THE STATE AND THE ECONOMY:
THE SARAUTA SYSTEM AND ITS ROLES IN SHAPING THE SOCIETY AND ECONOMY OF KANO WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE EIGHTEENTH AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A.B.C. = Abdullahi Bayero College (Kano).

A.B.U. = Ahmadu Bello University (Zaria).

B.S.O.A.S.= Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

B./b./Ibn(Arabic) = son of.

C.W.A.S. = Centre of West African Studies.

Fn./fn. = Footnote.

F.R.N. = Federal Republic of Nigeria.

I.A.R. = Institute for Agricultural Research.

I.F.A.N. = Institut Francais de l'Afrique Noire.

I.U.P. = Ibadan University Press/Indiana University Press.

J.A.H. = Journal of African History.

J.A.S. = Journal of African Society.

J.H.S.N. = Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria.

J.M. = Jos Museum.

.U.P. = Khartoum University Press.

t./lit. = literally.

.P. = London University Press.

= Malam.

/NAK = National Archives, Kaduna.

= Northern History Research Scheme.

N.I.S.E.R. = Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research.

N.N.P.C. = Northern Nigeria Publishing Company.

No./no. = Number.

O.U.P. = Oxford University Press.

P./p. = Page.

Pl./pl. = Plural.

pp. = Pages.

s./sing. = Singular.

S.N.P./SNP = Secretary to the Northern Provinces.

U.K. = United Kingdom.

U.W.P. = University of Washington Press.

Vol./vol. = Volume.

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GLOSSARY.

Note: Unless otherwise stated, all words listed are of Hausa origin.

Adalchi (Arabic) ... ... acting justly, honestly.

Akushi (pl. akussa) ... wooden food bowl.

Algaita ... ... type of reed instrument.

Alewa ... ... type of sweet made from honey, sugar, etc.

Alharine (Arabic) ... ... various silky fabrics.

Allera ... ... heddle of loom separating warp from woof.

Almajiri (Arabic; pl. almajirai) ... disciple/pupil.

Almuharibun (Arabic) ... brigands.

Alkyabba ... ... burnous.

Amarya (pl. amare) ... ... bride.

Angwo ... ... bridegroom.

Annoba ... ... widespread epidemic.

Ardo (Fulfulde) ... ... clan head.

Attajiri (pl. attajirai) ... rich merchant.

Audugan tsamiya ... ... tamarind tree cotton.

Asali (Arabic) ... ... origin.

Aure ... ... marriage.

Azare ... ... section of split tree used for roofing.

(B)

Baba	dye.
Bafade (pl. fadawa) ...	courtier.
Bagaruwa	Egyptian mimosa (Acacia arabica).
Bako (pl. baki)	guest.
Baki	black.
Bakuwa	female guest.
Bakunchi	being guest.
Balad-al-Kha'uf (Arabic)	the country of fear.
Balad-al-Sayf (Arabic) ...	the country of sword.
Balangandi	idle roving (Cochlos pernum).
Banten doki	horse tucks.
Bara (pl. barori)	client.
Baraka (Arabic)	blessing.
Bazara	hot season - just before the rains.
Bene	storey building.
Bindiga	gun.
Birni	city, urban centre.
Budi	flour.
Bunu (pl. bununuwa) ...	woman's black and blue cloth resembling gwado.
Burtali	cattle track.

Buta (pl. butoci)	kettle.
Buzu (pl. buzuna)	undressed skin-mat.
Daddawa	locust bean cakes.
Dafi	poison.
Dagachi (pl. dagatai) ...	village head.
Daji (pl. dazuzzuka) ...	forest/bush.
Daki(n)	room (of).
Dan	son of.
Dalibi (Arabic; pl. dalibbai)	student.
Damina	rainy season.
Dan bugu	mallet.
Dankali	potatoe.
Dan tukunya	a basket made from geza shrubs for covering dye-pits.
Dawa	guinea corn.
Dillali (pl. dillalai) ...	broker.
Dinya	Vitex cienkowskii.
Dogari (pl. dogarai) ...	local administration police.
Doka (pl. dokoki)	order.
Doki (pl. dawaki)	horse.
Dorowa	locust bean tree (Parkia filicoidea).
Dukiya	wealth.

Dunguma ... ... drive away (body of persons).

Dusa ... ... bran.

Dutsen (lit. rock) ... ... hill (of).

Fadama (pl. fadamomi) ... marshy ground.

Fage ... ... any cleared open space.

Faifai (pl. faya-fayi) ... grass trays.

Falke (pl. fatake) ... ... long-distance trader

Fansar kai ... ... self redemption.

Fari ... ... drought.

Fari ... ... white (thread).

Farin wuta ... ... sulphur.

Fartanya ... ... hoe.

Figini ... ... ostrich feather fan.

Fura ... ... porridge.

Furi (firi) ... ... first weeding of corn crop.

Fuska (pl. fuskoki) ... face.

Furtali ... ... blinders.

Gabu ... ... cakes of pounded dried onion leaves.

