61]

In response to Dr. Miller's letter the Resident wrote:

> *My information so far confirms that there has been a recent revival by the Sarakuna of the ancient custom of gayya for farm work. This met permitted to the chiefs and I am making steps to prevent them…*[62]

The Resident did not stop at acknowledging the existence of *gayya* forced labour, but called the attention of the district head, to the fact that neither the Emir nor any subordinate chief or headman have the right to labour for farms whether paid or not.[63] It must be pointed out that, the Northern Nigeria Railway, built by Sir Percy Girouard and Sir Eaglesome, was said to be the cheapest, most rapid, in every respect the most satisfactory line hitherto constructed in tropical Africa.[64]

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[61] Ibid.
[62] Modibbo A.M. European Trading Companies and the Under-development of Northern Nigeria: A Case of RNC/UAC, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria. P. 186.
[63] Ibid., p. 186.
[64] Op. cit., Lugard Dual Mandate p. 421.

By 1907, the plan by the colonial office in London to construct a railway line from Baro on the Niger River to Kano had been concretized. Sir Percy Girouard, a transport Engineer by profession and representative of merchant interest, had taken over from Lugard as high commissioner. Inspite of tedious nature of the work, the Baro-Kano railway which was 356 miles (approximately 560km) was completed between January, 1907 and March 1911.[65] As pointed out earlier, Zazzau Emirate was the nexus of railway lines. There were the Zaria – Gusau – Kano and Zaria – Jos lines. It was inevitable that the people of Zaria and the adjoining districts had to participate in the railway construction. The people of Ikara suffered a great deal in this respect. The provision for the labour force for railway construction was organized in such a way that whenever the rail head reached a particular territory, the ruler of that territory was responsible for providing the labour to work the construction of the lines in the territory.[66] Since the responsibility fell on the Emir of Zazzau, orders were sent to each district head to supply a given quota of men to go to the railway construction site.[67]

The district head of Ikara usually summoned the various village head and a quota allocated to each. They in turn asked the *Masu Anguwa* (ward heads) to get the labour needed from various families. They were then brought

[65] Lugard Dual Mandate p. 421.
[66] An Interview.
[67] NAK/Zarprof/2557/Zaria Province report No. 45 for the year 1910 by Wither Gills.

to Ikara town. They came with grinded millet *garin gero*. From there they were taken to various construction sites. They usually spent two to three months before they were changed.[68] By this time, the District heads fully understood the method of recruiting and supplying the relief gang and by the close of the year 1910 all railway demand were being met without any hitch. It was in this regard that the acting resident J.W. Withers Gills wrote a gratifying report in ways and manners the district head of Ikara and other village headmen responded. He reported that the executive engineers have been busy in the past quarter in running a traverse line from Kaduna river northwards past Zaria as far as Ikara on the Kano road – a distance of some 80 miles. Each district responded cheerfully to the demands for labour and materials for the survey camps built every six mile long, he personally expressed his appreciation of the manner in which all this requisition on native headmen have been met.[69] The recruitment of labour for railway construction and other colonial projects was so pronounced and glaring in the Hausa district of the Emirate to which Ikara belonged that the resident in his annual report of 1914 reported that it was useless to try and assess districts containing half empty village while the demand for enlisted labour was so great, to do so would only create unrest

[68] NAK/SNP/735554/Zaria Province June Quarter for 1909 by Withners Gills
[69] Nak/Zarprof/2561/Annual Report No. 65 for 1914 by M. Porch.

amongst the labour employed on railway construction.[70] Worst of all, were the work conditions. The workers were usually taken to sites where camps were made with thatch and beds wooden logs. The conditions of these camps usually used to be very damp and very uncomfortable for human inhabitants.

Strenuous physical labour was employed with little use of machinery. The British only supervised and gave instructions. This was more glaring in the case of Zaria – Kano line construction. The feeding was also very poor; the British supervising the job were well fed.[71] The terrible condition was also appreciated by Resident Arthur Festing who wrote:

> *Zaria labour market has always been notoriously bad and I suggest by means of the Emir and district chief to try and remedy this. It appears essential that this railway work should be done by district through which it passes.*[72]

It was in reaction to this that a great deal of migration took place. In all some 2, 833 families of over 80,000 persons were reported to have emigrated to neighbouring provinces. This prompted an approval for a reduction from 3,000 to 1,500 by the 1st December, 1924 and the Resident agreed to provide a total of 1,500 labourers monthly up to 1st May 1925 the date political labour discontinued in Zaria Province. The reduction from the monthly total of 4,500

[70] NAK/Zarprof/SNP7/10/319/Annual Report for 1909 by Major Festing.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

has given a great satisfaction to the Emir and his district chiefs and has afforded a large measure of relief to the peasantry.[73]

Forced labour was used in the mines as well. The method of recruitment was basically the same. It was organized by the village head that sent their quota to the district head quarters for onward journey to Zaria railway station from Zaria they were transported to Jos in fields. Labourers usually underwent thorough examination at the railway station to ascertain their physical fitness in order to make sure that they could withstand the strains of the mines work.[74] They suffered similar hardship as in the railway construction. Forced labour was used in the construction of road, culverts, public building and residences of the colonial officials. Ikara district particularly was used as source of thatch, grass, where the peasants were forced to take *ciyawa* and accompanied by *yaran hakimi* (district head boys to Zaria)[75] most of this labour was not paid for.

3.6 The Establishment of Colonial Judiciary, Police and Prison

Immediately after the establishment of the colonial state, new measures were introduced to ensure maximum exploitation, domination, and full control of the resources. However, in all the provinces of Nigeria the colonial state raised

[73] Helleiner G.K. Peasant Agriculture Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria, Richard D. Irwin Inc. Home Wood Illinious 1976 p. 109.
[74] Hugendorn J.S. Nigerian Around Export Origin and early Development, A.B.U. Press, Zaria, 1978, p. 16.
[75] NAK/Zarprof/SNP7563/1908/Annual Report for 1907 by C.W. Orr.

certain institutions and structures aimed at facilitating the maximum exploitation of the economic resources. It should be pointed out that from the very beginning of the establishment of British rule in Northern Nigeria, the idea of indirect rule as inaugurated by Sir Fredrick Lugard was mainly dictated by the desire to ensure that British tax payers would not be called upon to finance the administration of the Protectorate. The attitude did not leave room for massive programme of social and economic development which inevitably would have required massive financial assistance from the British government. These in part explain why, Lugard was unconcerned with social and economic development in his political memoranda of 1903.[76] Therefore, the finance which was used for these projects was internally sourced.

In 1929 the British parliament however, passed the first colonial development which set aside a small sum of money toward developing the empire.[77] It was in order to allow the Native Administration (NA) to participate in the development that the colonial government allowed the NA's to retain 70% of the revenue from taxation as from 1928. Some of the socio-political policies of the British in Ikara District were on education, courts, prison etc.

[76]Op cit. Dhiliwayo A.V. History of Sabon Gari p. 311
[77] Tibendarana P.K. Sokoto Province Under British Over Rule 1903-1939 A.B.U. Press Ltd 1988 p. 6.

The police played a very significant role in the history of Ikara. They were established by the colonial state to perform important functions for the colonial state in both administrative and economic spheres. This included imposition of colonial law and order, coordination of collection of taxation, forced labour and construction of railway as seen in the following report which stated that:

> *Owing to the opening of the Baro Kano Railway in this province considerable changes have been made in the Zaria detachment of police during the past year. In January last year the total numbers of men were twelve. Five of whom were stationed at Zaria and seven at Kaduna, the latter being in the pay of the Baro Kano Railway. By the 6th May this number had been raised to forty five of whom eighteen were to be used solely for duty on the Railway. By the end of June, however twenty men had been transferred to Kabba leaving the total strength of the province at 25 N.C.O.s and constables. They were distributed as follows:*
> *Zaria 2 N.C.O.'s and 11 constable*
> *Rigachukun 1 N.C.O and 2 constable*
> *Kaduna 1 N.C.O and 8 constable*
> *And this disposition has remained unchanged up to the present date. With the exception of one N.C.O. and six police constables the entire detachment is employed exclusively for the duty on the railway and expenses connected with their maintenance are paid from Baro Kano Railway fund*[78].

In addition, Native Authority Police were drawn from *Dogarai* (District Police). The *dogarai* were used to serve in a variety of political, administrative,

[78] NAK/Zarprof/622/1912 op. cit.

social as well as economic activities in Zaria Province. The *dogari* was under the control of *Sarkin Dogarai* and were posted to District for a period of three months.[79] Therefore, at the District level it was only the *dogarai* that were in existence. They played various security and law enforcement. They served as personal bodyguards to the district head and village head at the district headquarters. They also enforced colonial policies. For example, there was no area where the role of *dogarai* and *yaran hakimi* was most felt within Ikara than the area of tax collection. This was because of the oppressive and coercive tendencies, which the peasants were subjected as indicated in this report that:

> *The dogarai perform the whole of the police duties of this emirate, and they do it in a most efficient manner. I know of no force of police who command the same respect as the dogarai of the Hausa Emirates. They are factful, and seem to be able to influence and control crowds in most astonishing manner. The total strength of the force in this province is 56 and the sarkin dogarai. There are no other ranks. Their total cost per annum amounts to £504. A very small amount when it is considered that they police an area of nine thousand square miles and control an estimated population of nearly 400,000 people*[80].

As we pointed out earlier, colonial political structures and services were meant to serve colonial interests. The courts for example at the inception of colonialism, served the role of changing the pattern of social relations of

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79 NAK/Zarprof/2562/1915/ Annual Report No. 67 for year 1916 by C.O. Migeod.
80 Op cit. NAK/Zarprof/622/1912.

production. The Native Courts in Zaria Judicial Council graded at different level for example there were grade "A" court, grade "B", grade "C" and grade "D". The Alkali courts has grade "C" power with jurisdiction over Ikara District, however, complaints arising near Zaria are often taken and settled by Alkali Zaria. As stated by the ruling Resident Zaria Province on Annual Report No. 50 on Zaria Province for the year 1911 that:

> *There are eight native courts in the Emirate, which with one or two exceptions are very favourably reported on. There is an appeal from all these courts to the Alkali's court at Zaria, and this is occasionally exercised. Cases also too difficult for the district courts are referred to the Alkali at Zaria: from the little I have seen of Alkali he seems a very intelligent, outspoken and fearless jurist, but wanting somewhat in fact in his dealings with Emir.*[181]

The alkali keeps three books viz*: littafin kara, littafin bin sawu, littafin shari'a* it is a monthly case list and receipt counter foils are sent to Zaria by the District Messenger. He has about 100 or more cases a month.[82]

However, up to 1923 there was no any colonial court located within Ikara district, therefore, all cases were referred to neighbouring districts, or Zaria, the headquarters of the province. This was clearly indicated on Zaria province. Ikara district re-assessment of 1923 that:

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81 NAK/Zarprof/622/1912/Annual Report No. 50 on Zaria Province for the Year 1911
82 NAK/Zarprof/2571/1924/Annual Report on Zaria Province for the year 1924.

