The Impact of Colonialism on Aspects of the Economy of Katsina Metropolis, 1903-1960

BY

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis titled "The Impact of Colonialism on Aspects of the Economy of Katsina Metropolis, 1903-1960" is the product of my own work, and it has not been submitted anywhere for the award of Masters in Arts. Information used has been duly acknowledged in the text.

Ibrahim Bakin Kasuwa Hussaina	B T	15th June, 2011
Name	Signature	Date

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my father Alhaji Ibrahim B.K and my mother late Hajiya Zainab-Abu, for their love and care.

Certification

This thesis titled "The Impact of Colonialism on Aspects of the Economy of Katsina Metropolis, 1903-1960 by Ibrahim Bakin Kasuwa Hussaina meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Masters of Arts History, Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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ABSTRACT

The work analyses the impaet of colonialism on the economy of Katsina Metropolis between 1903 and 1960. It has been shown that the motive of British occupation and domination was exploitation of human and material resources of the area in the interest of capitalism. When Katsina was occupied in 1903, the Colonialists found that agriculture and craft production were central in the economy of the metropolis. Production was for the immediate needs of the community, while the surplus formed articles of trade in near and distant places. Therefore, to achieve their motive, the British introduced policies on land, labour, taxation, agriculture and industry, and backed off their implementation with force. The result was the retrogression and collapse of the economy, and its subsequent incorporation into capitalists system. Consequently, there was the introduction of colonial economy in the area, whereby the area was turned into a centre for the production of raw materials such as ground nut, cotton and leather needed in capitalists industries and markets for the finished goods. This led to the growth and development of British economy, and on the other hand, the people of the area were impoverished and the local economy became dependent, subservient, and backward.

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Introduction

1.1 Aims and Objectives

This study is a contribution to the ongoing discourse on the impact of colonialism on the economy African states and kingdoms. That is, the way colonial policies were introduced in Katsina metropolis and consequently led to the establishment of colonial economy in the interest of capitalism, and at the detriment of the local economy. Our contention is that to properly do this, we need to grasp the concept of colonialism very clearly. It is also important to understand the nature and form of colonial domination. In fact, colonialism should be seen as a platform or medium (one of such) through which Africa was exploited by the capitalist world. A world characterized by exploitation as a basis for its survival.

This study intends to show that the idea of civilizing mission, mutual relations and development of the colonies was nothing but sheer hypocrisy, in order to provide a cover for perpetual exploitation. The exploitation was evident in the way colonies had to support themselves, support colonial administrations and provide reserve for investments abroad. One of the ways which such funds were generated was by levying taxation on each member of the family, farm, crafts production e.t.c. People were compelled to pay taxes, and the only way to acquire the taxes was through cash crop production in order to provide raw materials for capitalists industries. Therefore, the idea that the colonies were burden to the metropole is a fallacy. This is because colonialism was synonymous with capitalist exploitation which depended on continued

plunder and exploitation of resources for its survival. This included importation of capitalist values to a pre-feudal state, not for the development of the colonies but for plunder and exploitation of resources. Even the supposed infrastructures of the colonialist were only put in place in the colonies for continued exploitation. This is evident in the way railway bypassed Katsina Metropolis because it was not a major cotton producing centre; therefore its major cash crops – groundnut was transported to Kano using donkeys, horses, trucks, etc. This shows that railways were not built for the peasants but as agents of continued exploitation of the colonies for the development of the metropole.

Several works have been written on the subject of colonialism and underdevelopment in Africa, which have served as beacons of explanations on why *Africa is underdeveloped today.*[1]

There are various perspectives from which the phenomenon of colonialism has been studied in Africa. On the whole they can be reduced/categorized into three namely: The Colonialists, the Africanists, and the Marxist who applied political economy perspectives. Part of the problem in the study of African History is the way some writers mislocate the nature of capitalist accumulation, by delving on capitalist relations

[1] Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Bogle L'ouverrture*, 1981; Marx Engels, *On Colonialism*, Progress Publishers Moscow, 1887; Toyin Falola (ed), *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development*, Zed Books, London, 1987; E.A. Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa*, Heinmann Education Books, London, 1973; Bill Warren, *Imperialism Pioneer of Capitalism;* Ford Press, Thetford, 1980.

instead of production relations.[2] Accumulation in production should be seen as the process of class formation and class struggle.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Colonialism is a system of direct control and exploitation of the subjugated colonies by the capitalist powers. Human and material resources were exploited in the colonies in the interest of capitalism and to the detriment of the people and the economies of the areas concerned. Yet, the nature of control is seen by the bourgeoisie as one that ensured the growth and development of areas which had been backward and underdeveloped, in order to promote ideas of civilization of Europe in Africa. In fact, Colonial historiography always presents African societies as those without history. It was argued that, land and labour were underdeveloped and underutilized in Africa; therefore it was colonial conquest and domination that ensured greater utilization of land and labour, through the introduction of cash crops production in the colonies[3].So that peasants could acquire resources (money) to pay taxes and buy European manufactures. This kind of thinking has shaped and molded the views of many authors,[4] as regards to colonialism and its impacts on Nigeria and Africa generally. Furthermore, it is presumed that the peasants were idle and therefore it was the attractive prices that offered by the whiteman that wielded them into cash crop production.

[2] Paul T. Zeleza, *Manufacturing Studies and Crises, CODESRIA*, Senegal, 1997, p.91.

[3] H.Myint, The Economies of Developing Countries,Hutchinson, London,1964.

[4] G.K. Helleiner, *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria.*

The above approach in to the study of African economies is one-sided, because it has failed to look at the nature of production and production relations before coming up with such ideas. In fact, a study of colonialism and its impact on the society needs to highlight and critically study the relations of production, conditions of exchange, distribution and control of the forces of production; for the creation of reproductive wealth in the society.

It should be noted that African states had well established states and economies going back to many centuries. For example, Katsina our area of study had developed as an independent kingdom by the 15th century, and controlled a large territory. Agriculture, pastoralism and craft production were central in the economy of the area, tied around the households. Labour for the economic production was provided by members of the family, slaves and servants. The significance of economic production led to the appointment of officials who regulated, supervised economic production and collected taxes on various crafts. The growth and development of the economy in turn led to the expansion of the state. In fact economic production remained important up to the 19th century. Therefore the theory of un-utilized land and labour was only advocated in order to justify colonial domination and exploitation.

The present work intends to clearly bring out the nature of economic production in Katsina before the Colonial period. This will be carried out through the study of different sectors of the economy in the colonial period. This will enable us to

understand the impact of colonial domination and exploitation of the economy of Katsina metropolis.

Also in studying a society, it is important to understand the relations of production which people enter into in the course of meeting their needs, which is important in determining the material nature of the society.

1.3 Methodological Issues in the Study

A study of the conditions of production, production relations, as well as the way the environment is harnessed in order to meet the needs of the people is important to the lives of the people. This is also tied with an understanding of the system of administration and control of the area, in order to highlight how production is controlled. Thus, a study of production relations and functions in the pre-colonial period is important for an understanding of the economy during colonial period.

This study is going to be undertaken using the political economy approach. This is because it studies the relations and conditions of production in relation to the prevalent social and power relations. It studies various conditions in the society, and the relationship between political power and economic production. It also gives primacy to the independent and unaltered development of the factors of production, as well as technology and their significance in the social and historical changes of a society.

The use of the political economy perspective is based on the understanding that relations of production which people enter into in the course of meeting their needs is significant in determining the material nature of any particular society. Similarly social,

political and economic activities are interwoven and linked up with one another in many diverse ways. In the colonial context political power was used to advance, protect and monopolise economic activities in the interest of British imperialists and at the detriment of the colonized peoples.

1.4 Scope

The present work is a study on the impact of colonialism on aspects of the economy of Katsina metropolis, 1903-1960.The area of study, Katsina metropolis was the capital of Katsina emirate in the pre-colonial period. During the colonial period the area was known as Katsina, but following the British occupation of the area together with its satellite settlements such as Kayauki, Ajiwa, Kutubi, Shinkafi and Yan Rakumma became known as Magajin Gari district. Thus, the metropolis became the divisional headquarters where the instruments of coercion, operation and domination such as police, courts and prison were established. The study does not in any way cover the whole of Katsina emirate; it is only restricted to Katsina metropolis.

The year 1903 is chosen as a starting point of the study because, that was the year Katsina Metropolis was conquered by the British Colonialists, who subsequently promulgated policies which led to the incorporation of the area into capitalists system. Whereby, the economy of the area was drawn to meet the needs of the metropolitan economy. Thereafter all policies promulgated were not in the interest of the people of Katsina metropolis, rather they were made to satisfy British Colonial interest. The study is terminated by 1960; due to the fact that was the date when political independence

was achieved in Nigeria. Though the study extends up to 1950's it does not intend to cover independence struggle.

1.5 Justification

This study seeks to examine the nature of the independent polity and economy of Katsina before the colonial period. This is significant in bringing to light the viable nature of the economy in the pre-colonial period as a basis for understanding the impact of colonialism on the economy. It is in this regard that we can understand how policies on land, labour, taxation e.t.c. had negative consequences on the economy of our area of study and consequently led to its stagnation and underdevelopment. In fact, the local economy was destroyed and as a substitute colonial economy was institutionalised

There are works on Katsina Emirate during the colonial period, but none of this is on Katsina Metropolis, the capital of the emirate in the pre-colonial period. Therefore it is significant to study the nature of the economy of the metropolis in the pre-colonial period, as well as the changes brought about by colonial domination and occupation. Also, existing works on Katsina during the colonial period deal with issues such as cash crops production land tenure, Native Authority and do not address the significance and impact of such policies on the people and the economy of the areas being studied. [5]In fact, studies on colonialism should be able to address the nature of colonial domination

[5] T.B.Ingawa, "A Study of the Rural Economic History of Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate During the Colonial Period 1900-1939, Ph D. thesis,SOAS,London,1984;M.A. Mammandamu, "The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate,1903-1960" Ph. D thesis, Department of History,A.B.U. Zaria,2004.

and the significance of such policies on the colonized people whom were always at the receiving end.

1.6 Literature Review

Works that deal with the economy of Katsina in the pre-colonial and colonial periods will be reviewed. Also, works that treat colonialism on a general perspective will also be reviewed.

Y.B. Usman, The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883,Zaria,1981.

The writer traced the formation of Katsina in the 15th century headed by the *Sarki*.The kingdom was formed around the economic and religious centres which served the heterogenous community that emerged in the Fadamar Tilla and Kwarin Tama. This was the area where the Birnin Katsina was established. Which became the capital of the kingdom and the most important urban centre in the kingdom.It was also the centre of craft and industrial production.

The kingdom had commercial relations with distant and far places such as Daura, Kano, Kano, Zamfara and Borno. Goods like iron-ore, cotto, indigo, leather and leather goods were exported to Kano, while dye and textile goods were imported into Katsina from there. Salt and natron were imported into Katsina from Azbin and Borno respectively.

The kingdom underwent rapid transformation associated with the state and economy of the area due to certain factors, such as political, economic and socio-cultural from the 15th to 19th century. In the 19th century there were Jihad wars in Katsina and the rebellions which followed, which had effect on production and commerce. However the

rebellions did not result in the decline of production and commerce in Katsina, rather what occurred was change in production .Indigo and tobacco production became widespread, thus they became items of trade. It is shown that Katsina's economy did not stagnate as a result of the incorporation of the area in to the Sokoto caliphate

The work serves as a good source material for the reconstruction of the history of Katsina during the pre-colonial period. It provides the conceptual frame work for the study of states of the Central Sudan.

The work is more of political history of Katsina in the pre-colonial period, with some aspects of its economy.

Dankousso and Charanchi, Katsina: Traditions Historique des Katsinawaa après la Jihad, Niamey, 1970.

This comes in form of a book, compiled from written Arabic manuscripts. It provides information on the polity of Katsina from its formation in the 15th century to the 19th century. The reign of all the rulers of Katsina is treated separately, providing information on the activities of each ruler with dates. It serves as a good source material for the reconstruction of the political history of Katsina. The book also treats an aspect of the economy of Katsina in the pre-colonial period.

The book is written in Hausa and French languages. The Hausa version is not clear, possibly because it suits the dialect of Niger Republic.

A.H.Kirk-Green and S.J.Hogben, *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London 1966.

The book treats Katsina as one of the emirate of Northern Nigeria. It treats the political history of Katsina from the pre-colonial period to the colonial period. It points to the fact that, Katsina was a powerful kingdom among the Hausa states and it remained so upto the beginning of 19th century when the Jihad wars broke out and led to the decline of the economy of the area.

The writers are of the opinion that, Katsina was conquered by the British when there was intermittent dynastic struggle between the Dallazawa the incumbent dynasty of the Sullubawa. It was in the midst of power struggle that Katsina emirate was conquered by the British Colonialists and Emir Abubakar surrendered with little or no resistance. Katsina emirate together with Daura and Kazaure were administered as a division under Kano Province.

The writers failed to show the nature of the political economy of Katsina in the pre-colonial period. They also romanticized the overthrown Dallazawa dynasty which was ousted out of power by the British and in turn installed the Sullibawa in the first decade of twentieth century.

A.T. Grove, Land and Population in Katsina Province with Special Reference to Bindawa Village in Dan Yusufa District, Kaduna, 1957.

The work deals with the physical environment of Katsina.This include the topography, rainfall and vegetation. The influence of the climate on the population of the area is

discussed. The argument of the writer is that, rain is delayed and subject to variation throughout the period of the rainy season, which result in food shortages. The food shortages become critical due to the dependence of the population on few food crops that is millet and corn.

T.B.Ingawa, "A Study of the Rural Economic History of the Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate During the Colonial Period c.1900-1939", unpublished Ph D. thesis, SOAS London,1984.

The work is a reconstruction of the history of Southern Katsina.He argued that the area was a major producing centre in Katsina Emirate, due to the nature of the soil (loamy soil) suitable for cotton cultivation. The area became an avenue for the purchase of cotton by the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA), a British company responsible for the purchase of cotton for British textile industries.

The writer analysed the changing nature of land tenure and labour organization in Southern Katsina. He stated that cash crop production was made possible due to the laws and ordinances which the British promulgated in order to ensure steady supply of raw materials to the British industries to the detriment of food production in the area. Cash crops production went hand in hand with the massive importation of European goods which instead of having bad consequence resulted in modernizing production.

The work is centred on the study of cotton districts of Southern Katsina.

M.A. Mamman,"The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960." unpublished Ph.D thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.2002.

The author started by highlighting the nature of the economy of Katsina Emirate in the pre-colonial period which was dominantly agrarian and pastoral, though industry and commerce were also significant . The economy was co-ordinated and controlled by the emir who was the head of the Emirate

The occupation of Katsina in 1903 by the British was followed by the introduction of the Native Authority system which came to control the state and economy of the area for the appropriation of surplus to the metropole.

The author noted that for the imperialists to have firm control of the economy, they introduced policies on land and taxation in order to ensure the subordination of the local economy. Also the British introduced and encouraged cash crop production such as cotton and groundnut needed in British industries. The encouragement could be seen in the way demonstration farm centres were established by the Native Authority at Dudawa and Kafin Soli for breeding high breed seedlings, as well as the introduction of fertilizers given freely to farmers to boost cash crop production, as was the case in other areas.

Also, the British encouraged the pastoral sector in order to increase the number of stock in the emirate; this boosted jangali taxes paid by people who maintained stock, as well as increase in the availability of hides and skin to the British industry at low prices.

There was no attempt to encourage dairy farming, and create cattle track for the colonised population.

In fact, British policies on agriculture and pastoralism led to the subordination of food production, industry and crafts leading to hunger and industrial decline.

The work is a study of Native Authority system in Katsina and its role in transforming agriculture and pastoralism in the emirate.

R.W. Hull, "The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate, Northern Nigeria 1887-1944", unpublished Ph.D thesis, Columbia University, 1968.

The work studies the nature of political system of Katsina emirate from the pre-colonial to colonial periods. A study of emirate system of administration and the offices held by various officials was carried out. The system of administration that developed with the British occupation was also discussed; whereby policies made by the British were analysed.The work did not discuss the significance of the colonial policies on the lives of the people.

2.0 Note on sources

(a) Oral Sources

These are historical accounts passed down from one generation to another. They are divided into three, namely: oral tradition, oral accounts and rumours. Oral traditions are information on the tradition of origin of the people which are stored in the memory and are passed down from one generation to another. Oral account is information about the society generally passed through the word of mouth; while

rumour arises in situations of social unrest and where normal channels of communication are not available. Rumour cannot be used for reconstruction of history unless it is scrutinized, verified and corroborated with other sources in order to establish its authenticity before it can be used. In fact all sources are suspect until proven otherwise. Sources cannot be used at their face-value. They have to be critically examined to establish their authenticity and reliability. Oral sources are useful in the reconstruction of history of Hausaland by giving a clue on the evolution of Katsina Kingdom, the nature of society on the eve of colonialism and in the colonial period, for the reconstruction of the history of our area of study. These sources are derived from interviews conducted on the history of the people. This source has been used together with other sources to reconstruct the history of Katsina Metropolis in the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

(b) Written Sources

This is information on the history of a people that is in written form. They are in the form of text books, journals, magazines e.t.c. These sources can be primary, secondary and tertiary sources. They are further divided into Arabic sources, European written sources and written sources in various African languages such as Hausa, Fulfilde, Yoruba, Igbo, Swahili e.t.c.

These sources are significant in the reconstruction of the history of Katsina, from the period of creation of the kingdom to the present. Thus these sources will be used in the reconstruction of the history of our area of study.

(i) **Arabic Sources**:

Arabic sources are derived from accounts of Arabic travelers as well as writings of the leaders of 19th century jihad in Hausaland.

Al-Hassan b. Muhammed al-Wazzan (Leo Africanus) was an Arab traveler that visited the Central Sudan in the 16th century. The information he gathered was put in a book called *History and Description of Africa.* The book provides information on the nature of settlenments of Katsina in the 16th century; this has been used together with other sources to reconstruct the history of the area. Though there are weaknesses which are evident in the work. In the book Leo Africanus argued that the settlements in Katsina were predominantly small villages.[6] While available evidence has shown that by the 16th century[7] Katsina was an established kingdom with numerous towns and villages under the king. This shows that he had never visited Katsina or Hausaland, and that he was probably misinformed by travellers who had no knowledge of the area.

Usman Fodio's *Tanbih al-Ikhwan,* provides information on the visit of al-Suyuti an Arab traveller to Hausaland in the 15th century; and was said to be in close relations with the rulers. He taught the rulers how to administer their people justly. This was evident in a letter al-Suyuti wrote to Sarki Ibrahim of Katsina (1494-1496) educating him on good governance.

Muhammad Bello's 'Infaq al-Maisuri' provides information on the nature of the jihad campaigns in Katsina between 1804-05. It also brings to light the view of the jihad

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[6] Al-Hassan b. Wazzan al-Fasi, *History and Description of Africa*, London 1896, pp.831-32.

[7] See Y.B.Usman, The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883 op.cit

leaders on Katsina; they saw it as a static area due to its close location to the centre of caliphate activities. It also gives information on the activities of the Jama'a which was central to the jihad activities generally.

(ii) European Written Sources

These are also derived from European travellers' account who visited Katsina in the 19th century.

Hugh Clapperton visited Katsina and was able to observe the environment closely in order to complement the exploration mission. He came to Katsina in 1824, and stayed in Birnin Katsina (metropolis) for a number of days on his way to Sokoto. During his stay there his major informant was Hadjet Ahmed,[8] who provided him with information on the nature of production and economy of Katsina generally. Clapperton has provided information on the society and economy of Katsina which has been used together with other books to reconstruct the history of the area. He concluded that that the economy of Katsina had declined due to the immigration of North African traders from Katsina to Kano. He arrived at this conclusion because he failed to critically study the local economy of the area as a pillar supporting production and trade.

Henry Barth visited Katsina in 1851; and he studied the environment, economy and political structure of Katsina closely.[9] He argued that Katsina was at the height of

[8] C.W. Bovill Mission to the Niger Delta: The Bornu Mission 1822-25; Cambridge 1966, pp.667-668.
[9] Henry Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol.I, p.476.

prosperity and power in the 17th and 18th centuries and was the centre of economic activities in the Central Sudan.[10]

Barth also studied and mentioned different kinds of trees and nature of vegetation of the area; as well as nature of production, trade, exchange relations involving the monetary value of the goods. Thus the work is of great significance in the reconstruction of the history of Katsina in the second half of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, Barth was pre-occupied with racial categorization, of beautiful and more intelligent Fulani and dark-skinned Hausa with broad nose and so on, instead of analyzing the contribution of these people to the development of the kingdom of Katsina.[11]

(c) Archival Materials

These are oral traditions and other accounts collected, collated and written down by British colonial officers, in order to have a clear picture of the indigenous society, and economy as a prerequisite for acquiring knowledge in the implementation of colonial policies for perpetual domination and exploitation of the colonies. It involved information collected in form of interviews from the beginning of the colonial domination in the 20th century. The people interviewed were participants to an event, eye witnesses or had information on the events. There were also districts' assessment conducted by the Colonialists in order to obtain information on the nature of the state and economy in the districts. The Archival materials containing the information of

[10] Ibid.
[11] Barth, Travels and Discoveries vol.III, p.83.

Katsina are in District Assessment Books, Katsina Provincial Reports, Secretariate of Northern Provinces (S.N.P.) and Native Authority Katsina (KATNA) records.

The archival materials significantly provide information on the nature of the productive relations during the colonial period and the operation of Colonialism in its entire ramification in Katsina. The information comes in the form of quarterly and annual reports, providing detail information on nature of colonial state and economy. The archival materials have been extensively used together with other materials to reconstruct the history of Katsina in the 19th and 20th centuries.

3.0 Abbreviations

BCGA- British Cotton Growing Association

D.O-District Officer

G.R.A -Government Reserved Areas

KATNA- Katsina Native Authority Records

KATPROF- Katsina Provincial Reports

N.A.-Native Authority

S.N.P- Secretariat of Northern Provinces

U.A.C -United African Company

U.B.R. – University Board of Research

4.0 Glossary

Baitul mal -treasury

Basilla -needle

Birnin Katsina –Katsina metropolis

Chunkwu -silver

Dogarai -guards

Duwatsu -rocks

Fai-fai - tray

Fura- millet drink

Gabu- onion leaves

Gandu –household farm

Gara- bride wealth

Gayauna –private land

Gwado- blanket

Jakadu- representatives

Jangali- cattle tax

Jar kasa –red soil

Kaba- hyphaene

*Kilish*i –dried meat

Kudin hito –custom duties

Kudin kasa- land tax

Magadai-village heads

Maigari- village head

Maigida- head of household

Ruga –Fulani homestead

Shuni - dye

Taki – foot measurement

Tama – iron ore

Tambura – cattle drum

Wakilai -rep

Wando-trouser

Yandoka- local police

Chapter One

Theoretical Foundation

1.1 Theoretical Issues

This chapter highlights theoretical issues in the study of capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, development and urbanisation .This is important in order to grasp the meaning of concept and theories discussed. We shall discuss each of these perspectives and highlight their weaknesses. In addition, it should be noted that to meaningfully understand colonialism, it will be important to first define the concepts of capitalism and imperialism, as colonialism is an offshoot of the two. The concepts of development and urbanization will be studied due to the significance to the topic under discussion.

1.1.1 Capitalism

The development of capitalism that supplanted feudalism in its youthful days emphasized the development of industry based on mechanically operated processes, to enable labour produce increasing volumes of improved qualities of goods. Machinery became the basis of labour in an insatiable greed to increase profits. In the view of Bill Warren, Capitalism is the logic of domination of production through the exchange relations, so that accumulation stirs productive efforts in operational productive unit.[1] Production for the market becomes production for profit so as to further expand market shares. Under capitalism, one

[1] Bill Warren, *Imperialism Pioneer of Capitalism*, Thetford Press Ltd, Thetford, 1980, p.16.

needs to invest profit or perish. Also whoever invests a profit less than average capital is courting disaster.[2]The 'problem' of capitalism is not lack of demand for end products but the scarcity of capacity to satisfy competing effective claims on resources.[3]

In fact, capitalism has gone beyond Warren's definition; it involves rapid growth of industries and concentration of production in large enterprises. Concentration leads to monopoly at a certain stage of development of capitalism.[4] There happens in capitalism what is called combination of production; the grouping in a single enterprise of different branches of industry. This combination leads to technical improvement and acquisition of high profits.[5]

Capitalism is a system of production which is organized not to meet the needs of human beings, but to make profit for the small class of people who control the factories, the land and the money without which the rest of us cannot work.

Furthermore, free competition is a feature of capitalism but there occurs displacement of free competition with monopoly leading to displacement of small industries by bigger ones; replacing large scale by larger scale. Monopolies do not

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[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Foreign Languages Press, Perking, 1975, p.62.
[5] Ibid.

completely eliminate free competition but they exist side by side leading to antagonism, friction and conflicts.[6]

Capitalism concentrates in industry at the detriment of agriculture and makes the peasants half-starved through maximum exploitation of peasant labour and selling of end products at a high price, in order to maximize profit. That is why monopolist, cartels, syndicates and trusts divided the home market among themselves and took total control of industry, thereby controlling all production and distribution outlets.[7]In fact when production became significant Capitalists countries sought for markets abroad in order to sell off their goods, so as to avert disaster. Without markets to sell finished goods capitalism will eventually crumble.

Capitalism provided the basis for replacing human skills with machinery, as well as replacement of human and animals by machines especially steam-engine. Production was no longer limited by human skills and power; hence science and technology became the instruments of growth and economic development.[8]

It should be noted that, Europe participated actively in the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade involving Europe, Africa and America, from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Europeans bought Africans in millions and used them

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Bill Warren, *Imperialism Pioneer of Capitalism*, p.16.

as chattels in wealth appropriation. It was therefore profit derived from the slave trade that contributed to capital accumulation in the 18th century.[9] In fact, wealth derived from the slave trade was used to spearhead the development of mercantile capitalism in Western Europe.

Capitalist accumulation is also based on super exploitation of excess labour power through excess surplus value, which decreases the labour minimum amount necessary for sustenance.[10] Therefore the foundation of capitalism was built on exploitation, and its structure had to be built on the exploitation for its survival. In fact it is courtesy of capitalism that science and technology revolutioned productivity and changed the universe. But what is clear is capitalism depends on exploitation of human and materials resources at all levels of its development for its survival.

Capitalism is a system that begins its development with small usury capital and ends its development with gigantic usury capital.[11] High profit is made by exploiting the public through a system of profit maximization. The maximization of profit could be seen in the issue of securities and flotation of foreign loans which brings in profit for the continued survival of capitalism.[12] The extra ordinary profit obtained from the issue of securities is a principal function of

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[9] Andre Gunder Frank, *World Accumulation, 1492-1789, Monthly Review Press,* London 1978, p.220.
[10] Ibid. p.220.

[11] V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, p.62.
[12] Ibid.

finance capital, which leads to the development and consolidation of financial oligarchy.[13] Marx argued that:

> at present all the wealth of the society goes first into the possession of capitalist ... he pays the land owner his rent, the labourer his wages, the tax and tithe gather their claims, and keeps a large, indeed the largest, and a continually augmenting share of the annual produce of labour to himself.[14]

Capitalism is commodity production at its highest stage of development when labour power becomes a commodity. There is also the growth of internal exchange as well as international exchange. There is uneven development of individual enterprises and industries as well as individual countries. Britain became a capitalist country before any other, and by 1850s became the workshop of the world, supplying finished goods in exchange for raw materials from other countries.[15]

Industrial revolution in Britain led to massive invention of machines which led to mass production of goods for the markets. British export of cotton manufactures exceeded one million pounds in value in 1785, and thirty one million pounds in 1830.[16] Cotton imports rose from £11 million in 1784 to £283 million in 1832 from the new world.[17] Eric Williams argued:

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Karl Marx, *Capital* vol.I, Profess Publishers, Moscow, 1954, p.105.

[15] V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, p.72.

[16] Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, University of North California Press, 1944, p.128.

[17] Ibid.

> The Commercial capitalism of eighteenth century developed the world of Europe by means of slavery and monopoly, but in so doing it helped to create the industrial capitalism of 19th century which turned around and destroyed the power of commercial capitalism, slavery and all its works.[18]

Exchange of finished goods with cheap raw materials developed under capitalism which led to the creation of surplus and reproductive wealth. The surplus capital was not used in raising the standard of living of the people in that country, for this could lead to less profit to the capitalist.[19] Therefore the profit was invested in countries where price of land was low and raw materials were cheap. Export of capital arises due to search for profitable venture, for profit maximization and the continued survival of capitalism.[20]

Export of capital abroad becomes a means of exporting commodities.[21]As well as means of securing territories which were later extended to centres of raw material production for capitalists industries, and markets for their finished goods in order to promote capitalism. Capitalism involved two things: Search for cheap raw materials for industries and markets for their finished goods, in order to enhance profit maximization.

It should be noted that, in a capitalist system there is high production of goods which saturates the markets, therefore makes capitalists to seek for market outlets abroad which leads to control of certain territories. These territories

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[18] Ibid.
[19] V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism, p.*
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.

become avenues of capitalist exploitation of labour and raw materials as well as market for their finished goods for the continued survival of capitalism that is why Nabudare argued:

> It was in the 1880's that the whole world was divided in the handful of richest countries, this would not have been possible without the development of capitalism.[22]

Indeed Capitalism spearheaded and ushered in the development of imperialistic tendencies in Europe. It was a motivational force which led to the extension of capitalist values to other countries.

1.1.2 Imperialism

Imperialism is a specific stage of capitalism; it is monopoly capitalism, decaying capitalism and moribund capitalism. It is characterized by replacing free competition with monopoly. Monopoly is characterized by cartels, syndicates and trusts. It is a stage whereby few banks dominate the economic life of a country such as Britain, America, France, etc.[23] Imperialism is decaying capitalism which is bound to decay as a common characteristic of monopoly in every system of production.[24]

Imperialism means far more than the exploitation of poor countries by the rich. It involves a whole social system based on exploitation and violence, a whole way of thinking about other people.

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[22] Dan Nabudere, *The Political Economy of Imperialism*, Zed Press, London, 1977, p.122.

[23] V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism and the Split in Socialism,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p.5.

[24] Ibid.

In the Marxist view, imperialism represents not the existence of modern empires formal or informal and their living heritage. It is a system that inflicts disaster on all aspects of human life such as political, economic social, etc.[25] Contrary to Marxists view, Bill Warren contends that imperialism was the spread of capitalist ideas to non-capitalist areas of the world.[26] Also, Imperialism was the means through which techniques, cultures and institutions that evolved in Europe in many centuries sowed seeds in the rest of the world.[27] He further maintained that, without the impact of the west how could the impact be felt rapidly at the same time?

The question is what impact are we talking about? After all it was the structures of capitalism that were introduced into societies with pre-capitalist mode of organisation.[28]Exploitation of human and material resources was the bases of imperialism. Imperialism was not a humanitarian gesture; rather it was a system of territorial aggrandizement. The difference between capitalism in Europe and the Third World countries lies in the dominance of external social forces over local development in the third world, for the benefit of the Europe.[29]

[25] Bill Warren, *Imperialism Pioneer of Capitalism, p.*14.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] E.A. Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa*, Heinmann Educational Books Ltd, London, 1973, p.286.

[29] Ibid.

Bill Warren argued that imperialism change the structures of societies, thus "imperialism blow up the economic bases of a community and introduced a system so meaningful, a social revolution."[30] Warren himself admitted the fact that imperialism forcefully incorporated the bulk of humanity into the modern world.[31] In the process of the incorporation it blows up the economic bases of the community, in its own interest. It is clear that the motive of imperialist tendencies is incorporation of territories for the domination of finance capital.

In a capitalist system free competition is replaced by monopoly, monopoly is characterized by cartels, syndicates and trust, this is followed by the banks dominating the economic affairs of the whole country for material aggrandizement. This is followed by seizure of raw materials by trust and financial oligarchy; consequently there results in partition of the world by international cartels who dominate the whole world market and divide it among themselves.[32]

In fact, imperialism divides up 'backward' countries and subjugates the people therein to its own needs and wishes, the same way it subjugates and exploits weaker capitalist states by squandering their resources for the same purpose.[33] Imperialism involves the acquisition of territories by capitalists' countries as if

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[30] Bill Warren, *Imperialism Pioneer of Capitalism*, p.128.
[31] Ibid.
[32] V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism and the Splitt in Socialism*, p.56.
[33] Dan Nabudere, *The Political Economy of Imperialism*, p.122.

they were their 'personal possessions'. Imperialism is backed by monopoly, which means securing an area and making it a personal 'possession.' Milking its resources and selling end products to the territory as well as preventing other rivals from coming into that area. The capitalists could go to any extent to protect their territories from being acquired by rival parties.

Even the outbreak of First World War in 1914 had its roots in imperialist struggles and scramble for sources of raw materials for capitalist industries, markets for their finished goods and outlet for capital export for the continued survival of capitalism.[34] As a result of the war the world was redivided at the treaty of Versailles, in order to reach an understanding between the European countries involved. In the end Britain and France took over the control of the raw materials producing centres of Germany, and continued with the exploitation of those areas to sustain their capitalists' interest.

It is noteworthy that, Bill Warren misunderstood imperialism for social revolution, because how could a system which involved territorial aggrandizement and exploitation of human and material resources for its ends be referred to as a revolution? It is a known fact that when an individual or a country sets to achieve an aim they go for it; in the process of doing that whatever benefit accrued to the affected area is nothing but accidental.

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[34] Ibid.

Lenin has a different perception on imperialism; he argued "imperialism is seen as a wise decision in order to solve social problems in Europe."[35] Also Lenin contended that:

> Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of the monopolies and finance capital has established itself, and whereby the export of capital has reached *important stage and in which the sharing of the world has begun* among international trust and in which sharing of the world among biggest capitalist powers is completed.[36]

The only way in which acquired territories could be protected was through direct control; that is colonialism. Therefore territories were dominated, subjugated and exploited to the highest level because metropolitan countries had to sustain themselves to protect their interest. Exploitation was the only bases through which capitalism could be sustained.

1.1.3 Colonialism

Different contending views have emanated from the discourse on Colonialism. Thus there are three perspectives in the study of Colonialism. These include: Colonialist, Africanists/nationalists and political economy/Marxist perspectives.

Colonialists Perspective

Colonialists perspective sees colonialism as a system necessary for salvaging 'backward' and 'barbaric' people, by administering such areas through good

[35] V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, p.93.
[36] Ibid

[illegible]

governance. The proponents of Colonial perspective are Gann and Duignan, Margery Perham, Lyold, Bill Warren and Lord Lugard.In the case of Lord Lugard, it is interesting to note that he was frank to admit that Europeans were not in Africa for the mere motive of philanthropy .He stated:

> Let it be admitted at the outset that European brain, capital and energy have not been and never will be expended in developing the resources of Africa from the motives of pure philantrophy; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of its own industrial classes,and of the native races in their own progress to a higher plane, that the benefit can be made reciprocal and that it the aim and desire of civilized administration to fulfil the dual mandate. [37]

This dual mandate argument is a fallacy .Due to the fact that Colonialists were in Africa for the motive of exploitation of human and material resources for the development of Europe and at the detriment of Africa.