Gaisuwa ... ... homage.

Galma ... ... hoe.

Gandu (pl. gandaye) ... ... large agricultural land.

Ganima(Arabic)... ... ... booty.

Ganye ... ... leaf.

Gari ... ... (grain) flour.

Gawayi ... ... charcoal.

Gawo ... ... Acacia albida.

Gayauna(pl. gayauni) ... small farm owned by member of compound privately.

Gayya ... ... communal labour.

Gero ... ... millet.

Geza (pl. gezoji) ... ... mane (wild shrub).

Gida ... ... house.

Giginya (pl. giginyoyi) .. deleb palm (Borassus flabellifer)

Gona (pl. gonaye) ... ... farm.

Gunduma (pl. gundumomi) ... a sub-division under a district head.

Gwado ... ... wooven cloth (heavier than loin cloth).

Gwanda (pl. gwandoji) ... pawpaw/type of Kano gown.

Gyada ... ... groundnut.

hakimi (Arabic; pl. hakimai) ... (of recent) district head.

haram (Arabic) ... ... unlawful.

hatsi ... ... grains.

hendu (Fulfulde) ... ... disease.

hijra (Arabic) ... ... migration.

huda/noma...	ridging/farming.
hula (pl. huluna)	cap
hunturu	harmattan.
jallaba (Arabic)	mobile traders
jama'a (Arabic)	community.
jangali (Fulfulde)	cattle tax.
jarumi (pl. jarumai) ...	brave man.
jari	capital.
jaruntaka	bravery. .
jakada (Arabic; pl. jakadu)	tax collector in pre-administrative times.
jigawa	sandy soil.
jizya (Arabic)...	poll tax on conquered non-Muslim.
kabba	gorriba palms.
kafi	stockade.
kaka	autumn.
kakaki	trumpet.
kalwa	seeds of locust bean tree.
kamazuru	reins.
kame	forceful seizure of maidens.
kane	younger brother.
kantu/ridi..	sesame

kanwa	potash.
kare(pl. kara)...	stalks.
karofi (pl. karofai) ...	dye-pit.
kasanki	rags for wrapping feet or hands in henna or for wrapping-up cotton goods.
kasa(r)	land (of).
kasheka	an office among Emir's slaves.
kasuwa	market.
katanga	wall built round a house.
katifa	mattress.
katsi	dried sediment of dye-pit.
kaya(n)	property (of).
kilishi	thin strips of meat dried in sun.
kofa(r) Arewa	gate (of) North(North Gate)
kore	grass-green, emerald-green.
kudi/kurdi..	money.
kuka	baobab.
kulikuli	small fried cakes made from residue after expressing oil from groundnuts.
kulki (pl. kulake)	cudgel.
kulle	purdah.
kunkuru	(lit.) tortoise.

kunu	gruel.
kuru	narrow (Maguzawa) drum tapped with hands.
kurufai	riding boots.
kurawa	ponnies.
kurkuku	prison.
kwabara	flute.
kwalkwali	a type of cap.
kwarkwaro	an object for wrapping and throwing of thread for weaving.
kuyanga (pl. kuyangi) ...	concubine.
la'ada (Arabic)	commission.
labuje	type of superior kola-nuts (from Nupe).
ladde (Fulfulde)	cancer.
lalle	henna.
lantana	brown stone used as jewellery.
laso	cement for sealing roofs and dye-pits.
laya (pl. layu)	charm.
lifidi	protective quilting for cavalry and cavalry horses.
likkafu	stirrups.

ma'aji	treasurer.
ma'auna	place where corn is sold by measure.
ma'auni	any measure.
ma'auniya	woman who sells corn by measure.
mabuga	a log on which clothing is beaten.
madaki	an important title and sarauta.
madinki	tailor.
madugu (pl. madugai) ...	headman of caravan.
mafechi	fan made from dum-palm leaves.
magaji	successor.
makadi (pl..makada)... ...	drummer
makarfo	Afromosia laxiflora.
makeri (pl. makera) ...	blacksmith.
malfa	hat.
malka	period from middle to end of wet season.
mangala (pl. mangaloli) ...	bag made of plaited dum-palm leaves.
mai-busa	musician.
mai-daki	Queen Mother.
mai-gida	head of a household.
mai-kitso	(hair) plaiter.

mai-kuge ... ... horn blower.

mai-shantu ... ... trumpeter.

mashekari ... ... wet season pastorage.

mace/mata ... ... woman/wife.

matsefi ... ... comb.

matsiyachi ... ... poverty-stricken.

mai-tuta ... ... flag bearer.

mai sarauta(pl. masu sarauta) = member of a ruling class.

massassabi ... ... axe.

masassaki.... .... wood carver.

mai-unguwa ... ... ward head.

mazarkwaila ... ... brown sugar.

mubaya'a (Arabic) ... ... paying homage.

muchiya (pl. muciyoyi) ... stick for stirring tuwo.

mujaddid (Arabic) ... ... reformer.

muhajirun (Arabic) ... ... people who performed Hijra.