TABLE 3.1: Cases Tried by Native Courts of Zaria Province during the Year 1911

Name	Nature	Grade	Case tried during year	Remarks
Zaria	Alkali's court	A	623	
Do	Judicial council	A	-	
Zangon katab	Alkali's court	C	355	
Kachia	-d-	D	146	
Lere	-d-	D	151	
Auchang	-d-	D	625	Established 28.11.11
Rigachukun	-d-	D	230	
Soba	-d-	D	592	
Fatika	-d-	D	400	
Total			**3131**	

Source: NAK/Zarprof/622/1912

From the table above it can be seen that in Zaria Province only Zaria City had two courts of grade A standard, one was that of the Alkali and the other was the court of the Judicial Council. A total number of six hundred and twenty-three cases were tried by the Alkali court of Zaria City for the year 1911 alone. In the case of Grade C consist only Zangon Katab had such grade of court and it tried 335 cases. All the other Native Courts in the Province were of Grade D standard. The total numbers of cases tried by the Native Courts in the Province were 3131.

Table 3.2: Synopsis of cases tried at courts in Zaria Province, 1911

Nature of offence or claim	Zaria court	District courts	Total
Murder	-	-	-
Manslaughter	-	-	-
Arson	1	-	1
Offences against person	22	71	93
Offences against property	85	154	239
Other offences	3	28	31
Civil claims	112	669	781
Divorce cases	394	1581	1975
Disputes concerning inheritance of property	4	2	6
Disputes concerning ransom money	-	1	1
Disputes concerning land claims (farms)	2	2	4
Total	633	2508	3131

Source: NAK/Zarprof/622/1912

TABLE 3:3: Cases Tried by the Provincial Court, Zaria, During The Year 1911

Offences against the person (pp214-216 of C.C.)	24
Offences against the properly (pp. 216-219 of CC)	72
Offences against the laws of slavery	7
Offences against the revenue proclamation	29
Miscellaneous offences	63
Total	**195**

TABLE 3.4: Summary of Provincial court Trials in Zaria Province, 1912

	Number convicted	Number acquitted	No. of case foll through withdrawn or quashed
Murder	1	-	-
Attempt at murder	-	-	-
Manslaughter	6	-	-
Rape	-	-	-
Assault and other offences against the person	16	1	-
Other offences against the property	68	2	-
Malicious injuries to property	1	-	-
Robbery with violence	1	-	-
Slavery offences	7	-	-
Miscellaneous offences	87	1	4
Total	187	4	4

Source: NAK/Zarprof/622/1912.

> *"There is no native court in the district which is in the jurisdiction of Zuntu court. As Zuntu is 40 miles from Ikara I would suggest that the Soba court be used instead, it is 18 miles away and in wet season natives have to pass through Soba route to Zuntu."*[83]

Furthermore, initially there were pagan courts in some parts of the district, they were held at Dan Lawal (*Sarki Yaki's* district) and Zuntu (Dallatu district) and those never legally constituted have been done away with. No

83 NAK/SNPa/368/1923/Ikara District Re-Assessment Report for year 1923

difficulty has been experienced in getting the *Maguzawa* to attend the alkali's courts [84]as indicated in this report that:

> *This district is served by the native courts of Soba and Auchang. The "Sheria-n-maguzawa" appears to be in the hands of the sarkin Dan Lawal, a very good type of Ba-Magaji, and his nephew the Sarkin Arna, the question as to whether these courts should assure the status of constituted Moslem courts presents a difficulty. If legally constituted under what code of laws would they operate? "Basu da litafi; Sheria su ken an abinda Hankalinsu ya gani". At present all causes arising between Moslems and Maguzawa are tried in the Moslem courts and only cases actually "interse" are tried in their own informal way. I am convinced that to attempt to give them legally constituted special courts would be only deferring the day when they accept the judgments of the Moslem courts, as they do now except where they are in a very great majority. I am, of course speaking of Maguzawa and not the raw pagans. The latter I know nothing about or their requirements.*[85]

The prison was established in Ikara District, just like other districts in Zaria Province. The main reason was to serve the colonial interest. The Ikara prison was established around 1923.[86] This was only a lock-up. The district lock-up is a one roomed *Shigifa,* one room being for female and the other for male prisoners.

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[84] Op. cit. NAK/SND/368/1923/Ikara Re-Assessment for Year 1923
[85] NAK/Zarprof/2282/1935 Annual Report on Zaria Province by H.F. Beckwell.
[86] NAK/Zarprof/2282/1935 Annual Report on Zaria Province by H.F. Beckwell.

According to an informant, the Ikara prison was under the charge of Sarkin's revenue, which holds the title of *Yari.* Prisoners who were waiting trial and are sentenced to 14 days or less are confined here.

Those sentenced to more than 14 days are sent to Zaria to carry out their sentences in the native administration gaol.[87] However, the colonial prison was established to serve a dual purpose; it was used as symbol of absolute power of coercion to intimidate and dissuade potential dissenters against the colonial state, and as a gaol where real dissenters and opponents of the colonial state were detained.[88] The prisoners were badly treated in the hands of the colonialist. Most of the prisoners served the colonial interest as indicated 1911 Zaria Province report that:

> *"Owing to increase in the number of prisoners it has been found necessary to erect two new cells in the main compound, while two hospital huts for convicts have been built just outside the walls. Throughout the year the prison garden has been kept up and there has always been a good supply of vegetables of various kinds which have been sold to Europeans at a low cost."*[89]

[87] Ibid
[88] M.A. Nasir Colonial Economy op. cit.
[89] NAK/Zarprof/622/1912/Annual Report No. 50 on Zaria Province for year 1911.

3.7 The Establishment of Basic Colonial Infrastructures and Social Services, Railway and Road Networks

Need for raw materials for the British industries in Europe, was the reason that necessitated the construction of railway lines, from Lagos to Baro to Kano Railway line in the Northern protectorate. A. Adamu observed that:

> *"...more importantly, to boost the production of cotton for export to Lancashire cotton mills in Britain. Infact that was what prompted the construction of the railway from Lagos to Kano. The preliminary survey of transport conducted between 1903-1904 stated that cotton growing was the industry which would be of most importance..."*[90]

Though the reason was apparent for the construction of railway, but colonialist claimed to have constructed the rail in order to ease and address problems associated with transportation. It should be noted that with the coming of railway peasants were forced to cultivate export crops which were mostly transported by rail from interior to the coastal areas, where they were finally shipped to Europe. However, in the area of construction of railway in Ikara people were forced to work for the British. Many of them were maltreated through forced labour, heavy taxation and propaganda to enter into

[90]A. Adamu, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria c.1902-1945. A Case Study of Soba District, 1992, p. 103.

commodity production (people called it *aikin kwangiri*) during railway construction in Ikara.[91]

In Ikara district railway construction gave rise to the construction of roads in to the interior of the District (feeder roads). These roads were linked to places where railway passed in order to ensure all raw materials of cash crops product were taken from the nook and crannies of villages within Ikara district. This position was demonstrated by Ikara District Assessment report of 1923 that:

> *The road going north from Anchao to Faiki and on to Kano could be made suitable for wheeled traffic in the dry season without much labour and has been so used. The other main roads from Faiki to Solawa via kwari and from Solawa to Anchao are fairly well cleared. On the former route directly one enters Kano Province all signs of road work finish.*[92]

However, the colonial state ensured construction of additional roads which subsequently linked other villages within the district. Also they were very keen on the maintenance of roads and other infrastructure because of their importance to the colonial economy.

In order to ensure effective colonialization and administration the colonial state embarked upon the construction of infrastructure including rest houses and residences. Ikara District was not left out among the districts where

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91 An interview with Mallam Audu Tsoho Magatakarda op. cit.
92 NAK/SNP10/369/1923/Ikara District Re-Assessment Report by Mr. J.B. Newton.

such houses were constructed. In Ikara the rest houses were constructed at Saulawa, Anchau and Fada in eastern and western parts of the district.[93] It was called bariki by the inhabitants. It was a three roomed house with Zaure (porch). It was roofed with thatch grass. Whenever the touring officer was coming, the District Head usually used to ask the village heads to gather eggs, chicken and milk and the place will be swept. After visiting and staying in the rest house they used to monetize whatever may have been brought and then paid.[94] He usually spent one or two days before going back to Zaria.[95] The places now have become Kufai (deserted area), but one could still find the traces of building and mango trees planted at the site. In addition, colonial state forced people especially youth to cultivate crops and fruit in rest house compound for consumption of the Europeans as indicated in this report that:

> *The Rest House at Anchau is an excellent one. It was erected in the early part of this year and is of the Nassarawa type of rest House, and is outside the town. The rest house at Faiki is miserable. There two round huts, one kitchen and no boy's houses. The site is fairly good, but crops are planted far too close to it. A large porch like that at solawa should be added to one of the round huts, if it is not though necessary to build an entirely new house for Europeans, and two boys' houses should be built. The rest house at Solawa is inside the town but there are no buildings close to it. The round*

[93] Op cit. NAK/Zarprof/2562/1915/Annual Report
[94] Ibid
[95] An Interview with Sarkin Ikara Alh. Suleman Abubakar 28 Dec., 2009, age 65 at ANguwan Waziri Ikara.

house for Europeans is very fair and has an excellent porch. Two boys houses should be built, and a kitchen. A site for a new rest house has been pointed out to the district head in case it is thought desirable to move the camp outside the town."[96]

Markets were amongst the most important institutions, which played a significant role in the social, economic and political life of the people of Ikara. This was not limited alone to the people, but also to colonial authority because of the revenue accruing from the markets. Even before the advent of colonialist to Ikara District, there were existing pre-colonial markets which mainly served the need and interest of people of pre-colonial Ikara.[97] During British Colonial domination the colonial state ensured maximization of profits and exploitation from these markets through imposition of heavy taxes, and levy on traders to the extent that monitored British colonial officials dictates the prices of products in these markets of Ikara as demonstrated on the following tables:

TABLE 3.5: Local Prices of Produce in Ikara District 1913

PRODUCE	**PRICES PER lb**
Guinea corn	.085d
Millet	.08d
Maize	.05d
Cotton	.04d
Groundnuts (undecorticated)	.28d

96 An Interview with Sarkin Ikara Alh. Suleman Abubakar 28 Dec., 2009, age 65 at ANguwan Waziri Ikara.
97 An Interview with Sarkin Ikara Alh. Suleman Abubakar 28 Dec., 2009, age 65 at ANguwan Waziri Ikara.

Yams	.04d
Cassava	.04d
Sweet potatoes	.03d
Rizga	.04d
Gwaza	.035d
Beans (in pod)	.08d
Sugar cane	.15d
Rice (in husk)	.18d
Tobacco (uncured)	.2d
Indigo	.12d
Kuka (leaves)	.2d
Dorowa pods	.1d

Source: NAK/Zarprof/1712/1913/Ikara district Assessment Report. [98]

Due to the strategic location of Ikara district within Zaria province, its markets became amongst the prosperous with attendants from within and neighbouring province of Kano as stated on these two reports.

