THE ROLE OP NATIVE AUTHORITIES IN THE COLONIAL ECONOMY: A CASE STUDY OP MASKA DISTRICT 1903 - 1960.

By

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I

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the product of my own research and has been written by me. It has not been presented for higher degree in any other University. All quotations have been acknowledged by quotation marks and footnotes.

Mamman, Musa Adamu.

ABSTRACT

The subject matter of this thesis is the role of Native Authorities in the Colonial economy. It covers the period 1903-1960. The occupation of our area of study and Northern Nigeria generally was followed by the transformation of the Emirates aristocracy into the Native Authority system. This was geared towards making them play some roles in the colonial economy. These roles were related to the execution of colonial policies on labour, land, agriculture and trade as well as taxation.

The Native Authorities carried out these roles and benefitted from the exercise. These policies and the brutal ways in which they were executed led to the decline of indigenous economic activities, indebtedness, famines, migrations and technological dependence of the area and the whole country on the imperialist countries of Western Europe.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U.	-	Ahmadu Bello University
A.D.O.	-	Assistant District Officer
B.C.G.A.	-	British Cotton Growing Association
C. of O.	-	Certificate of Occupancy
C.F.A.O.	-	Compagnie Francaise d' Afrique Occidentale
D.O.	-	District Officer
G.R.A.	-	Government Reserve Area
E.C.G.C.	-	Empire Cotton Growing Corporation
I.T.C.Z.	-	Inter Tropical Convergence Zone
J.A.H.	-	Journal of African History
J.H.S.N.	-	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
KATPROF	-	Katsina Provincial Office Records now in Kaduna Archives
KATNA	-	Katsina Native Authority Records now in Kaduna Archives
K.I.L.	-	Kashim Ibrahim Library
L.B.A.	-	Licenced Buying Agents
L.K.T.C.	-	London and Kano Trading Company
N.A.	-	Native Authority
N.A.K.	-	National Archives Kaduna
N.C.M.B.	-	Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board
N.E.P.U.	-	Northern Elements Progressive Union
N.H.R.S.	-	Northern History Research Scheme
P.Z.	-	Paterson Zochonis
R.N.C.	-	Royal Niger Company
W.A.F.F.	-	West African Frontier Force
S.C.O.A.	-	Societe Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain
S.N.P.	-	Secretariat of the Northern Provinces
U.A.C.	-	United African Company.

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INTRODUCTION

The focus in this thesis is on the role of the Native Authorities in the colonial economy.

There has been a general tendency on the part of scholars writing on the colonial economy to neglect the role that was played by the former Emirate aristocracy in the subjugation, subordination and exploitation of the human and natural resources of Northern Nigeria by the British colonial government. In most cases the focus has been on the administrative system used by the colonialists in ruling the emirates. Even in such cases little has been done to relate colonial administration with the colonial economy. Other scholars would even argue that the Native Authorities as part of the colonial state did not play any role in the colonial economy.

It is the aim of this thesis to examine the colonial economy and the role that was played by the Native Authorities in it at the district level. For a proper understanding of the subject under study it is necessary to look into the nature of the pre-existing economic and political formation of our area of study.

In Chapter One, therefore, the relationship between the pre-colonial local administration and the economy is discussed. We argue that the local admini

stration adopted several policies and measures to promote economic activities and the welfare of the people. We also indicated that this resulted in the increase of such activities.

In chapter Two, the imposition of colonial domination and the transformation of the aristocracy into the Native Authority system forms the subject matter. This was for the purpose of using them to execute colonial policies.

Chapters three, four, five and six discuss these roles. These included the provision of labour for colonial infrastructure, land allocation and administration, promotion of agriculture and trade and tax collection. It is shown in this thesis that the Native Authorities of Maska District were not only used to execute these policies but they also participat and benefitted from the exercise. They acquired wealth and consolidated their powers. The policies and their execution had disastrous consequences on the people of the district.

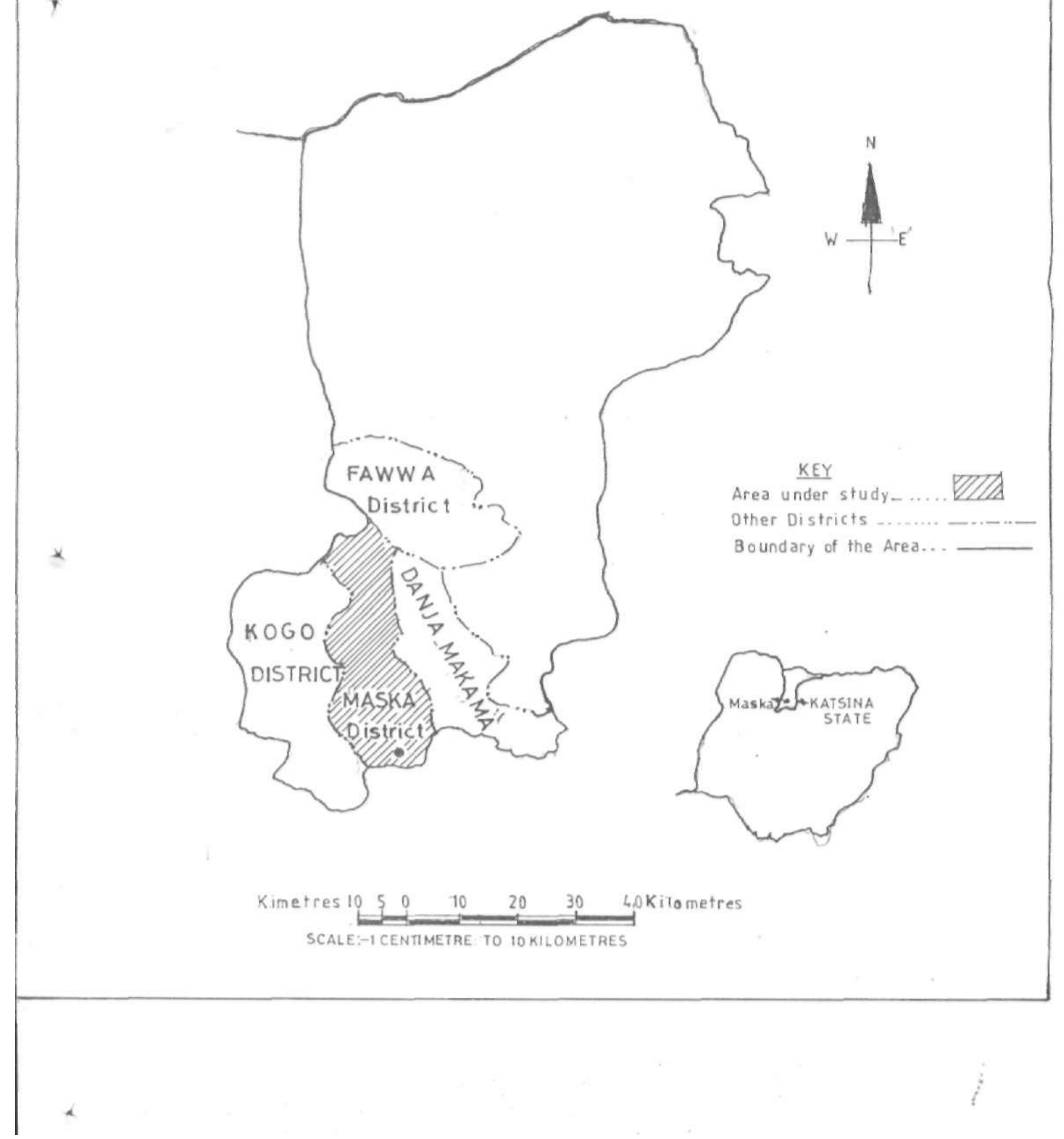
CHAPTER ONE

MASKA AREA ON THE EVE OF COLONIAL DOMINATION

Introduction

The focus of this chapter will be on the location of our area of study in both time and space. We shall also touch on the geography of the area in relation to its climate, soils and vegetation and how these affected the socio-economic history of the area. But even more importantly we hope to examine the economic and socio-political condition of Maska area in the 19th century. This is with a view to exploring the nature of the relationships that existed between the state and the economy. This will involve a survey of the policies of the local administration in the field of agricultural production, manufacturing industries and trade. The overall purpose of the chapter is to serve as a yardstick for evaluating as well as comprehending the extent and character of changes which took place after the occupation of the area by the British forces.

MAP 1. LOCATION OF MASKA DISTRICT IN KATSINA STATE



Location

Maska District is today located in Funtua Local Government Area of Katsina State, Northern Nigeria.[1] It covers an area of 976 kilometres and lies from North to South between parallels 11.06° and 11.45° North and from West to East by the meridian 7.08° and 7.23° East.[2] It is bordered on the north by Tsafe Local government Area in Sokoto State, to the south by Giwa Local Government Area in Kaduna State, to the east by Makama District[3] and to the North-east by Fawwa District.[4]

Physical Features

(a) Hills/Rocks

The area belongs to that cluster referred to as the dissected plateau of the kasar Katsina which forms part of the gently undulating plains that extends almost unbroken from Sokoto to Lake Chad. The area also has hills which are of two kinds

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1. The term Northern Nigeria is being used here to refer to the region that was constituted in 1900, as the Northern Protectorate. In 1914 it became Northern Provinces and in 1954 the Northern Region.

2. NNAK Katprof 1 1286 Maska District Notes on 1926-1933. See also Abdullahi Idris Mahuta - "Urbanisation in Maska Region in the 19th and 20th Centuries with Special Reference to Funtua." M.A. Thesis, A.B.U. 1990, p.26.

3. Makama District is today in the Bakori and Danja Local Government Areas of Katsina State.

4. Fawwa District today forms the Kankara Local Government Area of Katsina State.

These include the inserbergs and the lateritic iron stones - capped mesas.[5] The inselbergs are a product of circumdenution and are well represented by different types of rocks. These include gneisses, schists, phillites and amphibolites. Biotite gneiss is however the most common and the most ancient of these rocks. There are biotite granites of two distinct ages which are gradually replacing the gneisses.[6] Rock inselbergs could be seen in the Funtua Hills, Shigu hills and Mahuta Hills of the area.

The lateritic iron mesas could be found around the ancient iron centres of Tandama, Fawwa, Makurdi and Burdugau which formed the Maska-Gozaki region.[7] These rocks were an important source of iron ore which was used as a raw material of the early iron working technology that developed in the area. Iron ore was particularly significant in the political and economic history of Maska area.

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5. M.B. Thorp, "Landforms" in M.J. Mortimore (ed) Zaria and Its Region A.B.U. Zaria, Department of Geography Occassional Paper, No.4, 1970 p.13

6. NNAK Katprof 1 4025, Katsina Province Survey 1949, p.60.

7. Usman Yusuf Bala, "Transformation of Katsina C.1796-1903, The Overthrow of the Sarauta System and the Establishment and Evolution of the Emirate" Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U., 1974, p.5.

It would appear that the early concentration of population in the area was partly made possible by the use of iron implements in cultivating crops such as auduga cotton and dawa guinea corn - two important commodities which launched Maska area into a leading position of long distance trade on the eve of colonial domination.

Soils:

The soil in Maska area is pre-dominantly the dark clay loams laka that is of a finer drift material, somewhat heavier to till and has a pronounced clay horizon.[8] Buchanan and Pugh have specifically shown that subject to inundation and water logging the laka soils are especially suitable for intensive cultivation of sorghum and cotton.[9] Most of the soil is formed in alluvial material that is fairly rich in nutrients and have the capacity to retain moisture for quite sometime. This good moisture retention sometimes

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8. Michael Watts, Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria. University of California Press London, 1983, p.92.

9. Buchanan K. and Pugh, J.C., Land and People in Nigeria. London, London University Press 1955, p.39.

persists up to the time of the dry season and makes the dry season farming noman rani possible. In fact the soil in the area and the whole of southern Katsina (Katsina laka) has been described as one of the most fertile farming lands of the Kasar Katsina.[10] The fact that the land was cultivated during both the rainy and dry seasons shows the extent to which agricultural production was practiced on the eve of British invasion.

(c) Vegetation

The area falls within the distinction made by plant geographers as the Northern Guinea Savannah zone which has some of its features the predominance of a woodland vegetation type.[11] This could be seen in the presence of doka (Isoberlinia doka) dorowa (parkii oliveri) which Henry Barth reported as being the commonest tree in Katsina Province.[11] Other trees are kuka (adansonia digitata) kadanya

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10. Usman Yusuf Bala, op.cit. p.5

11. Barth Henrich, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa Vol.1, London 1857 Vol. III, pp.89-90.

(butryrosperum parkii) cediya (ficus thonningii) giginya (Borassus flabbolifor) goriba (hyphaene thebaica) madaci (khaya senegalensis) marke (anoigeisus schimperi) durumi (ficus polita) dinya (vitex cien kowskii) rimi (ceiba petandra) and many more interspersed in the area of Maska.

These species of trees have played important roles in the economy of Maska area. The wood carvers masassaka of the area used the wood of these trees in producing chairs, stools, doors, door frames, mortars, pestles, mallets, handles for hoes, axes, sickles and ploughs. The smelters yantama also obtained their charcoal gawayi from the trees which they used in smelting and blacksmithing. Fibre was also obtained from baobab trees kuka and used in making durable bast fibres for tying bundles of goods, or animals. Similarly the seeds, fruits and leaves of these trees were used for oil, food stuffs and medicinal purposes. Cooking oil was, for instance, obtained from kadanya. Similarly the seeds of dorowa were used in making daddawa (a kind of ingredient used in improving the flavour of soup). Other by-products of this tree were also used in plastering walls of dyepits and houses. Furthermore the leaves

of kuka trees were used in making a certain type of soup miyar kuka. Other trees such as giginya were used in making rafters azara for house roofing. The bagaruwa tree was an essential component used in tanning.[12] Many other trees were used in different ways by the people of the Maska area. These goods were not only consumed but were important items of internal and external trade.

(d) Climate

The climate of Maska area and indeed the whole of the savannah region of West Africa has been affected by the movement of the Inter Tropical Convergence Zone (I.T.C.Z.).[13] This involved the

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12. Interview with Abubakar Koshe Bakin Dutse, 24/4/92, Henceforth, A.K.B.

13. For the details about the movement of the airmasses see P.N. Hore, "Weather and Climate" in Mortimore (ed) op.cit. See also Cocheme J. and Franquin, P.A., A Study of the Agriclimatology of Semi-Arid West Africa South of the Sahara. Rome: F.A.O. 1967 Oxford University Press 1978; Kowal J.M. and Knabe D., An Agro-climatological Atlas of the Northern States of Nigeria, Zaria, A.B.U. Press 1972 and Oguntoyinbo, J. and Richards P., "Peasant Farmer Responses to Drought Conditions in West Africa", Paper delivered to the Conference on the Aftermath of the Drought in Nigeria, Bagauda lake Kano 1977.

movement of air masses with tropical front which have largely determined the annual distribution of rainfall and temperature. The two air masses that pass over the area include the saharan air mass which is dry and continental in origin and the equatorial maritime which is moist and cool in nature. This later air mass blows from the Atlantic Ocean in the South and is the harbinger of the rainy season.

The weather and the amount of rain fall that Maska area gets depends on the air mass that covers it and its depth. It seems that the equatorial maritime air had had a stronger influence over the area than the saharan air mass and hence the reason for the heavy down pour of rain witnessed every year. It should however be noted that as always the advance of the I.T.C.Z. is not regular but comes in a series of surges, halts and retreats. This explains the variability of the mean annual rain fall obtained each year. It also shows why Maska area is a distinct territory both in terms of geography and economy from the rest of Katsina Emirate.[14] Grove has

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14. Ingawa Tukur Bello,"A Study of Rural Economic History of the Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate During the Colonial Period C.1900-1939," Ph.D. Thesis, U.K. 1984, pp.14-15.

placed the average yearly total of about 40 to 50 inches of rainfall at Daudawa. This can be seen from the records of the Daudawa Farm Centre established in 1926. This covered the period from 1926-1946.

TABLE 1:1

Year	Inches	Year	Inches
1926	47.15 Inches	1936	47.15 Inches
1927	55.79 "	1937	44.04 "
1928	44.39 "	1938	39.06 "
1929	50.84 "	1939	57.41 "
1930	43.28 "	1940	38.99 "
1931	43.58 "	1941	36.62 "
1932	57.16"	1942	34.69 "
1933	46.46 "	1943	44.09 "
1934	47.45 "	1944	37.53 "
1935	48.58 "	1945/46	54.70 "

Source: Annual Report - Northern Nigeria Agriculture Station Reports 1942-1955/56 Vol.I, Part I (Katsina).

From the above figures of the mean annual rain fall at Daudawa, it could be seen that Grove's average is not far from the truth. It is this aspect of the rain fall that had largely determined the pattern and nature of human activity and settlement in the Maska area. It is also the rain fall that has been the determinant of the agricultural season.

This usually starts with the fall of the first rains in May signifying the inception of the rainy season damana. The pattern changes from the end of June up to the middle of September when there is continuous rains, low temperatures and high humidity malka-malka. From the end of September or beginning of October through to January the rains ceases, instead, heavy falls of dew occur at night. The direction of the wind also shifts ushering in the North-East wind hunturu (harmattan). This is the harvest season or kaka. Then lastly comes the bazara which brings with it masses of hot air and the return of clouds in the form of high cirrus type accompanied by humid breeze. This begins from January and ends in April. This is also the period when people engage in dry season farming noman rani in the marshy areas fadamomi of the Maska area. The

period then from May to October covers the time of the rainy season when the people in the area engage in considerable farming activity. This ranged from bush clearing sharar gona to ridging huda, sowing shuka and weeding noma. The dry season covers the months of October to April. Apart from the dry season farming which people engage in, many others also take to manufacturing activities and trade.

(e) Rivers

The area is well drained with a series of streams and rivers flowing in all directions. These rivers include the Chalawa river which flows East from the area and drains into Lake Chad; the Gajere river which flows North from the area and combines with Sokoto river. There is also the Sokoto river which flows through the area, being a tributary of River Niger and the Tubo river flowing South from the area and joins the Kaduna river as tributary.[15] Other rivers and streams that drain into the area are Damari, Mariga,

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15. Ismaila Salahuddin Alfa,"Growth Centres and their Impact on the Rural Economy: A Case Study of Funtua", B.Sc. Dissertation, Department of Geography, June 1985, p.20.

Galma, Mahuta, Gwaigwaye, Bagari, Kiluri, Albasu, Bele, Magajin Dutsen Reme, Fesa, Jere, Kanya, Hanakankasa, Danjaba, Tatari, Mayake, Harande and numerous others.[16]

These streams and rivers have served as sources of water supply used for domestic and industrial needs. The rivers also provided good grazing pastures for the nomadic Fulani. This attracted many of them into the area and even made them to sedenterise. Similarly the valleys that were interspersed in the area were used in agricultural production. This especially applied to the dry season farming noman rani which was practiced in the fadamomi (flood plains) of the area. Different types of crops were cultivated in the process. These included pepper, tomatoes, okro, sugar cane, onions, and many more. In fact Grove noted that many people travelled to the area during the dry season and utilised the under-used or unused fadamomi.[17] The methods used

16. Interview with Alhaji Muhammadu Bello Jabiri, 5/6/92 Henceforth M.B.J.

17. Grove, A.T., "Population Densities and Agriculture in Northern Nigeria" in K.M. Barbour and R.M. Prothero (eds) Essays in African Population London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961.

in this type of farming were two. The first one involved making use of handscoops to water the vegetables while the second method was through the use of shadoof.

The Economy

From our discussion above it is clear that Maska area offered opportunities both for human activity and settlement. This contributed to the growth of towns in the area. It was also these favourable environmental factors that made the settlers of the area to engage in the pursuit of different economic activities. Such activities included agricultural production, pastoralism, manufacturing activities and trade. It is important for us to examine how each of these activities was carried out in the Maska area in the late 19th century.

(i) Agriculture

Agriculture was the foundation of the economy in Maska area. It was an activity that provided the raw materials used in the manufacturing industries. It was, similarly, from this activity that many of the items or commodities used in

trade were obtained. Agriculture was the main stay of the economy. This was practised during the rainy season damana when people cultivate many crops. These included cotton, indigo, guinea corn, millet, maize, rice, yams, potatoes, cassava, beans, groundnuts and vegetables produced in the marshy grounds fadamomi. Out of all these, however, the cultivation of cotton was the premier agricultural activity in the Maska area.[18] It was also the cultivation of cotton that was partly responsible for the wealth of the area in the late 19th century.[19] The species of the cotton produced was the gwandi or bagwandara which grew into a shrub and could be maintained for several years. The leaves of this type of cotton was used in the production of the red dye for use on threads. Indigo was also cultivated in the Maska area. This was carried out both in the uplands and the fadamomi. One special type of indigo produced was known as talaki. The two crops, cotton and indigo had throughout the 19th century served as raw materials to the flourishing textile industry in the Maska area.

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18. Usman Yusuf Bala, The Transformation of Katsina, 1400-1883. Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1981, p.203.

19. Ibid.

Food crops were also produced in large quantity. This was used in feeding the numerous people in the area. It is significant for us to note what Robinson and Wallace had observed in 1894 when they were passing through the Maska area. This is in relation to the extent to which the people engaged in agricultural activity. Wallace observed that:

> Most of the land is under cultivation, with the exception of perhaps a forth lying fallow in its turn.[20]

In all these, the household had been the basic unit of production. This consisted of the gida headed by the maigida, their slaves and clients barori. There was the household farm gandun gida which was under the control of the household head maigida. It was on this large farm that the major crops were grown. It was also from the proceeds of this farm that the maigida fed the family as well as fulfilled their obligations, such as taxation, marriage etc. There was also the practice of providing the individual

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20. Robinson C.H. and Wallace W, "Hausa Territories," Geographical Journal Vol.8, No.3, 31896, p.213.

family members with smaller farms gayauna. The proceeds of these farms were entirely owned by the individual and had the right to dispose it according to his own wish. The proceeds of the gayauna was mostly used in satisfying the personal needs and obligations of the family members.[21] Apart from the family labour that was used in the production process, there was also the collective labour gayya which was in use. This involved extending invitation to the members of other households to help one of the households cultivate its own gandu. This was done in turns under the arrangement of the Sarkin noma of the specific area in question. The people invited worked voluntarily. The host was, however, expected to prepare food for them to eat at the end of the work. Drummers were also sometimes invited to entertain the workers. This induced them to work hard. In this way a large farm that could have taken two or three weeks or a number of days to cultivate would be finished in one day through gayya.[22]

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21. A.K.B. 24/4/92.

22. M.B.J. 5/6/92.

There were also large farms gandaye which were owned by the members of the ruling class sarakunan kasa and the rich people masu arziki of the Maska area. These farms were cultivated by farm slaves bayin gandu and the peasants talakawa. The Sarkin Maska Halilu (C.1891-1910) was said to have owned such a large farm at Abasawa in the eastern part of Maska town. The farm was cultivated by numerous slaves who were fed on millet and guinea corn mash garin gero da dawa.[23] Similar farms were owned by the princes of Maska and some of the village heads. It should not be surprising that the members of the ruling class owned large farming estates. This is because the custom and religion had placed the control of such land in their hands.[24] Hence

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23. Interview with Abdullahi Burtu Funtua, 19/9/92. Henceforth A.B.F.

24. Under the Maliki law land belonged to the Muslim Community but was held in trust by the Caliph. The Caliph devolved the control of such land to the Emirs in their Emirates. They in turn also used their subordinates, the sarakunan sarki, the Sarakunan Kasa and the village heads masu unguwa to administer the land to the umma. See Michael Watts, op.cit. p.73, also interview with Alhaji Audu Magajin Maska 12/12/91. Henceforth A.M.M.

they could take as much as they wanted. The rich people masu arziki used slave labour as well as paid labour in their farms. In the Maska-Gozaki region there was an area of woodland outside Tandama which was transformed into large cotton estates by a class of rich farmers living there. These rich farmers included Mayaki, Bakoshi-Mai-Dogon-Geme, Umaru-Riga-takashe-ka, Namama and Bina. These estates were cultivated by farm slaves bayin gandu. In fact Mayaki was particularly said to have owned over one hundred slaves bayi on his own farm where he often harvested over 500 kwararo.[25] Similarly the muslim intelligentsia mallamai also engaged in agricultural production. They got the bulk of the labour they required in their farms from their students almajirai.

The area also attracted a good number of people from northern Katsina, Western Sokoto and Zazzau on the eve of the conquest. They came during the rainy season from these areas in order to cultivate cotton and indigo.[26] Additional labour was also imported into the area by

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25. Usman Yusuf Bala, op.cit. p.203

26. Abdullahi Idris Mahuta, op.cit. p.263.

the rulers of Maska. The people came from Southern Zazzau and the Gwari region to work on their farms.[27] The great cattle plague of 1891-1892 also made many pastoral Fulani to abandon pastoralism and take to farming.[28] Hence the late 19th century was really a period of increased agricultural activity.

(ii) Pastoralism

Pastoralism was another human activity that was practised by the people in the area. This was especially undertaken by the nomadic Fulani. It was however also practised by the semi-nomadic Fulani, including members of the ruling class. The nomadic Fulani practised it on a full time basis and in fact moved about with their cattle in search of pasture. Wherever they found a good grazing land they would settle and erect their huts rugage and were not likely to vacate the area until they exhausted the pasture of the area. These type of Fulani are referred to as the

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27. Ibid.

28. Michael Watts, op.cit, p.68, also Usman, Y.B. op.cit p.207.

Fulanin-daji. The semi-nomadic Fulani or Fulanin gida were those Fulani who had lost their cattle as a result of an epidemic. They therefore had no other alternative than to settle in the towns and engage in other activities. Such Fulani were often given herds to rear by the members of the ruling class.[29] Others that engaged in pastoralism were the Habe, members of the ruling class, rich people and the ulama.

In the area, two types of Fulani could be found. Most of them, especially the nomadic ones made their way into the area as a result of the state policy on sedenterisation. This was particularly true with the Daneji Fulani who settled in the area in the 19th century. The semi-nomadic Fulani especially the members of the ruling class and the rich people engaged in pastoralism because it was both a secure source of manure and a means of realising their capital. It should also be noted that there was a close link or relationship between agriculture and pastoralism. This link was in the way in which the agriculturalists used the manure obtained from the cattle in their farms for crops such as cotton

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29. Interview with Sarkin Fulani Tudun Iya 10/1/92, Henceforth S.F.I.

and indigo which required heavy manuring. The pastoralists on the other hand made use of the corn, millet or maize stalk left behind by the agriculturalists at the time of harvest.[30]

(iii) Manufacturing Activities

The dominant manufacturing activity in Maska area in the late 19th century was textile manufacture. This was largely as a result of the increase in cotton and indigo cultivation which were the two basic ingredients for the growth and development of the textile and dyeing industry.. After enough cotton had been acquired it was then spinned kadi to form thread zare. This was mainly said to be the work of women.[31] The thread was then woven saka by the weavers on the looms to form cloth. The cloth was finally taken to the dyers marina who turned it into different colours as required.

Maska area became famous for a type of cloth known as Bunu dan maska which gained fame in all the nooks and corners of Katsina Emirate as well

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30. Ibid.

31. Group interview carried out at Jibiri, 23/3/92.

as in other neighbouring Emirates such as Zazzau, Kano and Sokoto.[32] Other types of cloth produced by the textile industry at Maska were the farin gwado (blanket of white thread) and madukare (a special cloth used by Fulani women as wrappers).[33] In fact it was because of the way textile manufacturing had flourished in Maska that made weavers from far away places such as Doro, Mani, Ingawa and Kurkujan to troop into the area during the dry season. They came with their looms which they set and worked on up to the time of the bazara when they then returned home to prepare their farms against the next rainy season.[34]

Y.B. Usman observed that:

> The cultivation of cotton and indigo remained the basis of important commercial and manufacturing activity in Maska. These products were processed into sulaye (bunches of thread) and baba (dyestuff) and exported to northern Katsina and eastwards into Kano.35

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32. Usman, Y.B., op.cit., p.196; Ingawa, T.B., op.cit, p.323.

33. Ingawa, T.B., op.cit, p.323. Also Mahuta, op.cit, p.114.

34. Usman, Y.B. op.cit. p.197. Apart from Maska weaving also took place at Matazu, Karofi and Tandama. Ibid, p.136

35. Ibid, p.196.

Embroidery dinkin hannu was also practiced alongside the textile manufacturing and dyeing. This was used to saw caps as well as to embroider the big gowns manyan riguna of the members of the ruling class, rich people and the muslim intelligentsi There are indications that some of these crafts survived despite the attempts made by the colonialists to destroy them in the 20th century. Olofson has for example, shown that Maska town was noted by Chaytor as a town of dyers in 1917.[36] To date one notices the existence of more than 324 dyepits in the town. A number which Olofson showed in 1971 to be a gross under estimation of those actually ever used.[37]

Another manufacturing activity that was practised in the Maska area was smithing. This included both blacksmithing and silver smithing. The smithing industry flourished because of the presence of iron ore in the neighbouring areas of Birnin Gwari, Zagami and Tandama. Birnin Gwari and Koriga were especially said to have continued expanding by the late 19th century in

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36. See H.A. Olofson, Funtua: "Patterns of a Migration to a New Hausa Town," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1976, p.196.

37. Ibid.

iron working. They produced thousands of hoe blades annually and yar koriga became an epithet for a certain type of hoe.[38] By the end of the 19th century the iron workers at Koriga had developed the skill of using a special forced drought furnace which produced high quality pig iron. This type of iron was used in producing thousands of agricultural implements such as hoes hauya/ fartanya, axe gatari, matchet adda, hand plough galmar hannu and other weapons used during warfare such as sword takobi, spear mashi and many others. All these were produced by blacksmiths.

Those engaged in silver smithing also used copper alloys and different types of lead to produce items of adornment like bracelets, rings, decoration of swords and saddlers and cooking implements such as pans, pots, spoons and cutleries.

Leather working was another manufacturing activity that was carried out in the Maska area in the late 19th century. The bulk of the hides and skins used was obtained from animals reared by both the nomadic and seminomadic Fulani. The

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38. See Monk, Koriga District p.507, Hamilton, Birnin Gwari District and Usman, Y.B. op.cit. p.208.

skins obtained were first treated by tanners majema. After the skin had been tanned it was then dyed into different colours such as yellow yarawa, orange korino, black kuduji and red jarfata. These were then taken to markets where leather manufacturers dukawa bought them and used them in producing different materials such as shoes, bags and shields.[39] Mahuta, has for example shown that there had developed in the Maska - Gozaki area a group of brokers dillalan fata who took it far and near selling it to the long distance traders who visited the area.[40]

Apart from the textile and smithing industries as well as leather working, there were other numerous manufacturing activities that were carried out in less proportion and scale. These included wood carving sassaka, pottery ginin tukwane, mat making sakar tabarma, calabash and spoon making.

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39. Group interview at Dandume 2/2/92.

40. Abdullahi Idris Mahuta, op.cit, p.65.

(iv) Trade

The intensity with which these economic activities were pursued led to the production of excess goods or suplus. These were then used in both internal and external trade. Internal trade here involved the one carried locally between and within the different towns and villages. External trade on the other hand involved goods exported from the area, or brought into it through trade. This trade was conducted with the use of cowries wuri which was popularly known as biringizau or Na yawuri masu gida rana.[41] This served as a means of exchange. Baba of Karo had given five units in which the cowry currency was transacted. These were the guda (ones) biyar (fives) goma (tens) dari (hundreds) and zambar (thousands). There was also keso ... . which was used for bigger transactions that reached twenty thousand cowries.[42]

Most of the products were first sold on the market days of the different towns of the area. Cotton and Indigo were for example sold in the town of Maska on the market days which were Saturdays

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41. Interview with Ladan Yuguda Funtua 19/9/92, Henceforth L.Y.F.

42. Smith, M.F., Baba of Karo OUP London 1954, pp.80-81.

and Wednesdays. Similarly the reknown cloth Bunu dan Maska, Farin gwado and Madukare were all disposed at the markets in Maska, Mahuta, Damari, Yakurutu, Garki, Batarawa, Dankonsai, Goya and Birnin Famfam. These were towns that had emerged as commercial centres in the Maska area at this time. Other items of internal trade included grains, livestock and yams which were also sold in these markets by different traders. Yankwarami were special traders that sold grains in these markets. Yams was also said to have been a commodity of internal trade taken from the towns of Maska, Mahuta and Yakurutu and sold at one watering place, rest stop or zango for the long distance traders.[43] This was said to be about three kilometres from Daudawa. Yams was also taken to a market which went by the name maciyar Bagobiri which was in-between the towns of Daudawa and Faskari.[44]

External trade also flourished. Long distance traders were said to have come from far away places such as Adar, Borno, Abzin, Nupeland, Kano and Zazzau bringing with them different items of trade

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43. Olofson, H.A. op.cit. pp.147-148, 165.

44. Miller Joseph Cokwe, "Trade and Conquest in the 19th Century" in R.Cray and D. Birmingham (eds) Pre-Colonial Trade in East and Central Africa. Oxford University Press, London, pp.175-201.

to the area. Items like fineries, paper, swords, silks and caps were brought by these traders. The traders from Borno brought horses, natron and salt. Salt was also brought from Kebbi. The traders from Adar and Abzin carried commodities of trade such as horses, goats and sheep. From Jos Plateau also came tin and antimony. Other commodities brought into the area were cloth, glass and metal from Nupeland; kolanuts from Gwanja, Oyo and Nupeland; mineral salt from Awei in the middle Benue valley and slaves from Zazzau.[45] Most of these traders bought different items from the markets in the Maska area on their return journey. These included raw cotton, indigo, thread, leather goods, dyed cloths and grains. The rich cotton farmers of the Maska-Gozaki region were said to be taken their produce to Birnin Zaria where they sold it and acquired bayi for their estates. It is said that:

> these transactions took place in the trading houses of Kusfa, Durumin Maigarke and Marmara in Birnin Zaria, in whose warehouses and stores, the cotton was deposited and who provided accommodation and brokerage service for these rich Tandama farmers.[46]

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45. Usman, Y.B., Ph.D. Thesis op.cit. pp.443-472.

46. Usman, Y.B. Ibid p.454.

There was another trade that flourished at this time. This trade was in cattle and was carried out by the tobacco farmers of northern Katsina. They carried the tobacco to Damagaram (Zinder) and sold it. They in turn bought cattle which they brought to the South along a route through Malumfashi, Bakori and Maska. The cattle were from here carried onwards some going Southwards and others westwards to Nupe and Ilorin and others still eastwards towards Lafia and the Middle Benue Region.[47]

There was again a form of trade that developed in the Maska area. This was as a result of regional specialisation in certain economic activities. Fawwa region, for example, specialised in iron manufacture, Gozaki region in leather manufacture while Maska area specialised in textile manufacture. This made it possible for the various goods produced in these regions to be exchanged by way of trade. These goods were

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47. Polly Hill, Notes on the History of the Northern Katsina Tobacco Trade, J.H.S.N., Vol.4, No.3, pp.477-481, 1968, See also NNAK, Katprof 1/SNP.10. 183, 1917, p.162.

also taken to neighbouring emirates such as Zazzau, Sokoto, Daura and Kano. In fact Kano which was known as a hub of textile industry in the late 19th century, was actually dependent on the cotton and indigo as well as the weaving and dyeing centres of the Maska area for its survival. All these were gotten through trade. The goods produced in these regions were also put into long distance trade in which they were carried to distant places such as Oyo, Borno, North Africa, Nupeland, Gwanja, Adar, Jos, Plateau and Abzin.[48]

By the end of the 19th century five major trade routes had developed in the Maska area. These included the Maska-Mahuta-Kufan Mai Tsamiya-Dankada-Tsafe-Kwatarkwashi-Sokoto road.

Another one took off from Zaria-Maska-Bakori-Malumfashi-Katsina road. A third route had its source in Maska-Batagyara-Kwatangiri-Bakin Dutse-Tandama-Dan Mahawayi-Basawa-Zaria road. Another route started from Rafin Iwa-Birnin Famfam-Dan Mayaki-Kadawa-Birnin Kogo-Faskari road.[49] Holowinska

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48. Usman, Y.B. op.cit. p.207

49. Mahuta, op.cit. p.117; Olofson, op.cit. p.147.

has suggested that the presence of cowrie shells, grind-stones and some iron objects in the sites of some of these towns which are today ruins, further testifies to the prominency of these towns in trade.[50] It should particularly be noted that Barth had noted that Maska, Mahuta, Dankada, Bakari and Duya were among the important trading towns of Katsina Emirate in the 19th century.[51] See map 2 below which shows the trading routes of the Maska area in the 19th century.

(v) Taxation

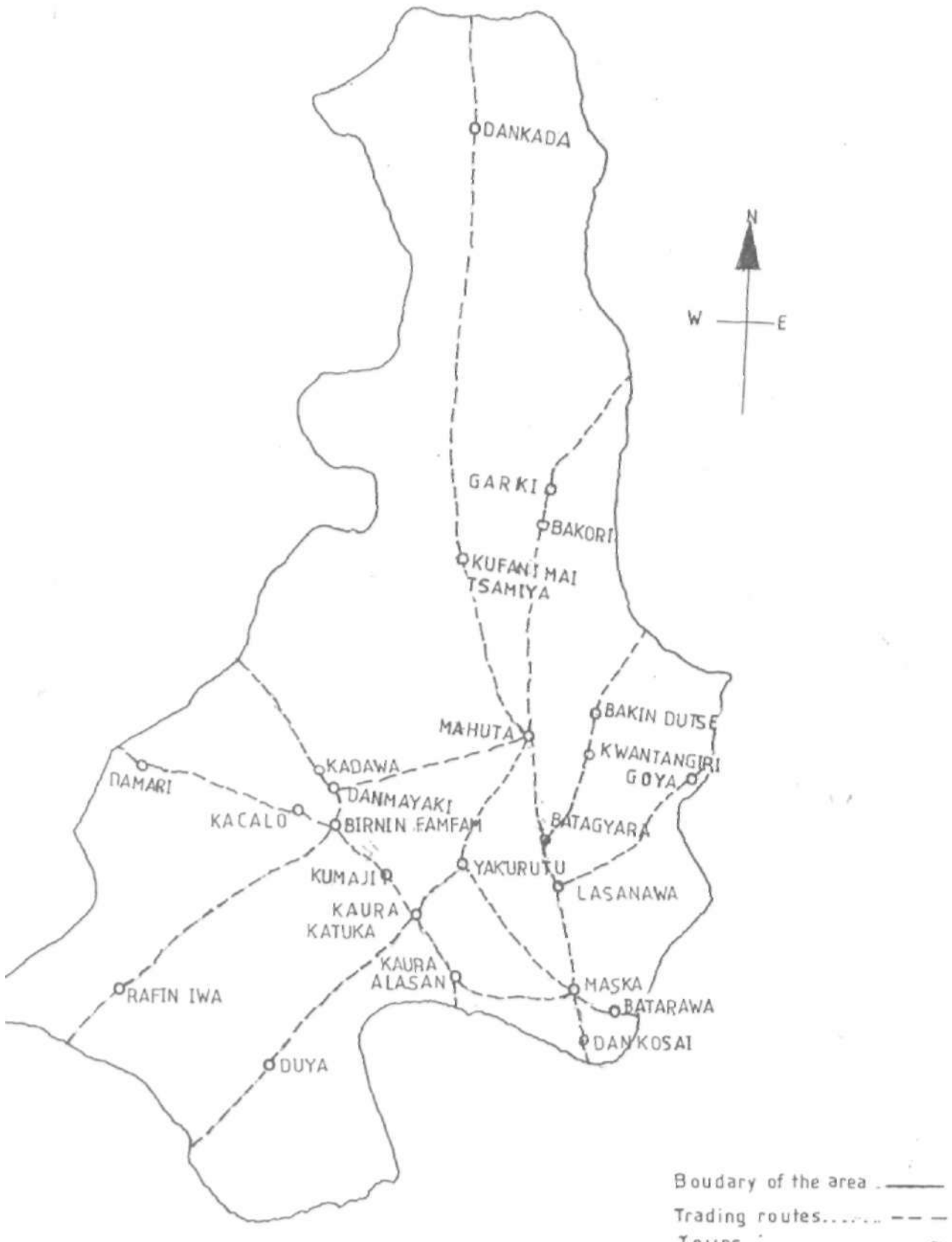
It is important for us to note that taxes were collected on all these economic activities. The taxes were used by the central and regional administration as a source of revenue. They were collected by the jakadu on behalf of the fief holders. Out of the amount collected some proportion was taken to Katsina while the rest

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50. Z. Holowinska, Ancient Hausa Towns in Katsina and Daura Emirates (mimeo) 1976, p.172.

51. Barth Henrich, op.cit, vol.1 p.609, Appendix VIII.

MAP 2 TRADING ROUTES IN MASKA AREA
BY THE LATE 19TH CENTURY



was retained by Sarkin Maska for himself and his numerous titled officials. A certain proportion was further said to have been used in urban development. This was used in the provision of security, general welfare as well as the building and maintenance of wells and gates. A section was also kept in the treasury Beit-el-mal against contingencies - drought, famine or flood.[52] One of the taxes collected in the Maska area was land tax which was variously called as Kharaj or kudin kasa. This was levied on all those engaged in farming activity. The household gida was the unit of assessment and amounted to being a tax on the gandun gida. The amount collected from each household stood at 2,500 cowries by the middle of the 19th century. If slaves were owned by the household then an additional 500 cowries had to be paid.[53]

A canonical tax was also collected. This was put on all adult muslims and was paid out of their agricultural products such as guinea corn, maize or millet after harvest. The tax

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52. Usman, Y.B. op.cit. p.187

53. Ingawa, T.B. op.cit, p.31. Henry Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa Vol.II, London 1890.

was fixed at ten percent of ones wealth. Ingawa T.B. has even suggested that the canonical tax zakka amounted to ten percent on non irrigated or five percent on irrigated agricultural goods.[54] The tax went to the ulama and masu gari.

There was also a tax on specialised agriculture and trade kudin sana'a. H.R. Palmer[55] gave its breakdown as follows:

1.	Kudin rafi	3,000per farm
2.	potatoes	1,200 per farm
3.	groundnuts	1,200 per farm
4.	cassava	1,200 per farm
5.	weavers	2,400 per person
6.	tanners	2,400 per person
7.	butchers	2,500 per person
8.	salt cutters	2,400 per person
9.	smiths	10 hoes or 1,000 cowries
10.	livestock brokers	5,000 cowries
11.	users of forest products	5,000 cowries
12.	dyers	3,000 per pit.

54. Ingawa, T.B., op.cit, p.83

55. Palmer, H.R., History of Katsina, NNAK/SNP/17/8 - K 2076, pp.94-95.

These figures are likely to err towards exaggeration so that the oppressive nature of the 'Fulani rule' could be shown and therefore serve as a legitimisation for colonial domination.[56] It is, therefore, clear that even though these taxes were collected, the amount as given by Palmer and cited above do not reflect the reality of the actual amount collected. Some of the people I interviewed gave lower figures than that of Palmer. Dan Magaji Jabiri who was aged 120 years at the time I interviewed him suggested 100 cowries being paid per dyepit. He also gave a figure of 1,200 and 2,000 cowries as the amount paid by weavers in Maska area.[57] Similarly Koshe na Dodo Bakin Dutse gave a figure of 5 hoe blades on blacksmiths and 2,000 cowries were paid by one tanner and an equal amount was also paid by the butchers.[58]

Another type of tax that was collected in the late 19th century in Maska area was the kudin hito. This was a kind of a custom toll or dues levied

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56. Usman, Y.B., op.cit. p.188

57. Interview with Dan Magaji Jabiri 6/3/92. Henceforth D.M.J.

58. A.K.B. April, 1992.

on certain produce on its entry into Katsina Emirate. As Maska was an important gateway through which different goods from the South such as Zazzau, Gwanja, Oyo, Nupeland and other places came into the emirate, this type of tax was collected. Barth had estimated that about one kantu (bar) of salt was paid for each load brought by merchants from Abzin in 1857. Another sum of 500 cowries was levied on each beast that carried the salt.[59]

There was also a tax on cattle jangali which was levied on all cattle per head. Palmer had suggested a figure of 5,000 cowries per cow per annum but again this figure seems faulty when one considers that most of it was collected in kind.