In fact, colonialism has racial undertone, always presenting the Europeans as superior, capable of bringing development to the 'backward' people that is why Colonial apologists advocate that Africans "lack power of organization and are conspicuously deficient in the management and control alike of men or of business."[38] Also "Britain's presence in Africa was a prerequisite for the promotion of progress in civilization and justice."[39] Therefore in order to 'develop' the territories of the Africans, direct control was the only answer. This control was

[37] Lord Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, Edinburg, p.
[38] Ibid. pp.69-70
[39] Ibid. p.95.

backed up by racial discrimination "which assumed the inherent superiority of imported culture over all indigenous forms."[40]

Bill Warren argued "colonial period from its inception launched a process of development in terms of material welfare that constituted conditions for the development of the productive forces."[41] He further argued that:

> Colonialism brought about improvement in health, education and provision of new types of consumer goods. It improved health that mortality rates were on the decline within few decades of inception of colonial rule. By the 1950s and 1960s when colonial rule ended in Africa, its population doubled from the record of pre-colonial period. Involved was the prolongation of life and provision of medicine to incurable ailments such as small box and tuberculosis.[42]

Contrary to the view of Bill Warren, Walter Rodney argued:

> Ibadan, one of the most heavily populated cities of Africa, had only 50 Europeans before the last war. For those chosen few, the British colonial government maintained a segregated hospital service of 11 beds in well furnished surroundings. There were 34 beds for the half a million blacks... altogether the 4,000 Europeans in the country in the 1930s had 12 modern hospitals, while the African population of at least 40 million had 52 hospitals.[43]

Moreover the colonialists always fall back on the fact that, infrastructures were provided under colonial rule. "English capital has built railways and

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[40] E.A. Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa*, p.42.

[41] Bill Warren, *Imperialism Pioneer of Capitalism*, p.129.

[42] Ibid, pp.129-130.

[43] Walter Rodney' *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, p.225, Bogle, L'Ouverture, Publications, London 1972, p.225.

constructed harbors."[44]They argue that these infrastructures were virtually absent in the colonies before the colonial period. Colonialism was indeed a blessing to the colonized states. As if Colonialism was a humanitarian venture, and a blessing to the colonies

After all these infrastructures were developed by contradiction, they were put in place in order to promote exploitation of resources from the colonies to the metropolitan countries. That is why Micheal Crowther argued:

> Under colonial rule any economic benefit that may have accrued to the African resulted from accident not design, by- products of the European primitive economic system the colonial powers instituted to carry from Africa its raw materials for processing in Europe, in exchange for a strictly limited range of European manufactures.[45]

It should be noted that even the infrastructures that were not intended were not built with European finances, but from revenues accrued in the colonies. This is because the colonies were never a burden to the metropole; they had to fend for themselves. The revenue came from taxation and sale of raw materials in the colonies.

The revenue was divided into three thus: One third went to the Native Authority, another third to the Government and other third went to the reserve for investment abroad. For the colonies to support the Colonial system taxation was introduced and levied on the farmers, a mixed farmer had to pay a higher rate

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[44] Allan Mcphee, *Economic Revolution in British West Africa*, p.104.

[45] M. Crowther, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*,, Hutchinson, London, 1981, p.274.

than other farmers.[46] This was a kind of relinquishing farmers' initiative, and exploiting their resources.

Furthermore, colonialism was introduced into the colonies not for mutual co-existence with the traditional system but the domination and annihilation of the latter by the former. The Colonial and traditional systems could not exist side by side, on equal terms, thus colonialism submerged the traditional in its own interest. Marx in his study of Asia argued:

> Colonialism involves occupation of a territory with the mission of destruction and annihilation of old society and laying of the material foundations of western society in Asia. In India the civilization of the British was superior, therefore could not mingle with Hindu civilization with the only option of destruction.[47]

He further argued:

> The British destroyed India by breaking up the native communities by uprooting the native industry and by leveling all that was great and elevated in the native society.[48]

Marx did not discuss colonialism in Africa but India which had similar experience with Africa that is why the reference is important here.

What is clear is that European ideas do not stand up at the same level with traditional ones; rather the former subsume the latter. There are arguments made by the behavioural theorists that values and skills in the modern sector diffuse outwards into the traditional sector; what they called dualism. Although they feel

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[46] KATPROF/1/Agricultural Extension Work Mixed Farming 239, vol.II, p.151.
[47] Marx Angels, *On Colonialism*, Press Publshers Moscow, p.82.
[48] Ibid.

that this process can be retarded due to the way traditional system holds firmly on the society.[49]

How could dualism stand in a colonial society despite the fact that 'superiority' of European ideas and values was entrenched and promoted in the traditional system which destroyed the traditional values? Colonial apologists are always on the defense, always emphatic on benefits of colonialism to Africa without understanding the production relations there in during the colonial period. Thus Bill Warren argued:

> Consumer goods were supplied at a price and variety unobtainable in the pre-colonial period, the importation of goods was made possible by increase in primary production, the bulk of the imports was at a low-medium rate. Imports from developed countries did not displace simple techniques in West African textile production and other crafts.[50]

In other words, the writer is saying that colonialism opened up the colonies to trade and agricultural opportunities; and anything close to exploitation of the peasants did not happen in the colonies. The fact is, despite massive production of capitalists goods which made the price to be low in comparison with locally produced goods, the colonial state formulated policies to ensure that local industries crumbled so that people would end up buying European manufactured goods. This could be seen in the way the colonial state introduced American staple cotton in the colonies and consequently banned the production of local

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[49] E.A Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment*, pp.286-287.

[50] Bill Warren, *Imperialism Pioneer of Capitalism*, p.131.

cotton (kada 'yar karfi), a suitable raw material for local textile industries. So that European goods would have ready markets in the colonies. Amazingly you find writers arguing that it was the attractive prices that made peasants to produce cash crops. What were the peasants expected to do? After all the peasants went through different methods of taxation ranging from household system of tax, to industrial tax paid uniformly irrespective of period of drought of good harvest.

In his studies on "Agriculture in Nigeria", Helleiner disclosed that peasants were never exploited during the Colonial period. He argued:

> Beyond offering peasant formers a vent for their potential surplus production the foreigners did next to nothing to alter technological backwardness of the economy. Since production was left largely untouched, he cannot be accused of introducing export bias to the economy. All he did was to dangle sufficiently attractive prices before the producers' noses to persuade them to convert potential ... into actual surpluses by increasing inputs.[51]

The argument above is posited as if land and labour were underutilized in Africa, so it was cash crop production that led to the utilization of these resources. The argument further pointed out that, peasant producers were offered lucrative prices that was why people went into cash crop production, thus that was why cash crops production blossomed in the colonies. In Katsina Emirate between 1915 and 1916, 121 bales of cotton were exported at the price of £1.75 per lb. By 1939 to 1940 the export has increased to 50,000 bales but the price offered to the peasants

[51] Gerald R. Helleiner; *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria*, Hanwood 1966, p.3.

was about £1.2 to £1.4 per lb.[52]This shows increase in cash crop production and a corresponding decrease in the price offered for the products.

It should be noted that, land and labour were important factors of production in the pre-colonial period. They were utilized in the production of food and cash crops for local consumption, while the surplus was exchanged for other goods. Thus the production of cash crops only increased despite low prices offered for the goods, because the farmers wanted to acquire money in order to pay tax to the colonial state.

What British colonialism did in Nigeria was to break and incorporate pre-colonial production relations and forces into capitalists system, which consolidated colonial domination and promoted extraction of economic surplus for the survival of capitalism. [53] What is clear is that, exploitation of human and material resources at all levels was a prerequisite for the survival of colonialism. What is referred to as survival of the fittest.

Africanists/ Nationalists Perspective

The Africanists/ nationalists perspective challenged and refuted Colonialists historiography which was racists and holds the view that Africa has no history. The Africanists emphasized the fact that, colonial domination has resulted in nothing but exploitation of human and materials resources of the colonies; for the

[52] NNAK KATPROF 3190 vol.2, Agricultural Department Report 1952.

[53] Toyin Falola (ed) *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development*, Zed Books Ltd, London, 1987,p.5.

development of the metropole. Nationalists' perspective sprang as an anti colonial tradition in the 1960s'[54].It emerged in a period when nationalists' struggles were celebrated with much expectation about the future. This kind of perspective sees chiefs and warriors who resisted colonial domination as heroes and saints who ought to be glorified.[55] Thus this perspective always employs a defensive approach in the study of African history. The proponents of this view are many and include: Fyfe, Kepteijns, Erikson, Wamda-dia-Wamba and Ade-Ajayi .

Political Economy/ Marxist Perspective

The Political economy/ Marxist perspective sees the relationship between colonies and metropole as ambivalent; two sides of a coin, on one hand it creates exploitation and subjugation and on the other hand it create new forces which will overthrow domination when the people organize themselves to fight such oppression.[56]This perspective has proponents such as Amilcar Cabral, Walter Rodney, Segun Osoba, Laclau, Pilling, Bettelheim, Brenner, B.Magubane e.t.c.

The Political economy/ Marxist perspective is important in understanding the relations, conditions and factors of production in an area. It enables one to have an understanding of the nature of state and economy and the relationship between the two; as well as their significance in the lives of the people.

[54] P.T.Zeleza, Manufacturing African Studies and Crises, CODESTRIA,Dakar Senegal,1997. P.20
[55] Ibid
[56] E.A. Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa*, p.283.

1.1.4 Development

Development is studied from different viewpoints and perspectives today. There are three perspectives used in the study of development. These include: bourgeoisie, dependency and Marxist perspectives.

Bourgeoisie Perspective

Issues of development have been explained from the perspective of bourgeoisie who perceive development in the possession of material goods which determine the progress of a society. The economic and social systems of the west are seen to be superior to any other system in the world, therefore for any nation to progress it must emulate the west, which has become a standard of measurement of development. Development has been used by the west as advancement thereby robbing people of different cultures to define the form of their social life. [57]

This perspective sees development as a process whereby other people are dominated and their destinies shaped according to an essentially Western way of conceiving and perceiving the world.[58]

The bourgeoisie hold the view that contact between the West and the third world countries has resulted in the development of the latter. That is why they are always interested in identifying increase in number of schools, hospitals,

[57] S.Walfang (ed),The Development Dictionary,Zed Books Ltd London.1992
[58] R.Munck and D.O'Hearn,Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm,Zed Books Ltd London.1999.

employment and per capital income of an area.[59] This perspective has failed to concentrate and analyse issues of control of means of production, class formation and struggle and power of the state.

Dependency Perspective

It was due to the deficiency of bourgeoisie perspective to explain the meaning of development that led to the rise of dependency perspective. The dependency theorists are of the view that 'backward' or 'poor' countries were in that condition due to colonization and capitalists' exploitation at national and international level. The exploitation of resources was in the form of economic exploitation and income drain. Thus the dependency theorists have come up with various processes of how the third world countries become underdeveloped.

This perspective delve on exchange relations instead of production relations in their analysis of development, thus they have failed to explain nature of capitalists accumulation. They also did not address the issue of class formation, capital accumulation and class struggle.

The major proponents of the dependency perspective are Wallerstein, Samir Amin, Gunder Frank and Emmanuel.

[59] Bill Warren, *Imperialism Pioneer of Capitalism*, Thetford Press Ltd, Thetford, 1980

Marxists Perspective

Development in Marxists perspective is seen both at economic and technological levels. It is a process which involves qualitative transformation of human beings and social structures which bring changes in the lives of human beings and society, and also allows the society to embark on gradual accumulation.[60] Also, development is defined as a process of change which involves capital accumulation that leads to the general well-being of people in the society, whereby the needs of people such as food, clothing and shelter are met.[61]

Karl Marx has explained development based on different historical epochs, he looked at it as a process which occurred in different societies; each of these phases represents development, whereby the people exploited the environment in order to meet their demands. These epochs include: communalism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and socialism. Communalism was a period when work was done by all and proceeds of labour were shared equally, thus all properties were owned by all members of the community. Slavery was the second phase when people were sold and bought in the market, and worked for their masters in various economic productions such as crafts production, agriculture e.t.c.

The next phase was feudalism which was characterized by control of basic means of production, which is land by few individuals who employed the services

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[60] M. Castells , The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach (Trans by Allan Sheridan),Erward Arnold,London. 1977; R.Walter,How Europe Underdeveloped Africa,Bogle L'Overture Publications.1972

[61] Toyin Falola (ed) *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development*, Zed Books Ltd, London, 1987,p.5.

of workers to till the land, in return for barely enough to sustain them. The workers (serfs) were not properties of the masters but were continuously attached to the land even if the farmlands changed hands. Feudalism was replaced by capitalism, which was characterized by changeover of production from agriculture to industries, as well as control of means of production, by few individuals. It was also characterized by unequal distribution of products of human labour.

Marx predicted that, due to the exploitative nature of capitalism and the contradiction within, it would breed forces that would lead to its overthrow, thus a new phase of socialism will eventually set in to replace it. Socialism is a system characterized by state control of means of production and proceeds of labour were shared accordingly as in communalism.

The Marxists perspective is significant in addressing issues of accumulation in production, the process of class formation and class struggle in all societies. Thus it is significant in the study of development and underdevelopment.

1.1.5 *Urbanisation*

Urbanisation is a process of the development of societies which in turn has brought about great transformation in man's way of life.This is further tied up with the growth of urban centres i.e the cities which become centres of industrial production distinct from the villages where agricultural production is dominant.

The study of urbanization falls into two categories namely: evolutionists and political economy perspectives. The study of urbanization in Africa was

dominated by the evolutionists' perspective; therefore political economy perspective only became widespread in the last three decades of twentieth century.[62]

Evolutionists Perspective

The evolutionists perspective maintained that urbanisation is the process whereby people congregate in 'large numbers' in one particular place.[63] It further advanced that, the growth and development of societies and their history occurred based on settlements pattern.[64]Also, this perspective sees urbanisation in any society as a continuation of the same forces that led to urban growth in other parts of the world.[65]This means that, settlements are duplications of earlier settlements which are of the same category. It is also maintained that settlement found in an area is an indication of the type of the society, whether such a society is developed or underdeveloped.[66]

Furthermore, urbanisation in Nigeria is seen to have occurred in the Colonial period due to the effort of British to develop new cities as part of their effort towards the progress and development of the country.[67]

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[62] One of such books published was T. Falola, The Political Economy of Pre-Colonial African State:Ibadan,1830-1900,University of Ife Press, Ife.1984

[63] Akin Mabogunje, Urbanisation in Nigeria, University of Ibadan Press, Ibadan.1968. p.33

[64] Lewis Mumford, The City in History, Braced work, New York,1961

[65] A.Mabogunje op.cit p.27

[66] E.Lampard, "The History of Cities in Economically Advanced Areas" in Economic Development and Cultural Change vol.3 1955.p. 90

[67] A.K.Medugbon, "Kaduna, Nigeria: The Vicissitudes of a Capital City,1917-1975" Unpublished Ph.D thesis,UCLA.!976.

The evolutionists perspective has failed to situate the significance of urbanisation in the lives of the people. As well as the importance of class formation and class struggle.

It is significant to address the issue of the importance of urbanisation in the lives of the people. For instance in the Colonial period cities developed as centres of Colonial administration and commerce, as no industrial centre emerged. [68] Despite the fact that there was lack of industrial growth, West Africa experienced the most rapid rate of urban population growth in any region of the world between 1950-1970. [69] The rapid growth was due to migration which led to the creation of new cities characterized by socio-economic differentiation.

Political Economy Perspective

The need to address deficiencies of evolutionists perspective in the study of urbanisation led to the rise of political economy perspective.The political economy perspective maintains the significance of allocating resources between nations and classes. In fact economic system is portrayed as dynamic, with growth in every sector of the economy.[70]

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[68] J.Gugler and W.Flanagan, Urbanisation and Social Change in West Africa,Cambridge University Press, London.1978.p.2

[69] Ibid.

[70] T.Falola, The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State op.cit p.87

The political economy perspective has gone a long way in defining and situating urbanisation in a historical context, that is, along communal, slave-holding, feudal, capitalists and socialists formations.[71]

Urbanisation should be situated a social process which is based on changes in the society that enable the progress and development of such society, this is tied up with the progress and development of the economy to meet the needs of the population and for export, which in turn affect structural changes in the settlements.

1.2 Conclusion

Three perspectives have emerged in the discourse of Colonialism. These include: Colonialists perspective which represent colonialism and civilizing mission in Africa, therefore misreprenting facts on the nature of, and reasons for colonial domination and exploitation. The Africanists perspective challenged and refuted Colonialist historiography as racist and the view that Africa has no history. While the political economy/ Marxist perspectives sees colonialism as exploitative and oppressive, thus it will create seed of discord in the minds of the colonized who will overthrow the system. The present study is a contribution in the discourse of impact of colonialism on the states and economies of Africa. It is going to be conducted through the political economy approach which studies the state and economy and their significance in the lives of people of an area.

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[71] D.Harvey, Social Justice and the City, Edward Arnold, London.1973.p.239

CHAPTER TWO

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF KATSINA

BY 1850 A.D

2.0 Introduction

This chapter attempts to study the nature of political and economic system of Katsina by 1850.By this period, the area had been established as an emirate headed by an emir, who administered numerous districts further divided into towns and villages. The emir delegated authority to officials to administer the towns and villages of the emirate. Katsina metropolis was the capital and centre of administration of the emirate, but was not administered as a district. Economic production was significant in the lives of people of the metropolis and the emirate generally. Craft production, agriculture and pastoralism were central in the economy of Katsina metropolis, with production meant for immediate use, while the surplus was exchanged with goods from near and distant places. Labour was provided based on kinship ties, though slave labour was significant in production. Thus, the economy was not subsistence in nature. The significance of economic production led to the appointment of official who supervised and regulated economic production on behalf of the state.

2.1 Land and People of Katsina Metropolis

2.1.1 Land

Katsina metropolis is an upland area located on latitude 12° 59′ N and longtitude 7° 36′ E.[1] It is bordered by Kaita, Mani, Rimi and Batsari. To the north is Kaita, to the south is Rimi, to the east is Mani and to the west is Batsari. The area is a watershed between rivers draining in the Niger and Chad basin.[2] The topography and soil texture of the area is characterised by continuous sediments and sandy drifts which are mostly broken by outcrops of granite in form of *duwatsu* (rocks) such as *dutsin* safe. It is believed that the granite inherent in the rocks is the main reason why the soil is red in colour. This red soil (*jar kasa*) is prevalent in Katsina metropolis and other parts of Northern Katsina.

Laterite iron stones are also found in this area which is a good source of *tama* (iron ore).[3] The plains of the area stand above sea level at an elevation of about 1,600 to 1,800 feet. In Katsina metropolis area, the valleys of the rivers are shallow, which usually change their course and form lakes. An example of this is Tabkin Sauri characterised by yellowish brown soil. Similarly, clay loams are found around the fadama (wet lands) suitable for the growth of vegetables like

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[1] Microsoft Student Encarta 2008

[2] A.T. Grove, Land and Population in Katsina Province, Kaduna, 1952; K.M. Buchanan and J.C, Pugh, *Land and People of Nigeria*, London, 1969; Y.B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina*, Ph.D Thesis, A.B.U., Zaria.

[3] Interview with Mal Tajudeen Gafai, 14th June 2007; Y.B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883*,, Zaria, 1981.

tomatoes, pepper, lettuce and fruits. The area has a good supply of underground water, at the depth of 50 to 240 feet, mainly increased by percolating rain waters.[4]

2.1.2 Climate

The climate of Katsina is subject to the movement of air masses which affects the rainfall and temperature of the area. These air masses are the tropical continental air mass or north-east wind which blows from the desert bringing harmattan, and the Tropical Continental Air mass or south-western wind coming to the area from the Gulf of Guinea bringing rain into the region. The climate of Katsina is similar to the climate of the Sahel region. Annual rainfall is about 20 to 40 inches, with an average of 25 inches, and in bad years it is 15 inches.[5]

The area has an average temperature of 42°C, which is adequate for plant growth. During the harmattan period a maximum of 90°C is recorded; and it falls back between the months of November and February.[6]

Rainfall was a fundamental element that determined the pattern of settlement and economic activities in Katsina. The amount of rainfall and temperature varied, and were subject to changes in the atmosphere. Rainfall brings changes into the environment, popularly known as *damina mai ban samu* (rainy season provider of

[4] Grove, op.cit, p.29

[5] Ibid, p.3.

[6] Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina;* Grove, Land and Population in Katsina.

livelihood).[7] Rain normally begins in April and when the rain becomes regular temperature is usually lower in the morning and at night, thereby it is excessively hot.[8] The mid day temperature rise to 100°C and a minimum of 75oC has been recorded.[9] The early rain is accompanied by *cida* (thunder) which is an indication of the beginning of the rainy season.[10]

Great attention is devoted to farm work at the early stage of the rainy season. This is because of the uncertainty of rain, because after the first rain there is often a delay of three to four weeks. And when this happens the seeds are wasted. Therefore, in order to overcome this problem much attention is devoted to farming, utilizing the available know-how, skills and labour.[11] Crops like ground nut, beans and sweet potato are planted within the period of little or no rain. It should be noted that critical food shortages occur during this period of little or no rain, and this in turn often leads to famine and higher prices of the available food stuff.[12]

The period of shortages of rain is followed by time of heavy rains. By the end of June, cloud cover becomes permanent with the frequency of rain. It is also a

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[7] Buchanan, op.cit, p.24.

[8] Usman, op.cit, p.24

[9] Grove, op.cit, p.4

[10] Usman, op.cit, p.4

[11] Usman, op.cit, p.

[12] Ibid.

period of low temperatures and high humidity. It is also a time of excessive rain, which makes weeding and harvesting of crops difficult task. More importantly, at this point if the harvest of millet is delayed it is normally washed away which become source of concern of the people, as the available food become expensive due to the high demand of millet for *fura*, a drink made of millet, consumed in the area as food. Similarly, this is a period when flood occur, washing down farmlands and houses, so it is a critical period for the generality of the people of the area.

Generally, rain has been unfavourable in one year out of five; this is indicated by low productivity of crops.[13] The period of excessive rain is followed by times when crops are harvested from the farm, and the harvested crops are stored. With harvest over, the dry stalk of cotton, groundnut and beans are left on the farm as feeds for cattle. This arrangement comes in form of agreement for the herdsmen to provide manure on the farmlands. Some of the stalk is taken away and stored for the feeding of animals, goats and sheep kept in various households.[14]

Other form of farming is the dry season farming around the *fadamomi* (wet lands). This farming requires moisture that is why it is done around the *fadamoni*, and in some instances wells are dug and shaduf is used in evacuating water from

[13] Grove, op.cit, p.4

[14] Usman, op.cit

wells for the irrigation of plants. This agricultural activity entails the cultivation of vegetables and in some cases food crops are plated along side with vegetables. The vegetables cultivated include: onions, tomatoes, cabbage, and lettuce.These are planted in square formed layout to allow water to pass into the farmland area. A large proportion of land in Katsina metropolis has been utilized fort this economic activity.[15]

These products serve the Katsina markets, as well as the surrounding villages and distant markets. Some of the tomatoes and pepper are dried, stored and used in the raining season when they are scarce.[16] They also formed items of trade in the Tsohuwar Kasuwa in Katsina metropolis and the surrounding villages. Also onion leaves were dried and taken to long distant places, known as *gabu*, and used in food preparation. This is important because it shows how people utilize sunshine to preserve food items in order to prevent spoilage, as well as due to high demand of dried items in rainy season.[17]

Similarly, after the rainy season, the grains are harvested and stored, and then people engage in various industrial and commercial activities. For example, household construction, food processing, mining activities, craft production, etc, mats, hats and rope making from leaves of *goriba* (hyphaene thebaica) as well as

[15] Interview with Sarkin Lambu of Katsina, June 2007

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

kaba (hyphaene) are important socio-economic activities. A large section of the population of this area was occupied with this economic venture, especially the male population. These forms of production were widespread due to the availability of the raw materials in large quantity in Katsina.

Rope was used along with water container (*guga*) to draw water from the well. The hats were worn by men as shield from the scorching sun. Also mats were needed and used in every household, sometimes dye was used on the mats to produce different designs used by all sections of the society.[18]

Another dry season activity is the processing of grain, popularly known as *sussuka* and *shika* done by the women folk. It required removing the husk from the grain through pounding, using mortar and pestle, and then *fai-fai* (tray) is used to separate the husk from the grain. Women undertake this venture within the households, and sometimes some of them are called upon by farmers to process their grains for payment.[19] This dry season activity employs the service of women, thereby providing them with income which they use to solve personal problems.

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[18] Interview with Hajia Umma Tafkin Kura,trader, 55 years, 19th June, 2007.

[19] Interview with late Hajia Abu, Behind A.T.C. Quarters, Katsina, 2008.

2.1.3 Vegetation

The vegetation of Katsina Metropolis falls within the savanna zone of West Africa, namely, the Guinea, Sudan and Sahel savanna. It is important to note that, the type of vegetation in an area is influenced by the amount of rainfall, soil type and intensity of human activities in the area.

The vegetation found in Katsina Metropolis comprises of trees and shrubs. The trees are found in areas close to settlements, while the shrubs are found in areas far away from settlements.[20] The area where trees are found is under intensive cultivation, and it is characterized by trees covering many kilometers. This kind of vegetation is utilized to a great extent and this in turn makes the natural vegetation to be suppressed. Clapperton visited Katsina in May 16, 1824 and noted that most of the area was extensively cultivated.[21]

Trees found around the settlement are shea butter (Acacia Albida) and Tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica*).[22] Other important trees found beside these are: baobab (kuka) (Adonsonia digitate), locust beans (*dorowa) (parkia filiwoidoa)*, black plum *dinya)* vitex, *(faru) (lannea)*, Egyptian thorn (*bagaruwa)(acacia*), silk cotton tree

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[20] Buchanan, op.cit, p.13, Usman the Transformation of Katsina.

[21] Bovill op.cit, pp.706-707.

[22] Buchaman, *op.cit*, p.26.

(*rimi*) (*ceiba pantandra*), Niger Gutta tree (*gamji*) (*ficus platyphylla*), African ebony (*kanya*) (*diospyros mespilifornis*), winter thorn (*gawo*) (*Acacia Albida*).[23]

Some species of trees like *kuka* (Baobab), *cediya* (ficus thonniyi), *durumi* (ficus polita) and *rimi* (ceiba pentandra) are found in settled areas, sometimes near the houses. It is believed that tree clusters is an indication that people have lived in the area for a long time.[24]

These trees are of economic significance and they are utilized by the people in the area. They are used for food, fodder, medicine, industrial raw materials and fire wood. They constitute the major source of fuel for the local economy. *Acacia Arabia* (*bagaruwa*) (leguminosoe) is an important source of gum Arabic, and the leaves boiled with tamarind pod is used as medicine for the cure of diseases which cause the eye lashes to fall out. *Daddawa* is made from the seed of dorowa (*parkia filiciodea*). It is a condiment used in food seasoning and also serves as an important item of trade.

The leaves of Baobab (*kuka*) (adonsia digitata) are used in the preparation of soup, *miyar kuka*. The pods of *tsamiya* Indian tamarindus (*tamorindus indica*) are used in the preparation of various kinds of drinks taken as laxative.

Vitex (*dumya*), its fruits are used in making sweets (*alewa* and *madi*). It has a taste of honey; it is used also an ingredient for ink making, it is boiled with gum to

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[23] Grove, op,cit, p.29-30.

[24] Usman, op.cit p.13.

get a thick extract, beehives are mostly placed on the branches of this tree.[25] The wood of vitex is used in making axes and hoe handles, mortar and pestle. The seed of *bagaruwa* (*acacia arabica*) is used in tanning of leather materials, while the wood is used to make handles of axes and hoes. The inner bark of *kuka baobab)* is stripped and used to make ropes and mats. Hats and baskets are made from the leaves of *goriba*. In the hollows of tamarind tree (*tsamiya*), cocoons of silk warm were found and this was processed into silk thread used in highly valued embroidery.

Trees found close to settlements are not planted like food crops; they are inherited and carefully preserved, utilized as source of income to the people. Some of these trees play important roles in the lives of the non-muslims of the area. Trees liker *tsamiya* and *kuka* are associated with iskoki (spirits) and a kind of *bori* cult is associated with it. The tsamiya tree of Bawada which was enclosed in the palace of Sarki Korau, was the site of religious activities and the installation of the king.[26] The importance of this vegetation lies in the way it created linkages between the people and the environment.

The area outside the settlement where shrubs and small trees predominate is characterised by thin soil unsuitable for farming activities.[27] It is made up of

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[25] H. V. Lely, *The Useful Trees of Northern Nigeria*, London 1952, pp.29-30.

[26] F. Daniel, *A History of Katsina,* cited in Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883, p.*

[27] Y.B. Usman; *The Transformation of Katsina*, op.cit, p.20.

abandoned farmlands where farming has stopped temporarily. The trees in this area belong to thorny species, about 20 feet high, also shrubs and grasses are found in this area. *Geza* (combretum micranthum), *sarkakkiya* (*acacia atanacantha*), *sabara* (bauhinia thonniga), *kalgo* (bauhinia peticulata) in some instances *kaba* (hyphaene thebaica) and thorn bushes (Acacia) are also found in the area.

The shrubs are equally important; the shrub of *sabara* (bauhinia thonniga) is burnt around herds of cattle, sheep and goats to keep off flies. The leaves mixed with water are used in the treatment of stomach aches. It is also taken by women after child birth. It is used as prevention for leprosy and other skin diseases. In some instances leaves are added to food to prevent indigestion. The shrub of *shirwaka* (venonia amygdalina) grows around rivers and in most areas in some household. The root is used as chewing stick for cleaning teeth and the leaves are used as medicine.[28]

Geza (combetum micronthum) is used in roofing and it is an important source of fire wood. The leaves are used in the treatment of high blood pressure. *Kaba* is important in rope making and mats, which are major occupation of the people in the dry season due to the availability of the product in the area. The *saura* is a major grazing area for herds of cattle, sheep and donkeys.[29] The grasses of the vegetation are used in making thatched roof and for light brooms.

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[28] Lely, op.cit, pp.100-108.

[29] Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina*, Ph.D thesis, p.19.

The area furthest away from settlements is called *daji*. It is the abode of *maharba* (hunters) and nomadic Fulani who move around with their herds of cattle in the *daji*. There are several trees such as *kiriya, madaci,marke* which are used for medicinal purposes in the area. They are also used by wood carvers in the making of mortar, pestle, hoe handle, etc.[30]

[30] Ibid.

2.2 Nature of Katsina Polity by 1850 AD

In the second half of nineteenth century, Katsina was ruled as an emirate under the Sokoto Caliphate. Authority was vested in the emir who controlled numerous towns and villages which together formed the districts.The districts were corporate units of administration under the hakimai (district heads), group of villages make up the districts. While Katsina metropolis was the capital and centre of administration of the emirate. Some of the *hakimai*(district heads) lived in the metropolis but sent their representatives to the districts

The emir was in charge of the affairs of the emirate but was answerable to the Caliph based in Sokoto. The Caliph was in charge of appointment and deposition of emirs.[31] Caliph Aliyu Babba deposed Emir Saddiku in 1844 for failing to adopt the policy of resettlement and colonization of areas distrupted by the Jihad, and appointed Muhamman Bello, who adopted such policy.

The Caliph sent a representative to Katsina in the name of Galadiman Sokoto, who was an official responsible for sending correspondence to the Caliph and also collected portion of taxes from Katsina to the Caliph.The major function of Galadiman Sokoto was supervision of Katsina in the interest of the Caliph. Ummaru Dan Dashero held the supervisory title of Galadiman Sokoto from 1855-1896. The Galadiman Sokoto was in a position to advise the Caliph on the

[31] I.Dankousso, Katsina: Traditions Historique des Katsinawaa après la Jihad, Centre Regional de Decumentation pour la Tradition Orale, Niamey. P.75

selection of new emir of Katsina. In fact it was based on the advice of Ummaru Dan Dashero that the Caliph appointed Emir Ahmadu Rufa'i (1870-71) and Musa (1883-1885).[32]

The major responsibility of the emir was, to ensure that the people under him perform their religious duty, he was authorized to conduct jihad, share booty and impose capital punishment.[33] He was also authorized to use public revenue to improve the living conditions of the people in the emirate.

The authority of the emir over land was limited, he was not expected to lease or sell land. Thus the land belonged to the whole Muslim community, which the emir only held it in trust for people.

In the second half of nineteenth century, the emirate administration of Katsina was divided into : Central government and districts administration. The central government was made up of bayin Sarki (slaves of the emir) who were the primary executive of the emir's palace and were responsible for the conduct of royal businesses in the emir's chambers and in the public.They held the following offices in the royal court:

[32] Usman, "The transformation of Katsina" op.cit p.457

[33] Usman, The transformation of Katsina"op.cit p.171

1. Magayaki – senior slave to the emir
2. Sarkin Bai – deputy to Magayaki
3. Sarkin Yara – " " "
4. Ajiya –treasury and stores
5. Baraya- Stores
6. Turaki –emir's chambers
7. Dan Kafi – emir's calvary
8. Ubandwaki- " "
9. Sarkin Karoma –emir's swordsmen
10. Sarkin Baka – emir's bowmen
11. Sarkin Bindiga – emir's musketeers
12. Zagi - emir's stables
13. Sarkin Dogarai –Police and guards
14. Ganuwa -fotifications[34]

The bayin Sarki also provided many officials responsible for regulating and supervising economic activities. These offices were like Tarno – weaving, Danbagazame–dyeing, Majema–tanning e.t.c.These positions held show the level which the state controlled economic production, thus was able to exact taxes from different craft industries.

[34] Usman, The Transformation of Katsina op.cit p.180

There were also the senior advisers of the emir and senior military commanders who were supervisors of *hakimai* (district heads).These officials were known as *Sarakunan Sarki,* and were also given the responsibility of resettlement, reorganization of administration and resolution of conflicts in the districts.[35]The emir had to obtain permission from the Caliph before dismissing these officials.[36] This shows how important these officials were to the emirate administration. These officials include:

1. Galadiman Katsina
2. Kauran Katsina
3. Durbin Katsina
4. Marusan Katsina
5. Iyan Katsina
6. Kankiya
7. Mashi[37]

There was also the position of 'yayan Sarki (emir's children and relatives), who had light burden compared to other officials of the central administration. Their

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[35] Ibid p. 182

[36] Ibid

[37] Ibid

major responsibility was the supervision of the districts and they lived in the capital.