> *...and Ikara Districts are, and for long have been, amongst the most prosperous Districts of Zaria Emirate, owing to the fruitfulness of the soil and their proximity to good markets."*[99]

However, colonial examination and assessment of markets in Ikara District paved a way of raising incidence. For example in 1922 the incidence was raised to a very high level from £8 to £11/2 ½ as stated on report that:

> *...on account of this the incidence was raised to a very high level in 1922*[100]

[98] NAK/Zarprof/1712/1913/Ikara district Assessment Report
[99] Ibid NionAK/Zarprof/1712/1913
[100] Ibid

In addition, unlike other districts, the presence of many markets within the district had attracted the attention of colonialist. This led to excessive exploitation. The main markets were located at Dan Lawal and Ikara and some other parts of the district. This fact was backed by 1913 Ikara District assessment report that:

> *The chief market towns are Danlawal and Ikara these are largely attended. Caravans from Kano to Zungon Katab and Keffi do a considerable trade with these people breaking their journey for this purpose and then proceeding on their way.*[101]

3.8 Basic Colonial Social Services, Health

Health was one sector that was not accorded priority by the colonial administration. This was because not much was to be expected except to keep the people fit to perform different forms of forced labour on the various colonial projects. It was in view of this that the missionaries filled this gap with the sole aim of proselytization. This was more evident with the activities of Dr. Miller at Wusasa. Few dispensaries were built at latter period of colonial rule.[102] The major health activity as it related to Ikara District was in the area of the eradication of sleeping sickness which was prevalent at the Northern Districts of the Emirate. The scheme to eradicate tse-tse fly from the northern

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[101] Ibid

[102] An interview with Mallam Audu Tsoho Magatakaddan Sarkin Makurdi on 7th January, 2010, age 60, Makurdi Ikara.

districts (IKara was inclusive) was partially successful.[103] Another aspect of colonial health programme was in the area of vaccination against diseases. In 1935 in Zaria Township a total of 940 people were vaccinated, Zaria city had 21,758 and other districts including Ikara had 10,030. It was reported in 1935 annual report that:

> *Sleeping sickness dispensaries had been built at Ikara, Makarfi, Lere, Soba, Zonkwa and Zango Katab. Of these Ikara, Lere and Zonkwa were ready while Makarfi and Soba will be opened in the near future.*[104]

Introduction of western education in the colonialized areas by the British was one of the ways that were used to ensure full control and maximum exploitation. However, colonial education was meant to serve the colonial interest and the ideology of the state was the supremacy of the British Empire. The curriculum was therefore, fashioned to subordinate the minds of the colonized people. Before going to critical examination of colonial education and how it affected Ikara it will be very important to look back at traditional or Islamic education. Even before the birth of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, Islam has been in existence in *Kasar Hausa* and beyond. It paved way for teaching and learning.

> *"There are 37 Koranic schools attended by 146 pupils. Two boys from the District attend the Zaria Provincial school. At Gimi there is a small C.M.S.*

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[103] Ibid. An interview with Mallam Audu Tsoho Makatakarda
[104] NAK/Zarprof/2282/Annual Report for by C.V. Williams.

> *settlement and school, at the moment the population is only 8 men and their families. The man in charge was at Zaria when I visited the settlement. They all have farms and three sugar cane plots are cultivated. They pay tax to Dan Lawal village.*[105]

About Islamic rites. So also at awakening of the 1804 Jihad, many people were encouraged to learn within Sokoto Caliphate and beyond.[106] Therefore, there was such teaching learning through 27 district, of Zaria province. Islamic education was prevalent, which taught the people Qur'anic knowledge and wide range of subject as it affect man relationship with God "Allah" and his fellow being right and duties.

This was why even after the conquest and at the initial stage of colonization in the 1910's Islamic education occupied an important place in their reports. Ikara had among the leading districts in number of Islamic schools and pupils as stated in 1923 Ikara district, Re-Assessment report by Captain H. Mereer.

Also in the 1953 Zaria Provincial Annual Report by C.V. Millams indicated the number of pupils at schools in Ikara District and other districts as seen below.

Table 3.6: Quranic Schools in Zaria Province, 1953

S/N	DISTRICTS	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	BOYS	GIRLS	MAKARANTAN LITTAFI
1	Zaria town	108	1147	234	381
2	Madaki	102	364	-	86
3	S/Fada Babba	41	229	5	76

[105] NAK/SNPa/368/1923
[106] NAK/SNPa/368/1923

4	Dan Madami	29	179	27	32
5	M/Jisambo	5	13	4	2
6	Wambai	33	121	29	26
7	Barde	6	33	-	5
8	Madauchi	20	147	13	15
9	Magaji Gari	40	140	8	44
10	Sarkin Ruwa	25	167	30	61
11	Iyan gari	17	28	3	5
12	Dan Galadima	46	937	347	176
13	Dallatu	19	39	-	38
14	Wali	5	53	1	-
15	Ma'aji Babban	13	49	-	12
16	*Sarkin Yaki	20	58	-	9
17	Makama Babba	23	47	4	6
18	Sarkin Kajuru	18	47	-	21
19	Turaki Karami	72	335	-	50
20	Sarkin Kagarko	17	663	34	26
21	Sarkin Jere	9	54	12	12
22	Sarkin Jangella	1	19	-	3
23	Galadima	113	550	9	103
24	Turaki Babba	46	218	9	19
25	Sarki Kauru	13	76	-	57
26	Katuka	7	34	-	19
	Total	**8910**	**5498**	**817**	**1388**

Zarprof/5240/Zaria Province Annual Report for 1953 by C.V. Williams.[107]

Ikara district otherwise known as Sarkin Yaki district was among the districts that had average number of schools and students as seen above. It was under this circumstance that western education was introduced.

[107] NAK/SNPa/368/1923

The first elementary school in Ikara must have been established around 1923 according to Mallam Musa Wambai.[108]

The enrolment was started from sons of village head and later (sons of the commoners) were enrolled.[109] Ikara elementary school was housed in three rooms with17 pupils drawn from immediate neighbourhood these are divided into two classes. Boys in the bottom class in an average for 11/12 years and in the top for 21/22 years. Each was under the charge of a mallam who teaches all subjects viz; reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history and hygiene. The religious instruction continued to progress steadily that by 1924 just two years after the commencement of elementary education the number of schools in the District rose. There were 24 schools with 231 youths, 766 boys and 166 girls and a total of 1163.[110] It was commented in the 1924 Annual Report that the rural schools in general were making fair progress, the school at Ikara was among the schools that had average number of pupils. Despite the problems associated with teaching and attendance of students. This was noted in 1935 Annual Report by H.F. Backwell who stated that:

> *Elementary education is disappointing and considerable difficulty is experienced in obtaining the pupil. The standard of work is poor and parents appear to take little interest truancy is common and is largely due to unsatisfactory arrangements made*

[108]Interview with Alh. Musa Wambai age 75 years old 3/10/2010, farmer.
[109] Interview with Alh. Musa Wambai age 75 years old 3/10/2010, farmer.
[110]NAK/Zarprof/2571/Annual Report for 1924.

> *by parents for their sons welfare. This is particularly noticeable in Giwa, Makarfi and Ikara district schools, where district heads, also appear to take no interest in pupils.*[111]

However, colonial education officers were expected to check these schools, teachers, surrounding and the health of pupils etc and to report to the higher officer.

3.9 Conclusion

The chapter has examined the British conquest and economic domination of Zazzau Emirate in which Ikara is part and parcel of the Emirate as a distrct under the Emirate. The British colonial administrative re-organisation and the creation of Ikara district as well as the responsibilities of District heads such as tax collection enforcement of law has been addressed by the chapter. British socio-economic policies such forced labour are also examined. It should be noted that forced labour played a central role in the building of these basic colonial infrastractures

[111]Op. cit. NAK/Zarprof/2571/Annual Report for 1924.

CHAPTER FOUR

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COLONIAL ECONOMY, 1914-1939

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the measures employed by the British in establishing the colonial economy in Ikara District. These measures involved the development of cash crop production through organized mixed-farming, gazetted produce markets.

4.2 Colonial Agriculture

Agriculture was the backbone of the colonial economy in Ikara District. Agriculture has been the main stay of the economy of the people of Ikara. The British, right from the conquest of Nigeria, had decided that agriculture through cash crop production was the major way through which to exploit the human and natural resources of this country. This was based on their need for raw materials for the industries such as textiles, margarine, and other consumables including tobacco, leather goods etc. As such, the cultivation of cash crops like cotton, groundnuts, shea butter, tobacco, sugar, amongst others, was encouraged amongst peasant farmers who were compelled to produce these through colonial taxation.

However, agriculture was among the means that were used by the British Colonial state, to ensure maximum exploitation of the resources of

Ikara District. Lands were confiscated from the original owners by the colonialist.[112] Heavy taxes were enforced on farmers which led to the abandoning of production of food crops to cash crops by the majority of farmers in order to be able to pay their taxes.

4.3 Cash Crop Production

Cotton and groundnut, which later became the backbone of the cash crop economy, became extensively grown in Ikara. Cotton was produced in the area to satisfy the local textile industry. Groundnut had been cultivated for domestic consumption long before the advent of the British in Northern region.[113] At the turn of this century the Lancashire cotton mills formed the largest British manufacturing industry, as they had since the late 1700's the industry's main source of supply was the cotton belt of the U.S.A. But because of the cotton disease in the U.S.A. the hope of secured supply was shattered. The formation of British Cotton Growers Association (B.C.G.A.) in Britain in 1902 intensified the effort. Earlier on, Mr. Birttwistle, commercial intelligence officer of Lagos, passed through Zaria in February, 1907[114] on inspection. He was much stroked by the possibilities of the district (Ikara) as a

[112] An interview conducted with Mallam Ibrahim Magaji (Dalibi) Ikara, on 29 December, 2009) at Kaduna, age:42; He is a staff of National Archives, Kaduna.
[113] NAK Zarprof. SNP 7/10 19 Annual Report for 1909 by Major Arthur Festing.
[114] 1907 was the year that Ikara Distrcts was created. However, Ikara District was among the first.

cotton growing centre.[115] It is an established fact that the climate and land of Ikara was conducive and suitable for agriculture just like the rest of Zaria Province. This was shown in the Ikara District Assessment Report of 1923, which stated that:

> *"The District (Ikara) is most fertile and all the chief crops common to the province do well here."*[116]

Therefore, Zazzau and Kano provinces were indicated as the dual centres of this immense development.[117] A lot of arguments have been put forward for cash crops production. One of the prominent was professor Myint. Myint views traditional societies prior to their widespread participation in international trade as subject of sustained under employment of both land and labour, with international trade providing the eventual vent, but this view should not be taken on its face value. We are of the view that contrary to the claim of colonial scholars and their apologist such as Myint, Horgendon and Helleiner to mention just a few. The peasant took to export cash crop production not because, of the economic benefits of such undertaking i.e. the vent for surplus theory rather, the peasant producers engaged in large scale cash crop production during the colonial period because they were forced to do so by the British colonial state through the various policies it imposed on the

[115] NAK/Zarprof/3525/vol. II Nigeria Tin Ore Product.
[116] NAK/SNPa/368/1923/Ikara District Re-Assessment Report for Year 1923 by Captain H. Mereer.
[117] Hugendorn J.S. Nigerian Groundnut Export Origin and Early Development Zaria, A.B.U., Press 1978, p.18.

people.[118] However, in order to achieve maximum economic exploitation the colonialist went ahead and grouped the farmers in variety of categories; these were what they called pure farmers who had no any other occupation than farming and their tax levy were different from others. The second group was pure craftsmen who had no any other occupation except manufacture or craft work such as blacksmiths, butchers, builders, leather workers. The third groups were farmers, industrialists, doing two at the same time i.e. farmer and manufacturer or craft worker.[119] This was stated clearly in the 1923 Ikara District Re-assessment report:

> *Generally speaking the farmer industrial is first and foremost a farmer and practicing some trade or craft during the dry season. In estimating his income I have allotted to him the same income as applied to pure farmers plus 50% of the income of the pure industrial. His gross annual income is $12.8.2.*[120]

Colonial taxation was meticulous and exploitative; this was because a thorough tax assessment was carried out to determine the potential and not actual income of the people, so that a tax incidence was imposed on individuals based on their occupation. The following tables clearly demonstrate this position.