Other taxes collected in the area were the jizia, a tax on protected non-muslim communities and the gaisuwa which was a form of tribute sent to the Caliph at Sokoto.

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59. Barth, H. op.cit, p.456

The Political and Administrative Structure

Maska area was in the late 19th century a fief administered by one of the sarakunan sarki and adviser of the sarkin Katsina known as Galadiman Katsina. He was expected to supervise the area along with the others that were under him. He was also required to carry out specific tasks as would be assigned to him by the Emir. He was further supposed to supervise the Sarakunan Kasa or district heads of the area. The Galadima generally took charge of re-organisation of administration or the resolution of conflicts in the districts. The sarakunan kasa were said to have lived in one of the towns in their territories. But most of them also kept houses in the Birnin Katsina.[60] The Maska area had one of such Sarakunan kasa who bore the title of Sarkin Maska and who resided at Maska. The town of Maska itself was said to have been founded by a certain Habe named Bako in the time of the Sarkin Katsina Korau A.D.1584. He was followed by six Habe kings - Jatau, Danmaje, Kuyka, Idirisu, Balarabe and Birgiji whose reigns appeared to have extended over a

60. Usman, Y.B., op.cit, p.184

period of two hundred and twelve years. Birgiji was said to be the last Habe king as he was driven out by the jihadists. Gudindi was the first king in the jihad period while Halilu was the one ruling when the British forces occupied the area.[61]

It is significant to note that before the occupation, Maska had developed a complex system of administration which was a replica of the one obtained at Katsina. The Sarkin Maska had an advisory council majalisar Sarki just like the Emir of Katsina had. This consisted of the Galadiman Maska, the Madawakin Maska, the Durbin Maska, the Jarman Maska, the Makaman Maska, the Ajiyan Maska and the Iyan Maska. These were the Princes of Maska and heirs to the throne. Each of them was assigned a town to rule in. The Galadiman Maska ruled at Dandume, the dan Galadima ruled at Goya, the Durbin Maska ruled at Yarkasuwa, Madawaki was at Mairuwa while the Jarman Maska ruled at Mahuta. While strictly speaking only the princes were allowed to rule in these towns, there were instances in which

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61. NNAK Katprof 1 FED 1/1/4 Maska District Notebook 1927-1936. History of Maska p.3

the Sarkin Maska appointed his associates or close friends to administer these towns. A very good example was that of the Jarman Maska in the 19th century. This title was conferred on Sarkin Baka Akai on account of his display of bravery and valour during the crushing of the Banaga and Kogo-Mai-Kumaru raids.[62] This was during the time of Sarkin Maska Muhammadu Sani c.1832-1865.

Apart from these princes there were many other village heads magaddai who ruled in the other garuruwa of Maska area. These included Bakarri, Batarawa, Tudun Iya, Duya, Faskari, Funtua, Kaura dan-Alasan, Kogo, Kwatangiri, Machika, Magaji Wando and many others. Each of the Magaji also had under him homesteads unguwanni and masu unguwa. The village of Maigamji for example had the following unguwanni under him: Kaliyawa, Jabiri, Bakin Dutse, Samage, Zamfarawa, Awala,

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62. These raids were part of the general revolts which followed the defeat of the Habe rulers by the Jihadists. The raids were organised in the Maska area by Banaga and Kogo-mai-Kumaru. The Habe rulers tried to regain the kingdom through this way. See Holowinska Zofia, op.cit p.212.

Gwauruwa, Maijibga, Dogon Awo, Tabki, Kwatangere, Unguwar Yawa and Runji.[63] The last set in the administrative structure were the commoners or talakawa - the ruled. In all these however the gari was the basic unit of administration.

Apart from this structure there was also the judiciary. The Emir of Katsina appointed qadis all over the Emirate to dispense justice at the Alkali courts. Such a qadi was also appointed at Maska in the late 19th century. Sarkin Maska was also said to have had his own court where he heard cases or received appeals from the court of the qadi.[64] There was also the occupational heads sarakunan sana'a who were appointed by the Sarkin Maska as a result of their similar appointment at the emirate headquarters. The duties of these officials included the maintenance of standards, the allocation of land and other facilities, the regulation of trade and the collection of taxes. It was also

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63. Interview with Muhammadu Ibrahim Maigamji, 26/2/92 Henceforth M.I.M.

64. Usman, Y.B., op.cit, pp.186-187

through these hierarchies that the local administration mobilised these occupational groups to serve it. The hunters and smiths were, for example easily obtained for military expeditions. Brokers were also acquired for official trading transactions. Similarly builders for the building and maintenance of walls, palaces and other public works. In the late 19th century the following heads were in existence in the area of Maska:

1. Tarno - weaving
2. Danbaganzame - dyeing
3. Majema - tanning
4. Sarkin Dawa - wood carving and other activity using forest products.
5. Sarkin Makera - Iron working
6. Sarkin Magina - building
7. Gariya - Salt trading
8. Matsai - Markets
9. Sarkin Zango - caravans
10. Sarkin Dillalai - Brokerage
11. Sarkin Pawa - butchers
12. Sarkin Fadama - cultivation
13. Magaji Rogo - Cassava cultivation
14. Magaji Kwaya - groundnuts and cotton cultivation.
15. Magaji Yado - Potatoes, Yams and other roots.[65]

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65. Usman, Y.B. op.cit, p.181

The Local Administration and Promotion of Economic Activities

The promotion of economic activities had been a long established policy of the state wherever it existed in the Nigerian area. This fact has clearly been demonstrated by the work of Mahadi Abdullahi.[66] He attributed the involvement of the state in the economy to its realisation that such participation was the only avenue through which it could get more and more resources for the different needs of the state. These included:

> the maintenance of the expanding bureaucracy to procure horses, camels, donkeys, swords, spears, muskets for the military. Resources were also needed for the acquisition of ceremonial materials such as trumpets, drums, flutes as well as exotic dresses which were absolutely necessary for the image of the sarki and all categories of masu sarauta. There were also the various needs of the numerous courtiers such as some members of the ulema (literati) barori clients and slaves. These were expensive to maintain.[67]

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66. The title of this clear, precise and penetrating work is Mahadi Abdullahi, "The State and the Economy: The Sarauta System and its Role in Shaping the Society and Economy of Kano with Particular Reference to the 18th and 19th Centuries," Vols. I and II. Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1982.

67. Ibid, p.189

In other words, the state realised the importance of wealth for acquiring power and its consolidation. The promotion of economic activities was to reach its peak in the 19th century with the jihad of Shehu Usman dan Fodio. It was at this time that the jihad leaders implored the ruling class to encourage economic activities. The post jihadic Emir of Katsina Umarun Dallaji (1808/9-1836) was even said to have requested the Amir Al-Muminin Muhammad Bello to send him islamic principles of administration that would guide him and his subordinates in ruling the Emirate.[68] Muhammad Bello sent him a short guide titled Usul Siyasa Wa kayifika it al-Makhlas fi umur al-Ri'asa (The Principles of Politics and the way of Deliverance in matters of Leadership). In this guide, Bello enumerated many ways in which a muslim government differed from that of a non-muslim one. He went on to show that a muslim ruler should always be just and not tyrannical. This is because only a just ruler would receive the blessings of God while an unjust ruler would be abhorred by Him. On the Principles of Siyasa,

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68. Usman, Y.B. op.cit, p.144

Bello mentioned seven of them. Some of these included the need by a ruler to establish a just order in human society through the implementation of the Divine law (sharia) and obedience to the sunnah of the prophet. He should also establish the proper order of human society which would do away with injustice and discord as well as protect the rights of all in the divine law. Bello also added that a muslim leader should be of a firm, gentle and generous character. He should also keep as his advisers devout muslim intelligentsia mallamai not venal, greedy and materialistic ones. His last three principles deal with the relationship of an Emir with his subjects. He pointed out that the muslim Emir should strive to safeguard the welfare of his people as well as their material and economic well being apart from their spiritual and social aspects.[69] On a whole, Bello showed that the Emir had as his duty the development of his people's means of livelihood and material conditions of existence. This is contained in his sixth principle of politics where he admonished every muslim leader to:

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69. See Bello Kitabu Usul as Siyati.

> lay down for the people of his domain their wordly and religious duties. He should see to the rearing of craftsmen, and the encouragement of artisans whom the people cannot do without, ... He should in addition exhort the people to produce and store food; settle populations in urban and rural areas; build walled towns and bridges, maintain markets and roads; and work for the realisation of their general welfare as a whole... build mosques and fill them with prayer and worship; appoint judges and teachers and arrange for the payment of their due stipends; appoint the educators of children and preachers and inspectors of public morals to ordain the right and forbid the wrong; and collectors of the poor tax and investigators for the oppressed and destitute.[70]

These principles came to serve as a guide not only to Ummarun Dallaji who requested for it but for his successors as well. The Emirs of Katsina emirate further requested their subordinates the sarakunan sarki, sarakunan kasa and magaddai to adhere by these injunctions.

It would seem that the rulers of Maska heeded to this call as they tried to implement these principles in the area. They did not only encourage economic activities but also participated actively in these activities. One way in which

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70. Ibid.

the Sarakunan Maska got involved in the economy was in their appointment of occupational heads Sarakunan Sana'a. These heads as we have mentioned above were generally required to co-ordinate and supervise these activities. They also collected taxes, maintain standards, allocate land or mobilise their occupational groups to serve the government. It was, for example, through the Sarkin Noma of the Maska area that the local administration guided the people in the bush clearing, sowing, weeding and harvesting of their crops. It was also through him that the Sarakunan Maska got labour of the peasantry for use in their estates. It was also through him that the exemption of some crops such as cotton and indigo from taxation was made known to the people during the reign of Muhammad Sani (C.1832-1865). This exemption was meant by the local administration to boost manufacturing activities especially textile manufacture and dyeing.

The Sarkin Kasuwa was the person through whom the government fixed market days ranakun cin kasuwa for the various markets in the Maska area. It was also through him that the state built

market stalls rumfunan kasuwa for the traders as well as assisted in collecting the market tolls.[71] All these were ways which the local administration at Maska followed to promote economic activities in the area.

The state apparatus in Maska also provided security to those engaged in pastoralism and trade. This was done through the establishment of ribats or fortresses which served as military camps and helped in checking raids carried by thiefs and other highway robbers from time to time. Sarkin Maska Muhammad Sani was especially said to have alerted all his village heads masu gari to be vigilant in keeping the trade routes that passed through their areas safe. In fact he even appointed sarkin Tafarki (tafarki - highway) who was to ensure the security of the major routes leading to and out of Maska area and to as well collect custom duties on them.[72]

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71. AMJ June 1992.

72. A.M.M. December 1991.

The rulers in Maska were also said to have provided cattle tracks burtali and grazing grounds saura for the use of the pastoralists grazing in the Maska area. This was done by the rulers to avert conflicts with the agriculturalists. Such cattle tracks and grazing grounds were located at strategic places for those pastoralists.[73] We have also shown that the rulers of Maska did not only encourage these activities but they also participated in them. A case in point was the Sarkin Maska Gudindi (C.1810-1817). He was said to have owned thousands of herds of cattle which he moved around with in the Maska-Gozaki region in search of pasture. These places he moved in included Kurmin Dan Ranko, Gadanya, Godiya, Dutsin Zaki and many other places in the region.[74] Similarly Gudindi's successor Sarkin Maska Muhammadu Jaji (C.1827-1832) was said to be strongly attached to pastoralism to the extent that he spent most of his time at the cattle encampment rugage. This showed that he was more interested in being with the cattle than being on the throne. He was therefore replaced

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73. Ibid.

74. Mahuta, op.cit, p.194

by Muhamman Sani. Jaji then moved out of the region to settle in Zazzau.[75] Most of these rulers also owned large agricultural estates gandaye, just as we have cited elsewhere the example of Sarkin Maska Halilu. He owned a large gandu which farm slaves bayin gandu worked for him. Most of them were also builders. Sarkin Maska Danmaje C.1575-1594, an earlier ruler was said to be an expert that he used to slaughter cattle and with their blood and brains mix the mud with which to build his houses.[76] Even if this was an exaggeration, the fact still remains that this ruler built his houses himself. The participation of the Maska rulers in some of these activities must definitely have served as encouragement to the rest of the people. The rulers also consolidated the more, the control they had over the economy and the people.

The rulers of Maska furthermore encouraged sedenterisation. This witnessed the influx of Fulani and other professional craftsmen from other places into the Maska area. It was through

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75. Usman, Y.B., Ph.D. Thesis op.cit, p.329

76. NNAK Katprof 1/1/4, Maska District Notebook 1926. History of Maska, p.3.

this process that the Daneji Fulani moved into the area. They were said to have owned large herds of cattle. The craftsmen that settled in the area boosted the indigenous industries as they came with new skills which they applied on these industries. Sarkin Maska Muhamman Sani even did more than any other king of Maska had done in resettling people in the towns and building new ones. It was during his reign that a good number of the settlements that were either destroyed or abandoned during the jihad wars or the Banaga and Kogo-Mai-kumaru raids [77] were resettled. Towns like Garki, Mahuta, Shigo, Dankonsai, and Batagyara which were seriously destroyed during the wars were rebuilt. Others like Maska which were abandoned were re-occupied and the palace was even enlarged and fortified. Ribats and walls were also built by Sarkin Maska Muhamman Sani and Sarkin Maska Abubakar (C.1865-1873). Some of the walls that were built were like that of Lasanawa. This was done shortly after crushing the Banaga and Kogo-Mai-Kumaru raiders.[78] A new

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77. See footnote No.63.

78. Holowinska, op.cit, p.211

wall was also built at Maska which extended the town to the southeast.[79] Similarly the chiefs compound at Yakurutu was fortified in the second half of the 19th century.[80] The rulers of Maska furthermore built worship places in all the major towns and villages of the area. They established schools and appointed judges in most of these major towns. They also made sure that peace was maintained in the whole of Maska area.

The impact of all these policies was economic expansion, population growth and industrial development.

While this was the situation in Maska area by the late 19th century, the European merchant firms had early in the century began advancing from the coast of Nigeria into its interior. Numerous European firms had established trading relations with the people of the Niger-Benue confluence. They engaged in the so-called legitimate trade through which they got raw

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79. Usman, Y.B. ph.D. thesis op.cit, p.440

80. Holowinska, op.cit, p.230

materials such as palm kernel, shea butter, cotton, antimony, cowhide and other skins for the industries in Europe. The Europeans in exchange brought firearms and ammunition, textiles, utensils of various types trinkets and other goods. By the 1870's the companies had been engaged in a cut-throat competition which was only resolved by the amalgamation of the English companies in 1879 under the inspiration and leadership of George Taubman Goldie. The United African Company was formed as a result of this amalgamation.[81] It was this company that championed the interests of the British against the German and French rivalry. It was also this company that engaged in signing trieties with the Emirates of Sokoto Caliphate aiming at establishing European political and economic control over them. This British interest was directly opposed to the absolute control which the rulers of these Emirates had enjoyed and exercised over the centuries of their economy. A way, therefore, had to be found to resolve this conflict and this was found in a military clash or conquest.

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81. Adeleye, R.A., Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906, Longman Group Limited, London, 1977, p.119.

Conclusion

We have in this chapter tried to examine the basic contours of the nature and character of the economic and political setting of the Maska area in the late 19th century. We have specifically shown that the century noticed an increase in the practise of human activities such as agriculture, pastoralism, manufacturing activities and trade. In all these activities the family had been the basic unit of production but was complemented by collective labour. We further showed that the members of the ruling class, rich people and the muslim intelligentsia also owned large agricultural estates which they used slave, peasant, wage and student labour to cultivate. We then looked at the various ways in which the state promoted these activities. This was done through their policies of appointing occupational heads, the provision of cattle tracks, grazing grounds, market stalls, security and many more for these activities. The impact of these policies was that they led to an increase in these economic activities. The coming of the European merchant firms was to pose a threat to the control which the rulers of the caliphate and Maska particularly had over the economy and their society. As these rulers were not willing to succumb to European advances, conquest remained the only solution.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION AND THE IMPOSITION OF COLONIAL DOMINATION

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the occupation of Maska area by the British and their imposition of colonial domination. We shall also examine the transformation of the indigenous aristocracy into the Native Authority system through whom the British Colonial officials intended to rule Maska area in particular and Northern Nigeria generally. As we shall see the use of the local rulers by the colonialists was in their bid to lessen the cost in men and money. Our discussion shall also look at the territorial reforms carried out by the British Colonial officials and the emergence of Maska area as a district. This was also to facilitate a better control and exploitation of the territories. We shall finally discuss the establishment of some institutions that were meant to assist the Native Authorities in executing colonial policies and generally maintain law and order. This was necessary for the operation of the colonial economy.

The Occupation of Maska Area

The factors which led to the British Colonial Government to occupy Northern Nigeria in general and Maska area in particular are well known and there is no need for us to repeat them here.[1] The occupation took place within the context of the recommendation made by the Niger Committee in 1898. This committee was appointed by the British colonial government to work out the modalities of the occupation. After its deliberations, it recommended that as far as the Caliphate could not be taken by a general coup-de-main, it should be done gradually, each Emir being taken in turn.[2]

The annexation itself was undertaken by an imperial army, the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.) which Lugard re-organised in 1897.

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1. Attempts have been made by the colonialists to explain away the occupation in terms of humanitarian venture or civilising mission. However, the factors that led to the occupation were economic. They wanted raw materials for their industries and markets for their manufactured goods.

2. Adeleye, R.A., op.cit, pp.205-219.

The W.A.F.F. then had its headquarters at Jebba, with detachments in the Benue region at Akwanaji, Ibi and Ibinsi. Hence with the exception of Lokoja, Jebba, Yelwa and Ibi, all the other military posts of the company were situated outside the caliphate.[3] The total strength of the Force was said to be two battalions of infantry, one battalion of mounted infantry and a small battery, amounting in all to 2,288, including 212 European Officers.[4] The capture of the Emirates worked out according to plan. A good number of these Emirates, however, put up resistance. This notwithstanding they were captured. Zaria was the first to be taken in 1902. Kano followed in 1903, despite the stiff resistance put up by its people. Sokoto was also captured in 1903. The last Emirate that was occupied was Katsina Emirate and with it the Maska area. The people of Maska were notified about the British take over through Galadima Shawai who had moved to Malumfashi. The Galadima who became the District Head of Galadima District was said to have summoned the Sarkin Maska and all his village heads and informed them accordingly

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3. Ibid.

4. For the details of how these Emirates were taken see Ibid, chapter seven and eight.

that Nasara ya kwace kasar, (The British had taken over the land). He also told them that the new rulers had no intention of removing any of them from his throne in as much as they were going to be law abiding. He then asked them to go and await further orders.[5]

The Creation of the Native Authority System

One basic principle that the colonialists kept to on the conquest or occupation of each Emirate in the Sokoto Caliphate was the recognition of the Emir and his officials. The exception was in relation to those Emirates whose Emirs refused to co-operate with the colonial government. In such cases the Emirs were deposed and new ones were appointed. This had happened in a good number of Emirates.[6] By doing this the colonialists were looking for Emirs that would be completely

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5. Interview with Alhaji Audu Magajin Maska 12/12/91. Henceforth A.M.M.

6. For many examples of the Emirs that were deposed at this time see Tukur, M.M. "The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States 1897-1914: A Re-interpretation of Colonial Sources," Ph.D. thesis ABU, 1979 - chapter 1.

loyal to them in their domination and exploitation of the Emirates. The recognised Emirs and their subordinates were referred to as the Native Authorities.[7] The reasons for the use of the pre-colonial Emirates aristocracy in the subordination of their society and economy were many. One of such reasons was the need to lessen cost in both men and money. The British treasury was reluctant in spending much on its colonies. This was said to have been informed by its belief that colonies were a dubious venture that could be reluctantly accepted only if they were made to pay for themselves. It, therefore, insisted on parsimony, self support and ruled that few administrators would be appointed.[8] There was also the fact that the British colonial government had had a previous experience of using this system

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7. For a full discussion on this system see Frederick Lugard, The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1965, also Political Memoranda 1918, London, C.L. Temple, Native Races and their Rulers Cape Town 1918, A.H.M., Kirk-Greene, The Principles of Native Administration and their Application, Lagos, Government Printer 1934, Charlas Orr, The Making of Northern Nigeria, Macmillan and Co. Ltd. London 1911, and Magery Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria, London Oxford University Press 1937.

8. Shenton, R.W., "Studies in the Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, pp.61-62.

of administration in other colonies. These included Ire land, India, Egypt and other places. The British had successfully exploited these places without putting in so much of men and money.

Apart from this reason there was also the need to maintain the post conquest peace. British domination in other places had resulted in mutinies, mahdist movements and uprisings which shook the very foundation of their control. Such had happened in the British colonies of India, Egypt and Sierra Leone.[9] It was therefore because of these reasons that the colonial government decided that:

> Nothing must be done to undercut the position of the indigenous ruling class. Rather if British rule was to survive, the positions of Sultan, Emirs and Hakimai must be maintained.[10]

The concept of the Native Authority was at the initial stage used to refer to the recognised Emirs and their subordinates. These included the District Heads and the Village Heads. Later on the term came to refer to the bureaucracy of the native administration. These included the Emir and his subordinates as well as other Native Authority Officials. Heussler noted that the initials (N.A.'s):

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9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.

> Originally referred to the chiefs themselves and soon came to mean the whole machine of local administration - developed into financial and judicial bodies...[11]

In both of its applications the Native Authorities were not treated as local authorities in current sense of the word, that is bodies responsible for providing a defined range of public services and endowed with legislative and executive powers as are essential for this purpose but as miniature states in which all the functions of the state were exercised subject to the supervision and control of the superior authority.[12]

Our discussion shall focus on the role played by the District Head of Maska and his Village Heads as well as the Native Authority

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11. Heussler Robert, The British in Nigeria OUP London, 1968. The second application of the concept has also been discussed by A.D. Yahaya, "The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria 1950-1970: A Study in Political Relations with Particular Reference to the Zaria Native Authority," Ph.D. Thesis, 1974, Dept. of Government, ABU Zaria, p.14. See also Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria: Selected Documents 1900-1947, Oxford University Press, London 1965.

12. Lucy Mair, Representative Local Government, p.14. This view has also been expressed by Usman Yusuf Bala, "History, Tradition and Reaction: The Perception of Nigerian History in the 19th and 20th Centuries." April 1977. See also Tibenderana, P.K. "The Administration of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates Under British Rule, 1900-1946," Ph.D. Thesis University of Ibadan 1974.

officials at the District level being part of the constituted Native Authority based at Katsina.[13] We shall specifically see how they were used by the colonialists to Marshall labour, collect taxes, control land and promote trade and export crop production in Maska District.

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13. The Native Authority of Katsina was constituted in 1907 by Resident Palmer in which he created six departments. These included taxation and general administration which was headed by the Waziri, Beit-al-mal or Native Treasury headed by Mutawali. Others were the administration of prisons headed by the Magajin Gari, roads headed by Sarkin Hanya, Trees and Bush under the Sarkin Dawa and schools under Alhaji Balarabe. All these departments were represented at the Districts levels. In Maska District, the District Administration was headed by the Sarkin Maska who occupied the district office. He also had a personal secretary who acted as his scribe or magatakarda. He was known as the District Mallam and was responsible for all correspondences between the Sarkin Maska and his village heads or the central administration at Katsina. This man in some instances acted for the District Head when he was not around. There was also an executive officer Malamin voucher who was in charge of all monetary transactions between the district and central administration. He also took charge of the salaries paid to the District Head, his village heads and other Native Authority officials of the District. He was the Wakili of the mutawali and entered all taxes and monies collected in the District. There was furthermore a District messenger. He carried all messages to Katsina. These include letters, especially urgent ones kar ta kwana and verbal information to the Emir. There were other representatives wakilai for trees and bush, prisons and schools called variously as wakilin sarkin dawa, yari and makarantu. Other N.A. Officials in the District included the Native Authority police, Yandoka, the staff of the Native court, the transport officer, the veterinary officer Malamin Shanu, kings of markets Sarakunan kasuwanni, tax and cotton mallams, Sarakunan barikoki of Maska, Funtua, Gabas and Kwatangiri. There were also the wakilan sarkin Maska in all the cotton markets. Similarly there was a Sarkin Fada who was appointed to assist Sarkin Maska in an official capacity. These Native Authority Officials assisted the District Head and his village heads execute colonial policies in relation to the colonial economy. See Hull Richard, The Development

The first step taken by the colonial government was to turn these local rulers into salaried government officials. This was made possible with the establishment of a Native Treasury or Beit-el-Mal at Katsina in 1907 by Resident Palmer. The District Head of Maska and all his village heads were by 1917 all put on fixed salaries. The Sarkin Maska was placed on a salary of £600 per annum. The village Heads of Bakarri, Batarawa, Tudun Iya, Duya, Faskari, Machika, Mahuta, Maigamji, Zagami and many others were fixed on £2 per month. Others like that of Yakurutu received more £4, Maska £3, Rafin Iwa £3, Funtua £3; Gwaya, Kaura Dan Alasan and Kogo village heads all received £3. Many more received £1,10s; 15s etc.[14]

The factor which the colonial government considered in fixing the salaries of these village Heads was the proceeds of the tax they collected.

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of Administration in Katsina Emirate Northern Nigeria 1887-1944. NNAK KatProf 1/1/4. Also Discussion held with M. Muhammadu Jumare, Department of Local Government Studies, (Kongo Campus) A.B.U., Zaria on 29/9/92.

14. Hull, R.W. op.cit, p.254, Also NNAK Katprof 1811. Maska District General Report 1923.

In fact those found to be improving in their collection were promoted through an increase in their salaries. Those found to be depreciating in tax collection had their salaries reduced. Hence throughout the period of colonial domination of Maska District the salaries of the village Heads kept on changing. In 1930, for example, the Assistant District Officer for Maska District, C.V. Pegge toured the district and based on the amount collected by the Village Heads of Kaura Katuka, Madakin Shehu, Tumburkai, Magajin Bature, Inono, Inono Sumaila, Rafin Fa, Galadiman Duya, Datankari and Danyaya, he recommended that their salaries be increased to 15 shillings instead of the 10 shillings they were collecting. He in the same vein advised that the salaries of the village heads of Kaura dan Alasan and Tudun Iya be reduced. That of the former from £3 to £1.10 while the latter from £2 to £1.5.[15] Similarly in 1933 J.R. Comes, the Colonial Officer on tour of the area proposed to pay some Village Heads more than what they were receiving. The Village Head of Damari collected

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15. NNAK Katprof 1286 Maska District Notes on.

£120 as Jangali (cattle tax), his salary was, therefore, increased to £12 per annum. Similarly that of Dandume village collected £138 and his salary was raised to £12. Others who had their salaries increased as a result of the increase found in their tax collection, were that of Magaji Wando to £6 per annum, Mairuwa to £2 per annum and Tumburkai to £1.5 per annum.[16] The trend continued right into the 1940's[17] and even beyond.

The Creation of Maska District

Maska District was created in the course of the administrative reforms carried out by the Colonial Officials attached to Katsina emirate. The first step towards the re-organisation was carried out by Resident Palmer in 1905. He gave all the Emir's Principal Chiefs Sarakunan Sarki the choice of either moving to their district headquarters or forfeiting their titles.

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16. Ibid.

17. NNAK Katprof 1 1286, Vol.II Maska District, Notes on 1936-54.

All of them chose the former. Galadima Shawai moved to Malumfashi, Yandaka Zubairu to Kurfi, Kaura Isyaku to Rimi, Sarkin Sullubawa Shehu to Kaita, Durbi Muhammadu Dikko to Mani, Dambo to Ingawa, Yarima Abdu to Safana and Iya Zakari to Mashi.[18] Palmer proceeded to unify the scattered fiefs into nineteen compact and contiguous administrative districts. Most of the districts were called by the names of their District Heads. He appointed District Heads for all the districts and made them answerable to the Emir. The district re-organisation was geared towards simplifying the emirate administration with less staff, less cost and effective tax collection. The purpose for which this re-organisation was carried out had been best expressed by Mahmud Tukur. He noted that the British wanted to facilitate a better control of the rural areas of the Emirates and simplify administrative supervision of local chiefs. They also wanted one local chief on whom they could fix responsibility instead of a multiplicity of chiefs in each town and district in an emirate. But above all these, the colonialists wanted to do away

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18. Abdullahi Muazu Saulawa, British Colonial Administrative Policies and Migrations in the Birnin Katsina C.1903-1954. B.A. History Research paper, 1977. P.35.

with the large body of Jakadu as agents for tax collection and to instead employ a smaller number of people and thus reduce the amount of the taxes "embezzled".[19] Out of the districts, a further division was made in which numerous sub-districts were created, headed by sub-district heads.

After the occupation of the emirate, the Maska area was placed under the new Galadima District as a sub-district with Sarkin Maska Halilu as its sub-district head. The semi-independent chiefdoms of Kogo, Faskari and Zagami were added to it in 1908. In November 1908, Palmer supported a proposal by the Emir of Katsina to make Maska a full fledged district. Writing to the Resident Kano Province, Palmer pointed out that the Galadima District had too much land which made its assessment difficult. He added that the district was out of all proportion to the others. He went on to endorse the opinion of the Emir of Katsina who had earlier suggested its reduction and proposed that the sub-district of Maska which was bigger

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19. Tukur, M.M. op.cit, p.343.

than other districts, be made a district. The Resident further suggested making the "very influential and good seriki" (sic) a District Headman.[20] This proposal was not given prompt attention until 1915 when Galadima Sallau, the District Head of Galadima District was found guilty of tax 'embezzlement'. As a disciplinary measure, two new districts were carved out of the district. These were the Maska and Makama Districts. The Emir of Katsina Muhammadu Dikko supported the appointment of Sarkin Maska Shehu as the District Head of Maska District. He also chose Ramalan as the District Head of Makama District. In 1925 another new district was created out of Maska District. This was the Kogo District. It was created as a result of cases of extortion and embezzlement established against Sarkin Maska Shehu and his sons - Galadiman Maska, Durbin Maska and Madawakin Maska.[21] The three sons were removed from office

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20. NNAK Katprof. 120 Maska District Heads.

21. NNAK Katprof 1 1811 Maska District General Report, NNAK Katprof 1 1018 Katsina Division Annual Report 1923, NNAK Katprof 1 1261 Vol. Kogo District Notes.

while their father was allowed to continue in office but his salary was reduced. Hence Maska emerged as a District in 1915 and retained most of the towns that were under it in the pre-colonial period with the exception of the towns removed to form the new Kogo District. These towns included Kogo, Faskari, Zagami and Machika.[22]

Village Re-Organisation in Maska District

The re-organisation that followed colonial occupation did not only affect the districts but it also affected the villages. This village re-organisation was carried out for the same reason as that of the district level. The British colonial government wanted to have village heads on whom they could fix responsibility for the execution of colonial policies at the grass root level. This was especially in connection with the maintenance of law and order, taxation, land administration, labour and colonial trade. The exercise saw the amalgamation of smaller villages into larger ones

22. NNAK KatProf 1811 - Maska District General Report.

or the reduction or sub-division of large villages into two or more new ones. The exercise was carried out in all the districts of Katsina Emirate.[23] In Maska District, this village re-organisation was started in 1915 shortly after its creation. It was then constituted into eighteen village groups consisting of numerous village units with an average area of 65 square miles.[24]

TABLE 2:1

VILLAGE RE-ORGANISATION IN MASKA DISTRICT C.1915

Village Groups	Village Units	Area in Square Miles	Population	Salary
Bakarri	Bakarri			£2
	Sarkin Filani	91	3238	£1
Batarawa	Batarawa	10	1228	£2
Tudun Iya	Tudun Iya	10	1082	£2
Duya	Duya	39	2614	£2
Faskari	Faskari	92	2289	£2
Funtua	Dodo			£3
	Dukke			£2
	Yalwa			£2

23. For an account of a similar re-organisation carried out in the neighbouring Makama District see Ingawa, T.B., op.cit. pp.53-61.

Village Groups	Village Units	Area in Square Miles	Population	Salary
	Sarkin Zango	45	6208	£1
Gwaya	Dangaladima			£3
	Galadima	21	2375	15/-
Kaura D/	Durbi			£3
Alasan	Kaura Katuka			£1
	Tumburkai	30	2168	£1
Kogo	Kogo			£3
	Wakataba	198	4740	£1
Kwatangiri	Kwatangiri	5	324	£1
Machika	Machika	174	1876	£2
Magaji Wando	Magaji Wando	29	2306	£2.10
Mahuta	Mahuta			£2
	Marinai	21	2944	£1
Maigamji	Maigamji	10	972	£2
Maska	Magajin Gari			£3
	Magajin Kasuwa			£1
	Nassarawa			£10
	Lasanawa	17	4538	15/-
Rafin Iwa	Rafin Iwa	111	3526	£3
Yakurutu	Galadima			£4
	Dandumi			-
	Yakurutu			£1
	Dantankari			15/-
	Kadawa			£1.15/-
	Dan Mahayi	92	5640	£1.5/-
Zagami	Nakwiallo			£2
	Kwoi	169	368	15/-

Source: Compiled from NAK Katprof 1 1811.

The table above shows the number of village groups and village units from 1915 to 1923. With time many more changes were made as a result of the growing number of people in some towns. This was, for example, the case with Funtua. It started as an insignificant town in 1900 but due to the establishment of a ginnery and the construction of a railway, it attracted more people.[25] This led to the creation of more village units here in 1930's. These included Samagi, Zamfarawa, and Gwamruwa. Another reason that led to more alterations in the village re-organisation was embezzlement of taxes. This was the case in 1923. The District Officer who toured the district and carried out the investigation suggested that the village groups of Faskari, Bakari, Kogo, Machika, Rafin Iwa, Yakurutu and Zagami be reduced as they were too large to be administered successfully.

24, The breakdown of these villages, their village Units, area in square miles, population figures and the salary earned by each could be seen in table 2.1.

25. For a discussion of the way Funtua grew and developed as a colonial urban centre, see Abdullahi Idris Mahuta, op.cit. See also Olofson, H.A. op.cit.

He observed that others like Duya, Gwaya, Kaura Dan Alasan, Kwatangiri, Magaji Wando, Mahuta, Maigamji etc could stay as they were.[26] In 1925 Faskari, Kogo, Machika and Zagami were excised to form the new Kogo District. By 1929 Maska District had 32 village units. These included Batarawa, Tudun Iya, Magaji Wando, Magajin Gari, Nasarawa, Lasanawa, Rafin Iwa, Duya, Inono, Rafin Fa, Maigamji, Mahuta, Marinai, Bakari, Sarkin Filani, Dandume, Yakurutu, Dantankari, Kadawa, Dan Mayaki, Tumburkai, Kaura Alasan, Kauran Katuka, Dangaladima Gwaya, Harande, Kwatangiri, Galadiman Gwaya, Funtua, Dukke, Yelwa, Sarkin Zango and Maska.[27]

In the 1940's another village re-organisation was carried out which saw the reduction of the 32 village units to 19. This was as a result of a scheme of amalgamation which took into cognisance traditional and geographical affinities. One direct impact of this re-organisation was that it made tax collection more efficient. The table below shows the village units and their hamlets

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26. NNAK Katprof 1 1811 Maska District General Report.

27. NNAK Katprof 1 1286 Maska District.

in the 1940's. It also shows the tax collected for each village unit as well as its hamlet.

TABLE 2:2

VILLAGE RE-ORGANISATION 1940's

Village Units/Hamlets		Tax 1940
1. Funtua		£626.19.0
2. Bakari		£296.12.0
	Sarkin Filani	£123.4.0
3. Mairuwa		£319.16.0
4. Dukke		£307.16.0
5. Makera		£232.9.0
	Yelwa	£146.8.0
6. Batarawa		£173.8.0
	Tudun Iya	£116.8.0
7. Maigamji		£220.12.0
	Zamfarawa	£36.8.0
	Gwauruwa	£6.8.0
	Samagi	£8.0.0
8. Gwaya		£280.18.0
	Galadiman Gwaya	£42.8.0
	Harande	£72.8.0
9. Magaji Wando		£161.8.0
	Albasu	£71.12.0
10. Maska		£269.6.0
	Nasarawa	£40.16.0
	Lasanawa	£36.0.0

Village Units/Hamlets		Tax 1940
11. Rafin Iwa		£235.1.0
	Marmara	£104.8.0
12. Tumburkai		£86.8.0
	K. Danhalsan	£80.1.0
	K. Katuka	£68.16.0
13. Duya		£150.4.0
14. Dandume		£408.13.0
15. Dokar Ashafa		£180.16.0
16. Damari		£122.0.0
17. Yakurutu		£113.4.0
18.	Danmayaki (Part)	£104.16.0
	Dantankari	£74.8.0
	Kadawa	£74.8.0
	DanMayaki (Part)	£72.17.0
19. Mahuta		£263.16.0
	Rariwai	£106.16.0

Source: Compiled from NNAK Katprof/1 1286 Vol.II.

The amount collected from each of these units would at least support the view that the colonial government realised a lot of revenue from its village reorganisation in Maska District carried over the years. It should however, be noted that in most of the changes, the Districts or villages affected had registered their disapproval with the colonial government. In fact a good number of people were said to have migrated from their areas to other places as they were not in support of it.[28]

The Establishment of Native Courts, Police and Prisons.

These were other institutions introduced by the colonial government as instruments for the exploitation of the human and natural resources of the emirates in Northern Nigeria. As Okonjo has shown, the re-organisation of the judicial system and the establishment of police and prisons in the emirates was aimed at supporting to the utmost the

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28. A.M.M. 2/12/91. When Fawwa District was created in 1908 and made part of Katsina emirate, many people were said to have migrated into Sokoto as they were before under it. See Ingawa, T.B. op.cit, pp.47-48.

authority of the local rulers. The colonial government wanted the masses to see that they were effective rulers behind whom the whole authority of the colonial state firmly hanged.[29]

With the occupation of Katsina Emirate, the colonialists separated the judiciary from the executive arms of the government. This was for the purpose of ensuring efficient services by the two arms. In 1900 the colonial government enacted the Native Court proclamation which empowered the Resident to give warrant to native courts. This was followed by the Native courts ordinance of 1914. The two ordinances allowed for the establishment of native courts to be headed by African judges alkalai, independent of the Emir or District Head.

A native court was established in Maska sub-district in 1910. This was a Group B Native court which had jurisdiction in civil actions in which the debt or demand did not exceed fifty pounds and in criminal cases where the offence was punishable

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29. Okonjo, I.M., British Administration in Nigeria, 1900-1950. A Nigerian View. NOK Publishers Ltd. New York 1974, p.45.

by not more than two years imprisonment, twenty four lashes or a fine of fifty pounds or the equivalent in native law and custom. The court consisted of an Alkali, Mufti and a Wazirin Alkali. The Mufti assisted the Alkali in judicial matters. He also brought to the District Officer and Chief Alkali at Katsina a monthly report of all cases tried by the court. Some of these cases were reviewed by the District officer. The District Officer could revise the sentence or judgement, order a rehearing or if desirable re-try the case in his own court. He was also to ensure that the sentence or judgement passed was that of the court itself, uninfluenced by the clerk or by tribal partisanship. After the establishment of the court in Maska District, Mallam Umaru acted as its Mufti. He was later appointed the Alkali when Alkali Sambo was dismissed from office. Mallam Dikko was then appointed as the second Mufti. Just like the first Mufti who came from Kano, Dikko was also not an indigene of Maska area. He came from Zaria and worked as the Mufti for sixteen years on a salary of £3 per annum. The Wazirin Alkali collected all fines and fees. He forwarded them to the District Head, Sarkin Maska, who in turn paid this money into the Native Treasury at Katsina each month. Mallam Usman

seemed to have been the first Wazirin Alkali. He also acted as the court usher for 12 years on a salary of £1.5 per month. He died in 1929 and Mallam Isau was appointed to replace him. He was dismissed from office in 1936 and the post of Wazirin Alkali was abolished in the court.[30]

As regards to the type of law being administered in this court, the colonial records have shown that it was the native law. But this was only when it was not repugnant to natural justice and humanity or incompatible with any local ordinance, especially in matters relating to land, marriage and inheritance. Lugard noted that in the emirates of Nigeria

> British Courts recognise the Koranic law in dealing with natives, and it constitutes the fundamental law of the native courts...[31]

It should be noted, however, that the law administered was not really the sharia as was the case in the pre-colonial period. The court

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30. NNAK Katprof 1/1/4 Maska District, Notebook.

31. Frederick Lugard, The Dual Mandate, op.cit, pp.536-537.

adjudicated over laws set up by the colonial state. The hudud punishments which were administered in Maska area included mutilation of limbs as a punishment of theft, blood money in lieu of homicide (diya), retaliation for personal injury, stoning to death for adulterous men and compensation for the life of a slave.[32] In place of all these punishments which were in accordance with Islamic jurisprudence, the colonialists made imprisonment or capital punishment to replace mutilation of limbs, diya, retaliation and all the other offences.[33] All these judicial changes amounted to the erosion of the sharia law as it was known in Maska area prior to the imposition of colonial domination.

The court was further more used to entrench colonial ordinances in relation to the operation of the colonial economy. Such ordinances included the Native Revenue Ordinance of 1904, the Agricultural Ordinance of 1926, the Force labour Ordinance of 1933, the Native Authority Ordinance of 1933, the Marketing and Export

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32. D. Kingdom (ed), The Laws of Nigeria Government Printers Lagos, 1923, p.439.

33. E.A. Speed (ed), Laws of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, Stevens and Sons Ltd. London 1910, p.599. See also NNAK Katprof 1 1243 - Katsina Division Annual Report 1917.

regulation of 1937, the Direct Taxation Ordinance of 1940 etc. Some of these Ordinances were enacted to prohibit the indigenous craftsmen and manufacturers using local raw materials in their production. Others gave rights to the colonial government to use forced labour, enforce rules and orders or collect taxes. These ordinances were executed by the Sarkin Maska and his village heads. People found to have broken any of these laws were brought before the Native court and were accordingly punished.

The Grade B Native Court established in Maska District served the purpose for which it was created. This is because it settled almost all the cases brought to it which related to the domestic relations of the people of the District. This court did more than what the Provincial Court was doing in settling questions. In 1913, for example this court was settling about 300 cases on a quarterly basis.[34] By 1917 the court was hearing 1,036 cases and by 1918 the number had

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34. NNAK Katprof 1 1216 Quarterly Reports 1913.

increased to 1,500 on a quaterly basis.[35] The number kept on rising over the years. The cases handled by the court in Maska District were both criminal and civil cases. The criminal cases included rape, stealing, malicious injury to property, other offences against the Native Authority Ordinance, offences against the Native law and customs, attempted murder etc. The civil cases were mainly matrimonial. There were however, others on land, administration of estates, debts and other contracts, trespass, assault and other wrongs, liberation from slavery and other cases. With the growth of Funtua town and the increasing number of offences being committed a new court was established in 1921 at Funtua.[36] This was to complement the Native Court which was located in Maska Town. In 1926, Funtua became the headquarters of the district and the court was enlarged to give room for litigants to sit.[37]

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35. NNAK Katprof 1 1243, Katsina Division Annual Report 1917, NNAK Katprof 1 1244 Katsina Division Annual Report 1918.