The districts were headed by a *hakimai* (district heads), and were supervised by the *Sarakunan Sarki*. The *hakimai* lived in one of the towns of their territories but most of them had houses in Katsina Metropolis. Each of the districts had numerous towns and villages forming distinct administrative units.The towns were headed by the *masu gari* (heads of towns), while the villages were headed by *dagatai* (village heads). The *maigari* of each town had officials and agents whom he appointed.[38]

Katsina metropolis was the capital of the emirate, thus it was the centre of administration where the palace complex comprising the houses of the emir and his officials, as well as places for the conduct of royal business. The area remained the capital of the emirate and was never administered as a district. Also, in the metropolis was the area of Cikin Birni which the centre of industrial and craft production distinct from the palace complex. The area was occupied by Leather workers, tanners, smiths, textile manufacturers and merchants; and was the densely populated area of the metropolis.[39]

In terms of military organisation the emirate's army consisted of calvary and infantry organised for the defence of the territory, and mainly equipped with

[38] Usman, The Transformation of Katsina... op.cit pp181-82

[39] Ibid.

bows, arrows, war-axes, shields and daggers. When Barth visited Katsina in 1861 he reported that the emirate had 8,000 infantry and 2,000 calvary for territorial defence.[40] This shows that the emirate maintained a standing army for defence and territorial expansion

In the judicial aspect, qadis (judges) were drawn from the intelligentsia from all parts of the emirate. There developed a quarter in the metropolis where the judges were employed, and the area came to be known as Unguwar Alkali.[41] The judges were responsible for administering justice in the courts established in the emirate. People found to have committed offences were tried in the courts, where sentences were passed based on Islamic jurisprudence. The emir maintained a court where he received appeals from people dissatisfied with judgement in the court of the qadis. The final court of appeal was the court of the commander of the faithfuls (leader of the Caliphate) at Sokoto.[42] This system of emirate administration continued up to the beginning of the 20th century, when the area was conquered by the British imperialists.

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[40] Barth, *Travels and Discoveries*, Vol.I, p.454.

[41] Interview with Hajia Umma Tafkin Kura 19th June, 2007.

[42] Usman, op.cit, p.186-187.

2.3 The Nature of Economy of the State by 1850 A.D

2.3.1 Land Tenure

Land was the heritage and value of the people of Katsina Metropolis which the leaders administer according to the customs and traditions of the people.[43]By 1850, land was owned by the community under the trust of the Caliph who in turn delegated control of all land to the emirs in their respective emirates. Thus in the same vein the emir of Katsina delegated control of land to heads of towns and villages. By our period of study land was available to the settled population and immigrants to use as they wished.They carved an unoccupied area by seeking the consent of the hakimi (distict head) in charge of the area.[44] Only those with sufficient labour force bothered to explore the daji for more land, in so far they did not encroach farmlands of their neighbours.Those without manpower resources were contented with what they had as long as it was sufficient to meet their requirements.The abundant supply of land made it possible to expand the land without crisis.

According to M.A Mamman, land was apportioned to strangers by the use of stone in the pre-colonial period. The Village head threw a stone in a far direction and wherever it reached was the boundary which the stranger could use as

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[43] NNAK KATPROF 1724,Rural Policy

[44] T.B.ingawa , "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, SOAS,1984.p.140.

farmland or building a house.[45]With the approach of farming season strangers and settled population were allowed to expand their farmland so far they did not encroach on the boundaries of others. It should be noted that the farmers were not expected to alienate the land without the consent of the *hakimi* or *maigari*.

In Katsina Metropolis land was collectively owned by patrineal members of the family, managed by the eldest member of the family in trust for other members. The eldest member of the family was not allowed to alienate part of it without the consent of other members. Land collectively owned by members of the family was called gandu.The gandu was cultivated by members of the family and slaves in return for benefits such as food and clothing, in addition to privately owned farms (*gayauna)* given to members, whose proceeds were disposed off as the owners wished.

The members of the ruling family as well as wealthy individuals had large estates that were cultivated by slaves. Some of these estates were found in Tsagero by this period. While the farms of the Ulamas (Intelligentsia) was cultivated by their students (*almajirai*).

[45] M.A.Mamman,"The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960" Ph D thesis A.B.U. Zaria 2002.

In return for the land obtained, the people paid tax annually to the state known as *kudin kasa*, which was used for the purchase of weapons and horses for the defense of the state.[46]

By 1850, land was obtained only by the consent of the *maigari* (village head), though individual land holding through loans, gifts and inheritance was recognized.

2.3.2 Labour

When Barth visited Katsina Metropolis in 1851 he was engrossed with describing the types of crops produced as well as the vegetation of the area that he failed to mention labour composition for farm work and industry.

Labour for agricultural production was contributed by members of the family, more importantly the sons and slaves were the ones engrossed in farm work as the women did no farming, their duty was preparation of food that was served to workers in the farm and house chores. Paul Staudinger when discussing generally on labour in Hausaland in 1886 said: "The farm work is done mostly by men and women were rarely involved as was the situation with other African states"[47]The non-involvement of women in farm work is depicted in a poem on Hausaland:

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[46] I.Dankousso,Katsina:Traditions Historique des Katsinawaa apre's la jihad,Centre de Documentation pour la Tradition Orale Niamey.1970

[47]Paul Staudinger,In the Heart of Hausa States vol.2, Ohio Centre for International Studies,1990.p.108

> Farm work is not becoming for a wife you know; she is free,
> you may not put her to hoe grass.[48]

The labour of sons and slaves was utilized in farm work from morning till afternoon, when they could go and engage in private works. The workers received food and clothing in return for the work and were also assisted in numerous ways, in addition to porridge (*fura*) that was served to the workers on the farm.[49]

Economic production such as weaving (textiles), dyeing, tanning, commerce was carried out around the households, but did not develop as a caste. Such production was not confined to certain section of the population; it was carried out by people who were interested of going into such ventures.[50] The textile industry for example employed the services of both males and females in production.In the households the labour of members of the family, servants, slaves and apprentices was utilized in production. The non members of the family were often absorbed into the family through inter-marriages and co-habitation. The absorption of people outside the families was limited in occupations such as hunting and pastoralism due to the fact that they require highly specialized

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[48] C.H. Robinson, Specimen of Hausa Literature, Cambridge University Press,1896. P.6

[49] Ibid

[50] Interview with Hajia Hassu Abdu Yarinchi, 5th June,2007.

training. While butchering and black smithing had magical powers or taboo associated with them that was why the absorption of strangers was restricted. [51]

Communa! labour (*gayya*) was also employed for farm clearing, planting, harvest and well sinking. This was a free labour which involved the services of friends and relatives who wish to assist a sick or elderly person. The extent to which this kind of labour was rendered shows the level which people could depend on one another.

Labour was significant in economic production in our area of study, whereby the services of large segment of the population was employed in production.

2.3.3 Transportation

Transportation of goods from one location to another was done with the aid of animals in the pre-colonial period. Horses were important means of transportation in Katsina in the second half of the nineteenth century. The best of the horses was brought from Azbin , and was usually called *dan Azbin*. Horses were of different varieties in Hausaland. There was one called *ingarma* which was expensive and was used for riding, while *kuruwa* was inexpensive and people were not interested in riding them. [52]They were used for long distance travel.

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[51] Usman, The Transformation of Katsina ... op.cit p 61

[52] D.E. Ferguson, "Nineteenth Century Hausaland:Being a Description by Imam Umouru of the Land, Economy and Society of People." Ph D thesis, University of California.1973 p.89

Donkeys were the major means of transportation in the pre-colonial period. They were used for transporting grains from the farm to the house. Also, they were used by *yan kwarami* (grain traders) to transport grain from areas where they were cheap to sell where they were dear. Movement of people and goods was done largely with the aid of donkeys. Even in long distance trade donkeys and camels were the beast of burden. The camels were brought from Azbin,Tunis ,Tripoli and became important means of transport in Katsina metropolis.The camels were also used by the rulers to load *tambura (cattle drum)*, which was exclusively meant for them.

In the second half of nineteenth century, the people depended on the use of animals in the transportation of people and goods, as there were no roads and railways.[53]

2.3.4 Agriculture

By the 1850 agriculture was significant in the lives of the people of Katsina; it provided food and raw materials for industries. Farming activities start with the onset of the rain fall, and early rain was significant in raising humidity in the soil which enabled farmers to embark on seed planting. In fact the clearing and manuring of farmlands took place before the first rain, and whenever it came forth sowing activities began. The sowing began with the planting of food crops, that is millet and guinea corn, utilizing the labour of the able-bodied men in the

[53] I.Dankousso,Katsina: Traditions Historique ..... op.cit p.69

community. Every son in the family including the *maigida* (head of household) went to the farm for crop production. In the subsequent period after the first rain other food crops such as maize, potatoes and beans were planted; also ground nut and cotton which were the cash crops were also planted.

In Katsina Metropolis (Birnin Katsina) farmlands were maintained outside the city walls for the production of guinea corn, millet, maize, beans, groundnut, potatoes and cotton. Guinea corn, millet, maize, beans and potatoes were the food crops produced; and guinea corn and millet were the major diets of the people. While ground nut and cotton were the major cash crops produced; with ground nut planted in large quantities in areas around Katsina metropolis and cotton was planted in average quantity due to the soil type of the area.

Farmlands were maintained outside the walls and gates of Katsina metropolis. Farmlands inside the walls were important in conditions of siege, but in normal times they served as grazing ground for sheep, goats, donkeys, camels and horses kept in the Metropolis.[54] Therefore large quantity of food was brought from Kabakawa, Tsagero, Barawa, Ajiwa and Dutsin Safe which were the satellite villages of the Metropolis.[55] Some of these places like Tsagero were country estates of the Sarakuna where large establishments of slaves were maintained. Therefore,

[54] Usman, op.cit. p.105

[55] Ibid.

Katsina metropolis developed into a major urban centre with majority of the population engaged in crafts and industry.

In other parts of the emirate especially the southern part, in addition to the food crops, cotton and dye stuff were produced and were taken to areas around Katsina Metropolis and Kano. The crop production varied on the soil type; the northern parts which include areas around the Birni did not support large cotton production due to sandy nature of some of the areas, while the southern area supported large cotton production due to the nature of the soil, which is the loamy type. Crops were produced to support the population and surplus was exported to other parts. In period of food shortage, food was imported from the south to the northern part of the emirate using donkeys.

In Katsina Metropolis areas of wetland in Rafukka were utilized in the production of irrigated crops and vegetables like wheat, onions and maize.[56] The availability of food supplies led to the growth and expansion of the population, an indispensable factor of production, while handcraft industry and trade emerged due to the agricultural activities. The availability of cotton and dye stuff led to the manufacture of cotton cloth in the area.

Apart from food and cash crops, vegetables were important in the diet of the people of Katsina Metropolis. They are leaves gotten from trees which were tendered and used for longer period. These included: *Zogala* (moreinga oleifera),

[56] Ibid.

tafasa (cassia tora), *yadiya* (leptadernia has tata) and *rama* (hibiscus suratensis.These vegetables have good nutritional value, and they were prepared along with *kuli-kuli* (ground nut cake) as a diet supplement taken in the afternoon.

Agricultural production revolved around the *gandu*, which was a system that was established based on trust involving men who cultivate farms together within the extended family.[57] Farms were placed under the care of the eldest member of the family who was not expected to alienate or sell part of it without the consent of the other members.

Sons and slaves work on the *gandu* farm from morning till afternoon time when they could go and engage in private works. The sons and slaves had private farms (*gayauna)* which they cultivate in their free times.The sons were given two days off from gandu which they use to cultivate their farms, while the slaves worked daily from morning to afternoon in the *gandu*, they could only work on their *gayauna* early in the morning or in the afternoon.[58] The proceeds from gayauna were disposed off and was used in solving personal problems. Sons and slaves received food and clothing in return for farm work and were also assisted in numerous ways, in addition to porridge (*fura*) that was served to the workers on the farm.[59]

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[57] Polly Hill, Rural Hausa: A village and a setting, Cambridge university Press,New York 1972.p.38

[58] Ibid p.41

[59] Ibid.

The *gandu* was not a practice or act of tying people to the land as was the case with feudalism. It was a system of trust between people related by blood who cultivate large areas of land with their slaves and share proceeds accrued therein together. Sons were allowed to leave *gandu* whenever they desired. When a son leave gandu a farm was given to him in addition to his *gayauna,* and he could leave his father's house to be independent.[60]

The slaves were allowed to hold positions in the *gandu,* a well trusted slave known as sarkin gandu was given authority of caring for the *gandu* which gave him authority over sons and slaves. When Sarkin gandu married he was given a piece of land and a house symbolizing his freedom from slavery and not from *gandu.* In fact the gandu system allowed the assimilation of slaves into the family. Family and slave labour was dominant for agricultural production in Katsina Metropolis as hired labour did not develop by 1850.It was only by 1925 that hired labour began to take place on a higher scale in our area of study.

The fertility of the soil was maintained through shift cultivation or bush following. This was a system of cultivating a piece of land for some years then, it was abandoned for a new land until it regains its nutrients. Also ground nut was intercropped with guinea corn in order to conserve soil nutrients. Trees such as

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[60] Ibid.

gawo (acacia albida), *gamji* (ficus platyphilla) were known to conserve soil nutrients, thus were prevalent on the farms when Barth visited Katsina in 1851.[61]

Unfortunately some areas around Katsina Metropolis and Dankama were abandoned due to wars and rebellions of 19th century[62], making cultivation impossible. When Barth visited Katsina in January 1851 the areas were left uncultivated.[63] Cultivation resumed when a gandu was established by Magaji Dankande in old Muduru an area close to Katsina Metropolis and the agriculture expanded when emir Bello established the new town of Muduru.[64]

Also, cultivation of tobacco developed in large scale in the second half of nineteenth century in the our area of study.Kabakawa an area south of Katsina Metropolis developed into centres of tobacco cultivation. The production of tobacco increased in this period due to high demand of it in Damagaram, Azbin,[65] to as far as Timbucto.[66]

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[61] Barth vol I op.cit p.450.

[62] See Usman ,op.cit for further discusslon on this subject.

[63] Barth, vol I op.cit p.450-52

[64] Usman, op.cit p.201

[65] Ibid.

[66] Barth vol. III op.cit p.85

2.3.5 Pastoralism

Pastoralism was significant in the lives of people of Katsina Metropolis. It formed one of the three important economic activities in our area of study; that is, agriculture, craft production and pastoralism. Pastoralism is the act of rearing animals such as goats, sheep, cattle and camels. It provided milk, meat and butter to the population of our area of study. Pastoralism was significant in supporting agricultural production; through the provision of manure to farmlands. On the other hand stalks left on the farm were used in feeding herds in our area of sudy.That shows the extent to which agriculture and pastoralism support one another.

The pastoral Fulani were the dominant group engaged in rearing of cattle and to a lesser extent goat, sheep and poultry. Barth noted the cattle type when he visited the area in 1851, he said they had 'beautiful whimp and fine strong limbs, and were of moderate size.'[67]The Fulani carried out a nomadic life by moving from one place to another, in search of areas of availability of pasture and water for their animals.[68] Like agriculture, pastoralism was organized around patrilineal families, with many people who were related by blood settling together in an area called (*ruga*), which were usually temporary homesteads. People of different

[67] Ibid.

[68] P.Staudinger op.cit p.111

homesteads move to live in other places in search of pasture and water for their animals, during trans-humance trek.

In the morning and evenings the animals were taken out of the homesteads to areas where pasture and water were readily available. The youths of the family both male and female were responsible for taking the animals to the grazing areas outside the homesteads. When Barth visited Katsina in 1851 he noticed cattle feeding in grazing areas.He argued:

> We met numerous herd of fine cattle..... returning to their pasture ground after having been watered.[69]

The elderly men in the homesteads were the ones concerned with the health of animals and seek information of where green pasture were available in the dry season.

They also go to the town to sell meat animals to the butchers. While the women did the milking, butter-making, sale of milk and butter covering long areas from the homesteads (*ruga*) to the markets of Katsina Metropolis.[70]

The pastoral Fulani move from their homesteads to other areas in search of greener pastures. Thus pastoralists around Katsina Metropolis moved to valleys of gulbin Maradi and Danmusa area where pasture and water were available.[71]

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[69] Barth vol.I op.cit p.482

[70] P.Staudinger *op.cit* p.112

[71] Usman, op.cit pp.126-128

In the period 1891-92, there occurred cattle plague in Katsina Emirate leading to the death of thousands of cattle in the area. Consequently some of the pastoral fulbe abandoned pastoralism for other occupations.[72] Also, by 1850 the animals suffered from different kind of diseases which became a stumbling block pastoralism in our area of study.These diseases included: rinderpest, foot and mouth diseases, contagious bovine pleura pneumonia (ciwon huhu), cowdriosis (*ciwon Kumburi*), helminthosis (*tsutsa)*, and dermatophillosis (*kirci)*.[73]

The diseases were treated with herbs of different kind of trees found in our area of study. The shrubs of *sabara* (bauhinia thonniga) were burnt around herds of cattle, sheep and goats to keep off flies.[74]The leaves and pods of *bagaruwa* (Acacia Arabica) and *garde* (gardenia erubescens) and potash mixed with the faeces of egret were used in the treatment of foot and mouth diseases. The leaves of *shuwaka* (vernonia amygdalina), bark of *madaci* (khaya senegalensis), potash and *dogon yaro* (neem tree) were used in the treatment of heinminthosis (*tsutsa)* of the animals. Similarly the bark of *kadanya* (butyrosperum parkii), *dunya* (vitex), guava leaves, and leaves of *garaluni* (momordica balsami na) were mixed together and used for the treatment of heinminthosis (*tsutsa)*.Similarly the seed of *duma*, bark of *gamji*

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[72] Ibid. p.461

[73] M.A.Mamman, The Role of Native Authority ..... op.cit p.45

[74] Lely, op.cit, pp.100-108.

(ficus platyphylla) when mixed with salt and potash were used in curing contagious bovine pleuropneumonia (*ciwon huhu).*[75]

In the second half of nineteenth century, the sedenterized Fulani settled in Girka in the ruins of Birnin Samri an area close to Katsina Metropolis, while another group the Sullubawa a Fulani clan settled in the town of Kurfi. Sedentrization of the Fulani was a process which started in the earlier period, but seemed to have increased by this period. The Fulani became more and more assimilated into the government and local administration of Katsina emirate.[76]

Apart from the sedenterized Fulani, people in Katsina Metropolis kept herds of cattle, goat, sheep and poultry placed under the shades in the households. The animals were fed with ground nut stalk, bran of crops (*dusa*) as well as food remnants (*tsari).*The fields inside the gates of Katsina Metropolis provided ground for the grazing of animals kept in the households. In fact animal husbandry was done in almost every household,[77] due to the fact that it was a means of keeping wealth. That means that the herds were sold out in order to solve personal problems and for the organization of naming and wedding ceremonies.

It should be noted that only moderate size of herds were kept in the households so as to prevent congestion, that was why arrangement was made

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[75] M.A.Mamman, The Role of Native Authority ..... op.cit p.45

[76] Usman op.cit p.206

[77] Ferguson, "Nineteenth Century Hausaland.....p.66

with the sedentary Fulbe to rear peoples' animals in return for dairy products or increase of the herds.[78]

The presence of goats, sheep and cattle in the area, led to the rise of tanning and leather production industries which became one of the major pre-occupations of the people of the area.[79] It is important to note that, the availability of herds in our area of study led to the rise of dried meat (*kilishi*) production technique, which enabled the preservation of meat for a long period. That kind of meat served as provision for travelers and warriors who travelled to other places. Imam Umouro noted the presence of dry meat production technique in Katsina.[80]

2.3.6 Crafts Production

Crafts production was a fundamental aspect of the economy of Katsina metropolis. It employed the services of large segment of the population, both males and females. By 1850 Katsina Metropolis had developed into an urban centre whose population was pre-occupied with the production of different crafts for use within the area and the excess products were taken to other areas by traders, there by serving as articles of trade.The growth of industries such as black smithing, textile, tanning and leather industries was possible due to the availability of raw materials for the industries in our area of study.

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[78] Interview with hajia Umma Tafkin Kura 19th June 2007.

[79] The development of leather industry has been discussed extensively under manufacturing.

[80] Ferguson, "Nineteenth Century Hausaland.....op.cit

In fact, by this period Katsina Metropolis had developed as the most significant industrial centre in the emirate. Industrial and craft production became the major pre-occupation of the people of the metropolis who produced goods to meet the needs of the community and the surplus became articles of trade to near and distant places. It was in the areas of the metropolis where iron workers, textile manufactures, leather workers were concentrated more than any town of the emirate.[81]

By the second half of nineteenth century crafts production was central to the economic activity of Katsina, which resulted in the appointment of officials under the mai *gari* (ditrict head) to supervise the production of goods. The officials regulated, supervised and collected taxes on various commodities from the artisans. These officials included:[82]

Sarkin Makera	-	Head of black smith
Tarno	-	Head of weavers
Majema	-	Head of dyers
Zannuwa	-	Head of natron sellers
Gariya	-	Head of salt dealers
Mudda	-	Head of grain dealers
Sarkin Dawa	-	Head of wood carvers

[81] Interview with hajia Umma Tafkin Kura 19th June, 2007.

[82] Usman, op.cit,. p.61.

Sarkin Zaki	-	Head of honey collectors
Sarkin pawa	-	Head of butchers
Sarkin Magina	-	Head of builders
Sarkin Aska	-	Head of barbers

These officials ensured that a standard was maintained in production. They also partook in the allocation of land, regulation of trade and tax collection. It was through these officials that the occupational groups were mobilized to serve the government. The hunters and smiths were mobilized for military expeditions, the brokers for official trading transaction; and the builders for the building of walls, palaces and other public places.[83] Most of the specialized occupations were carried out by households, but they did not develop caste-like exclusiveness.

The occupational groups employed the services of *barori* (servants/clients) slaves and other strangers who became attached as apprentices and helping hands, all of whom were absorbed into the occupations. In some occupations absorption was difficult because it involved specialized training like hunting, while some had magical awe or taboo associated with it, such as butchering and black smithing.[84] But with the expansion of the manufacturing activities, the absorption of servants and slaves into the restricted occupation became possible mostly through intermarriages.

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

Black Smithing

The development of black smithing industry led to the growth and expansion of agricultural production in our area of study. The black smiths produced farming implements such as hoes, sickles, cutlasses and household needs such as *basilla* (needle) used in sewing of sacks. Black smiths also produced weapons such as bows and arrows, spears and knives for defensive purposes.[85] The production of variety of iron goods shows the level of specialisation of the smiths. In fact, there were two categories of smiths in Katsina Metropolis, black smiths and silver smiths.

The Silver smiths (*makeran farfaru*) were specialists in the production of necklace, rings and bangles for internal markets and for export. *Chunkwu* (silver) was the basic raw material used in the production of silver goods. It was bought by merchants of Katsina Metropolis who travelled to Niger, Yemen, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Mauritania taking along Katsina manufactures of clothes *sakin bunu,* and needles, and in return they brought back *chunkwu,* antinony and beads needed in our area of study.[86]

Iron working and the production of iron goods was an important aspect of the Katsina economy. Iron ore was the basic raw material used in the production of iron goods. It was mined extensively in the Kankara and Durdugau, south of

[85] P.Staudinger op.cit p.105

[86] Interview with Mal. Gambo 7th June, 2007.

Katsina emirate. Black smiths from Katsina Metropolis went and set up their works near the mines in the period after crop harvest to the beginning of raining season. In Kankara a pig iron cost 1,000 cowries and was used in producing 10-30 hoe blades. During the working period a single black smith could produce about 500 hoe blades[87] Traders trooped from other areas into the mines to buy pig iron or hoe blades directly from the iron workers, or from brokers in Kankara and Ketare area. The black smiths also took their production back home, selling part of it on their way. When the iron workers returned from Kankara they usually bought textile goods for their families, thus which led to increase in the prices of such goods at Dan Ashita. The significance of iron working in the production of various implements led to the rise of Kankara as an important town in Katsina emirate.

Similarly miners from Katsina Metropolis area were also attracted to a mining centre near Tandama. It was an area which had abundant iron and had iron workers and brokers drawn from different parts of the emirate for the dry season work.[88] The increase in mining centres led to expansion of black smithing works, which in turn led to the expansion in agricultural production in our area of study.

Textile Industry

The textile industry was important in the economy of Katsina Metropolis and local

[87] Usman, op.cit p.208

[88] Usman op.cit p.208

cotton (*kada yar karfi*) was an important raw material used in the cloth industry.[89]

The textile industry employed the services of a large proportion of the population, both males and females. The cotton thread was prepared by the womenfolk, who card the cotton into thread through a process called *sabi*. The next stage involved production of thread through a spinning process, which involved the use of a small wooden stick and brightly painted clay at one end to provide the necessary impetus to the spindle. Spinning was an act which employed the services of large number of women.

The spinning technique found in Hausaland was similar to the one used in Europe at a point in time.[90]The thread was then sold to the weavers who undertake the manufacture of clothes. Carding and spinning of thread was of great significance to the textile industry, this could be seen in the way *lefe* (basket) and *nazara* (spindle) formed part of the *gara* (bride wealth) which new brides took to their husbands' house.

The clothes were produced in *Kwarya-Kwarya* form (strips) of about 15-20 centimetres wide, using the weaving machine.[91] These strips were sold in that form or sewn together by tailors. Items like *gwado* (blanket), *tambari* (wrapper), *gafiya, rigar saKi* (gowns) were produced. Similarly, trousers were also produced,

[89] P.Staudinger op.cit p.82

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

some of them highly embroided such as *wando mai kamun kafa* and *wando mai surfani* (trousers). Staudinger when describing the textile industry of Hausaland said: "I found most of the weaving shuttles to be quite cleverly and accurately made".[92]The textile remained an important centre for cloth production up to the first decade of twentieth century.

Tailoring was an allied craft of the textile industry. Needle and scissor were the instruments used in the production of cotton or silk cloth. Some of the cloth material was embroided into different patterns and designs using technical skills. In fact, both cloth making and embroidery employed the services of males and females in our area of study. The embroidery workers specialized in embroidery work on different attires, such as gowns and trousers as well as production of caps (kube); some of the items became articles of trade to near and distant places such as Borno. This shows the level of specialization of *madinka* (tailors) in Katsina.

Dyeing

Dyeing industry developed alongside the textile industry, due to the need for dyed clothes, as well as the availability of dye stuff in the region. Dyestuff and cotton were produced in large quantity in southern Katsina, and were imported into Katsina Metropolis and other areas as raw materials for the textile and dyeing industries respectively. The significance of dyeing led to the development of dye

[92] P.Staudinger, In the Heart of Hausa States.....op.cit p.83

extraction process in the metropolis. Yan Shuni area in the metropolis was occupied by dye processors thus it derived its name from shuni (dye).

The dye solution (*baba)* was extracted through a boiling process, after which it was poured in pits and was allowed to stand for three days before cloth materials were dyed. The dyeing centre was controlled by a master who had apprentices that assisted him with the work. Yarns as well as strip of cloth or whole garment were dyed into various colours such as black and green.

The dyeing industry employed the services of large number of the population of the Metropolis. The significance of dyeing industry lies in the way quarters developed in Katsina metropolis along professional lines. Marinar Gangare and Marinar Kadabo quarters derived their names from dyeing, a marina means dyeing. And up to this day the names for the quarters remained the same. It is only that, the dye pits have been turned to refuse bins due to the abandonment of dyeing as an occupation.

Leather Industry

Leather works was also well developed in the second half of nineteenth century, with Katsina Metropolis as the major centre of production for export. Tanning of leather was a rigorous process which employed the services of a large number of people. It involved a process of soaking the animal skin into mixture of *bagaruwa*

(acacia Arabia); the skin was then scrapped with knife.[93] Then *kuduji* and *rawaya* were used to dye the skin into yellow and red colours. The tanners also tanned and dried the hides without dyeing them. The undyed leather was called *kilago*, usually bought by long distant traders.[94]

The prepared leather was bought by leather workers for the manufacturing of a variety of items such as *zabira* (wallet), *salkuni* (bag), *kiri* (amulet) and leather shoes. Other items produced in the leather industry included: bridles and saddles which were usually made with wood and the leather was used as a prayer book cases, travelling bags and oil containers (*tandu*).

The manufacture of leather goods employed the service of a section of the population, some of the products (leather) were traded internally and some of them were taken to the markets of other areas. The availability of animal skin in Katsina was a major factor which led to the development of the leather industry, employing people who specialized in the manufacture of a variety of goods.Coupled with the fact that the emigration of people of Kaukau (Niger), who settled in Barazaki quarter of Katsina Metropolis, who were specialists in coat of mail and leather trappings, made the leather industry diverse.[95]

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[93] Interview with Mal. Ali Sararin Tsako, 8th June,2007.

[94] D.E. Ferguson, "19th Century Hausaland……, "Unpublished Ph.D thesis.

[95] Palmer, Sudanese Memoirs III, op.cit.

In fact, leather industry had demonstrated artistic skills for a long period of time.The experts tanned and dyed sheep and goat skin into red, reddish brown, blue-black and yellow. Patterns were achieved by sewing or sticking together leather of different colours. [96] The significance of the leather industry in the metropolis led to the formation of a living quarter called Yan tandu; it developed due to the production of tandu (oil and water containers) produced with cattle or goat skins which became important items of trade in the long distant trade.

The expansion of the leather, textiles and metal industries led to considerable immigration into Katsina Metropolis. Tawatinke area settled by the Wangarawa; Lololin kabbawa was settled by the people of Kebbi; Kogoyawa inhabited by the people of Kogo (Yandoto); Gogo-wari was settled by the people from Gao, Kantarawa was inhabited by the people from Kanta; Unguwa Kani settled by the people of Kwararafa.[97] What is significant is that the migrants were assimilated into the society and increasingly became Katsinawa, and up to the 19th century the manufacturing activities in Katsina remained important. Leather working also remained an important economic activity, and Katsina metropolis was the major centre producing for export.[98]

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[96] P.Staudinger, In the Heart of Hausa States.....op.cit p.85

[97] Palmer, Sudanese Memoirs III, op.cit, p.79.

[98] Barth, op.cit, vol.III, p.85.

2.3.7 Commerce

The development of commerce in Katsina was closely related with agriculture and craft production; this is because of the surplus goods that were exported to other places in exchange for goods needed in the area.

In the second half of nineteenth century, the economy of Katsina depended on import and export of bulk food, raw materials and manufactured goods such as cotton, cloth, slaves, hides and skin. These exchanges were done through the *dillalai* (brokers) or directly from the buyer to the seller. The medium of exchange was the cowry. It served as a measure of value and means of exchange of goods, and greater part of the currency was imported from Fezzan.[99]

The currency was counted in series of five (*biyar*), ten (*goma*), hundred (*dari*), thousand (*dubu*) and *keso* twenty thousand for larger transactions. Also, currencies like *dinar* (gold), *mithgal* served as means of exchange among rich merchants, this currency was imported from North Africa and was significant in the transaction.[100] Also, iron goods, thread balls and piece of cloth served as means of exchange in some areas. Grains were measured using *taiki* (bag), the price of which depended on good or bad harvest. In fact during our period of study, grain

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[99] Y.B. Usman, "Some Aspects of External Relations of Katsina Before 1804, *Savannah*, I, 2, December 1972, p.178.

[100] Ibid.

was measured using *taiki* throughout Hausaland; except in Zamfara where it was measured using *dami* (bundles).[101]

Merchants from Katsina Metropolis travelled to Niger, Yemen, Burkina Faso, Senegal and Mauritania, taking along Katsina manufactures such as *sakin bunu* (cloth) and needles, and in return they brought back *chunkwu* (silver), antinomy and beads.[102] Likewise tobacco, kolanuts, antinomy, leather goods as well as cotton cloth such as shirts and gowns were taken to Borno; while natron, salt, beads and Borno cloth were imported into Katsina.

From Katsina, cloth and leather goods were taken to North Africa, and items like Kaftans, Shawls, red caps, carpets were brought and sold in Katsina area.[103] The significance of the commerce lies in the connection of the trade routes with various settlements. A route to Borno passed through Daura area, similarly another route linking Borno, Gobir and Zamfara passed through the northern region of Katsina, thereby bringing the settlements into the realm of economic activities.

Also, there were trade routes that were well known to traders, connecting North Africa and Western Sudan, these were the kolanut and salt routes. These were Ghadames-Tuat, Bornu-Hausaland-Gwonja, which were well known trade routes. The traders move in caravan of hundred under a *madugu* (leader) who had

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[101] Ferguson, op.cit, p.312.

[102] Interview with Alh Gambo Sararin Tsako, 7th June 2007.

[103] Brenner, *"The North African Community in the 19th Century Central Sudan" in McCall, Aspects of West African Islam.*

knowledge of the routes. They moved in groups well armed against marauders.[104] They usually moved to places where market conditions were favourable, such as commercial contracts, credit facilities and good living conditions.

In the market small traders sold goods produced in Katsina as well as those bought from other places; [105]thereby making goods available to the local population. There was the presence of a group which mediates between buyers and sellers in the market. This group made up of the *dillalai* (brokers) who were middlemen that partook in transaction of grains, lives stocks, cloth e.t.c., and were entitled to a percentage of the amount of money paid for goods purchased.

The traders used oxen, horses, camels and donkeys for carrying of people and goods along the routes, as motorable roads were not in existence. Camels were mostly used in long distances, because of their ability to withstand journeys without food and water for days. The camels were brought in large number from Azbin area into Katsina. [106]

In fact in the 18th century, Katsina was one of the most important trading centres in the Central Sudan. The establishment of trading activities between the Hausa states and the Volta Basin was the role of Katsina traders.[107]

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[104] Ferguson, op.cit, p.320.

[105] P.Staudinger op.cit p.111

[106] P.Staudinger op.cit p.111

[107] Paul Lovejoy, Caravans of kola.

In the 18th century, Katsina became centre of economic activities in Hausaland. It was connected with major trade routes and thus became the centre of goods distribution to other Hausa states. Katsina was the terminus of trade routes from North Africa and Gwonja, thus this development enhanced its development as a strong kingdom.[108] The dominance of Katsina in the economy of the region at a particular time was not purely a function of what happened in Kano, Zaria, etc.Up to the second half of the nineteenth century Katsina remained an important commercial centre in the Sokoto Caliphate. In 1851 when Barth visited Katsina he saw a caravan of salt of two thousand five hundred camels from Tasawa to serve Katsina markets and Gobir. [109] This shows the commercial significance of our area of study.

In Katsina Metropolis alone, in the first decade of the 20th century, it was found that out of the population of 20,000 people, 43 were guinea corn sellers, 17 antimony sellers, 20 butchers, 18 salt sellers, 9 vegetable sellers, 6 onion sellers, 9 barbers, 20 leather works, 20 shoe makers, 30 kolanut sellers, 6 tobacco sellers, 40 black smiths, 40 town criers and 228 dyers[110], though this neglects some sections such as weavers and cloth sellers, nonetheless it has provided information on the economic activities of Katsina prior to British occupation.

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[108] Mahdi Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, p.13.

[109] Barth, op.cit, vol.I, p.453.

[110] NNAK SNP 17,History of Katsina H.R.Palmer

It should be noted that the significance of Katsina Metropolis as commercial centre lied in the way merchants settled in the area, participating in the lucrative trade. Some of the merchants (*Agalawa*) settled in Benye, a centre of cluster of towns about 40 kilometers south of Katsina Metropolis.[111] Barth reported that the rebellions and fighting which occurred in the nineteenth century resulted in the commercial decline of Katsina Metropolis; this was indicated by immigration of rich merchants to Kano.[112] It is evident that the rich merchants (*Agalawa*) migrated from Benye to Kano in the reign of Emir Saddiku (c.1836-1844).[113] Other merchants and artisans left Katsina for Kano, because of the commercial attractions of Kano in the 19th century which was due to developments in Kano and the emirates to the east and south-east.[114]

What actually happened was not total decline, because Barth saw a caravan of salt of two thousand five hundred camels going into Katsina from Tasawa, so what happened could not be termed decline, but partial economic retrogression. It was only that in the nineteenth century Kano prospered commercially more than Katsina. Thus, it was able to attract traders from Katsina.