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[118] Ibid Hogendorn, Nigeria Groundnut p. 18.
[119] NAK/Zarprof/SNPa/368/1923/Ikara District Re-Assessment Report by Captain H. Mereer.
[120] Ibid.

Table 4.7: Estimated Income of Individual in Ikara District, 1923

Village	Farmers	Industrials	Livestock	Total	Proposed demand 6.75% of income	Incidence per adult male
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Ikara	16180	5650	883	22713	1533	11/8 ½
Kurmin Kogi	5135	541	170	5846	394	9/11 ½
Dan Lawal	6882	1647	345	8874	599	10/6 ½
Furana	4016	1031	203	5250	355	10/10 ½
Makurdi	1493	588	70	2151	146	11/6
Karr	301	163	12	476	32	12/6 ½
Kurmin Jau	1103	353	28	1484	100	10/8 ½
Kawari	566	103	18	687	46	9/7
Charra	687	288	12	987	66	12/-
Fala	3962	1279	103	4344	293	12/3 ½
Total	39,325	11,643	1,844	52,812	3564	11/

Source: NAK/Zarproff/368/1923/Ikara District Re-Assessment Report by Captain Meerer.[121]

[121] NAK/Zarprof/368/1923/Ikara District Re-Assessment Report.

4.8: Census of Livestock of Ikara District, 1923

Village	Mares	Horses	Village cattle	Goats	Sheep	Donkeys
Ikara	38	71	637	4027	521	537
Kurmin Kogi	12	17	67	736	130	87
Dan Lawal	23	31	76	1441	245	209
Furana	13	11	137	930	136	107
Makurdi	4	3	2	301	8	58
Karr	3	-	2	39	2	9
Kurmin Jau	5	6	2	112	3	19
Kawari	3	3	-	80	4	10
Charra	-	2	1	71	2	7
Fala	7	11	21	482	54	57
Total	108	155	1045	8219	1105	1100

Source: NAK/Zarprof/368[122]

The colonial officer who conducted the above census went further to calculate approximate income that could be derived from some of these animals, viz:

			£	s	d
108	Mares at £1 each	=	108	0	0
4931	She-goats "4/-"	=	986	4	0
663	Ewes "6/-"	=	198	18	0
1100	Donkeys "10/-"	=	550	0	0
			£1843	2	0

3/5 the of goats and sheep are taken to be females.

[122] Ibid.

TABLE 4.9: List of Crops Grown in the Area, 1913

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Total number of farmers	Dawa	Millet	Maize	Cotton	Groundnut	Cassava	Doya	Dankali	Rizga	Beans	Rice	Pepper	Kubewa	Kalkashi	Tobacco	Indigo
Numbers	259	154	42	25	188	47	7	69	8	20	9	40	16	15	4	10
Percentages	26	25	4	2 ½	19	4 ½	½	6	1	2	1	41	½	1 ½	½	1

Source: NAK/Zarprof/1712/1913/Ikara District Assessment Report [123]

From the above table 4.3, it can clearly be seen how the colonial authorities identified each of the various crops grown in the area and went further to list all the farmers that grow a particular variety of crop and determine the percentage they represented per crop, all for maximum extraction of taxation.

[123] Ibid.

TABLE 4.10: List of Industries in the Area, 1913

	Weavers	Dyers	Blacksmiths	Barbers	Butchers	Traders	Brokers	Drummers	Beggars	Bee-keepers	Hunters	Potters	Total
Whole-time industrials	7	1	3	1	3	4	3	1	2	1	-	1	27
Part-time industrials	20	6	7	4	23	3	5	1	-	-	-	-	71
Total	27	7	10	5	26	9	8	2	2	1	-	1	98

Source: NAK/Zarprof/1712/1913/Ikara District Assessment Report [124]

The table above made a comprehensive identification of all the craftmen in the whole of Ikara District and the industrial activity they pursued, including beggars, who were unemployed, so that they could be taxed.

[124] Ibid.

TABLE 4.11: Showing Occupation, Assessment Rates and Summary of Income of Persons in Malikanchi Village in Ikara District, 1913

	Farmers	Industrials		Sylvan produce		Special crops		Livestock					Total
		Part time	Whole-time	Dorowa	Kuka	Irrigated plots	Sugar-cane	Horses	Mares	Donkeys	Sheep	Goats	
Numbers	351	71	27	73	45	6	9	8	5	55	30	232	
Assessed rates	£3.0.0	£2.0.0	£6.0.0	1/6	1/-	10/-	15/-	10/-	10/-	5/-	2/6	2/-	
Total	£1053.0.0	£142.0.0	£163.0.0	£5.9.6	£2.5.0	£3.0.0	£6.15	£4.0.0	£2.10	£13.15	£3.15	£23.4	£1421.13.6

Source: NAK/Zarprof/1712/1913/Ikara District Assessment Report.[14]

The table abov demonstrated the comprehensiveness of colonial taxation which was conducted based on occupations and settlements or location.

[14] Ibid.

The colonial state seriously campaigned for the production of crops like cotton and groundnuts in Ikara and the adjoining villages like Saulawa, Malikanchi, Auchan, Janfalan and Kurmin Kogi. However, between 1933 and 1934 apart from millet and sweet potatoes, groundnuts and cotton were the major crops grown in the District as demonstrated on the following tables:

TABLE 4.12: Showing crop areas and yields per acre in Malikanchi village Ikara District 1933-1934

		Guinea corn	**Millet**	**Groundnuts**	**Maize**	**Cotton**	**Sweet potatoes**
Amadu	a. lbs	3 3750	3.7 120	2.5 360 (G)	-	-	1
Tanko	a. lbs	3.6 3750	as g.c 2250	1.1 240(F)	-	2-6 180	-
D. Malam	a. lbs	1.4 1500	as g.c 1100	0.8 480	n.m	-	n.m
Bako	a. lbs	0.8 750	as g.c 680	-	0.1 160	-	-
Munkaila	a. lbs	0.6 750	as g.c. 650	0.7 240	0.36 200	-	-
M. Ango	a. lbs	2.8 3050	as g.c. 1550	1.2 160 (F)	-	-	0.5 1800
Sule	a. lbs	1.8 2100	as g.c 1500	0.8 400	As g.nuts 400	-	n.m.
D. Amarya	a. lbs	0.9 1050	as g.c 600	0.85 760	-	-	-
Husaini	a.	1.2	as g.c	n.m	n.m.	n. m.	n.m.

	lbs	1350	750	(F)	520		
Liman	a. lbs	1.6 2000	as g.c 1000	n.m.	-	-	-
Salehu	a. lbs	0.7 900	as g.c 600	0.5 360	n. m.	-	0.1 360
Yakubu	a. lbs	1.2 1500	as g.c & g.n - 2.2 750	1 360	-	-	-
D. Adamu	a. lbs	0.9 1050	as g.c 600	0.4 360	as g.nuts 120	-	-
Isa	a. lbs	0.6 750	as g.c 600	0.5 240	as g.nuts 120	-	-
Sale	a. lbs	1.5 1000	as g.c 600	n.m 160	Before cotn. 200	0.6 60	-
Adamu	a. lbs	1.5 1500	as g.c 1100	n.m	n.m	-	n.m.
D. Makyalo	a. lbs	1.8 200	as g.c 900	n.m. (F)	-	1.8	-
Musa	a. lbs	2.4 2250	as g.c 1500	1.3 720	-	-	0.5 540
D. Baba	a. lbs	1.4 1650	as g.c 1350	0.4 360	-	-	n.m.
M. Dodo	a. lbs	0.6 600	as g.c 500	0.7 320	as g.nuts 280	-	n.m.
Ango (ii)	a. lbs	1.5 1800	as g.c 1000	2.1 720	n.m 240	-	0.7 630
Total	-						
Acres	-	33.8	33.8	$10.05^{(x)}$	3.4	5	2.86

Pounds	-	35050	20760	5220	1480	480	5220
Average yieldper acre	-	1037	585	520	440	94	1832

Source: NAK/Zarprof/1712/1913/Ikara District Assessment Report.

Groundnuts – (x) Totals and average for the 7 farms where the crop was not an utter failure (F = 'failure')

Cotton – Importance of early planting not realized yet – crop caught by early cessation of rains.

Sweet potatoes – I cannot suggest a reason for the poor yields.

(n.m. = not measured, as too far away, or because the farmer had not admitted sowing this crop when his farm was visited)[15]

TABLE 4.13: Crop Statistics of Ikara District, 1923

Article	Area under cultivation in acres	Yield per acre	Price per lb a	Value of Produce £
Guinea corn	16997	840 lbs	.25d	14871
Gero	-	309 lbs	.20d	4377
Cotton	450	120 lbs	.2d	450
Sugar	800	53 rolls of 100 canes each	2/- per roll	4240
Yams	1000	3880 lbs	.2d	3233
Rogo	750	3715 lbs	.1d	1158
Other root crops	7000	At £1 per acre		7000
Other crops –onions, rice, peppers etc	2866	At 30/- per acre		4300
Total	29863			£39629

Source: NAK/Zarprof/368/1923[16]

[15] Op. cit. NAK/Zarprof/368/1923
[16] Op. cit. NAK/Zarprof/368/1923

The groundnut or cotton were usually put in sack and taken to the buying centres. One interesting aspect of cash crop production was the exploitation of the peasant by the middle men and buying firm. Many middle men purchased the crops from the farmers and a lot of sharp practices were employed such as the manipulation of the scale and underpayment. There were also activities of *yan baranda* (touts) who bought cotton mainly through future buying, by dishing out small cash loans to cotton growers during the planting season obviously at prices that were probably very much below the gazetted price when the buying season commenced, the prices offered were much below their real value upon full maturity.[17] Furthermore, the middle men usually gave advances to the farmers and at the selling season they were forced to sell the crops to the lenders who were denied choice of prospective buyers.[18] The exploitation by the middle men was so severe that even the colonial state noted it in the cotton report for April 1934, which reported thus:

> *One of the noticeable factors of the season has been the large number of middle men working in the districts (Zaria Province) on behalf of firm, I estimate that 75% of the crops was purchased by middle men and brought to the gazetted markets for grading… I do feel the farmer is much better off if he can take his cotton to the gazetted market and more so such of getting the correct price.*[19]