36. The increase in the number of crimes in the District was due to the hardships caused by the colonial economic policies especially taxation.

37. NNAK Katprof 1/1/4 Maska District Note book.

The court, furthermore, contributed immensely in generating revenue for the colonial government and Native Administration. These monies were realised from the fines and fees paid by offenders everyday. The sum of £2 was for example charged as fine if a man called another a bastard. This was equivalent to 50 lashes (6d a lash), similarly adultery was punishable by 100 lashes or in lieu, the payment of £2.10.0. If a person contravened the Forestry Ordinance in cutting down certain fertile trees or the wild Animals Preservation Ordinance he was subjected to a punishment of up to 20 lashes which might be redeemed by a monetary payment.[38] It was from fees and fines of these nature that the revenue was generated.

It should, however, be noted that the court provided an opportunity to the Sarkin Maska and the Alkali to extort money from litigants. This was for example the case in 1927. Alkalin Maska District, Mallam Sambo was in the meeting of the judicial council found guilty of converting to his own use, monies belonging to litigants. He also owed varying sums of money to over twenty people in Funtua and Maska. The Alkali was asked to pay over the

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38. NNAK Katprof 1 1243 Katsina Division Annual Report 1917.

sums owing to litigants and to clear himself of debt. He was then dismissed from office.[39]

The Native court was also used to victimise, harass or arrest political opponents. This was especially true with the members of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.). They were mostly arbitrarily arrested and taken to court without committing any offence. Some prominent N.E.P.U. members who were interviewed narrated their ordeals in the hands of these Alkalai. These included Muhammadu Ibrahim Maigamji, Dauda Nagaje Unguwar Wanzamai, Abdullahi Adamu (Mijinyawa), Alhaji Muazu Yartabki, Alhaji Mijinyawa Dankoli, Muhammadu Wanka, Yusufu Kwakwaren Na Badan, Alhaji Zinaidu Dandume and numerous others. Many more were beaten or had their wives separated from them or even killed.[40] It seems also that Sarkin Maska had the final say in all the cases tried by the Alkali. This was despite the fact that the executive and the judiciary were supposed to have

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39. NNAK Katprof 1 1747 Alkalin Maska Complaint Against 1927; NNAK Katprof 1/1/4 Maska District Note book.

40. The interviews were in their order carried out on 26/2/92, 5/6/92, 6/6/92, 7/6/92, 9/6/92, 15/6/92, 19 /6/92.

been separated by the colonial government. Each case tried by the Alkali had to be taken to the District Head for consideration. It was in this process that many of the friends and relatives of the Sarki found guilty were set free. He also used the forum to punish his opponents.[41]

There was for instance a case in 1928 when some people in a motor lorry passed by the Sarkin Maska's house which was close to the road. The people were alleged to have waved their hands in the direction of the house. The District Head took them before the native court where they were given 12 lashes each. They were not even allowed to tell their own side of the story.[42] Another man was riding a bicycle in Funtua market when Sarkin Maska came in his direction. The man dismounted and saluted him. Yet on the same evening he was hurriedly summoned by Yahaya to appear before the District Head. On arrival the

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41. In 1923 for example, the A.D.O. attached to the District reported that "Sarkin Maska has been in the habit of interfering with the work of the native court. It was obvious from several cases brought to me that he had sent people to the alkali who was told to inflict a certain punishment and the alkali was unable to deny this... He seems to realise his authority but is not always willing or able to throw off the influence of Sarkin Maska," NNAK Katprof 1 1811 Maska District General Report.

42. NNAK Katprof 1 1823 Maska District Head complaint against 1928-40.

Sarki asked him why he did not salute him. Before he replied the boys of the District Head by name Adamu, Zagi, Yahaya and another set upon him and thumped him. He was then sent to the Alkali who ordered he should be put in the lock-up for the night.[43] Yet another person by name Maigwari Funtua was arrested by a dogari and taken in front of Sarkin Maska. He was asked about the petrol which a certain thief had given him. Maigwari said he was not given any petrol and said that he could swear. The Sarkin Maska said that he should not be given the koran but should be given lashes. He was accordingly given 87 lashes with a bulala.[44] These three examples would at least show the fallacy of the claims made by the colonialists to check the exercise of arbitrary powers by native chiefs without the authority and safeguards provided by the courts of law.[45]

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43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. F. Lugard - The Dual Mandate, op.cit. pp.536-537.

Apart from the Native Court there was also the Native Authority Police, Yandoka, who were also used to help maintain law and order and boost the image of the District Head. They were also to ensure a peaceful atmosphere for the conduct of colonial commerce. After Maska area had been occupied the Sarkin Maska and his village heads were ordered to submit all weapons in their possession. The colonial government then turned the body guards of Sarkin Maska into its service. These body guards Dogarai were used to maintain law and order in the first and half decade of colonial domination. They were later converted into the Native Authority Police in the 1920's. Even then not all of them were employed by the colonial government. This was because it was not ready to spend much on their salaries. Even those that were recruited were mostly kept at the emirate headquarters and very few were sent to the districts. By 1930, for example, there were only four Native Authority Police in Maska District. These included Forachi on a salary of £1.13.4, Danjuma on £2,0.0, Shawai on £1.0.0 and Barau on £1.10.0.[46] The number rose to seven in 1947. Five of them were

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46. NNAK Katprof 1/1/4, Maska District Notes book.

paid while two of them were unpaid. Those paid included Forochi who had as his salary £3.0.4 per month, Buzu £2, Daka £1.10, Barau £1.10, Danjuma £2.10.0. Namaska and Alu Na Isah were not paid.[47] These Yandoka were used by the colonial government to deal with people it found to be a threat or an obstacle to the operation of the colonial economy.

A good example in which the Native Authority Police of Maska District were used to quell out the peoples protest was in 1947. In this year the colonial government decided to build a new market for the people at Dandume. This was a cotton market and was located at a new site which was almost two miles from the town. The people, however, according to custom prefered the old site while the Sarkin Maska favoured the new one as proposed by the District Officer. When the people insisted on using their old market, the Sarkin Maska was said to have loaded three lorries, one full of armed police the other two with labourers carrying sticks in their hands. The District Head himself was alleged to be seen with a gun in his hand. The people at Dandume were however ready for them. They succeeded in dispersing the armed police and the labourers.

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47. Ibid.

As a result of this skirmish eight of the ring leaders were tried in the native court at Funtua. Sambo Barkan who was said to be the overall leader was sentenced to nine months imprisonment at the Emir's court in Katsina.[48]

The colonial government also established prisons kurkuku side by side with the native courts and the Native police in Maska District. The prison was referred to as a lock-up cell gidan wakafi. The District Head was given the authority to keep offenders in the lock up for a maximum period of seven days. After this period had lapsed, the offenders could be tried by the Alkali court. If found guilty, they were given a prison sentence which they served at the main prison gidan yari of the Emirate. In such a case the Sarkin Maska had the responsibility of their transportation as well as the escorts to accompany them. In other instances the Sarki could have the offenders caned, up to a maximum of twenty strokes of the cane.[49] This lock-up was first located in the town of Maska but later a new one was constructed in Funtua for the use of the district.

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48. NNAK Katprof 1 1286 Vol.II Maska District: Disturbance at Dandume 1936-1954. Also interview with Wawu Barkan Dandume 1/6/92.

49. Interview with Maiunguwa Ibrahim Umaru layin Gangariya, 19/9/92.

The Native courts, police and prisons were therefore used to support the British venture of acquiring raw materials and markets in a conducive atmosphere from Maska District. The three also were used to bolster the image and strengthen the position of Sarkin Maska, his village Heads and other Native Authority officials as they execute colonial policies and directives. These policies were related to the operation of the colonial economy and included labour mobilisation, tax collection, land control and agricultural production.

We shall in the subsequent chapters examine how each of these roles was carried out by the Native Authorities in Maska District as well as the impact it had on the people of the area.

Conclusion

We have in this chapter shown that Maska area came under British control with the occupation of Katsina Emirate. Our discussion has also touched on the transformation of the emirate aristocracy in the area into the Native Authority system so as to play some roles, in the colonial economy. These changes also affected the Districts and villages and were made for admini-

strative convenience. We have shown that it was in the process of the total re-organisation of the whole Emirate that Maska District was created. We have also discussed the establishment of some structures and institutions of control, coercion and domination such as the courts, police and prisons aimed at facilitating the exploitation of human and natural resources in Maska District during the period of our study.

CHAPTER THREE

PROVISION OF LABOUR FOR COLONIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Introduction

Our aim in this chapter is to examine the role that was played by the Native Authorities in the provision of colonial infrastructure. This was crucial to the operation of the colonial economy. The raw materials that were produced from Maska District and other areas were easily evacuated to the coast through the roads and railways that were constructed with the use of forced labour. As we shall see labour was recruited by the District Head of Maska through the use of his village heads. Apart from the construction of roads and railways we are also going to look at the use of forced labour to build rest houses, clear river banks, build market stalls, plant trees, tin mining and many more projects. We shall in each case try to show the conditions under which these labourers worked. We shall also discuss how the District Head and his village heads benefitted from this role of mobilising labour. We shall round up the discussion with an examination of

the impact of colonial labour policy on the people of Maska District.

Policy on Labour

Lugard had in his political memoranda justified the use of compulsory or forced labour for works of public nature by the colonial government. Such works include that of construction of roads and railways.[1] His reasons for such were that this type of labour was used in the pre-colonial period in building town walls, repair of roads or people were called upon to fight wars.[2] Another reason given by Lugard was that the authority of the local rulers would be re-inforced as they engaged in its recruitment. He argued that to deprive the head chiefs of the power to summon their people to work would tend to decrease their authority.[3] Lugard was however of the opinion that forced labour whenever used should be renumerated. He spelt out the colonial policy on labour thus:

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1. Lugard, F.D., The Dual Mandate, op.cit. p.410.

2. Lugard, F.D., Political Memoranda. op.cit, pp.242-243.

3. Ibid.

> Natives may be required to perform certain paid labour for Government... (viz) works of a public nature, subject to the express provision that no native shall be required to perform such work for more than sixty days in any one year and that any native who is fully employed during the preceding twelve months for a period of three months shall be exempted from such labour.[4]

It would seem, however, that most of the forced labour used in Maska District and the whole of Northern Nigeria was not renumerated. In most cases the money ended up not getting into the hands of the labourers.[5] This situation continued up to 1918 when the colonial government attempted to stop the use of forced labour without pay. Even the Forced Labour Ordinance of 1933 No.22[6] could not stop the practice of making the people to work without any pay.

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4. Lugard, F.D. The Dual Mandate, op.cit. pp.392-393.

5. Hull, R.W., Interview with Adamu Abdullahi Mijinyawa 6/6/92, Henceforth A.A.M.

6. The forced labour ordinance of 1933 No.22 provided that labour could be exacted for minor communal services. These included the maintenance and clearing of the roads and paths, repair of town or village fences, digging and construction of wells and the clearing of open spaces and playgrounds. While after this ordinance, there was a decrease in the rate at which the colonial government demanded forced labour, the Maska District Head and his village heads continued to employ forced labour for their own use under the guise of this ordinance. This situation was only checked in the 1950's with the emergence of Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.) whose members opposed the use of forced labour by the local rulers. Usman dan Takwa, Alhaji Bauchi and Samban Barkan even went to the extent of going to the farms of these local rulers and setting all labourers free

Another major step taken by the colonial government to ensure that cheap labour was made available for the execution of colonial projects was its abolition of slavery and slave trade in 1901. The proclamation made all transactions in slaves a penal offence. Such slaves were provided avenues by which they could obtain their freedom and then be used as forced labourers in colonial projects.[7] As we shall see from the example of Maska District also the claim that the use of forced labour was foreign to British colonialism as distinct from French colonialism was a farce.[8] The British colonial government employed forced labour which was used in colonial projects.

It is also essential for us to point out that contrary to the views held by theorists of indirect rule and the vent for surplus model, the provision of colonial infrastructure was not meant to develop the colonies. It was rather to

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by asking them to leave the work. Interview with Shehu Karfin Gada Mararrabar Maska 27/12/92, Henceforth S.K.M.

7. The Colonial government was opposed to slave holding as it blocked the way for it to obtain cheap labour. Lugard noted that the local rulers "would by and by see the advantage of paid free labour, which (the British) considered more profitable and better than slave labour." Lugard, F.D., Protectorate of Northern Nigeria 1906-1913 Annual Reports, published by E.P. Microfilm Ltd., London 1974.

8. This view has been expressed in Michael Crowder, West Africa Under Colonial Rule, London 1968, p.208.

connect various centres of production in Maska District in particular and the colony in general to major communication lines.[9] It was also meant to quell riots and generally facilitate administrative control.

Recruitment and Organisation of Labour for Colonial Projects and Mining Companies

The recruitment and organisation of forced labour for use in colonial projects in Maska District followed the usual channel of the "indirect rule system". The Emir of Katsina was the first person contacted, being the overall head of the Native Authority. He in turn directed the Maska District Head as well as others to provide the required number of people from their districts. The Sarkin Maska passed the information to his village heads and instructed them to provide the labourers. The village heads then went on to select able bodied men to

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9. For the views of the vent for surplus model theorists concerning colonial infrastructure, see Jan Hogendorn, Nigerian Groundnut Exports Origins and Early Development. Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria 1978, G.K. Helleiner, Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria, Richard D. Irwin Inc. Homewood Illinois 1966, Alan Mcphee, The Economic Revolutionoin West Africa, London, 1926.

work at the construction sites.[10] This was the method used in the recruitment for work in the tin mines.

In other instances the mobilisation was based on territorial units or districts. This was used in the case of road and railway construction. Whenever the road or rail head got to the territory of the district, the District Head was expected to supply the men that were going to work. This method as we shall see, was used to obtain labourers who built some of the major roads and the Zaria-Gusau railway line in Maska District. In still other instances the District Head of Maska District was instructed to supply men who would be engaged in the construction of rest houses, native courts, lock-up cells or the building of the structures that were used by the merchant firms who operated in the district. In all cases the village Heads in Maska District were the people who did the actual recruitment. The District Head was also expected to provide one or more representative of his who would take care of the general conduct of the work. Such a representative was also to

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10. Interview with Garba Magajin MaiGamji, 19/9/92. Henceforth G.M.M.

check desertion. So many examples abound of some of these projects that were carried out in Maska District with the use of forced labour.

As early as 1913 a traders rest house was built at Funtua. Similar rest houses were built at Dandume, Maska and Kwatangiri.[11] There was also the Emir's rest house that was built at Funtua in 1927. A lock up cell and a native court were further built in Funtua in 1926.[12] In 1927 the Sarkin Maska was asked to construct three rest houses for the use of European staff working on the Zaria-Gusau railway line. This he did through the use of forced labour.[13] It was also by the use of forced labour that the District Head was able to build a mud house, a large corrugated iron house for the accommodation of European staff and a pit for the erection of a Ginnery Press.[14] These were all for the use of the station of the British cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A.). As we have indicated earlier on, most

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11. NNAK Katprof 1/1/4, Maska District Note book.

12. Ibid.

13. NNAK Katprof 1286 Maska District Notes on.

14. NNAK Katprof 78 British Cotton Growing Association Ginnery at Funtua.

of the labourers that were engaged in these constructions were not paid anything. In the few cases in which the colonial government paid the money, the Sarkin Maska or his village heads retained it for their own use.[15]

A good example in which the labourers recruited from the District were used was in the construction of a house for the Assistant District Officer in charge of Zaria-Gusau railway. The cost involved in building the house was £80. Sarkin Maska was asked to supply the labourers. He in turn directed ten of his village heads to supply the men from their villages. The details of the villages where the labour was recruited, the number recruited and the amount paid by the colonial government could be seen in the table below.

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15. Ingawa Tukur Bello, op.cit, p.192.

TABLE 3:1

FORCED LABOUR FOR HOUSE CONSTRUCTION

Village	Number of People Recruited	Amount to be Paid
Dandume	20	£7
Mahuta	20	£7
Funtua	20	£7
Goya	15	£5.5
Batarawa	10	£3.10
Dan Alasan	10	£3.10
Magaji Wando	10	£3.10
Duya	10	£3.10
Rafin Iwa	10	£3.10
Yalwa	7	£2.9
Maigamji	7	£2.9
Tudun Iya	5	£1.15
Kwatangiri	2	£0.14.0
Drummers	3	£1.1
Headman	1	£0.7.0
Total	150	£52.10.0

Source: SNP 17 K.1018 Vol.1 Zaria-Gusau-Kaura Namoda Railway 1925.

The remaining amount out of the total allocated for the project was used in paying builders and 450 rafters obtained from Dukke and Dandume.

The total amount was given to the Sarkin Maska to distribute to the labourers, the builders and to pay for the rafters acquired. It is doubtful if this money had actually got to these people. This is in view of the general tendency on the part of the District Head and his village heads to either sit on such money or otherwise refuse to pay the labourers in proportion to the amount allocated for the work done. An informant who participated in this work said not even a single kobo was given to them.[16] In relation to this Crocker has observed that:

> The District Head 'forces' the labour, every household has a quota... At the end of a job... The normal Hausa labourers go away without a penny. Virtually no labourer has any real idea of what was due to him at the end of the month.[17]

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16. Interview with Sule Bage Gangaren Ammani, 19/9/92, Henceforth S.B.G.

17. Crocker, W.R., "Touring Diaries, 1932", RHMSS Afr. 1073.

Another area in which Sarkin Maska supplied labourers for the execution of colonial projects was in the clearing of river banks Saran sotal/rafi. This was to serve as a preventive measure against the spread of sleeping sickness being caused by tsetse flies kudan tsando and malaria fever caused by mosquitoes. The village heads of Bele, Gwaigwaye, Barebari, Ruwan Godiya and Mununu were instructed to provide men that would clear the trees and bush around Gwaigwaye river.[18] Similarly the village heads of unguwar Na Bukka, Belengada and Funtua supplied the men that cleared river Magajin Dutsen Reme.[19] Many more river banks were cleared in this way throughout the District during the period of colonial domination. People were also recruited to eradicate a certain type of weed known as kashin yawo. The table below gives the number of people employed in such work from Maska District. It also shows the village from where they were drawn as well as the days they worked in August, September and October 1937.

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18. G.M.M. 19/9/92.

19. Interview with Ibrahim Funtua Gangaren Ammani 20/9/92, Henceforth I.F.G.

TABLE 3:2

DETAILS OF FORCED LABOUR FOR CLEARING KASHIN YAWO IN 1937 FROM MASKA DISTRICT

Month	Village	No. of Men Employed	Days Worked	From To
August 1937	Funtua	50	7	9-16/8/37
	Makera	20	7	11-18/8/37
	Tudun Iya	30	4	15-19/8/37
	Yalwa	10	5	12-17/8/37
	Dandume	52	7	15-22/8/37
	Mahuta	30	5	18-23/8/37
September	Funtua	70	7	7-13/9/37
	Mahuta	25	4	7-11/9/37
October	Funtua	70	5	8-13/10/37
	Marinai	22	2	10-12/10/37
	Maska	50	5	9-14/10/37
	Mahuta	34	3	11-14/10/37
	Maigamji	18	2	8-10/10/37
	Gwaya	35	3	8-11/10/37
	Batarawa	24	2	10-12/10/37
	Magaji Wando	40	3	13-16/10/37
	Dandume	50	4	12-16/10/37
	Mairuwa	32	3	9-12/10/37
	Dukke	22	2	11-13/10/37

Source: KATProf 180A.

It would seem that forced labour was used mostly in the clearing of river banks in Maska District from 1937 up to about 1950. As we have said earlier river banks were cleared to check the spread of tsetse flies and mosquitoes whose bites were considered hazardous for the colonial officials. The forced labour ordinance No.22 of 1933 and No.23 of 1935 allowed forced labour to be used in dealing with sources of sleeping sickness and eradication of kashin yawo. It would also seem that there was no district in the whole of Katsina Emirate where so much labour was recruited for the clearing of river banks as in Maska District. This fact could be supported from the schedule of forced labour from November 1940 to June 1941 for the clearing of river banks in some neighbouring districts of the District.

TABLE 3:3

SCHEDULE OF FORCED LABOUR FOR TSETSE CLEARING
FOR RETURN YEAR NOVEMBER 1940 - JUNE 1941

DISTRICT	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	Total
Maska	-	235	1,935	3,729	2,168	1,918	643	-	10,628
Danja	145	16	318	-	-	158	-	-	781
Galadima	255	325	433	492	1,067	-	-	62	2,634
Kankara	225	1,078	855	180	122	-	-	-	2,460
Kogo	59	72	643	824	1,073	-	506	-	3,177
Musawa	-	1,120	11,390	1,380	421	-	-	-	4,311
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23,991

Source: Katprof 180 A.

The reason for the recruitment of such labour in the case of Maska District was mainly due to the many rivers and streams it had. The names of some of these rivers are given in the table below as well as the number of people employed to clear them in October 1937. Similar labour was drawn from all the villages in Maska District in September and December 1939, January, and February 1940, January, February, April and May 1941, February, April, May, July, November and December 1942, January-June 1944 etc. As with all conscriptions, the Sarkin Maska gave the break down of people to be drawn from each village by the village head. See appendix 1 for the details of labour used in clearing river banks.

TABLE 3:4

DETAILS OF FORCED LABOUR FOR CLEARING OF RIVER BANKS IN MASKA DISTRICT OCTOBER 1937

Village	River Cleared	No. of men Employed	Days worked	From To
Bakari	Tafoki	50	4	
M. Ladan	Magoji	32	4	
Doma	Fetsa and Doma	31	4	
S.Filani	Tafoki and Maikori	34	3	
Mairuwa	Bela R. Dauda	95	6	
"	R. Dunya	-	-	
	R. Nasarawa	20	7	
	Mai Kalage			
	Dankwazazzabo			
Maska	R. Alkama	13	7	
Nasarawa	Gunyalbi	6	5	
Lasanawa	"	6	5	
Mahuta	Babban Rafi	29	5	
K. Danalasan	Maikururuda Kilore	13	4	
Tumburkai	Kilore	12	4	
K. Katuka	Marmara & Kwazazzaba	19	5	
Rafin Iwa	R. Daudu	41	4	
Dantankari	Damari	19	5	
Total		410		

Source: - Katprof 180A.

In each case the labourers were made to prepare their own food themselves which was mostly millet or guinea corn mash. An informant noted that apart from hunger the labourers were often injured by falling trees or the axes used in cutting these trees.[20]

Apart from Saran yawo and clearing of river banks forced labour was also used in the planting and tending of trees around European quarters or Government Reserve Areas (G.R.A.). These trees included neem tree bedi/delbejia, madaci and others that provided shades. There were also trees such as guava, voluntaire orange, ogbomosho orange, dancy Tangerine etc. These were mostly brought from Agricultural Department, Samaru Zaria. The trees were planted under the care of sarkin Maska who also assigned his village heads to provide men who were going to take care of such trees. According to one informant every person was given seven trees to tend and was warned not to allow any of them to perish. The people who were

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20. Ibid.

given the trees were forced to trek from far places such as Mahuta, Dantankari, Makera, Goya, Maigamji, Mununu and many other villages in the district to Funtua where these trees were planted. They watered the trees twice in a day, in the morning and in the afternoon. For any tree that perished its care taker was given twenty or more lashes in the Native Court.[21]

Another major area in which forced labour was employed was in the building of cotton markets. These were used by the colonial firms in buying raw materials from the district and selling manufactured goods. The people were on a short notice asked to provide strong bush timber posts and roof poles, mats zana, grass rope Igiya and floor mats tabarmi. During one of the cotton seasons the Sarkin Maska was made to supply 230 zana mats of 6 x 3, 762 zana mats of 10 x 6, 448 posts of 9 length minimum, 106 rafters of 11 inches, 210 rafters of 6 inches, rama ropes and many more. The District Head used his village heads to acquire all these implements or items. Similarly men were

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21. I.U.F. 20/9/92.

made to construct a rest shade, market shed, market seed store, a shed rumfa for food sellers, a well and picket pegs in the vicinity of each of the cotton markets established in the district. These markets were located at Funtua, Dandume, Mahuta, Maska and Mairuwa. Each of these markets also had stalls.[22]

The two farms established by the colonial government in the district were also developed through forced labour. These farms were the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation (E.C.G.C.) farm at Daudawa which was established in 1926 and the Government Fadama Research Farm at Maska established in 1946. These farms were opened to promote the production of raw materials such as cotton and groundnuts in the district. As both of these farms were located in our area of study, the bulk of the work was done by labourers supplied from the District by the District Head and his subordinate officials. Through them hoes, galmas, well diggers, building materials and other implements were provided for the Daudawa farm. Similarly, one

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22. SNP, 17, 10, 179 Vol.IV. Cotton Marketing and Export.

hundred labourers were conscripted by the District Head and his village heads. Another fifty labourers were further supplied by these local authorities in June of the same year.[23] The labourers erected eleven cattle compounds, five herders mud-huts, 12 feet diameter thatched roofs, twenty herders mud-houses, quarters for eight officers, one mess and servants quarters comprising eight houses of two rooms. Also constructed were one mess consisting of pantry, dinning room, small sitting room, eighteen servants mud huts and quarters for clerks, slabs, one labour camp consisting of 200 mud-huts and three European quarters.[24]

The work at Daudawa was so much detested that people resorted to giving bribes to their village heads to exempt them from recruitment. The village head of Dandume was reported to the Sarkin Maska for collecting 6d sisi sisi from all the people who needed to be exempted from going to

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23. NNAK Katprof 1399, Katsina Division Quarterly Report for March 1926, NNAK.

24. NNAK Katprof 616 Vol.1 Empire Cotton Growing Corporation proposed farm Near Funtua, NNAK Katprof 3612 - Government Fadama Research Farm. Also Katna 486.

the work at Daudawa. The complaint was lodged by Jaki na Dandume. He gave the names of Ja'e, Amadu, Doli and Sarkin Hatsin Dandume as some of the people who were made to give the money. When however, the Emir of Katsina and the Sarkin Maska visited the area and summoned these people to say whether they gave any money to the village head, they denied any kobo being collected from them. These people could not say the truth because of fear of what might happen to them. In fact the boys of the village head were said to have seriously warned the people before the arrival of the Emir and Sarkin Maska that if they dared complain against the village head they would get into trouble. The village head was therefore set free for lack of evidence.[25]

The mines labour camp was also built through forced labour supplied by the Sarkin Maska and his village heads. This camp was built in 1943 and was used in keeping all labourers conscripted from Maska district in particular and the Emirate as a whole for the tin mine at Jos. The labourers

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25. NNAK, Katprof 1286, Maska District Notes on.

were first checked here before their final railment. In this very year, ten new round houses 12 diameter with mud walls, grass roof and raised debe floors were constructed. Another set of twenty houses of 15 diameters each were built with seven toilets, one kitchen and well were all built by the labourers provided from Maska District.[26] Similarly many people were recruited to carry loads or the colonial officers from one place to the other. In the case of heavy loads such as the iron platform of a bridge, the carriers often ended up being seriously injured by it in trying to put it down.[27]

Road Construction

This was another major area in which forced labour was supplied by the Native Authorities in Maska District. The colonial government realised on the occupation of the area that export crop

26. NNAK Katprof 1835 Katsina Division Quarterly Report to September, 1926, Katna 498.

27. A.B.K. 24/4/92. In other instances the iron platform of a bridge or railway was conveyed on a wheel cart which was pushed by a number of people recruited by the District Head as forced labourers. They were accompanied by a headman who beat them whenever they relaxed. This was particularly how the iron platform of Daudawa and Maska bridges were brought from Zaria in 1942. Interview with M. Barau Daudawa 30/11/92. Henceforth M.B.D.

production would be better facilitated if roads were constructed. Palmer, who was in charge of the area and the whole of the emirate undertook to clear old roads and construct new ones wherever necessary. He specifically noted that the Maska - Sabon gari road as well as the Zaria-Kano-Ingawa-Katsina road were some of the trade routes that had existed in the 19th century. He, therefore, ordered the Sarkin Maska as well as his village heads to mobilise labour to clear the Maska-Sabon-Gari road in 1908. Other District Heads were also given a similar order especially where these roads passed through. This resulted in the clearing of twelve roads which included Katsina - Malumfashi-Bakori-Maska-Rafin Iwa and Birnin Gwari roads. Others were the Maska-Mahuta-Bakari-Dankada-Sabon gari roads.[28] In 1912 the colonial government asked an engineer to survey the Zaria-Maska road. This was with a view to building it to serve as a dry-season road for the evacuation of cotton in Maska District to the ginnery at Zaria which was established in 1911.[29] The construction of this road was completed in the

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28. NNAK Katprof 1828 Katsina Division Quarterly Reports 1912.

29. NNAK Katprof 1909, Katsina Division Quarterly Reports 1912.

same year. By 1914 the traffic on this road was said to be heavy.[30] This was followed by the building of two other roads which passed through Maska District. These were the Katsina-Dutsinma-Kankara-Maska road which was cleared in 1908 and the Maska-Faskari road.[31]

In 1916 another road was constructed and passed through Funtua. This road by-passed Maska town from Zaria to Sokoto. This affected the place of Maska as a commercial Centre. But the construction was done to avoid constructing two bridges over River Tubo. This road was used by the British Cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A.) buying agents who carried cotton to Zaria in lorries.[32] The colonial government furthermore directed sarkin Maska in 1917 to supply the District Engineer in charge of the construction of Zaria-Sokoto road with a total of one hundred labourers.[33] This was promptly done and the

30. NNAK Katprof 1978 Katsina Division Annual Report 1914.

31. NNAK Katprof 1282 Vol.II Touring and Movements of Political Officers in Katsina Provinces 1936-43.

32. NNAK, Katprof 1284 Katsina Quarterly Report 1917.

33. Ibid.

labourers were largely drawn from Marinai, Magaji Wando and Kauran Katuka. Subsequently the Katsina-Maska road was joined with that of Zaria-Sokoto road. Furthermore, the Kano-Dayi-Malumfashi road was built to link up with the Katsina-Dutsinma-Maska road at Mararrabar Kankara.[34] This latter road was said to be in good condition for traffic in 1921. By the end of 1925 the District Officer expressed satisfaction with the roads in Maska District and the emirate as a whole. He noted that there were over one hundred miles of permanent roads and over 600 miles of dry season roads opened for traffic.[35]

In 1926 the Old Central Road Board approved the construction of the Funtua-Birnin Gwari road and the Funtua-Dayi road. The former covered an approximate mileage of 62 miles at an approximate cost of £35,200 while the latter was about 44 miles and cost at £24,000.[36] These roads were also constructed through forced labour drawn mostly from the district.[37] In defence of the two roads the Secretary to the Northern Province observed that these roads:

34. SNP 17 10865 - Zaria-Katsina Road System.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Interview with Abdullahi Burtu Funtua, 19/9/92, Henceforth A.B.F.

> would undoubtedly be important outlets to the division and our most vital feeders from Zaria and it is thought that if these roads were made permanently motorable, the British Cotton Growing Association would not hesitate to establish a steam ginnery ...38

By 1928 the Engineer in charge of Funtua-Dayi road reported that road making had been completed up to mile 52 and bridging up to mile 54. A bush tract which was 12 feet wide was also cleared up to Karadua, mile 66. Maintenance gangs were also established along the completed section of the road. Similarly in the Funtua-Birnin Gwari road the first section of 10 miles were said to have been cleared and nine miles of road formation and drainage was completed. What remained was only lateriting and the construction of culverts.[39] The two roads were completed in that year.

There was also the Maska link road which was constructed by labourers drawn from Maska, Dan-Mayaki and Rafin Iwa in 1940. This was an all season road to Maska town from the main Zaria-Sokoto road. A bridge was also built over River Tubo.[40]

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38. SNP 17 10865.

39. NNAK, Katprof 1512 Katsina Division Half Yearly Report.

40. Katna 36/3 - Maska Link Road 1940-41. Also A.B.F. 19/9/92.

In the construction of all these roads the work was supervised by the Sarakunan hanya of the various districts. The Funtua-Birnin Gwari road, for example, had Umaru as its Sarkin Hanya. He was assisted by Yaran Sarki who included Musa Gwandu,Munkaila,Yari, Abdullahi Burtu, Nuhu Abdu and Allu Mohammed. About 500 labourers were engaged in its construction. These were drawn from the various villages in the district. The men were asked to prepare the usual garin gero and garin dawa. On arrival they were grouped into gangs, each gang consisting of 25 people. These gangs were headed by headmen and were assigned different locations along the road to be constructed. The work normally commenced at 7.00 Oclock in the morning and ended at 6.00 Oclock in the evening with little or no time to rest.

Apart from hunger which the labourers complained about there was also the fact that these labourers were exposed to all sorts of hazards. They were attacked by wild animals in the course of their work. Others were often wounded by the implements which they used such as axes, hoes, matchets and knives. Forced labour

was used at any time of the year. It could be used during the dry or rainy season.

The colonial government also made it incumbent on the Sarkin Maska to maintain all the roads that were located in the district. This led to the keeping of permanent road gangs as well as a number of artisans in the district under the wakilin ayyuka. These gangs were used to maintain the cotton roads that passed through the district. These cotton evacuation roads included Maska-Zaria link road, Ruwan Godiya-Sheme-Daudawa road, Maigora-Dandume road and Ketare-Funtua-Yashe road. In 1952 the District Head and his village heads were asked to press on with the work of opening the roads in the district so that they should be in good condition and ready for lorry traffic before the cotton markets open towards the end of November. In fact the initial work of opening the roads in time and giving the necessary supervision and stimulation was made to be the highest priority of the colonial government. The District Head of Maska District was given imprests to pay all the road labour each month. The labourers were paid 5d a day.

a solid support from Joseph Chamberlain who was appointed as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1895. He encouraged the colonial government to provide railways for effective exploitation of the human and natural resources of the colony. He particularly believed that it was the responsibility of the government to provide railways and other essential public works in order to exploit the colonies and give greater scope to the private enterprise.[42] With the establishment of the British Cotton Growing Association, Winston Churchill became its spokesman in parliament who called for the establishment of railways. He saw this as the only answer to the problem of joining the Nigerian coast to its interior for exploitation. This was especially true as Northern Nigeria was viewed as a promising cotton growing area. Churchill specifically argued that without railways all civilised government was extravagant and precarious and all profitable commerce particularly impossible.[43]

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42. Cited in Roger G. Thomas, "Forced Labour in British West Africa: The Case of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast 1906-1927", Journal of African History XIV, 1 1973, pp.79-103. See also Olufemi Omosini, "Railway Projects and British Attitude towards the Development of West Africa 1872-1903", Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol.V, No.4, pp.491-507.

43. The Times 24th August, 1895.

The Lagos-Ibadan railway line was the first to be constructed in 1896. This was followed by extensions to Baro, Kano and Zaria. The colonial government decided to extend the line from Zaria to reach Gusau in 1925. The line was planned to pass through Maska District. Hitherto the bulk of the cotton produced in the district was carried on donkeys, camels etc. to Zaria. The construction was therefore partly intended to solve this problem of transportation. In 1926 the railway line from Zaria reached the borders of Katsina at mile 15. People were therefore required to push the rail road to Funtua in Maska District. The colonial government made a demand of 3,100 men to be drawn from Maska and other districts in the Emirate. Out of this number 100 men were used at River Duga Mile 15 from Zaria to put up camp in April 1926.[44] Another 500 commenced earthwork in the same place from April 7th to 10th. Another batch of 1,000 men were supplied in May and the same number in June. The supply continued up to 1928 when the work passed into Sokoto Province.[45] It was with

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44. SNP 17 1018, Vol.1, Zaria-Gusau-Kaura Namoda Railway.

45. Ibid.

the labour supplied that three camps were constructed. These included Mr. Boyles camp which had about 500-600 labourers. There was also Mr. Ellis Camp erected at mile 54 and had about 1,200 men in it. The last camp was that of Mr. Clement constructed at mile 37 and contained 1,600 to 1,700 labourers.[46] As we have said these labourers were provided by the District Head of Maska and his village heads as well as the District Heads of the other Districts in the Emirate. In the table below an attempt is made to show the number of people drawn from Maska District and the other districts in August, October and November 1927. These other districts included Dan-Yusifa, Yandaka, Dambo, Sullubawa, Durbi and Sarkin Gabas. The table also shows the average supplied by each district, deserters, sick and deaths.

These labourers were made to feed themselves in their journey to the place of work. On arrival they were given 1/6 each which they used

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46. Ibid.

TABLE 3:5

FORCED LABOUR FROM NASKA AND OTHER DISTRICTS KAISHA RAILWAY IN 1927.

MONTH	DISTRICT	NO. ALLOCATED	AVERAGE SUPPLIED	SURPLUS/ DEFICT	DESERTERS	DESERTERS RETURNED	AVERAGE SICK	DEATHS	CAMPS STATIONED	REMARKS
August	Dan Yusifa	28	27	-1	1	-	-	-	Mile 62	Late arrivals
	Yandaka	200	172	-28	1	-	1 in Camp	-	Mile 68 and Mile 72	Deficiencies Filled from Naska District
	Naska	200	50 26 147	- - -3	- - 3	- - 3	- - 3	- - 2	Mile 62 Mile 72 Mile 45	
October	Dambo	201	203	2	-	-	-	-	Mile 52 and Mile 62	
	Sullubawa	201	204	3	8	-	-	-	Mile 62, Mile 68 and Mile 72	
November	Durbi	200	199	1	3	-	-	-	Mile 62	
	Sarkin Gabas	200	202	2	5	-	-	-	Mile 62	

SOURCE: NNAK KATPROF 2099, Zaria Gusau Railway Construction, 1927.

to buy food up to the first pay day. Each labourer also received 9d per day which was paid on the 1st and the 16th of each month. The labourers worked in batches and each batch worked for 30 days. For each group which consisted of 24 men, there was a headman. Each District Head including that of Maska District was given a recruiting commission of £3 per 100 men supplied per month. Part of this money was distributed by the Sarkin Maska to all his village heads. It is also important to note that the Emir of Katsina as well as the District Heads had representatives who took charge of the men on the work and generally saw to their welfare. The representative of Sarkin Katsina was Matazu Agawa and was placed on a salary of £5.0 per month. He was assisted by three jakadas one to each 1,000 men at monthly salaries of £2.10.0.[47]

The railway work was said to be a tedious, strenuous and energy-sapping exercise. This was especially true with the earthwork which required hills to be lowered, valleys to be raised and long distances stretched. All these were done

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47. Ibid.

with local implements such as hoes, shovels, baskets and buckets. The different groups were also divided so that some dug the earth, others filled the head-pans and the rest carried the pans on their bare heads to the construction site. The whole work was carried under the close supervision of the representatives of the Emir, the Sarkin Maska as well as those of the other districts. Each of them carried lashes tsabgu which were then supplied from Katsina. Any labourer that was not doing the work very well was beaten. This forced these labourers to work hard in order to avoid the wrath of these supervisors and the other head-men.[48]

The rail work was also too exploitative. This was in view of the wages given to the labourers. As we have stated, the labourers took care of themselves while travelling to the site no matter the distance. This was covered on foot. The amount of 1/6 was also too inadequate to cover the period of 16 days which it was given for. In fact when the Emir of Katsina in the

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48. M.I.M. 26/2/92.

company of Sarkin Maska visited the camps in August 1926 the men were said to have complained bitterly of starvation Yunwa. They pointed out that the 1/6d was never sufficient to purchase food until the first pay day. The Emir and Sarkin Maska even went to the extent of purchasing flour to enable them estimate the actual purchasing power of the said money and the number of days which the amount could be reasonably held to support each labourer. They discovered that the amount could barely purchase sufficient 'gari' to feed a man, without any addition to his diet for a period of eight days. The remaining eight days, therefore, left the labourers with the alternative of either purchasing their own food supplies on credit at exorbitant charges or starve.[49] But despite this anomaly the colonial government refused to make any increament as that would involve an increase of expenditure for 2,000 labourers of approximately £250 a month. The condition of the labourers was made worse due

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49. NNAK Katprof 2099, Zaria-Gusau Railway Construction Annual Report 1927.

to the fact that the advance was not paid on time. There was the case in October 1927 when some labourers drawn from Maska District stationed at mile 65 were not paid their advances. This threw them into severe hardship. Similarly some 200 others on bridging work at mile 52 were said to be in a worse plight. Not only had they not received the subsistence money which was due to them on arrival, but it was found that they had been working for 16 days without receiving anything whatsoever.[50]

The labourers were also not paid when owing to climatic conditions they could not assemble at their work. In August 1926 it was discovered that owing to rain the average earnings of 1,350 labourers during the first two weeks of August amounted to about 7/6 each for the two weeks. This was roughly a loss of 6d per day or 33% to each labourer of his stipulated pay.[51] Similarly if a labourer fell sick he was given no allowance while absent from his work in hospital. In the same vein labourers employed

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50. SNP 17 1018 Vol.I, Zaria-Gusau-Kaura Namoda Railway.

51. Ibid. Also S.B.G. 19/9/92,

under the "Task work system" were not paid if they failed to complete their alloted daily task. This was the case in October 1926 when a gang of 25 men could not complete the task assigned to them. The Secretary, Northern Provinces was honest enough to accept that these practices were against all precedent and regulation. He also viewed the practice as unworthy of government in dealing with labour working under most difficult conditions at a daily wage of nine pence. He further argued that as far as government had brought men to work involuntarily at a daily wage, it should have subsisted them even if for some reason beyond their control they were unable to work. But nothing was done throughout the period when labour was recruited for the Zaria-Gusau railway.[52]

In some camps the labourers stayed without food. This was the case in February 1927. The Assistant District Officer reported that there was no sufficient food for three days in one of the camps. The Sarkin Maska was as a result instructed to provide a ton of corn to this camp in order to prevent labour leaving the work.

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52. Ibid.

The amount was forcefully recovered from the labourers when they were leaving at the end of the month.[53] The camps were furthermore insanitary and unhealthy. These camps were made up of grass in the form of grass huts bukoki as accommodation in the rainy season. The huts were said to be in leaking condition so much so that the wretched labourers made all sorts of contrivances to keep their semi-naked bodies from the damp earth within these huts. In every hut examined in August 1926 the damp earth was actually wet.[54] Similarly there was no good drinking water in these camps. The latrines provided were also not enough for the use of the labourers. In each of the camps a latrine made of corn stalk was built. This resulted in many of the labourers passing their pieces around the camps in an indiscriminate and unhealthy way.

The outcome was the outbreak and spread of many diseases affecting the labourers and sometimes killing them.[55] A medical officer appointed

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53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. I.F.G. 26/9/92.

by the colonial government to report on the condition of the camps observed that there were cases of guinea worm in all the camps. He, however, claimed that the labourers had been infected before coming to work. There was also the outbreak of other epidemics such as diarhoea, leg ulcers, pneumonia, pulmonary tuberculosis and many more.[56]

These poor working conditions made many people from Maska District to attempt and avoid being recruited for the railway work. They resorted to giving bribes to the village Heads. The village Head of Funtua was said to be collecting five shillings from each man that wanted to be exempted from going.[57] Other people recruited also resorted to deserting from the camps. Some of the deserters were returned to the camps with the help of their village heads. They were stripped naked and beaten severely so as to serve as a lesson to others. Other deserters were sent to Sarkin Maska where they were made to work on a chain gang for a month without pay. This was also to serve as a deterrant to others.