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[111] Usman op.cit p. 209

[112] Barth, op.cit, vol.1, p.478

[113] Usman, op.cit, p.210.

[114] Ibid.

It should be noted that new forms of commercial activities developed in the 19th century Katsina. Centres of commerce developed in cotton, indigo, textiles and mats in Sabon Gari near Katsina Metropolis in the second half of the 19th century.[115] People specialized in mats making exported them to south of the emirate and bought back thread and dyestuff.[116] Similarly, there was the rise of Charanchi which became important centre of commerce and attracted traders from other parts of Katsina emirate into the area.[117]

Also, production and sell of tobacco resulted in the development of a new form of economic transaction in the second half of nineteenth century. It became article of trade in markets of Ajiwa and Dugazawa, and was also valued in other areas in the Sokoto Caliphate. In fact, there was high demand of tobacco produced in Katsina in Damagaram, Azbin and Timbucto.[118]

2.3.8 Taxation

Various forms of taxes collected formed the main source of revenue to the local and central administration. The military expeditions carried out by the state of Katsina were a source of booty in horses, captives, weapons, cloth and food

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[115] Usman, op.cit, p.211.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Barth vol III op.cit p.85

grains.[119] Revenue realized from the sale and ransoming of captives and other goods; was used in strengthening the army for territorial defence.[120]

Taxes were levied on agricultural produce such as guinea corn, millet, wheat and even vegetables. Also, *kudin kasa* (land tax), *jangali* (cattle tax), *kudin hito* (custom dues) and *jizia* (tax on protected or non-Muslim communities), were taxes imposed in the emirate.[121] These various forms of taxation continued to be collected up to the beginning of 20th century. The gates of Katsina metropolis were used to control movement of people and goods; goods that were brought into the metropolis from other places were taxed, and this formed part of the state revenue.[122]

Kudin kasa (land tax) was levied on every *maigida* (head of household), and was based on the produce of *gandun gida* (household farm). Barth estimated the population of the emirate at 300,000 people, out of these ,about half paid land tax, at the rate of 2,500 cowries per every head of the family[123] thus the government realized twenty to thirty million cowries annually.[124]

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[119] Usman, op.cit, p.187.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Interview with Mal. Tajudden Gafai.14th June,2007.

[123] Barth. *op.cit*, vol.1,p.479

[124] Ibid.

It should be noted that the tax was paid on the main household farm tilled by the sons and slaves, majority of whom were married, thus had their families living in the same household. And the tax was only paid by the head of the household and not by every member living therein.So how could it be that half of population of 300,000 paid tax to the state? Considering the fact that population estimate involved males and females of an area.

The land tax seemed to vary from 1,200 cowries to 3,000 cowries, which means it was not fixed. And 1,200 was the normal amount collected in every household because the tax came to be known as *shabibiyu* (twelve-twelve) or twelve hundred cowries.[125]

Tax on various occupations and agriculture was also an important source of revenue for the state. At the beginning of 20th century, taxes on various produce were provided by Palmer, they were:

1.	Groundnut	-	1,200 cowries
2.	Cassava	-	1,200 cowries
3.	Potatoes	-	1,200 cowries
4.	Irrigated crops	-	3,000 cowries
5.	Weavers	-	2,400 cowries
6.	Dyers	-	3,000 cowries
7.	Salt cutters	-	2,400 cowries

[125] Usman, op.cit, p.188.

8. Black smiths - 10 hoes or 1000 cowries

9. Cow and horse brokers - 5,000 cowries

10. Butchers - 2,500 per man.[126]

It seems that there is an exaggeration in the above report. This is even so as the source of the information is not indicated. Also, dyers in Marinar Gangare and Marinar Kadabo in Katsina Metropolis revealed that they paid 1,200 cowries as tax, and they reiterated *sha bibiyu* (twelve-twelve) .[127] Similarly, cloth weavers in Bambadawa, Katsina metropolis were taxed 1,200 to 1,500 cowries annually.[128] And Y.B. Usman found out that in Doro weavers were paying 1,200 to 2,000 cowries annually.[129]

Tax was also levied on goods such as salt, natron brought from long distant places, into the emirate. Barth reported that people of Azbin paid one block of salt and 500 cowries as tax on each animal carrying salt into the emirate.[130] This was a significant addition to the revenue of the state.

It has been argued that the figures provided by Palmer were exaggerated by the colonialists so as to depict the Fulani rule as exploitative and as a basis to for legitimizing colonial rule.

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[126] NNAK SNP 17/K.2076, History of Katsina, H.R. Palmer.

[127] Interview with Alh Isa Marini, 3rd June ,2007.

[128] Interview with Mal. Salele, June 2007.

[129] Usman, op.cit, p.188.

[130] Barth, op.cit, p.vol.1, p.456.

2.3.9 Conclusion

It is clear from the above discussion of the political economy of Katsina, that the metropolis was neither backward nor undeveloped; rather it was a capital of an organised political system constituted around hierarchies and officials controlling local and central administration. The political system was connected with the economy, and in fact they were two pillars supporting one another for the survival of the state as an independent entity. The state was able to devise a comprehensive taxation method for the support of the state in terms of provision of revenue as well as support for economic production by appointing officials to supervise and regulate production. The state also entered into diplomatic and trading relations with other states in order to ensure the corporate existence of Katsina as a state reckoned with in terms of political strength and economic prosperity. The economy of the state was based on agriculture, craft production and trade. It was a well integrated and self reliant economy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPOSITION OF COLONIAL DOMINATION IN KATSINA METROPOLIS, 1903 – 1919

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the British conquest and occupation of Katsina Metropolis in 1903, and the establishment and nature of political and administrative control in the area. The political and administrative changes that followed included: search for viable leaders to run the colonial machinery and re-organisation of the metropolis to ensure maximum exploitation of human and material resources of the area, for the development of Europe. The British used the local rulers to implement colonial policies under the Native Authority system. The establishment of Native authority signalled the incorporation of the area into the British colonial system. There was also the establishment of instruments of coercion and control such as courts, police and prison used in compelling peasants to obey colonial polices.

In the first decade of the twentieth century Britain conquered Nigeria and incorporated it into the world capitalist system, in pursuance of imperial and colonial ambitions. The southern part of the country was the first area conquered by the British. The northern part which came to be known as Northern Nigeria was conquered and declared a Protectorate in 1900, under Frederich Lugard.[1] Lugard sent messages to the

[1] Michael Crowther, *The Story of Nigeria*, Faber and Faber, London, 1978. The greater part of the area later became Northern Nigeria was under the Sokoto Caliphate.

rulers of the Northern Protectorate proclaiming sovereignty over them and asked them to pay taxes to him. Some rulers submitted to his control out of fear while some others were conquered militarily.[2]

3.1 The British Occupation of Katsina Metropolis

The British conquest of Sokoto Caliphate (Katsina Metropolis inclusive) started even before Lugard's proclamation in 1900.The Royal Niger Company (RNC) had sent an expedition against Nupe and Ilorin in 1897.The British had hoped to exercise an informal political control over the Sokoto Caliphate. This however was abandoned with the growing pressure and competition from the French and the Germans.[3] In order to protect their imperial interest, the British embarked in an active policy, leading to the formal inauguration of British administration of Northern Nigeria at Lokoja by Lugard.

The British conquest of Katsina Metropolis in particular and the emirate in general in 1903, was a grand act towards the incorporation of the state into the sphere of influence of the British. The British occupation led to the destruction of the political and socio-economic system of Katsina, and in place colonial system and policies were introduced to facilitate the exploitation of resources of the area, for the growth and development of British industries in order to promote capitalism.

It is significant to note that, the impact of imperialist activities had been felt in Katsina Metropolis before 1903. A group of people fled from the Damagaram area into

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[2] Obaro Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest.*, Heinemann, London, 1 1977, p.57.

[3] Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*

Katsina in 1899 due to excessive hostility caused by the activities of the French mission into the area; thus signalling that the presence of the imperialist was a threat not only to Damagaram but also the emirate of Katsina .[4]The capture of Ibrahim of Kwantogora near Maska in March 1902 by the British, and his trial in Bida was enough signals to the emirate on the nature of British conquest.

The conquest of Katsina Metropolis and the emirate in general was not based on humanitarian ground as was depicted by some Imperialists; rather it was a mission which aimed at nothing other than the incorporation of the area into the capitalists system, in quest of territories that guaranty the supply of raw materials for capitalist industries and markets for their finished goods for the continued survival of capitalism.[5]

In an attempt to justify and legitimize the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate, Lugard sent a letter to the Caliph of Sokoto informing him that, the conquest was not intended to deprive the Fulani of their leadership position. Rather the British were on a mission to develop the Nigerian area, as well as consolidate Fulani rule. This however had little significance, as the presence of the British was continually seen as a threat to the existence of the Caliphate.[6] It rather bred hostility between the Caliph and Lugard, because the former openly expressed unwillingness to submit to British over rule.

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[4] Usman, *The Transformation*, p.516.

[5] Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*, p.245

[6] Ibid.

However, by February 1903 most emirates had been conquered and subjugated to British colonial rule. In fact even Kano emirate was conquered despite its attempt to defy occupation by erecting extensive defensive walls and raising army in defence of its territory.

The occupation of Kano had demoralizing effect on Katsina Metropolis, probably because Kano's assistance was assured in the event of British attack on Katsina. Colonel Morland sent a letter to Katsina while in Kano, the content of the letter warned against putting up resistance to British occupation and rendering assistance of whatsoever nature to Emir Aliyu of Kano, whom the British pursued on his journey to Sokoto, because he put up resistance to British occupation of his emirate[7]

British occupation of Kano instilled fear in the people of Katsina Metropolis, due to the information they got on the superiority of British artillery and weapons; and the brutal manner in which recalcitrant emirates were subdued. British activites in the Caliphate became a source of concern to the people, thus the emir of Katsina summoned all his officials to discuss modalities of how to overcome such challenges. Thus,there arose two contending views between the government officials on how to face the challenges posed by British occupation of the emirate generally. Some of the officials advanced the idea of putting up resistance against British occupation out of fear, while some wanted to await the arrival of the British in the metropolis without putting any form of resistance. The faction that advocated resistance to British occupation suggested

[7] Ibid.

the use of hilly region of Pauwa and Kogo as a defensive refuge from British overrule.[8] Probably all the views of the two factions were expressed in view of the advice of a *waliy* (saint) in Katsina Metropolis, who pointed out the futility of putting up resistance to the superior forces of the British.[9]

At the end consensus was reached by the officials to send a letter of submission to Lugard. The letter prompted Lugard that the occupation of Katsina was going to be peaceful. Lugard sent reply to Emir Abubakar informing him of the expected date of his arrival to Katsina Metropolis.[10] The information on Lugard's arrival to Katsina was not sent based on goodwill. It was meant to inform the emir of the date of his arrival so that he would make necessary arrangements to welcome his 'master' into the metropolis in particular and the emirate in general which he had conquered. Thus, Lugard portrayed to the emir that British were 'superior' in all terms. Lugard arrived Katsina Metropolis from Sokoto on 29th March 1903 to establish British overrule. He was welcomed into the metropolis by the emir and all senior officials of the emirate through the Yandaka gate.[11] As if such submission to British control was a guarantee to the consolidation of the emirate administration. In fact as the later events portrayed, what the British

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[8] Usman, op.cit, p.518

[9] Interview with Mal. Tajuddeen Gafai, 14th June , 2007.

[10] Usman, op.cit.

[11] Hogben and Kirk-Greene, Emirates of Northern Nigeria .op.cit

wanted had gone beyond mere submission, but total submission and obedience to colonial domination.

Due to the fact that,Emir Abubakar did not put up resistance to British rule he was reinstalled as the emir of Katsina by Lugard, on conditions worked out by the British. Lugard made arrangements for establishing a Residency for British officials, and a barrack for the soldiers he left behind to further strengthen the feeling of superiority of British military in Katsina.[12]

In Sokoto, the Caliph and his followers embarked on *hijra* (migration) to preserve their religious faith from the encroaching infidels. He enjoyed popular support within the Caliphate. In the course of the *hijra, the* Caliph passed through Southern Katsina area where he garnered support there, and a lot of people joined his cause. The Caliph was supported by the people of Southern Katsina despite the fact that British overrule has already been established in the emirate. This shows that Caliphate was popular among the people of Katsina. Also, despite the fact that Emir Abubakar of Katsina had submitted to British control he continued to offer assistance to the Caliph who was on *hijra*, he sent 18 bales of cloth and provided him with information on the movement of British from Katsina. This shows that the emir was not completely loyal to the British, he only submitted out of fear.[13]

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[12] Adeleye, op.cit. p.289

[13] Ibid.

Meanwhile, while the Caliph was on the course of the hijra he was pursued by the British, who saw him as a threat to the establishment and consolidation of British Colonial rule in the caliphate. The British saw it as, for the success of their rule they had to defeat Caliph Attahiru and his teeming supporters at whatever cost, even if it entailed killing them all. The British pursued Caliph Attahiru up to Burmi, where a bloody encounter ensued between the British and the Caliph. It was during the battle that the people of Burmi joined Attahiru in resistance to British occupation.

It is interesting to note that, despite the fact that the Caliph did not in any way engage in military combat with the British as a way of resisting colonial occupation, he was pursued and killed. This was because the British gave the people only two options, these were: either to surrender or be subdued with sophisticated weapons in a military occupation. Therefore since *hijra* was not one of the options offered by the British everyone had to dance to their tune or face their wrath. This shows that colonial conquest was violent and brutal at all levels.

The encounter at Burmi was brutal and bloody; large number of casualties was recorded on the side of the people of the Caliphate and the British. Despite the fact that the defenders had knowledge of the superiority of European weapons they advanced to the invaders with nothing to hold on to except, old guns and arrows and fought with the last drop of their blood. This shows the level to which the people went in order preserve their independence against external aggression.

Also, despite the fact that the British had the advantage of using superior weapons in the war they suffered losses. About 11 people were killed including senior military officers and 90 people were wounded. This was the highest number of casualties recorded by the British in the history of conquest of Northern Nigeria.[14] On the side of the people of the Caliphate, 600 men died in the war, including Caliph Attahiru I, Magajin Keffi, Dan Yamusa, Wazir of Bauchi and people from Katagum, Missau, Bauchi, Kwantagora and Nupe.[15] What an inhuman and brutal act!

The war at Burmi was a major military encounter between the British and the people of the Caliphate. It is very significant in the history of British conquest of the Caliphate. At Burmi we have the sites where the Caliph Attahiru and Major Marsh who led the British forces were buried. The battles at Burmi epitomise both the brutality of the British and the courage of African resistance. The battle at Burmi was the final phase in the conquest of the Caliphate.

Though, Emir Abubakar of Katsina had submitted to British rule, his acts showed that he was not completely loyal to the British cause as the later events portrayed. Thus, the British began the search for viable leaders to run the colonial administrative machinery.[16]

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid

[16] The British imposition and deposition of emirs is not the focus of this work

3.2 The Operation of the Colonial State

The conquest and occupation of Katsina Metropolis in particular and the emirate as a whole brought the area under the direct control of Britain and marked its formal subservience to international capitalism. The British used the first two decades of the 20th century to consolidate their control in the area. Whereby, they engaged in the search for suitable and obedient rulers that will aid them in the establishment and consolidation of their rule.

Some scholars have been under the illusion that, the emirate system the British found in operation over most part of northern Nigeria was admired highly and respected by them, so they did not temper with the social system. The over celebrated 'Indirect rule' system we are told was instituted out of respect for the emirate system[17].This is very misleading. However the emirate system provided well developed hierarchical feudal structures upon which the capitalists system could be grafted without much and undue institutional strains.

Even the well celebrated emirate system, as in the case of Katsina, had to be destroyed, re-organised and re-structured in order to make possible the institutionalisation of the British "New Order". This is because it is believed that, "modernization" cannot stand hand in hand with the "traditional "system.

[17] Margery Perham and Charles Orr are the proponents of this argument.

The new order was institutionalised in three broad areas, namely: Administrative re-organisation, taxation, and establishment of coercive instruments of domination and control.

3.3 Political Changes

Following the conquest of Katsina Metropolis, the British found out that it was the principal town, and capital of the emirate. Therefore, the British establish the divisional head quarters of the division in the metropolis. And it became the centre for the day-to day running of the colonial administration. The metropolis maintained that position up to 1905 when some changes were made.In fact, the only change that was carried out was joining up of the metropolis with villages of Ajiwa, Yan Rakumma, Shinkafi, Kutubi and Kayauki to form Magajin Gari District in 1905. [18]And despite the formation of Magajin Gari district, Katsina Metropolis remained as the headquarters of Katsina Division where the instruments of coercion and domination were located. The division comprised of emirates of Katsina, Daura and Kazaure, until in 1923, when the division consisted only Katsina Emirate. Katsina Emirate was further divided into districts and each district was placed under responsible headman, who was directly responsible to the emir for the collection of taxes and general 'prosperity' of his district.[19] Thus, Magajin Gari was one of the districts created by the British in the emirate.

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[18] NNAK KATPROF 350,Formation of Katsina Province

[19] NNAK, SNP 17/K 2076, History of Katsina, H.R. Palmer.

Thus, unlike other districts of Katsina Emirate, the metropolis served dual functions in the colonial period; that is as divisional headquarters of Katsina division and also district head quarters of Magajin Gari. By implication the Colonialists considering cost effectiveness did not establish separate administrative structures for the division and the district. Rather, the jurisdiction of instruments of control such as courts, police and prison extended to the Magajin Gari district. However, the Magajin Gari district was created as a sub-unit of the Native Administration,[20] headed by an official known as Magajin Gari based in the metropolis, who was assisted by *wakilai* and *magaddai* for the implementation of colonial policies.

The search for viable leaders who assume the position of Magajin Gari made the British to transfer officials from one district to another. Thus, Mallam Abubakar was appointed as the district head of Magajin Gari , at a time when he was the district head of Durbi. He was then transferred from Magajin Gari to Sullubawa district, and was made the district head of Kaita; Malam Zayyana was then appointed as Magajin Gari to replace Abubakar[21]. Later, Mallam Zayyana was appointed as the Waziri of Katsina, which left the position of Magajin Gari vacant. Therefore, in order to fill the vacancy; Mallam Abubakar was brought back to take his former place as the Magajin Gari 1927[22]. The position of Magajin Gari was significant in Katsina that was why the British

[20] Robert Heussler, The British in Northern Nigeria,Oxford University Press,London,1968. P.105

[21] NNAK KATPROF 1/1/17, Magajin Gari

[22] ibid.

appointed him a member of the Emir's Council in 1928.[23] In fact, office of Magajin Gari became attached with the rulership of Katsina at a subsequent date. The British appointed Usman Nagogo as Magajin Gari in 1938, and when his father Emir Dikko died in 1944 he succeeded him as emir of Katsina. [24]Similarly, Muhammad Kabir the son of Emir Usman Nagogo was appointed as Magajin Gari, and succeeded his father as emir in 1981.[25]

3.4 Evolution of the Divisional Administrative Structures

3.4.1 Creation of Magajin Gari District

Following the conquest of Katsina the British embarked on the establishment and consolidation of the colonial system, as their major pre-occupation. Thus, they embarked on the re-organisation of the administrative set-up of the conquered territory for maximum exploitation of resources.

In 1903 when Katsina was conquered, British found out that, Katsina Metropolis was the administrative centre and capital of the emirate, and was not administered as a district. However officials who headed various occupations in the metropolis such as black smithing, weaving, dyeing e.t.c were appointed and were placed under a representative of the Emir. The officials regulated and supervised economic production,

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[23] NNAK KATPROF 1512,Half Yearly Report June 1928

[24] NNAK KATNA W.765,Magajin Gari District Notes

[25] Interview with Hajia Umma Tafkin Kura 19th June,2007.

and collected taxes on various crafts. They then took the taxes to the representatives, who in turn remitted it to the Emir.

This set up could not be maintained under the colonial administration; therefore, the government utilized the services of some appointed chiefs. The position of the representative was cancelled by the British in order to reduce maintenance cost. Also, the position of the officials who regulated economic production and collected taxes was eradicated, because they were seen as exploitative, that they made a living from the taxes collected. They collected taxes, and took some to the emir's officials, while retaining a large proportion of the taxes for themselves. Therefore, the British saw this as an act of 'depriving' the emir a good source of income; even in the absence of major source of revenue from trade in slaves.[26] Ironically, the British did not only deprive the emir of certain income, but even turned him into a salaried staff.

Thus, for 'efficient administration' Katsina Metropolis was administered as Magajin Gari district in 1905. The district was placed under the Magajin Gari an official appointed by the Resident based on power bestowed on him under section 9 of the Native Revenue Ordinance.[27] The Resident did the appointment in 'consultation' with the Emir. Thus, Resident was the only person bestowed with the power of the

[26] Ibid.

[27] NNAK KATPROF 1326, District Heads, Procedure, Appointment of 1913.

appointment, acting Resident could only refer the matter to the office of the Secretary, Northern Province.[28]

The table below shows changes made in Katsina Metropolis:

FORMER NAME	CHANGED NAME	HEADQUARTER1.
Katsina Metropolis	Magajin Gari	Katsina Metropolis[29]

The Magajin Gari district comprised of quarters of Katsina Metropolis and the villages of Ajiwa, Shinkafi, Kutubi, Yan Rakumma and Kayauki. [30]The quarters of Katsina metropolis include: Kofar Kaura, Cikin Gida, Galadunchi, Marina, Gambarawa, Sararin Tsako, Tudu, Makudawa, Yan Kyaure, Masanawa, Kofar Yandaka, Gafai, Tsofuwar Kasuwa, Kofar Marusa, Kofar Durbi, Yar'adua, Kofar Sauri and Rafukka.[31] Each of the quarters was headed by a ward head, who was in turn answerable to a *wakili* (representative). The *wakilai* were four in number, they included: Wakilin Gabas, Yamma, Kudu and Arewa; each of them had wards under his jurisdiction. [32] The villages in the district were headed by *magaddai* (village heads) and further divided into wards. For example, Ajiwa village had the following wards: Unguwar Kurtufa, Maje, Yalwa and Barhim.[33] The *wakilai* and *magaddai* were answerable to the Magajin

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] NNAK KATPROF 1/1/17, Magajin Gari

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] NNAK KATNA W.765, Magajin Gari District Notes.

Gari, head of the district in matters of tax assessment, implementation of colonial policies and all matters affecting their areas.

The Colonialists argued that, changes made in the metropolis reflected 'good governance'; as such taxes were collected through efficient methods. Also, village heads and *wakilai* became answerable to Magajin Gari, who in turn was answerable to no one except the Emir who in turn reported matters to the Divisional Officer (D.O).

The British compelled the district head of Magajin Gari to live in his district and was not allowed to live outside the area. He was made to obey colonial laws and orders, as well as ensure the assessment and collection of taxes. By 1907, the district head was even made to stay back in his district during Sallah festivals. This was a British policy introduced in Katsina in 1906 and implemented in the same year, in comparison with Kano where implementation started later.[34] This shows that British policies were dutifully implemented in Katsina emirate. The British did not compel the district head to live in his districts for the progress and development of such district; rather he was made to live there in order to partake in the assessment and collection of taxes, which was one of the major duties which the British paid him salary to carry out.

A district head who successfully assessed taxes, recruited forced labour for colonial projects and encouraged the production of cash crops needed by capitalists industries was regarded by the British as good, intelligent, and hard working. If a district head performed duties the British expected of him, he was favoured, even if he had

[34] NNAK KANOPROV 329, A. Festing Kano Province Report 1907.

oppressed and exploited the peasants under his control. This was due to the fact that colonial rule itself was repressive, and the colonialists exploited human and natural resources at all levels for their selfish interest. There was no instance that a district head was deposed on charges of exploiting his subjects. Rather, some of them were deposed for defying British orders; and some others for withholding record or for embezzling tax money.[35] In fact, district reorganization in Katsina emirate was carried out whenever a chief was found out to have committed any offence.[36]

To ensure that British policies and ordinances were implemented, the Assistant Resident embarked on the supervision of the Magajin Gari district, in order to assess the work of district head.[37] This created suspicion and distrust instead of understanding and harmony between the two groups.

It should be pointed out that, Magajin Gari district was further divided into villages for easy administration.[38] Thus, the five villages of Magajin Gari district were part of the 503 villages which Katsina Emirate had in 1930.[39] The district head of Magajin Gari and his subordinates performed their functions in the context of the colonial Native Authority system under the Sole Native Authority (Emir).The Sole

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] NNAK KATPROF 1018, Katsina Division Annual Report 1923.

[38] NNAK SNP 1538, Kano Province Annual Report 1923.

[39] A.T. Grove op,cit p.52.

Native Authority in turn was answerable to the Resident through the Divisional Officers (D.O.s).

3.4.2 Establishment of Central Native Administration

The British termed their mission in Nigeria as a dual mandate that is promoting the interest of Britain, the colonial power, as well as developing the colonies and their people.[40] Therefore, they developed a system of administration involving the British colonial officers and traditional authorities referred to as Indirect rule. The emirate system was used as a beacon of experimenting Indirect Rule system for maximum exploitation of resources in the colonial period. The British created the central administration for the implementation of colonial policies. Thus, Katsina Metropolis was the area where the central administration and its departments such as Village administration, education, health e.t.c were based. Similarly, agencies for enforcing law and order using instruments of coercion such as police and army were put in place in the metropolis. Also, the office of the *dogarai* (palace guards) which was in existence before the colonial period was utilized by the colonial government for the administration of local government, and for the maintenance of law and order. [41]

It should be noted that, though the native Administration was based in Katsina Metropolis it was not under the Magajin Gari district. It was only that, due to the

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[40] Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa,* Frank Cass, London, 1965, p.

[41] A.D. Yahaya, "*Traditional Leadership and Institutions: The Colonial Transformation of the Emirate System*" in A.M. Yakubu, et.al (ed), *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation 1903-2003*, Arewa House, Kaduna, 2005, p.231.

location of the departments in Katsina Metropolis their jurisdiction was extended to the people of Magajin Gari district.

The emirates constituted major units of local government, which depended on emirs and chiefs as sole Native Authority in the colonial system. The emirs and chiefs were accorded institutional and executive responsibilities for the smooth running of the local government. In Katsina Emirate , the emir was the sole Native Authority, and together with the officials who assisted him in the administration of the emirate formed machinery known as the Native Authority.[42]The Native Authority (NA) was therefore established to serve as a mechanism through which the emirate was ruled, and the implementation of colonial policies in the emirate.

In the Native Authority system, Magajin Gari district was created as a sub-unit under the Magajin Gari an official responsible for the implementation of colonial policies in the districts, and was assisted by four *wakilai* (representatives) based in Katsina metropolis. Each of the *wakilai* had group of wards under his jurisdiction, which means the metropolis was divided into four units for easy administration. The work of *wakilai* included: collection of taxes, sanitation, adult classes, and ensuring that 74 pupils placed under each of them went to school.[43] The ward heads were answerable to the *wakilai* and were responsible for registration of birth and death; as well as collection of taxes in their wards. Also, *magadai* (village heads) of Ajiwa, shinkafi, Yan Rakumma,

[42] Ibid.

[43] NNAK KATNA 250,Magajin Gari D.H. Meetings

Kutubi and Kayauki performed jobs similar to that of the *wakilai,* but not as rigorous as that of the *wakilai;* yet they received the same salary. [44] The villages were further divided into wards for easy implementation of colonial policies.

Magajin Gari was placed under the Emir that was why whenever he was on tour to his district he gave out orders to the people as *dokar Sarki* (Emir's orders).[45] It was only in theory that the Emir was shown to be in control of affairs, but in practice, District Officer instructed the Magajin Gari on how to do his job.[46] Though the Emir was the sole Native Authority in the emirate, he did not act on his own accord; rather he was subject to the advice and control of the colonial government. He was always under the 'guidance' and control of District Officer and Resident in the Division and Province respectively. In the view of Heussler the direction, mode of operation and pace of each division depended on the way Europeans and Africans worked together for the 'smooth' operation of government.[47] That means the level to which local rulers co-operated with the Europeans to vandalise and rape the resources of Africa.

The function of the N.A was assessment of taxation, justice, and the regulation of the emirate economy,[48] in the interest of the colonial government and at the detriment of local population. Native Administration was an important instrument of rule under the

[44] Ibid.

[45] NNAK KATNA W.765,Magajin Gari District Notes

[46] Ibid.

[47] R. Heussler, *The British in Northern Nigeria,* Oxford University Press, London, 1968, p.103.

[48] *Ibid.*

Native Authority system. The power of the N.A was consolidated by administrative and organizational roles, such as the regulation of social and economic activities, the creation of jobs and the maintenance of law and order.[49]

Native Authority system was divided into Native Administration, Native Treasury and Native Courts. The Native Treasury was responsible for designing government regularized method of assessment and the collection of taxes in the emirate. And this was shared according to Margery Perham in the following ratio: the colonial government took half of the general revenue, while the remaining half was allocated to Native Authority for the running of the government and payment of salary of N.A officials including the Magajin Gari.[50]

Also it was argued that, the Colonial government did not 'interfere' with the Native Authority share of revenue; because it even became known as kudin *Sarki* (emir's share).[51] And the colonial officers were always available to 'advice' the emir on how to spend 'his 'revenue. The N.A share was not in any way at the discretion of the emir. Even if the N.A share of revenue was called *kudin sarki* that was not enough evidence to conclude that the revenue belonged to the emir. In fact, all expenditures in the emirate were carried out subject to the approval of the Resident. The impression given that, the emir controlled the N.A share of revenue is misleading. Similarly, Magajin Gari

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[49] A.D. Yahaya, op.cit, p.233.

[50] Margery Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria, Oxford University Press, London 1962, p.93.*

[51] Ibid

accounted for all taxes collected in his district to the Emir, who in turn did the same to the D.O. This shows that a hierarchical structure developed in the colonial period, with the British at the top and the African rulers at the bottom.[52]

The Native administration was divided into units and departments based in Katsina Metropolis for easy implementation of colonial projects. The departments included, central administration, district administration ,village administration, police, prison, education, health, welfare service, judiciary, markets, commercial services,[53] and public works department.[54] Also, sub units were created and placed under the district heads, who were in turn responsible to the N.A for easy administration.[55] Thus, the jurisdiction of the departments extended to Magajin Gari district which had its headquarter in the metropolis.

It should be pointed out that, the British and native rulers lived in two different worlds, and had different perceptions and world views;[56] the British always had the feeling of superiority over local rulers (Magajin Gari inclusive), therefore they could not have given autonomy to the rulers in running the N.A .Moreover, in Colonial parlance, an African was always considered a subject, and an inferior being, no matter the position acquired by that African. Also, the District Officers and Residents were always

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[52] Ibid

[53] Ibid.

[54] Heussler, op.cit, p.103.

[55] A.D. Yahaya, op.cit, p.233.

[56] Heussler, op.cit, p.107.

ready to call the attention of the local rulers to what Europeans referred to as bad manners.[57]Thus, Heussler argued that "the British Officer played a role that was concerned first and last with educating and discipline. For the average District Officer the day was full of pushing the N.A, including everyone from the emir to village heads."[58]This shows that the British assumed a position of 'guiding' and 'directing' the affairs of the subject population in order to teach them system of 'good governance'.

Treasury (Baital Mal) was not new in Katsina, what was new was sharing of acquired revenue between the Emir and the British. The British went to the extent of determining how such revenue was spent by the emir. The first colonial Native Treasury was started in Katsina in 1908 by Palmer; who asked Emir Dikko to provide a budget for the expenditure of the 50% N.A share of revenue. [59] The institution of Native Treasury has led to increase in revenue through the elaboration of machinery of tax assessment in Katsina Division. The Jangali (cattle) tax increased to £ 253,571 in 1912 from £222,786 in 1911 in Katsina Division[60].The increase was due to critical manner by which taxes were assessed in the colonial period.

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[57] Ibid.

[58] Heussler, op.cit, p.112.

[59] A.G. Saed, Sir Herbert Richmond Palmer and the Establishment of Colonial Rule, 1904-1930, in A.M. Yakubu op.cit, p.146

[60] NNAK KATPROF/1907, Katsina Division Quarterly Reports 1912

In Katsina Metropolis and villages the critical manner in which taxes were assessed led to increase in revenue generation between 1922-23. The table below shows the revenue derived from taxation in Katsina metropolis and the villages:

A TABLE SHOWING INCREASE IN TAXATION IN KATSINA METROPOLIS

YEAR	GENERAL TAX	INCIDENCE	INCREASE
1922	£1103.10.10	£2/10.5d	
1923	£1343.19.0	£3/3	£240.09.10[61]

Similarly, the table below shows increase in general tax in Katsina Metropolis (Magajin Gari district):

A TABLE SHOWING INCREASE IN TAXATION IN KATSINA METROPOLIS

YEAR	CATTLE	TAX	TOTAL	INCREASE
1935	£1, 40.23	£1,960.150	£2,100.38	
1936	£1, 57.26	£2,286.150	£2,443.42	£343.04

Similarly, between 1916-1917 the general taxes of Katsina emirate increased, due to the critical manner which taxes were assessed in Magajin Gari district and other districts. The data below shows the increase in the revenue of Katsina Emirate:

[61] NNAK KATPROF 1018, Katsina Division Annual Report,1923.

A TABLE SHOWING INCREASE IN TAXATION IN KATSINA EMIRATE

Year	General Tax	Jangali	Total	Increase
1916	£36,095.1.8	£22,875.15.0	£58,970.25	
1917	£37,021.13.6	£28,208.17.0	£65,229.3.6	£6,259.05.6[62]

It was out of the generated revenue that Magajin Gari, *wakilai, magadai* and *masu unguwa* were paid their salary on a monthly basis. They were employees of the colonial government who could be dismissed at will. In fact they only worked in the interest of the colonial government, whose main motive was the exploitation of human and material resources of the area for the development of Europe.

It should be noted that, the whole structure of the Native Authority revolved around the Treasury.[63] Apart from payment of salary of officials, resources of the Native Treasury were used to carry out projects such as construction of roads and railways, well digging, building of schools, hospitals etc. It should be noted that, these infrastructures were not provided by the colonial government for philanthropic reason, rather they were put in place for the Colonialists to achieve their mission in Nigeria, which is maximum exploitation of resources in the interest of capitalism.

In 1924, Native Treasury revenue was £127,127.17.8 out of this amount, the sum of £10,000 was used in the construction of Kano-Katsina road and apart of the money was

[62] NNAK KATROF 1243, Katsina Division Annual Report 1917.

[63] NNAK KASTPROF 1127, Native Treasuries, Financial Memoranda Policy, Instruction and Amendment to.

used for investment abroad. By 1924, the total investment made abroad from the resources of Katsina Division was £59,887.[64]

Also, in order to perpetuate colonial domination and coercion, Native courts, police and prison were established with headquarters in Katsina Metropolis, and served as instruments of enforcing British laws and policies on the 'subject' population. The roles of the instruments of coercion in compelling submission to colonial rule willl be discussed in the next part of this chapter.