[17] Ingawa B.T., A study of the rural economic history of the major cotton producing districts of Katsina Emirate during the colonial period c1900-1939 school of oriental and African studies. London University, 1984, p. 360
[18] An Interview with Alh. Jibrin (Sarkin Anguwan Gabas) Kankanki 3rd January, 2010 Age 57 at Kankanki, Ikara.
[19] NAK/MOA/803 Cotton Report

It was because of this aspect of exploitation even by the firms operating in the District such as Mai Iver, John Holt, GB Ollivant and ADs (Alhassan Dantata and Sons[20] who were stationed at Gimi in present Makarfi District, that station prompted the farmers in the ensuring year to withhold their crops particularly groundnut. This prompted the Manager of John Holt Gimi station to write to Administrative Officer Division Office Zaria on 6th November 1945. The letter reads in part:

> *I have the honour to notify you that from the information gathered, there is no hope of farmers bringing in their groundnut to sell except they are compelled to do so. Most of them who can conveniently pay their tax without selling groundnut are of the opinion that they are at liberty to sell or keep it until when they like, more over they expect that the price will be increased in future. We opened market since first instant, but not a single bag is brought for sell. Therefore, if it pleases you, I shall be grateful if you will instruct the District Heads (DHs) of this area to force the farmers to bring in their groundnut and also make them understand that the price will not be increased*[21]

One aspect of the production of these cash crops was the involvement of colonial state in their production. This could be seen in different respect one of the areas was the area of seed distribution. For example in the Reassessment Report of Ikara district, it was reported that:

> *Cotton Mallam toured the District, I cannot forebear the remark that now the farmer*

[20] NAK/MOA/839/Vol. III Groundnut Production and Marketing.
[21] NAK/Zarprof/368/Ikara District Re-Assessment Report.

> *realized fully the advantage of sowing imported seed and alive to the trend in cotton industry, three inspectors 72/A seen as unnecessary big staff for two Districts. These Mallams handled me a list of cotton plots in Ikara district which totaled 1,265. The plots counting in his assessment came to 2065.*[22]

The farmers were forced to abandon the local seed in favour of the imported seeds in order to increase the acreage under cultivation.

4.4 Farming Techniques

4.4.1 Mixed Farming

The colonial administration introduced a mixed farming policy. The aim of the colonial agricultural Department in introducing mixed-farming was to increase production.[23]

The basic assumption was that in general a man who took up mixed farming should in his third year produce twice as much as he would have produced by hand.[24] Therefore, the administrative officers were enjoined to further this innovation which greatly enhanced the wealth of the farmer, and the Native Administration for which he was responsible.[25]

[22] NAK/Zarprof/1784/Mixed farming
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] NAK/Zaprof/368/Ikara District

Muhammadu Gidado the first District Head of Ikara was the first to embrace mixed farming.[26] He had a large farm of 20 acres at the eastern part of Ikara which was cultivated through mixed farming. A large percentage of farmers did not benefit from mixed farming in Ikara. This was because not many peasants had large farms which were a basic requisite for mixed farming.[27]

Mixed farming even though was meant to further colonial interest did not benefit the farmers of Ikara. Regrettably for the colonial administration it did not achieve the goal it was set to achieve. For example, the District Head of Soba complained to the effect that certain recipients of advances had not produced any measurable increase in output and in some cases had not used the plough which had been supplied to them. He considered that expenditure of further funds should be accompanied by a guarantee of adequate supervision.[28]

Mixed farming contributed to the consolidation of farm holdings, for it only fostered a slight technical innovation concurrent with intensification of wage labour and the enlargement of holdings (by large farmers) whenever possible.[29] This was clearly shown on the following table:

[26] Interview conducted with Alh. Ibrahim Makera Jibis, Ikara 08-1-2010 Age 65, Farmer.
[27] NAK/Zarprof/1884/Mixed farming
[28] Ingawa Bello, T. A Study of rural economic history p. 350.
[29] Dhiliwayo A.V. History of Sabon Gari pp. 256-257.

TABLE 4.14: Showing List of Principal Mixed Farmers in Three Districts of Northern Division of Zaria Emirate

SOBA DISTRCT	IKARA DISTRCT	ZARIA DA KEWAYE
Sarkin Kinkiba	Sarkin Paki	Sarkin Zabi
Sarkin Marwa	Sarkin Saulawa	Sarkin Basawa
Sarkin Awai	Sarkin Kwani	Sarkin Dambo
Sarkin Ricifa	Sarkin Auchan	Sarkin Dakache
Sarkin Taba	Sarkin Ikara	Sarkin Bogari
Sarkin Farin Kasa	Sarkin Auchanawa	Madakin
Sarkin maigana	Sarkin pala	Madauchi

Source: S.M. Aminu, the colonial state and colonial economy in northern Nigeria: A case of Zaria Native Authority 1902 – 1945 Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1991, p. 250[30]

Consequent to above, it led to increase in taxation due to so called increased in output, particularly by the recipient of mixed farming advances. This in itself discouraged the farmers.

4.4.2 Shifting Cultivation

A part from mixed farming another policy introduced by cononial state in Ikara was shifting cultivation, even though before the coming of the British people were practicing something close to this. During pre-colonial Ikara, shifting cultivation was usually carried out by using simple implements like hoes, cutlasses and other traditional implements. While, after the British conquest of Ikara District, shifting cultivation was modernized and encouraged. The main reason for that was for the interest of the colonial state. For example,

according to our informant, the use of fertilizer was encouraged and people were given fertilizer on credit so that at the end of the rainy season they will pay in multiples of what they were given initially[31].

However, this system of farming encouraged production of cash crops such as cotton groundnut etc. It should be noted that under this technique of farming heavy taxation were forced on peseantry as we have examined in chapter three in this study.

4.4.3 Rotational Farming

One of farming techniques that British colonial state ensured for its total collapse was rotational farming. This is because did serve their interst of economic exploitation. The rotational farming is essentially involved the rotation of crops rather than the rotation of lands. Thus for example, if a plot of land planted maize or millet during a particular raining season, then the next season these two crops will not be planted on the same plot of land. Instead, a different crop will be planted.

However, rotational farming was one of the most prominants farming techniques in Ikara district during pre-colonial days; this was because of the advantage attached to it. For example from the information I obtained from one of informants claimed that since. There was no modern fertilizer they were

[31] Interview with Dantala Maitukwane, 70 years old, occupation; farming, interviewed at Anguwan yantukwane, Ikara, 9th October, 2012

using local manure it was very advantageous if you rotate your crops, because you will save alots[32]

4.4.4 Irrigation system

Irrigation farming was the watering of the land artificially in order to produce crops. In the simplest forms of irrigation, water is drawn from well ditches. This method was practiced by individual farmers and by small groups of farmers in most of the areas where there were rivers and streams. This was systems in which rivers supply canals and the canals subdivided to form branches that carry the water to all parts of the cultivated region[33]

Irrigation was and still practiced by some farmers in Ikara District. Irrigation in the area is mostly practiced during the dry seasons, for the time when most farmers are idle. It is for this reason that is irrigation is called "*Noman rani maganin Zaman Banza*" – meaning "farming or gardening in during season is better than staying idle."

Although modern techniques are widely practiced in many parts of the world, but primitive devices used are still being used in the area. One such device is the shadoof which consists of a long cress bar pivoted between two upright posts.

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[32]Dankano Yanbankwai, 65 years old, occupation;fishing Busness, Interviewed at Anguwan Makera,Ikara, 9th October,2012

[33] Malam Musa Abubakar (Mangawa), 65 years old, (so and harbi) fishing and hunting, interviewed at Mangawa, Ikara on 9th October, 2012

The crops grown under the irrigation system include carrot, cabbage, and tomatoes e.t.c. The undertaking of irrigation in the area was possible because most villages in the area have enough rivers which retain water during the dry season. Such villages that took extensive irrigational farming includes: Ikara, Faki, Kurimin-Kogi, pala and Malikanci e.t.c.

Irrigation farming required great human labour. This is because in the dry seasons, most of the domestic animals e.g. goats, donkeys, sheeps were left wandering about in day time in search of food, as a result of this, if the crops are not properly looked after, these animals can destroy the crops[34].

Irrigation farming is indeed very important to the people of Ikara District. It provided an income which served as a social security to the society. It also provided employment to the people of the area especially during pre-colonial period. [35].

4.5 Arrival of European Trading Companies and the Development of Import – Export Trade

The arrival of various European companies in the area of study has completely changed the nature, organization and dimension of pre-colonial imports and export trade as we shall examine in the following passages.

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[34]Malam Ibrahim Jibril, 97 years old, Wanzami, interviewed at Anguwan Makera Ikara on 9th October, 2012.

[35] Malam Umaru Jibril, 70 years old, Wanzami, interviewed at Anguwan Makera Ikara on 9th October, 2012.

It is pertinent for the purpose of this study to examine the nature, organization, dimension and type of article of import and export trade during the pre-colonial period in Ikara area ofZazzau Emirate in general.

There has been long existing import and export trade relation between Ikara area and other emirates during the pre-colonial period. Ikara district export its commodiities and goods to other area within and outside of its emirate. For example, Ikara area imported articles such as hoes and axes made from Nupe Emirate. Turban and pots made in Hunkuyi. Gown'*yar madaka*, from Zaria City. Yar bagi from Gwari area while Ikara and Zazzau Emirate exported goods to North Africa, Borno and Kano. The export goods included food items of all kinds as well as cereals, vegetables, butter milk, meat and animal for slaughter. [36]

However, textile materials of high quality locally made were imported to Ikara from Kano. The most popular and most eagerly sought are those deep blue black garment which were dyed so excellently in Kano area.[37] Textile materials were also imported to Ikara from Nupe and Ilorin Emirates. These included the gowns which were made of blue and white materials woven in a lattice-like pattern are more expensive, but the most expensive are those made

[36] Paul Staudinger, in the Heart of the Hausa States Vol. I. Translated by Johanna E. Moody, Ohio University, Monographs International Studies, Africa Series, No. 56, Athen, Ohio 1990, p. 180.

[37] Ibid., p. 181.

of the finest white material edged with an attractive red band.[38] One beautiful thing about the nature and organization as well as the dimension of pre-colonial import-export trade was the high level of freedom. The prices of goods and services were not fixed; through bargaining goods/prices were reached.When European trading company the arrived to the area of study. It affected the pattern of trade. The role of the European or foreign companies in the control of the economy cannot only be limited to Ikara District or Zazzau Emirate, but the whole country as they operated on large scale basis. Infact, their operation went beyond the shore of the Nigerian coast to the whole of the West African sub-region. This was as a result of the cartel they formed known as the Association of West African Merchants (A.W.A.M.). The leading member companies of this cartel were the United Africa Company (U.A.C.), John Holt and Company Limited, Campaignie Francaise de'Afrique Occidentale (C.F.A.O.), Societe Commercial del'Ovest Africani (S.C.O.A.), Patterson Zochonis and Company Limited (PZ) and Union Trading Company (U.T.I.).[39]

It should be noted that the area of study is one of such areas where Europeans firms were established. As early as 1916, there were eleven

[3] Ibid., p. 181[8]

[39] Abdulkadir Adamu, The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis C. 1902 – 1960. Ph.D. Thesis Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria p. 210 also see Y.B. usman, Transport and Communication in Nigeria since Independence, Vol. II The Economy. Heinemann, Ibadan, 1989, p. 136.