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56. SNP 17 1018 Vol.I, NNAK Katprof 2099.
57. NNAK Katprof 1286 Maska District Notes on

Recruitment of Labour for the Mining Companies

One other area in which the colonial government used the Native Authorities to acquire labour was for the mining companies. Labourers were recruited from Maska District for tin mining at Jos. The Jos mine was said to have been the single area that employed the largest labour force of any enterprise in colonial West Africa.[58] The labourers were at the initial stage drawn from the Plateau Province and neighbouring Provinces. But later on they were acquired from Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Adamawa. In 1918 the colonial government asked its District Officers throughout the Nigerian area to pressurise local Native Authorities into providing labour force for the work of the mines.[59] As with all forms of recruitment, forced labour for use in the tin mines was obtained through the channel of the "indirect rule system". The Lieutenant Governor for the Northern Provinces arranged the number of

58. Bill Freund, Capital and Labour in the Nigerian Tin Mines, Longman, 1981, p.1.

59. Hull, R.W., op.cit. p.304

labourers that would be supplied by each Emirate. This was sent to the District Officer who alerted the Emir and requested him to arrange the number that would be supplied by each District Head from his district. This number was sent to the District Heads who used their village heads to conscript these labourers.

The recruitment of such labourers for use in the tin mines seems to have been started in Maska District between 1939 and 1944.[60] The Colonial government devised a method by which all adults liable for mine work were registered. The Sarkin Maska was at this time asked to form representative mines labour committees in all the villages of the District. These committees were charged with the responsibility of supplying healthy, energetic and able bodied men to be sent to the mines. The District Head was also asked to propagate the work to the people. He used his town criers in all the villages of the District. They told people that the work was an avenue for the people of the district to make money. It was also going to enable them see new places and

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60. Ingawa Tukur Bello, Op.cit. p.191

people, yawon bude idanu. The criers, however, emphasized that the work was a compulsory and endless one.[61] As usual the village Heads of Maska District were shouldered with the task of recruiting the men to go for the work. The labourers conscripted were then taken to Funtua[62] by the representative of the village head. The Assistant District Officer and the Sarkin Maska conducted a kind of a 'medical check up' to make sure that only healthy people were recruited. The labourers were asked to undress and a yaron sarki checked each one of them whether he had venereal disease, gwaiwa or any ailment that might reduce his imput in the course of the work. Many informants recounted that this check was the climax of humiliation, debasement and degradation which the people suffered in the hands of the colonialists. After the check-up the labourers were railed to Jos from the railway station in Funtua. There was the representative of the Sarkin Maska by name Tanimu Moriki who accompanied these labourers and checked deserters.[63]

61. Interview with Alhaji Mijinyawa Dankoli 7/6/92, Henceforth A.M.D.

62. All conscripted labourers of the Emirate were railed from Funtua to the mines. Ingawa Tukur Bello, op.cit. p.192

63. Interview with M.I.M., 26/2/92 and A.B.F. 19/9/92.

Only the sons of the masses were at this time recruited for this work. This is because they had no money to bribe these village heads as did the rich people, in order to get their sons exempted. The amount given for such exemption ranged from 10 shillings to £5 per adult male. This money went into the pocket of the village heads.[64] They simply explained to the District Head that the persons exempted were underaged or unfit. Some of the informants narrated their experiences while at the tin mines. They noted that the accommodation given to them was awful. This was made up of grass huts. The huts were ideal enough for a couple or a pair of single workers but about four or eight labourers occupied any one hut. The huts were also filthy and unhealthy for human habitation. The labourers slept on bare mats and without blankets. This was despite the cold weather on plateau. The labourers were also made to work from 7.00 a.m. to 4.00p.m. in water logged areas. This was the cause of the numerous cases of pneumonia that were reported in the camps.[65]

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64. Ibid.

65. Interview with Muhammadu Maisalati Maigamji 29/9/92. Henceforth M.M.M.

There was also the problem of inadequate wages and rations. In late 1943 the conscripts from Maska District were said to be given only 25.8d per week. This was inadequate for feeding. The amount was raised to 35.6d.[66] The increament was by no means substantial to cater for the feeding of the labourers as well as fire wood to warm themselves in the night. The conscripts from Maska District and others from Katsina Emirate were reported to be wearing rags on the eve of their departure in June 1943. This was because they had sold their cloths so as to get money to feed themselves while at the camp.[67] An informant specifically noted that the conscripts from the district were forced into this condition because their wages were being collected by the representative of the Sarkin Maska and Sarkin Katsina. The pay officer of the mine used to tell them frankly that their monies had been collected by their local rulers. (sarakunanku sun karbi kudinku sai dai in taimakeku).[68]

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66. Ibid. Also Bill Freund p.138.

67. Bill Freund, op.cit. p.138

68. M.T.M. 26/2/92.

There were also cases of land falls which led to the death of many mine workers from the district. Similarly there was the infection by jiggers. These jiggers stayed in the foot of the labourers or their hands till they had caused a considerable damage. This in most cases led to the amputation of the labourer's foot or his hands as the case might be. The jiggers used to affect people of the district that had not even gone to the mine. There were also cases of cerebrospinal meningitis caused by the over crowding of people in the huts. Other common diseases that affected the labourers were dysentery, diarhoea, jaundice, bronchitis and pneumonia. Some of these resulted into the death of the labourers. In 1942, for example, about 34 conscripts from Maska District and other districts in Katsina Emirate died at the camp, apart from those that died at home on their return.[69]

By the end of 1943 it was clear that a good number of labourers were obtained from Maska District for the work at Jos. From this year, however, it became difficult to fill the quota of the district. This was partly said to be as a result of a misunderstanding by the people

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69. Bill Freund, op.cit. p.147

that regular quotas would be periodically required and partly by the strong opposition being put by the people throughout the North. The Sarkin Maska and his village heads were no longer enthusiastic in recruiting labourers as a result of a protest which the Emir of Katsina made against the recruitment of people from the Emirate.[70] The representative of the Sarkin Maska, Tanimu Moriki could not therefore hard his hunt for deserters. This indifferent attitude made many of the labourers to escape from the mines field. Other village authorities - hamlet heads and senior householders all evaded their responsibilities of supplying men.[71]

Apart from the use of forced labour in the construction of roads, railways, tin mine and many more other demands were also made on the people. The Sarkin Maska and his village heads

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70. Ibid. p.141.
This change of attitude on the part of the Emir is not clear. Some informants however attributed it to the dislike which the people had for the work at the tin mines. There was also the outbreak of yarbalange/yar tiya in the Emirate which further made the Emir very unpopular among the people. Another possible reason given was that the Emir was becoming too old to carry out colonial policies effectively. He was about 85 years old at this time. Interview with Tsalha ci ka fadi Mahuta 23/12/92, Amadu Mai Kara Mahuta 23/12/92 and Shehu Karfin Gada Mararrabar Maska 27/12/92.

71. SNP 17 Katsina Province Annual Report 1943.

were requested to supply meat, grains as well as a quota of troops towards this venture. They were also asked to make financial contributions towards the purchase of military weapons - which were used in the European and pacific war theatres.[72] This was with the outbreak of the second world war in 1939.

The people of Maska District were at this time made to provide guinea corn which could be ten, twenty or thirty measures. This was referred to as garin yaki and was used in feeding the soldiers engaged in fighting the war. All adult males were mandated to give the guinea corn. This was despite the fact that these people were made to pay their taxes.[73] All the grain that was collected from Maska District was railed to Lagos and from there shipped to Britain. It should be noted that the village heads made use of the opportunity to acquire wealth. They were said to have had a strong alliance with the agents of the B.C.G.A. who were in charge of collecting the

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72. SNP 17/4 36656 Katsina Province Annual Report 1943. p.3

73. Interview with Dauda Na Gaje Unguwar Wanzamai 5/6/92. Henceforth D.N.U.

grains from the village heads. These village heads used to sell the grains to the agents. The receipt given to them was torn indicating that the people had not contributed any grain to the war effort. In this way the people were then asked to 'donate' the grains again. This was the case in Maigamji. The village head Abdu and his son Samaila entered into such alliance with the agents to cheat the people of the village.[74] In 1942 the amount of grain supplied from our own area of study and other districts of the Emirate was worth 400,000 fibre bags.[75] In fact the Assistant District Officer for the District had to intervene in this requisitioning. He directed the Sarkin Maska and his village heads to stop the forcible requisition of grains in the district. This was because the people had suffered as a result of the exercise. Many villagers were said to have no reserves of corn completely.[76]

The colonial government also demanded for money from the people kudin garin yaki. The money was said to have been collected from household

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74. M.I.M. 26/2/92

75. NNAK Katprof 3276, Annual Report 1942.

76. Ibid.

heads who were about 30 years. In 1941 the Sarkin Maska was ordered to deduct 3/- out of every £1 of the salaries paid to the Native Authority officials working in the district. A whopping sum of £5,130 was collected in that year from the masses and the salaried officials.[77] Each man was made to pay 1d.

This opportunity of recruiting forced labour that was given to the Sarkin Maska and his village heads made them to recruit labour for their own ends. The labourers were largely engaged in the farms of the District Head as well as his village heads. In 1922 the Durbin Maska was for example found guilty of using forced labour in his farm. Ango of Kaura Dan Alasan was also made to work for three years in the farm of the Durbi and received no payment. Similarly Musa of Tumburkai was forced to work in the house of the Durbi. When it was noon he went to get a meal at his own place. He was on coming back severely beaten by the Durbi and sent away without being paid. Liman of the same village was furthermore made to work in the farm of the Durbi as well as his house without giving

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77. NNAK Katprof 287, Katprof 3062 win the war fund.

him any payment. Chigero was forced to bribe his village head with the sum of 3/9d to be let off work at Durbi's house. In 1922 the same Durbi employed many people from Kaura Dan Alasan including one Sule to work in his farm under the guise of "gayya". The people were not paid any money. In 1923 also the village head of Kaura Dan Alasan forced many people to work in his house and compound without any kind of payment or return.[78] It was not the village heads that were only employing labour for their own selfish ends. The District Head himself was involved. His own case was so serious that it was reported to the colonial officials in 1927. The complaint was lodged by Maikaji who was an agent of the British Cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A.) based in the district. Maikaji reported that the Sarkin Maska had denied the people to plant cotton in their farms due to their engagement in his cotton farm. This farm was known as Shakallo and was about 50 acres. It was first cleared by Sarkin Maska Shehu. The District Head alloted a definite number of labourers to be supplied by

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78. NNAK Katprof 1823 Maska District.

each of the village heads in the district. Hence 100 men were supplied by the village head of Funtua who were engaged in the farm for four days. Another 80 men were given from Bodo and engaged for three days. 50 men were also recruited by the village head of Mahuta and worked for six days. The same number was supplied from Maska who worked for two days.

All these labourers were according to Maikaji used in the farm without pay. Dashes were however, made to the village heads who supplied the labourers. The case was investigated by a colonial officer. This allegation was denied by the District Head. He, however, admitted that he had called a 'gayya' and not forced labour with the use of lower number of people. The Sarkin Maska claimed that he had used 60 men from Funtua, 30 men from Bodo, 12 men from Mahuta and 26 men from Maska. He further explained that he had used these men for only two days commencing from 17th July 1928 and that each one of them was paid one shilling. The official verdict which came out of the investigation was that evidence against

the District Head was too slender to warrant prosecution. The officer noted that it was difficult for him to get any real evidence at all and hence the District Head had no case to answer. This was despite the fact that he had accepted using a lower number of people in the said farm. The verdict was also reached inspite of the colonial officers realisation that there were many people who would have liked to testify against the Sarkin Maska but for fear of what would happen to them should the District Head be absolved.

In the end the officer accused Maikaji of complicity to get Sarkin Maska into trouble while he used the B.C.G.A. a stalking horse in the matter. He suggested that Maikaji should be transfered to another sphere of activity as far as he had antagonised the local administration. He finally wrote in support of the District Head saying that he had a very strong hold over the district and was treated with obsequiousness and regarded with fear.[79]

The fact that the District Head was allowed to go scot free made him to continue employing people in his farms. There was a time when he

79. Ibid.

engaged people to work at another farm not far away from sha kallo. The people worked from 7.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. with no food given them. One of them suggested that a boy should be sent to get them food, purchased with their own money from the village of Funtua. The boys of the District Head namely Kazami, Tukur, Magaji and Burtu who were supervising the labourers objected. They argued that the labourers had to finish the work on that day otherwise no one would be allowed to go home. The labourer who made the suggestion by name Abdullahi Adamu (Sardaunan N.E.P.U.) asked all his colleagues to leave the work. He threatened to use his hoe on any labourer that refused to comply. The labourers who were obviously hungry and tired by the time went to their homes. When the incident was communicated to Sarkin Maska by Kazami, Abdullahi Adamu was summoned before the Native Court. He was given seventy lashes and sentenced to 14 days imprisonment.[80] As we have said elsewhere this practice of engaging labourers in the farms of the local rulers was only checked with the emergence of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.) in the 1950's.

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80. NNAK Katprof 1823 Maska District, Head complaint Against by B.C.G.A. Also D.N.U. 5/6/92.

The Impact of Labour Policy on the People

The recruitment of people from Maska District by the District Head and his village heads had a serious impact on the economic and social setting of the area. The exercise took away young, energetic and healthy individuals to go and work in road or railway construction or even tin mining. In fact the ForcedLabour Ordinance No.22 of 1933 stipulated that labour should only be exacted from able bodied males who were not less than eighteen and not more than fourty five years.[81] This meant that the bulk of the people employed for the work were the most productive in the district. These were the people that actually produced all the food and other goods which were used for consumption and exchange. They tilled the soil and engaged in all types of manufacturing activities. They were also the ones who carried these goods from one place to another in trade. It was this group of virile men that were mobilised by the local rulers in Maska District to work in colonial projects. Hence, the demand

81. D.N.U. 5/6/92. Also SNP 17 9318 Vol.1 Forced Labour.

in labour denied these other economic activities the labour and expertise of these young men. This, therefore, led to their decline.

The colonial government had no specific time of demanding for labour. In fact the local rulers were asked at any time, be it during the rainy or dry season to supply labour and they had to do it or risk their jobs. This meant that the people were no longer able to produce even the food that they were to eat and survive. It was this situation that was partly responsible for the famines witnessed in Maska District during the period of colonial domination. Some of these famines included malali (1914), kwana (1927), yar Balange (1942) and uwar sani (1954).[82] Out of these famines, however, yarbalange or Jagindi was said to be the most severe in Maska District. The famine was partly caused by scarcity of rains which dropped from the average yearly total of 40 or 50 inches to 30 inches. A colonial officer reported that:

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82. SNP 17 9318 Vol.I, Forced Labour International Labour Organisation.

> For the third consecutive year rainfall has been abnormally scanty and was badly distributed.[83]

This shortage of rain fall would have been contained as it had always been done in the pre-colonial period when there was famine but for colonial policies on labour, taxation, land tenure and agricultural production. In relation to labour particularly, the period of this famine coincided with that when the people of the district were being conscripted for the mining of tin at Jos. It also coincided with the Second World War when the colonial government demanded money and grains as 'war aid' from the people of the district. The recruitment for the work of mining as well as the extortion of money and grains was the second cause of the famine in 1942. In fact this second factor was principally behind the yar balange.[84] At a meeting which the Sarkin Maska and his village heads attended together with other heads from the Emirate, the representatives saw the famine as having been caused by

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83. Ibid.

84. R.L. Payne NNAK Katprof 3276, Annual Report 1942, Para. 2, p.41.

deprivation of the talakawas stocks of food and threat to leave them without adequate seed and food.[85]

In 1943 the Resident of Kano Province observed that there were many immigrants passing through the division from Maska and other places in the emirate in search of food. A telegram from Sokoto was also said to have intimated about the presence of large numbers of destitutes, starving with no money in the vicinity of Gusau.[86] These people were mostly from Maska District and other neighbouring districts. It was an irony that the Assistant District Officer for the district commented that the immigrants were all work shy and never do wells who never farmed properly.[87] This movement of people out of the district in search of food also affected agricultural activities and the economy as a whole. The gandu which was the basic unit of production disintegrated as the members of the family moved out to find food. About 40,000 people were said to have moved out

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85. Michael Watts, op.cit, p.329

86. NAI Co.26 36289/1944 p.336.

87. NNAK Sokprof 3/1 793/1943.

of Maska and other districts in the emirate as a result of this famine.[88]

There is also the fact that many labourers were physically affected in the course of constructions or mining, cutting or digging. Many had their legs or arms or some of their fingers cut off as a result of accidents or jigger infections. This was even for those who were lucky to have survived the hazardous conditions of work typical of all colonial projects. In 1945 an estimate of the 50 to 60 percent of those recruited from Maska District were said to be unfit for heavy manual work such as farming or local manufacturing.[89] This also affected the level at which agricultural production was practiced as well as other economic activities.

The category of people chosen to work in these projects also affected the reproduction system and procreation. This was because some were engaged in the work for six months. Others were even separated from their families for life. Many others came back from the work with all types of diseases - including sexually transmitted diseases.

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88. Ibid.

89. Cited in Michael Watts, op.cit, p.333

Conclusion

We have in this chapter tried to show one major role that was played by the Native Authorities in Maska District. Our discussion has examined how the Sarkin Maska and his village heads were used by the colonialists to recruit labour for road and railway construction, clearing of river banks, tin mining and other projects. We have seen that the labourers worked under terrible conditions which often resulted in sickness or even death. This is apart from the reality that these labourers were often not given any remuneration. Even if it was given the money turned out not to be commensurate to the actual work done. In several other cases the money ended up not getting to the labourers which meant that it was retained by either the District Head or his village heads. We have also seen that the burden of people on this aspect was added to by the forceful recruitment of people by these local rulers to go and work in their farms or houses without pay. Our discussion has also touched on the impact of colonial labour policy on the people of Maska District. We have seen

that the colonial government was able to obtain cheap labour for its projects. This was, however, to affect agricultural production and other economic activities as the young people who engaged in these activities were recruited as forced labourers. This led to famines, eternal separation and the breakdown of societal values.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LAND POLICIES

Introduction

Our concern in this chapter is with the policies of colonial government on land and the role of the Native Authorities in their execution. This discussion on land is important because it was very crucial to the Native Authority system. It determined the pattern and nature of the domination and exploitation of the human and natural resources of our area by the British Colonial government. We shall first of all look at the pattern of pre-colonial land tenure system in the area. This is with the view to showing how it was transformed during the colonial period. We shall see that even though land under the colonialists was nationalised, its control and administration was left with the Native Authorities. They were however used to provide land for colonial projects and merchant firms. This provided them with the opportunity to alienate, expropriate or confiscate the lands of the peasantry for the use of the colonialists and their own

personal use. A good number of the peasantry were, therefore, forcefully separated from their only means of survival, that on which they applied their labour to get food, shelter and clothing.

Pre-Colonial Land Tenure

The land that was in the Maska area was in the late 19th century owned by the Muslim community. It was however, held in trust by the caliph or amir-al-muminin. The caliph devolved the control of such land as well as its administration to the Emirs in their emirates. They in turn delegated this responsibility to their subordinates.[1] Such a responsibility was delegated to the Sarkin Maska, his council and village heads by the Galadiman Katsina on behalf of the Sarkin Katsina and the Caliph. There was so much land in our area of study that:

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1. Michael Watts, Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria. University of California Press, London 1983, p.73; Shenton, B.W., "Studies in the Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria," Ph.D. Thesis University of Toronto 1981, p.21. Also interview with Abubakar Koshe Bakin Dutse 24/4/92, Henceforth A.K.B.

> a prospective land user simply carved out his requirement from an abundant amount of bush (daji) and cleared as much as he required for farmland and a house. Likewise strangers who wished to settle in the community acquired land in much the same way.[2]

In relation to strangers, particularly, an informant remarked that they went to the village head and requested for the use of land. The village head apportioned enough to them for their houses and their farms. The method of such apportionment was through the use of a stone. The village head found a stone and threw it in the direction of the required land, wherever it stopped the strangers were asked to use the length of the land.[3]

This land was however given on the condition that the farmer would pay customary taxes to his village head on annual basis. This was referred to as land tithe ushira or kudin kasa. Any failure on the part of the farmer to pay his tax could result in being evicted from the land.

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2. Ingawa Tukur Bello, "A Study of Rural Economic History of the Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate During the Colonial Period C.1900-1939," Ph.D., U.K. 1984, p.139.

3. Group interview Yakurutu 11/11/91. Henceforth G.I.Y.

The farmer was also not supposed to alienate the land or abandon it without the knowledge and consent of his village head.[4] Subject to these conditions the farmers were allowed to enjoy security of tenure for as long as they lived in the village. At the level of the various communities of our area of study, the land was collectively owned by the household *gandu* which was managed by the household head *maigida*. The individual adult male members of the household were given a small piece of land *gayauna* out of the *gandu* to complement in solving the personal problems of individuals.

The basis of pre-colonial land tenure in our area of study and the caliphate as a whole was stated in the general principles governing the tenure of land in the Northern Provinces as thus:

> The essential basis of native custom is that the freehold of land belongs to the section of the population that has conquered and is in the possession of the land. In nearly every case such sections had a recognised paramount chief... and in such cases the freehold of land was, in theory, vested in the person who filled the office of chief, although by no means could an individual who occupied the office alienate

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4. Ibid. See also NNAK SNP 17/815/A3 - Mr. Palmer on Land Tenure in the Hausa States.

> this right from the office or from his successor in office. The chief had the power to grant the use of lands to private individuals and he was competent to transfer this power to subordinate chiefs who in their turn could transfer this power to minor chiefs and so on.[5]

It would seem that by the end of the 19th century large estates were owned by the Sarkin Maska, his village heads, wealthy people and the ulama. Similarly individuals right of occupation was beginning to be recognised. Land could at this time be sold or transfered through pledge, loan, gifts or inheritance with the consent of the Sarkin Maska and his village heads.[6] The question of whether land could be owned as a private property so that it could be sold and transfered at will became of primary concern to the British colonial government on the occupation of our area.

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5. NNAK Katprof 1724 Rural Land Policy.

6. Group interview Kadawa 21/11/91, Henceforth G.I.K. Also NNAK Katprof 1724 Rural Land Tenure and Land Revenue.

Land Policy

The very first measure taken by the colonial government on the occupation of Sokoto Caliphate was to declare itself as the heir and successor to all the rights claimed by the Emirate aristocracy including the sarakunan Kaska over lands. Such lands were declared by Lugard as 'crown lands' or 'public lands'. The crown lands according to him referred to all those lands that were inherited from the Royal Niger Company with the revocation of its charter. These encompassed lands that were one-mile wide strip on either side of River Niger from the frontier of Southern Nigeria to Lokoja as well as other extensive holdings.[7] The public lands on the other hand were those sanctioned in proclamation 13 of 1902. The title to these lands was vested in the right of conquest of the calipbate by the colonial forces. Lugard noted that just as the Fulani had conquered the territory during the jihad and assumed the ultimate title to these lands so also the conquest of the Fulani by the British forces automatically transferred such title to them. Private property of an individual

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7. Cited in Shenton,R.W., op.cit, p.68.

was however not included in the public lands. Lugard vowed to protect it.[8] It was also in accordance to this take over that in the letter of appointment given to each Emir, a statement was made which indicated that the colonial government had assumed administrative control, right to levy taxes and control land. Lugard did not however say anything about those territories that were not conquered by the colonialists.[9] Similarly no attempt was made to question the right which the people had to their land holdings.

Lugard's intention of protecting private property was based on his misconceived view that the whole lands of the caliphate were owned by the ruling class who used their slaves in cultivating them. He felt that it was better if the habit of enslaving people was stopped. The slaves could then be turned into a labouring class to till the lands of the ruling class or their former masters on wage basis. Put differently,

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8. Lugard Political Memo (1896) No.16 para 2.

9. These included vast areas which had never been part of the Caliphate. Lugard put it as "the enormous area which is occupied by pagans." Shenton, R.W., op.cit, p.70.

Lugard wanted to create a kind of an ex-slave, farm labouring class that would be employed in the farms of the ruling class. This was meant to serve as a kind of compensation to them. They could in this way become a landlord class that would employ the labour of the peasantry and pay them while they worked in their agricultural estates.[10] Lennihan specifically noted that it was the intention of the colonial government at this time to re-allocate the lands in our area of study to indigenous or expatriate businessmen who would develop it into big agricultural estates as was the case in Kenya.[11] Such a proposal was also aimed at providing the colonial state and merchant companies with abundant and cheap labour force.

It was in realisation of this objective that the colonial government decreed that slaves should not both be allowed to desert their masters or to build new villages as they had no right to land. The ruling class were also to own lands. In the pursuit of this goal, Lugard argued that:

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10. Michael Watts, op.cit, p.157, Shenton, R.W., op.cit. pp.60-61.

11. Lennihan, L.D., "Rights in Men and Rights in Land: Labour and Small Holder Agriculture in Northern Nigeria", in Slavery Abolition Vol.3, No.2 Frankcass London 1982, pp.121-124.

> In my opinion the ownership of land by the upper classes is a most useful principle to inculcate, so that Native Rulers and Alkalis who devote their time to executive and administrative work, may be provided with a private income to supplement their official salaries, and replace the wealth which formerly consisted of slaves.[12]

In all this, Lugard was representing the conservative trends in British imperial affairs. The intentions of Lugard were, however, not to be as he was transferred to Hongkong in 1906. Girouard, who was a transport engineer was appointed to replace him as the High Commissioner. His appointment coincided with the victory of the labour party in the national election in Britain. He was also said to be a liberal and was as well strongly influenced by the post 1914 period liberal reformers such as Leonard Woolfe, E.D. Morel and Norman leys. These people had earlier on shown in their various doctrinaire works that the European impact in Africa was disastrous. They condemned the theory of the dual mandate as propagated by Lugard and his likes and called for a limit to the operations of private capital and a preference for peasant proprietorship.[13]

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12. Lugard Political Memo (1906), No.5, Para.14.

13. Michael Watts, op.cit, p.158

Charles Temple, who was then a Resident of Kano Province and Palmer of Katsina all shared these ideas. These people were further supported by Henry George, an American economist who promoted state control of land.

Hence, the view held by Girouard, Temple and Palmer on land tenure were directly opposed to the Lugardian schema. They believed that instead of creating a landlord and a labouring class with the land under the ownership of the former, the ruling class should be turned into a salaried bureaucracy. The land should also be nationalised and be put under the control of the governor.[14]

On assumption of office, Girouard passed a memorandum in the Native Revenue Proclamation of 1906. He sought all the Residents to comment on the tenure on which the peasant had held his land and the relationship he had with his local chief. They were also asked to offer suggestions. Girouard also noted that the question was relevant and should be settled before the railway

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14. See the Memorandum submitted by Percy Girouard to F.D. Lugard, 25 January 1908, SNP 15/3, 390 B. 2,500 also H.R. Palmer to Resident Kano 24 November 1907, SNP 15/3, 277 A8 and NNAK SNP 6 C.126/1907, submission by H.R. Palmer.

to the North from the coast was finished. He had the fear that if the question was not settled before then, white settlers might troop into our area of study in particular and the caliphate as a whole demanding land. Girouard was said to be against such land grabbers. He also viewed the situation as doing injustice to the peasants and could moreover shake the faith of their rule which was becoming firmly established.[15]

The colonial government's stand over the question of land as being expressed by Girouard and Temple was not in any way aimed at protecting the peasantry from exploitation. The emphasis that land should be left in the hands of the peasants and not the indigenous and expatriate business men was part of the colonial plan to incorporate the economy of our area of study into the world economy. There was also the consideration that if the farmers were dispossessed of their lands and turned into wage labourers, they would not be able to function well in the colonial

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15. Michael Watts, op.cit, p.159

economy as producers of export crops and consumers of manufactured goods. The exercise was bound to demoralise them, impoverish them and dampen their spirits. A situation like this could reduce their productivity.[16]

In any case the Residents replied to the memorandum sent by Girouard. As could be expected, they were unanimous that land was owned by the community and not individuals. They erroneously held to the view that freehold tenure had never existed in our area of study and the caliphate as a whole. Palmer, the acting Resident of Katsina Emirate for example observed in his testimony to the lands committee that:

> In northern Nigeria, generally speaking, it commands no such value in the open market. Nobody will buy when there is plenty of land available for practically no cost. The land is to the cultivator what his tools and iron are to the blacksmith. For assessment purposes the value of the crops and stock and fruits and industry are, therefore the only basis on which taxation can be calculated, because it is only they that have a market value.[17]

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16. NNAK Cd 5102 Report of the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee, 1910.

17. Ibid. p.89.

Palmer also felt that power should not be given to the masu Sarauta to sell land as that would re-affirm their priviledge as land holders and princes. He argued at length that it was not necessary for them to preserve a caste of rulers whose power was already waning. He further asked,

> But in order to retain their service as 'officials', is it necessary to retain them as landowners and princes? I venture to think that it is not, and that we shall get better results by gradually abolishing priviledge than by maintaining the governing class as a class?[18]

The memorandum of all the Residents were sent to the Secretary of State for the colonies, Lord Crowe. He inturn appointed a committee to investigate the subject of land tenure in northern Nigeria and to advise as to the system which should be adopted by government. The committee which convened in London in 1908 had the following people as its members: Strachey, Temple, Charles Orr who was the Resident of Zaria Province, Sir James Diggs la Touche who was a former Governor of India, Morrison who was also a member of the

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18. NNAK SNP 15/3, 377 A8 - H.R. Palmer to Resident Kano 24 November 1907.

India Council, Cox of the colonial office and Wedgewood who was a member of Parliament.[19] The views of some trading firms were also sought. These included the Niger Company, the British Cotton Growing Association and Messrs John Holt and Company of Liverpool which all had interests in Northern Nigeria.[20] The Committee spent two months deliberating on the issue. It used most of the memoranda submitted by Girouard and the other Residents. Based on the submissions and suggestions made to the Committee, it recommended the nationalisation of land. This would be left in the hands of the Crown through the High Commissioner who would be the one to grant to individuals the right of user or lease based on customary procedure. The colonial policy on land tenure was contained in the Land and Native Rights Proclamation No.9 of 1910. It stated inter alia:

> The whole of the land whether occupied or unoccupied, is subject to the control of the Government. He (the occupier) has no legal right to security of possession: he cannot sell or mortgage the land so as to make secure title to the purchaser or mortgagee. Nor does he transmit indefeasible title to his heirs.[21]

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19. NNAK cd. 5102 Report of the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee 1910.

20. Ibid.

21. P.R.O. cd 5102 Summary of conclusions and proceedings.

The proclamation also noted that the colonial government had the right to revoke the title of any occupier for any 'good cause'. This was defined as non payment of taxes or dues, voluntary alienation by sale or mortgage or even transfer of possession without the consent of the government. The title could also be revoked if the land was required by the government for public purposes.[22]

This legislation was grounded in a fundamental misunderstanding of pre-colonial land tenure system. The committee conceived private property as defined in the Roman law where the owner had an absolute right to use and abuse. The legislation, however, was arguably the single most important piece of legislation in the history of colonial Northern Nigeria in general and Maska District in particular.[23] This is because it in the first place took away the right of ultimate title which the caliph and the sarakunan Maska had on the lands of the Sokoto Caliphate and vested it in the High Commissioner, Governor or Lieutenant Governor as

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22. Ibid para 72.

23. Michael Watts, op.cit, p.159

the case might be. Any of these was to hold and administer the land to the people for their own use in accordance with the native laws and customs existing in the area where such land was situated. In other words the farmer's customary right to occupy and use a portion of the land of his community was confirmed. The rationale behind the nationalisation of the land in our area of study was to enable the colonial government collect taxes which Girouard had noted earlier to be in a mess, inconsistent, regressive and arbitrary. It was also said to be paid largely by peasant grain producers and had generally degenerated into a poll tax.[24] Land nationalisation was also aimed at developing colonial commerce. Girouard had noted in this direction that it was to:

> .... foster, develop and encourage trade by ensuring the progress of legitimate mercantile or agricultural exploitation on the part of the non-natives, and ultimately ensure the evolution of stable government.[25]

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24. Ibid. p.161

25. Cd 5102, Report of the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee 1910, p.29.

Another reason is that, the legislation brought to an end the vision which Lugard had of creating a wage paying landlord class alongside an agricultural wage labourers and a plantation economy. This was because the ruling class in the area of our study were transformed into a body whose interests were closely bound up with the government. They became salaried officials.

Even though the control of land was vested in the Governor, its allocation and administration remained largely with the Sarkin Maska and his village heads in the case of Maska District. In fact it could even be said that it was only in theory that the colonial government held the land. In practice it was in accordance with the system of "indirect rule" allocated and administered by the Native Authorities. The control which the colonial government had over the land was only enforced when there was a project to be sited that would involve using a large portion of land.[26] Even then the land was obtained through the Sarkin Maska and his village heads in our area of study. Land was also provided by them for the construction of small projects as we shall see below.

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26. Ingawa Tukur Bello, op.cit. p.146

Land Alienation

One of the provisions made in the land proclamation of 1910, under which the colonial government could revoke the title of any occupier was when the land was required by the government for public purposes. It was also under this pretext that the colonial government acquired large portions of land for its projects or for the use of merchant firms in our area of study during the period of colonial domination. A good example in which the Sarkin Maska was used to acquire a large chunk of land was for the establishment of the Daudawa Farm. The Empire Cotton Growing Corporation applied for the use of land to establish a cotton experimental and seed multiplication centre. The Sarkin Maska was requested to find a suitable land for such a project. This was found around Daudawa and the District Head of Maska District, the Emir of Katsina and the Director of Agriculture surveyed the area on 15th October 1925. A total of 2,245.55 acres of land were acquired by the E.C.G.C. through the active connivance of Sarkin Maska. The break down of the holding was as follows:[27]

27. SNP 17 3080 17617 Vol.1, Empire Cotton Growing Corporation Proposed Farm Near Funtua.

C. of O. 1390	52.89 acres	(Residential)
C. of O. 189	1200 "	
C. of O. 1391	230.75 "	
C. of O. 1726	27.27 "	(Agricultural)
C. of O. 1727	193.64 "	
C. of O. 1728	541.0	

It should be noted that even before the E.C.G.C. got the land, its representative made it clear that he was strongly opposed in principle to the excessive rates charged in the past for expropriation of native farms. He pointed out that he was in favour of compensation for crops actually disturbed only and not for the farm itself as a cultivated site.[28] Based on this criteria the E.C.G.C. agreed to pay compensation for only 1,314 acres for crops disturbed. As a result of this only 19 people of Daudawa and Faskari villages were scheduled to be paid compensation. It is doubtful, however, if this compensation had got to the owners.[29]

From the table below, the break down of the compensation could be seen.

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28. NNAK Katprof 616 Empire Cotton Growing Corporation Proposed Farm Near Funtua.

29. Group interview Duya 10/3/92. Henceforth G.I.D.

TABLE 4:1

COMPENSATION OF DAUDAWA 1,314 ACRES SITE

	Name of Farmer	Town	Area in Acres	Expropria-tion.
1.	Nalado	Daudawa	54 x 30	15/-
2.	Kwankita	"	66 x 50	30/-
3.	Hassan	"	60 x 35	20/-
4.	Labo	"	-	15/-
5.	Madawakin Faskari	Faskari	16	£16.0.0
6.	Umma Madawaki	"	1	£1.0.0
7.	Asmau	Daudawa	-	10/-
8.	Dandina	"	4	£4.10.0
9.	Abubakar	"	2	£2.0.0
10.	Asmau	"	-	10/-
11.	Amanya	"	-	5/-
12.	Hullo	"	-	10/-
13.	Danajiya	"	1	£1.10.0
14.	Umma Madawaki	Faskari	1	£1.0.0
15.	Galadiman Faskari	"	-	10/-
16.	Barau	Daudawa	2	£3.15.0
17.	Musa Loko	"	-	15/-
18.	Dansokoto	"	-	5/-
19.	Gero	"	1	£1.5.0
	Total			£37.50

Source: NNAK KATPROF 1 616 Vol.I Empire Cotton Growing Corporation Proposed Farm Near Funtua.

It was also with the assistance of the Maska District Head that the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) got 12.7 acres for the establishment of its station in Maska District. The land was given at an annual rent of £22 instead of the £30 being charged on the other European firms that had also opened stations in our area of study. This preferential treatment was given to the B.C.G.A. because the colonial government had great hope of getting cotton for the textile industry in Britain through this association. The site that was alienated involved the expropriation of three farms and 22 huts. There were also some individually owned dorowa trees which were 23 in number. The colonial government in consultation with the Sarkin Maska and the Emir of Katsina fixed the compensation for the loss of each economic tree at £1. The total compensation payable for the huts, farms and trees was only £45.10.0. The affected persons did not get the compensation.[30]

Apart from the B.C.G.A. there were about twenty other colonial companies that were given land which was approximately nine acres each to establish their stations and conduct trade on behalf of the colonial government. These firms included G.B. Ollivant,

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30. NNAK Katprof 78 - British Cotton Growing Association Ginnery at Funtua. Also interview with Adamu Maiguga Maska 27/12/92. Henceforth A.M.M.

John Holt, Lagos Stores, Ambrosini, S.C.O.A., Red Fearn, Tangalakis, P.Z.: U.A.C., C.F.A.O., John Walkden, Miller Brothers, African and Eastern trade, Mandrides and Logios, London and Kano, London, Africa and Overseas, C. Zard, Niger Company and Niger Properties.[31] They occupied the farms and houses of the people in Makera and Funtua villages who were asked to move away from the area. These firms were later transfered to a site near Dutsen Reme where 18 new plots were laid out. The area was said to be the farms of the people in Dutsen Reme and Funtua.[32]

There were also numerous farmers that lost their farms when roads and railways were being constructed in Maska District. In the case of railway construction, about 22 were said to have been affected. The colonial government paid £167 as compensation to the farmers on the railway construction line.[33] It would seem, however, that the money never reached the farmers. It was also the District Head of Maska that provided

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31. NNAK Katprof 1/1/4 Maska District Note book, NNAK Katprof 1245 - Katsina Division Annual Report 1919, 1921, 1924, NNAK Katprof 1018 - Katsina Division Annual Report 1923.

32. M.I.M. 26/2/92.

33. NNAK Katprof 1286 Maska District Notes.

101 acres of land for the establishment of the Government Fadama Research Farm at Maska. The choice of the area was in fact said to be the hand work of the District Head. He suggested that Maska would be much more suitable. He also informed the colonial government that there was no need to pay the people that had farms in the area any compensation as no crops were disturbed. The farmers were, therefore, asked to vacate the area without being paid anything.[34]

Another important area in which land was alienated in our area of study was for the creation of forest reserves. In 1929, for example, the colonial government sought land in Maska and Danja Districts for the protection and reservation of the once extensive Raplica rinifera Tukuruwa trees.[35] It was in accordance with this demand that the Forestry Ordinance section 35 of Cap.95 was amended. The amendment gave the Native Authorities in our area of study the right to acquire land for the creation of a forest reserve in their territories. The amended ordinance stated that:

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34. NNAK Katprof 3612 - Government Fadama Research Farm.

35. NNAK Katprof 2016 Vol.1 - Procedure for the Constitution of N.A. Forest Reserves Instructions.

> It shall be lawful for a Native Authority by order made with the approval of the Governor, (a) to constitute as a Native Administration Forest Reserve any land lying within the area of its jurisdiction.[36]

This ordinance therefore made Sarkin Maska to acquire a large portion of land for the protection of Tukuruwa. The people that had farms there were not given any compensation. There were also several instances in which the District Head of Maska was asked by the colonial government to alienate some people's land without giving them anything. This land was used in settling people. A case in point was the village of Maigamji. The village was said to have been founded with the occupation of Maska area by the colonial forces. The first inhabitants were the parents of Tanko Ibrahim and Muhammadu Ibrahim. They cleared enough land for their houses and their farms with the permission of the Sarkin Maska. With time more and more people acquired land in the village. Towards the end of 1940's the Sarkin Maska was asked to settle some immigrants from Niger Republic and other neighbouring districts at Maigamji. The farms of Tanko and Muhammadu were confiscated at this time and given to these

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36. Ibid.

immigrants to erect houses. They were told that they were going to be paid compensation. When this was not forthcoming, Tanko reported the matter to the Secretary, Northern Provinces. The Secretary sent a telegram to the District Officer at Katsina asking him to investigate the matter. This was referred to the Sarkin Maska who merely explained to the District Officer through the Emir that the persons who had the farms were extremely rich and so there was no need to pay them. Hence no compensation was given for the farms which were about ten acres.[37] Similarly some acres of land were confiscated from some farmers in Maska town and used to re-settle the people of Maska. The town of Maska was said to be far from the major Zaria-Funtua road and the colonial government instructed the District Head to acquire the farms at Mararrabar Maska for such re-settlement.[38] In the same vein about 26 people at Yartabki were dispossessed of their farms on the order of the colonialists.

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37. The immigrants were said to have moved into the District because the land was richer and there was better trade. NNAK Katprof 1258, Interview with M.I.M. and Alhaji Muhammadu Bello Jabiri 24/4/92.

38. S.K.M. 27/12/92.

No compensation was paid.[39] It was also the land of the people in Maska District that were alienated and used in the construction of the Government Reserve Area (G.R.A.) at Funtua, the Rest Houses at Dandume, Maska, Funtua and Kwatangiri, the Native Court and lock-up-cell at Funtua, the veterinary clinic at Kwatangiri and the numerous cotton markets in the district. It could be seen from these examples that the claim made earlier by the colonial government to give full protection to the people of Maska District against the land grabber and usurer was fallacious.

The Sarkin Maska and his village heads also used the opportunity given to them to allocate and administer the land in our area of study, in depriving and confiscating peasants lands. This was done under the pretext of the ordinances passed by the colonial government in our period of study. One of such ordinances was the Public Land Acquisition Ordinance of 1917 which gave powers to the colonialists to acquire land either by negotiation or compulsorily. This ordinance was by extension implemented by the Native Authorities. There was also another Native

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39. Group interview Batarawa 18/2/92. Henceforth G.I.B.

Authority Proclamation which gave the local rulers the right to remove any farmer from the use of his land for criminal offences and insubordination. This was enacted in 1929. This was followed by another one in 1940 where the District Head of Maska District was ordered to give strangers any farm that was left uncultivated for five years. Such a farm should be given to strangers but not to be sold by the District Head.[40] The participation of these Native Authorities in mixed farming which was introduced by the colonial government in 1928 also made the Sarkin Maska and his village heads to dispossess peasants of their lands. This was as a result of the requirement laid on land before a person could be allowed to start it. The requirement was that a mixed farmer should have a minimum of 20 acres to provide grazing and fodder all the year round for his animals. At the time when mixed farming was introduced in our area of study only the District Head and his village heads were allowed to practice it.[41] Hence this became an excuse

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40. NNAK Katprof 2647 Emir of Katsina Instructions to District Heads and Others.