3.4.3 Creation of Judiciary, Prisons and Police

The establishment of forces and infrastructures that supported colonial rule was necessary for the consolidation of colonialism in Katsina Metropolis. For the implementation of policies on taxation, forced labour and general administration of the division, coercive administrative instruments such as Native courts, Police and prison were established. These policies were implemented under the pretext of effective administration of the metropolis. The fact is these instruments were put in place not in the interest of the colonized people but, in order to perpetuate exploitation of human and material resources of area, for the continued survival of capitalism.

[64] NNAK KATPROF/1/1213, Katsina Division Report for March 1924.

3.4.3.1 Judiciary

The courts established in the colonial period were different from the ones that existed in the pre-colonial period. In the pre-colonial period there was no clear demarcation between the executive and the judiciary. This is not to say that courts were not in existence before the colonial period. In fact justice was believed to be the basis of existence of the state; that was why Qadis (judges) were appointed to head the courts in Katsina emirate and other emirates. Provision was made for the people to make appeal to district heads and emir, whose palaces were also used for administering justice.

In fact, supreme judicial powers rested with the emir, who held the dual role of chief executive and chief Alkali responsible for pronouncing capital punishment.[65] The Emirate Council was responsible for all judicial work.[66] What was significant was the use of sharia (Islamic jurisprudence) as the guiding principle in the court of law. Though it happened that few decades after the jihad of Usman dan Fodio some of the pre-jihad practices became prevalent, but notwithstanding, the sharia continued to be adhered to.[67] However, the political authority or legitimacy of the ruler rested in the consensus support he enjoyed from the intelligentsia in particular and the local population in general.

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[65] M Perham, op.cit, p.56.

[66] Ibid.

[67] M.M. Tukur, *Imposition of Colonial Domination*, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, 19 ABU Zaria, p.448.

Immediately after the conquest of Katsina, the British deemed it necessary to establish courts in Katsina Metropolis, under the pretext of promoting justice in the area. It should be noted that, the court was established as a beacon for enforcing British laws and policies in the emirate. The enforcement of these policies was based on promoting colonial interest, at the detriment of the subject population.

The courts established by the colonialists were broadly divided into native and provincial courts. Native courts were established by the colonial government, and had jurisdiction over 'natives.'[68] The court sentence was subject to the approval of the Resident who could modify the case or transfer it to his court.[69]The Resident was considered as the chief judge who had power over and above the emir. In fact he was the epitome of 'justice 'in the emirate, who ensured that 'justice' prevailed in the emirate. Records were kept by scribes in order to document all necessary information. No lawyers were allowed in such courts, because European laws and verdict were always considered supreme. Also issues such as slavery, liquor, firearms and bodily injury were transferred to the provincial court.[70]

Provincial courts were set up for jurisdiction over non-natives; and 'natives' working for the government.[71] In each province, the Resident was the head of the provincial court. He tried people who committed offences such as slavery and defiance

[68] M. Perham, op.cit, p.55-56.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

of British policies and ordinances by the subjects people.[72] Some cases were referred to the High Commissioner who dealt with them or referred them to the Supreme Court.[73] The aim of establishing this court was in order to bring judicial system under total control of the British, so that there will be absolute obedience to their rule.[74] Though, the courts generally were not established as source of income to the administration, but they became areas of revenue generation by imposing fines on the subject people. This was so because the British were not ready to provide fund for the governance of the territory, all areas had to support themselves financially.

The native court was under the jurisdiction of the Qadi (judge) resident in Katsina metropolis, whose appointment and duties were clearly spelt out by the British. In fact, the appointment was made by the Assistant Resident; in rare case was the advice of the emir sought. It is important to note that, the 'native' courts were not conducted based on native law of the land. Whatever judgment was passed in the court was measured to see if it had reached the standard of 'justice' practiced in the developed countries; that was why the final verdict rested not with the Qadi but the Resident.[75]

The colonialist propagation of justice was hypocritical in all terms. The colonialists were not in the metropolis for humanitarian reasons; rather they were there to exploit human and material resources of the area for the development of Europe, and at the

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[72] Ibid

[73] Ibid.

[74] M.M. Tukur, op.cit, pp.448-449.

[75] Ibid.

detriment of the subject people. Also, the people whom the courts were established for, in the name of promoting 'justice' were nothing but, second class citizens in their own land. The punishment meted on the people in the court involved: imposition of fines as well as jail term which required long period of incarceration of members of the society.[76] Also, the peasants were made to pay charges for lodging a case of whatever nature in the court. Therefore any one that was incapable of paying the court charges inevitably had no avenue to seek for justice; which means, the process made some peasants helpless in the society.

The introduction of dues led to increase in revenue generation. The marked increase was due to careful check up of the dues, whereby a ledger was kept with the Mutawali showing the amount of fines and dues paid monthly in the court of Katsina Metropolis (Magajin Gari district). The records were kept because of the cases of the misappropriation of the funds, found in court of Katsina metropolis at £145,only the sum of £41 was recovered which led to the dismissal of Wazirin Alkalin Katsina (court aid) from office and his imprisonment for six months.[77]

It should be noted that native court officials were put on salary to prevent corruption. The question here is: was corruption eradicated completely? Was it in order to prevent corruption in the courts that charges were recorded by *Mufti* and *Wazirin Alkali*? The problem of corruption was not solved by that measure taken; because some of the aids

[76] M.M. Tukur, op.cit, pp.448-449.

[77] NNAK KATPROF 1018, Katsina Division Annual Report, 1923.

of Alkali came to accept *gaisuwa* (gifts and presents) from people lodging complain in the court, at amount varying from 1/- to 2/- and upwards. [78]The British did not deem it fit and necessary to address the problem of accepting gifts and presents until in 1923, when the Wazirai of all native courts were placed on salary of £12 to £18 per annum.[79] The practice of accepting the gifts and presents still continued in the emirate, despite the effort of the British to 'eradicate' the practice.

The judicial system was transformed from beacon of justice to avenues of exploiting the peasantry. This clearly shows that an aggrieved poor person had little room in the colonial legal system. In fact, native courts were established as beacon for implementing colonial policies on the production of cash crops, taxation, forced labour and prevention of civil protest or uprising from the peasantry, against the colonial government. Therefore it was not in the effort and agenda of the colonial government to administer justice in the metropolis.

The court established in Katsina Metropolis in 1926 was a Grade 'A' while those established in other districts of the emirate in the same year were grade 'B' courts.[80] Capital punishments which include murder, theft were sentenced in the Grade 'A' Court. In fact, modification of capital punishment was done by the British in the native courts for 'good' administration. The common form of punishment in the native courts

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[78] Ibid

[79] Ibid

[80] NNAK KATPROF 965, Alkalai, Katsina Appointment of 1926.

was jail terms or beating with lashes or the combination of both, depending on the nature of the offence committed. According to the Colonialists, these punishments were carried out for good governance and 'justice' in the emirate[81]

In 1927, school of law was opened in Katsina emirate, and students from Katsina Metropolis and other districts were admitted. Subjects taught were reading, writing, law and mathematics,[82] aimed at producing personnel to serve as clerks and judges in native courts; in order to promote colonialism. In 1930, the school was closed and was not re-opened until after a decade in 1940.[83]This was because the school was unable to 'support itself;'[84] which, means that the British were not ready to provide fund for any project in the emirate in particular and Nigerian area generally. The Colonialists were not ready to provide all forms of education to the colonized people, except one that was beneficial to them. The British wanted to train people to learn how to read and write in order to serve in colonial machinery; and not to train people in disciplines such as sciences, law e.t.c

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[81] M. Perham, Native Authrity.....op.cit, p.93.

[82] NNAK KATPROF, Katsina Division Annual Report 1928

[83] Ibid

[84] Ibid

3.4.3.2 Police

The Police was another instrument used to control the people during the colonial period. The Native Authority Police was significantly used to enforce law and order. Prior to the conquest of the area, dogarai (guards) served dual roles as emir's guards as well as apprehending criminals. The British recruited and employed the service of young men into the police force. Also some of the *Dogarai* were employed as *yandoka* (police) in the colonial period. They were given professional training similar to that of the police force for the maintenance of law and order in the emirate. The Police were trained for special duties and task to ensure that the people did not defy colonial laws. The major work of the police was to mediate in land quarrels, arrest of tax defaulters and charging criminals to court. They also ensured that they controlled threats to government officials, thereby apprehending the people involved.[85] They were tasked with ensuring that people behaved well in the society at all levels. Also the activities of marauders were checked and controlled by the police in the metropolis.

The police and *yandoka* were instruments of coercion and domination used to ensure the implementation of British colonial policies in our area. These policies were exploitative and were implemented in the interest of colonialism and at the detriment of the subject people. The police ensured that taxes were paid promptly, and were given the mandate to apprehend defaulters. They ensured that cash crops needed by the

[85] F. Lugard, Po*litical Memoranda.*

capitalist industries were produced in the colony. Peasants were expected to clear their cotton fields and failure to do so warrant arrest by the police.

In fact, the police and *yandoka* were not only used to maintain law and order in the metropolis, but also served as instruments of coercion that ensured peasants obeyed laws and regulation. It is interesting to note, the headquarters of police and *yandoka* as instruments of coercion was located in Katsina metropolis, which happened to be the divisional headquarters of Katsina division. To the peasantry the sight of *yandoka* was terrifying because of fear of arrest and embarrassments that follow suit. And any one related to a *dandoka* was revered and held in high esteem in Katsina metropolis, because the person was seen as 'immuned' to arrest .[86] The sight of *Yandoka* was indeed terrifying to the peasantry, because the police and *Yandoka* went to residences to apprehend tax defaulters, and when they did not meet them, they will end up arresting and molesting their wives.[87] In fact, the fear of arrest has made some tax defaulters in Katsina metropolis to run away to other areas, living their families behind.

It should be noted that, in Katsina Metropolis people were not keen of joining the police force, due to the way the force was associated with brutality and coercion of the peasantry.[88] People preferred to go into farming than to join the police force during the

[86] Interview with Hajia Umma Tafkin Kura Katsina 19th June 2007.

[87] Interview with Hajia Hassu Yarinchi Katsina. 5th June 2007.

[88] Interview with Hajia Umma Tafkin Kura Katsina 3/5/2010

colonial period. In fact, young men of good family status preferred to stay at home than to join the West African Frontier Force or the Police; thus recruitment was difficult.[89]

The police and the *dogarai* were provided with uniforms, boots, *kulki* (big stick) and guns, in order to discharge their duties. The Police were salaried officials, placed under the Native Authority; and their salary had to pass from the Resident to the Deputy Governor and to the Governor for approval, before they were paid.[90] In 1913, the police in Katsina Metropolis were paid the sum of £200 annually as salary for sustenance.[91] The Police were charged with the responsibility of maintaining law in the society as well as guarding prisons to avoid prison break.[92]

It should be noted that, the Police force was an important organ of coercion under the colonial administration. It was a medium through which the peasants were coerced and compelled to submit to colonial rule. The police ensured that British policies and ordinances were duly implemented in the metropolis for 'good' administration. In fact, the Police force was employed by the Colonialists under the pretext of 'containing' violence and maintenance of 'law and order' in the metropolis. In fact, the police was used as agency which the Colonialists used in the subjugation of the peasantry, thereby compelling them to submit to Colonial domination.

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[89] Heussler, op.cit,p.120.

[90] NNAK SNP 10/214P/1913 – Kano Province Katsina Emirate Bait-el-Mal Estimate of Revenue and Expenditure.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

3.4.3.3 Prison

The establishment of prison was one of the first agenda of the British Colonialists following the occupation of the area. In fact, within the first year of occupation prisons were established in every Province. A prison was built in Katsina metropolis close to Kangiwa square to ensure total control of the colonial government and total submission of the people to colonial rule.[93] The amusing thing about the establishment of prisons was that, the British built prison for lepers at Babbar Ruga in Katsina Emirate in order to extricate the lepers from the community;[94] probably because lepers could not partake in cash crop production needed by the colonialists for their capitalist industries.

This is not to say that prisons were absent in pre-colonial Katsina. Rather there was only one prison reportedly built in the emirate, located in Unguwar Dan tura in Katsina metropolis.[95] The prison was not meant for tax defaulters, it was a hole dug in the ground meant for political prisoners and people charged for treason, to die therein.[96]

Also, before the advent of colonialism people who committed crimes were tied on a tree for people to see them before their trial in the court. Following the occupation of the Nigerian area, the British established prisons in every district; the number of districts

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[93] NNAK KATPROF 1245, Katsina Division Annual Report 1919.

[94] NNAK KATPROF 1177,Katsina Division Report, September 1916.

[95] I.Dankousso,Katsina: Traditions Historique ..... op.cit p.69

[96] ibid

equaled the number of prisons in the colony of Nigeria. The prison was a gigantic building accommodating 1,000 inmates, conducted by the Native Authority and visited regularly by administrative officers.[97] The Native Authority was the custodian of the prisons, but the policies for the management of the place came directly from the British, in the interest of the colonialism.

In Katsina Metropolis, convict labour was employed in all kinds of jobs.The prisoners after conviction became reservoir of free labour for the construction of Native Authority buildings, roads, bridges, sanitation, clearing of toilets of N.A officials, repairs and improvement of prison buildings.[98] The daily average number of prisoners in Katsina Native Authority prison in 1920s was 140 persons.[99] In 1923, three prisoners died in the prison of the Katsina Native Authority, two from dysentry and one from influenza.[100] By 1938, the number of prisoners has increased to 205 and were used as reservoir for cheap labour. [101]In December 1946, the British made it a policy that the prisoners worked from morning to 2.45 pm, except on Thursday when they left the working place by 1.00pm and Friday was off-day.[102]Some of the prisoners were only

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[97] M. Perham, op.cit, p.97.

[98] NNAK KATPROF, 1018, Katsina Division Annual Report 1923.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] NNAK KATPROF 226, Katsina Native Authority Prison Labour

[102] Ibid.

tried and imprisoned because they were unable to pay their taxes as demanded by repressive colonial policies. Yet they became reservoir for cheap labour.

The prisoners were fed with threshed grain at the cost of 1.66d per prisoner, making the jail term unbearable for the inmates.[103] In fact, apart from the poor meal which the prisoners were fed with, the hard labour was also unbearable for the inmates; thus the prison was the place people dreaded most in Katsina Metropolis. Every offence committed was punished with jail term, as insignificant as tax default, was punishable with jail term. It was fear imprisonment that made tax defaulters run away from their homes.[104]

The prisons were not established as institutions for reforming and moulding the behavior of the peasants. In actual sense, prisons were part of the coercive measures put in place during the colonial period in order to ensure total compliance to colonial exploitative policies. The prisons ended up in becoming avenues of exploitation of man by man.

Therefore, for the peasantry to be 'free' of molestation they had to succumb to colonial domination by obeying all laws and policies promulgated. They obeyed law and order for their peaceful existence as individuals and for the operation of the colonial state. This further led to the subordination of the local economy to the colonial economy for the continued survival of capitalism.

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[103] Ibid.

[104] Interview with Mal Dahiru, Gafai April 2008.

3.5 Conclusion

Katsina was occupied and subdued by the British Colonialist in 1903, for the exploitation of the human and material resources of the area. In fact, the area was conquered without fighting any battle. Emir Abubakar only submitted to the colonialists, that was why the British re-installed him as the emir of Katsina. The British joined Katsina Metropolis with other villages and formed Magajin Gari district in 1905. Following the formation of the district, the British search started searching for viable leaders to head the distict, that was why they engaged in transferring officials from one district to another

Also, the British established the Native Authority system in the emirate under the pretext of 'good governance', 'civilization' and 'development' of the area. Magajin Gari district was created as a sub-unit under the Magajin Gari who assisted by wakilai and *magadai* for the implementation of colonial policies. The Emir was the sole Native Authority in the emirate; but income and expenditure was subject to the approval of the colonial officers. In fact, the N.A officials were salaried staff, and were not expected to spend more than their salary. The Native Authority was machinery formed for the implementation of British laws, policies and ordinances. Instruments of control and coercion such as the police, prison and courts were established under the Native Authority. These instruments of coercion under the N.A were only in name, because the laws guiding the conduct and operation of these agencies were not 'native' but European. Also, the structures established by the British were coercive measures used

in compelling the subject people to submit to colonial domination; in the interest of the colonial state, and to the detriment of the colonized people.

CHAPTER FOUR

COLONIAL ECONOMY OF KATSINA METROPOLIS 1903-1960

4.0 Introduction

The colonial occupation of Katsina led to the incorporation of the area into the international capitalist economy, from where surplus was drawn to the metropolitan economy. It involved the continued expatriation of resources of the area to Europe as a fundamental factor which led to the progress and prosperity of Europe, and consequently resulted in penury and poverty in Katsina metropolis. Capitalist values were introduced into Katsina Metropolis which consequently resulted into economic stagnation. These capitalist values introduced did not live alongside traditional values; i.e the traditional values were not groomed to a significant stage for the development of the colony, but orchestrated and destroyed in the interest of capitalist values. Such destruction was necessary because of the inconsistent and incompatible nature of the interaction between what the Colonialists referred to as 'inferior' and 'superior' values and ideas. Therefore, the 'inferior' ideas had to give way to the 'superior' ideas in Katsina in particular and Nigerian area in general; not for the development of the area, but exploitation of human and material resources.

The main motive behind the occupation of the area was the exploitation of human and material resources for the development of Europe. Such exploitation was only feasible when the colonial economy was established in the area; which itself was the appendage of the capitalists economy. This means exploitation of resources of the

area for capitalist industries and markets for their finished goods, for the continued survival of capitalism. That was why all laws, policies and ordinances promulgated by the Colonialists were meant to ensure continued exploitation of human and material resources of the area. Such exploitation was synonymous with misery, penury and impoverishment of Katsina Metropolis; and consequently, resulted in high standard of living, progress and the development of Europe. Thus development attained with the sweat and blood of Africans.

This chapter sets out to study the nature of the Colonial economy of Katsina 1903-1960 under the sub-themes of: The establishment of the Colonial economy; our focus will be on land, labour and taxation as well as establishment of infrastructures for the colonial economy. The nature of agriculture, trade and industry, and the changes that occurred in those sectors during the world economic depression and the Second World War will be examined.

Our study of the nature and operation of colonial economy is significant as it will increase our knowledge and understanding of the motives behind the introduction of the policies in Katsina Metropolis. Understanding of the issues will help in broadening our understanding of the impact of colonial economy on the people and economy of our area of study.

4.1 The Establishment of Colonial Economy

4.1.1 Land Policies

. Land is critical and significant in economic production, that was why the British took over all land by right of conquest. Therefore, the British saw it as its inalienable right to make use of land for any purpose. In the pre-colonial period, the state had no right to alienate peasant land holding on condition that he payed taxes. The emir, district and village heads were the custodians of land for the community, but could not alienate anybody from it.

Leninhen argued:

> Subject to the payment of rental on a year by-year basis, the average person had considerable security of tenure within the bounds of local custom and bounded by capacity of the Emir (and his representatives) to disposses.[1]

The British justified control of land by conquest as the Fulani did by right of conquest; therefore the Government contended that it reserved the right to use land for any purpose.[2] When each emirate was subdued, each emir whether appointed or re-installed was given letter of appointment which stated that, the High Commissioner had assumed administrative control and had right to levy taxes and control land, just like the Fulani did. This was explicit in the address of the High Commissioners to the Wazir and rulers of Sokoto in 1903, he stated that:

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[1] L.D. Lennihen, "*Rights in men and Rights in Land: Labour in Small Holder Agriculture in Northern Nigeria,*" in Slavery *Abolition*, Vol.3 no.2, Frank Cass, London, 1982, p.122.

[2] Lady Lugard, *Tropical dependency*, London.

> The government will in future hold rights in land which the Fulani took by conquest from the people and if the government requires land it will take it for any purpose.[3]

In 1902, the government enacted two ordinances, Crown Land Proclamation (No.16) which gave the High Commissioner control over land, previously under the control of the Royal Niger Company, and the Public Land Proclamation which allowed the High Commissioner to take control of land under the laws of the protectorate or custom; as well as his ability to take control of land belonging to rulers conquered or deposed.[4] The occupied land was administered as 'public land,' which means that the colonial government held the right for the allocation of land for any purpose. The Caliph and Emirs were dispossessed of the rights to control land.

Lugard as High Commissioner of Nigeria was bent through legislation to allow traditional rulers to have control over land; this was intended to create a big landholding and a landless peasantry. This meant that people divorced from their farmlands had to sell their labour to the land lord class, government and companies. Lugard wanted to create a landed class by allocating the land to businessmen, indigenous and expatriates as well as officials of Native Authority to develop big plantations. The whole idea was to encourage the aristocracy to continue with their landholding so as not to upset the social system.

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[3] F.D. Lugard, *Dual Mandate in British tropical Africa, Frank Cass, London, 1965, p.289.*

[4] Lenninhen, opc.it, pp.121-124.

When Percy Girouard took over the administration of Nigeria from Lugard, 1906 to 1909, he decided to change the Lugardian land policies. Girouard who was a liberal felt the need to change land policies of Lugard, because he had different perspective on land issues. Lugardian land policy was seen as subjective and was responsible for shortfall in revenue generation in Nigeria. Therefore, Girouard nationalized all lands for the development of the colonial economy. The nationalization of the land was not aimed at protecting peasant landholding at all levels. Rather, it was concerned with dispossessing peasants of their land, because it was going to turn them into landless class. Such a situation was surely going to affect their morale and they will not be able to buy British goods; which was injurious to British commerce.[5] Girouard wanted to provide a good atmosphere for capitalist exploitation.

Thus, a Land Committee was set up in 1908 to investigate land issues in Northern Nigeria. The formation of the committee was informed by the desire of the Colonialists to change land tenure system in the area. Investigation into the issue of land was carried out by the Residents and Assistant Residents in Northern Nigeria.[6] Land tenure was found to revolve around multiple taxes in the pre-colonial period. Therefore, the Colonialists deemed it fit to make changes into the system of land tenure in the area, for the growth, development and prosperity of the colonial economy; to the detriment of local economy.

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[5] NNAK, CDS102, 'Report of Northern Nigeria Land Committee 1910.

[6] Bello Ingawa, A Study of rural Economic History of Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate during the Colonial Period C.1900-1939, unpublished Ph.D thesis, SOAS London, 1984, p.146.

Therefore, the British took control of land under the pretext of holding it for the use of 'natives.' Also, part of the policy promulgated as regards to land was that, the government reserved the right to the use of land for 'development' programmes. This means that, it had the right of giving or withholding land to individual or companies. The British made it a policy that, land acquisition was based on number of properties owned by individuals and companies, which made colonial companies and their agents to hold large hectares of land. The established companies were used as the medium for exploiting the resources of the area.

Also, British merchants bought land from the colonial government and sold it to independent small holders, because the merchants considered themselves as 'friends' and not 'foes' of the colonized people.[7]The merchants were able to obtain the lands due to the fact that colonial policies ensured that application had to be made, and grants of plots made to the highest bidder.[8] Thus, money became the base for the acquisition of the lands, as against during the pre-colonial period when land was made available to the peasants for agricultural purposes.

In 1916, the land proclamation was changed to Native Rights Ordinance for easy administration of the conquered territory. By implication, colonial land policy put control of land under the Emir and his representatives. Thus the District Heads continued to control land as in the pre-colonial period, but only in theory. Government control over land was always asserted during the implementation of projects such as

[7]Leninhen, op.cit, p.95.

[8] S. Bello, *State and Economy in Kano*, unpublished Ph.D thesis, ABU, Zaria.

establishment of layout which was meant to develop according to European values and standards at Kofar Sauri and Yar'adua in Katsina Metropolis.[9]

In fact, the colonial government reserved the right to allocate land for any purpose. The Colonial policy prevented the emergence of a land- holding class, as part of its effort towards promoting the interest of capitalism. Colonial land policies resulted in increased absorption (use) of farmlands into residential areas. This further led to shortage of farmlands and consequent shortage of food and raw material for local industries.[10]

Also, the Colonial government took exclusive control of the mining sector, and leased it out only to mining companies. While individual mining activity was prohibited by the colonial government, making it difficult for black smiths to acquire raw materials for the production of iron implements. The companies used the labour of 'natives' in the mining and evacuation of resources for the development of metropole, at the detriment of the local economy. Therefore in the absence of iron ore, black smiths fell back on scrap metals for iron tools production.

According to Lady Lugard, the High Commissioner granted mining rights to individual miners for the production of agricultural implements.[11]The mining companies employed the services of individual miners in production. It should be noted that mining leases was only granted to the mining companies which made

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[9] NNAK KATNA 179,Katsina Town and Station Layout.
[10] R.W. Rowlings, Repert on Land Tenure, Kano Province, 1949.
[11] Lady Lugard, op.cit, p.451.

blacksmiths to fall back on imported scrap iron as the basic raw material in the industry. In fact, the use of machines in the mining sector started after the Second World War, probably with the profit that accrued from the sale of mineral resources by these companies.

The impact of the colonial policy on individual mining in Katsina metropolis cannot be underestimated. Iron deposits became exclusive reserve of the Colonial government. Thereby prevented black smiths from acquiring iron, thus the only alternative was for the smiths to fall back on scrap iron imported from Europe into the area, for the production of iron implements.[12]Thus, this made the production of iron goods negligible, in comparison with the level of production in the pre-colonial period. Also, locally produced implements were replaced by imported iron goods in the markets, because the imported iron goods were produced in mass quantity, thus they were cheaper. This was coupled with colonial policy which banned mining of iron, making the price of scrap iron expensive, which in turn made the end product more expensive than the imported goods.

Therefore, the British set the stage for the emergence of a landless peasantry. This was basically due to the fact that, ownership of land was based on property acquisition, which some of the peasants did not have. Consequently, in the absence of land, some of the peasants became wage labourers who were paid a 'living' allowance by the colonial companies that employed their services.

[12] Interview with Alh Muntari 11th June 2007.

4.1.2 Labour Policies

The 1901 Colonial declaration destroyed the legal status of slavery and made it difficult to acquire or dispose slaves. The British intended to abolish slavery and slave trade not for humanitarian reasons, but in order to use the freed slaves and other citizens to produce cash crops needed by capitalists industries. Also, the British had an inherent belief that large part of the emir's revenue came from the 'capture and sale of slaves'.[13] That means freeing of slaves automatically denied emirs of this source of revenue. The abolition of slave trade resulted in freeing of large number of slaves, whose labour was used for various 'development' programmes.

The British employed the labour of the peasants for development programmes. They justified the use of peasant labour by the ruling class, as well as for building of walls, clearing paths, working in the farms of the aristocrats and serving in the army.[14] Also, the British employed forced labour in the construction of colonial infrastructures such as houses for Colonial officials, offices, roads, railway, etc.

Colonial labour policy was aimed at creating abundant cheap labour for the colonial administration and companies. In fact, it became a law that 'freed' slaves had to supply free labour to their masters, and any slave that refused to enter the contract was denied employment in the colonial government. This shows that the Colonial government was only there to maintain the status quo.

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[13] Lady Lugard, op.cit p.451.

[14] F. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*, London,1920 pp.238-242.

The Colonial government employed forced labour to build roads, town walls, barracks, colonial residences, prison etc. The labour provided by the peasants was a free contribution for the success of the colonial administration. Every peasant was expected in addition to payment of taxes to supply free labour to the government. It was the duty of the Village Head to supply the labour needed for the task. The forced labourers were referred to as 'permanent labour gangs' in colonial parlance.[15] The forced labourers were expected to come with their working implements as part of their contribution to the survival of colonial state. The only form of labour prohibited was the use of forced labour to build living structures for the Village Heads or tilling their farms.

Orders went directly to the District and Village Heads to recruit labour, and every household was expected to contribute a member for the work. People from Katsina metropolis were employed as labourers in the tin mines on the Plateau for the mining of tin. This was what the people of Katsina metropolis called *'hakar kuza,'* and always complained bitterly about it.[16] In fact the people detested it, because it was synonymous with loss of rights to free living as human beings. The forced labour involved people leaving their families behind for such tedious exercise. Only to be paid a meager amount as wage. Our informant said, people from Katsina Emirate constitute 10% of labour force on the mines.[17]Out of the number 2% of the labour was recruited from Katsina Metropolis.

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[15] NNAK KATPROF 1512, Half Yearly Report June 1928.

[16] Interview with Mal. Tanddeen Gafai, 14th June 2007.

[17] Interview with Hajia Umma Tafkin Kura, 19th June 2007.

Forced labour was also used as head porterage to convey imported goods to different locations, as well as export goods to different points. It became a fact which the peasants became aware of, that it was the role of Village Heads to supply labour to the government on a quota basis. It therefore became a practice for peasants to offer gifts of chicken or goat, in order to be free from colonial service.[18] Therefore the Village Heads drew some resources from this corrupt practice. Also, peasants were not expected to leave their 'work place' for any reason; as they were expected to be 'dutiful' in the colonial service.

Part of the problem of the Colonial labour policy was that, it was a law for peasants to contribute their labour to the colonial state at all times; irrespective of the season. Which means during raining season when available labour was supposed to be devoted to farm work, labour was used in colonial projects, thereby reducing productivity. Agricultural production reduced because it was the agile population that was employed in the colonial projects. The young and old people were never employed in the colonial projects, because they could make little or no contribution to the development of the society.

If the agile people were not used in colonial projects, they would have worked into the society for the growth of agriculture and industry. That means availability of food to the population and raw materials to the industry. So that goods could be produced for

[18] M. Mamdani, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism.

local consumption, and the excess became articles of internal and long distance trade. This resulted in the recycling of the reproductive wealth in the society.

The demand for raw materials by capitalists industries made the British to devote attention towards the production of cash crops. The available labour in the metropolis and the emirate generally was used to produce both food and cash crops. The cash crops such as cotton and ground nut were produced in large quantity to meet the needs of the capitalists industries, to the detriment of food crops; which means reduction of food to the population.

4.1.3 Taxation Policies

Taxation was a means through which the Colonial government derived revenue for the running of government and investment abroad. In fact, the peasants were compelled to pay taxes for the successful operation of colonial government. Lugard argued "no system of rule can be effective unless it enjoys some measures of financial independence. Such financial independence is derived from direct tax based on the principle of an income tax."[19]

The Colonialists argued that, there were so many taxes imposed on the people of Katsina during the pre-colonial period. Therefore the Colonial government succeeded in reducing the number of taxes in operation in the area. It should be noted that, the Colonial government did not reduce the burden of taxation on the peasantry. The fact is, in Katsina Metropolis the British only succeeded in compounding the burden of

[19] F. Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, op.cit, p.231.

taxation on the peasantry, by imposition of taxation on all adult males, as against households in the pre-colonial period.

The collection of tax was carried out by the district head who delegated authority to *wakilai* and *magaddai* under the close supervision of British officials. Native Authority officials and a few of their subordinates were put on salary out of the taxes derived. They were put on salary because, there was the need for them to support themselves, due to the fact that they were appointees of the colonial government .Therefore, their income and expenditure was controlled.

The assessment of tax was based on the income of the peasantry paid by all adult males, as against tax imposition on households in the pre-colonial period. In fact, the colonialists regarded the tax as a means of making 'idle' people to be 'productive', so that they could contribute to the development of the society. In the view of Lady Lugard, tax was levied on the peasants in order for the aristocracy to have new means of generating revenue in the absence of slave trade.[20] It should be noted that, the imposed tax was not meant for the welfare of the aristocracy, but for the promotion of British imperial interest. The British used 'peaceful' method to collect taxes, and force to compel payment.

In 1907, the British introduced a new form of taxation in the metropolis and the whole emirate called "lumping", this entails putting together various pre-colonial taxes

[20] Lady Lugard, Tropical Dependency, op.cit, p.472.

into one general tax.[21] That means assessing villages together in lump sum manner, according to visible wealth. Tax paid per farm producing 25 bundles was fixed at 3/- , paid by average industrial farmer who planted staple crops, such as guinea corn and millet as well as groundnut.[22] Thus, according to Palmer the total amount payable per individual farmer who produced 25 to 30 bundles was 1,200 cowries, which was the same amount paid in the pre-colonial period'.[23]

Usman's work on Katsina Emirate including our area of study has shown that the land tax figure of c.1, 200 in the pre-colonial period was inflated by the colonialists in order to justify the introduction of colonial taxes.[24] The British were out to secure legitimacy for the introduction of colonial taxes. That was why Palmer stated that, Emir Abubakar levied 1200 cowries as land tax in the pre-colonial period.In the beginning of colonial period 1903-07 when the British demanded their share of revenue, he charged 4000 cowries; because he did not want to reduce his own share of revenue.[25] Probably the surplus of 2,800 cowries was given to the colonialists as their own share of revenue. The question is, why was the system of levying c.4000 on land remained up to 1907 and was not changed by the colonialists after Abubakar was deposed in 1905? In response to the above question, the British were out to exploit human and material resources of the area. Colonialism was repressive in its entire ramification.

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[21] NNAK KATROF/1289/Katsina Division Report on Taxation H.R. Palmer, December 1908.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Usman, op.cit, p.135.

[25] NNAK KATPROF 1289, Katsina Division Report on Taxation H.R. Palmer December 1908.

The exploitative tendencies of the Colonialists manifested in the way they introduced critical method of tax assessment in our area in order to generate revenue to run the colonial bureaucracy and for investment abroad. Thus 'Resident Assessment' or *taki* (foot measurement) was introduced in assessing the peasantry and the 'landed classes' in the Northern Province.[26] It was introduced to replace the lump- sum method of assessing towns and village dwellings. The lump sum method was replaced because the colonialists felt it was inappropriate, due to the fact that it did not meet government expenditure.

The new method of *taki* assessment was based on productive capacity of a farm and that was why farmlands were measured using foot measurement. The tax was fixed based on average yields of the farmers annually. This shows that there was no consideration for peasants with poor yields, caused by weather conditions and crop failure. In fact, by 1924, *taki* basis of assessment were introduced in Katsina Emirate including our area of study to cover traders and industrial workers.[27] It was calculated at 3/- to 1/- for each man, according to the industry he worked in. Payment was about 2% of the average income derived from the trade.[28] Thus the new method of tax collection led to increase in revenue. In order to make tax assessment effective, Malaman *taki* were trained to assess the value of farmlands per acre.[29] Also, sheets were

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[26] Lugard, *Political Memoranda*, op.cit, pp185-186..

[27] NNAK KATPROF/1/1213, Katsina Emirate Report for March 1924.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Lugard, Political Memoranda, op.cit.

prepared containing land acreage of a village, names of farm owners and their acres of farmland, in order to have knowledge of tax payable to the government.