European firms established at Zaria. Even though they claimed that there were no profits made, as it contained on the 1916 report on Zaria Province by Acting Resident C. Miqeod on trade and Economic stated that:

> *There are 11 European and 2 Native firms established at Zaria. The trade throughout the year has not been too good. And during the last half year has decreased practically by 20%. All classes of goods in the decrease, particularly salt.* [40]

One important thing to be noted here is the nature of the European import and export trade. The Europeans determined what they want to buy from us. They also determined the prices, in most cases all European products prices were fixed. These imported finished products in which the raw-material were purchased from us and shipped to Europe and processing and returned as finished products and sold at exorbitant prices. The type of articles that Europeans traded had seriously affected economy especially peasants were forced to cultivate cotton and groundnuts, which the Europeans were most interested in. It has been noted that Zazzau Emirate which Ikara is part of it, exported large quantity of cotton to Kano in the 19th century. Apart from export to neighbouring Emirate, the native textile industry in our area of study had been striving for centuries with the indigenous cotton providing the raw materials for local spinning and weaving industries. The point to be noted here

40 NAK/Zarprof/SNP109/597p/1916 Zaria Province Report for year 1916 by Resident C.O. Miqeod.

was the reason, for which the B.C.G.A. was formed; simply to promote cotton growing in order to satisfy the heavy demand of European textile industries as we have examined in this chapter. Other goods/commodities exported to Europe included hides and skins as well as shea nuts. While the items imported, they were frozen stock fish and sardines, meat and canned food; beverages, assorted perboiled rices and spices, milk, honey, biscuits, spaghetti, salt and sugar etc. The major companies involved in this trade were mostly the members of the (A.W.A.M.), their subsidiaries and other smaller individual expatriate business enterprise both European and Asian. The key suppliers of foreign goods and other accessories were PZ, John Holt, Leventis Store and other Syrian and Lebanese stores like Harry's provision store. One important thing worth noting was the monopoly that these foreign firms enjoyed; between 1939 to 1960 the European firm remained in absolute control of imported goods. [41]

[41] Op cit. Abdulkadir Adamu: The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria p. 215.

4.6 Conclusion

The chapter has examined the establishment of colonial economy in Ikara. It examined the role of agriculture as the backbone of colonial economy with Cash crop production and mixed farming as major focus of colonial agriculture. Their roles in changing the nature of pre-colonial economy from independent economy to dependent economy are also examined. Finally, the chapter examined the arrival of European trading firms and development of import and export trade and its exploitative nature. It was introduced mainly to serve the colonial economy interest in which they determined what they traded and on the condition that suited their economic interest.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL POLICIES ON THE INDIGENOUS ECONOMY, 1945-1960

5.1 Introduction

Within the period 1945 to 1960 there was enough evidence to indicate the emergence of a new economic pattern. New social and economic policies which the Colonial State had conceived and implemented had brought about the distortion and eventual destruction of the indigenous economy. Those policies were contained in two significant proclamations of the colonial state namely: Land Revenue Proclamation and Land and Native Rights Proclamation of 1910. The former was used to inaugurate the General Tax while the latter contained the colonial land tenure system as we shall discuss in the following passages of this study. The combined impacts of taxation and the alienation of land of the peasantry ensured that people left their work in cottage industries, and this led to the decline and eventual collapse of the indigenous economy, built as it was on agricultural production and craft manufacture.

5.2 Distortion and Destruction of Indigenous Economy

As it has been observed above, new social and economic policies as conceived and implemented by the colonial state at least between 1945 to 1960 resulted in the distortion and eventual destruction of the indigenous economy.

An examination of the process of this distortations and destructions, through colonial administration and economic policies is our chief aim in this section of the study.

However, before we go on to examine such process, it is important to examine the policies which made the distortation and destruction possible.

As we have shown in chapter three, the establishment of colonial rule in Zazzau Emirate was preceeded by a military conquest in the same way that colonial rule or administration came after the formal declaration of protectorate rule over Northern Nigeria in 1900. It follows therefore that all colonial policies and colonial administrative structures were derived from the larger structure of the protectorate. Although, we have explained the process of the establishment of colonial rule in detail in chapter three we will briefly recall the structure and hierarchy of the colonial state as it operated in the larger system of indirect rule. This is in order to help us to have a clear understanding of how the colonial policies were used to distort and destroy the local economy. Within the Native Authority structure, the Emir of Zazzau supervised the administration of Districts and villages through the assistance of his council. The policies of the colonial state were implemented at District and village levels through the District Councils which usually comprised of districts head as chairman, and British Political Officials known as District Officer (D.O.) and his assistant as well as the village headmen. Other members

of the District Council may include one or two occupational groups together with the District Scribe who served as clerk.

Thus, in a nutshell, the essential function of the Native Authority within the larger structure of colonial domination were the enforcement of law and order, the establishment of basic colonial infrastructure, imposition and collection of taxes as well as the mobilization of labour.[1]

The ultimate objective of colonialism as a whole was the creation of colonies for them to serve basically as sources of raw materials for the British industries and markets and for the sale and consumption of European manufactured products.[2]

Thus, the two most important colonial policies that led to the establishment and consolidation of the colonial economy in Zaria Province were enshrined in two significant ordinances of colonial state namely: the Land Revenue Proclamation of 1906 which was used to inaugurate the general tax as well already study throughout the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the second was the Native Rights Proclamation No. 9 of 1910 which put the whole land in Northern Nigeria under the control of the colonial state.[3]

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[1] Sule Bello, State and Economy in Kano: A Study of Colonial Domination (Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1983, pp. 130 – 166.
[2] Ibid. pp. 114 – 126.
[3] M.I. Jumare "A Review of the Northern Nigerian Lands Committee Report of 1910" In A.M. Yakubu et al Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903 – 2003, Arewa House Kaduna 2005 pp. 304 – 319.

5.2.1 The Establishment and Consolidation of Colonial Economy

As we have explained above, the land revenue under this colonial legislation together with the land and Native Rights Proclamation of 1910 as Nasiru Mohammed Abubakar has shown, contained the mutually functional colonial economic policies of land and taxation.[4] These two policies, colonial land tenure and colonial taxation were instrumental in the distortion and destruction of the indigenous economy of Ikara District.

On the one hand, taxation ensured that more people (i.e.) peasants joined the production of cash crops especially groundnuts, cotton, and tobacco, in order to obtain the necessary British currency to pay tax. In that way, they abandoned their work in the local cottage industries, being the only acceptable money in which the colonial tax was to be paid as demanded by the colonial state. On the other hand, the colonial land tenure legislation made rent-free land available for the colonial state to establish its economic and social infrastructure as well as to make allocation to European Companies who used such lands as allocated to them by the colonial state to build ware houses, stock yards, workshops, canteens, stores, and boarding quarters for their employees.[5]

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[4] N.M. Abubakar, Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure: A Study on the Impact of the Railway in Kaura Namoda Area 1929 – 1960 M.A. Thesis Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, pp. 172 – 174, 2011

[5] A.Z. Bonat Colonialism and Destruction of Local Industrial System: A Case Study of Zaria Province 1902 – 1945 Published in Savanna, A Journal of Environmental and Social Sciences. Vol. 9 No. 2 Published by AHmadu Bello University Press Ltd 1988 p. 4, Also See Dhiliwayo

In that way, peasants were dispossessed of their lands. On the other hand, colonial taxation was used as an instrument to divert peasants from their primary occupations in the local industries to join the export crops production imposed by the colonial state with negative consequences for the local industries.

However, agricultural production, Blacksmithing, leather working and indigenous textiles industries were made to become the first objects of distortion and ultimate destruction.

A.Z. Bonat has conducted an indepth study on the role of colonialism in the distortation and destruction of indigenous cottage industries in Zaria Province. He is worth quoting at length.

> *While the British were still fighting the various communities resisting colonial rule in this area, they were taking steps to restructure the economy to suit their own purposes. In this process of economic restructuring the industrial system was directly hit, as its continued growth would not only divert substantial amounts of the raw materials needed by the British, it would also not allow for a monopoly of the marked by the Europeans for their manufactured goods. Several policies measures were therefore taken to deal with the craft and those activities related to them*[6]

V.A., A History of Sabon – Gari Zaria, 1911 – 1950 A Study of Colonial Urban Administration (Ph.D. Department of History, ABU, Zaria, 1986).

[6] Op. cit A.Z. Bonat Colonialism and Destruction of Local Industrial System… p. 14.

5.2.2 Taxation

In his analysis of the role of taxation for example in the destruction of local craft industries A.Z. Bonat made the following observations:

Taxation was a very important weapon for forcing structural changes in the economy including taxes on crafts. In 1903 the British imposed Caravan tolls and canoe taxes (*Kurdin fito*) on local traders. These taxes were supposed to represent a maximum of 15% of the of cross value of such locally produced crafts being transported from one province to another, at 5% per boundary, up to a maximum of three such boundaries. The British claimed that these taxes were imposed for the following reasons: firstly, that this was the only way the traders could be taxed; secondly that these taxes were in existence before the British conquest, and that the British just made them "fairer" and thirdly, that the traders had to pay for the security the *par Britannica* had brought on the trade routes and river ways. Between 1903 and 1907 when the Caravan tools were in force, the British collected a total of 18,155 – 11s 2d as revenue in the Zaria Province, in an area where British currency was scarce. In 1904, the British came out with a comprehensive list of taxes, which they claimed were in existence in the area before colonial rule. Among them were the following craft taxes:

1. Indigo (Kurdin Shuni) - C 300 per plot
2. Butchers (kurdin fawa) - C 500 per man

3. Blacksmiths (kurdin kira) - C 700 per man
4. Dyers (kurdin karofi) - C 3,200 per pit
5. Bee keepers (kurdin zuma) - C 3,000 per man
6. Tobacco grinders (kurdin taba) - C 500 per man
7. Drummers (kurdin kidi) - C 400 per man
8. Bori dancers (kurdin bori) - C 400 per dancer.[7]

The exchange rate of the cowry at this period was fixed by the British at 1,600 *kurdin* to the shilling at Zaria. The British converted these assumed taxes from cowries to shilling and imposed them on the craft men.

In 1907, hawkers and native brewers licences were imposed on traders and producers, and labourers tax was imposed on those working for wages. In 1910, in addition to the hoe tax (*kurdin garma*) and compound tax (*kurdin gida*) an industrial tax (*kurdin banzan gari*) was imposed on all craftsmen, amounting to a provincial average of 3s. 6d, but widely varied per industry. In 1915 special taxes were imposed on fishermen (*kurdin su*) and iron miners and smelters (*kurdin tama*).[8] Similarly, all agricultural produce which went in to industrial production as raw-materials were declared "special products" and taxed separately from the *haraji* paid by the peasants. These included tobacco,

[7] Op. cit. A.Z. Bonat, Colonialism and Destruction of the Local Industrial System… p. 14.
[8] Op. cit. A.Z. Bonat, Colonialism and the Destruction of Local Industries… p. 15.

sugar cane, indigo, cassava, onions, and cotton.[9] It is interesting to note that European manufactured goods were exempted from these taxes which is a clear indication to the fact that this special taxation on local raw materials and crafts were aimed at making it difficult for peasant to engage in local industry of any kind and to kill the industries themselves. This taxation gave European manufactured goods an advantage over indigenous industrial products in their competition in the local markets.