41. Katna 1212 W. 235 Mixed Farming Rules Legislation, Policy and Instruction, SNP 17/11 703 vol.1 - Agricultural Policy in Northern Provinces.

for them to confiscate the people's farms and incorporate them into their own. The Sarkin Maska was said to have acquired his farm sha kallo in this way. Several farms belonging to the people of the district were incorporated without payment. In 1928, Umaru of Bodo lodged a complaint against the District Head for taking his farms from him in the previous year. The farm was given to the complainant in 1926. When it was seized and incorporated into sha kallo the owner moved away and cleared a new farm not very far away from the first one. This new farm was also taken by the District Head. The colonial government did not take any action against the District Head.[42]

There were also numerous instances of such land confiscation in our area of study which was perpetrated by the village heads. In 1921 the village head of Dandume seized the farms of Ladan Dandume and Isa. He gave them to Jaki who was his relation. He also alienated the farm of Jibo and gave it to Geri in 1922.[43] Similarly the village head of Bakari seized the farm of

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42. NNAK Katprof 1823 Maska District Head Complaint Against. Also interview with S.B.G. 19/9/92

43. NNAK Katprof 1811 - Maska District General Report, NNAK Katprof 1586 Maska District Re-assessment of 1923-24.

Halidu Gobirawa and sold it to Jiba at the rate of 50 shillings. The owner reported the matter to the Sarkin Maska and when nothing was done, he went to the Emir of Katsina and reported to him. The Emir instructed the Sarkin Maska to ensure that the farm was returned to the owner. This was not done however.[44] The same village head was said to have seized the farm of Liman Muhammadu which was located in Unguwar Sarkin Filani. The farm was seized because the owner was a friend of the ex-madaki.[45] In the same vein, the Galadiman Maska seized the farms of Sarkin Zango, Gagarau, Gambo, Useini and Tankon Buzu in the period 1920-23. These were either given to relations or other people in return for a token of money. The village head of Funtua also drove out many householders of their houses and farms just because he was asked to drive out undesirables that were in the village. He sold their farms and houses and kept the money to himself.[46] This same village head converted to his own use the farms of

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44. Ibid.

45. NNAK Katprof 1811

46. NNAK Katprof 1286 - Maska District Notes on.

guinea-corn, potatoes, cotton, cocoyam, groundnut and twenty bundles of millet belonging to Audu of Gwamruwa who died in 1927. The farm and the crops were said to have been kept in his custody before the relatives of the deceased were contacted who were at Ingawa.[47] Similarly Ibrahim Unguwar Musa Funtua was driven out of a house which he had stayed in for four years by the same village head in 1929. He sold the house at the rate of 32 shillings and the farm at the cost of 25 shillings. The money was cornered by the Magaji and Sarkin Maska.[48]

Of particular note was a case in which the Sarkin Noman Funtua, Bawa complained to the colonial government that Sarkin Maska had sold his farm which he had farmed for 38 years at the cost of £3 to a man called Mani. Bawa packed from Makera to a house in Funtua which he had bought to reside in during the dry season. This was because there was little to do in the farms. It was after he had left that the village head of Makera colluded

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47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

with the Sarkin Maska and sold the farm. He reported the matter to Sarkin Katsina but nothing was done. He even lodged his complaint with the District Officer but was dismissed by him as being not quite right in the head and his claims against Sarkin Maska as unjustified. The complainant then decided to report the matter to the Secretary of Northern Provinces in Kaduna. When Sarkin Maska heard about his intention, he called the complainant and gave him ten bundles of millet and five bags of pepper. He pleaded with the man not to report the matter as his farm would be returned to him after the harvest. This was, however, not done and the man took his case to Kaduna. Nothing was done by the Colonial government to ensure that the man got his farm back.[49] Similarly in the 1950's Bello of Kaura Dan Alasan was driven from his farm by his village head without any reason. This was given to Jibril of the same village who paid the village head 30 shillings.[50]

From all these examples one could see the extent to which the Native Authorities in Maska

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49. NNAK Katprof 1823 - Maska District Head Complaint Against. Also Katna 242, Vol.II.

50. NNAK Katprof. 1811.

District used the power given to them over land to oppress their people. They resorted to alienation and outright confiscation for their selfish aims. It could also be seen that the colonial government made no attempt whatsoever to protect the poor people from the local land grabbers and usurers. This could especially be noted from the way they handled the cases taken to them on land seizure.

The Impact of Land Policies on the People

Lugard's attempt to recognise the power of the indigenous ruling class in our area of study and maintain their loyalty to the colonial state by creating a landed aristocracy did not materialise. Instead, these rulers were maintained as state functionaries while the whole land in the district was put under the control of the Governor. This was brought about by the colonial legislation on land of 1910. Similarly the way was blocked to the development of an extensive foreign owned plantation system as was established in other British colonies like Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa. This preserved the land to the farmers under certain conditions and allowed for the pre-dominance of merchant firms in Maska District. The rural farmers were also transformed

into a peasantry rather than wage earning agricultural labourers as envisaged by Lugard. Similarly the basis of the state power which was formerly derived from the occupation of our area of study, also shifted to the control over land.

Such control over land which was vested in the colonial government and was left with the Native Authorities, resulted in massive land alienation and confiscation. This was however part of the device to make cheap labour available for colonial projects and tin mining. The dispossessed peasants were left with only their labour to sell so as to pay colonial taxes. This affected agricultural production and was partly responsible for the outbreak of the major famines that took place in the district during the period of our study. The colonial government was however, able to control and regulate the establishment of commercial enterprises in our area of study. This was in view of the fact that it was the only one that could issue certificates of occupancy.

Conclusion

We have in this chapter examined the role played by the Native Authorities of Maska District in colonial land policies. Our discussion on land was predicated on it being central to every society. We have first looked at the pre-colonial land tenure system in the Maska area with special reference to the 19th century. We have seen that land was owned by the muslim community. Its control and administration was however vested in the Sarkin Maska, his council and village heads on behalf of the caliph. By the end of the 19th century land had acquired commercial value and could be sold, transfered and inherited as a private property. This chapter had also shown how this land tenure system was transformed so that the control of the land in our area of study was vested in the Governor but its allocation and administration was just like before left with the Native Authorities. This was meant to assist the colonial government collect taxes and boost colonial trade. We have furthermore seen how the colonialists used the Sarkin Maska and his village heads to acquire large tracts of land for their projects and merchant firms. The Native Authorities themselves also used the opportunity to seize

the land of the people under the guise of colonial ordinances and mixed farming. Our discussion is rounded up with an examination of the impact of colonial policies on the people. We showed how the legislation of 1910 changed the attempt made by Lugard to create a landlord and a labouring class. This blocked the way for the establishment of a plantation economy. Rather the people of the district were allowed to till their farms under the conditions that they did not alienate the land and they paid their taxes. The policy also left many people of the district without any land to till and hence turned them into seasonal labourers.

CHAPTER FIVE

AGRICULTURE AND TRADE

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the role played by the Native Authorities of Maska District in colonial agriculture and trade. This is significant because the thrust of the colonial economy in our area of study was the production of raw materials and consumption of manufactured goods. It is also important in view of the claims being made by the vent-for-surplus model theorists, as discussed below, that the Native Authority system did not play any role in the colonial economy. We shall show that the Native Authorities in Maska District as part of the colonial state were made to play an active role in the exploitation of the human and natural resources in our area of study. The colonial policies on agriculture and trade which were executed by these Native Authorities led to the decline of pre-colonial agricultural production, manufacturing industries and local trade. Export Crop production was introduced in their place. We are also going to examine the various

ways in which the colonial state promoted agricultural production through its Department of Agriculture, the British Cotton Growing Corporation, the establishment of a ginnery, the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation and the merchant firms that operated in our area of study. We shall also see that the Sarkin Maska and his village heads were not only used to encourage agricultural production but they also participated in the exercise and benefitted from it. This was largely because they were left with the implementation of colonial policies on agricultural production at the grass root level.

Colonial Policy on Agriculture

The British colonial policy on agriculture was largely determined by the question of land tenure discussed in the previous chapter. The colonialists believed that for any efficient system of agriculture there has to be a satisfactory system of land tenure.[1] It was for this reason that Girouard tried to settle the issue of land

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1. SNP 17 Vol.III 11,703 - Agricultural Policy in Northern Province.

tenure on his assumption of office. The deliberations of the committee that looked into the matter were influenced by many bodies among whom were merchant firms such as B.C.G.A. and John Holt. B.C.G.A. had specifically tried plantation agriculture in the period 1904 to 1909. This was in Southern Nigeria. The trial, however, was not successful due largely to the incidence of boll worm attack and cotton blight. This was despite the fact that so much money was spent there.[2] As a body shouldered with the responsibility of finding new sources of cotton for the British textiles, they realized that plantation agriculture was not the best for the country. Rather cotton growing could best be developed in Nigeria by encouraging small scale farming. Small scale farming was also seen as the cheapest way to exploit the human and natural resources of the colony. It was partly for this reason that the land and Native Rights Proclamation adopted the view that the peasants should be left with their lands and let them farm it themselves.

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2. Cowley, C.J.,"Development of the Cotton Growing Industry in Nigeria," Empire Cotton Growing Review Vol. XLIII July 1966 No.3 pp.169-195.

In other words the colonial government adopted peasant agriculture instead of plantation agriculture which Lugard had wanted to introduce. Peasant agriculture was also in accordance with the British colonial policy of "indirect rule." The colonialists considered that it was only through this form of agriculture that the farmers could be made to adjust to price fluctuations so that they would always be the loosers.[3] This, however, allowed the colonial government to interfere in the working of the economy through the provision of seed and ginning facilities as well as buying and disposing of the produce through their representative companies.[4] It was this form of agriculture that was used in our area of study throughout the colonial period.

The Native Authority System and Agricultural Production

The vent for surplus theorists have argued that the Native Authority system did not play any role in the colonial economy. They argued that the economy was propelled by free market forces or

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3. Reuben, K. Udoh, "British Policy and the Development of Export Crops in Nigeria," in Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies Vol.9 No.3, November 1968 pp.299-314.

4. Robert O. Johnsrud, A. Decade of Nigerian Cotton 1949-1958. The Nigerian Geographical Journal Vol.3

laissez faire. They furthermore insisted that it was the demand of raw materials in the world market as well as the provision of incentive goods that were responsible for the growth of the colonial economy.[5] Hopkins and Carl Eicher have specifically argued that it was only after 1945 that the colonial state started intervening in the natural workings of the open economy.[6] This intervention according to them manifested itself in a deliberate government planning, sweeping re-organisation of the market structure, the introduction of Marketing Boards and the inauguration of sustained government biological research for all the major export crops and a few of the food crops such as maize.[7] To these scholars the period between 1903 to 1945 was characterized by the maintenance of law and order,

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5. For more on these views see Hla Myint, The Classical Theory of International Trade and the Underdeveloped Countries, Economic Journal 68, June 1958. See also the Collection in R.E. Caves and H.G. Johnson (eds), Readings in International Economics Homewood III, R.D. Irwin 1968, and Economic Growth in Nigeria. Homewood III, R.D. Irwin 1966. See also the collection in Carl K. Eicher and Carl Liedholm (eds) Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy, Michigan State University Press 1970. Other Scholars who held this view are G.K. Helleiner - Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria Richard D. Irwin Inc. Homewood Illinois 1966, Alan McPhee, The Economic Revolution in West Africa London 1926, Jan Hogendern - Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origins and Early Development. A.B.U., Zaria 1976, Peter Kilby - Industrialisation in an Open Economy OUP London 1969, A.G. Hopkins - An Economic History of West Africa London 1973 and Tom Forrest, Agricultural Policies in Nigeria 1900-1970, in Judith Hayers et al (eds) Rural Development in Africa, Macmillan 1981.

laissez faire and foreign trade. Sara Berry and Carl Liedholm noted that within this interval:

> The government played a conservative and essentially passive role in the economy, except for a few major outlays on transportation facilities, the colonial regime devoted itself to balancing the budget and trying not to interfere with the market system.[8]

It would seem however that these views as expressed by the advocates of this theory are far from the truth. The Native Authority system was crucial to the expansion and growth of the colonial economy. This was especially true in the area of export crop production such as cotton which became the major export crop in Maska District. One way in which the colonial state ensured the production of cotton was through its policy on taxation. As we shall see in the next chapter

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6. See Hopkins, op.cit chapter five, Carl K. Eicher - The Dynamics of Long Term Agricultural Development in Nigeria" in Carl K. Eicher and Carl Liedholm (eds) op.cit. pp.6-15.

7. Carl, K. Eicher, Ibid.

8. Sara Berry, and Carl Liedholm, Performance of the Nigerian Economy 1950-62 in Carl K. Eicher and Carl Liedholm (eds), op.cit. p.67

the people could only get the money to pay taxes by going into export crop production. The increasing rate of these taxes, the way they were assessed, collected and the extortion of the Native Authorities all forced people to go into export crop production.

There was also the use of propaganda. As early as 1910 the Governor of Northern Nigeria reported to the colonial office that he was using his administrative staff to propagate cotton production in our area of study and, indeed the whole of Northern Nigeria. He noted that strenuous efforts were being made to encourage the natives to grow cotton on a large scale;

> My officers will do all they can to open the eyes of the chiefs and people as to the advantages and probably profits of growing cotton, and I believe attention will be paid to their advice.9

In our own area of study this propaganda was actually carried out by the Sarkin Maska and his village heads. In 1911 a B.C.G.A. official toured Maska

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9. Northern Nigeria Report 1910-1911 p.8

District and explained to Sarkin Maska and his village heads the advantage of growing cotton. They in turn instructed all adult males to clear and plant at least one acre of cotton. The information was said to have been disseminated by town criers masu shela.[10] This was how the people of the district were first introduced to export crop production. As a result of this propaganda a total of 81,848 pounds of cotton was produced in that year. This rose to 1,273,000 pounds of cotton in 1912.[11]

The Native Authorities in Maska District were also the ones used to distribute cotton seed to the farmers. Before the establishment of a ginnery in our area of study the seed was brought from Zaria. Each year the Sarkin Maska was requested to dispatch people to go and bring the seed. This was carried on donkeys. When it was brought the District Head distributed it to the village heads who in turn shared it among their people.[12] In 1911 250 sacks were distributed in

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10. NNAK Katprof 1893 - Katsina Division Quarterly Report Sept. 1911. Cowley, E.J. op.cit. NNAK Katprof 1244.

11. NNAK Katprof - Katsina Division Reports 1912.

12. A.K.B. 24/4/92.

the district.[13] In 1921 about 146,327 lbs weight of cotton seed was distributed to the farmers in our area of study. By 1922 this had risen to 263,486 lbs of cotton seed.[14] The increase in the quantity of seed distributed also had a bearing on the cotton produced. In 1923 for example the B.G.G.A. bought cotton worth 2,900,000 lbs from Maska District alone. This rose to 2,997,293 lbs in 1924 and 6,941 tons in 1925.[15]

As early as 1917 a British colonial official on tour, Chaytor, reported that cotton had equalled half the staple of guinea corn throughout the district.[16] By 1923 there were said to be about 10,507 farms of cotton under cultivation in Maska District. In fact nearly every man in the district was said to have grown cotton.[17] In 1925 the colonial government officially declared Maska and other Southern Districts as "American Cotton Growing Area."[18] This was also achieved through

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13. NNAK Katprof - Katsina Division Reports 1912.

14. Katprof 1586.

15. NNAK Katprof. 1213.

16. Katprof SNP 10,1917 - Assistant D.O. Chaytors Assessment Report for Maska District.

17. NNAK Katprof 1586 - Maska District Reassessment of.

18. Hull, R.W. "The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate Northern Nigeria 1887-1944;" Ph.D. Thesis Columbia University 1968 p.311

the active assistance of the Native Authorities in Maska District. Up to 1917 the people of the district had not abandoned the planting of the indigenous variety of cotton bagwandara. In fact it was being planted alongside the Allen Strain and was used in the local textile and weaving industries.[19] In 1918 the colonial government took drastic measures to stop the planting of local cotton. This followed the introduction of the improved American Allen Cotton Seed into the district in 1916. A Native Authority rule was drawn which forbade native Cotton to be grown in any district where foreign cotton was distributed. The rule also required each farmer to dig up and burn all the old roots before the next rains come in order to prevent the spread of disease. Similarly cotton farmers were warned against mixing foreign and native cotton. Any person found committing any of these offences was liable on a first conviction to a fine of five shillings or to seven days imprisonment, on a second conviction to a fine of ten shillings

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19. NNAK Katprof 1925.

or fourteen days imprisonment and for subsequent offences to a fine of £1 or to one month imprisonment.[20] The Sarkin Maska and his village heads were instructed to ensure that farmers did not break the rules and if they did they were given appropriate punishment in the Native Court.

Apart from cotton, the next crop that was propagated was groundnut. This was however, not up to the extent at which cotton was propagated. This was basically because the soil in the district was not suitable for groundnut production. It was rather too heavy for its production. There was, however, one particular year in our period of study when the people of the district were called upon to cultivate groundnuts. This was in 1943. The Sarkin Maska was asked to prevail upon his people to grow at least two rows of it. The Native Authority at Katsina produced posters which were pasted in every village of the district. On the posters was an inscription which read Gyada Tushen Arziki, Jama'a ku yi noman gyada (Groundnut is the source of riches, people you

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20. SNP 10/413 P/1920 No.III. NNAK Katprof 1586, NAK Katprof 1568. A.B.F. 19/9/92.

better plant groundnut). The Sarkin Haska was said to have used his town criers and village heads in appealing to people to grow groundnut. The village heads even threatened to imprison any farmer that refused to comply. The District Head furthermore asked some local singers to sing in praise of the crop and the benefits of its production so that people could plant it. Mamman Shata Funtua, Danake Unguwar Geri, Sale Nanaye Maigamji and Sajen Sama Funtua were some of the praise singers that were used. This propaganda led to a large increase in groundnut acreage in the district. It was unfortunate that this campaign and the peoples' response to it did not result in having high yields. The failure of groundnuts in that particular year was said to have affected farmers seriously. Most of them resorted to selling their grains to pay taxes as the export crop had failed them. This situation was partly responsible for the outbreak of the famine in 1944.[21]

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21. N.B.S. 24/4/92. Also SNP 17, Katsina Province Annual Report 1943, NNAK Katprof 2647 Instructions to District Heads.

Attempts were also made by the colonial government to boost the production of rubber through the Sarkin Maska and his village heads. The rubber was extracted from the numerous gamji trees that were available in the district. Most of the tapped rubber was sold to the European firms based at Funtua in 1929.[22] By 1936 a representative company by the name of Chicle Development Company (U.S.A.) surveyed Maska District and other areas in Southern Katsina, Kano and Sokoto Provinces. It inspected the gamji trees and explained how it could be tapped by the people. Many people from our area were said to have taken to its production. The bulk of the rubber was bought by the United African Company (U.A.C.). From 1936 about 50 tons of this commodity was being exported annually.[23] There were however problems that hindered the continuous production of this commodity from Maska District. These problems were that of the difficulty faced in its extraction, the slump in the world market and the too much emphasis placed on cotton production in the district.

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22. NNAK Katprof 1586.

23. NNAK Katprof 1586.

It would be clear by now that cotton remained the dominant export crop throughout the period of colonial domination in Maska District. From 1924 onwards one third of the cultivated area in the district was used in cotton production.[24] In 1939-40 cotton season a total of 2,164 tonnes were produced in Maska District. By 1944-45 season this had reached 2,337 tonnes. In 1946-47 season 4,013 tonnes were produced. This was followed by 3,184 tonnes in 1946-47 season; 2,754 tonnes in 1947-48 season and 2,504 tonnes in the 1950-51 season.[25] By 1957-58 season the amount produced in the district alone was 31,202 bales of cotton.[26] The production and export of agricultural raw materials and other commodities was accompanied by massive importation of consumer goods. These included soap, metal ware, bicycles, kerosine, salt, cigarettes and European cotton goods.

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24. Ibid.

25. SNP 17, 10, 179 vol.II - American Cotton Buying Stations Gazetting of under Agricultural Ordinance 1916.

26. The Story of B.C.G.A. - Northern Region Self Government Exhibition 1959.

The goods were sold by the merchant firms that bought the raw materials. Hence increase in agricultural production was brought about by the active role of the Native Authority system in the economy. This manifested itself at the grass root level through the use of the Sarkin Maska to collect taxes, campaign for cotton, groundnut and rubber production, distribution of seeds and the general enforcement of Native Authority laws as they affected agricultural production.

In the case of cotton production particularly, the Northern Nigerian Gazzette was used to encourage its production in our area. An official of the Department of Agriculture had noted that this had a moral effect by creating an impression on the type of crop that the colonial government expected them to grow. In our area of study it was cotton in preference to other crops.[27] These Gazzettes were mostly read by the British officials including the Assistant District Officer attached to Maska District. This

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27. Northern Nigeria Gazzette September 30 1910 p.220.

made him to put pressure on the Sarkin Maska and his village heads to make their people go into export crop production - especially that of cotton.

The rate at which export crop production was promoted in our area of study affected the trade in the local markets. It also affected all other economic activities and in fact led to their decline. Colonial tax policies were to especially discourage people from participating in these activities. The tax on various trades and occupations al'adu as well as the caravan tolls both hindered people from manufacturing and engaging in trade. The weaving and dyeing industries declined. Their products could no longer be obtained in sufficient quantity as articles of trade in both the internal and external trade. In the pre-colonial period there was in almost all the villages of the Maska area a local market that was held once or twice in a week.[28] But by 1930 there were only ten of such markets in the whole district.

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28. S.K.M. 29/12/92.

These included Maska, Magajin Wando, Funtua, Dandume, Gumje, Duya, Mahuta, Mairuwa, Gwaya and Girga.[29] The colonial government asked the Sarkin Maska and his village heads to collect tolls in all the markets located in the district. This was paid through the kings of markets Sarakunan kasuwa appointed by the District Head and village heads.[30] C.V. Pegge who toured the district in 1930 observed that

> Although Magajin Wando and Maska were formerly large markets being situated on the old trading route, they are now of secondary importance. In fact Maska is the only market in the district which is held only once a week, and I think this fact is significant of the detrimental effect on trade of the market toll system.[31]

By 1935 there were only eight local markets in Maska District. These included Dandume held on Mondays and Fridays, Duya held on Tuesdays and Fridays, Mahuta held on Tuesdays and Fridays, Mairuwa held on Sundays and Wednesdays, Gwaya

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29. NNAK Katprof 1286 Maska District Notes on.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

held on Wednesdays and Saturdays and Tafoki which was held on Saturdays and Tuesdays.[32] Only Funtua and Maska had Sarakunan Kasuwa. Kuloni Basheri was appointed since 1920 as the head of the market at Funtua on a salary of 20 shillings per month while Dabo was the Sarkin Kasuwa for Maska since 1930. He was placed on a salary of £1 per month.[33] This local trade continued to decline throughout our period. It could be seen from our discussion above that it was the colonial state through the Native Authorities that led to the decline of local trade. This was achieved through the imposition of caravan tolls on the markets which hindered the movement of people from one area to the other. This was also partly achieved through the importation of incentive goods' or consumer goods which flooded the markets. These policies paved way for the operation of the colonial economy. As we shall see in the following pages also, it was the state that supported the B.C.G.A in its

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32. NNAK Katprof 1/1/4 Maska District Note book.

33. Ibid. Interview with Ibrahim Natiti Maska 27/12/92.

attempt to boost cotton production in our area of study. It also established the Empire cotton Growing Corporation for the same purpose which opened the Daudawa Cotton Seed Multiplication and Experimentation Centre. Similarly support was given to merchant firms then operating in the district as they engaged in cotton trade. This will further go on to disprove the claims of the vent for surplus theorists as regards to the role of the Native Authority system in the colonial economy.

The Formation of the B.C.G.A.

Before 1900 the Lanchashire Textile industry in Britain depended largely on America for its cotton supplies. This amounted to four million bales.[34] The industry was at this time the largest manufacturing industry in Britain. It was producing one-third of British exports in cotton goods.[35] By 1900, however, it became

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34. Cowley, E.J. op.cit, The Story of B.C.G.A. op.cit.

35. Hogendorn, J.S. The Origins of the Groundnut Trade in Northern Nigeria, Ph.D. Thesis London, 1966, p.46.

clear that Britain would no longer get its cotton from America. This was as a result of an infamous boll weevil plague that hit the cotton plantations there and affected its production. The little that was produced was consumed by the American mills. This affected cotton mills in Britain as well as the others in the rest of the world. About 700 mills in Europe had to work on a short time due to this shortage of cotton.[36] Their financial losses was up to two million pounds sterling per annum. It was this situation that led to the formation of B.C.G.A. in 1902. Its formation was necessitated by the British attempt to protect her mills from total distintegration through finding an alternative source of cotton for its mill within the British Empire. It was given a royal charter in 1904 and incorporated as a commercial body in the same year.

Having failed woefully with plantation agriculture in the towns of Lokoja, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Owo, Oyo, Eruwa, Moko, Ehonga, Uboho, Ilushi and Onitsha, the colonialists settled for peasant agriculture.[37] The focus then

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36. Cowley, E.J. op.cit.

37. Ibid.

shifted to Northern Nigeria. Before this time many reports had reached the colonial office about the potentiality of the area in cotton production. One report expressed that:

> Northern Nigeria at some future date will be able to supply the whole of the requirements of Great Britain and to leave an equal quantity over for the other cotton consuming countries.[38]

Another report declared that once the fly belt near the river was passed ... cotton would be grown under exactly the same conditions as it was grown under on such a great scale in America.[39] The B.C.G.A. then championed the campaign for the construction of a railway that would open up the area for exploitation. Winston Churchill became the B.C.G.A.'s Principal Parliamentary supporter and argued on their behalf. This resulted into the construction of the Baro-Kano railway line in 1907 which was completed in 1911. The rail reached Zaria in 1910 and the B.C.G.A. opened its headquarters there in 1912. A ginnery

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38. Cited in E.D. Morel, Nigeria: Its Peoples and Its Problems Frank Cass & Co Ltd. 1968, pp.222-223.

39. Ibid.

was also built and opened in the same year. An Agricultural Department was opened and a station was set up at Maigana in Zaria Province. It started with experimentation on fertilisers, seed distribution, finding out the best cotton producing districts around and generally persuading farmers to grow cotton. It was from Zaria that the B.C.G.A. got to Maska District in 1911. It opened a station at Maska town in the same year and hired people to serve as its agents in cotton trade. By 1918 there were about ten such agents of African origin employed as its buying agents in Funtua station that was opened in 1912.

TABLE 5:1

BUYING AGENTS AT THE FUNTUA BUYING POST
1918

Name	Origin	Commodities Bought
Martins	Togo	Cotton, hides and Groudnuts
Infon	Sierra Leone	" " " "
Muhammen Yansalako	Whydah	" " " "
Sai	Zaria	" " " "
Ammani	Zinder	" " " "
Sule	Lagos	" " " "
Rufai	Lagos	" " " "
Alagidi	Ogbomosho	Cotton
Garba	Funtua	"
Basharu	Sokoto	"

Source: NAK Katprof 12d4 - Katsina Division Annual Report 1918.

The commodities that were bought were carried on lorries to Zaria where the ginnery and rail line was. From the time when B.C.G.A. was formed up to 1922, it acted as the sole purchaser and exporter of cotton on behalf of the colonial government. The other merchant firms that were trading in the district were incorporated into its buying network on commission basis. In 1922 cotton was thrown open to the merchant firms to buy just like the other produce.[40] In 1949 the Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board (N.C.M.B) took over all arrangement for buying the cotton crop. It was this Board that appointed the merchant firms to serve as its Licensed Buying Agents (L.B.A.). It also announced the prices for the different grades of cotton. Similarly it was this Board that determined the markets from which the agents could buy cotton. It also took care of selling the lint cotton on world market through the Nigerian Produce Marketing Company. The B.C.G.A. was under the new arrangement only left to serve as the Board's

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40. Tom Forrest, "Agricultural Policy in Nigeria 1902-1945" in G. Williams, P. Roberts and J. Hayers (eds) Rural Development in Tropical Africa, London Macmillan 1981 pp.202-258.

ginning agent. It also engaged in seed distribution over a wide area.[41] In 1926 a ginnery was opened at Funtua in Maska District. This was due to the rate at which export crop production was expanding.[42] Cotton could be said to have been grown under a great scale in Maska District that could not be matched by any other district in Northern Nigeria. The Manager of the B.C.G.A. himself acknowledged this fact in one of his reports.[43]

The Role of Farm Centres

The Daudawa farm centre was established in 1926 by the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation (E.C.G.C.). The E.C.G.C. itself was formed in 1921 in the United Kingdom to extend and promote the growing and cultivation of cotton in the British Empire.[44] The basic principle that informed its formation was the view that:

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41. The Story of B.G.G.A., op.cit.

42. NNAK Katprof 1745, NNAK 78-British Cotton Growing Association Ginnery at Funtua.

43. P.R.O. C.O. 879/105/953 Piece 143.

44. SNP 17 3080 17617 Vol. 1-Empire Cotton Growing Corporations see farm at Daudawa.

> If a cotton crop grown by small holders is to be improved or even maintained at a high level of quality in regard to the quality of the fibre (as distinct from grade) it is essential that improved strains should continually be selected, tasted and multiplied year by year so that better seed is continually becoming available in sufficient quantity to replace the existing seed of the ordinary commercial crop.[45]

The Daudawa farm was established to serve this purpose of cotton experimentation and seed multiplication. It played a crucial role in the agricultural production of Maska District. After the farm was established the Director of Agriculture invited what he referred to as "good class farmers" to grow cotton under the supervision of the corporation. These farmers were drawn from Kogo District[46] and given 15 acres each at a rent of $\frac{1}{5}$ of their annual produce. This was paid in kind. They were also given another holding to farm for the corporation. The main crop that was planted was cotton with an acreage of about 463.40. The farm was divided into two. There was a home farm of 300-400 acres

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45. Ibid.

46. Northern Nigeria Agriculture Station Reports 1942 - 1955/56 Vol.1 Part 1 (Katsina).

and the holdings of the settler farmers which was about 500 acres. The home farm was cultivated with the help of labourers who were paid wages. They were made to stay in a labour camp constructed around the centre. The holdings were cultivated by the settlers who numbered up to 50 at the beginning. They were provided with bulls and ploughs and were given expert advice on how to till their holdings. Apart from cotton there were other crops that were grown. These included beans, millet, guinea corn, groundnuts, maize, silage, rice etc. There was also livestock production and piggery. But as we have said earlier the primary function of the farm was to experiment on all new seeds that were introduced and see whether they could be grown in our area of study. If they could be grown then the farm had its second function of multiplying the seeds for the use of the farmers in Maska District and beyond. For every new seed that was brought especially that of cotton it had to pass through seven successful stages as part of its experimentation and multiplication. The stages were as follows:[47]

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47. Ibid.

TABLE 5:2

STAGES IN THE EXPERIMENTATION AND MULTIPLICATION OF COTTON SEED AT THE DAUDAWA FARM

Year	Stage	Acres Grown	Area Grown
1st Year	0	6-7 acres	Government farm Daudawa
2nd "	1	100-140 "	" " "
3rd "	2	600 Acres	Daudawa Settlers
4th "	3	2,500 "	Villages Around
5th "	4	10,000 "	Maska District
6th "	5	40,000 "	More Districts
7th "	6	160,000 "	Most of Southern Katsina

The Allen variety and the 26c strain were experimented and multiplied in this way. The 26c strain was for example said to be in stage 3 by 1947 and it was being purchased by the Katsina Native Administration at a special Daudawa cotton market. This was for distribution in other parts of the Emirate.[48] The farm was said to be producing 75 tons of seed cotton annually which was capable of planting 7,500 acres.[49] By 1947

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

the whole of Northern Nigeria was said to be relying on the Daudawa farm for its seed requirements. In the 1946-47 crop season, 1,027 tons of seed were sent to other provinces for planting. In the 1947-48 crop season, 2,000 tons were produced for other provinces.[50] One of the provincial reports noted that

> Daudawa farm and the mixed farmer settlers who now farm half of the original farm, are performing a valuable function to Katsina Emirate and all the Northern cotton Growing area, in the multiplication of improved strains of cotton.[51]

Another report described the farm as valuable for agricultural development in Southern Katsina.[52]

The Daudawa farm Centre was not only used for seed breeding and experimentation. It also contributed in the production of cotton for export to Britain. The table below shows the total average yields of cotton produced at the farm from 1926-1945. This was mostly produced at the home farm.

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50. Ibid.

51. Provincial Annual Report 1943.

52. Daudawa Farm Report 1st April 1945 to 31st March 1946 in Northern Nigeria Agriculture Station Reports.

TABLE 5:3

TOTAL AVERAGE YIELDS OF COTTON FOR DAUDAWA FARM 1926 - 1945

YEAR	ACREAGE	AVERAGE YIELD
1926	40	238 lib
1927	100	407
1928	70	257
1929	350	270
1930	500	217
1931	640	247
1932	650	234
1933	660	137
1934	-	253
1935	660	149
1936	580	126
1937	379	235
1938	282	228
1939	341	331
1940	320	344
1941	230	270
1942	160	249
1943	140	392
1944	158	352
1945	155	360

Source:- Daudawa Farm Report 1st April 1945-31st March 1946.

The cotton produced at Daudawa farm was sold at the Gazetted cotton markets. In 1948 the quantity sold amounted to 6,171 tons representing nearly 63% of the total Northern Provinces Purchases.[53] The E.C.G.C. handed the Daudawa Farm to the colonial government in 1941. In 1945 the Katsina Native Administration acquired farmlands of about a hundred square miles in adjacent Daudawa holdings. The Sarkin Maska selected this site and provided the people that were to settle. This settlement came to be known as the Hayin Maska settlement. It consisted of about 28 new holdings. The settlers were required to grow cotton as part of the experimentation and multiplication that was carried out by the farm.[54] The Daudawa farm was also made to help in other areas of colonial exploitation. It for example contributed a lot in the supply of grains during the second world war. The grains was used in feeding the army. Some of it was also used in feeding labourers at the Jos tin Mines. About 1,000 tons of millet was

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53. Notes for the Director of Agricultures Annual Report 1947 op.cit.

54. Notes for the Director of Agriculture Annual Report 1946.

produced in the farm in 1943 towards this venture.[55] Guinea corn was also produced in large quantities. In the period between 1926 and 1945 the farm produced the following lbs of guinea corn.[56]

Year	Average Yield
1926	721 lbs of threshed corn
1927	641 " " " "
1929	100 " " " "
1931	505 " " " "
1932	255 " " " "
1933	433 " " " "
1934	353 " " " "
1935	433 " " " "
1936	333 " " " "
1937	584 " " " "
1938	580 " " " "
1939	752 " " " "
1940	461 " " " "
1941	709 " " " "
1942	692 " " " "
1943	572 " " " "
1944	935 " " " "
1945	862 " " " "

55. Daudawa Farm Report 1st April 1945-31st March 1946 Part III.

56. Ibid.

In relation to the contributions of Daudawa farm in the war effort particularly, one agricultural officer observed:

> I feel that the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation can feel gratified that their farm and organisation played such a useful part in the Nigerian war effort.[57]

The farm at Daudawa was also engaged in producing pigs and cattle fattening. All these were railed to Lagos, and sold to the West African Cold Storage Company. As for piggery the farm started with one saw in December 1941 and by December 1945 there were 2,409 pigs. It made a profit of £2,050 during the period.[58] As for cattle, a special cattle market was opened at Daudawa in 1938. The farm bought the cattle from Fulani and other people at cheap prices and sold them at expensive prices in Lagos. In 1945 alone cattle worth £25,000 was purchased by the farm from the market. Another £10,000 worth of cattle was purchased in the first quarter of 1946.[59]

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57. Ibid.

58. Notes for the Director of Agriculture Annual Report 1946.

59. Ibid.

The cattle were in categories. The first category was what was called as the prime cattle. These were taken to Lagos and Gold Coast. The second and third grades went to the local dealers and the last grade which consisted of small cattle were purchased for mixed farmers. The Daudawa cattle market turned out to be the largest market in the country for the purchase of prime quality cattle. It could be seen that Daudawa farm also had a hand in the commercialisation of cattle which followed the occupation of our area of study. Cattle tax jangali forced many cattle rearers to sell their cattle in order to pay jangali. The cattle that were to be sold were at this time carried to the Daudawa cattle market. It would seem that the cattle owners at a certain stage realised that they were being cheated at the farm and so were reluctant to take their cattle there. The farm took drastic action against such rearers with the help of the Sarkin Maska. He directed all the village ardo's to ensure that the Fulani in their areas had brought their cattle for inspection by the veterinary mallam of the district. It was in this process that young and growing cattle were selected and sent to the market where they were purchased at

cheap prices. This was said to be partly responsible for the migration of Fulani out of the district.[60] The farm also made use of agricultural shows to obtain prime quality cattle. This was organised annually and featured the presentation of gifts to people that fed their cattle better than everybody else. The winners were given cheap cloth material and other items. The cattle were then purchased from them by the farm. In 1947 an auction was held at the end of one of such shows and 261 cattle were purchased by the farm and the management of the Agege cattle fattening scheme.[61] The cattle market was later moved to Funtua close to the railway station. In 1952 the market was reduced to a mere railing point of all cattle bought from our area of study and other places. For each head of cattle railed a fee of 5 shillings was charged by the Native Authority and collected by the Sarkin Maska. Below is a table showing some railings in 1952-53.

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60. S.P.I. 10/11/92.

61. Provincial Annual Report Agricultural Work Southern Katsina 1947.

TABLE 5:4

CATTLE RAILING 1952-1953 FROM FUNTUA

Date of Railing	No. Railed	No. of Wagons Supplied	Fees Collected
5/5/52	98	5	£38.8.6d
28/6/52	82	4	£20.10.0
26/7/52	125	6	£51.9.0
25/8/52	128	6	£37.10.0
31/8/52	22	1	£37.10.0
21/9/52	127	6	£47.15.0
25/9/52	64	3	£47.15.0
20/10/52	106	5	£26.10.0
9/11/52	65	3	£16.5.0
7/12/52	85	4	£21.5.0
18/1/53	168	8	£42.0.0
8/2/53	106	5	£26.10.0
22/2/53	128	6	£32.0.0
15/3/53	215	10	£53.15.0
29/3/53	214	10	£53.10.0
Total	1,733	82	£467.7.6d

Source: Daudawa District Section: Annual Report for 1952/53.

All the pigs and cattle that were railed to Lagos were for the exclusive consumption of the British officials and other Europeans.[62]

It was also the Daudawa farm that was used to introduce fertiliser into our area of study. This was for the purpose of conserving the fertility of the soil and thus increasing production. Fertiliser was first brought to the farm in 1951. About 300 tons of superphosphate fertiliser was brought and distributed to the farmers in the multiplication scheme.[63] This was tried by the farmers and when it was clear that it could increase the soil productivity about 270 tons were given for distribution free of charge in our area of study and other districts in Southern Katsina. This was in 1952.[64] Most of it was used on cotton farms which was the major export crop of Maska district. Early in 1953 the responsibility for the distribution of fertiliser was transfered to the farm. The production officer went to all the villages of

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62. Ibid. Interview with Ibrahim Natiti Maska 27/12/92. Henceforth I.N.M.

63. Nigeria: Northern Provinces Quarterly Progress Report (D.D.A.N.T.).

64. Ibid.

the district in the company of the Sarkin Maska and campaign for its use. Each village head was given a book of 50 receipts for the purpose of its purchase. It would seem that this propaganda that was carried by the Sarkin Maska and his village heads was not effective. This is because out of the 200 bags given to the Sarkin Maska to sell only three bags were bought in 1953.[65] Only 32 bags were sold in 1954.[66] The agricultural officer blamed this failure on the District Head and his staff. He noted that:

> With fertiliser as with all other forms of Agricultural Extension work - particularly where money was involved - success or failure (depended) on the interested support of the District Head and his staff.[67]

At a certain stage the Sarkin Maska was said to have resorted to forcing people to take the bags on credit. This became a burden to the farmers as they had taxes also to pay. The farm was, however, not considerate as it forced the people

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65. Daudawa District Section: Annual Report for 1952/53.

66. Annual Report Daudawa and Southern Katsina 1st April 1953-31st March 1954.

67. Ibid.

through Sarkin Maska to pay their debts. The farmer then had to sell his grains or clothings in order to settle the amount. As it turned out to be the Sarkin Maska and his village heads resorted to embezzling the money paid by the farmers. In one of the reports the agricultural officers noted that the great difficulty was the collection of payments, not from farmers but from the Native Authority officials handling the money.[68]

The Introduction of Mixed Farming Scheme and its Administration

Mixed farming was first introduced in 1928 after it had been experimented for many years by the Department of Agriculture at Zaria. By definition it meant:

> a system of husbandry of which the chief future (was) the substitution of ploughing with bullocks for the more usual hand cultivation with a hoe.[69]

It was introduced so as to increase the fertility of the soil and the acreage cultivated by the farmers in our area of study. This by implication

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68. Quarterly Progress Report - Daudawa April-June 1954.

69. SNP 17 Vol.III, 11703 Agricultural Policy in Northern Province Mixed Farming and Agric Extension.

would also result into an increase in the production of export crops especially cotton. The assumption was that if a farmer had bulls and a plough he would be able to cultivate more land than before. The cattle would also provide local manure that would be used in replenishing the fertility of the soil. Mixed farming was first started in our area of study by the Daudawa settlers. The corporation decided to bring the son or friend of the most successful mixed farmer at Maigana to start up in Daudawa. This was with the view that the person would have understood the principles and methods of the scheme so that he would act as a kind of a local propagandist in Maska District. The son of one Ahmadu Mai Noman Shanu was said to have been brought. About 50 other settlers were also provided with bulls and ploughs in 1934.[70] Each of these farmers was given 15 acres of land as we have mentioned earlier on. It was after the scheme had taken off very well among the settlers that the colonial government decided to extend it to the rest of the people in the district. A 'hire purchase system' was introduced under the care

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70. Ibid, Also M.B.D. 28/1/92.

of the Native Authorities in Maska District. The procedure by which an interested person could enrol as a mixed farmer was as follows. He first applied to the Sarkin Maska for advance of money with which to buy the cattle and other implements. The District Head would then instruct the applicant to consult the superintendant of agriculture. He would also recommend the applicant to the Emir of Katsina. If the Emir was satisfied he then approved the advance after he had taken the advice of the superintendant on the applicants suitability and the amount of advance to be granted. The money would then be paid through the District Head who again instructed the applicant to apply to the superintendant for advice as to the purchase of cattle and implements. At the end the farmer was provided with a plough and two bulls which were worth £8. The amount was re-paid in four years and a hiring charge of 5 percent per annum was collected by the District Head from the farmer. He was also made to pay five shillings on the receipt of the bulls and the plough.[71] Each

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71. Katna 1212 W.235 Mixed Farming Rules Legislation Policy and Instruction Interview with M.B.D. 28/11/92. Faulkner, O.T. and J.R. Mackie - "The Introduction of Mixed Farming in Northern Nigeria" Empire Journal of Experimental Agriculture Vol.IV No.13. 1936 pp.89-96. NNAK Katprof. 616 Vol.1, NNAK Katprof. 1012, H.A. Oluwasanmi, Agriculture and Nigerian Economic Development Oxford University Press Ibadan 1966 p.61-90.

mixed farmer was also told some regulations guiding the scheme. He was forbidden to ridge his land. He should however build a pen for the purpose of making manure. The farmer was also forbidden to send his cattle to the Fulani garke or sell them without the permission of the Agricultural Department. Each farmer was required to make annual repayments by December 31st or whenever he was asked to do so. He was then made to understand that if he failed to conform with these rules he would be asked to discontinue.[72]

As neither the superintendant of Agriculture nor the Emir of Katsina knew the people of the district at the personal level, the Sarkin Maska and his village heads became entirely responsible for the selection of farmers with "good behaviour" for the loan. They also ensured that the payments were made regularly. Each mixed farmer was made to understand that the cattle and the plough were not his property until he had finished paying for them. Before that time they remained the

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72. Katprof 239 - Agricultural Extension Work Mixed Farming General 1933-1936.

property of the Native Administration and the cattle were exempted from cattle tax Jangali.[73]

The mixed farming system turned out to be a failure in Maska District due to a number of factors. In the first place only the Sarkin Maska and other Native Authority officials were allowed to go into it. This was because the colonial government felt that they were salaried officials and the loans could easily be deducted from their salaries. The farmers whom the scheme was primarily designed to assist were refused the loans because they were not salary earners and could certainly not be trusted with money.[74] These were flimsy excuses. Richard Hull had noted this discrimination in his work. He observed that:

> Salaried employees of the N.A. especially the District Heads were able to secure loans more easily and were given preferential treatment in repayments. As a result N.A. Officials gained an unfair advantage over the peasant farmers who found it more difficult to compete with their wealthier counterparts.[75]

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73. SNP 17 Vol.III 11703 Agricultural Policy in Northern Province Mixed farming and Agricultural Extension, see also Katprof 239.