Also, British introduced another form of industrial tax which was levied at 3/6d per adult male,[30] which was about 6,000 cowries. Thus this led to a great increase in revenue of Katsina Division including our area of study.In 1904-1905, the revenue for the division was £400 and in 1907-1908 it reached £8,672.67 out of which Katsina Emirate alone paid the sum of £8,433.76.[31] This was an increase of over and above the pre-colonial taxation which Palmer reported was paid at 1,200 cowries per household in Katsina.[32] Similarly according to Palmer industrial taxes were levied in the pre-colonial period as follows:

Weavers	-	2,400 per man
Dyers	-	3,000 per man
Tanners	-	2,400 per man
Butchers	-	2,500 per man
Blacksmiths	-	10 hoes or 10,000 cowries.[33]

Research on taxation in pre-colonial period in Katsina Metropolis divulged that industrialists were paying 1,200-2000 as taxes,[34] which shows that figures provided by Palmer were inflated. Also Y.B. Usman's work on Katsina Emirate indicated that blacksmith were paying three hoes as tax. It is possible that the British inflated the figures because taxation was a sensitive issue which needed careful handling. In fact the

[30] NNAK SNP 17/K.2076, *History of Katsina*, H.R Palmer
[31] Ibid
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid
[34] Interview with Hajia Umma Tafkin Kura Katsina 19th July 2010

critical manner in which taxes were assessed led to increase of revenue. The table below shows increase in revenue:

Revenue and Taxation in Katsina Emirate

1923	**1924**	**Increase**
£25,331.14.6	£38,078.13.4	£1, 2746.99

Jangali (cattle tax) was levied on pastoralists at 1s.6d per head of cattle and 6d on sheep and goat. It was levied when the cattle returned home during the raining season.[35] The magaddai were expected to report the presence of cattle in their area to the Magajin Gari, to ensure 'efficient' assessment of jangali.

The table below shows the amount realized from various taxes in Katsina metropolis for the 1935-1936 financial year:

Tax Assessment in Katsina Metropolis (Magajin Gari District)
1935 – 1936

S/NO	NAME OF PLACE	GENERAL	JANGALI (CATTLE TAX)	TAX PAYERS
1.	Kofar Kaura Ward	£53.15.0	£0.0.0	215
2.	Cikin Gida	£145.0.0	£0.0.0	580
3.	Galadunci	£198.10.0	£0.3.0	794
4.	Marina	£61.0.0	£0.0.0	244
5.	Gambarawa	£84.10.0	£0.0.0	338
6.	Sararin Tsako	£130.0.0	£10.14.6	520
7.	Tudu & Makudawa	£80.10.0	£4.1.0	322
8.	Yan Kyaure	£70.5.0	£0.0.0	281
9.	Masanawa	£146.0.0	£0.0.0	584
10.	Kofar Yandaka	£43.10.0	£0.0.0	174
11.	Gafai	£81.10.0	£0.0.0	326
12.	Tsohuwar Kasuwa	£115.0.0	£0.0.0	460

[35] Ibid.

13.	Kofar Marusa, Kafar Durbi & Yar'aduwa	£90.5.0	£10.14.6	**361**
14.	Kofar Samri	£102.15.0	£18.12.0	**411**
15.	Rafukka	£32.10.0	£0.0.0	130
16.	Shinkafi Village, Makera ta Iro Kainan Rafa & Modoji	£207.5.0	£12.15.0	**829**
17.	Kayauki Village	£264.15.0	£42.15.0	1059
18.	Kutubi Village	£110.15.0	£18.7.6	**443**
19.	Ajiwa Village	£189.15.0	£36.13.6	**759**
20.	Yan Rakunma	£`79.5.0	£2.6.0	**317**

Total number of tax payers	=	9147
Total General Tax at 5/-	=	£2,286.15.0
Total Jangali (Cattle Tax)	=	£157.2.6
Amount unpaid	=	£73.11.3
Total	=	**£2517.8.9**

Source: NNAK KATPROF 1/1/17 - Magajin Gari

One of the features of the taxation was that it came to be paid in European currency. In 1907, the Colonial government insisted that its share of revenue should be paid in European currency, and asked Native Authority Officials to ask peasants to make tax payment in cash.[36] This was because payment of taxes in cash helped to stimulate cash transactions among peasants, as well as the promotion of the use of currency in the colonial economy. The introduction of currency was significant in shaping and promoting cash transaction and cash crop production in the interest of colonial economy. This is because in order to acquire European currency one had to

[36] S. Bello *op.cit.*

produce crops needed by capitalist industries.[37] Prior to 1907, groundnut, cotton and live stock which could be easily sold in the market were accepted as taxes by the Colonial state.The most profound impact of the policy was that, it compelled people of the metropolis for colonial activity-cash crops production,colonial service as soldiers, workers e.t.c

Tax payment in cash resulted in two things, namely increase in cash crop production and development of wage labour to enable peasants to acquire money to pay taxes. The condition of producers was made worst due to the fact that they had to pay taxes in European currency, which was not easily available. These taxes were mandatory irrespective of the condition of the people; period of drought or good yields notwithstanding. Due to the burden of taxation, some peasants became indebted to middlemen and local administrators, while some others had to cross border to evade tax payment. [38] As a result Lugard suggested that taxes should be paid in all provinces at the same time, in order to prevent tax evasion.[39] What actually aggravated the tax burden on the peasantry was that it came to be levied on individual adult males as was levied on households in the pre-colonial period. Thus in the colonial period, a household ended up paying more as tax than what it paid in the pre-colonial period. That was why the burden of taxation cut across all segments of the society. In fact, the British employed rigorous method of tax assessment that, they did not provide room for

[37] Lady Lugard op.cit p.486.

[38] S. Bello, op.cit, p.123.

[39] Lady Lugard op.cit p.486

any conditionality. The imposition of tax on the colony resulted in wealth generation for the colonial state, to the detriment of the people.

It should be noted that in colonial period taxes were paid irrespective of the condition a tax payer found himself, which was contrary to the pre-colonial period when considerations were made. R.W. Hull in his study on Katsina Emirate (Katsina Metropolis inclusive) noted different tax exemptions such as *rangwame* that is bargaining between tax payer and tax collector due to poverty of the tax payer, and payment of land tax at half rate by immigrant or new *maigida*.[40]Therefore, since the Colonial government did not give any consideration for tax default, the only alternative was production of cash crops or working as a wage labourer in order to acquire money to pay taxes, and meet ones daily needs.

[40] R.W. Hull, *The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate*, op.cit.

4.2 The Establishment of Colonial Infrastructures for the Economy

4.2.1 Construction and Impact of Roads and Tracks

In the first decade of colonial rule in Katsina Metropolis, the only means of communication was land transport; carriers, pack oxen, camels and donkeys.[41] Katsina emirate together with Daura were ruled as a division; with the divisional headquarters based in Katsina. A broad road was constructed from Katsina town to the boundary with Kano and branch roads run from Daura and Kazaure, all meeting in Katsina.[42] These were the first roads constructed by the Colonialist in the division to meet its administrative needs. Therefore, these roads were constructed to link these places, in order to enhance easy movement of people and goods in the interest of Colonialism.

The major motive for the road construction was to enhance movement of the District officer on tour to different towns of the division, movement of police and colonial government officials, tax collection etc. The roads were also constructed to evacuate cash crops from the different towns and districts of Katsina emirate to Kano, for transportation to the coast, and shipment abroad. The roads constructed in Katsina did not reflect the needs of the people, and were not constructed to meet the needs of the people. That was why Walter Rodney contended:

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[41] NNAK SNP 17/K.207, *History of Katsina*, H.K. Palmer.

[42] Ibid.

> Means of communication were not constructed in the colonial period so that Africans could visit their friends... were not laid down to facilitate internal trade in African commodities.[43]

The first roads constructed in Katsina were not motorable roads, but those which carts could play on, as was experimented in 1906.The roads were constructed in order to cover the administrative centres of Kano, Katsina, Daura and Kazaure.[44] Roads were not constructed to connect the trading centres of pre-colonial Katsina such as Charanchi and Southern Katsina area, all roads constructed were meant to facilitate and aid effective administration of the division.

Before 1906, the Colonialists used the pre-colonial trade routes, plied mostly by human porterage, age-old footpaths, Fulani cattle tracks etc, for movement from one location to another. These proved to be inadequate due to the fact that movement was done with animals such as horses, donkeys and camels. Thus, it was at a later date that the British felt that a modern means of communication was necessary.

In 1923, Kano-Katsina motor road was constructed, and it linked up Charanchi with Katsina metropolis.[45] The construction of the road led to easy movement of people and goods, therefore there was no need to construct a bridge to link up Katsina metropolis and Charanchi, which was estimated to cost £13,000, at approximately £240 per mile.[46] Zaria-Sokoto road was completed in the same year.[47] Maska an important

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[43] W. Rodney, op.cit, p.228.

[44] Ibid.

[45] NNAK KATPROF 1018, Katsina Division Annual Report 1923.

[46] Ibid.

cotton producing district in the emirate was therefore incorporated into the road network, to ensure easy movement and purchase of cotton. Katsina Native Administration contributed £1,500 for the construction of the Zaria-Maska-Sokoto road, and £300 annually for maintenance work.

Also, road was constructed by Katsina Native Authority linking up Katsina metropolis with Jibia, and was further connected with French motor roads which connected the metropolis with Maradi.[48] Roads in Katsina town were also improved upon, and narrow bends were widened and the surfaces of major roads were repaired to enhance easy movement of goods and services.[49] Roads in Katsina Metropolis were only improved upon in order to ensure easy movement of colonial officers from the divisional headquarters to other areas of the division.

These roads were constructed with the 'blood and sweat' of people of Katsina Metropolis who were compelled to engage in public works as part of their duty and support for the colonial state. The workers were called in for construction and repair work when necessary.[50] Therefore, orders went from the district to the village heads to supply people to undertake road construction and repairs, plied by the officials of the colonial state. Thus, by 1926 the road system in the metropolis had become complex, almost all towns and districts could be reached by motor cars in the dry season.[51]

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[47] Ibid.

[48] NNAK KATPROF 1018, Katsina Division Annual Report, 1923.

[49] Ibid.

[50] NNAK KATPROF 1512, Half Yearly Report June 1928.

[51] NNAK KATPROF 18, *Annual Report 1926*, Katsina Division.

Without roads connecting the districts how could the Colonialists administer outlaying areas?

Road construction in the emirate continued up to 1928. Thus, Katsina Metropolis being the divisional headquarters was connected with Ruma, Daura, Charanchi-Dayi in road network.[52] Thus by 1934, the motor fleets in Katsina Emirate including our area of study consisted of 14 lorries, a touring car and two motor cycles.[53]The construction of roads and tracks in Katsina Metropolis and other districts helped in 'smooth' administration of the area. Thus, districts were connected with Katsina divisional headquarters for easy administration. Also, taxes and grains for feeding of officials of the Colonial state were easily transported. These roads were not constructed to aid and boast economic activities of the area.

The people were compelled to give their labour free of charge in colonial service, not out of good will. The peasants were therefore deprived time to work on their farms and crafts. Roads were constructed in order to transport cash crops from Katsina to Kano railways for shipment abroad. Rail transport was not provided in Northern Katsina, because the area did not produce large quantity of cotton. Railways were constructed in areas that produced the major cash crops –cotton, ground nut e.t.c in large quantities.

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[52] NNAK KATPROF 1512, *Half Yearly Report June 1928.*

[53] NNAK KATPROF 2/965, *Katsina Province Annual Report* 1934.

4.2.2 Colonial Education

At the inception of Colonial rule in Katsina, education was resisted by the people at all levels. This trend continued up to the 1920s.[54] This was because the people saw colonial education as a road to 'disbelief'. In fact, resistance to European education was so strong at the beginning of colonial rule in Katsina Metropolis, and other parts of Northern Province. Resistance to colonial education was not restricted to the masses alone, but even the ruling classes were against the idea of sending their children to school. Thus, when the British requested the emirs and chiefs to send their children to school, they sent the sons of their slaves instead; and pretended as if they were their own offsprings. This was the reason why the original school for the sons of chiefs had to be closed in Kano.[55] The school was later replaced with elementary schools in the major towns. The district heads were expected to fill a quota, by encouraging parents to send their children/wards for the schools to take off.[56] The quota system was introduced because of the way western education was resisted in our area. In fact, Katsina College was vehemently rejected by some chiefs up to the 1930s.

The British insisted that chiefs must provide pupils for the school not for civilizing the populace and inculcating knowledge, but for colonial domination. The Colonial state did not provide education for philanthropic reasons, but in a bid to train

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[54] Heussler, op.cit, p.111.

[55] Ibid, p.120.

[56] Ibid.

people as secretaries, clerks, agricultural officers (taki assessors) e.t.c to serve the colonial administration. Thus, only english, mathematics and a few elementary subjects were taught in the schools, at the beginning of colonial rule.

Up to 1949 only forty schools and adult classes were established in the whole of Katsina emirate. These schools were: 35 elementary schools, one elementary training centre, 304 adult classes and 4 mission schools.[57] The colonialists devoted much attention to craft schools, where subjects such as carpentry, blacksmiths, leather works, masons, motor driving were taught. On the completion of the course, some of the pupils went to practice on their own, while some others were absorbed as workers by the Native Authority in Katsina Metropolis.[58] The motor class was established in order to have personnel to maintain the N.A. motor fleet.[59] Drivers were also trained for six months, and were employed by district heads to drive and maintain their cars or lorries on completion of the courses.

With the establishment of Katsina Province in 1934, educational matters were placed under the direct control of a Provincial Superintendent of Education with headquarters in Katsina Metropolis. Daura was also placed under that office. Prior to the period, education matters of Katsina were under Kano Province and latter Zaria Province for 'easy' administration. By 1934, there were 11 Native Administration schools in Katsina, one middle school and 10 elementary schools.

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[57] NNAK KATPROF 3813, *Katsina Province General Information.*

[58] NNAK KATPROF 1512, *Half Yearly Report* June, 1928.

[59] Ibid.

The enrolment of pupils in the Middle School was neither impressive nor progressive. In 1933 the Middle school established in Katsina Metropolis had 105 pupils, mostly boys, and in 1934, it had 107 pupils; thus the number of pupils enrolled only increased by two. Of the number of pupils enrolled in the Middle School, 10 absconded, and left the school in 1934; while the 3 that graduated secured employment with the Native Authority. In 1932, the Elementary school had 337 pupils including 6 girls, and the number increased to pupils in 1933[60] The middle and elementary school were established within the city gates of Katsina metropolis, which means that pupils could trek to the school.

Educational matters were placed under Katsina Native Authority; all schools were supported and financed with N.A funds. In 1913, only the sum of £333 was budgeted for education, in comparison to the sum of £1,562 for minor public works. This shows that education was not given the attention it deserved. The British were not out to provide quality education to the populace.[61] Education was provided in order to produce clerical staff who could write in Roman scripts and serve the Colonial state for the continued survival of colonialism.

[60] NNAK KATPROF 3813, *Katsina Province General Information*
[61] NNAK SNP 10/214/1913,*Kano Province, Katsina Emirate Bait –el-Mal Estimate of Revenue and Expenditure.*

4.2.3 Health Facilities

Good health is a prerequisite for the development of a society. During the colonial period, health facilities were provided to cure and prevent the development and spread of diseases in the metropolis and the emirate. The Colonial state ensured that efficient health services were only made available to the Europeans who fell ill. That was why the Colonial government maintained segregated health facilities for Europeans and for the people of Katsina Metropolis.

The European hospital was well equipped with medical equipments meant to carter for the Europeans and native foreigners (Africans working for the colonial government) .The number of Europeans treated annually were few in number. In 1923, 29 Europeans and 7 native foreigners were treated in well furnished hospital maintained for the Europeans.[62]

The health of Africans was maintained in the Native Authority dispensaries, formed with the aim of spreading knowledge of health, and hygiene among the rural population. The services provided by the dispensaries proved inefficient. The Colonialists admitted that, the function of the dispensaries was never realized, because they could not provide efficient medical relief which could have raised the level of public health in the areas they served.[63] Due to this short fall, 15 N.A dispensaries out of 340 nation-wide were upgraded into Health centres.[64]

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[62] NNAK KATPROF 1018, *Katsina Division Annual Report.*

[63] NNAK KATPROF 842, Katsina Division Report 1927-33.

[64] Ibid.

A dispensary was established in Katsina Metropolis and wasprovided with a sanitary inspector, midwife and dispensary attendant to carter for the health needs of the people. The colonialists placed a group of dispensaries under the supervision of rural health worker.[65] What a contradiction, the health of thousands of the population was provided in a dispensary.

In fact, in Katsina Metropolis a 'Native' hospital was built and put under the care, and maintenance of the Native Administration. The staff of the hospital consisted of 2 medical officers, 3 nurses, 1 sub-inspector of sanitation, and 32 nurses on training.[66] They were employed to maintain the health condition of more than 716,455 people in the metropolis and nearby districts, out of which 193,211 were males, 236,362 females and 286,882 children.[67] Unfortunately, the Medical Officer, an European was prohibited from travelling to other parts of Katsina Emirate, so as not to contract diseases from the people of the area. The lack of good drinking water and poor sanitation made the people susceptible to different kinds of diseases that the Medical Officer was to be protected from.[68] The Colonialists did very little to ameliorate the problem of provision of good drinking water and sanitation in Katsina.

In 1923, there was the spread of smallpox in the metropolis and other districts of Katsina Emirate, but vaccination was only effected in Katsina metropolis, while other

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[65] Ibid.

[66] NNAK KATPROF 2/965, *Katsina Provincial Annual Report* 1934.

[67] NNAK KATPROF 1018, *Katsina Division Annual Report* 1923.

[68] Ibid.

districts were neglected.[69] The metropolis was given higher priority because it was the centre of administration, where the divisional headquarters were based. Also, cebro spinal meningitis epidemics broke out in April and May 1923, and ceased with the commencement of rains. Several people died as a result of the outbreak of the disease. It was estimated that 2,500 people died in Katsina Emirate.And of this figure, 200 were from Magajin Gari District (Katsina metropolis) and 1,000 in districts close to the capital of the emirate.[70] The number of people who died of the disease was large, because of the limitation and inadequacy of health facilities provided for the people.

It should be noted that the colonial health services provided in Katsina did not result in the reduction of deaths rate in our area, due to the fact that few health facilities were provided for thousands of people. The tables below shows increase in death rate as shown in the statistics of Katsina metropolis in 1923:

A TABLE SHOWING INCREASE IN DEATH RATE IN KATSINA METROPOLIS

Births			**Deaths**		
Male	-	252	Adult male	-	89
Female	-	224	Adult female	-	110
Total	-	476	Infant male	-	128
			Infant female	-	120
			Total	-	**447**[71]

This shows that efficient health services were only provided to the Europeans and what was provided for the Africans was not enough. The facilities were not provided as humanitarian gestures, rather they were means to an end. They were put in place in

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

order to reduce diseases amongst people so that they can serve the colonial administration.

4.3 *Agricultural sector and Cash Crop Production*

The need for raw materials by British industries was central to the conquest of Katsina and the Nigerian area in general. The British Colonial government adopted the policy of peasant land holding instead of plantation agriculture in Northern Nigeria, and peasants were encouraged to produce cash crops needed by the capitalist industries.

The peasants were made to pay taxes in European currency, and the only means of acquiring such currency was through cash production or working as colonial 'labourer.' Thus, it was the quest to acquire British currency to meet the daily needs and pay taxes that made the peasants to produce cash crops. For the success and promotion of cash crops production, the Colonial government interfered in agricultural production through soil conservation, mixed farming and provision of seeds and fertilizer to farmers. The government put several policies in place to influence agricultural production in our area of study.

With the conquest of Katsina Metropolis, the British found out that, ground nut was produced in large quantities in the area, cotton was grown but not in large quantity as was ground nut. While the staple crops produced in the metropolis were millet,

guinea corn, and cassava. Also, shuni (dye stuff) was produced in considerable quantity.[72]

According to the Palmer, with more initiative and encouragement, the area around Katsina metropolis could supply large quantities of cotton, more so, if dams were constructed to conserve large quantity of water which the floods produce every year;[73] but which was allowed to waste in the sand bed. Thus, nature has supplied all the necessities for a good cotton yield; what was needed was the application of initiatives and ides to make the idea a reality[74]

The British search for viable cotton fields was aimed at supplying cotton to Lancashire Cotton Mill, which was the largest manufacturing industry in Britain.[75] The main source of supply of cotton was the Cotton Belt of the United States of America, and between 1901 and 1902, the export was reduced due to plague of boll weevil, and increasing use of cotton in U.S.A.[76] Emphasis was shifted to the British colonies to supply cotton, and attention was directed to Nigeria to supply the raw materials.[77]

Furthermore, in the first decade of 20th century, there was new demand for groundnut for the production of butter, soap and cooking oil in Europe.[78] Thus colonies were forced to produce ground nut which was the basic raw material needed by these

[72] NNAK SNP 17/K.2076, *History of Katsina H.R. Palmer.*

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] J. Hogendorn, *Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origins and Early Development*, A.B.u. Press, Zaria 1978.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

European industries. More importantly, individual farmers were compelled to produce cash crops to meet international demand for ground nut. Interestingly plantation agriculture that required hired labourers did not develop in the emirate.

The area around Katsina metropolis is covered with light, easy working sandy top soil suitable for groundnut production, and in the southern Katsina there is wider area of black loamy soil suitable for cotton production.[79] In the metropolis area rain fall occurs between May and October annually. Rain falls outside this period is negligible. The peak of the rainfall occurs in July and August. When clouds cover becomes permanent and the period is characterized by excessive rainfall at whatever time of the day.

The table below shows average sample of rainfall collected in the period of ten years, in Katsina metropolis:

Rain Samples taken at Katsina Middle School in Katsina metropolis 1936 – 46

Years	Days of Rainfall	Inches
1936	48	26.57
1937	41	32.98
1938	62	32.86
1939	71	34.04
1940	60	25.73
1941	57	23.50
1942	59	25.50
1943	54	31.83

[79] NNAK KATPROF 3813, *Katsina Province General Information, 1947-49.*

1944	48	18.32 (Queried)
1945	71	36.78
1946	69	29.75
Average, excluding 1944		= 29.90

Source: NNAK KATPROF 3813, Katsina Province General Information 1947-49.

The nature of rain fall significantly enhanced and supported groundnut production. Groundnut, cotton and pepper were the main cash crops produced in Katsina Metropolis, even before the advent of colonialism. Colonialism however promoted the production of cotton and groundnut for export, to support capitalist industries. That was why peasants were encouraged to produce these cash crops in large quantity. The production was influenced by the fact that from 1907 peasants had to pay taxes in European currency; as most farmers took to cash crop production in order to secure money to pay taxes. Production of staple crops such as millet, guinea corn, beans and cassava continued alongside the production of the cash crops. It should be noted that, there were instances when cotton and ground nut production was given priority far and above food production.

The Colonial government took the initiative of establishing farm centres in Katsina emirate to demonstrate that a person could maintain fertility of the soil of 10 to 20 acres.[80] Kafin Soli farm centre was established in 1931, Malumfashi farm centre was established in 1932; while Mani and Bakori centres were established 1933 and 1935 respectively. Kafin Soli centre located about 58 km from Katsina metropolis, was the

[80] NNAK KATPROF 2164, *Agricultural Department Annual Report 1935.*

main farm centre in the emirate. It was established to carter for the agricultural needs of the areas of northern Katsina Emirate.[81] The farm was established as a centre for experimentation of food and export crops production, such as cotton and ground nut. It also served as demonstration centre for peasants to learn and emulate production techniques in a bid to increase cash crop production due to increasing demand for such goods by capitalists industries.

Similarly a farm centre was established at Daudawa in 1926, covering a land area of 14, 9341 acres, by the Empire Cotton Growing Association. It was established as a centre for the multiplication of improved strains of cotton seeds. The plantation was started with the use of forced labour, what was called 'political labour' in colonial parlance.[82] Sixty four small holdings of 15 acres each were established, primarily as a method of increasing the multiplication rate of improved strains of cotton, and as an experiment of land settlement.[83] It was introduced as a system of co-operative cultivation whereby farmers were allotted a holding inside the corporation area. The peasants received assistance in clearing bush and erection of huts, and had a guarantee that the corporation will buy all their cotton at a price similar to one offered in Zaria. The price offered in Zaria was probably higher than the one offered in Katsina.

The farmers who enjoyed those privileges put a large portion of their land under cotton cultivation, and grew no cotton other than the one supplied to them by the

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[81] Ibid.

[82] NNAK KATPROF 18, *Annual Report 1926, Katsina Division.*

[83] NNAK KATPROF 1/2960, *Agricultural Policy Katsina Province.*

corporation.[84] This programme enabled the few selected farmers to enjoy at the detriment of majority of the population whose yields were sold at a lower price. The improved seeds were given out to farmers, to have quality yield and greater output. The cotton seed distributed to farmers cost about £750, but the amount spent was nothing compared to the value of the cotton yield worth £70,000 export from the Emirate. This enabled the colonial government to derive a higher profit from the sales of cotton

Apart from the provision of improved seeds, the Colonial government also embarked on propaganda, to encourage peasants to produce the crops needed in European industries. One of the duties of the Agricultural Officer in Katsina Emirate was advise the Resident, on when to start propaganda in order to make peasants to keep plenty seed for next the farming season; as well as the enlightenment of the peasants on the importance of cash crop production.[85] Fertilizer campaign was mounted so that peasants can produce ground nut and were advised on the use of fertilizers.[86]

The Colonial government promoted agricultural production by engaging in soil conservation technique as a way forward. Services of agricultural officers from the agricultural and forestry departments were appropriated to realize their objective. Also, techniques of modern method of plant cultivation, farm manuring and prevention of

[84] NNAK KATPROF 18, op.cit.

[85] NNAK KATPROF 1/2960, op.cit.

[86] NNAK KATNA W.446, Ground nut Farming and Propaganda.

soil erosion were taught to the peasantry.[87] This was done to ensure the continued fertility of the soil for the production of cash crops.

Techniques and methods of agricultural production introduced by the British did not in any way change the traditional method prevalent in Katsina for many centuries. The colonialists did not introduce any technological methods of production in the emirate. Rather they were only concerned with increasing cash crop production.

Colonial mixed farming method was introduced in Katsina; this was a system whereby a farmer was allowed to cultivate a maximum of 12 acres at the same time keeping a cattle o the farm in order to provide manure for plant growth. [88]It was practiced by few individual farmers in Katsina Metropolis, during the colonial period. This was because purchasing bulls required a lot of money/ savings which most farmers could not afford. How could a person battling to pay tax of 3/- to 5/- afford to buy a bull for the farm? Native Authority gave loan of pair of cattle at the rate of £10, repayable in three years.[89] Unfortunately it turned out that the beneficiaries of the programme were the employee of the N.A; the people who benefitted from colonial mixed farming scheme were few, thus the project was beneficial to the few of them. The beneficiaries of N.A. mixed farming programme turn out to sell their cattle at the price lower than they bought them; thus the programme ended up becoming a farce. In fact the mixed farmers were taxed double on the output and on non-working animals

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[87] NNAK KATPROF 3007 Vol.I, *Economic Development and Social Welfare Instruction and Policy.*

[88] NNAK KATPROF 239 vol.II, agricultural Extension Work.

[89] Ibid.

on the farm. The British even went to the extent of compelling farmers to plant American cotton which was regarded to be the most suitable for British industries and unfortunately not suitable for local weaving industries.

4.4 Trade and Industry in Katsina

Production and distribution of goods and services formed an important segment of the economy of any society. Up to 1903 when Katsina was conquered by the British, manufacturing and exchange were important to its economy. The Colonialists described Katsina metropolis as the principal town in Katsina Division, that it was a walled town of 8 kilometres in circumference having a population of 12,000 people. [90] The question is, how could the size of the population of Katsina metropolis be estimated at 12,000? Afterall it was the principal town of the emirate, and by 1910, there were 7,120 adult male tax payers in the metropolis,[91] thus when we add up number of women and children the population size could reach up to 18,000.

The table below provides information on industry and trade of Katsina metropolis during the pre-colonial period:

[90] NNAK SNP 17/K.2076,History of Katsina H.R.Palmer
[91] NNAK KATPROF 3007 Vol.I, *Economic Development and Social Welfare Instruction and Policy.*

A TABLE SHOWING TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN KATSINA METROPOLIS PRIOR TO 1903

Industry and Trade		Number of People Engaged
Guinea corn and corn sellers	-	43
Antimony sellers	-	17
Butchers	-	20
Salt sellers	-	18
Vegetable sellers	-	9
Onion sellers	-	6
Barbers	-	9
Leather works	-	20
Shoe makers	-	20
Kola nut sellers	-	30
Tobacco sellers	-	6
Blacksmiths	-	40
Town criers	-	40
Dye pits	-	228
Total	-	466

Source: NNAK SNP 17/K.2076, History of Katsina H.R.Palmer

The information provided in the table above is not complete; it has failed to mention textile works, tailoring, dyestuff production and groundnut sellers all living in Katsina metropolis. Industry and trade formed important part of Katsina economy,and employed the services of large segment of the population; including males and females. The significance of industry and crafts has been extensively discussed in chapter two of

this work. Similarly, the figures provided for various occupations are low. How could antimony sellers be almost same number with leather works, which was one of the major sectors of the economy producing goods for local consumption and export?

One of the reasons for colonial domination was the need for markets for European manufactures, such as textiles, iron goods, mirrors, cigarette, etc. Fortunately or unfortunately when the British came to Katsina, they found in existence vibrant textiles, leather and smithing industries which employed large percentage of the population. In fact the manufacturing industries were diversified, and met the demands of the local population, while the goods produced were important articles of local and long distant trade.

There was integration in the economy of Katsina in the pre-colonial period, whereby agriculture supported craft production. The textile industry produced textile goods such as bunu (wrapper), gown, trousers and luru (fanciful blanket decorated with different colours). Some of the textile materials were dyed or sold plain in the local and distant markets.[92] Much of the trade used in the textile industry was carded by the womenfolk, who contributed to the operation of the textile production.

The textile goods were produced from best quality raw materials in the society. The quality nature of the products made them to compete with British imported goods at the beginning of colonial rule. The natives preferred locally made textiles because of

[92] Interview with Alh Mamman Yan Siliyu Katsina, 4th June 2007.

their durable nature. Thereby, blocking the chances of transforming Katsina into a dumping ground for British manufacture goods.

Therefore, the British realized that something had to be done in order to cripple the local economy and have ready markets for European manufacture. And to solve that riddle, policies and laws were promulgated that served the interest of the Colonial state but detrimental to the local economy. The demand for cotton in the capitalists industries led to the export of cotton to Europe, which would have been used in the local textile industry. The export of cash crops was backed up by legislation to ensure the effectiveness of such act.

Despite the demand for cotton in the industries in Europe, local industries continued to produce textiles because they offered better price for cotton than the European buyers, and this became a problem to the Colonialists. It was in order to solve this problem American staple cotton seeds were distributed freely to farmers, to encourage peasants to plant that variety of cotton. And no cotton was allowed to be planted apart from that variety. Thus, this was the basis for the decrease in the production of locally produced cotton, known in the metropolis as *Kada 'yar karfi* . It was a suitable raw material for local textile industries, and a perennial seed, once sown could be tendered for many years.

Similarly, iron and dyeing industries faced the same problem like those in the textile industry. The Colonial government took exclusive control of the mining sector, thereby prevented the Katsina people from securing iron, the basic raw material in the iron industry. Prevention of the mining of iron significantly hampered iron smelting in Katsina. The British made outright policy of prohibiting mining in Nigeria. The prohibition was perpetuated that mining was banned and made an illegal act. The only way possible was obtaining license from government who had sole control of the mines. Unfortunately obtaining the license was not an easy task to majority of the peasants. It was only the mining companies that were given license to operate in the mining sector. Thereby exploiting the resources for use in capitalist industries

Leather industry was a significant part of the economy of Katsina in the pre-colonial period. The industry flourished due to the availability of hides and skin made available by large number of animals reared in the area. The demand for hides and skin for the European leather industries reduced the quantity of leather utilized as raw material by local industries. The British offered a higher price for the hides and skin than the local leather workers, hence they captured the markets. Also, the British came up with the policy that animals must be slaughtered in slaughter houses, to conform to European standards. Thus in the Colonial period the hides and skin produced were not utilized by the local leather industries, but exported abroad and used in European industries.

Part of the problem faced by local industries was competition from European manufactured goods imported into the markets. European manufactures were

produced in mass, which brought down the price of the products. This is the economic law of the larger the number of goods produced the lower the cost price and hence the lower the price of the product. Thus the price of the local manufactures were higher than the imported goods; leaving the buyer to make his choice.

The buyer automatically went for cheaper products, because he was aware of the fact that he had to pay taxes annually. Taxes paid on agricultural goods were at 3/- to 5/- per man, tax on traders and industrial workers was collected on *taki basis*, calculated at 1/- to 3/- for each man, according to industry he worked in. Payment was about 2% of the average income derived from trade.[93] Therefore since the market was saturated with European manufactured goods, industrial producers had to shift to cash crop production, from which they acquired money to meet their needs.

The British tried to 'salvage' the local industries in Northern Nigeria and Katsina Emirate in particular, by creating textile training centres at Minjibir, Ilorin and Sokoto. People from Katsina Emirate were selected and sent to Minjibir textile centre to learn 'modern' textile works, to encourage cloth production.[94] The Minjibir experiment was a failure, as trainees had to return home because they did nothing and there was no trained person to guide them.[95] The four men sent to Minjibir from Katsina Emirate

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[93] NNAK KATPROF/*1/1213, Katsina Division Report for March 1924.*

[94] Interview with Mal Gambo F/Bugu Katsina, 7th June 2007.

[95] NNAK KATPROF/1/3344/S.I, Textile Centre Katsina.

were given advances by the N.A to purchase looms and materials.[96] Working on the looms was slow, and turnover was not guaranteed.

At the early period when the programme was introduced, the Emir of Katsina was clear that the project would not achieve any useful purpose.

He argued:

> The working on the loom is a very slow job, and no turnover is guaranteed as compared with native looms from which materials is quickly woven and sold. There is some reluctance on the part of the local people to adopt this new slow device, the more so because imported materials are in better demand.[97]

In fact the programme proved a failure because according to Mallam Gambo, one of the four people sent to Minjibir, the new method of textile manufacture was indeed slow and took a lot of time to complete. He started the new method of weaving and found out that it was slow, unprofitable and unbeneficial; and he stopped. Thus he completely stopped production in the textile industry.[98] Even if the training programme was successful, the question to ask is: how could four people selected introduce new method of weaving to the people of the emirate totaling about 1,056,926?

Furthermore, there was also the establishment of craft school in the metropolis, which was seen by the Colonialists as a step forward in the progress of Industrial Education in Katsina. The school was opened in May 1928 by the Emir in the presence

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Intervierw with Mal. Gambo F/Bugu, 7th June 2007

of District Officer, other Europeans, District Head and town people.[99] The staff consisted of 10 instructors with 59 pupils as follows:

Carpenters	-	23
Blacksmith	-	12
Leather workers	-	6
Masons	-	5
Motor drivers	-	9
Sawyers (in bush)	-	4
Total	=	**59**[100]

On completion of the course, leather workers went to practice on their own, while carpenters and masons became employees of the Native Administration.[101] It is evident that the school was not established to boost economic activities in Katsina Emirate, but to train people to serve and support the colonial machinery.