5.2.3 Land Tenure

Like the colonial tax policy the "new" colonial land administration regulations in reality was a deliberate obstacle created by the colonial state against the process of development of the forces of production. For one thing, after taking over the control of all the land in the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the colonial state preserved for itself the best of such lands while it distributed vast tracts to European trading companies. In that way the peasants became landless, therefore, without employment. As a matter of fact, several local manufacturing industries especially in the rural areas were located on such confiscated lands; they became inaccessible to the peasants.

With regard to the impact of colonial land tenure system on local production generally, several writers are of the consensus that it played a major

[9] Ibid. p. 15.

role in the destruction of *gandu* as a basic unit of social production and reproduction. The *gandu* as several writers on the economic history of Hausa land have shown[10] is at the center of not only the social relations of production of Hausa land, but it was also the axis around which the superstructure of its political economy revolved, for the gandu, a part from serving as the basic unit of social production, it played a role at the same time of being a flatform for the mobilization of labour as well as for participation in the larger public affairs of the society. Thus, the policies of colonial taxation, land tenure, as well as those of colonial labour were actually targeted at the *gandu* in order to secure its destruction alongside with its multiple functions. Once this was achieved, then the destruction of two critical basis of indigenous economic production i.e. land and labour became assured.

So far, our examination of colonial policies especially those relating to taxation and land tenure have thrown some light on how the distotion of the indigenous economy was achieved. The study of A.Z. Bonat to which we have made reference early in this chapter has brought out in detail the role colonial taxation had played in the distortion and eventual destruction of indigenous

[10] Mahadi Adamu, "Some essential features of the economy of Hausaland C 1500 – 1804" article in M. Adamu and Djibo Mamani, eds studies in the History of the Central Sudan and West Africa before 1904, ABU press, also see Polly Hill, "Hidden Trade in Hausaland", MAN, Vol. 4, No. 3, September, 1969 p. 392 – 409, Hill Polly studies in Rural capitalism in West Africa, Cambridge University Press, London, 1970.
Michael Watts, Silent Violence, Food Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria, (University of California Press, 1983, P.E. Lovejoy, Long-Distance Trade and Islam: The Case of the 19th Century Hausa Kola Trade JHSN Vol. v. No. 4. 1971.

industries, similarly our analysis of colonial land administration has also provided an insight in to the role it had played in the process of such distortion. Our task in the next section of this study is to show how this distortion of the indigenous economy led to decline and subsequent collapse of indigenous industries.

5.3 Decline of Indigenous Industries

For us to appreciate the extent of the decline of the indigenous industries, it is important to make reference to Ikara District re-assessment report[11] of 1923, in the report, the Assistant District Officer (A.D.O.) estamited an upward of 70 "pure" industries existing in Ikara District alone. This included;

1. Dyeing which employed 275 personnel
2. Weaving which employed 608 personnel
3. Tailoring which employed 188 personnel
4. Blacksmiths which employed 108 personnel among others.[12]

Else where Bonat has shown that throughout pre-colonial period up to theyear 1900, craft production was increasing in the Zazzau Emirate not diminishing, as a matter of fact, he argued that economic production in general

[11] NAK/Zarprof/SNP9/368/1923, Zaria Province, Ikara District Re-Assessment Report by Captain H. Merreer.
[12] Ibid.

was becoming specialized such that each branch of production had its own specialist and commercial agents.[13] In addition, the level of development and sophistication of this craft production which was increasingly becoming specialized was the emergence of the *sarkin sana'a* or leader of occupation for each craft. The *sarkin sana'a* was the leading craftsman in his own profession such as *sarkin makera, sarkin magina* i.e. *saraki,* etc.[14] In spite of this dynamism and fast rate of growth of the indigenous economy by 1945 stagnation had set in most of them: as a matter of fact as early as 1918 crafts production had began to decline in absolute terms in the words of Bonat:

> *Ten years after the imposition of the various industrial taxes, the colonial administrators were reporting the drastic decline of the local crafts. During the First World War, the tax rates were raised from 8s, 1d. per head in 1913 to 11s. 6d. in 1914, and this rate was maintained until 1918. We also noticed that in 1915 special taxes were imposed on iron miners and smelters, fishermen etc the following table compiled from various files, using projections of a general rate of decline, shows the situation for two districts quite clearly.*[15]

[13] Op. cit. A.Z. Bonat, "Colonialism and the Destruction"… p. 11.
[14] Op. Cit. A.Z. Bonat Colonialism and the Destruction… p. 12.
[15] Ibid. p. 17.

Table 5.15: Census of Craftmen in Wambai and Sarkin Ruwa Districts, Zaria Province 1913 And 1917

	Wambai District (Jaji)		Sarkin Ruwa District (Turunku)	
Craft Group	1913	1917	1913	1919
Dyers	116	5	124	7
Blacksmith	29	6	24	7
Weavers	95	20	154	29
Tailors	81	17	108	15
Mat makers	20	4	10	1
Butchers	29	10	32	1
Potters	9	1	1	1
Cobblers	7	1	1	1
Barbers	18	4	14	3
Carpenters	12	3	12	3

Source: *A.Z. Bonat "Colonialism and the Destruction of the Local Industrial System; A Case Study of Zaria Province 1902 – 1945.*

The above table though not compiled with reference to Ikara District in particular it seems to reflect a general trend in the decline of indigenous industries across Zaria Province which was on going from that period up to 1960 with the above picture showing as it were a past dealing rate in indigenous industrial development. It is probable that by 1960, if a census had been carried out to ascertain the number of the still surviving indigenous industries from the original 70 recorded in 1923, they may not have been up to 0.7 or 1% of the original 70.

5.4.1 Entrenchment of Dependency

As we have read in the work of Michael Watts and those of other writers on the indigenous economy of Northern Nigeria during pre-colonial period, the economy is described to have been diverse, dynamic relatively autonomous and self sustaining if not absolutely self sufficient[16] as such, the problem of total dependency as experienced during the unequal trade regime imposed by colonialism was a thing unknown, a reference to Watts here is in order

> *An agrarian economy which was able to create wealth through the production of an agricultural surplus which was facilitated by sustained demand coming from the nearby desert communities with their needs for grains and manufactured articles…, transactions within this indigenous economy were conducted on a solid basis provided by an urban-based but locally resident merchant capital which helped to integrate indigenous manufacture with credit services and political patronage*[17]

Regrettably however, from 1902 when the British conquered and unsurped the sovereignty of Zazzau Emirate to 1935, a period of 33 years, the

[16] The Indigenous Economy was Sustained by an elaborate System of Transasction within the Structure of Lond-Distance Trade and a highly Developed Financial Infrastructure and Credit Facility, Which served as flat form for equal exchange among and between communities locally and abroad.
[17] Michael Watts, Silent Violence Food Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria (University of California Press 1983) 1983, pp. 11 – 12.

situation became totally reversed; the diversity of indigenous economy was replaced by a single-sector export crops economy imposed by the Colonial State. For example information obtained through oral[18] evidence has confirmed that before the entrenchment of colonial economy in Ikara District, locally cultivated cutton was processed and used by local weavers at the local textile industries for the production of cloth.

The bulk of these locally manufactured textile materials, according to my informant, were consumed locally while a small percentage was sold thorugh trade[19]. The following were the local markets where such manufactured textile materials were sold:

Name of villages	**Market days**
Ikara	Thurday and Friday
Kurmin-kogi	Sundays
Malikanci	Saturday
Danlawal	Wednesday
Furana	Friday
Paki	Tuesday
Pala	Monday

[18] Mallam Muhammadu Inuwa (popularly known as Malam na gidan Masaka), age 98 years old, Occupation Weaving *Masaki,* Interwied at Anguwan Masaka, Ikara, 9th October, 2012
[19] Opcit. Malam Muhammadu Inuwa

In addition, there were some distant markets (distance trades) where such manufactured textile materials were sold. These included Maiduguri, Kano, Sokoto, Katsina, Niger, Tchad and Cameroon republics. It should be noted that most of textile materials sold in the above mentioned places were specialized textile materials[20].

The dynamism of the indigenous crafts manufacturing sector was replaced by the stagnation delibrately brought about by colonial policies aimed at destroying the sector, the total result/outcome of this, was the emergence of a situation of dependency, which was the hallmark of colonial economy wherever it operated. Without downplaying the significance of its political and ideological components, we will do well to remind ourselves that colonialism in its essence was driven for the most part by the economic interest of the colonizing power: colonies were really, and no more than territories demarcated to serve both as sources of raw materials for the industries of the colonizing power (Britain) and as markets for the sale and consumption of their finished manufactured good/products. It stands to reason therefore that colonial trade and commerce were the most powerful instruments used in the entrenchment of this dependency. With regard to this development, N.M.

[20] Malam Ado Nime-naka, age 63 years old, Occupation *Saka* (Weaving), interviewed at Anguwan Masaka, Ikara, 9th October, 2012

Abubakar[21] has examined the role of colonial merchant capital in the incorporation of the indigenous economy of Kaura-Namoda area into the world capitalist system in a subordinate and dependent position. Through this colonial merchant capital, the indigenous economy of Ikara District just as that of Kaura – Namoda area was connected to the center of the circle of exploitation. The single most important link in this chain of exploitation was the European trading company which bought both raw materials from our area of study supplied, and sold European manufactured goods throughout the nooks and corners of our area. Rodney has explained the role of the European trading company in this way:

> *The capitalist institution which came in to most direct contact with African peasants was the colonial trading company: that is to say, a company specializing in moving goods to and from the colonies. The most notorious were the French concerns; Compagnies Francaise d'Afrique Occidentale (CFAO) and Societe Commerciale Ouest Africaine (SCOA) and the British controlled United Africa Company (UAC). These were responsible for expatriating a great proportion of African's wealth produced by peasant toil.*[22]

[21] N.M. Abubakar, Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure: The Study on the Impact of the Railway in Kaura Namoda Area 1929 – 1960"(M.A. Thesis ABU, Zaria) 2011, p. 135 – 157.
[22] Rodney Walter, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa… p. 169.

The circulation and distribution of European manufactured goods which the European companies aided and abetted as explained by Rodney above, resulted in the destruction of local indigenous cottage industries, creating a permanent foundation for dependency.