74. SNP 17 Vol.III 11703 - Agricultural Policy in Northern Province, SNP 17 Vol.1 11703, Interview with M. Nagoshi Daudawa 28/11/92. Henceforth M.N.D.

75. Hull, R.W. The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate, Northern Nigeria 1887-1944, Ph.D. Thesis Columbia University 1968 p.316.

Instead of the Sarkin Maska and his Native Authority officials to make use of the opportunity in increasing the fertility of the soils, they resorted to selling the bulls and the implements given to them. By 1938 it was realized that the main beneficiaries of the scheme from our area of study had sold one or all of the cattle and implements given to them. The judge of the Native court sold one of his bulls. Magajin Maska, Madawakin Mairuwa, Magajin Yakurutu, Magajin Makera, M. Maikaka, Sarkin Fada and other village heads were all found to have sold all their bulls. M. Maikaka sold his while he was still owing £1.13.6d, Magajin Makera also had £5.1.0 to settle. Sarkin Fada also had £3.2.6 to settle.[76] This sale of bulls was said to have occured whenever the village heads found themselves short in tax money. They sold their cattle or those of their sons in order to make good this shortage. The colonial government viewed the attitude with seriousness so much so that it threatened to take an action of debt in the court of Alkalin Katsina against all those

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76. Katprof. 239 Agricultural Extention Work, NNAK Katprof 1286 Vol.II, NNAK Katprof. 2978 - Annual Report 1940.

who had sold their cattle irregularly and owe money to the Native Treasury. It was also decided that such people would not be issued with cattle again and that the pressure which was being put on the Native Authority officials, village heads particularly to take up mixed farming would be stopped. In fact to even avoid the Native Authorities of our area of study the sale of their cattle, K.T. was branded on each side of a bull with a large cattle brand.[77]

Another problem with the mixed farming scheme was that the outlay and the responsibility of cattle and plough was too much. The initial outlay of £8 rose to £10 by 1936 and £15 by the end of our period. There was, therefore, the fear of perpetual indebtedness especially when there was a bad season at the beginning and beneficiaries could not pay back at the time expected.[78] There was also the fact that mixed farmers were expected to have assess to about 20 acres of land. There was no way in which such vast land could be acquired without dispossessing many people from

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77. Katprof 239 - Agricultural Extension Work. A.K.B. 24/4/92.

78. Ibid. M.B.D. 28/11/92 and M. Namamman Kwarashi Daudawa 28/11/92. Henceforth N.K.D.

their farmlands. It was this fact that led the Native Authorities of our area of study to alienate people's lands. Many farmers could not also afford to feed animals of fodder during the dry season. The feeding stuffs normally consisted of bush hay, grass cut in the communal grazing land, crop residues from the farmland and grains chaff dusa. It was said that not all mixed farmers could afford the crop residues and dusa. This meant that such farmers had to depend largely on the grass left uncultivated in the village and if that finished the cattle were poorly fed. Related to this was also the laborious task of housing the cattle so as to conserve the manure and bedding of the animals for later application to the farmland.[79] As early as 1936 the colonialists had started asking why people were not taking up mixed farming.[80] These were some of the problems that led to its failure in our area of study. As a result, even those that joined the scheme

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79. Grove, A.T. Land and Population in Katsina Province with Special Reference to Bindawa Village 1952, Kaduna Govt. Printer p.12.

80. Katprof. 2204 - District Headman Conference of. See also Katna 1230 W. 285 Reports to Departmental Officers, Katprof. 293 - Agricultural Extension.

either dropped out of it voluntarily or were dropped by the Agricultural Department. In other instances the cattle got infected by a disease and died off which meant the farmer had to discontinue. In 1942 for example, there were 159 mixed farmers in Maska District. Many out of this number were discovered to have had no cattle, were too old or otherwise unsuitable and were waiting to be wound up. In March 1943 16 farmers were made to discontinue.[81] The Agricultural Officer of Daudawa farm had to confess in 1945 that:

> It is hard to tell whether we are making any progress with mixed farming in the districts. Farmers come and farmers go, some die, some sell their cattle and new men take their place. With a good N.A. Mallam and an Interested District Head, a District goes ahead and then with different personnel goes back again.[82]

The situation was the same in 1948 and the Agricultural Officer noted again that mixed farming in Maska District and the whole of Southern Katsina was an uphill business, losses from fly being very heavy and there was no

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81. Annual Report 1943 Part II Daudawa Cotton Seed farm.

82. Notes for the Directors Annual Report 1944-45: The Daudawa Estate and Southern Katsina.

possibility of rapid progress.[83] In 1953 the colonial government asked Mr. J.M. Garba who was an Agricultural Superintendant to carry out a general survey of mixed farmers in five districts of Southern Katsina including Maska District. There were 386 mixed farmers in these places, 69 from Maska District, 155 from Kogo, 69 from Iya, 58 from Pauwa and 35 from Galadima. The investigation showed that 30 mixed farmers out of the total amount for the five districts had no cattle, 46 had only one beast each, 130 had no pens, 119 had conserved no fodder for dry season farming, 75 had incomplete ploughs while 28 had no ploughs at all.[84] In 1956 the Sarkin Maska was urged to collect a total of £829.17.4d from mixed farmers that had not finished paying the mixed farming loan.[85] It would seem that the mixed farming system later turned out to be merely the raising of animals for beef in our area of study. These were sold at the Funtua cattle market.[86]

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83. Notes for the Director of Agriculture Annual Report 1947.

84. Daudawa District Section: Annual Report for 1952/53.

85. Katprof. 456 - Jangali Collection Instruction on 1930-56.

86. Grove A.T. op.cit. p.11, Katprof. 456.

The Operation of the Colonial Trading Companies

By the time the British colonial government occupied our area of study and the whole of Sokoto Caliphate, only the Royal Niger Company was operating at Bida, Ilorin, Muri, Adamawa and Nassarawa. With the extension of the railway to the North many other European firms found their way into the area. They opened stations at Kano and Zaria Provinces in the period 1910-1914. The colonial government and these merchant firms maintained a cordial relationship so much so that the later were allowed to do as they pleased. The firms were provided a conducive atmosphere for the exploitation of the human and natural resources of the area. The colonial government for example used the Native Authorities to build roads and railways, markets and clear river banks for them. Similarly seeds were distributed, experimental farms were established and taxes were collected all in an effort to provide the atmosphere within which the resources of the area would be tapped by these firms.[87]

87. Tukur, M.M., "The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States 1897-1914: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Sources," Ph.D. ABU, 1979, pp.783-790.

In our area of study, B.C.G.A. was the first firm to open station at Maska town in 1911. It was followed by London and Kano Trading Company in 1914 which engaged in buying hides and skins at Maska.[88] C.B. Ollivant also opened a station there at about this time.[89] This company sought permission to move from Maska to Funtua in 1917. In 1921 John Holt and company and Lagos Stores opened stations in the district.[90] By 1925 many more companies had opened stations in our area of study. These included Tangalakis and Company, C.F.A.O., SCOA, Red Fearn and sons Ltd. and Ambrosini and Company.[91] These companies were initially located on the Zaria-Sokoto road (Gangaren Ammani). They later applied for transfer to the new laid out plots in Katsina road. In the 1930's P.Z. and SCOA, Mandrides and Logios all obtained plots in the district. From the table below one could see the list of all European firms that opened stations in Maska District during the period of our study.

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88. NNAK Katprof. 1978

89. Olofson, H.A. Funtua:"Patterns of Migration to a New Hausa Town." Ph.D. Thesis University of Pittsburgh 1976, p.175.

90. NNAK Katprof 1245.

91. Ibid. Also N.K.D. 28/11/92.

TABLE 5:6

EUROPEAN FIRMS ESTABLISHED IN MASKA DISTRICT DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

NAME	YEAR ESTABLISHED	PLOT NO.	C. of O.
G.B. Ollivant	1917	18	1358
John Holt	1921	8	1355
Lagos Stores	1921	4	864
Ambrosini	1925	-	-
SCOA	1925	32	2924
Red Fearn	1925	-	-
Tangalakis	1925	-	-
B.C.G.A.	1926	-	1386
P.Z.	1928	31	1083
U.A.C.	1928	20	1360
C.F.A.O.	1928	17	2333
John Walkden	1928	6	1353
Miller Brothers	1928	9	1019
Africa and Eastern Trade	1928	-	278
Mandrides and Logios	1930	7	1839
London and Kano	1930	41	2358
London, Africa and Overseas	1940	5	3182
C. Zard	1940	15	3149
Niger Company	-	20	1360
Nigerian Properties	-	18	2375

Source: NNAK Katprof. 1/1/4, NNAK Katprof 1245, NNAK Katprof 1018

These companies bought different export crops from our area of study. These included cotton, groundnuts, sheanuts, chillies, hides and skins and many more. They in turn brought manufactured goods such as biscuits, cotton cloth, refined sugar, tobacco and bicycles to mention but a few. The very fact that these companies were numerous in number made this trade competitive. Each deviced one strategy or the other to outbid the other. Most of them resorted to giving bribes to the Sarkin Maska and his village heads. This was to make them campaign for the company so that the people would sell their crops in the shed of that company. Others took to advancing money to farmers to pay their taxes through the Native Authorities in Maska District. This was referred to as Kan ta fasu (before harvest).[92] Instead of bringing back raw cash to the company that advanced the money, the farmers were made to carry their cotton to the company. The company then recovered the loan out of the cotton sold. This practice made many of the farmers to sell their crops in advance at half its true value.[93]

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92. Ibid.

93. Katprof 211 - Firms Agents Advancing money for purchase of produce.

As we have noted earlier, the N.C.C.A. was the sole purchaser of cotton for the British government. The other companies acted as its buying agents. With the formation of the (N.C.M.B.) these firms acted as its licenced Buying Agents (L.B.A.). These agents or Merchant firms also used agents of African origin to buy the cotton. The African agents also used middle men Yan baranda to purchase the cotton on their behalf. These middlemen were given on request to the companies by the Sarkin Maska. This provided him with the opportunity to appoint his inlaws and other relations as middlemen. By the 1940s and 1950s there had emerged numerous middlemen in our area of study. The colonial government had initially wanted to abolish them in the period 1933-1952. It was at this time that the Native Authority introduced a rule towards that effect. It stated that:

> a servant or employee of company should not advance his employer's money to people in the bush or others for the purpose of purchasing produce he (was) forbidden in his contract to do so.[94]

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94. Ibid.

It would seem that during the last decade of colonial domination in our area of study the middlemen were allowed to buy cotton on behalf of the various companies. They were, however, made to apply formally through the Sarkin Kaska to the central Native Administration at Katsina. Each applicant was charged a fee of five pounds. He was then given a licence indicating that he had the right to buy cotton on behalf of the company of his choice and three places of his choice. In some instances it was the agents of the various companies that got the licence on behalf of their prospective middlemen. The list of some of these middlemen that served in our area of stuay at this time could be seen in Appendix II.

The middlemen were paid from £1 to £1.15.0d per ton of cotton. The farmers however had the choice of either selling their produce to the middlemen or taking it to the shed of a buying agent. The middlemen did not normally erect sheds. They were often invited by the farmers to go to their houses and buy their cotton. This freed them from the long waiting hours on market days, the donkey and head transport charges and other minor unforeseen expenses at the cotton market.

The middle men often ended up buying the cotton by merely guessing the weight or sometimes with a spring Balance, but irrespective of grade. In other words they often ended up paying less than the gazetted price.[95] If on the other hand the farmer prefered taking his cotton to the buying agent in the stall, he first entered the grading shed where it was spread on a cloth for inspection by a cotton examiner. The cotton was graded on the basis of its type as either Grade I or Grade II.[96] He was then given a ticket showing whether the grading of his cotton was first or second grade. The farmer was then directed to the section of the buyers who had the price payable for each grade displayed in front of their buying stall. The buyers weighed the cotton and paid the farmer what was due to him. If the cotton was, however, below the required standard the owner was asked to remove it from the market.[97] It would seem

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95. Interview with M. Lasau Kwarashin Daudawa 30/11/92. Henceforth L.K.D.

96. The Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board defined Grade I cotton as one which was entirely free from native seed cotton and contained not more than five per centum damaged or stained seed cotton and was free from leaf and other foreign matter. Grade II on the other hand referred to cotton which contained not more than one per centum of native seed cotton and six per centum of immature seed cotton. See SNP 17 10,179 vol.IV cotton marketing and exporting. 28/11/92.

97. M.B.D. 30/11/92.

that initially each grade of cotton had its own stall. In the Funtua cotton market there were 9 stalls erected for Grade I and 3 for Grade II. In Mahuta cotton market there were 4 stalls for Grade I and 1 for Grade II. In Mairuwa there were 7 for Grade I and one for Grade II. At the Dandume cotton market there were 5 for Grade I and 2 for Grade II. Similarly in the town of Maska there was one each for the two grades. This distinction was later abolished. The Board also introduced Grade III in 1950.[98]

The cotton markets in Maska District were not opened at the same time. Maska and Funtua were the first, followed by that of Dandume, Mairuwa, Mahuta, Ruwan Godiya, Dallawa and Dantakari. In each of these markets there was a person appointed to represent Sarkin Maska. There were also Dogarai. In the 1930s the District Head was represented by five people at the Funtua market. These included Hali, Wade, Buhari, and Goje. At the Dandume cotton market were Namama and Abu.[99] The colonial government forbade any person to buy cotton outside the gazetted markets

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98. SNP 17 10, 179 vol.iv.

99. NNAK Katprof 1/1/4 Maska District Notes.

without permission. The Sarkin Maska was asked to enforce this rule and any person caught violating it was tried in the Native Court.[100] Of all these markets the one at Funtua was said to be the biggest in terms of purchases and Maska the most disappointing.[101] This fact could be seen from the table below:

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100. SNP 17 10, 179 Vol.IV M. Nagoshi, Daudawa 28/11/92. Henceforth M.N.D.

101. Katprof. 1405 - Katsina Division Report for March Quarter 1923.

TABLE 5:7

PURCHASE FIGURES TO THE NEAREST TON FOR THE MARKETS IN MASKA DISTRICT 1946-1956

	1946-1947 Tons	1947-1948 Tons	1948-1949 Tons	1949-1950 Tons	1950-1951 Tons	1951-1952 Tons	1952-1953 Tons	1953-1954 Tons	1954-1955 Tons	1955-1956 Tons
Funtua	1,488	1,388	1,131	1,161	1,177	1,712	1,231	1,452	1,765	1,337
Maska	-	-	216	213	258	237	249	-	326	295
Mairuwa	882	773	771	821	799	796	796	963	887	357
Daudawa	170	203	374	557	857	5	3	-	834.12	705¾
Dandume	814	633	1,038	1,007	810	1,120	1,020	-	-	-
Mahuta	-	-	349	267	356	659	558	506	556	397
R/Godiya	-	-	-	-	442	721	283	-	592	345
Dantankari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,039	-	-
TOTAL	3,254	2,997	3,879	4,026	4,699	4,650	4,140	4,000	4,960.12	3,436¾

Source: SNP 17 Vol.IV 10,179, Annual Report - Southern Katsina 1st January 1949-31st March 1950, Katna 1126.

The operations of the merchant firms and their agents were by nature exploitative. In the first place the prices offered to the peasants for their crops were too low. This could be seen from the great difference between the price of cotton for example, that was offered to the farmers in Maska District and that of Liverpool in Britain. It is true that the cotton had to be shipped and undergo many other processes. But still the difference was too much and we have even noted in our previous discussion that as part of the colonial government's effort to encourage trade, it charged low rates for shipments of all ginned cotton. In the table below an attempt is made to compare the two prices so that this difference could be seen clearly.

TABLE 5.8

PRICE DIFFERENCES OF COTTON AT LIVERPOOL AND NASKA DISTRICT PER lb

YEAR	LIVER POOL PRICE PER lb	PRICE OFFERED TO FARMERS PER lb
1915	7.5d	1.75d
1916	12.33d	1.75d
1917	21.68d	2.5d
1918	19.73d	2.75d
1921	11.37d	2d
1922	14.92d	2.5d
1923	17.66d	2.½d-4d
1925	10.77d	2½d
1927	11.17d	1¼d - 1½d
1929	9.09d	1.2d - 1.6d
1932	5.62d	0.8d
1933	6.02d	0.9d
1934	6.93d	0.8d - 1.2d
1935	6.52d	1.1d - 1.5d
1936	7.11d	0.9d - 1.3d
1937	4.97d	0.8d - 1.5d
1938	-	0.6d - 0.8d
1939	-	1½d
1944	-	4d

Source: NNAK Katprof 1252, NNAK Katprof 1286 Vol.II, SNP 17 vol.II 10,179, SNP 17 Vol.IV 10,179.

These low prices were said to have caused apathy and bitter disappointment to the farmers in Maska District. This was noted in the divisional report of 1920,[102] 1926,[103] 1927[104] and 1928.[105] Many of the people interviewed also expressed such bitterness.[106] The farmers were said to have stopped selling to the B.C.G.A. at that time. They prefered to sell it to indigenous cotton merchants who offered higher prices. For example while the B.C.G.A. offered three farthings in 1911 the indigenous buyers offered two pennies per lb in Maska District.[107] In other instances the farmers sold their cotton to buyers from French country. They purchased large quantities at 2d to $2\frac{1}{2}$d per lb.[108] This situation was noted by the District officer in 1920 when he observed:

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102. NNAK Katprof 1568 - Katsina Division Half Yearly Report 1920.

103. NNAK Katprof 1399 - Katsina Division Quarterly Report March 1926.

104. NNAK Katprof 1253 - Quarterly Report for March 1927.

105. NNAK Katprof 1512 - Half Yearly Report June 1928.

106. M.B.D. 28/11/92, M.N.D. 28/1/92, N.K.D. 28/11/92 and L.K.D. 30/11/92.

107. NNAK SNP 1604 Annual Report 1915. P.H. Lamb to Secretary Northern Province. Interview with L.K.D. 30/11/92.

108. NNAK Katprof. 1253 - Quarterly Report.

different grades.[110] It was certainly for these reasons that the Agricultural Officer of Daudawa farm described the differences in prices of the grades as apparently reasonless in the 1940's.[111] The other way in which the peasants of Maska District were cheated was in the weighing of their cotton. Here again the agents their middlemen and District Head's representatives colluded. They followed many ways to tamper with the reading of the scale. One way was to place the scale inside water for three days so that when it was brought out it had started to form rust. It was the rust that prevented the movement of the scale whenever cotton was being weighed. Hence the farmers often ended up having their cotton under-weighed.[112] Another way in which the farmers were cheated was through the activities of Yaran sarki. Whenever a farmer came with his cotton to the section of the buyers these boys rushed and collected it from him and placed it on the scale. They then used their legs or their hands to push

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110. L.K.D. 30/11/92, M.B.D. 28/11/92.

111. Provincial Annual Report Agricultural Work Southern Katsina 1947.

112. M.U.D. 28/11/92.

the load upwards so that the scale ended up under-weighing the cotton.[113] A colonial official noted this tendency to manipulate the scales on his visit to the Funtua cotton market in 1932:

> There seemed to be a good deal of mistrust of some of the buyers who were hardly patronised whilst others of the same firm were over crowded. The former were apparently supposed to manipulate the scales so as to give short prices.[114]

The Sarkin Maska himself was said to have been involved in cheating the farmers through the scales. This was reported by the N.C.C.A. buying agent at Funtua. The agent complained that the District Head had called him and asked him to work together. The District Head said he would be sending cotton farmers to sell their cotton in his stall. He asked the agent to manipulate the scales so that whatever was made from the deal, they would share the money equally. Maikaji, the cotton agent, however, refused.[115]

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113. Ibid.

114. NNAK Katprof 1286 - Maska District Notes on

115. NNAK Katprof 1823 - Maska District Head Complaint Against.

It is significant to reiterate that the Native Authorities in Maska District benefitted from the cotton trade that flourished in our area of study. We have noted that they enjoyed gifts of cotton cloth alawaiyo, salt and other materials so as to assist the firms get customers. They also had the opportunity of selecting their friends and relations to serve as middlemen. In some instances the Native Authority officials themselves acted as the middlemen and were used to advance money to farmers. This was the case with the Sarkin Maska in 1940. He was said to have collected such money for advance from the London and Kano Trading Company. He appointed one Saluhu, his in-law to buy cotton for the company at Dandume. The District Head went to the area himself and assembled all the ward heads. He instructed them to tell their talakawa to sell their cotton and groundnuts to Saluhu and that anyone that refused to comply amongst them would be punished indirectly. The District Head gave Magajin Iha £6 to divide among his people as advance to pay their taxes. He also gave £3 to Magajin Rafin Iwa. The Sarkin Maska also gave Magajin Ashafa one piece of shirting. He promised to bring all the others cash to distribute to their people also. Hence the company through the support of the District Head ensured that no other company

had assess to the cotton at Dandume. The person that lodged the complaint asked if Sarkin Maska was a produce buyer and if so he should resign the post of District Head and buy produce direct and not indirect as he was doing. The investigation that was carried out as a result of this complaint absolved the Sarkin Maska of all blame.[116] In 1943 the same District Head advanced such money to Audu Yaro, Orji, Yusifu and Maimadubi to distribute to farmers, on behalf of the same company. Similar advances were made by him at the Funtua and Mairua cotton markets which amounted to £600.[117] It could obviously be hazarded that the District Head must have also made gains from his role of a middleman.

His village heads also benefitted from the cotton trade. In 1920's the village Head of Yakurutu was said to be forcibly purchasing all the cotton from the farmers at his village. He purchased at a penny a pound and re-sold it at Funtua at the B.C.G.A. rates of 1½ per lb. He forcibly borrowed scales for this purpose from one Ila of Funtua in 1920 without payment or restitution of any kind.[118]

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116. Ibid.

117. Ibid.

118. NNAK Katprof 1811 Maska District General Report 1923.

This case was viewed with seriousness by the colonial government as it was capable of hampering the development of cotton cultivation in a most promising area. The village head was as a result removed from office.[119] The Village Head of Bakari was also said to have given one Alabira an advance of £4 in 1922 which he collected from Sarkin Maska. When it was due for payment, the village head ordered people to pick the lint from the farm. He then took it to Funtua and sold at the rate of £6. The money was cornered by the village head and Alabira had to find money elsewhere to pay the loan.[120]

Conclusion

Our pre-occupation in this chapter has been with the role of Native Authorities in colonial agriculture and trade in Maska District. We have seen that contrary to the argument that the Native Authority system did not play any role in the colonial economy, it actually did. This centred

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119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

around the propagation for cotton production, the distribution of cotton seeds, the construction of roads and railways as well as the establishment of farm centres. This was also seen in the support given to the colonial merchant firms such as the B.C.G.A., the London and Kano Trading Company, G.B. Ollivant, U.A.C. and numerous others that operated in our district. The promotion of export crop production led to the decline of local trade and industries. We have also shown that the Sarkin Maska and other Native Authority Officials used the opportunity to acquire wealth by conniving with the agents and middlemen of the firms to cheat the peasants during grading and weighing. They also became the first beneficiaries of loan schemes as in the case of mixed farming.

CHAPTER SIX

T A X A T I O N

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on colonial taxation and the role played by the Native Authorities in Maska District in it. We shall see the rationale behind the imposition of the taxes. Our discussion shall also examine the nature of these taxes, their assessment as well as collection. We shall see that the colonial taxes made heavier demands than was the case in the pre-colonial Maska area. We shall further see that the assessment and collection of these taxes was accompanied by a great deal of brutality and injustice on the people of the district. This crushing burden of colonial taxation was made worse by the habits of Sarkin Maska and his village heads in extorting the people. The discussion in this chapter would also look at the cases of embezzlement of taxes by the local rulers and the response of the colonial government to it. We shall finally examine the impact of colonial taxation on the people of Maska District.

The Imposition of Colonial Taxes

One of the very first steps taken by the colonial government on the occupation of Maska area was to impose taxes on the people. These taxes were meant to sub-ordinate the pre-colonial economy of the area to the world capitalist economy. The imposition of colonial taxes was also in accordance with the belief of the British treasury that colonies could only be beneficial if they were made to cater for themselves. The colonial government therefore imposed taxes to maintain or sustain the colonial administration and the Native Authorities in Maska District. There was also the concrete evidence that colonial taxes were the avenue through which the indigenous economic activities such as agriculture, manufacturing industries and commerce were destroyed. This was to provide a basis for the creation of the colonial economy which emphasized the production of export crops, consumption of manufactured goods and the provision of labour force in colonial projects.

Lugard himself had noted that any system of 'rule' could only be effective if it enjoyed some measure of financial independence to be derived

from direct tax.[1] He also was of the opinion that taxing the people would make them to recognise that they had an obligation to the state to which they owed security for life, property, increased wealth, fair wages for their labour, improved transport and a large competitive market for their produce.[2] Lugard noted that:

> the object in view is to retain, as far as possible, the ancient forms of taxation known to the people and sanctioned by tradition, to utilise the existing machinery, while simplifying the mode of collection which in the past lent itself to great abuses, and was extremely wasteful, to introduce as far as possible, some uniformity and equality of taxation...[3]

This view about colonial taxation was an attempt to legitimise its imposition and colonial domination as a whole. As we shall see in the subsequent discussion the colonial taxes were more in incidence. Their collection was also accompanied with threats and abuses as well as

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1. Lugard Frederick, The Dual Mandate, op.cit, p.232.

2. Ibid, p.233

3. Land Revenue Proclamation No.4, 1904. See also Annual Reports 1904, pp.8-21.

inequality.

With the occupation of Kaska area and the emirate as a whole the colonial government set the cowrie rate at 1,200 cowries to a shilling so that the taxes could be paid in colonial currency.[4] The four main taxes that were collected at the beginning were the tax on land kurdin kasa, rogo (cassava), dankali (potatoes) and gujiya (groundnuts). These were collected at the rate of 4,000 cowries or 3s/6d per holding. There was also the zakka (canonical tax) which was collected also at 4,000 cowries or 50 bundles.[5] The collection of these taxes was taken out of the hands of the palace slaves and jekadu in 1905 and placed in the hands of the District Head of Maska. The village Heads collected the various taxes and remit them to the Sarkin Kaska who also remit the money into the treasury. In 1907 zakka and kurdin kasa were merged and the amount paid was put at three shillings. This was collected from the months of December to March.[6] The other

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4. Hull, R.W., op.cit. pp.110-112; Also Idris Abdullahi Wahuta, op.cit. p.273.

5. NNAK Katprof 1289 Katsina Division Report on Taxation.

6. Michael Watts, op.cit. p.561.

taxes that were collected along with zakka were kudin rafi (taxes on irrigated crops) kudin shuka (taxes on crops not irrigated except the staple crops) and ala'du (taxes on various trades and occupations). There was also the jangali (cattle tax) which was collected at the end of the rains.[7]

Hence up to 1907 the taxes collected in our area of study were not lumped and the villages were not assessed according to visible wealth.[8] In 1910 the tax on trades and occupations al'adu was replaced with a compound tax. In the same vein the canonical tax zakka was re-introduced. It replaced the uniform farm tax of three shillings imposed earlier. Zakka was fixed at one bundle of corn to six pence. Apart from zakka the people were also made to pay one shilling on every acre of land.[9] All these taxes were paid in colonial currencies. As early as 1908 the divisional report noted that the people from our area of study and the whole southern districts were paying all their taxes in cash.[10] The colonial government introduced a new system of tax in 1911.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. NNAK Katprof 1836 Katsina Division Quarterly Reports. Report Ending 31 December 1909.

10. NNAK Katprof 1289 Katsina Division Report on Taxation.

This was known as pacing taki and was assessed on the basis of acreage that one cultivated. The colonialists charged 6d for every acre. This was followed by the abolition of compound tax. In its place the amount paid on the taki was raised from 6d per acre to 1 shilling. Similarly zakka was raised from six pence a bundle to 1s.6d.[11] The new tax system taki became the basis of taxation in Maska District up to 1927 when it was replaced with the lump sum form of assessment.

This was otherwise called as Haraji or kudin arziki. Under this form of taxation the wealth of the tax payer was calculated on the basis of his family, livestock, industries, and the yield, value, size and fertility of the soil. The average annual yield for the farm was assessed and up to 10% of the average was taxed.[12]

Apart from haraji the other main tax that was collected in Maska District throughout our period of study was jangali (cattle tax). This was

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11. NNAK Katprof 1923 Katsina Division Quarterly Reports. Report Ending 31 March 1919, p.6. See also political Diary, K.P.O., No.40, Notation for 11 February 1917.

12. Hull, R.W., op.cit, p.270

initially paid at the rate of 2,500 cowries or 1/6d per head of cattle and was later increased to 2 shillings per head.[13] Caravan toll was another form of tax that was collected from traders in the local markets of our area of study. This tax was collected from all sellers of goods in the market. It was said to have been collected for the upkeep of permanent mud market buildings or stalls in some of the markets. These included the three markets at Funtua, Maska and Magaji Wando.[14] It would seem however that tolls were collected in the remaining seven markets of the district. These included Dandume, Gumjo, Daya, Mahuta, Mairuwa, Gwaya and Girga.[15] This tax was introduced in the 1920's. The tax has been referred to in the colonial records as 'toll' but this is hardly the right word as market buyers did not pay anything. Only the sellers paid. Corn sellers at Funtua were for example made to pay 11 shillings a month. Donkey sellers paid six pence for any beast sold, cattle and horse dealers paid one shilling for any beast sold etc.[16]

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13. NNAK Katprof 1245.
14. NNAK Katprof 1586.
15. S.K.N. 27/12/92.
16. Ibid. See also NNAK Katprof 1586.

The Nature of Colonial Taxes

One basic nature of colonial taxes is that they were heavier in incidence than the pre-colonial taxes which were collected in Kasar area. This was despite the claims made by Lugard to make them fewer, more rational and lighter. This could be supported from the rates of incidence charged on each individual with the British occupation of our area of study. The kurdin rafi was for example, raised from 1,200 cowries to 4,000 cowries. Kurdin kasa was also raised from 1,200 cowries to 4,000 cowries in 1903 and 4,800 cowries in 1907 to 1909. The tax on gujia was also increased from 1,200 to 4,000 from 1903-07.[17] The increase in the incidence of taxation continued with the introduction of taki pacing. This reached its peak in 1917 and 1918 when an increase of 57 percent was made on zakka, kurdin kasa and jangali.

The increase in taxation during the inter-war years was mainly caused by the fall in export crops. As the increment of export duties, railway charges and duties on imports was not going to favour British trade, direct taxes became the only

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17. NNAK Katprof 1289 Katsina Division Report on Taxation.

option for the colonial government to maintain and increase its revenue.[18] In 1919, for example the rate of taxation in Maska District was 7/2d per adult male. This was reduced to 7/1¼ in 1924/25 due to massive emigration of people out of the district. By 1925/26 the incidence had reached 7/4¾ and by 1939 was collected at 8/0.29. By the end of 1949 the incidence was 15/- per every adult male and by the end of our period it had reached £3.10 shillings per person.[19] The increase in the incidence of taxation could also be seen in the total amount collected in the district for different years. In 1917 the sum of £3,960 was collected as taki from the district. By 1918 the amount had reached £5,996.1.10. Similarly the haraji of 1924/25 was £4,546.3.8. It rose to £4,602.2.0 in 1925/26. By 1938/39 this had reached £4,992.9.0 and £6,200 in 1940.[20]

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18. Shenton, R.W., op.cit, p.196.

19. NNAK Katprof 1586, Maska District Reassessment of 1923-24, SNP 17 10316 I.S.I. - Incidence of Taxation in the Northern Provinces 1938-39 schedules of, SNP 17 10316, S.2 Incidence of Taxation, 1946-47, SNP 17 10316 S.12 Incidence of Taxation 1949-50, Clough P. and Williams G. Decording Berg. The World Bank in Rural Northern Nigeria" in Watts, M. (ed) State, oil and Agriculture in Nigerian University of California Press, Berkeley 1987, p.182. Also A.D.J. 6/3/92.

20. NNAK Katprof 1243 Annual Report for 1917, Katprof 1586 Maska District Re-assessment of 1923-24, NNAK Katprof 1286 Vol.II Maska District Notes on.

The increase was also noticeable in the jangali. In 1917 this was only £1,908.4.0. In 1918 it reached £2,947. By 1950 the amount collected as jangali was £3,377.13.6 and by the end of our period had reached £3,714.5.0.[21]

Colonial taxes were also inflexible and took no account of bad seasons or individual misfortune. This fact could be seen in the way in which the colonial government collected taxes at increased rates during the years of severe famines in Maska District. During the famine of 1942 yarbalange the colonial government did not reduce even a single kobo on the incidence of taxation. Similarly when there was cattle sickness in 1954 in Maska District no attempt was made by the colonialists to exempt the affected persons from paying jangali. As a result of this cattle sickness 46 heads of cattle died in Funtua, 647 at Bakari, 555 at Dandume, 198 at Batarawa, 551 at Magaji Wando, 187 at Maigamji, 517 at Mairuwa, 183 at Katuka, 116 at Makera, 86

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21. NNAK Katprof 1244, Katprof 456 - Jangali Collection Instruction 1930-1956, NNAK Katprof 71 Jangali collection 1932-3, Katna 2/36 W.156 Vol.II Jangali collection, Katna W.156 Vol.III, Jangali collection.

at Dukke, 857 at Dantankari, 748 at Mahuta, 184 at Maska and 159 at Kwai. The total number of cattle that died in the district as a result of the cattle plaque was 5,034.[22] Yet the Sarkin Maska and his village heads were ordered to collect taxes from the owners.[23] The colonial government was of the opinion that as far as the cattle were assessed the taxes had to be paid, no matter the situation.

There was also the fact that all taxes were made to be paid in colonial currency. This meant that the payments made during the pre-colonial period in kind and cowries was stopped. But while the colonial government banned the importation of cowries and stopped the payment in kind, it made little attempt to introduce British currency. It insisted that the British Merchant firms were the ones to make the money available by paying it out for local produce and demanding it back for the sale of imported goods. This became a problem to the peasants of Maska District as the merchants purchased very little local produce before 1912.

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22. Katna W. 156 Vol.III Jangali collection.

23. Ibid. Another major cattle disease that killed about 250 cattle in Mahuta and Bakarri villages was in 1928. Despite this heavy loss of cattle as a result of the rinderpest, jangali was collected. See NNAK Katprof 1925 - Half Yearly Report Katsina Division. Also S.D.D. 22/3/92.

But this apart, the firms were initially not even interested in trading in cash. They prefered barter which afforded them the opportunity to undervalue the crops and therefore make huge profits.[24] This attitude changed with time and the tax payers had the only option of going into export crop production in order to get the money with which to pay their taxes.

The point should also be made that colonial taxes were entirely paid by producers and cattle herders of the district. The members of the ruling class and their large families as well as the ulama and wealthy traders were all exempted. The annual report of 1909 for Katsina division noted that the wealthy men of business escaped paying these taxes, only the lower middle class paid.[25] The exemption of these category of people was geared towards protecting the interests of the colonialists. The wealthy traders were exempted because they were trading in European manufactured goods. They also acted as middlemen

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24. Shenton, R.W., op.cit, p.104

25. NNAK SNP 15/3 157 1909.

or agents for the various merchant firms that were then operating in Maska District. They also bought raw materials for these firms on commission basis. Hence taxing them would have discouraged colonial trade. As for the ulama and the sarakuna it was because they were part of the machinery of colonial state in accordance with the Native Authority system. The working of the system required that a bogus air of importance should be created around the local rulers. This was to enable them function well in the colonial economy. The ulama were engaged in the native courts as alkalai (judges). All the taxes imposed by the colonial government were being collected in the name of these Native Authorities, hence taxing them would have negated this false impression that the colonialist were trying to create.

Another explanation is that the colonial government felt that if these local rulers were taxed there was the tendency on their part to resort to embezzling these taxes as well as extorting from the peasantry in order to recover the amount they paid. Such a situation was considered to be serious especially as it had the tendency to result in uprisings or peasant revolt.

This was greatly dreaded by the colonialists.[26] Based on these reasons it could be argued that the exemption was official and was recognised by the colonial administration.

It was also for these reasons that the Sarkin Maska, his village heads and mallamai were exempted. Other traders of African origin such as Matus, Isten, Muhamman Yalsalako, Sulai, Rufai, Alagidi, Sai, Ammani, Basharu, Muhamman, Mai Kyau and numerous others were exempted from paying taxes.[27] These were then acting as agents of the various merchant firms trading in the district. All government employees, Native Authority Officials and their domestic servants were further exempted from paying taxes. Such officials included the malamin voucher, magatakarda, Sarkin Fada, Dogarai, Wazirin alkali, alkali, muftai and other staff of the district enjoyed the exemption.[28] It would seem that it was only in the 1950's that any serious

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26. Mansur Ibrahim Makhtar, "British Colonial Domination in Nigeria and the Development of a Culture of Dependency: Taxation as a factor in the Break up of the Extended Family in Kano 1903-1950 A.D.", History Research at A.B.U., Vol.VIII, 1982/83 Session.

27. NNAK Katprof 1244 Katsina Divisional Annual Report 1980. Also N.S.F. 30/1/92.

28. Hull, R.W., op.cit, pp.272-273, Also N.S.F. 30/9/82.

attempt was made by the colonial government to tax these category of people. In 1953, M. Isa Kaita who was then the Development Secretary was appointed to chair a board of enquiry into the taxation of rich people attajirai. The Board met at Funtua in the company of chief scribe of the district and members of each village area on tax assessment. The enquiry was necessitated by the fact that the colonial government was suspicious of the amount assessed by the village and District Council members of these attajirai. The Board interviewed each attajiri in turn as regards to his sources of income. Based on the findings of the committee the colonialists instructed Sarkin Maska to collect not less than £5 for profit of £224 a year from the attajirai.[29] The table below shows the rich people in Maska District as well as the incidence of tax for each of them.

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29. Katna W. 314 - Rich People Taxation.

TABLE 6:1

RICH PEOPLE TAXATION 1953-1954

NAME	TOWN	OCCUPATION	MOTOR CAR	TAX 1952/3	TAX 1953/54
Alh. Modibbo	Funtua	Trading	0	£7.15.6	£7.15.6
" Bauchi	"	"	0	£7.13.6	£5.15.0
Mr. Wilson	"	"	1	£7.13.6	£9.9.0
Mr. Okoloh	"	"	2	£16.18.0	£20.4.6
Danladi B.	"	"	0	£5.13.0	£5.0.0
Alh. Kadiri	"	"	0	£5.17.6	£6.0.0
" Ibrahim Alo	"	"	2	£5.2.0	£8.18.0
Abdu Dankano	"	"	2	£6.8.0	£8.8.0
Musa Mamuda	"	"	0	£5.2.0	£6.18.0
Dukuma	"	"	0	£5.13.0	£6.18.0
Naiwada	"	"	0	£6.3.0	£8.3.0
Mr. Effiom	"	"	0	£7.3.0	£7.15.0
Alh. Bello	"	"	2	£6.18.0	£8.8.0
Yusuf B.	"	"	2	£5.17.6	£7.3.0
Alh. Lawal Dlu	"	"	0	£4.18.0	£5.13.0
Inuwa Sitati	"	"	0	£5.17.6	£6.18.0
Danyaya Gyada	"	"	0	£4.13.0	£5.0.0
Saka	"	"	1	£4.8.0	£5.17.6
Alh. Addahir	"	"	0	New	£5.17.6
Abdu Yaro	Dandume	"	0	£6.8.0	£6.18.0
Tafida	"	"	0	£2.13.0	£5.0.0
Sani	"	"	0	£6.18.0	£6.18.0
Ajayi	Tafoki	"	0	£6.8.0	£6.18.0
Yayo	"	"	0	£6.8.0	£6.18.0
Lawal	Maigamji	"	1	New	£5.17.0
			Total		£188.0.6

Source: Katna W. 3,14.

It was also in 1953 that the colonial government started to tax all commercial employees working in the district, non European clerical employees, railway workers, agricultural department Daudawa workers, B.C.G.A. workers etc. The tax was calculated on the basis of the annual earnings of the workers. All Native Authority workers in the District were asked to pay 3d for every £50 they earned and 6d for any amount more than £50. The daily paid labourers were also included in this category. Village heads and their mallamai were however exempted from this category. They were made to pay kurdin arziki or sana'a or gona. There were also clerical staff who mostly came from southern Nigeria that were made to pay the same rate as that of the Native Authority workers. In the same year, all clerks working for the colonial government, companies or railways were also required to pay 3d for every £1 they earned. Carpenters, bricklayers and others in the same group were however exempted. Railway workers, messengers and other clerks were made to pay the amount paid by Native Authority employees. The last category were labourers who were not engaged everyday. They were asked to pay (1/-) each.[30] See Appendix III for the list of some of these workers and their rates of incidence.

30. Katna W. 317/S.3 - Taxation of Commercial Employees.

Another basic nature of the colonial taxes is that they were paid by all from the ages of 12. This was not the case in the pre-colonial period as taxes were paid on household basis. Each household head had it as an obligation to pay the tax on individual basis of all adult males in his compound. This added to the burden of the tax payers in Kaska District. A tax payer who had seven male sons was made to pay the same rate he had to pay for himself for all of them instead of paying on their behalf as was the case in the area before colonial occupation. But it was even more disturbing when one notes that a number of boys from 3 to 12 years old were assessed as tax payers in the samrayi class. This was based on whether the boy wore a bante or not. This was however done by the village heads to bring the number of tax payers up to the total of the preceding year. This was the case in Kaska District in 1935. When the first census was done the total number of tax payers fell considerably below those of 1933-34. This decrease was not accepted and the Sarkin Kaska was queried. He responded by asking the village heads to count boys under 12 years so as to meet the total of the previous year. Even though the colonial government asked the officer on tour of Kaska District to inform the District Head and his

village heads that no one under 12 should be assessed as a sarmayi, the practice continued.[31] As these small boys were not of tax age it means that their parents had to pay for them.

Finally these taxes were collected at a time when the peasants had not harvested their crops. The collection was mostly carried from September to October in Maska District.[32] In order to get the money with which to pay their taxes the peasants resorted to mortgaging their crops to the canteen clerks who were representatives of the colonial companies. The canteen clerks provided enough money to the peasants with which to pay the taxes. When their cotton or groundnut was harvested, they took it to the clerk who gave them the credit and settle what they owed him. This was the only avenue by which the peasants in Maska District were able to pay their taxes. But it was a practice in which they lost heavily to the canteen

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31. NNAK Katprof 84 Tax Collection and Evasion Instructions Relating to: Also interview with Sani Ali Unguwar Wanzamai 23/4/92. Henceforth S.A.U.