Similarly, trading activities took new dimension during the colonial period. A new form of trade developed based on imported manufactured goods such as textile goods, scrap iron, leather goods, cigarette e.t.c., and the export of cash crops, that is ground nut and cotton. Coupled with the fact that, the British introduced custom duty at the rate of 13% on all goods going in or out of the Katsina emirate.This had negative consequences which will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[99] NNAK KATPROF 1512, Half Yearly Report June 1928.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

4.5 Conclusion

Colonialism is a system of domination and exploitation of human and material resources of an area. It is a system that is based on continued exploitation of resources of a colony for the development of the metropole. Such exploitation was only feasible with the establishment of a colonial economy. That is when capitalist values of exploitation of human and material resources are brought to bear on the populace, thereby distorting and destroying pre-colonial economic and social formations in the society.

In Katsina Emirate and metropolis in particular, the British promulgated policies and ordinances which subordinated the pre-colonial economy to the capitalist system, thereby employing measures to which resources of the area were milked by capitalist interest. This was done after distorting the pre-colonial economy, thereby transforming it into export oriented economy, based on production of economic crops needed by the capitalist interest. Even the colonial schools and hospitals established were few in number compared to the teeming population of the emirate and were only established to ensure supply of staff to the colonial machinery, for the survival of the colonial state.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL RULE ON THE ECONOMY OF KATSINA METROPOLIS

5.0 Introduction

The conquest of Katsina by the British led to the incorporation of pre-colonial economy of the area into capitalist system. The resultant effect was the deterioration and underdevelopment of the state and economy of the area. In fact, there developed a dialectical relationship which saw the development of Europe, on the other hand led to stagnation and underdevelopment of Katsina Metropolis. Thereby, affected and altered the political, economic and social spheres.

This chapter sets to analyse the effects and impact of British Colonialism in changing and transforming the state and the economy of Katsina Metropolis. Politically, it resulted in loss of sovereignty; economically, the nature of land tenure, food production and industry was changed, as the economy was tailored to serve capitalists interest, to the detriment of the local economy. Consequently, that resulted in rural poverty and impoverishment the people as well as the underdevelopment of the society generally.

5.1 *Political Changes*

5.1.1 Loss of Sovereignty

There are many works on British occupation and domination of Northern Nigeria; some of the works end up discussing colonial policies without highlighting the impact of such policies on the people of the emirates.[1] British rule represented a system whereby by indigenous officials such as the emir, district and village heads were incorporated into a wider political system teleguided by European administrative, judicial and technical ideas and values; in the name of indirect rule.[2] All policies and ordinances were promulgated for the survival of colonial state which operated based on European norms and values to the detriment of indigenous values. Indirect rule therefore depended on the content of which indigenous authorities were assigned tasks by the British officials. Therefore, the idea of indirect rule was a fallacy.

In fact, the occupation of the Katsina Metropolis signaled loss of sovereignty of the area, authority was therefore no longer vested with the emir but the High Commissioner. The power of the emir under British rule was weakened, what remained was a skeleton of its former self.[3] Thus the power of the Emir was

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[1] R.W. Hull, *The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate, Northern Nigeria 1887-1944*, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Columbia University 1968; R. Heussler, *The British in Northern Nigeria.*.

[2] Alvin Magid, *British Rule and Indigenous Organisation in Nigeria: A Case Study in Normative Institute Change, Journal of African History Vol. IX, NO.2, 1918*, p.299.

[3] Peter K. Tibenderana, *The Role of British Administration in the Appointment of Emirs of Northern Nigeria, 1901-1931: The Case of Sokoto Province, Journal of African History Vol.28, no.2 1987, p.23.*

controlled by the British who were in charge of all policies and administration of the emirate as a whole. In theory powers were vested in the emir but in practice he was checked and propelled by the British officers, who demonstrated that they were in control.[4]

For effective implementation of colonial policies The British appointed loyal rulers, as such Durbi Dikko was appointed as the emir of Katsina on Palmer's recommendation, in 1906. The appointment was synonymous with the institutionalization of native treasury system in Katsina. Heussler argued:

> The Emir, who had been appointed by Palmer, suggested to the young officer that a division be made between tax proceeds kept by himself and what was wanted by the Government, and that the British officer help the Emir in budgeting the local portion.[5]

Thus the appointment of Durbi Dikko as emir of Katsina fulfilled the wish of Palmer who had wanted to be in control of affairs in Katsina. Palmer later wrote that "I just did it."[6] Controlling the finances of the emirates was a top agenda of the British. After all the appointment of Dikko to say the least of it was looked with great doubt and apprehension, because he was not from the ruling dynasty.[7] Therefore the emir had to do everything humanly possible to 'appease' Palmer who put him into office. In fact, Emir Dikko had to protect his office because he

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[4] I bid.

[5] H. Heussler op.cit, p.40.

[6] Ibid.

[7] NNAK SNP 17/K.2076, *History of Katsina H.R. Palmer.*

saw what happened to Emir Abubakar and Yero. There is a proverb in Hausa *Idan ka ga gemun danuwanka ya kama da wuta, shafa wa naka ruwa* meaning: "when you see the beard of your brother burning rub water on yours.'

To the British, the appointment of Durbi Dikko as emir of Katsina marked a period of prosperity, similar to those witnessed in the 17th century Katsina.[8] The British saw his appointment as a blessing to the people, because it brought "happiness, tranquility and prosperity".[9] It should be noted that the friction that occurred in Katsina with the appointment of the new emir (Dikko) was obvious to the British, thus Palmer reported "to some his appointment was looked at with, to say the least of it, grave doubt and apprehension, owing to his not being a son of the ruling families".[10]

Palmer requested Emir Dikko to provide a budget for the expenditure of 50% share of N.A revenue and to convert his staff into salaried officials.[11] In 1908 the first colonial Native Authority Treasury in Northern Nigeria was institutionalized in Katsina.[12] The emir and his staff became under the payroll of the British, and were paid salary annually. The salary of the staff per annum was as follows:

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[8] NNAK SNP 17/K.2076 – History of Katsina *op.cit.*

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Asma'u G. Sa'eed, *op.cit*, p.147.

[12] Ibid.

Emir	-	£4000
Wazir	-	£800
Kaura	-	£720
Galadima	-	£720
Durbi	-	£660
Yandaka	-	£660
Kankia	-	£660
Maska	-	£600
Dambo	-	£600
Musawa	-	£`600[13]

This indeed was a loss of sovereignty, because in the pre-colonial period the emir had all the wealth accrued from taxation at his disposal, to do as he wished. This was a reversal of former trends in the emirate. Also, in the pre-colonial period, the emir was answerable to no one except the Caliph, leader of the Sokoto Caliphate. Thus in the colonial period, the Caliph himself ceased to exist as the political, administrative and judicial head of the Caliphate.[14] In fact, Sokoto was administered as an emirate with the Caliph as the head, but only in theory because he was placed directly under the control of a Resident.[15] He could be deposed any time because he was appointed by the High Commissioner. This was a tacit attempt of reducing the prestige of the Caliph; his position was reduced to that of an emir. He was not referred to as emir, but was given the honour of being referred to as Sultan. That notwithstanding, the Caliph continued to enjoy respect

[13] NNAK SNP 7/2, 0204/Katsina Emirate

[14] A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *The Principle of Native Administration in Nigeria*, op.cit, pp.43-45.

[15] M.M. Tukur, *Imposition of Colonial Rule, op.cit*, p.224.

(spiritual) among the aristocracy of Northern Nigeria.[16] The position of Sarkin Musulmi (Sultan) was upheld as the most senior of all the emirs in Northern Nigeria, during the colonial period and even after.[17]

Also, the district head of Magajin Gari (Katsina metropolis) and the official who assisted him were put on salary, and were paid on a monthly basis.[18] The officials were paid monthly because they were not expected to use part of the tax paid to meet their needs. That depict that they were employers of the British which signaled loss of sovereignty; due to the fact that in the pre-colonial period district head and his official after collecting taxes retained part of it for themselves and took the remainder to the emir.

The table below shows the salary of district head of magajin Gari and his assistants:

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[16] Ibid.

[17] A.D. Yahaya, "*Traditional Leadership and Institutions: The Colonial Transformation of the Emirate System inNorthern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation*, op.cit, p.230.

[18] NNAK KATPROF 1/1/17, Magajin Gari

A TABLE SHOWING SALARY OF NATIVE AUTHORITY OFFICIALS IN MAGAJIN GARI DISTRICT (KATSINA METROPOLIS)

OFFICIAL	SALARY	PER ANNUM
Magajin Gari	£40	£480
Ward Head of K/Kaura	£1	£12
Ward Head Cikin Gida	£2	£24
Ward Head Sararin Kuka	£2	£24
Ward of Gambarawa	£0.15	£9
Ward Head of Sararin Tsako	£1	£12
Ward Head of Tudu	£1	£12
Ward Head of 'Yan Kyaure	£o.15	£9
Ward Head of Masanawa	£1	£12
Ward Head of Kofar Yandaka	£ 1	£12
Ward Head of Gafai	£0.10	£6
Ward of Tsofuwar Kasuwa	£1	£12
Ward Head of Kofar Marusa	£1	£12
Ward Head of K/Samri	£1	£12
Village Head of Rafukka	£1	£12
Village Head of Shinkafi	£2	£24
Village Head of Kayauki	£2	£24
Village Head of Kutubi	£2	£24
Village Head of Ajiwa	£ 2	£ 24
Village Head of Y/ Rakumma	£0.10	£6[19]

[19] NNAK KATPROF 1/1/17, Magajin Gari

The British ensured that Magajin Gari went on tour to villages of the district in order to ensure that colonial policies were implemented.[20] In fact, the Magajin Gari was compelled to write a report to the Resident containing information on the date and time he visited each village and the approach he adopted in ensuring that people obeyed colonial policies.[21] This shows that the Magajin Gari was not the head of the district as was indicated on paper; rather he was answerable to the Emir who was in turn answerable to the Resident. .

It should be noted that, colonial domination of Katsina indeed resulted in loss of sovereignty. The Magajin Gari had no power of spending money; he had to depend on the Resident for instruction. Prior to the Colonial conquest, a district head could spend his revenues as he pleased without consulting any one. The only thing was that, a district head remitted part of the taxes collected to the Emir.During the colonial period, Magajin Gari had to depend on the British Officers for 'guidance' and instructions in the conduct of affairs of the district.

This is so because at Zungeru, Lugard made the point that the authority of the Resident was above that of district heads and Emirs, thus the district heads and the Emirs were under the authority of the colonial government.[22] Though the

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[20] NNAK KATNA W.765, Magajin Gari District Notes

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] H.R. Heussler, op.cit, p.29.

proclamation stated thus "it is not the intention of the Governor to strip you of all authority, but on the contrary he wishes to rule together with you..." That sounds theoretical than practical because emirs and district heads obeyed the Residents in all matters for 'good governance.' This could be seen in the way the appointment of Magajin Gari was not done by the Emir, but the Resident who was empowered under section of Native Revenue Ordinance.[23] However, the selection was done in 'consultation' with the Emir. In most instances, the appointment and dismissal of district heads was exclusively reserved to the Resident, the Emir was rarely consulted.

In fact, Magajin Gari had no say in matters of revenue and expenditure of the district. Revenue was accrued through taxation, payment of market dues, etc. A proportion of the revenue was assigned, half of the revenue as government share and for investment abroad while the remainder served as recurrent expenditure of Native Treasury. The Native Authority share was spent only subject to the approval of the Resident and the Governor of Northern Provinces. In 1923, the sum of £77073 was derived from taxation in Katsina emirate including our area of study, out of which part was given to the Native Authority. The following provides information on the Native Treasury of Katsina in December 1923:

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A TABLE SHOWING REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF KATSINA EMIRATE

Cash in Native Treasury	-	£6,336.8.0
Current Account Bank of British West Africa	-	£60,003.18.5
Fixed Deposit with Kano Banks	-	£60,000.0.0
Total Working Balance	-	**£72,340.6.5**
Total Working Balance	-	£72,340.6.5
Invested reserve	-	£24,887.0.0
On Deposit with the Government	-	£28,700.0.0
Total	-	**£125,927.6.5**

The British went to the extent of barring the Magajin Gari from controlling the resources of the emirate that was why they appointed Matawalle as head of the Native Treasury. Counterfoil receipts were provided for all payments in order to ensure that money spent was accounted for to the Resident, to ensure efficient administration. Therefore the Magajin Gari had no power to spend the revenue of the district as the head of the sub-unit of the Native Authority, which means that he had to secure the approval of the Resident in order to embark on any project such as construction of market stalls.

Similarly, policies as regards to the administration of Katsina Metropolis were made by the British, Magajin Gari who was the head of the district only implement them. In fact the district head was appointed to obey and implement British laws and policies, thus signifying that he had lost the right to levy taxes

and the right of legislation.[24] The British portrayed the system of administration put in place as Anglo-African Union, a partnership government between Africans and the British. What is clear is, the system of administration set up by the British was guided by policies and objectives that promote the interest of the colonial state.

Margery Perham argued that the position of Chiefs was 'unaltered' during the colonial period, so that they will have legitimacy in the eyes of the *talakawa* (commoners). That was why all appointments were made in the name of the Emir to legitimize his rule.

Perham further argued that:

> It was as if the institution of the chieftain was a hollow stature, out of which the real traditional content of native power was almost imperceptibly drained away. While the white ruler was equally unostentatiously pouring his power in substitution, the outer shell of the institution looking the same while its outer shell was equally changing...[25]

It should be noted that, all laws and ordinances were made by the British; the only function of the Magajin Gari was implementation of such policies. The policies made reflected the 'superiority' of British values and ideas over and above the traditional system. Thus the policies were made not in the interest of good governance, but exploitation of human and material resources of the area for the development of the metropole.

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[24] M. Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria*, op.cit, p.116.

[25] Perham, Lugard: The Years of Authority, *op.cit, p.152.*

The Magajin Gari was not in charge of affairs of his district; he received orders from the colonial officers ranging from the Divisional officer and the Resident, even if he was older than they were. This shows that, the emirate system was not retained and utilized by the British during the colonial period as was argued by the some writers.

In fact, the loss of sovereignty of the Magajin Gari affected the growth and development of the economy. This was because he was not in a position to make policies as regards the economy, he only implemented such policies. And British policies did not in any way protect the interest of the local economy; rather they were made to protect colonial interest in our area of study.

5.2 Economic Changes

5.2.1 Land Tenure

The major motive of colonial conquest was the incorporation of the economy of a colony into the capitalist system, thereby transforming the area into cash crop producing centre and market for the finished goods of capitalists industries in order to promote capitalism. That was why policies and laws made in the area reflected that reality..

Even if the conquest of Nigeria is seen based on 'dual mandate', whereby capitalist and developing countries enter into symbiotic relations of mutual benefits, the capitalist countries had the upper hand and benefitted most in such relations. In fact, the major motive of colonialism was not mutual relations, but the ability of the colonial powers to turn their colonies into source of raw materials for their industries. At the eve of conquest of Nigeria area, British industries were in crises due to short supply of cotton from America,[26] that situation motivated the colonial government to annex the Nigerian area and turned it into a source of raw materials, in order to prevent its industries from collapsing, because export of textile materials formed an important source of revenue to the British government.[27]

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[26] M. Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, London, 1983, p.155.

[27] Hogendern, op.cit, p.8

During the colonial period, the British nationalized land, which deprived the aristocracy the right of control and vested it with the state. This resulted in breaking up of large land holdings and consequently led to individual land holding.[28] The nationalization of land was not done in the interest of the peasantry rather; the British took control of land and could use it for any purpose. That was why the peasants were meant to produce crops needed by the British industries on their farms.

Therefore, since the British have taken over the control of land, they used it as they pleased. Thereby bring to an end the period people were allowed to acquire lands freely and even made expansions so far they did not encroach on the farm of another person.In the colonial period land was commoditised as was the case with labour. In fact, it was not only the peasants that were denied access to the land, even Native Authority(N.A) officials were also denied. In 1945 the *wakilai* of Katsina metropolis complained to the emir that they did a lot of work for the N.A but were not duely paid; neither did they have access to the land, as their farmlands were inherited from their parents.[29] That means that the people had no access to the land as it was sold to the highest bidder and certificate of occupancy issued.

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[29] NNAK KATNA 250, Magajin Gari District Head Meeting

The British had access to the land, therefore they used great part of it in Katsina metropolis to build quarters in the Government Reserve Areas (G.R.A) using forced labour, recreational centres such as tennis court and Golf course. These areas were made exclusive rights of the Europeans, thus people were not allowed in.[30]

In fact, the British went to the extent of allocating land to trading companies in Katsina Metropolis. These companies engage in buying of cash crops in our area. They were agents of exploitation of the colonial government.

The table below shows plots of land allocated to the companies in Katsina metropolis in 1935-36:

A Table Showing Plots of Land Allocated to Companies in Katsina metropolis

Name of Co.	Certificate of occupancy No.	Plot No.
U.A.C	1696	5
L. Ambrosin	1605	7
L. &K.T.C	1610	8
C.F.A.O	1546	9
G. Gottschalck	1704	10
Abed Brothers	2281	11
G.B. Ollivant	2310	12
P.P.Saliba	2438	19 & 20

Source: NNAK KATPROF 1/1/17, Magajin Gari

[30] NNAK KATNA 179, Katsina Town and Station Layout.

Also, the British confiscated farm lands in Kofar Sauri and Yar'adua in Katsina metropolis, which they later sold out to people in order to establish a layout.[31] People who wanted to build houses in the areas had to apply for permission to take up plots at Magajin Gari's office. After which a Surveyor ensured that the lands were in the right order before payment commenced. [32]It was after the payment that the farmland owners were compensated. In fact, the building earth was brought in from areas approved by the colonial government.[33]Thus, land became an exclusive reserve of the colonial government as against the pre-colonial period when land was owned by the community held in trust by the leaders

5.2.2 Food Production

In the pre-colonial period food crops such as guinea corn and millet were staple crops of the people of Katsina produced to meet the needs of the family while surplus was exchanged with other goods. In fact, large quantity of food crops were brought into Katsina metropolis from the surrounding villages of Ajiwa, Kabakawa and Tsagero, while the metropolis developed as an industrial centre producing goods to meet the needs of the population while the surplus

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

formed articles of trade, to near and distant places. On the other hand ground nut, cotton and pepper were the cash crops produced in the area.

With the occupation of Katsina Metropolis, the British wanted to turn the area into source of raw materials for its industries that was why policies as regards to taxation, land and labour were made in order to realize their objective[34].In fact, taxation was imposed on all adult males in the metropolis as against tax imposition on households in the colonial period. In fact, the rate of land tax imposed varied from one individual to another, that was £2/6 to £7, making the whole situation burdensome. In fact, *wakilai and magadai* of Katsina metropolis were given targets on the amount of tax they were expected to collect from peasants.[35] Some people were compelled to pay the rate imposed on them, while others as was the case with Safiya had to plead for decrease in rate imposed on her sons in Kurtufa , Katsina Metropolis.[36] In order to acquire the taxes people had to resolve to cash crops production. Therefore, cash crop production was given great prominence over and above food production in Katsina metropolis. This led to food shortages in the area and the surrounding villages, as the people became pre-occupied with cash crop production. The nature of production remained the same as it was during the pre-colonial period. That was why Walter Rodney stated that

[34] Colonial policies have been discussed in Chapter four of this work.

[35] NNAK KATNA W.75, General Tax Magajin Gari District.

[36] NNAK KATNA W.765, Magajin Gari District Notes.

"the African peasant went into colonialism with a hoe and came out of it with a hoe."[37]

The peasants therefore became pre-occupied with cash crop production but unfortunately though output increased annually, the price did not. Between 1915 and 1916, 121 bales of cotton were exported from the emirate at the price of £1.75 per lb. By 1939, to 1940 the export had increased to 50,000 bales but the price offered to the peasants was about £1.2 to £1.4 per lb.[38] In a period of three decades, production increased by more than 200%, yet the peasants were paid lower prices than they were paid before. The peasantry therefore did not benefit from their labour, rather colonial companies turned out to be the beneficiaries. This shows the level which the producers were exploited by the colonial companies. In fact, the essence of Colonialism was maximum exploitation of human and material resources of the area for the development of Europe.

Similarly, the export of groundnut from the emirate increased from 2,000 tons in 1912, to a peak of 428,000 tons by 1954.[39] The increase in production was accompanied by corresponding decrease in the price offered for ground nut.The low prices offered to the peasants made them to seek for markets elsewhere. Owing to higher prices paid for cotton in French territories a large amount was carried there from the south of Katsina Division, and this made British Cotton

[37] W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, op.cit*, p.
[38] NNAK KATPROF 3190 vol.2, *Agricultural Department Report 1952*.
[39] Ibid.

Growing Association (BCGA) to lose the markets.[40] Also, the peasants preferred to take their cotton to Maradi in French territory because they were offered silver currency, as against paper currency that was in circulation in British territories. [41]

In order to solve the problem of sale of cotton in French territories, the British Colonialists bought considerable quantity of cotton from the producers on behalf of the BCGA, for the purpose of securing cotton buying centres in Katsina Division.[42] The British did all they could to secure cotton from the farmers of Katsina at prices below international price. In fact, the farmers were compelled to grow cotton to ensure the continued supply of cotton to British industries, for the survival of capitalism. Thus, Freud argued:

> In a capitalist society, most production occurs for the purpose of exchange and people must produce surplus value to obtain the necessities of life.[43]

The concentration on cash crops production to the neglect of food production resulted into: food shortages which consequently led to hunger and starvation, development of cash crop and export oriented economy.

Food shortage was widespread in the colonial period, more importantly in 1911 when taki assessment was introduced in Katsina Metropolis which was unfavourable to the peasants. The 'taki' assessment was a system of measuring

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[40] NNAK KATPROF 1568, *Katsina Division Half Yearly Report 1920.*

[41] Ibid

[42] Ibid.

[43] Bill Freud, op.cit, p.8.

farmlands which led to increase in revenue to the government. In Katsina Metropolis, the introduction of *taki* assessment made peasants to reduce land under cultivation.[44] Between 1913 and 1917, it was reported that the peasants reduced the number of acreage under cultivation in Katsina Metropolis.

A TABLE SHOWING DECREASE IN LAND ACREAGE IN MAGAJIN GARI DISTRICT (KATSINA METROPOLIS)

District	Cultivated Area In Acres 1913	Cultivated Area in Acres In 1917	% Increase Or Decrease	Population Increase or Decrease
Magajin Gari (Katsina metropolis)	10,466	9,796	-8.0	No data

Source: M. Watts, Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria, London, 1983.

It is significant to note, apart from decrease in land acreage cultivated by peasants of Katsina, in 1913 large hectres of land was brought under the cultivation of groundnut; unfortunately there was poor yield which led to food shortages in 1914. This led to drifting of people from the French territory into Katsina, in search of food. The food shortages of 1914 were so severe to the extent that people had to fall back on meat which was readily available, which poisoned them and made them to fall ill.[45] The food shortages became severe due to the fact that domestic reserve was consumed or hoarded by grain merchants, in

[44] NNAK KATPROF 1/1 1216, *Katsina Division Quarterly Report 1913.*
[45] M. Watts, op,cit p.288.

anticipation of high prices. Millet and sorghum disappeared completely from the market place, which made it difficult for majority of the people to acquire food.[46] In northern Katsina (KatsinaMetropolis area) 4,000 died from the famine of 1914, many of them fled from French territory where the famine was worst.[47] Thousands of cattles and other livestock perished and many others were slaughtered,[48] people were moving around with only skin covering their bones. August 1914 was the peak of the hunger, and was even referred to as fasting period due to shortage of food to the population.[49]

Colonial government turned to 'salvage' the situation by importing rice into Katsina Metropolis, but that attempt almost failed, because it arrived late when the crises were almost over.[50] Even if such relief came in the middle of the crises it would have produced little result, because money was a means of purchasing such food, and was virtually absent in the hands of the people. In fact many deaths occurred due to consumption of unriped millet which caused dysentery and consequently death.[51]

The famine resulted in economic and social dislocation of the people, it made small holders to engage in the production of commodities that could earn them better living. This further increased cash crop production at the neglect of

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Polly Hill; *Rural Hausa op.cit, p.*289.
[48] M. Watts, op.et, p.284.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.

food crops.[52] In Katsina metropolis, groundnut was one of the major cash crops produced which provided livelihood to the people.

Tons of ground nut were produced in Magajin Gari district as indicated in the table below:

A TABLE SHOWING QUANTITY OF GROUND NUT PRODUCED IN MAGAJIN GARI DISTRICT (KATSINA METROPOLIS)

YEAR	QUANTITY
1945	36,201 tons
1946	33,256 tons
1947	31,149 tons[53]

From the table above we can see that ground nut was produced in large quantity in the Magajin Gari district, in comparison with production in the whole of Katsina emirate which was at the peak of 428,000 tons by 1954.[54]

An epithet (Kirari) was coined by the people of Katsina metropolis in order to express their opinion, on the situation they found themselves:

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[52] *Ibid.*

[53] NNAK KATNA W.235,Ground nut Purchase

[54] NNAK KATPROF 3190 vol.2, *Agricultural Department Report 1952.*

Gyada yar Sarki, gyada

Gyada ta Magajin Gari
Ko Kuturu ya yi gyada
A sawo masa jaki ya hau
Ya san ya yi gyada
Ko makaho ya yi gyada
A sawo masa sanda ya ja
A sawo masa riga ya sa
Ya san ya yi gyada[55]

Groundnut worthy of kings,
delight of the Prince.
Even the leper cultivated groundnut,
a donkey should be bought for him,
from his hard earned money.
Even the blind cultivate groundnut,
a stick should be bought for him,
a shirt should be bought for him,
from his hard earned money.

This does not mean that famine occurred only during the colonial period, famine is not new in Hausaland. In 1807 hunger struck Katsina following the jihad wars that ensued, in the period coupled with no rain and locust epidemic which combined and resulted in famine.[56] In fact food shortages were frequent in Katsina due to irregular rains in one year out of five.[57] It should be clear that drought is a climatic issue while famine is a social crisis.

[55] Interview with Malama Umma and Binta, Masakar Yawa, Bambadawa Katsina, June 2007.
[56] Watts, op.cit pp.99-103.
[57] Ibid.

What colonialism did was it aided and abetted the occurrences of social crises in Katsina and the Northern Province generally. In fact, colonial policies such as taxation, cash crops production and retrogression of industry combined with climatic conditions, to result in periodic famines. In 1926 there was crop failure, making the price of the available crop to go up, and eventually the price refused to come down after harvest. In the same year, the rainfall was recorded at 18.17 inches in Katsina town, the rain only became stable in the month of July, which means growth of guinea corn and millet was retarded, leading to food shortages.[58] Due to food shortages people had to rely on wild trees and shrubs such as African fan palm *giginya* (Barassus athiopum), *cediya* (Ficus thonwiyi), black plum *dumya* (vitex) for sustenance.[59] The absence of nutritious food in 1926 resulted in increased death rate in Katsina metropolis. The table below provides information on the population increase and decrease in Katsina metropolis between 1926 and 1927:

[58] Ibid
[59] Ibid

A TABLE SHOWING INCREASE IN BIRTH AND DEATH RATE IN KATSINA METROPOLIS (MAGAJIN GARI DISTRICT)

Year	Population	Birth rate Per 1000	Death rate Per 1000
1926	14,682	17.8	22.9
1927	15,000	28.13	26.17

Source: NNAK KATPROF 1/12098, Demographic Statistics

In 1927, Northern Regional government embarked on the policy of providing food to areas of acute food shortage, including Katsina Metropolis. Rice was the major item distributed at the price of one pound per person per day.[60] Also, in order to eradicate famine in the whole of Hausaland, the colonial government organised a conference of Emirs in 1930, and sought for the advice of emirs on the issue. Emir of Katsina advocated for central granaries based on voluntary zakkat; while emir of Gwandu's view was on household voluntary contribution.[61] The actual problem was not tackled. Those views expressed by the colonial government will only end in providing temporary measures.

The actual problem faced by agriculture in the colonial period was, the government put little or no effort in improving production techniques. In fact, the method of production remained as it was in the pre-colonial period. The only 'innovation' on agriculture was the introduction of mixed farming in Katsina. By

[60] Ibid
[61] Ibid

1931 mixed farming has already been introduced in Katsina Metropolis. The programme entailed the selection of some individuals who were given a loan of pair of cattle at the rate of £10 per pair. The farmers were expected to pay £6 in the first year, while balancing off £4 subsequently. The acreage cultivated by each was a maximum of 12 acres per adult man.[62] The farmers were therefore expected to keep their cattle on the farms as a means of securing manure and conserving the soil nutrients. The programme became a farce, because, due to poverty some of the farmers ended up selling the pair of oxen at the price below the rate they were given by the Native Authority. In 1939, 50 village heads of Katsina emirate (Magajin Gari district inclusive) were reported to have sold off cattle they benefitted from the mixed farming.[63] In order to solve the problem of selling off of cows, Katsina Native Authority began to make marks on the animals so that they could be conspicuous in the market.

The mixed farming technique was benefitted by few individuals, who had the means to operate such system.In fact, the beneficiaries of the programme were mostly the Native Authority officials. [64]The technique was tedious, and time consuming, therefore was not for the 'poor' people.[65] In fact, mixed farmers were made to pay *jangali* (cattle tax) and tax on crops produced, thus they ended up

[62] NNA KATPROF 1/1 239 vol.II, Agricultural Extention Work, 1934-48.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid

[65] Ibid.

paying double taxes, which was a disadvantage to the beneficiary. Thus they ended not benefiting much from the fruit of their labour. The programme was only benefitted by some section of the population; and there was no improvement on agricultural techniques. In Katsina Metropolis (Magajin Gari district) 40 people were said to have benefited from the programme in the whole district.[66] The figure provided for Katsina Metropolis is not far from the truth, as in 1934, thirty-eight farmers took up mixed farming making the total of seventy-one in Katsina Emirate.[67]

The impact of the mixed farming was that, it was a programme that was benefitted by some section of the population, who were few in number to the neglect of the majority of the people. Also, the beneficiaries were made to grow American staple cotton and grow no crop apart from it. This led to increased cotton supply to the British textile industries at the detriment of local textile industries. Also, this was accompanied with decrease in food production which led to impoverishment and starvation of the people

The peasants were aware of the fact that, colonial stringent policies were primarily the cause of the social crises in Katsina. The economic policies between 1942 and 1943 led to food shortages, which was seen by the masses as artificial. In 1942 there was the introduction of grain acquisition scheme, which was a war time

[66] Interview with Hajia Umma Tafkin Kura, 19th June 2007.

[67] NNAK KATPROF 1/2960, Agricultural Policy Katsina Province

policy, during which Emir Dikko was made to appropriate grains in large quantity. Incidentally, between 1942 and 1943 there occurred a famine, attributed to the grain appropriation and low rainfall. In Katsina Metropolis, the rainfall was 25.50 inches in 1942, which was below average of 29.90 inches, recorded between 1936 and 1946.[68] Shortage of rainfall means low food production which was compounded by the colonial policies.

The famine of 1942-43 in Katsina was given different names: *Yunwar Dikko, Yar balange yunwar 'yan birni, Mai dan sanko ta bi da maza.* There was little or no food to the majority of the population during the famine, therefore *dorowa* and small quantity of millet was used to prepare *kunu* (drink), in some instances hubs of millet was used with natron to prepare *kunu*. Even *ruwan dawo* (remains of fura) served as food in the absence of millet and guinea corn. The history of famine was preserved in a song:

Mai dan Sanko.
Ta bi da maza
Ba ka shuka gyada ba
Ka sha wahala[69]

Mai dan sanko
Has dealt with men
Whoever did not produce groundnut is bound to suffer.

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[68] NNAK KATPROF, 3818, *Katsina Province General Information 1947-49.*
[69] Interview with Malama Umma and Binta Masakar Yawa Bambadawa Katsina, 13th June 2007.

The famine made people to flee from their houses and went to the mines, but were eventually faced with low wages and diseases.[70] Each labourer was given eight lbs of grain per week, even the food was in short supply, and thus the problem of the fleeing labourers was not solved.[71] The famine was indeed severe for people from Katsina Metropolis had to run to the mines, though working at the mines was what the people detested most. Katsina labourers constituted the highest number that escaped from the mines field. In 1942 a total of 2,000 labourers were sent from Katsina Emirate to the mines, but only 1700 ended up working, making the number of workers at 12.1%.[72] In 1943, desertion was said to have reduced at the mines due to offer from colonial government of 4s, to whoever finished his work at the mines.[73] Desertion of Katsina people from the mines only reduced in 1943 due to famine that ravaged the metropolis in that year. In fact it was the severity of the famine that made people to leave Katsina on their own accord in order to escape from starvation. Therefore the bonus only 'alleviated' the condition of Katsina labourers at the mines. President Hunter Shaw argued:

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[70] M. Watts *Silent Violence op.cit, p.327*
[71] Ibid.

[72] Freund, *Capital and Labour, op.cit*, p.143.

[73] Ibid.

> The year 1943 will live long in the memory of people of Katsina as a period of toil and tears... The price of corn rose to abnormal heights and entire families left in search of food.[74]

When the British conquered Katsina one of the reports they got was on the nature of climatic condition in the area, which was low rain fall in one year out of five. But nothing was done to alleviate the situation; they even compounded the problem by imposing stringent policies on the people, thus making life unbearable to the general population of Katsina.

Also, the production of cash crops to the neglect of food crops led to the development of cash crop and export oriented economy. Ground nut and cotton were the raw materials needed by British industries; therefore these crops became the major food crops produced in our area mainly for export. This means that, they were not utilized as raw materials by local industries. Colonialism disarticulated the economy of Katsina, whereby agriculture was not in any way supplying raw materials to the industry, rather what developed was a cash crop economy which promoted the needs of not the local but foreign economy.

[74] NNAK KATPROF 1/1 3333, *Katsina Division Annual Report 1943.*

5.2.3 Industrial Production`

Up to 1903, the economy of Katsina was articulated and characterised by specialisation in the production of goods and services. Agriculture provided the necessary raw materials for the industrial sector of Katsina. Textile, dyeing, tanning and leather works were the major industries in pre-colonial Katsina. Output from the industries were used locally and and the surplus products were traded in near and distant places such as Daura, Kano, Borno and Azbin.

The British in a bid to turn the area into source of raw materials for their industries and market for their finished goods introduced policies which affected industrial production in our area of study and consequently led to the decline of such industries.

The production of local cotton (*kada yar karfi*) a suitable raw material for local industries was banned in our area of study, and consequently American staple cotton which was suitable for European textile industries was introduced. [75]This led to decrease in the production of local cotton. Consequently, the decrease in the production of local cotton made the price of the available raw material expensive, thus could not support the local textile industries. In the long run the price of locally manufactured goods became expensive, which made European manufactured goods to have ready markets in the territory. When production of

[75] Interview with Hajia Umma Tafkin kura 19th june, 2007.

locally produced textile became unprofitable to the producers, it was clear to them that the industry was at a verge of collapse. Thus some of the craftsmen abandoned textile production and took up to cotton and ground nut production to acquire money to meet their daily needs and pay their taxes.

In 1924 on industrial tax on *'taki* basis', was introduced, calculated at 3/- (6,000 cowries) to 1/- (1,400 cowries) on each man according to industries they work in.[76] The imposition of this tax made the end products to become expensive. This is so because in economic production the burden of taxation is shifted to the consumers.Thus, consumers abandoned the local textile goods and went for cheaper European goods. Consequently, there was reduction in the quantity of the goods produced. Eventually the industry staggered to survive but the competition was high, therefore it collapsed.