Geoffrey Kay has summed up this development in his critique of the structuralist economics which explained underdevelopment in terms of the manner in which the:

> *Colonies and neo-colonies of the nineteenth century had been integrated into the world economy by the advanced capitalist nations, and turned into suppliers of primary commodities and importers of manufactured goods. The structure of production and consumption became dislocated as a result, with underdeveloped countries producing goods they never used and using goods they could not produce; their progress came to depend entirely upon being able to balance their foreign trade*[23]

Bonat[24] has talk about the extrenchment oftechnological dependency as part of the impact of the colonial economy in Zaria Province. In our view however, Bonat seems to have narrowed this dependency by emphasizing just on technology alone. There is no doubt that indigenous technology in almost all the indigenous industries i.e. leather work, textile, blacksmithing suffered a

[23] Geoffrey Kay, Development and Undervelopment" A Marxist Analysis, Macmillan Press Ltd London and Basingstoke, 1975, p. 9.
[24] Op. cit. Z.A. Bonat the Colonialism and Destruction of Local Industrial System… p. 20.

setback by the interruption occasioned by colonial intrusion, yet much more than technology, human initiative as a whole, appropriately dubbed "local initiative" was made to suffer the impact of the attack by the colonial economy. We argue, therefore, that the dependency which colonialism entrenched in Ikara District as in the other parts of Northern Nigeria, rather than affecting just indigenous technology was indeed a multifaceted phenomenon. If we try to prove that this dependency was all pervasive affecting all aspect of the life of the people we can do so successfully with evidence, we will however limit ourselves to two important sectors of the indigenous economy i.e. the blacksmithing and textile industries. These two industries will suffice for us to prove our point based on the fact that they were among the leading indigenous industries in our area, on account of their sophisticated technologies, the high quality of their products and their wide circulation in the local and external trade and commerce of the area.

5.4.2 Blacksmithing (Iron Working Industry)

Blacksmithing which is within iron working technology is of considerable antiquity in our area of study. As a matter of fact, the significant progress or development experienced in agriculture which led to revolutionizing of agricultural production has been associated with the discovery of iron and the application of its tools to agricultural cultivation or

farming, writers from M.G. Smith to Mahdi Adamu, and some other recent ones[25] have testified to the prominence of the indigenous iron industry in Zazzau Emirate during the precolonial period, all of them have drawn attention to its evolution, development and expansion into a multi sector industry with well separated specialized sectors. We have also observed this fact in our examination of the indigenous economy of our area of study in chapter two of this study. The industry was roughly organized around three sectors namely: minning, smelting and smithing.

Mining involved the mining of iron ore i.e. *tama* from the ground. This mining of iron ore was usually carried out by professional group of iron ore miners known as *yan tama* who some times doubled as smelters, in any case, iron smelting is suppose to be a separate activity of its own carried out either by the miners or blacksmith as the case might have been.

Blacksmithing is the third sector and perhaps the most complex, but there is no doubt about the fact that it occupied an important place in the structure of the political economy of the area, not least its position as the

[25] See Mahdi Adamu, "The economy of a Hausa capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th centuries," Zaria, 1982, Mahdi Adamu, the Hausa factors in West African HIstiry, Ibadan 1978, p. 11, Mahdi Adamu, "The Economic of culture among the Hausa during the present millennium A.D." Zaria, 1977, Mahdi Adamu, A thousand years of Hausaland participation in the Trans-Saharan Trade, 9th to 19th century A.D., History Research at A.B.U., Vol. iv: The Post-graduate seminar papers of the department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1979/1980 session. Mahdi Adamu, The Hausa and the other peoples of Northern Nigeria, 1200 – 1600 A.D. (ed) in studies in Nigeria culture Vol. 2, Number 1, occasional papers of the centre for Nigerian cultural studies A.B.U., Zaria, 1982. Also see M.G. Smith "The economy of communities of Zaria HMSO, London, 1955, pp. 8 – 9.

manufacture of weapons such as cutlasses *barandami*, spears *kibiyoyi*, knives *wukake*, sword *takobi,* arrows *masu* used in stock filling of the arsenal of the Emirate. The blacksmiths were also the producers of tools used in agricultural production such as axes *fartaya*, hoes *garma lauye*, rake *munjagara*, long hoe *sungume*, digger *dagi* etc. They were also the producers of utensils, cutleries and a variety of other iron products used in different domestic uses and in construction, including implements used in hunting such as traps and guns etc and trumpets as well as musical instruments down to stirrups and jewelries, braceless, neckless and other luxury of the fineries consumed by women.

In Ikara for example, I have identified two families in Anguwan Makera who specialized in white smithing. These were *the makeran fari* who specialized in the manufacturing of female jewelries and other tuxury items such as horse riding items bridle e.t.c.

To this day there are enclaves of pre-colonial cottage industries which are in existence in varying degree of development[26].

In spite of the opinions of some writers to the contrary, Bonat has insisted that the indigenous blacksmithing industry of Ikara District was organized in nothing, less than a guild, with well developed traditions and practices including the all-important institution of apprenticeship and the

[26] Malam Abdu Inuwa, age 70 years old, Occupation kira (Blacksmith), Anguwan Makera, Ikara, interviewed on 9th October, 2012

regulation of quality control firmly located within the control of the guild system so that when destruction came, brought about by the colonial policies, aimed at destroying the indigenous industries, it was not the product of blacksmithing industries alone that suffered, but including the talents, the tradition and values that produced the industry itself so that the dependency became not only that of technology as Bonat[27] seems to think, but the whole human initiative which is the source of both ideas and innovation.

5.4.3 Indigenous Textile Industry

Next to blacksmithing was the indigenous textile industry which was the second most important area of manufacture. Like it was the case with the products of iron technology, textile materials or products enjoyed as wide if not greater circulation and patronage by local and international buyers within our area of study (Ikara). Thus the product of this indigenous industry made frequent appearance in large quantities in important circles in both domestic and long-distance trade.

These textile products passed through a long-line of production. The indigenous textile industry of Ikara District had by our period of study attained a high level of development and had expanded into three specialized sectors namely: spinning weaving and dyeing. As it was the case with other parts of

[27] Op. cit. A.Z. Bonat colonialism and destruction of local industrial... p. 20.

Hausaland as A.G. Nadama[28] and Sale Abubakar[29] have shown with regard to the textile industry of Zamfara and Sokoto respectively, spinning was an exclusive sector dominated by women, hence was a household-based industry. One economically significant function which spinning performed as an occupation reserved for women was that it gave the ordinary woman a source of income which she used in satisfying her wants. The second important sector was weaving which was practiced using frames of various sizes was the technological means used in producing different textile articles notably the *sawaye* or *fari* a rough coaxe cotton cloth widely used for clothing by the larger population (Gwadu, Turkudi). But there were also more luxurious type of textile articles produced by the indigenous textile industry of Ikara, this included *kayan saki*, woven with cotton strips dyed in double colours of blue and black; there were also *sharazale*, *tsamiya*, and *bakin biri* most of these luxury cloths were patronized mainly by the nobility (Musa Sarauta) and members of the wealthy class *attajirai*. The luxury cloths formed part of the articles bought by caravans on transit to export markets of the Middle Niger and Volta Basin.[30] Example of this textile product was the famous *yan madaka*,

[28] A.G. Nadama "Urbanization in the Sokoto Caliphate: A case study of Gusau and Kaura Namoda" in Usman, N.Y. (ed) studies in the history of the Sokoto Caliphate, the Sokoto Seminar papers, A.B.U. Press
[29] Sale Abubakar, "Birnin Shehu the City of Sokoto: A social and economic history c. 1809 – 1903" unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1982.
[30] Ibid. p. 81.

a specially expensively designed gown produced in Madaka in Zazzau Emirate.[31]

Dyeing is the third but the largest if less complex. The raw-materials used for the production of dyes is known as *baba* (indigo), the process of mixing and producing the dye stuff and the actual dyeing of cloth constituted the core of the dyeing sector or occupation within the larger indigenous textile industry. This sector like other sectors, i.e. spinning and weaving recruited and trained its own professionals, hence it served also as a plat form for the mobilization of labour, apprenticeship and skill acquisition.

Thus as it was with the case of blacksmithing industry as we have seen above, the attack and destruction of the textile indigenous industry created not only technological dependency, but it also brought about multifaceted dependency having destroyed the whole basis of indigenous production.

5.5 Conclusion

All we have been trying to do in the foregone passages above is to show how colonial domination actively operated to destroy indigenous cottage industries in our area of study and this was achieved as we have explained citing other writers through colonial ordinances we have however, gone a step

[31] S.M. Aminu, "The colonial state and colonial economy in Northern Nigeria: A case study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902 – 1945, unpublished M.A. Thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, p. 44.

further unlike some of the writers[32] we have made reference to, to show that the policies of colonial taxation and land tenure and those of labour having been designed to destroy the indigenous economies in our area of study through the destruction of industrial production not only caused technological dependency, but was also the cause of the complete economic dependence in our area of study and other parts of Nigeria which is still a major challenge for the modern Nigerian state.

[32] Op. cit. A.Z. Bonat.

CHAPTER SIX

6.1 GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study is conceived with the purpose of reconstructing the history of some of the major economic developments that occurred in Ikara district under colonial domination, which lasted for 53 years. Our major objective in this research has been to examine the changes which the economy of the area had undergone during the colonial periods although the year 1907 is the beginning of our period of study, it became necessary for us to examine the socio-economic and political conditions as they existed in the area for some time before 1907, this is in order to use the knowledge as a background against which to study the changes.

By way of general conclusion, therefore, in our study of economic history of Ikara under colonial domination we are able to establish that there has been a change even if the change does not amount to progress or development in the positive sense of these words. For example, our study of the various economic activities in the area during the pre-colonial period has revealed a picture of a relatively fairly well-developed, well-integrated, sustainable indigenous economy, largely based on agriculture and handicraft craft manufacture which generated and sustained a reasonable level of trade and commerce; an indigenous economy which not only mobilized labour, but also provided a platform for apprenticeship which assured training in skill

acquisition under guild-like occupational organizations. This encouraged not only skill acquisition, but also provided opportunities for the development of innovation in particular and of local initiative in general.

Fortunately, many writers before us have also observed this fact in relation to the larger indigenous economy of Northern Nigeria. We have already made reference to the works of some of them; M.G. Smith, Michael Watts, Mahadi Adamu, A.Z. Bonat, Sule Bello, S.M. Aminu, Abdulkadir Adamu etc. A number of them, especially Sule Bello and A.Z. Bonat, have shown that while there was indeed a change or even transformation within the indigenous economy, that change was neither progress nor development; if anything, colonial domination retarded the natural movement of the indigenous economy toward progress and development. Our study regarding Ikara area has gone a step further to show that colonial domination not only retarded the indigenous economic progress and development, but it also destroyed all the sectors that came together to form the indigenous economy along with the local initiative that generated and sustained them through the centuries thereby entrenching a multifaceted dependency as we have made mentioned somewhere in this work where we have observed.

> *We show how colonial domination actively operated to destroy indigenous cottage industries in our area of study and this was achieved as we have explained citing other writers, through colonial ordinances. We*

have gone a step further once again, unlike some of the writers, we have made reference to, to show that the policies of colonial taxation and land tenure and those of labour having been designed to destroy the indigenous economies in our area of study, through the destruction of industrial production, did not only caused technological dependency, but was also the cause of the complete economic dependence in our area of study and other parts of Nigeria which is still a major challenge for the modern Nigerian state.[1]"

1Ultravide P.p 169-170

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