32. NNAK Katprof 211 - Firms Agents Advancing Money for purchase of produce legal Ruling 1933-1952, Also S.A.U., 23/4/92.

clerks. In one of the colonial reports the Agricultural Officer in charge of Daudawa Farm Centre noted that:

> The practice of collecting tax in October, before the crops have been harvested and sold, definitely drives the farmers to accept advances from middlemen and firms clerks. District Heads must produce the tax for their districts or they get into trouble. The obvious corollary is that they go to the middlemen and clerks for the money, selling their crops in advance at probably half the true value.[33]

The officer requested that the colonial government should delay tax collection until December but this was rejected. Hence most of the money for crops went into the pockets of middlemen instead of the farmers.

The Organisation, Assessment and Collection of Colonial Taxes

The organisation and assessment of colonial taxes was the sole responsibility of the British officials in Maska District. Lugard had earlier on made the point that tax assessment was the most important work of the Resident and his staff.[34]

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33. Ibid.

34. Mahmud Modibbo Tukur, Ph.D. Thesis, op.cit, p.642.

The collection of these taxes was, however, left in the hands of the Native Authorities of the district. These included the Sarkin Maska, his village heads and supporting staff such as the taki mallams or tax mallams.

The people in Maska District were assessed in two main ways during the period of colonial domination. These included the taki (pacing) form of assessment and the lump-sum system of assessment, Haraji or kudin arziki. As we have shown elsewhere the taki was introduced in our area of study in 1911. It involved the tax officer or taki mallam measuring the farm with the use of his feet so as to determine the number of acres in the farm. A uniform tax of six pence was charged for each acre. Each village head in the district was provided with a register with which to record the names of the tax payers and the total number of acres in their farms. This register was checked by the colonial official on tour so as to ensure that there was no mistake. He then approved it. The assessment was carried by taki mallams in each village. These were appointed by the Maska District Head and worked closely with the village head with whom they were attached. The village heads were also instructed by the Sarkin Maska to always be on the watch out so as to report

peasants became reluctant in extending their farms for fear that they would be made to pay more if re-measured. This in turn affected the level at which agriculture was practiced in the district. This form of assessment was phased out and the lump sum-system adopted in 1927.

The lump-sum was assessed on the basis of the tax payers wealth or the gross annual income of the individual. The Unit of taxation was the village, hamlet or unguwa. Each village head was given a register of household statistics littafin yayanka nawa. The village heads were requested to take the statistics of their tax payers in the book. This was done twice in a year. During the time for the assessment the village head sent his village criers to inform all the people under his area that they should assemble in the front of the village head's house the next day for assessment. The village head performed this assignment in the company of his tax mallam who recorded all the information that was provided by the tax payers about themselves. They were asked about the number of their children, wives, goats, cattle, donkeys, horses and anything they possessed. They were also asked to mention the number of economic trees

that they had in their farms. These could be locust bean Dorowa (shea nut) kadanya (Baobab) kuka, Dinya (Tamarind) Tsamiya (Ebony) kanya (Mahogany) madachi, kiriya, Giginya (palm) Tukuruwa, rubber etc. The peasants also were sought to say whether they engaged in industries such as dyeing, weaving or tailoring - as well as the gross annual income derived from their various crops.[37]

An informant noted that the time of assessment was normally a time when the village heads had "gifts" of hens, eggs, and ducks brought to them by the peasantry. These were ways by which these people thought that they were soliciting for mercy from the village heads when it came to final apportion ment of the taxes.[38] At the time of the assessment no person was allowed to move or go to any place until the exercise had been completed. After this had been completed the tax Mallam of the village then took the register to the tax officer of the district. This was checked by him and passed on to the District Head. This was further cross checked by the colonial officer on tour of the district.

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37. Interview with Alhaji Ali Jabiri 23/4/92. Henceforth A.A.J.

38. Ibid. A.A.J. 5/6/92.

The assessment for the district was then sent to Katsina where the colonial government determined what was to be paid in the whole district and what was to be collected by each village head. The Sarkin Maska was accordingly given a printed paper showing the amount of tax to be collected from his district. Similar printed papers were also given to all the village heads in the district also showing the amount to be collected from their units. After this had been done the District Head, his village heads, hamlet heads and elders of each town would together discuss and settle the individual apportionment. The village mallams would then write each householder's tax on the register. They would also prepare receipts and white slips or demand notes for the tax payers. On the latter was written only the name of the tax payer and the amount of his tax. When this was completed and checked by the District mallams the white slips were then issued to the tax payers.[39] In the table below one could see how a typical statistics of population looked like based on the lumpsum assessment yayanka nawa, maza da.

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39. Ibid.

TABLE 6:2

STATISTICS OF POPULATION IN SOME AREAS OF MASKA DISTRICT 1932/33.

VILLAGE GROUPS UNITS	HOUSE HOLD HEADS (MASU-GIDA)	GROWN UP MALES (SAMARI)	MALE CHILDREN (YARA MAZA)	WOMEN (MATA)	GROWN UP FEMALES (BUDURMAI)	FEMALE CHILDREN (YARA MATA)	TOTAL	TOTAL	TAX DISTRICTION PER HEAD	TOTAL AMOUNT
Puntua	1011	353	393	1,089	55	426	3,327	356	7/6	£787.10
Gwamaruwa	61	28	49	99	2	43	302	17	7/6	
Zamfarawa	68	30	40	78	8	32	256	23	7/6	
Wawa	25	14	7	32	2	12	92	7	7/6	
Samagi	14	5	7	18	-	10	54	3	7/6	
Kaura Katuka	139	38	54	197	3	88	519	23	7/6	£85.10
Tumburkai	162	58	92	224	12	86	634	36	6/-	£93.10
Duya	89	37	30	107	3	45	311	15	8/-	£162.00
Tumburkai Duya	67	23	35	86	2	43	250	23	8/-	
Ridaha	145	65	72	185	8	57	532	51	"	
Matari	21	14	10	27	2	10	84	3	"	
Inono	126	44	117	189	189	11	676	597	"	£65.15
Rafinfa	88	40	48	115	7	47	345	21	8/-	£51.5
Maska	462	133	307	574	24	295	1,795	152	8/-	£254.5
Kofar Zaria	11	7	9	11	-	3	41	9	8/-	
Dantudu	29	14	10	38	-	18	109	7	8/-	
Lasanawa	74	36	65	99	5	59	338	25	8/-	£41.5
Nasarawa	83	22	71	112	7	54	349	21	8/-	£39.5

VILLAGE GROUPS UNITS	HOUSE HOLD HEADS (MASU-GIDA)	GROWN UP MALES (SAMARI)	MALE CHILDREN (YARA MAZA)	WOMEN (MATA)	GROWN UP FEMALES (BUDURWAI)	FEMALE CHILDREN (YARA MATA)	TOTAL	TOTAL SICK	TAX INCIDENCE PER MAN	TOTAL AMOUNT
Gwaiya	335	78	143	365	12	131	1,064	42	£8/-	£233.5
Rafin Kanya	129	43	63	162	2	69	568	21	£8/-	
Madaki	30	7	15	38	1	16	107	4	£8/-	
Goya	87	32	52	103	2	57	333	18	£8/-	£40
Harande	130	42	68	143	2	87	472	31	£8/-	£60
Kwatangiri	56	36	33	69	5	41	240	13	£8/-	£34.10
Tudun Iya	173	55	126	223	11	89	677	44	£8/-	£109
Dogon Awo	37	17	33	48	2	35	172	13	£8/-	
Maigamji	92	38	55	115	3	57	360	25	£8/-	£200
Bakin Dutse	78	32	41	103	6	35	295	20	£8/-	
Tabkin Shantali	65	23	37	83	2	36	246	13	£8/-	
Kaliyawa	42	17	23	48	2	34	166	10	£8/-	
Zanfa	28	15	38	36	1	30	148	12	£8/-	
Rafin Iwa	52	22	28	71	7	35	115	15	£8/-	£320.17
Sayyau	43	16	15	53	4	21	151	6	£8/-	
Damari	208	55	121	287	13	108	392	43	£8/-	
Sar. Arna	56	18	17	84	1	19	195	14	£8/-	
Sar. Dawa	19	9	7	22	2	11	70	6	£8/-	
Gamji	152	53	72	175	14	74	540	34	£8/-	
Maikasuwa	74	25	25	97	5	46	272	18	£8/-	
Marmara	196	60	102	277	15	123	773	38	£8/-	£102.8
Makurdi	149	68	106	187	18	126	654	33	£8/-	£171.7
Makera	176	78	103	214	8	115	694	32	£8/-	

SOURCE: - NNAK Katprof 1/1/4 Maska District Notebook.

The lump sum system was by no means accurate. This is because in most cases the property of children and women were admitted as being taxable despite the fact that they were not supposed to pay. But even more than this an informant noted that the apportionment of the tax which came after the assessment was based more on the relationship between the tax payers and their village heads than on the assessment.[40] There was also the problem of determining who a grown up male 'samrayi' was. As we have pointed elsewhere the colonialists understood the concept to mean any boy who was able to take his place in the community and does his share of farm work or one who could wear bante.[41] This definition of samrayi was so ambiguous that the village heads were made to categorise all male children as samrayi. As one colonial official pointed out:

> the 'talaka' frequently refers to a male child of any age as a 'sarmayi' and I believe that it is (our) ignorance of the technical meaning of the word in the tax-lists which leads to injustice.[42]

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40. A.M.D. 7/6/92.

41. NNAK Katprof 84 Tax Collection and Evasion Instructions Relating To: Also A.M.B. 7/6/92.

42. NNAK Katprof 1080.

Hence children from 3 to 12 years were considered as samrayi and were therefore assessed as taxable. This situation was said to have caused so much discontentment and emigration of people out of the district in the 1940's. It was for this reason that the colonial government asked Sarkin Maska to appoint a committee that would look into the problem of taxation in the district. The Sarkin Maska appointed the village heads of Maigamji, Mairuwa and Maska together with one Jimoh, who was a dispenser, M. Bala Abe the Sanitary Inspector and M. Mamman Barda who was in charge of Funtua School. There was no representation from the actual tax payers. The village heads tried to absolve themselves from any blame as they pointed out they had always tried to be fair in their assessments. They went on to blame the central Native Administration at Katsina for sending back their assessment when ever they were sent with the word that it was not alright. They were then made by the Sarkin Maska to carry out a second assessment - so as to meet a certain number. This forced them to include children of 8 and 9 years, and old men of 70 and 80 years. These were not included in the earlier estimate of the list of tax payers as they were not supposed to pay tax. The village heads were honest to accept that the taxes apportioned

on these two groups were actually paid by the peasants and relatives of the small children and old men. They concluded that it was for this reason that taxation became unbearable and led to the emigration of people out of the district as they had no money to pay for themselves, their children and old men.[43] The deliberations of the committee were written by Mamman Barda and sent to the District Officer. The colonial government did not take any action on the report.

As could also be seen from the table above the tax incidence per person was not uniform in the whole district. The colonial official on tour of the district in 1933 was himself honest enough to accept that it was injustice for Funtua to be assessed at 7/6d per man whereas the rest of Maska District paid 8/- a head.[44] This particular disparity does not seemed to have been as a result of any definite colonial policy. One informant however, noted that it could be seen as an attempt by the colonial government to encourage the cotton traders of the area as well as make people to settle in the town.[45] This is logical as far as

43. NNAK Katprof 1286 Maska District Notes.

44. A.M.D. 21/11/92, Also Abdullahi Idris Mahuta op.cit. p.274.

45. A.M.D. 21/11/92, Also Abdullahi Idris Mahuta, op.cit., p.274.

the district head quarters was located in this town. This also shows the inconsistency of colonial policies.

Apart from the taki and lump sum forms of assessment, there was also the assessment carried out on cattle. This was known as cattle tax or Jangali. During the period of colonial domination in Maska District all cattle owners were taxed. These included the nomad, semi-nomad and settled owners. The procedure in this type of assessment was for the village head to arrive at a ruga at dawn with his mallam and some ward heads. The cattle were then counted, and the name of the owner, the number of cattle and the amount due from him were recorded by the village mallam. The cattle owner was then informed of the amount due and told to pay the village head at the appropriate time. The assessment was normally started in April and finished in June. This was done yearly. The cattle tax was made payable from 1st July to the 31st of October. The time corresponded with the period of the wet season when the movement of cattle from one area to another was likely to be reduced to a minimum. The counting was also conducted simultaneously in all the villages of the district. This was to prevent evasion in which cattle changed their grazing grounds during the period of the count.

In the event that cattle had to be moved to another area during the count, permits were granted which stated that Jangali had been paid on the cattle whose movements they cover and this exempted the person in charge of them from further demands on route.[46] The District Head of Maska District was also instructed to go round the boundries to count bordering villages on the same days, so as to prevent cattle owners passing backwards and forwards and so avoiding payment.

It should however be noted that in the case of the nomadic Fulani the more important Fulani ardo's were used in Maska District who were delegated to assess and collect jangali. These included Tsofo for Bakari, Maisaje for Mairuwa, Daudu for Dandume Jiruwa, Chiroma for Inshanu Jiruwa, Juli, Ja'o and Namagora for Kaura Katuka, Marafa and Beri for Magaji Wando, Duna and Shiwallo for Duya, Gudale and Bawa for Inono and Maigabi and Jagaba for Rafinfa. It was out of the Jangali collection that these ardos were given a small proportion of the amount collected.[47]

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46. S.B.G., 19/9/92.

47. Ibid. See also NNAK Katprof 456 Jangali Collection Instruction on 1930-56.

As for the so-called caravan toll the assessment was based on the number or quantity of goods one took to the market. The tax was collected by the different Sarakunan kasuwa where they were appointed. In other markets the tax was collected directly by the village heads. At the Maska, Funtua and Magaji Wando markets it was collected by these Sarakunan Kasuwa. In the other markets the tax was collected by the village heads. The collection was done monthly. The traders were issued with receipts on payment of the tax. The receipts were given to the Sarkin Maska by the colonial government and he was required to distribute them to the tax collectors. The total amount collected from Funtua, Maska, and Magaji Wando in 1933 was £66.3.0.[48] After the total amount had been collected by the market heads and village heads, they remit it to the Sarkin Maska. This was done on annual basis. The District Head then remit the total amount obtained from all the markets in the district to the Beit-el-mal.

As we have said in the course of this discussion all taxes were collected by the village heads, hamlet heads, ardos or sarakunan kasuwa. It would

48. NNAK Katprof 1586. Also A.M.M. 22/12/92.

seem that at the beginning of colonial period up to about 1930 the colonial government allowed the people to pay their taxes instalmentally. This was only for those who could not pay at once. Those who paid at once were given receipts. For those who gave part payments, this was noted by the village mallams both on the back of the counter-foils and on the white slips. The latter was however returned to the tax payer on each occasion. From about 1939 the colonial government forbade all part payments in Maska District. The Sarkin Maska and his village heads were instructed to collect full payment and give a receipt to each tax payer immediately on payment. Propaganda was even used urging tax payers to demand a receipt for their money or lodge a complaint if it was withheld by the village head. After the tax of each person had been collected the village head was expected to remit his tax to the Sarkin Maska. If after eight days this was not done the village head was asked to explain the reason why he could not do so. The District Head, however, was instructed to check the village tax receipt books for each village and ensure that the sum agreed with the receipts issued. He then cancelled the checked

counterfoils with a rubber stamp. After all the money had been brought to the District Head by the village heads in company of their mallams, he then sent the total tax received together with the District Account book and receipts issued by him to the village headmen. These were sent to the District mallam at Katsina. The money was either taken by the District Head himself or his mallam. The money was also sent with receipt books for checking and cancellation as well as details of payment which were entered in the assessment books. The Sarkin Maska gave receipts to his village heads indicating that he had collected money from them.[49] This was basically the procedure by which all taxes were collected in Maska District during colonial period.

These taxes were collected with force and brutality. This was especially meted out on all tax payers that could not pay their taxes at the scheduled time. Some of the informants were able to recall the kinds of punishments that were given to such people. One way of punishing them was to chain them against a tree trunk until they were saved by friends or relatives who paid the money

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49. A.N.S. 30/9/92.

on their behalf.[50] Another way was to shackle them to the bottom of trees by means of staples garam over their ankles.[51] Others were locked up in a room that had been sprayed with ground pepper and were left to sleep inside. Early in the morning they were brought out and given a cold bath with water obtained from a brand new pitcher tulu. They were then sent to go and bring their taxes.[52] The village head of Makera was remembered as being merciless with any person from his area that could not pay his tax. On one occasion Gamba of Unguwar Kwana could not pay his tax. The village head was said to have ordered that his neck and his right leg should be tied with a rope. This was done and the man was made to work from Unguwar Kwana to Makera which was about one mile. By the time this man got to the house of the village head at Makera the rope had inflicted a deep wound on his leg and neck. The man was said to have died that very night.[53] It was thus partly because of such brutalities that many people from the district ran away before the time of collection so as to find

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50. M.I.M. 26/2/92.
51. M.B.J. 24/4/92.
52. A.K.B. 24/4/92.
53. A.A.U. 5/6/92.

the money. Other people followed all avenues in order to pay their taxes. They for example sold their crops at harvest when the market was glutted. A measure of guinea corn that was sold at the rate of 1/6d during tax assessment was disposed at a give away price of 6d, so as to pay taxes.[54] Other tax payers resorted to selling the livestock or ornaments of their wives to pay tax. Many others went to borrow money to pay the tax. This was returned with interest ruwa. One Namama Unguwar Kalage, was remembered as the person who people went to borrow money from with such interest.[55]

It was only when the tax payers had exhausted all avenues and could not find the money to pay the taxes that they were arraigned before the Native Authority court. They were tried and sent to prison where they languished till a relative or friend of theirs was able to pay the tax in their behalf.

Once a person was assessed to pay tax even if he died before the time of collection, his relatives had to pay for him.[56] All these showed how terrible taxation was in our area of study.

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54. M.I.M. 26/2/92.

55. A.K.B. 24/4/92.

56. M.B.J. 24/4/92.

An informant noted how six people were treated by the village head of Daudawa because they could not pay their taxes. These people included Nagodi, Labo Dankoli, Nadodo, Falalu Gurgu, Dankaka and Nadaji. They were put inside a room that had no window. At about seven oclock in the evening, the village head ordered one of his men to make fire inside the room and spray ground pepper on the fire. The door was then locked. These men were said to have sneezed throughout the night and died at the early hours of the morning. The village head reported to the Sarkin Maska that there was a fire outbreak in the village which killed six people.[57]

As we have indicated earlier colonial taxes must be paid at all cost Taluka baida babu. At Makera village about six household heads were said to have run away as they had no money to pay their taxes. According to Zakari Yau, these people never came back to Makera again. Their houses and farms were given to strangers that came from other places. The strangers were made to pay the taxes of these people before they occupied the houses and the farms.[58]

Another informant noted that it wasn't that the people had the money but refused to pay. The fact was that there was no money. A household head

57. Interview with Barau Daudawa 30/11/92.

58. Interview with Zakari Yau Makera 22/11/92.

who had five males of tax age had to sell about one hundred bundles or more of guinea corn or millet before he could pay for all of them. This meant selling virtually everything he had of his grain stock.[59] Nadela Maroki of Mararrabar Maska was said to have sold every thing he had in order to pay taxes for himself and his children. The money however fell short of the total amount demanded. He therefore ran away. He died on his way to Fandogari. His farm and house were sold to someone who paid the taxes.[60] Similarly Tsalhatu Sirwajo suffered for non payment of colonial taxes. The village head of Goya made him to cut firewood for him in place of his tax. The man was said to have cut the firewood up to ten times. Anytime he brought it the village head told him that he had not cut the right variety. He should go back. It was in this process that the man mistakenly cut his leg with the axe which led to the amputation of the leg.[61] The father of one informant was also warned not to go about with his new blanket gwado by the Maska Village Head. This was because he had not paid his tax for the year.[62]

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59. Interview with Idi Maiwada Mairuwa 15/11/92.
60. S.K.M. 27/12/92.
61. Ibid.
62. A.M.M. 27/12/92.

Over Assessment Extortion and Embezzlement of Taxes

The burden of taxation on the people of Maska District was worsened through over-assessment and other extortionate practices by the Sarkin Maska and his village heads. This was done during the apportionment of taxes. The village heads asked the tax payers to pay more than the amount they were actually assessed on. The demand note was not given, instead the village heads informed the people individually of the amount they were required to pay. In other instances the white slips were issued to the tax payers without being filled and they were asked to bring any amount that the village head felt was suitable to him. In still other instances tax payers who had paid their taxes were given the demand notes instead of the receipts after such payment. Later on the village head approached them and asked them to pay their taxes. If they said that they have paid he demanded to see their receipts. As they were not given receipts, they were through this way forced to pay again. The first payment was therefore pocketed by the village head.[63] Such practices were

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63. M.B.J. 24/4/92.

common in our area of study during the period of colonial domination. It was especially noted in 1930 by the colonial official on tour of the district.[64] Another case was reported against Galadiman Maska, the village head of Dandume. The village head was said to have collected maza da [65] from many people without given them receipts. The man who lodged the complaint urged the Assistant District Officer attached to the District to investigate the matter and take appropriate action. Nothing came out of this complaint.[66] Similarly in 1950 Ado Mai-Rogo, Umaru Dan ta Karji, Sale Umaru and numerous others from Yartabki were said to have been refused their receipts after paying their taxes. When the matter got to a colonial official he sent for the village head. On being asked why he had refused to give them receipts, the village head defended that it was because he had forgotten. He was there and then warned to desist from such a practice or be removed from office.[67] It seems also that the village heads connived with the Sarkin Maska to demand more than the amount that

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64. NNAK Katprof 1286 Maska District. Notes on.

65. Maza da referred to cattle tax Jangali. It was paid by the cattle rearers especially Fulani before they moved away to other places in search of pasture for their cattle. See NNAK Katprof 1823 Maska District Head Complaint Against. Also A.M.M. 27/12/92.

66. Ibid.

67. Interview with Alhaji Muazu Yartabki 6/6/92. Henceforth A.M.Y.

was supposed to be paid by political opponents. This was applicable to members of Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.). Towards the end of our period all the members of this party were asked to pay £5 instead of £3 that was being paid by the rest of the people. The matter was immediately reported to the Secretary, Northern Provinces. Before he intervened the people were forced to pay, those who refused or could not were imprisoned. Sarkin Maska was later on requested to collect the *same amount* that was paid in the district from the members. The order was however belated as the tax had already been collected. When these members further petitioned, an order was given that their money should be returned to them. This was however, not done up to the end of our period.[68]

It would seem also that other Native Authority Officials who were working in the district extorted money from the people. This was the case with M. Amman who was the veterinary officer of the district. This man was said to have collected the following sums of money from various towns in the district without any genuine reason. He extorted a total of £2 from different people in Maska, 15/- from

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68. M.I.M. 26/2/92.

Dukke, 20/- from Dukke, 2/- from Yakurutu, 15/- from Goya, £1.6.3 from Mahuta, £1.16.0 from Mairuwa, £2.3.9 from Dandume, £4.1.0 from Mahuta again, £26 from Funtua, £1.17.0 from Funtua again, £7 from Magaji Wando and a total of £17.7.0 was collected from Bakari, Kurami, Tafashiya, Tsiga, Guga and Yaribori. The Sarkin Kasuwa and Sarkin Zango of the district were also said to have been involved in the extortions. The Sarkin Kasuwan Funtua and Sarkin Zango were in 1931 said to have illegally collected the sum of £120 from different people at Funtua. The money was collected whenever the people took their cows to the slaughter houses. This amounted to 3/3d out of which they withheld 1/- and gave them a receipt of 2/-. Such money was collected from Sarkin Fawa Maijika, Barau Zakara, Danhauwa Mailafiya, Dukuma, Sarkin Fawa Bazanfare, Danhauwa, Ali dan Ilu, Hassan, Sanda and Gaje. When the case was investigated Amman, Sarkin Kasuwa and the Sarkin Zango were made to refund the money they illegally collected to the owners.[69] The Sarakunan Kasuwa and the village heads also used to force traders to give them part of whatever they were selling This could be one or two measures of guinea corn or millet or even a bag of potatoes as the case might be. The practice was referred to as dauken

69. NNAK Katprof 1286 Maska District Notes.

kasuwa and was for the personal use of the village and market heads. This was demanded apart from what the traders had to pay as 'toll' at the end of each month.[70]

There were, similarly, numerous cases that were reported in Maska District of the District Head and his village heads forcing cattle rearers to pay tax twice. One such case was reported in 1939 by Mallam Mamman Ja who was then the veterinary mallam of the district. The Sarkin Maska instructed the veterinary mallam to collect jangali from some cattle rearers that came from Durbi District. It was discovered that these Fulani had paid their tax while they were still at home and even had the receipt with them. When Sarkin Maska was told this he said that they had to pay again or he would direct his dogarai to lock them up. Sale, [illegible] and Alhaji Mamman who were some of the dogarai working in the district were directed to ensure that the cattle rearers had complied. They paid 30/- which Mamman Ja took to Sarkin Maska and required that the District Head should give him a receipt to carry to the rearers. He further explained that the rearers would on returning from Ilorin take the first receipt back to their District Head and demand

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7 . A.A.U. 21/12/32.

for their money. The Sarkin Maska suggested giving Mammau Ja a plain paper that resembled the receipt to take to the cattle rearers but he objected. The District Head had no option than to return the money to the cattle rearers. It was for such extortionate practices that the Fulani were said to have avoided passing through the District in their way to the South.[71]

In fact at a certain stage the District Head was said to be collecting all the Jangali tax himself both on the village and the nomad cattle. He carried his sons, Bakari, Galadima and Durbi with him or sometimes sent them to collect any amount for him alone. The Sarkin Maska also hid behind the Native Authority law which stated that it was an offence to slaughter young goats or rams whose skins were not matured enough to be tanned into hides, to extort money from offenders. This superceded the amount that the law said should be collected from erring persons. Instead of 1/- the District Head ordered that 3/- should be collected from offenders. The money was referred to as kudin jangalin Mahuta. Again he asked the Sarkin Kasuwa to collect kudin kasuwa from grain sellers and anyone that

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71. NMAK Katprof 2664 - Complaint Against the District Head.

sold something in the market. The amount collected also exceeded the regulation. This ranged from 1/- and 3/- irrespective of the quantity.[72]

These problems of over-assessment and extortion were not practiced by the District Head alone and veterinary mallams as we have tried to show. It was also practiced by village heads of the District. As early as 1923 when Hamlyn toured the district, he discovered that more than seven village heads had collected money in excess of the actual amount assessed. The excess was from £5 to £30. He noted that:

> In many if not most cases, the amounts actually paid in tax by the talakawa were in excess of those brought to account: for I have little doubt from what I have seen of the Emirate as a whole, and Naska District in particular that every talaka pays at least the tax at which he is assessed.[73]

It is pertinent for us to mention that the Native Authorities in Naska District were not satisfied with what they exerted from the peasants,

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72. NNAK Katprof 2647 Instructions to District Heads, NNAK, Katprof 1811 - Naska District General Report, NNAK Katprof 1586 Naska District Re-assessment.

73. NNAK Katprof 1586 Naska District Re-assessment.

they also resorted to embezzling colonial taxes. This was considered a serious offence on the part of the District Head and his village heads. The British responded by removing and jailing all those who were caught. One of the very first District Heads to be removed from office was Sarkin Maska Abdu dan Galadima. This was in 1915.[74] In 1923 two village heads were also removed from office for embezaling taxes. These were the village headsof Kaura Dan Alasan and Bakarri.[75] The two were sentenced to one year imprisonment each. Similarly the village head of Maska was also found to have embezzled taxes. He was as a result sentenced to six months imprisonment in 1928.[76] The village head of Dandume was in 1930 forced to make the deficit of £4 which was less the sum required from the village.[77] In the same vein the village head of Bakare misappropriated jangali of £30. He had in 1929 also made away with £17. He was removed from office and imprisoned.[78] Others such as

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74. Ingawa Tukur Bello op.cit, pp.47-50.
75. NNAK Katprof 1811, Maska District General Report.
76. NNAK Katprof 1512.
77. NNAK Katprof 1286 - Maska District Notes on.
78. Ibid.

Magajin Jiruwa were forbidden to collect taxes because of embezzlement. Similarly Sarkin Maska Shehu had his salary reduced by £120 on account of embezzlement. Many other village heads were removed for the same offence during colonial period.

The Impact of Colonial Taxation on the People

Colonial taxation brought a great deal of suffering and poverty to the people of Maska Disrict. This was because of the high rate of incidence of the taxes and the brutal methods with which they were collected. We have noted that these taxes were regular and inflexible. This was to tally with the budgeting procedures of the fiscal year. There was no consideration given to harvest failure, local calamity or individual misfortune. The taxes were also paid on individual basis. Above all the incidence of these taxes grew consistently throughout the colonial period which made rural producers to pay a minimum of 30 per cent of their net profit.[79]

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79. NNAK Katprof 1286 - Maska District Notes on

We have furthermore noted that the relatives of dead persons were made to pay the taxes for lost ones. All these factors together with over assessment and extortion of the people by the Native Authorities made many of them to emigrate into other districts. In fact Maska District was said to have experienced great immigration of people in 1916/17 as a result of the heavy tax burden of taki assessment. About 1,611 compound heads were said to have migrated out of the district. This resulted in the abandonment of 2,410 farms in 1918. This migration began before the farmers knew the amount they would be taxed in 1917 and continued until the tax was withdrawn in 1923.[80] As Watts had rightly shown, migration was the litmus for the revenue experiment, short of rural rebellion.[81] The migration of people out of the district in turn affected the level of agricultural production. The household which had been the basic unit of production disintegrated. This was because the gandu could not fulfil the social and economic obligations it used

80. NNAK Katprof SNP 9 1044, NNAK Katprof 1921 Katsina Division Quarterly Report 1918.

81. Michael Watts, op.cit, p.259.

to in the pre-colonial period. The Maigida was unable to satisfy all the needs of the family members. Hence they moved away to other places as wage labourers, seasonal mine workers or petty traders in order to find money with which to pay their taxes.

Colonial taxation also affected the other economic activities that were practiced in the area. The tax on all trades al'adu and occupations led to the decline of the indigenous manufacturing industries that had flourished in the area before colonial occupation. This was because the high rate of this tax discouraged many of the people from continuing with the trades. Another factor was that these people could only get British currency with which to pay their taxes from merchant firms. This made them to abandon such crafts and go into export crop production which would provide them with money. Hull had noted such a tendency when he said:

> An increasing proportion of men abandoned their old trades and took up peanut and cotton cultivation.[82]

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82. Hull, R.W., op.cit, p.318

The consequence of such neglect of the industries was the technological dependence of the people in Maska District and Nigeria as a whole on the western capitalist countries for foreign goods and services.

The over-dependence on export-crop production also led to the outbreak of famines. These famines were partly caused by colonial taxation. The famine of 1927 kwana was particularly said to have been an evil charm that prevented wedding and dissolved marriages to the tune of ten thousand.[83] This famine was a consequence of a partial failure of rain fall in 1926 and was aggravated by the taki system. The taki had by this time been trippled in Maska District. There were also other industrial taxes that were being collected from craftsmen which rarely averaged less than 2/- per craftsman. These provided the context for the famine.

The cattle tax jangali was to especially lead to the commercialisation of the livestock sector. This was because the tax incidence was in excess of 15 percent of net household income.[84] Hence many pastoralists resorted to livestock sales

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83. A.K.B. 24/4/92.

84. Jacob, S.M. op.cit.

to cover tax. Many other pastoral households fled to more remote pastures. The Daneji and Wo'daa'be Fulani that had settled in the area in the 19th century were said to have migrated to Bauchi and Tanout.[85] This was in an attempt to escape the heavy tax burden which they bore. This also had disastrous consequences on herd composition as they diminished in number and revenue regeneration.

Colonial taxation also led to rural indebtedness. Many tax payers that could not pay their taxes were forced to either borrow money from canteen clerks or from userers. In the case of the former the debtors either ended with short-weighting or uncompetitive pricing while in the latter case they were made to collect the money on the condition that they would pay with interest. This situation also explains why many of the peasants wallowed in poverty during the colonial period. An informant noted that most of the peasants were at that time moving about in tattered cloths or dirty blankets

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85. Michael Watts, op.cit, p.294.

gwado. He specifically noted that one could hardly get a good kaftan that was worth £5 from the village area of Ciroman Belle down to Dutsen Dadi, Unguwar Mallam Dungu, Kadirawa, Unguwar Maje, Katuntsuro, Unguwar Mai kowa and Mairowa.[86]

The point should also be made that colonial taxation exposed various households to the vicissitudes of climate and seriously threatened the quality of the minimum subsistence floor. This was due to the constancy of high tax assessment and levies which forced the household heads to sell their grain reserves. As a whole:

> Taxation was a fundamental but blunt mechanism for compelling peasants to contribute to the cash economy. Monetary demands might be met through craft production, labour migration, or borrowing as well as by planting groundnuts.[87]

Conclusion

Our discussion in this chapter have been focussed on the role of Native Authorities in colonial taxation in our area of study. We have

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86. A.M.Y. 6/6/92.

87. Michael Watts, op.cit, p.364

seen that taxation was used by the British colonial government to subordinate the pre-colonial economy of Maska area to the world economy as producers of raw materials and consumers of manufactured goods. It was also geared towards sustaining the bureaucratic structures of the Native Authority system as well as make people provide labour in colonial projects. We have similarly examined the nature of colonial taxes and we have seen that they were rigid, discriminatory and burdensome. The chapter has also examined the assessment of these taxes and their collection. We have seen that these taxes were assessed by the British Officials and collected by the Sarkin Maska and his village heads. The assessment and collection were however carried out with threats and violence which forced people to follow any means in order to pay their taxes. We have also shown that the burden of colonial taxation was increased through the selfish activities of the District Head and his village heads. We finally looked at the impact of colonial taxation on the people of our area of study. We showed that it led to the decline of the major economic activities that had sustained the pre-colonial society such as agriculture and manufacture including trade. Colonial taxation also had catastrophic consequences on the household as a unit of production and procreation. This resulted in famines and indebtedness.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Our discussion in this thesis has been on the role of the Native Authorities in the colonial economy. The subject itself is important in the light of economic and political problems facing this country today. This could be seen in the economic crisis and dependency on the capitalist countries of Western Europe as well as the importation of manufactured goods and the export of agricultural raw materials in this country. The glimpse of these problems could further be seen in political instability which since independence in 1960, has manifested itself in a series of coups and clamours of domination by one ethnic group or region against the other. We have attempted to find out the sources or roots of these problems by looking back into the history of colonial domination in our area of study. This was necessary because our living present cannot be understood without making reference to the past. As Cicero had said some 2000 years ago, "To be ignorant of what happened before you were born is to be ever a child." Unless we understand how present day problems had their origins, our suggested remedies are apt to prove

rather naive. Any attempt to look at the immediate present in finding our problems would result in having a flat, unbalanced and distorted picture of the problems and their remedies.

We located these problems to colonial domination and the role that was played by the former emirate aristocracy in the subordination, exploitation and underdevelopment of our country. We took a case study of Maska District in Katsina Emirate to represent the larger process of such subordination, exploitation and underdevelopment in other emirates of Northern Nigeria.

We argued in this thesis that contrary to the views held by the advocates of "Indirect rule" and the 'vent for surplus model' theorists, the Native Authorities played significant roles in the colonial economy. These centred around their execution of colonial policies on labour, land tenure, agricultural production and taxation. We showed that it was the Sarkin Maska and his village heads that recruited people as forced labourers whenever there was a project to be done. They were also the people who collected all the taxes that were imposed by the colonial government. They administered and allocated lands for the construction of colonial projects and the rest of the people. These people were also used

to promote colonial agriculture through campaigns, use of posters, seed distribution and enforcing colonial laws relating to agriculture. It was also through their active support that the colonial government was able to establish the seed multiplication and experimentation centre at Daudawa, the British Cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A.), the Ginnery at Funtua and other trading firms that operated in our area of study.

We also showed in this thesis that these Native Authorities were not only used to execute colonial policies but they also participated and benefitted from these. They used the powers given to them to execute these roles in forcing people to work in their farms and houses, extort and over assess them, confiscate their farms and houses as well as cheat them in the weighing and grading of their agricultural products. We noted specifically that they were the only people who benefitted from mixed farming and also served as middlemen to the various firms. All these added to the burden of the common people. An informant noted these dubious attitudes on the part of the Native Authorities as a breach of trust an ba Sarakuna amana su rike mutanensu amma sun ci amana. The people were reduced to mere beasts of burden that suffered in silence. No avenue was

created for them to complain. According to one colonial report:

> The people were reluctant to bring complaints or to come to Katsina because they were afraid of being punished after I left the district. This was repeatedly brought to my notice and it is particularly evident in the units controlled by Sarkin Maska's sons.2

The colonial officials themselves adopted an indifferent attitude to such complaints even if they were lodged. The people had only one solution to their exploitation and harassment by the colonial government and that was to migrate out of the district.

Also discussed in this thesis is the impact of colonial policies on the society and the people of Maska District. We noted that the policies affected the economic activities that had flourished in the area before its occupation by the colonial forces. The introduction of the Allen cotton *badujala* and other varieties by the British colonial government paved way for the elimination of the indigenous cotton bagwandara. The local variety was specially suitable to the local textile and weaving industry. In the

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2. NNAK Katprof 1811 - Maska District General Report.

absence of the local variety the local textile industry declined. The weaving industry survived colonial policies up to 1923 and most of its products were taken to Borno, Kano and other places in Northern Nigeria.[3] By 1933, however, this had collapsed so much so that weavers could only be found at the villages of Inono and Rafinfa.[4] The massive importation of European cloth and other textiles products completed the destruction of the local textile industry. This was also the case with the dyeing industry. The importation of tinned indigo led to its decline. By 1933 dyers could only be found at Maska, Kofar Zaria and Dantudu.[5] In the same vein, hand tailoring and embroidery were seriously affected by these colonial policies and importation of textiles as well as the introduction of sewing machines in the 1920's and 1930's. In 1923 alone there were about 421 tailors using such machines in Maska District.[6] This led to the decline of hand tailoring and embroidery. Other indigenous

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3. NNAK Katprof 1586 Appendix III
4. NNAK Katprof 1/1/4 pp.49-50.
5. Ibid.
6. NNAK Katprof 1586 Appendix III

economic activities that were affected by colonial policies and importation of European goods included pottery, wood carving and the smithing industries. This was partly as a result of the importation of cutlery and other domestic utensils. The smithing industry that had flourished in the pre-colonial period was by 1923 in shambles. All its workshops were turned into places where European imported scrap metal was remoulded.[7]

We, furthermore, noted how colonial policies led to indebtedness, famines and the breakdown of the gandu as a unit of production and procreation.

On a whole a number of observations and deductions could be made from what we discussed in this thesis. In the first place it could be seen that the Native Authorities were used as mere agents of the British colonial government in achieving its aims and objectives of exploitation. The society was not in anyway left intact and the Native Authorities had no defined powers. Secondly a contrast could be drawn from the role of the emirate aristocracy in the emirate economy and their role in the colonial economy. In the pre-colonial economy, they had a total control of the economy and followed all avenues to promote it for their own benefit and the rest of the people.

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7. Ibid.

During the colonial period the Native Authorities had no control over the economy. They were transformed into agents that could play some roles in the economy for the benefit of the British colonial government. Finally it could be seen that the colonialists were able to achieve maximum exploitation of the human and natural resources of our area of study due largely to the use of the Native Authorities and the co-operation they gave to the colonialists. The colonial government was able to recruit labour, acquire lands, obtain raw materials and collect taxes through the use of the Native Authorities in Maska District.

It is hoped that our discussion in this thesis will stimulate further enquiries and researches into the role of the Native Authorities in the colonial economy. It is also hoped that what we have attempted here would provide a basis for the understanding of our backwardness, dependency and underdevelopment in this country. It is further hoped that our discussion would illuminate on the proper role that the natural rulers should be accorded in the politics of this country.

NOTE ON SOURCES

We have in the course of writing this thesis made use of two types of sources. These are the primary and the secondary sources. Under the primary sources we made use of archival materials and oral interviews. We have also made use of books and other official documents written by colonial officials who were participants in the events. The secondary sources consist of books, articles, journals, published and unpublished theses and dissertations. The list of all the primary and secondary sources used in the writing of this thesis could be found under **bibliography.** We shall start our discussion with the secondary sources.

Secondary Sources

There are basically two studies that deal with the pre-colonial period in relation to our subject and area of study. These are the works by Usman, Y.B. - The Transformation of Katsina: C.1796-1903 The Overthrow of the Sarauta System and the Establishment and Evolution of the Emirate , Ph.D. thesis A.B.U. 1974 and his book The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883, Ahmadu Bello University Press Ltd., 1981. While some important elements

about the pre-colonial economy and politics are discussed in the two works, it should be stated that the information about the Maska Area was scanty. We also made use of the book written by Holowinska Zofia Ancient Hausa Towns in Katsina and Daura Emirates, Mimeo 1976. This book is, however, more on pre-colonial urbanisation. There is also the work by Mahadi Abdullahi -"The State and the Economy: The Sarauta System and its role in Shaping the Society and Economy of Kano with Particular Reference to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", Vols 1 and 2 Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U. 1982. Even though this work is on Kano, we have found it useful in our discussion of the relationship between the local administration of Maska Area and the economy.

There was, however, no single work that dealt with our subject of study and area of study in the colonial period. The work by Richard Hull - "The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate, Northern Nigeria 1887-1944", Ph.D. Thesis Columbia University 1968, is on colonial administration in the emirate as a whole. Similarly the work by Ingawa Tukur Pello - "A Study of the Rural Economic History of the major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate During the Colonial Period C.1900-1939", Ph.D. Thesis 1984, has not dealt with our area of

study sufficiently. There are two other works on urbanisation in Funtua. These are Olofson, H.A. "Funtua: Patterns of Migration to a New Hausa Town," Ph.D. Thesis University of Pittsburgh 1976 and Abdullahi Idris Mahuta - "Urbanisation in Maska Region in the 19th and 20th Centuries with Special Reference to Funtua;" M.A. thesis A.B.U. Zaria 1990. There are also numerous dissertations written on the Emirate as a whole or some parts of the Emirate including Funtua but none is on our subject and area of study. These include Abdullahi Muazu Saulawa - "British Colonial Administrative Policies and Migrations in the Birnin Katsina Circa 1902-1954", B.A. Honours History Research paper 1972; Anthony O.T. (Miss) - "Land Use Pattern in Funtua," B.A. dissertation, A'B.U. Zaria 1975, Dahiru, S.K.,"Dandume Farmers Response to the F.A.D.P.: A Case Study", B.A. dissertation, A.B.U. Zaria 1978; Ibrahim, I.D. - "An Assessment of the Impact of Funtua Integrated Rural Development on Rural Communities in Maska Village Area," B.Sc. dissertation, A.B.U. Zaria 1981; Barde, M.S. - "The Political and Economic History of Makama District from 1915-1965," Bayero University, B.A. History dissertation 1983; Aliyu, M.B., "Agricultural Development Programme in Funtua Area: A Critique," B.Sc. dissertation A.B.U. Zaria 1975 and Alfa, I.S.

"Growth, Centres and their Impact on the Rural Economy: A Case Study of Funtua," B.A. Dissertation A.B.U. Zaria 1985.