Therefore, this enabled European cheap manufactures to saturate the market and displace the local products from the markets. The consumers went for the cheaper products, based on scale of preference. This was the genesis why production in local textile industries collapsed. This situation was obvious to the Colonialists, thus Palmer argued:

[76] NNAK KATPROF 11/1213 – Katsina Division Report for March 1924.

> Up to 1903 cotton was grown in considerable quantities but owing to the advent of English and American made cloth both the crop and the industry have dwindled down.[77]

Textile industry died a natural death, leaving the teeming population of the metropolis jobless.[78] Indeed jobless because with the collapse of the textile industry some of the men folk took up the cultivation of cash crops in order to acquire money to meet their daily needs while it was the women that were severely hit by the development. The economy in turn was stagnant and retrogressive. Therefore Katsina like other areas in Nigeria became a dumping ground and market for European textile goods and cash crop producing centre for the supply of raw materials to the European industries.

Dyeing industry was important in the economy of Katsina in the beginning of colonial period. But due to the mass importation dye and British dyed clothes the local dyeing industry declined. The remnants of the dye pits have now become refuse dumping sites. Thus, the area has become a caricature of its former self. The quarters of Marinar Gangare and Kadabo in the metropolis now exist only in name, as dyeing is no longer practiced.

Similarly, the same fate befell the leather and tanning industries of Katsina. Hides and skins were no longer utilized by local industries in production, but

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[77] NNAK SNP 17/k.2076, *History of Katsina* H.R. Palmer.
[78] NNAK KATROROF 1/3344/S.1, Textile Centre Katsina.

exported as raw materials to overseas countries. Merchants from Katsina Metropolis became suppliers of hides and skin to Ambrozin the major dealer in such venture based in Kano. Tanned leather was no longer used for the production of shoes and bags as was the situation in the pre- colonial period. Rather, it was used on a small scale for the production of amulets to meet the needs of the people. Thus the leather industry of Katsina which produced goods for export to many areas crumbled.

Similarly, the banning of iron mining led shortage of pig iron used in the production of iron implements such as hoes, cutlasses, bows, arrows and spears. Consequently, smiths had to fall back on imported iron scraps for the production of iron goods. This served as a 'substitute' for iron smelting. The scrap iron happened to be expensive,[79] thus it was not within the reach of many iron workers, so they had to quit such venture. The production of iron goods was no longer profitable; production was centred on the manufacture of only hoes and cutlasses utilizing scrap iron as a basic raw material. In fact, innovation in the iron industry dwindled down. The idea of utilizing internal resources based on mining of ore and the production of pig iron was completely wiped out in the colonial period. Thus, this is a diversion from the pre-colonial period, whereby smiths were given all the necessary encouragement by the rulers due to the importance of iron industry in the manufacture of agricultural and war implements and war implements.

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[79] Interview with Mal Muntari Zagzagau near Bambadawa Katsina 10/6/2007.

Katsina had been a centre of production and exchange of surplus goods for centuries. Thus it has been known as a major centre of production. Textile goods, shoes, bags, caps (*hulunan kube*) were produced in Katsina for local needs, as well as forming articles of trade taken to areas such as Kano, Zaria, Borno, Senegal, Niger, Liberia and Morocco, in exchange for goods needed in Katsina area.[80] The economic production was a major factor that led to the greatness of Katsina Kingdom in the 18th century.

In the colonial period, policies were promulgated which affected economic production and led to the collapse of the economy. Consequently it resulted in rendering the greater population of the metropolis jobless; without any economic venture to fall back on. The resultant effect was devastating, because production became extinct in all terms. Hence the area was transformed into a centre and market for manufactured goods, in the interest of capitalism.

[80] Interview with Alh Umaru Tanko Makudawa

COMMERCE

In the colonial period commercial transaction was impeded, more importantly between one territory and another. The introduction of caravan tax amounting to 15% on locally produced goods was an impediment to the growth of commercial transaction. This resulted in the reduction of volume of trade, because the venture became no longer profitable; that directly affected local industries. In fact taxes were paid by traders in every emirate they passed by, before reaching their final destination. This eroded the kind of unity that existed among the emirates, which existed as compact units under the Sokoto Caliphate. British administration of emirates as distinct units was a similar situation that existed in the various kingdoms of Hausaland.[81]

The volume of trade between Katsina and other area reduced tremendously in the colonial period. In the first quarter of 1912 the custom duty realized in Katsina division was £1.7.6 as compared to £9.19.4 the previous year.[82] The reason why small amount was realized in 1907 was due to excessive custom duties imposed on goods coming into Katsina. Coupled with the shortage of grain in that year, traders who brought in salt from the French territory brought grain instead.[83]

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[81] M. M. Tukur, *Imposition of colonial Domination*, unpublished Ph.D thesis, *op.cit*, p.337.

[82] NNAK KATPROF 1907, *Katsina Division Quarterly Reports 1912*.

[83] NNAK KATPROF 1216, Quarterly Reports 1913

In 1913, the British acknowledged the fact that, trade between Tripoli and Katsina was almost extinct. The custom dues on Tripoli goods amounted to £1.6.1 in 1913, as against £27.18.11 the previous year. Also in 1912 custom dues on kolanut was £10 as against £7.10.0 in 1913.[84] This shows a decrease in revenue on the imported goods. Also, trade continued to depreciate in all goods, other than British manufactured goods which happened to be expensive. Textile goods and salt were the major articles brought by traders from Kano into Katsina; notwithstanding the high prices demanded for the goods, they found ready market in Katsina.[85] Probably large quantity of goods was imported into Katsina without being brought to the custom station; or it was possible that the trade actually declined.

Therefore the introduction of Caravan tax greatly weakened the northward Trans-Saharan Trade. Internal trade became dominant and it revolved around distribution and sales of cash crops. In the area around Katsina Metropolis, groundnut became the principal item of trade among the merchants. The government issued license to selected merchants to trade in groundnut. In Katsina, nobody was issued a license to purchase ground nut for the Colonial government. The government only gave license to people who were renowned businessmen for decades, and owned properties and capital to ensure steady

[84] NNAK KATPROF 1216 Quarterly Report 1913.

[85] NNAK KATPROF 1568, *Katsina Division Half Yearly Report 1920.*

supply of ground nut to the colonial companies. It should be noted that, this act shows that the Colonialists segregated among people in the administration of the territory. In Katsina metropolis there were renowned businessmen who had properties and capital to undertake in such ventures. In fact, they have been engaged in trading activities for decades. The Colonialists only selected people like Alhassan Dantata, Ibrahim Musa Gashash, Hassan Dan Badamasi, Miko Hamshaki of Kano that were given such license.[86] These men looked for middlemen to go to the villages and buy groundnut for them. People from Katsina metropolis went to Batsari, Dankama, Kaita, Mashi, Jibia, Gurbin Baure near Jibia, Bukarawa near Ruma, Safana, Dutsinma to buy groundnut; they conveyed it to Kano using motor vehicles and camels as means of transportation.[87]

The middlemen who engaged in buying and selling ground nut in the villages did so on smale and big scales. One of such middlemen was called *kwaram*, who bought goods using donkeys as means of transport and sold it in *tiyas* (measuring bowl), while *kwantaragi* had big capital and bought large quantity of the produce, then sold it in bulk to the ground nut dealers.[88] The ground nut was measured with scale, which a *kwantaragi* could buy 100 to 1000 tons depending on his

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[86] Interview with Alh Barmo Burkila, Gambarawa, 13th June, 2007.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

business capital. It was then transported to Kano for shipment abroad.[89] The price per tons of ground nut was not uniform in areas close and off the railway. In 1934 the price for groundnut was £7 per ton in areas close to railway, and £3.10/- to £5.10/- a ton in areas off the railway;[90] and by 1950 a ton of groundnut cost £27.

It should be noted that trade was dominated by trading companies that applied for trading plots in Katsina to engage in buying and selling of cash crops, mostly cotton. The Niger Company took a temporary trading plot at Katsina metropolis, while London and Kano Trading Company opened a branch in Katsina metropolis with the sole purpose of engaging in trade.[91] In 1934, the trading companies purchased cotton in Katsina Metropolis and other districts totaling 7,394,558 lbs compared with 5,300,873 lbs in 1933. The great increase occurred around the metropolis.[92] These companies were indeed agents of the British colonial exploitation of the colonies, working in the interest of the Colonial state.

Similarly, trade in hides and skin was dominated by Ambrosine who had Arab agents in Katsina Metropolis and Jibia, who secured the goods for them. In 1923, they purchased skin worth £7,120, with cash from the local treasury in

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[89] Ibid

[90] NNAKKATPROF 2/965, *Katsina Provincial Annual Report 1934.*

[91] NNAK KATPROF 1568, *Katsina Division Half Yearly Report 1920.*

[92] NNAK KATPROF 2/965 op.cit.

1923.[93] The activities of the merchant companies were central in controlling buying and selling of economic crops produced in the division and the emirate in particular.

In fact, the trading companies dominated buying and selling of goods in our area. Therefore individual who needed to engage in trading had to secure a permit before doing so. Failure to secure one warranted the wrath of the colonial government. Thus, people who bought goods from Kano to Katsina had to secure a permit before doing so. On arrival to Katsina the luggage was searched, to ensure conformity with standard. The luggage was opened at Gidan Mutum Daya (Kankia area in Katsina emirate) and searched, if found to have exceeded the limit, the person was jailed.[94] Goods bought from Kano were mostly wrappers and *zawati* (materials); which were then sold in the weekly markets of Katsina Metropolis, Ajiwa, Kayauki, and Yan Rakumma in Katsina Metropolis[95] These goods found ready market in Katsina despite the high prices charged on the products. Thus all trading activities were conducted only in the interest of colonial economy and to the detriment of the local economy.

Hence the British succeeded in obliterating all kinds of economic activities in Katsina other than profiting capitalist interest. They reduced

[93] NNAK KATPROF 1018, *Katsina Division Annual Report 1923*

[94] Group Interview with Mal Salisu Albaba 11th June 2007.

[95] Ibid.

Katsina into cash crop producing centre and market for the finished goods of European industries. In 1923 the Resident of Kano Province admitted that the only export trade in Katsina Division during the year was in cotton and skin and to a lesser degree hides and groundnut.[96] This shows that the economy of Katsina was transformed into appendage of capitalism which basically supplied raw materials for British industries, as well as market for its finished goods for the continued survival of capitalism.

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[96] NNAK KATPROF 1018, *Katsina Division Annual Report 1923.*

5.3 Conclusion

The underdeveloped nature of Katsina and Nigerian area generally as evident today was as a result of colonial experience, which was characterized by the exploitation of human and material resources of the area for the development of Western Europe. Up to today the impact of colonialism is visible in Katsina metropolis. In an attempt to understand the impact of Colonialism on the economy of Katsina Metropolis, we started by the study of the political economy of Katsina by 1850, in order to have a background knowledge of the political economy in the pre-colonial period. It was shown that our area of study was blessed with favourable conditions which led to the growth and development of the economy of the metropolis. The economy was based on agricultural and craft production, and the production was meant to meet the needs of members of the community while surplus produce formed articles of trade in near and distant places. The emirate administration controlled trade through officials assigned to regulate different occupations. It was noted that, the emirate rulers were concerned with the welfare of the people, and they allocated land to the people for agricultural production and animal grazing. They also provided security for the conduct of commercial activities in the emirate. In the pre-colonial period taxes were imposed on household, as against tax imposition on all adult males in the colonial period, thereby reducing the burden of taxes on the people.

During the colonial period, the rulers in a bid to serve colonial administration were turned to stooges who complied to the wishes and aspirations of the colonialists; coupled with the fact that they no longer cared about the well being of their people, and also used brutal and coercive measures in order to compel the peasants to submit to colonial domination. It was shown that, the view of emirate administration was preserved by the colonial administration in the name of indirect rule, was a fallacy. In fact the British Colonial officers established the frame work for the administration and always interfered in the running of Katsina Metropolis and the emirate. Also, policies on land, labour, taxation, agriculture and industry were formulated by the British colonial administration for implementation by the Native Authority. The Colonial administration even put the officials of the metropolis on salary as a way of controlling them.

The colonial government was able to exert more control on the people through the imposition of taxes in the metropolis. Also, taxation was a medium used in entrenching cash crop production in the Katsina metropolis, because the people had to pay taxes in European currency and the only way to secure the currency was through cash crop production or working as a wage labourer.

It should be noted that, the implementation of colonial policies led to the deterioration and underdevelopment of the local economy which resulted in poverty and impoverishment of people. Consequently there was the introduction of capitalists' values in a pre-feudal society and the consequent incorporation of

the economy into the capitalists' system for the maximum exploitation of human and material resources of the area.

Katsina Metropolis was an area renowned for industrial and craft production for centuries. During colonial period policies and ordinances on land, labour, taxation, agriculture and industry were promulgated in the interest of colonialism which consequently led to the deterioration and underdevelopment of Katsina metropolis and Nigerian area generally. Dye-pits have now been turned into refuse dumping sights in the metropolis, which indicates that they are no longer used in economic production. *Cikin birni* area in the metropolis was the hub of industrial production in the pre-colonial period, but colonialism reduced it to a place characterized by unemployed and idle populations, who no longer have the capital, initiative and the zeal to undertake and partake in industrial production. The situation is more critical due the fact that, the people of Cikin *birni* are reluctant in sending their children/ wards to school, thereby making the whole scenario complicated, as ignorance and unemployment become the order of the day. Western education is today the vehicle of ascending any position in the society, thus without education there will be ignorance and unemployment in an area. Up to today, craft production and commercial activities are conducted on a small scale in Katsina. That is why Walter Rodney argued that 'Africa went into Colonialism with a hoe and came out of it with a hoe. In the case of Katsina Metropolis there was not only retrogression of the economy, but decline and

distortion of the economic super-structure. There is need to carry out research in the area of exchange of goods and services, and the effect on the people during colonial period.

The main conclusion of the work is, colonial domination has resulted in backwardness and underdevelopment of the society, therefore in order improve the well being of the people and move the society forward there is need to utilize human and natural resources for the development of the country generally. This can be done by the provision of education to the populace at all levels, for enlightenment, as well as inculcation of values and attitudes into the people which shape their thinking on how to make better use of available resources to develop the country. Craft industries should be introduced to provide employment to people who cannot be absorbed into government parastatals. Also, policies which reflect the interest of the people should be formulated in the society. Project should be carried out in order to meet the needs and aspirations of the people; and not for personal aggrandizement. Personal aggrandizement should be frown at in any society, because it unleashes suffering on the people of the larger society.

Synopsis of the Work

Chapter 1: In this chapter the study of conceptual and methodological terms is carried out. Terms such as capitalism, imperialism and colonialism, development and urbanization are studied, in order to shed light and provide explanation on terms, and bring out the misconceptions surrounding such terms. The search for viable centres of cheap raw materials and markets for finished goods of capitalists industries explained the reason why Capitalists countries extended control to the colonies. The human and material resources of the colonies were later on exploited during the Colonial period to a great deal, for the continued survival of capitalism. Though the Colonialists always paraded Colonialism as a humanitarian venture, the fact remains clear that, it is a system which involved maximum exploitation of resources of the colony for the development of the metropole.

Chapter 2: In this chapter the nature of climate and the vegetation of Katsina have been discussed. This is important in providing a clear nature of the geographical features of the area and how that significantly affects human settlement and settlement formation, in our area of study. Also the formation of Katsina Kingdom and Metropolis has also been discussed, this is important in providing us with information as regards to the formation of the kingdom as well as the emergence and development of the state and the economy. These were the superstructures

and pillar of the State of Katsina. Therefore the political economy of the area was discussed giving a clear picture of the society in terms of administration diplomatic relations, production and trade; this is significant in giving us an outlook of the society before the colonial occupation. Therefore the background knowledge of the society in the pre-colonial period will make us understand the changes and transformation brought about by the incorporation of the area in to imperialist system of subjugation, control and exploitation of the resources of the area for the development of Europe.

Chapter 3: In this chapter the incorporation of state of Katsina into capitalist system is discussed, beginning with the conquest and the submission of the state to the British control and subjugation. This was followed by the establishment of British system of administration, the Native Authority system which replaced the Emirate system of administration. Therefore in order to consolidate the new system of government under the British control, policies and ordinances were promulgated .These were policies on land labour, settlement and taxation in order to ensure that the whole area was brought under British control. The policies were promulgated in order to ensure that raw materials needed by British industries were produced, as well as turning the area in to market for British goods for the continued survival of capitalism. This was backed up by the use of police and courts in order to ensure that the policies were implemented, thereby distorting

and destroying the pre-colonial system of state and economy as well as entrenching and consolidating colonial system of administration.

Chapter 4: In this chapter the effect of colonial policies in changing and transforming the society and economy of Katsina Metropolis has been discussed. Colonial land, labour and taxation policies were promulgated for the consolidation of the colonial economy of the area. It is shown in the work the operation of colonial economy in all ramifications in Katsina. The exploitative tendencies of colonialism have been brought out clearly in this chapter. Basic infrastructures such as transportation, education and health facilities were introduced by the colonial state in order to enhance the survival of the Colonial state. The building of infrastructures did not reflect humanitarian motive, rather they were place in order to ensure the successful operation of the Colonial state. The introduction of colonial economy in the area made the local economy to be subsumed by the former. The two systems could not exist side by side, on equal terms. Colonial state and economy never existed side by side with the indigenous state and economy. Thus the former could only exist with the demise of the latter. In fact they were interwoven in a diabolical relationship, whereby the Colonial state and economy depended on the indigenous resources for its existence and survival; at the detriment of the local economy.

Chapter 5: The Impact of Colonialism on the economy of Katsina Metropolis is discussed in this chapter. The impact could be seen in the way Katsina Metropolis

was transformed to subservient position, with all laws and policies promulgated by the British for the Magajin Gari and his chiefs to follow. Policies and ordinances were promulgated for the successful operation of the colonial state. In fact Katsina lost its independence and came to depend on the British in all terms. The rulers of Katsina Metropolis and the emirate generally were transformed into salaried officials, thus they were expected to serve the colonial state and protect its interest at all times. The British having ascended political control of the area incorporated its economy into the capitalist system, thereby distorting the economy. Consequently the incorporation of Katsina economy into capitalist system resulted in two things: There was the transformation of the economy into cash crop producing one for the capitalists industries, as well as the fact that the area was turned into market for the finished goods of capitalists industries. In the process of the incorporation agricultural production and industry which were the backbone of pre-colonial economy of Katsina were distorted and destroyed, in the interest of capitalism. Thus Katsina Metropolis was transformed in to backward and underdeveloped area.

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Alh Mammani Rafukka, 67 years, Sarkin Lambun Katsina, the interview took place in his garden along Babbar Ruga road Katsina, 8th June 2007.

Alh Salele Bature Jikan Dada, 65 years, trades in hides and skin, the interview took place infront of his house at Masakar Nufawa, Katsina, 5th June 2007.

Alh. Barmo Birkila, 70 years, ground nut trader,the interview took place in his house at Filin Bugu, Katsina , 70 years, 13th June, 2007.

Alh. Halliru, 98 years, specializes in embroidery, the interview took place in his house at Masanawa Katsina, 4th June 2007.

Alh. Lawal Bature, 55 years, trader, the interview took place in his house at Lungun Masaka,Sagi, Katsina,8th June 2007.

Alh. Lawal, 84 years, specialists in cloth dyeing, the interview took place in his house at Marinar Gangare, Katsina,8th June 2007.

Alh. Mamman, 78 years, trader, the interview took place in his house at 'Yan Siliyu near Tsohuwar Kasuwa Katsina, 11th June, 2007.

Alh. Muhammad, 75 years, farmer, the interview took place infront of his house at Albaba Katsina, farmer, 11th June,2007.

Alh. Muntari, 60 years, blacksmith, the interview took place in his workshop at Makera Zagzagau, Katsina,11th June, 2007.

Alh. Umaru Tanko, 61 years, long distant trader, the interview took place in Alh Barmo Burkila's house at Filin Bugu Katsina, 13th June, 2007.

Hajia Aisha Mannir, 55 years, wife of Sarkin Noman Katsina, the interview took place in her house at Unguwar Liman, Katsina,12th June 2007.

Hajia Asabe, 65 years, house wife, the interview took place in her house at Unguwar Madawaki Katsina, 15th June 2007.

Hajia Hassu Abdu, 72 years, local textile manufacturer, the interview took place in her house at Yarinchi Katsina, 5th June, 2007.

Hajia Rabi, 75 years, dye producer, the interview took place in her house at 'Yan Shuni, Katsina, 12th June, 2007.

Hajia Umma Tafkin 50 years, trader, the interview took place in her house at Tafkin Kura, Behind A.T.C. Katsina, 19th June, 2007.

late Alh. Ado Duwan, 76 years, Wakilin Arewan Katsina, the interview took place in his house at Unguwar Madawaki,Katsina, 15th June 2007.

late Hajia Abu Abdu, 55 years, House wife, the interview took place in her house at behind A.T.C. Katsina, 29th April,2007.

Mal. Ali, 50 years, leather tanner, the interview took place in his house at Sararin Tsako, Katsina, 8th June 2007.

Mal.Abba, 70 years, specialists in cloth dyeing , the interview was conducted in his house at Marinar Kadabo, Katsina,9th June 2007.

Mal.Dahiru,55 years, teacher, the interview was conducted in his house at Gafai Katsina, 29th April 2008,

Mal. Gambo, 80 years, local textile producer, the interview took place in his house at Filin Bugu, Katsina,7th June, 2007.

Mal.Haruna Bakin gida, 57 years, trader, the interview was conducted in his house at Gafai Katsina, 30th June, 2007.

Mal. Isa Marini, 63 years, dyer, the interview took place in front of his house at Marinar Gangare, Katsina, 3rd June, 2007.

Malam Muhammad, 80 years, builder, the interview took place infront of his house at Kofar Yandaka, Katsina,builder, 12th June, 2007.

Malam Musa,90 years , local textile manufacturer, the interview took place in his house at Masakar Yawa, Katsina, 11th June, 2007.

Mal. Salele, 70 years, local textile manufacturer, the interview took place infront of his house at Bambadawa Katsina,10th June,2007.

Mal. Salisu, 80 year, trader the interview took place in his house at Albaba Katsina, 11th June 2007.

Mal. Tajudeen Gafai, 57 years, teacher, the interview took place in his house at Gafai Katsina, 14th June, 2007.

Mal. Tanko, 60 years, farmer, the interview took place in front of his house at Shararrar Pipes Katsina, 7th May, 2008.

Mal. Umaru Ahmed, 65 years, specialists in embroidery, the interview was conducted in his house at Masanawa Katsina,4th June 2007.

Malama Binta, 80 years, hose wife, the interview took place at the entrance to her house at Masakar Yawa Bambadawa Katsina, local textile manufacturer, 13th June 2007.

Malama Umma, 60 years local textile producer, the interview took place in her house at Masakar Yawa Bambadawa Katsina, 13th June, 2007.

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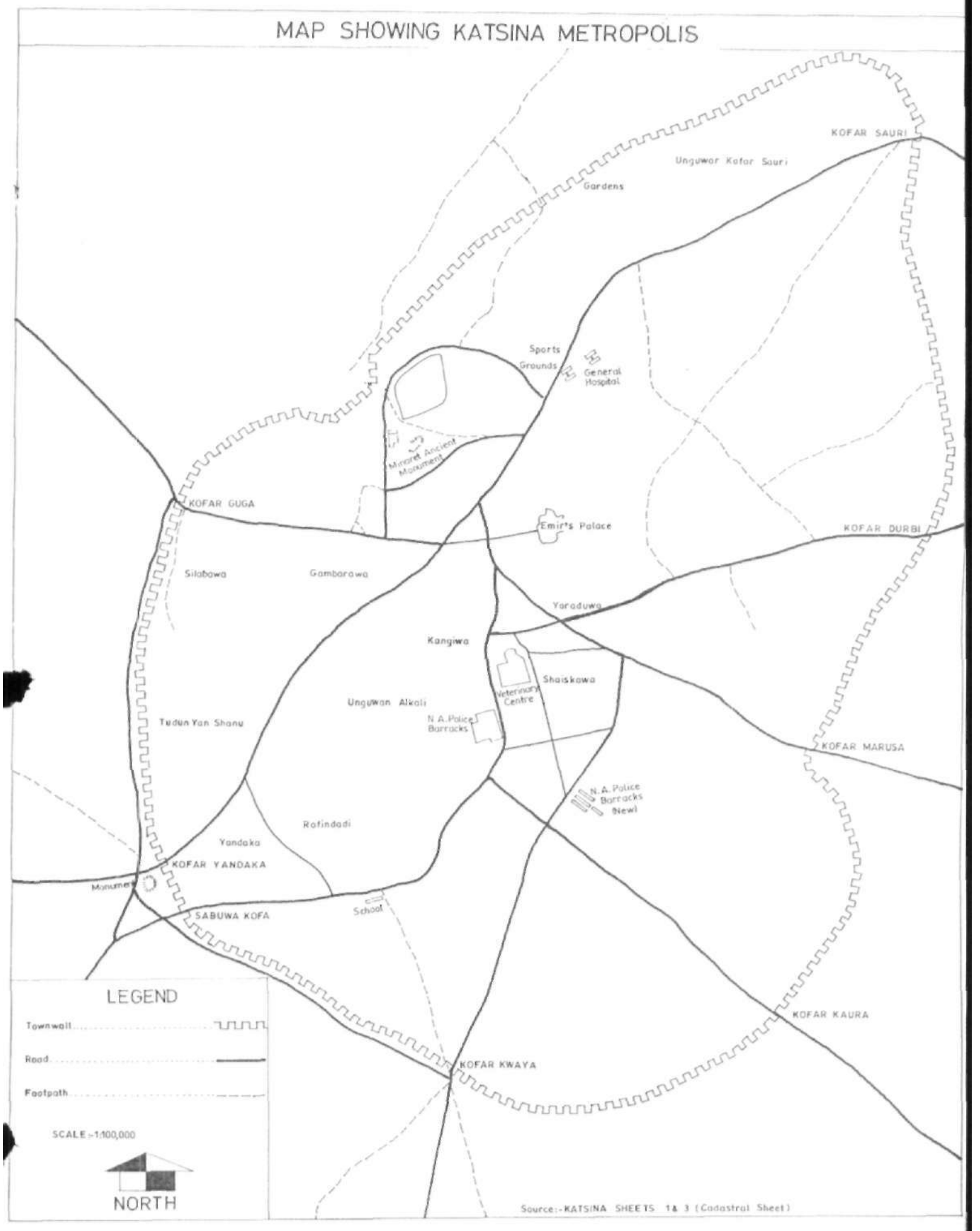
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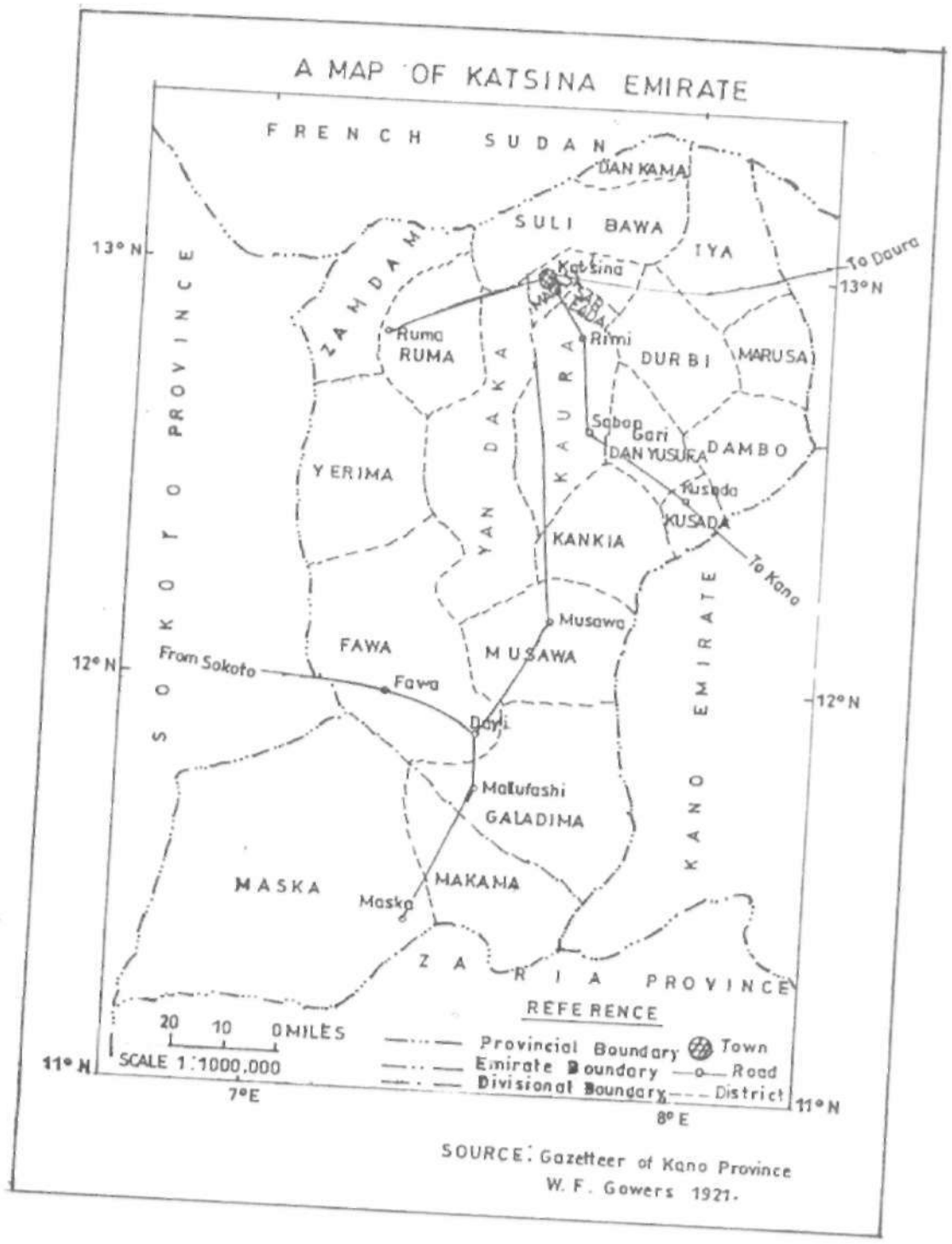
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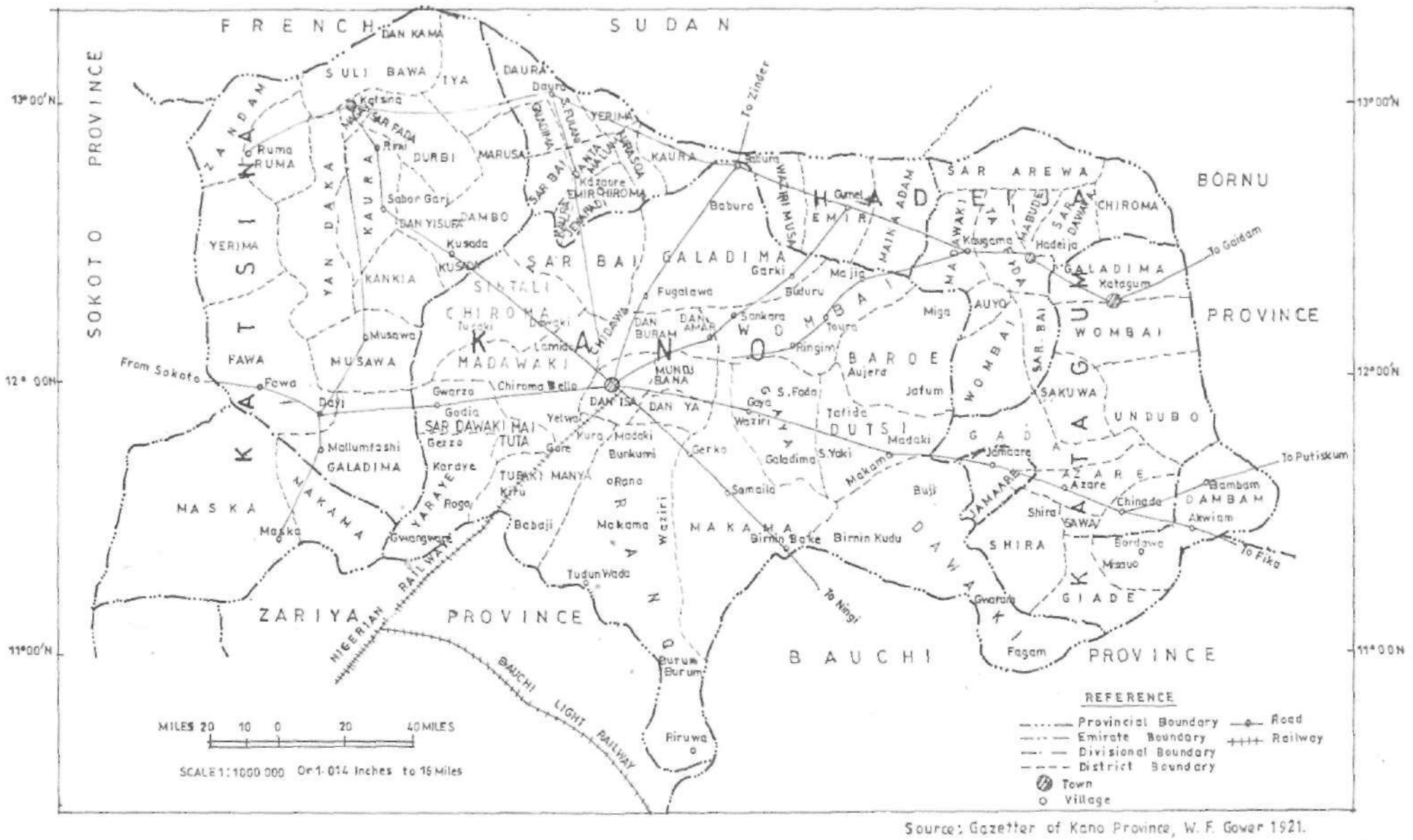
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MAP SHOWING KATSINA METROPOLIS




A MAP OF KATSINA EMIRATE
FRENCH SUDAN
DAN KAMA
SULI BAWA
TYA
13° N
ZAMDAM
Katsina
To Daura
13° N
Ruma
RUMA
Rimi
DURBI
MARUSA
SOKOTO PROVINCE
YAN DAKA
KAURA
Sabon Gari
DAN YUSUFA
DAMBO
YERIMA
Kusada
KUSADA
KANKIA
To Kano
Musawa
FAWA
MUSAWA
12° N
From Sokoto
Fawa
Dan
EMIRATE
12° N
Malufashi
GALADIMA
KANO
MASKA
MAKAMA
Maska
ZARIA PROVINCE
REFERENCE
20 10 0 MILES
SCALE 1:1000,000
Provincial Boundary
Emirate Boundary
Divisional Boundary
Town
Road
District
11° N
7° E
8° E
11° N
SOURCE: Gazetteer of Kano Province
W. F. Gowers 1921.

A MAP SHOWING KATSINA EMIRATE UNDER KANO PROVINCE



Source: Gazetter of Kano Province, W. F. Gower 1921.