We have also made use of books and articles. The only book that touched on our area of study at the general level is that of Grove, A.T., "Land and Population in Katsina Province with Special Reference to Bindawa Village in Danyusufa District, Government Printer Kaduna Northern Nigeria 1952. We found its discussion on the geography of Southern Katsina and some aspects on mixed farming useful. There is also the article by Robinson C.H. and Wallace, W. "Hausa Territories" in Geographical Journal Vol. 8 No.3 September 1896. It gives a vivid account of the rate at which agriculture was practiced in Maska area before the inception of colonial domination. This was, however, brief.

Primary Sources

The first part of primary sources used in this thesis consist of official records which were written by the British colonial officials and District scribes. These could be located at the National Archives Kaduna, Arewa House and Kashim Ibrahim Library A.B.U. Zaria. We have made use of three major series in this study. These include the

KATPROF series (Katsina Provincial Records); S.N.P. series (Secretariat Northern Provinces records) and KATNA series (Katsina Native Authority Records). We have also made use of the works of some Principal actors in the events discussed. These included the writings of F.D. Lugard, Charles Temple, Donald Cameron, Mary Bull, Charles Orr, A.H.M. Kirk Greene and Magery Perham. It is important to state that these records contain detailed information concerning British colonial domination especially in relation to colonial policies on labour, land, agricultural production and taxation. The point should be made however that the colonial records were handled with absolute care. This is because of their tendency to legitimise colonial domination and their attempt to reduce it to mere rule or administration. There is also a problem with their use of concepts in describing some specific aspects about the colonised. They used concepts such as 'tribe', 'primitive' and other ethnic categories which deny the understanding of the event or phenomenon they described. This was due largely to the pre-conceived notions they had about Africa. There is also the fact that the colonialists tended to hide information or distort it to serve their own interests. There is for example nothing said in the colonial records about the impact of colonial policies on the colonised.

All that one finds is a detailed account about the efficiency with which the colonialists were 'ruling' the country.

It was because of these limitations that we carried oral interviews. This was particularly helpful in finding out the impact of colonial policies on the people. The informants were also able to tell us as much as they could remember about their experiences with the Native Authories in Maska District who executed these policies. The interviews were carried out throughout the length and breadth of our area. All the interveiws were carried out in Hausa and I was able to have some of them taped. The interviews were first held with individuals after which I used to ask the persons to arrange for a group interview for us the next day. In both the individual and group interviews I always started by exchanging greetings and going on to introduce myself and what I was researching into. I directed my questions to the main issues in my research i.e. labour, land, agricultural production and trade. I sought to know about them in both the pre-colonial and colonial period in Maska district. I then allowed

my informants to respond. This was normally the prodedure. In other instances I started off with questions that were easy and less suspicious such as making inquiries into the founder of the settlement. My experience with all the interviews is that whenever I started with one person or a group, other people came to listen and contribute in the discussion. This was very helpful in checking the information that was given. It also showed how interested these people are in having their history written.

One basic limitation I have found with the oral data was that informants were not able to remember the details of important events relating to our subject of study. They could only remember the general framework but could not site specific examples. The informants were also not able to give exact dates when the events happened. Whenever there was this second problem I used to ask them to estimate the number of years in which they felt the event had happened. In other instances I made reference to the major famines that had happened in the area or the reign of the ruler at the time and ask them to situate the event within these. Their

response to this was able to give an idea as regards to when the event occured. It should be noted that inspite of these shortcomings the oral source was particularly important in checking the colonial records.

List of Some Informants

Name	Approximate Age	Place	Dates
M. Muhammadu Ibrahim	74	Maigamji	26/2/92
M. Muhammadu Maisalati	76	"	29/2/92
M. Abubakar Koshe	100	Bakin Dutse	24/4/92
Alhaji Muhammadu Bello	75	Jabiri	24/4/92
M. Dauda Na Gaje	-	Funtua	5/6/92
M. Adamu Abdullahi	65	"	6/6/92
Alhaji Muazu Yartabki	60	Yartabki	6/6/92
Alhaji Mijinyawa Bankoli	65	Funtua	7/6/92
M. Sule Bage	100	"	19/9/92
M. Ibrahim Mohammed	60	Belongada	20/9/92
M. Abdullahi Burtu	80	Funtua	19/9/92
M. Ladan Yuguda	98	"	19/9/92
M. Garba Mohammed	80	Maigamji	19/9/92
M. Ibrahim Umaru	85	Funtua	20/9/92
Late M. Usman Jabiri	57	Jabiri	24/4/92
M. Usman Ali	50	Jabiri	25/4/92
Alhaji Ali	65	Jabiri	23/4/92

NAME	APPROXIMATE AGE	PLACE	DATE
Alhaji Danmagaji	120	Jabiri	23/4/92
Dangaladima Yamusa	80	Dandume	2/2/92
Alhaji Zinaidu	70	Dandume	2/2/92
Alhaji Ahmadu Makeri	95	Dandume	2/2/92
M. Wawu Barkan	65	Dandume	2/2/92
Alhaji Nuhu Sambo	75	Funtua	19/9/92
Alhaji Muhammadu	88	Makera	5/11/91
Alhaji Salisu Liman	85	Makera	5/11/92
M. Muhammadu Sani	57	Mairuwa	28/11/92
M. Idi Maiwada	60	Mairuwa	15/11/92
M. Barau	81	Daudawa	28/11/92
M. Umaru	80	Daudawa	28/11/92
M. Lasau	102	Daudawa	30/11/92
M. Nagoshi	75	Daudawa	28/11/92
M. Namamman	72	"	28/11/92
M. Isiyaku	102	Mahuta	14/11/92
M. Samailu	110	Dandarau	10/10/92
M. Usman Abdulkadir	68	Goya	10/10/92
M. Garba Mohammadu	80	Dukke	1/10/92
Alhaji Audu	98	Maska	12/12/91
M. Adamu Maiguga	80	"	27/12/92
M. Shehu Karfin Gada	85	Mararrabar Maska	27/12/9
Natiti Maska	90	Maska	27/12/92
M. Tsalha Ci Ka Fadi	75	Mahuta	23/12/92
M. Amadu Mai Kara	82	Mahuta	23/12/92

Group interview at Yakurutu - 11/11/91

Group interview at Kadawa - 21/11/91

Group interview at Danmayaki - 30/11/91

Group interview at Dokar Ashafa - 3/12/91

Group interview at Gardawa - 7/12/91

Group interview at Batagyara - 10/12/91

Group interview at Unguwar Fadi - 29/12/91

Group interview at Gwaigwaye - 2/1/92

Group interview at Bagari - 12/1/92

Group interview at Unguwar Mai Tukku 16/1/92

Group interview at Kaliyawa 21/1/92

Group interview at Dukuduku - 30/1/92

Group interview at Dukke - 9/2/92

Group interview at Rafin Iwa - 10/2/92

Group interview at Tumburkai - 14/2/92

Group interview at Batarawa - 18/2/92

Group interview at Magaji Wando - 21/4/92

Group interview at Gwaya - 29/2/92

Group interview at Dantankari - 1/3/92

Group interview at Bakari - 5/3/92

Group interview at Duya - 10/3/92

Group interview at Innono - 21/3/92

Group interview at Kauran Katuka - 4/4/92

Group interview at Jabiri - 23/3/92

Group interview at Dandume - 2/2/92

Samples of Names and Credentials of Informants Interviewed in the Course of Field Work

1. M. Muhammadu Ibrahim Maigamji (M.I.M) - 26/2/92

The interview was held at the entrance hall of his house. He was 74 years old at the time of the interview and a farmer. He was a victim of land confiscation. He joined N.E.P.U. when it emerged and rose to be its leader in Maska District.

2. M. Muhammad Maisalati Maigamji (M.M.M.) - 29/2/92

The interview took place at an open space in fromt of his house. He was aged 76 years and a farmer. He was in our period recruited to go and work at the tin mines in Jos.

3. M. Abubakar Koshe Bakin Dutse (A.K.B.) - 24/4/92

The interview was held in an open space in front of his house. He was about 100 years at the time of the interview and engaged in farming. He was involved in the carriage of iron platform used in constructing bridges and railway lines.

4. Alhaji Muhammad Bello Jabiri (M.B.J.) - 24/4/92

We had the interview in the entrance hall to his house. He was aged 75 and engaged in farming. He participated in the construction of the Zaria-Funtua road.

5. M. Dauda Na Gaje U/Wanzamai (D.N.U.)

The interview took place in a room near the entrance hall to his house. He was 50 years at the time of the interview and a farmer. His father was one of the people recruited for the tin mine at Jos. He was also made to give grains and money as 'war aids'. The informant was also a prominent N.E.P.U. member and was jailed several times because of his radical views.

6. M. Adamu Abdullahi Mijinyawa U/wangamai (A.A.U.) 6/6/92.

The interview took place in a room outside his house. He was 65 years old and a farmer. He participated in the clearing of river banks and the eradication of kashin yawo. He was also engaged in the farm of Sarkin Maska as a forced labourer. He was a N.E.P.U. member and was popularly known as "Sardaunan N.E.P.U.".

7. Alhaji Muazu Yartabki (A.M.Y.) - 6/6/92

The interview was held at the entrance hall to his house. He was aged 60 and a farmer. He participated in the construction of the Zaria-Gusau railway line. He was also a prominent N.E.P.U. member.

8. Alhaji Mijinyawa Dankoli (A.M.D.) - 7/6/92

We had the interview at the entrance hall to his house. He was 65 years old and a trader. He was sick at the time of the interview but was very much alert. He was also a prominent N.E.P.U. member.

9. M. Sule Bage Gangaren Ammani - (S.B.G.) - 19/9/92

The interview took place in the entrance hall to his house. He was 100 years old at the time of the interview and a farmer. He participated in the construction of the rest house at Funtua.

10. M. Ibrahim Funtua (M.I.F.) - 20/9/92.

The interview was held in the entrance hall to his house. He was aged 60 and was a civil servant. He was in his youth engaged in the eradication of kashin yawo and clearing of river banks.

11. Sarkin Filanin Tudun Iya (S.F.I.) - 10/1/92

We had the interview in a separate room near his house. He was 92 years old and a cattle rearer.

12. Alhaji Danmagaji Jabiri (A.D.J.) 6/3/92

The interview was held at the entrance hall to his house. He was 120 years at the time of the interview and was a farmer. He participated in the construction of the Zaria-Funtua road, Funtua-Birnin Gwari road and the Zaria-Gusau railway line.

13. Alhaji Audu Magajin Maska (A.M.M.)

The interview was conducted at the entrance hall to his house. He was aged 78 and was the village head. After the interview he asked one of his body guards to take me round the town and show me important places.

14. M. Barau Daudawa (M.B.D.) - 28/11/92

The interview was held at an open space outside the house near one tree Dorowar Kuraye. The informant was aged 81 years old and a farmer. He was one of the very first labourers to be employed at the Daudawa Farm Service centre when it was established.

15. M. Lasau Kwarashin Daudawa (L.K.D.) 30/11/92.

The interview was held at the entrance hall to his house. He was 120 years old. His voice was not audible during the interview and so I called one of his brothers Kasimu (68) to help me interprete what he was saying. He was one of the first people to be settled at the Daudawa farm as mixed farmers.

16. Alhaji Nuhu Sambo Magajin Funtua (N.S.F.) 19/9/92

The interview was held at the entrance hall to his house. He was 75 years old and the village head of Funtua. He was a son of the Sarkin Maska Shehu (1915-1928) and a grandson of Gudindi. Before his appointment as the village head of Funtua he was the village head of Makera and a deputy of the Sarkin Maska Sambo (1928-1963).

17. Group Interview Dandume - 2/2/92

The interview was held at the verandah of the office of the village head Galadima Yamusa (80). Other informants were Alhaji Zinaidu (70), Alhaji Ahmadu Makeri (95) and Wawu Samban Barkan (65). We discussed a lot of things in both the pre-colonial and colonial period that were related to our subject of study and the Dandume riots of 1949.

18. Group Interview Jabiri - 24/4/92

The interview was held at an open space in front of the village heads house late Usman Jabiri (57). Other informants were Sani Ali (49), Alhaji Danmagaji Jabiri (120), M. Muhammad Bello (75), Usman Ali (50) and Alhaji Ali (65). All the informants were farmers.

19. Group Interview Funtua - 30/9/92.

The interview was held at the entrance hall of Magajin Funtua. Other informants were Abdullahi Burtu (80), Ladan Yuguda (98), M. Garba Magajin Maigamji (80) and Ibrahim Ummaru (85).

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APPENDIX I.

YEAR (MONTH)	VILLAGE	NUMBER OF MONKEY EMPLOYED	DAYS WORK	FROM	TO
SEPTEMBER 1939	Bakari	113	12		
	S. Mkoni	94	3		
	Mwipwa	95	6		
	Mukeri	90	7		
	Maska	13	7		
	Nasarawa	6	5		
	Lasanova	6	5		
	Mahuta	29	5		
	K. Dan Alasan	13	4		
	Tumburmi	12	4		
	K. T. Suka	13	5		
	Rafin Iya	41	4		
	Danbaburi	19	5		
	Furdun	114	5		
	Total	594			
OCTOBER 1939	Bakari	37	3	1/10/39	3/12/39
	Dana	30	3	"	"
	K. Jidan	20	3	"	"
	Mwipwa	40	3	"	"
	Mukeri	13	3	"	"
	Kadi	12	3	"	"
	Sarkin Kilani	15	3	"	"
	Rafin Iya	14	3	"	"
	Dan Baburi	24	3	"	"

YEAR (HOSPH)	VILLAGE	NUMBER EMPLOYED	[illegible]	FROM	TO
	Dukke	41	3	1/12/39	3/12/39
	Yalwa	33	3	"	"
	Funtua	29	3	"	"
	Dandume	75	3	"	"
	Maska	75	3	"	"
	Batarawa	28	3	"	"
	Tudun Iya	51	3	"	"
	Meigamji	59	3	"	"
	Kwaya	81	3	"	"
	Total	696			
JANUARY 1940	Pakari	100			
	"	30	3	10/1/40	12/1/40
	"	30	3	13/1/40	15/1/40
	"	40	3	16/1/40	17/1/40
	S. Fileni	30			
	"	10	3	10/1/40	12/1/40
	"	10	3	13/1/40	15/1/40
	"	10	3	16/1/40	17/1/40
	Makera	40			
	"	20	3	10/1/40	11/1/40
	"	20	3	13/1/40	17/1/40
	Mairamji	40			
	"	30	3	10/1/40	12/1/40
	"	10	3	13/1/40	15/1/40
	Karaji Yalwa	60	3	11/1/40	16/1/40
	Dandume	30	3	13/1/40	21/1/40

YEAR (MONTH)	VILLAGE	NUMBER EMPLOYED	DAYS EMPLOYED	FROM	TO
FEBRUARY 1940	Mairuwa	26	3	4/2/40	6/2/40
	"	21	3	7/2/40	9/2/40
	"	57	3	10/2/42	12/2/40
	Dandume	140			
	"	64	3	2/2/40	4/2/40
	"	76	3	5/2/40	7/2/40
	S. Filani	54			
	"	30	3	6/2/40	8/2/40
	"	24	3	9/2/40	11/2/42
	Magaji Wando	61			
	"	40	3	5/2/40	7/2/40
	"	41	3	8/2/40	10/2/40
	Mairuwa	48			
	"	25	3	5/2/40	8/2/40
	"	23	3	9/2/40	11/2/40
	Rafin Iwe	94			
	"	45	3	8/2/40	10/2/40
	"	49	3	11/2/40	13/2/40
	Mahuta	105			
	"	85	3	7/2/40	9/2/40
	"	30	3	10/2/40	12/2/40
	Total	635			

YEAR (MONTH)	VILLAGE	NUMBER EMPLOYED	DAYS ENGAGED	FROM	TO
JANUARY (1941)	Dukke	257	3	1/1/41	4/1/41
	Makera	78	3	5/1/41	8/1/41
	Yalwa	140	"	9/1/41	12/1/41
	Maigamji	45	3	18/1/41	21/1/41
	Mairuwa	140	3	13/1/41	16/1/41
	Kanon Haki	150	3	17/1/41	20/1/41
	Belle	190	3	21/1/41	24/1/41
	Bakari	125	3	11/1/41	14/1/41
	Doma	190	3	14/1/41	17/1/41
	N. Ladan	50	3	17/1/41	19/1/41
	S. Filani	120	3	20/1/41	23/1/41
	Mahuta	560	3	23/1/41	25/1/41
	Total	1,935			
FEBRUARY (1941)	Bakari	150	3	1/2/41	3/2/41
	Tsaburkai	105	3	4/2/41	6/2/41
	Yakurutu	93	3	7/2/41	9/2/41
	Mahuta	220	3	10/2/41	12/2/41
	Merinai	124	3	13/2/41	15/2/41
	Dantankari	260	3	16/2/41	18/2/41
	Doker Ashafa	170	3	19/2/41	21/2/41
	Maigamji	67	3	22/2/41	24/2/41
	Maraji Nando	338	3	21/2/41	23/2/41
	Dan Mayaki	491	3	12/2/41	14/2/41
	Rafin Iwa	600	3	15/2/41	17/2/41
	Maikasuwa	420	3	12/2/41	14/2/41
	Dandume	300	3	15/2/41	17/2/41

YEAR (MONTH)	VILLAGE	NUMBER EMPLOYED	DAYS ENGAGED	FROM	TO
	Jiruwa	220	3	18/2/41	20/2/41
	Maska	66	3 3	21/2/41	23/2/41
	Total	2649			
MARCH 1941	Dandume	100	3	1/3/41	3/3/41
	Dantankari	111	3	4/3/41	6/3/41
	Tumburkai	150	3	7/3/41	9/3/41
	Yakurutu	135	3	10/3/41	12/3/41
	Mag. Wando	589	3	13/3/41	15/3/41
	Dan Mayaki	321	3	16/3/41	18/3/41
	Maska	151	3	10/3/41	12/3/41
	Batarawa	138	3	19/3/41	21/3/41
	Duya	273	3	10/3/41	2/3/41
	Total	2168			
MAY 1941	Dandume	86	3	1/5/41	3/5/41
	Dantankari	67	3	4/5/41	6/5/41
	Damari	90	6	7/5/41	13/5/41
	Rafin Iwa	102	3	10/5/41	12/5/41
	Mag. Wando	114	3	13/5/41	15/5/41
	Maska	62	3	16/5/41	18/5/41
	Batarawa	53	3	16/5/41	18/5/41
	Maigamji	49	3	16/5/41	18/5/41
	Total	643			

YEAR (MONTH)	VILLAGE	NUMBER EMPLOYED	DAYS ENGAGED	FROM	TO
FEBRUARY 1942	Gwaya	52	3	4/2/42	6/2/42
	Maska	41	3	6/2/42	8/2/42
	Duya	64	3	5/2/42	7/2/42
	Rafin Iwa	30	3	8/2/42	10/2/42
	Batarawa	40	3	7/2/42	9/2/42
	Tumburkai	55	3	4/2/42	6/2/42
	Damari	20	3	10/2/42	12/2/42
	Runtua	45	3	7/2/42	9/2/42
	Total	347			
APRIL 1942	Maska	64	3	14/4/42	16/4/42
	Batarawa	50	3	17/4/42	19/4/42
	Tumburkai	71	3	17/4/42	19/4/42
	Duya	85	3	20/4/42	22/4/42
	Damari	28	3	17/4/42	19/4/42
	Total	298			
MAY 1942	Kaigamji	52	3	1/5/42	3/5/42
	Tshuta	71	3	"	"
	Gwaya	60	3	3/5/42	6/5/42
	Maska	30	3	"	"
	Batarawa	25	3	"	"
	Total	235			
JULY	Rafin Iwa	20	3	1/7/42	3/7/42
	Damari	15	3	4/7/42	6/7/42
	Kandume	52	3	7/7/42	10/7/42
	Mag. Dando	34	3	11/7/42	13/7/42
	Dura	17	3	13/7/42	16/7/42
	Total	138			

YEAR (MONTH)	VILLAGE	NUMBER EMPLOYED	DAYS ENGAGED	FROM	TO
DECEMBER 1942	Makera	25	3	11/12/42	
	Fadi	28	3	14/12/42	
	Yalwa	18	3	17/12/42	
	Funtua Nasara	13	3	20/12/42	
	Total	84			
JANUARY 1943	Funtua	19	3	1/1/43	3/1/43
	Makera	32	3	4/1/43	7/1/43
	Mairuwa	31	3	7/1/43	9/1/43
	Gerki	55	3	10/1/43	12/1/43
	Kahuta	22	3	13/1/43	15/1/43
	Total	159			
FEBRUARY 1943	Funtua	26	3	4/2/43	6/2/43
	-do-	30	3	7/2/43	9/2/43
	-do-	25	3	10/2/43	12/2/43
	Funtua	27	3	13/2/43	15/2/43
	-do-	24	3	16/2/43	18/2/43
	Dandin Iwa	30	3	1/2/43	3/2/43
	Gamji	41	3	4/2/43	6/2/43
	S. Daura	20	3	7/2/43	9/2/43
	Mai Kwauva	25	3	10/2/43	12/2/43
	Sayau	22	3	13/2/43	15/2/43
	Gar. Duna	18	3	16/2/43	18/2/43
	Albasu	43	3	19/2/43	21/2/43
	Total	331			

YEAR (MONTH)	VILLAGE	NUMBER ENGAGED	DAYS ENGAGED	FROM	TO
JUNE 1943	Bakari	50	3	14/6/43	17/6/43
NOVEMBER	Maska	38	3	26/11/43	29/11/43
	Batarawa	47	3	-do-	-do-
	Tumburkai	50	3	27/11/43	30/11/43
	Total	135			
DECEMBER 1943	Mairuwa	52	3	1/12/43	3/12/43
	Makera	45	3	2/12/43	5/12/43
	Mag. Wando	55	3	1/12/43	3/12/43
	Dantankari	61	3	3/12/43	5/12/43
	Duya	75	3	1/12/43	3/12/43
	Rafin Iwa	47	3	4/12/43	6/12/43
	Mahuta	97	3	6/12/43	8/12/43
	Total	432			
JANUARY 1944	Mairuwa	50	3	1/1/44	
	Makua	49	3	4/1/44	
	Mairamji	44	3	2/1/44	
	Dantankari	107	3	3/1/44	
	Duya	70	3	1/1/44	
	Rafin Iwa	58	3	9/1/44	
	Mahuta	49	3	7/1/44	
	Maska	46	3	16/1/44	
	Dukke	70	3	4/1/44	
	Bakari	45	3	2/1/44	
	Dandume	67	3	3/1/44	
	Total	554			

YEAR (MONTH)	VILLAGE	NUMBER EMPLOYED	DAYS EMPLOYED	FROM	TO
FEBRUARY 1944	from the whole district	1,135			
MARCH 1944	"	616			
APRIL 1944	"	561			
MAY 1944	"	361			
JUNE 1944	"	427			

SOURCE: KATEROF 180 A- DETAILS OF FORCED LABOUR.

APPENDIX II

SOME MIDDLEMEN LICENCED TO PURCHASE COTTON IN MASKA DISTRICT 1957 - 1960

NAME	YEAR REGISTERED	RECEIPT NUMBER	AREA OF BUYING	AREA OF SELLING
Tanko	1957	727376	Tatari	Mahuta
Namata	"	" 377	Gamji	Dantankari
Bala	"	378	Maisabo	Kakumi
Audu	"	" 379	Shal	Dantankari
Bawa Y. M.	"	" 380	Dankinda	"
Danmori	"	" 381	"	"
Alkasum	"	" 382	Gamji	"
Kado	"	" 383	Dandanbe	"
Isa Yarima	"	" 384	"	"
Barau	"	" 385	Dugun Yahuza	Funtua
Maikano	"	" 386	Jiruwa	"
Tambaya	"	" 387	Tumburkai	Dallawa
M. Sule	"	607333	Mununu	Ruwan Godiya
Haruna	"	" 334	Yaremawa	Guga
MaiJangali	"	" 335	U/Musa	"
Yakubu	"	" 336	Yaremawa	"
Sule	"	" 343	U/Bode	Ruwan Godiya
Sule Yankara	"	" 346	U/Donaji	"
Bello	"	" 347	Rafin Kara	Funtua
Bahago	"	" 348	U/M. Ladan	Mairua
Musa	"	" 367	U/Musa	Kakumi
Maude	"	724384	U/Bakon Banga	Dallawa
M. Hamza	"	" 385	Gamji	"
Labo	"	" 386	Tumburkai	"
M. Musa	"	" 387	"	Maska

NAME	YEAR REG.	RECEIPT NUMBER	AREA OF BUYING	AREA OF SELLING
Balqn Adamu	1957	724388	Tumburkai	Dallawa
Magaji	"	" 389	"	Maska
Bala	"	" 390	"	Dallawa
Nasiru	"	" 391	Kaura Katuka	"
Dankaro	"	" 392	U/Maisabo	Funtua
Yau	"	" 393	Kamfanin Ade	Dantankari
Nadada	"	" 394	Tumburkai	Dallawa
Abdu Kado	"	" 395	Gamji	"
Garba Dogo	"	" 396	"	"
Abdu Bakwashe	"	" 397	"	"
M. Yusufu	"	" 398	Bakon Banga	"
Hanau	"	" 399	Gamji	Dantankari
Alasan	"	" 440	"	"
Dangogo	"	727351	Gwaganri	Maska
Mairua	"	" 352	"	"
Tambaya	"	" 353	Tatari	"
Ali	"	" 354	"	"
Muhammadu	"	" 355	"	"
Bawa	"	" 356	Kurku	"
Ibrahim	"	" 357	Kadawa	"
Ibrahim Guga	"	" 358	U/Maisabo	Mahuta
Bawa	"	" 359	Bakarya	Guga
Dangogo	"	" 360	"	Kakumi
Maiunguwa Magajin Aska	"	" 361	U/Dansoro	"
Goma	"	" 362	"	"
Baidu	"	" 363	"	"
Umaru Tela	"	" 365	Madobi	"

NAME	YEAR REG.	RECEIPT NUMBER	AREA OF BUYING	AREA OF SELLING
Abdu	1957	724366	Sha'e	Mahuta
Manomi	"	" 367	Jiruwa	Dantankari
Idau	"	" 368	Sha'i	"
Nabinta	"	" 369	Gamji	Dantankari
Damo	"	" 370	Jiruwa	"
Mamman Mai-Unguwa	"	" 371	Fannu	"
Musa Zari	"	" 372	Mununu	Funtua
Usman	"	" 373	Zari	Kakumi
Sale	"	" 374	DaMayaki	Dantankari
M. Bala	"	" 375	Mununu	Kakumi
M.Gambo Doma	1958	-	Zari	Ruwan Godiya
M.Abdulkari	"	-	Shawu	"
Gambo	"	-	Tsaunin Zaki	"
Haruna	"	-	Baubawa	"
Sule Magaji	"	-	U/Danga	"
Inusa	"	-	Shemi	"
Danjuma	"	-	Baubawa	"
Sani	"	-	Zari	"
Tsoho	"	-	Ganuwa	"
Sule	"	-	Gidan Kwando	"
Nuhu Zari	"	-	Zari	"
Wada	"	-	Shawu	"
M. Bature	"	-	Zari Shawu	"
Rukumi	"	-	Baubawa	"
Ali	"	-	K/Maitsamiya	"

NAME	YEAR REG.	RECEIPT NUMBER	AREA OF BUYING	AREA OF SELLING
MUSA	1958	-	Gwaigwaye	Funtua
Dalhatu	"	-	Dangaria	Kakumi
Almu	"	-	Danaji, Manunu Bakarya	Dandume
Nadada	"	-	Gamji, U/Zagi	"
Garba	"	-	Danmayaki	"
Umaru Dogo		-	Katuka	"
Dan Bature		-	Kacilo	"
Mai Jangali		-	Dokke Kadabo	Funtua
Dabo	1959	-	U/Miko, Bele, T/Kare	"
Dankaka	"	-	U/Bele, Miko, Tokare	"
Umaru	"	-	Dukke, U/Jiruwa U/Biri	"
Mani	"	-	U/Bele, Tokare, Miko	"
Tambaya	1960	-	Goya, Tabki K/Tsamiya	"
Adamu	"	-	Tabki, Goya K/Tsamiya	"
Barkono	"	-	K/Tsamiya, Kadabo	"
Liman	"	-	Namakurdi, Goya	"

Source: KatNA 957 C.A.G.15.

APPENDIX III

TAXATION OF COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES AND SOME NATIVE AUTHORITY OFFICIALS IN MASKA DISTRICT 1952/53.

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
A.E. Akoko	SCOA	Funtua	£6.1.0
J. Okoye	"	"	£1.10.0
B. Mottoh	"	"	£2.16.4
C. Mottoh	"	"	4/6d
S.K. Kahinde	"	"	£1.19.0
O.E. Olokun	C.F.A.O.	"	£7.10.0
S.O. Shomeyi	"	"	£1.13.7
E.O. Oredepe	"	"	8/7d
Usman Shopbey	"	"	15/-
Sumaila Mess	"	"	13/3d
Usman H/man	"	"	16/1d
P.A. Anthony	L.K.T.C.	"	£5.11.9
J.A. Anthony	"	"	£2.11.0
M.A. Kehinde	"	"	£1.11.10
F. Okojie	"	"	£1.8.2.
G. Ajayi	"	"	18/5
B.A. Balogun	"	"	16/6
A. Adekunle	"	"	13/4
D.A. Akusa	Station Master	"	£4.13.0
J.A. Ajayi	Goods Clerk	"	£3.13.0
C.N. Okonkwo	Booking Clerk	"	£1.16.0
M.U. Ejiofo	Staff Clerk	"	£1.16.0
Buraimoh	Stuntor Clerk	"	£1.10.0

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
Issa Dankaka	Pointman	Funtua	£1.1.4
E.O. Oppan	"	"	9/0
Lawson Dike	Porter	"	8/0
Dan Zaria	"	"	8/0
Ibrahim	"	"	8/0
S.O. Matar Milola	N.C.G.A.	"	£4.18.11
S.H. Ibrahim	"	"	£2.4.6
S.O. Joseph	"	"	£3.10.0
M. Yusifu	"	"	£1.19.6
Audu Tani	"	"	19/7
Kankari	"	"	£2.3.2
Garba Farlami	"	"	£1.16.6
Maigwari	"	"	18/0
Ubangida	"	"	18/7
Audi	"	"	17/0
Hassan	"	"	16/9
E. Olabiyi	"	"	£1.3.8
Sule	"	"	13/1
Umaru	"	"	14/6
Bala Danja	"	"	16/0
Dan Birni	"	"	14/5
Jatumi	"	"	13/5
Audu Kano	"	"	12/7
Magaji	"	"	13/3
Alli	"	"	14/3

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
Mamman Gwarzo	G.C.G.A.	Funtua	12/5
Yusifu	"	"	12/5
Musa	"	"	9/0
Gaya	"	"	9/5
Ahmadu Katsina	"	"	9/0
Ali Kano	"	"	9/0
Dan Mallam	"	"	9/0
John Apasku	"	"	9/0
Samuel Adepoju	"	"	9/5
N.A. Ajayi	"	"	11/8
Maidawa Naguga	G.C.G.A.	"	11/6
Mr. D.S. Ariyi	"	"	£2.15.6
S.I. Nwokike	"	"	£1.15.0
A.O. Oparaji	"	"	£1.8.0
L.A. Adejokun	Railway Motors	"	£6.8.0
J. Shoyinka	"	"	£4.18.0
M. Okemewo	"	"	£1.18.0
R.S. Adetula	"	"	£1.10.0
S,O. Adebule	"	"	£1.19.0
M.A. Loku	"	"	£1.19.0
D.O. Obi	"	"	£1.19.0
B.O. Okoko	"	"	£1.19.0
P.O. Boyle	"	"	£1.4.0
J.S.A. Williams	"	"	£1.4.0.

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
E. Ovbioise	Railway Motors	Funtua	£1.1.4
G. Umesi	"	"	£1.1.4
J. Nwankwo	"	"	£100.0
E.A. Awuru	"	"	15/0
L.T.Ekanan	"	"	17/4
O. Ose	"	"	15/0
P. Osogbo	"	"	15/0
A.A. Okosum	"	"	15/0
F.O. Okonkwo	"	"	15/0
A. Olokodana	"	"	£2.2.0.
Garba Umaru	"	"	10/0
Sale Dutsinma	"	"	9/4
Dan Fulani	"	"	9/4
R.A. Balogu	Railway Line	Bakori	£4.18.0
Usuman	"	"	£1.10.6
Salami	"	"	£1.10.6
S.U. Njikanye	"	"	£1.19.6
Ton	"	"	16/6
Gango Bello	"	"	£2.5.0
Aiki	"	"	14/0
Danboyi	"	"	9/5
Mai Karfi	"	"	9/5
Natau	"	"	9/1
Jansin	"	"	8/3

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
Makyat	Railway Line	Bakori	8/3
Gango Ali	"	"	£2.5.0.
Musa	"	"	14/0
Afraji	"	"	8/3
Danwanzam	"	"	9/5
Bahago	"	"	9/5
Adamu	"	"	9/5
G. Usumanu	"	Funtua	13/0
Abdu	"	"	12/0
Danladi	"	"	10/0
Solibina	"	"	8/0
Mammadu Bida	"	"	8/0
Shitu T/Keeper	"	"	£1.4.0
Muhd. Kyaliko	"	"	12/0
Ibrahim H.	"	"	12/0
Abdallah	"	"	£1.8.0
Dogon Yaro	"	"	12/0
Mamman Sokoto	"	"	9/0
Alasan	"	"	9/0
Joseph	"	"	9/0
Daninna	"	"	9/0
Samaila	"	"	9/0
Antony Ganga	"	"	£1.15.16
Abdu	"	"	12/0
Biruwa	"	"	9/0
Isa B.	"	"	9/0

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
Ladan Sokoto	Railway Line	Funtua	9/0
Sha'aibu	"	"	9/0
Wada	"	"	9/0
Mamman Kano	"	"	9/0
Haruna	"	"	9/0
Ganga Garba	"	Gwaya	£2.8.0
S. Samari Isa	"	"	12/0
M. Mamman	"	"	8/0
Dan Aiso	"	"	8/0
Iro Ingawa	"	"	8/0
Ali Guni	"	"	8/0
Dankawu	"	"	8/0
Barau	Railway Line	Mairuwa	9/2
Dan Zaria	"	"	8/0
Adamu	"	"	8/0
Yahuza	"	"	8/0
Usman	"	"	8/0
R.N. Edeoghon	Post Office	Funtua	£4.3.0
N.A. Umodu	"	"	£2.4.0
J.A. Irekenagba	"	"	£2.8.0
P.O. Abiogbo	"	"	£2.2.0
J.N. Okotcha	"	"	£1.19.0
B.A. Adebayo	"	"	1-/0
G.M.OOkonkwo	Groundnut Oil	"	£2.14.0
M.O. Ijirotifa	"	"	£1.4.0

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
S.N. Nwakando	Groundnut Oil	Funtua	£.1.4.0
J.E. Enajerha	"	"	12/0
E.E.D. Osuchukwu	"	"	8/0
Bello Katsina	"	"	8/0
Ali Dan Burme	"	"	8/0
Saidu	"	"	8/0
G.E.A. Olisemanan	"	"	24/0
M.B. Biza	"	"	24/0
T.N. Ojikunye	"	"	24/0
S.O. Ogibo	"	"	8/0
R.N. Owaakokeke	"	"	8/0
Joseph Ishola	"	"	8/0
Jumare Funtua	"	"	8/0
Okwura	Local Industries	Funtua	£1.0.0.
J. Nduka	"	"	11/0
J. Otere	"	"	9/6
Nuhu Kano	"	"	6/6
Danzango	"	"	6/6
Danladi	"	"	6 / 6
Amadu	"	"	9/2
Adegbe	"	"	6/6
Danbutaku	"	"	12/0
Bagobiri	"	"	12/0
Adamu Fage	"	"	18/3

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
Adamu Fage II	Local Industries	Funtua	12/2
Haruna Fage	"	"	12/2
Isa Tudun Wada	"	"	12/2
Audu Gangara	"	"	12/2
Mamman Jegana	"	"	12/2
Yan Charanci	"	"	12/2
Maikarfi Kano	"	"	13/2
Tanko Kano	"	"	9/4
Abubakar Kano	"	"	9/4
Sunday Kano	"	"	9/4
Garba Funtua	"	"	9/4
Garba Kano	"	"	9/4
Onorah	"	"	9/4
Michael	"	"	9/4
Dangusau	"	"	9/4
Yakub	"	"	9/4
Inyang	"	"	9/4
A.I. Afeisume	U.A.C.	Funtua	£2.5.9
Jinaidu Kehinde	"	"	£2.5.9
Jacob Adedeji	"	"	14/6
S.T. Attoh	"	"	£1.4.0
N.O. Ofegbe	"	"	£1.4.0
M. Mande	"	"	8/0
M. Matazu	"	"	£2.1.9
E.E. Diali	"	"	£14.7.6

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
Peter Ofuskwu	U.A.C.	Funtua	£4.9.9.
E.O. Sanya	"	"	£1.4.0
A.N. Okoronkwo	"	"	£1.4.0
G. Okereke	"	"	£3.12.0
Dankaro	"	"	£4.14.9
E.S. Wilson	"	"	£12.16.0
M. Alasan	"	"	£5.5.9
A.A. Nwobu	"	"	£8.14.4
G.A. Thompson	"	"	7/0
C.O. Nebe	"	"	£10.12.6
G.O. Nzewi	"	"	£7.14.3
H.B.Wilson	"	"	£7.3.0
W.B. Erone	"	"	£1.16.0
J.A. Adeyinka	"	"	£22.11.0
S.Y. Nwaba	Agric. Department	Daudawa	£5.0.6
O. Ikwah	"	"	£4.14.10
J.E. Ohiare	"	"	£4.9.3
O. Onyejekwe	"	"	£3.0.0.
S.O. Abodunde	"	"	£2.16.0.
J.E. Emananjo	"	"	£3.18.0
Audu Kano	"	"	£3.13.6
G.N. Okeke	"	"	£3.4.6
I.B. Olaiya	"	"	£2.5.3
A.A. Agbakwuru	"	"	£2.2.0
Y.O. Onyirimba	"	"	£1.15.3

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
Muazu Gwandu	Local Industries	Funtua	9/4
Pious Okonji	"	"	"
Alfred Oluyoyi	"	"	"
Medu	"	"	"
Muazu Sokoto	"	"	"
Pious Shewoaba	"	"	"
Bello Katsina	"	"	"
Austin	"	"	"
Jibo Kanyan	"	"	"
Daura Anaiadua	"	"	"
Audu Daura	"	"	"
Denis	"	"	"
Ibrahim Funtua	"	"	"
Gabriel	"	"	"
Sale Funtua	"	"	"
Hassan Dasso	"	"	"
Umar Kano	"	"	"
Husaini Manzo	"	"	"
Danfilani	"	"	"
M. Danbuzu	P.Z.	Funtua	19/6
Mamman	"	"	6/6
Ibrahim	"	"	6/6
Ango	"	"	6/6
Bawa	"	"	11/3
Hassan Arab	"	"	11/9

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
Y.I. Yusuf	P.Z.	Funtua	11/9
Alex Linma	"	"	
D.N. Nwanze	U.A.C.	Funtua	£1.10.9.
W.E. Olley	"	"	£1.10.9.
J.L. Amenyiru	"	"	£1.7.9
E.A. Taiwo	"	"	£1.7.9.
P.I. Enecheziem	"	"	£9.5.0.
A.L.Wilson	"	"	£2.5.9
U. Nwabuchike	Agric. Department	Daudawa	15/8
Habu	"	"	£1.4.6.
E.F. Odunewu	Marketing and Ex Exporting	"	£8.15.6
G.A. Phillips	"	"	£4.3.0
Y.A. Agoro	"	"	£3.4.0
B.O. Samuel	"	"	£1.16.0
D.N. Nobe	"	"	£1.16.0
S.B. Danniyan	"	"	£1.16.0
J.C. Okereke	"	"	£1.16.0
N.E. Okohi	"	"	£1.16.0
M. Momoh	"	"	£1.6.0
L.U.G. Okoloh	John Holt	Funtua	£10.1.9
T.N. Anochili	"	"	17/6
E.A. Okoloh	"	"	17/6
C. Ejiofoh	"	"	17/6
M. Abba	"	"	10/1
M. Ajuju	"	"	13/0

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
M. Chutu	John Holt	Funtua	9/0
Momoh Mallam	"	"	16/0
Danlami	"	"	10/1
C.O. Nwafoh	"	"	£1.15.3
Bello, J.F.	"	"	£1.2.6
M. Muhammadu	"	"	10/1
Nadunba	"	"	10/1
Dankwuk Peji	"	"	10/1
Danjida	"	"	10/1
Mr. T.C. Ede	"	D/Dude	£2.2.3
M.A. Laguda	"	Mairuwa	£2.12.16
E.O. Olukatun	B.C.G.A.	Funtua	18/6
S.O. Ladipo	"	"	£4.2.1
S.H. Ibrahim	"	"	£2.11.9
M. Yussuf	"	"	£2.2.1
B.E. Nnebeanna	"	"	£1.12.7
I.N. Otueh	Agric Department	Daudawa	£1.5.3
P.C. Iwenofu	"	"	£1.5.3
J.O. Anyadike	"	"	£1.5.3.
J.M. Arinze	"	"	£1.5.3
R.O. Magbemena	"	"	£2.1.0
F.O. Okoye	"	"	£1.5.3
Namadada	"	"	£1.5.3
A.O. Onyekonkwu	"	"	£1.4.0
W. Wakataba Bida	"	"	£1.5.3

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
G.O. Akabogu	Agric. Department	Daudawa	£1.11.7
A.O. Odanaike	"	"	£1.7.4
J.U. Ekezie	"	"	£1.4.0
J.O. Dion	"	"	£1.5.3
Okeke Okunie	"	"	£1.5.3.
Edet Eko	"	"	£2.13.0
Ibrahim Makeri	"	"	£1.0.0.
Ben Ezeuka	"	"	£1.6.6.
P. Onyemachi	"	"	12/10
Echegona	"	"	15/8
Musa Dankaya	"	"	14/4
Anthony Okeke	"	"	15/10
I. Nwokeotube	"	"	14/8
Ibrahim Carpenter	"	"	14/8
Bello Ilorin	"	"	17/8
Isaac Okereke	"	"	14/0
James Ogwe	"	"	14/8
Emeribe Achu	"	"	17/0
Sydney Eleonu	"	"	16/8
J. Abuja	"	"	16/4
A. Yoruba	"	"	12/8
Ibrahim Yoruba	"	"	13/4
Okoro Ihebuzor	"	"	13/8
Sam Chime	"	"	£1.1.6

NAME	PLACE OF WORK	TOWN	TAX
Fred Olley	B.C.G.A.	Funtua	£2.5.0.
Nathaniel Ajayi	"	"	4/0
Lawrence Afiesume	"	"	£1.5.0
John Akpasikunwa	"	"	7/9
Paul Mowete	"	"	£2.15.9
Maigwari	"	"	1/6
Galadima	"	"	£2.8.0.
Nayawo	"	"	10/8
Dan Fulani	"	"	2/7
Mamman Kurfi	"	"	2/9
Jibo Gana	"	"	2/10
Alli Malama	"	"	2/7
Garba Bodinga	"	"	3/6
Bello Mainchi	"	"	3.3.

SOURCE: KATNA W. 317/5.3.