murgu ... ... payment made by slave to his owner in lieu of working personally.

murtadi (Arabic) ... ... apostate.

muruchi/gazari ... ... shoot of deleb nut.

mutunchi ... ... treating others with due respect.

rangome	clemency.
ragwama	halters.
rawani	turban.
ribat (Arabic)	fortress.
ridi	Sesamun indicum.
riga (pl. riguna)	gown.
rimi (pl. rimaye)	while silk cotton tree.
ringasa	bargain, cheap.
rintsawa	sleeping.
rizga	the small edible tuber (Coleus potato).
rogo	cassava.
rubutu	writing.
ruga (pl. rugage)	Fulani cattle encampment.
rumfa (pl. rumfuna) ...	stall.
sana'a (Arabic)	occupation/trade/profession.
sabulun salo	type of Nupe soap.
sadaka (Arabic)	alms.
sha	drinking.
shari'a(Arabic)	Islamic law.
shimfida	beddings.
shuni	indigo prepared from plants.
saki	woven wrapper, cloth.

salama (Arabic).. ... ... greeting!

salga ... ... pit laterine.

sambattsai ... ... ornamented saldals.

samfola ... ... aluminium.

sarauta ... ... kingship.

sarki ... ... king.

sarkin Musulmi ... ... king of the Faithfuls.

sarkin noma ... ... king of farming.

sarkin samari ... ... leader of youths.

sirdi ... ... saddle.

soro (pl. soraye) ... ... flat-topped house.

sulke ... ... chain-armour.

su'udu (Arabic) ... ... room.

tabo ... ... mud.

tagguwa ... ... jumper.

talaka (pl. talakawa) ... commoner.

tagwayen masu ... ... twin spears.

tambari ... ... drum.

taqut ... ... tyrant.

Tara-ta-Kano ... ... an electoral council.

tozali ... ... antimony.

tsamiya ... ... Tamarindu indicus.

tsibiri (pl. tsibirai) ... island.
tsohuwa ... ... old.
tsumburrarre (pl. tsumburarru) = stunted.
turmi ... ... mortar.
tuwo ... ... cooked food.

uban kasa ... ... district head.
ulema (Arabic) ... ... scholars.
unguwa ... ... ward.

wa ... ... elder brother.
wanzami (pl. wanzamai) ... barber.

'yan alaro ... ... transporter of bulky goods.
'yan kwarami ... ... specialists in the sale of grains.
'yar ... ... daughter of.
yara ... ... children.
yumbu ... ... pottery clay.

zabuba ... ... severe pain.
zabuka ... ... saddle pad.
zalwami ... ... a type of cloth.
zane (pl. zannuwa) ... ... wrapper, cloth.
zango ... ... camping place of caravan.

zare	thread.
zaure	entrance porch (to a house).
zuga-zuga	bellows.
zakka (Arabic)	religious lithe payable on wealth by Muslims.

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CHAPTER SIX

AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION.

The eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries witnessed a considerable increase in the involvement of the state in economic activities. The masu sarauta, increasingly played important roles in shaping the economy through various policies and measures. The policy of the state concerning land tenure, labour, immigration, settlement and re-settlement as well as several other policies and certain fiscal measures which were geared towards the promotion of the economy had two major effects. While on the one hand, the policies and measures promoted tremendous expansion in all sectors of the economy; at the same time, the increasing involvement of the ruling class in production resulted in the concentration of wealth in their hands. This had become particularly pronounced in the nineteenth century. This was because the ruling class had easy access to land, labour - both slave and corvee labour -, capital which was partly acquired from ghanima (booty) during the Jihad wars and through sales of slaves as well

as exemptions from all forms of taxation.

For the sake of convenience the different sectors of the economy would be treated separately. However, it is important to note that in reality they were interwoven and people involved in one sector were also actively participating in the other sectors. Many of the rich attajirai, in addition to financing internal and external trade, also owned large agricultural estates and herds of livestock. Equally important were their investments in industrial activities. This monopolistic tendency had become particularly entrenched in the nineteenth century. The masu sarauta, however, both in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries concentrated mainly on large-scale agricultural and livestock production. Therefore it is necessary to examine the factors that influenced the degree of economic activities.

I. Factors of Production:

(1) Land Tenure.

An examination of land tenure in Kasar Kano during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries is important for a number of reasons. It is important to know how

land was distributed among and maintained by the various households; how the need of the continuous flow of immigrants were met and how the land tenure system stabilised agricultural production in Kano during these periods. It is also relevant to show how the ruling class increasingly came to own large estates near the Birni and other important urban centres and the effects of this in relation to distribution of resources and wealth among the major classes in the state.

In spite of the fragmentary nature of sources on the land tenure in Kano and the other states of the Central Sudan, it is important to note that the tendency to regard land tenure and land holding in pre-twentieth century period as being static and uniform, is not convincing.[1] A meaningful discussion of the subject in any part of pre-colonial Africa must take into account a number of variables which were important in determining the nature

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1. This view is implied in several studies on Africa. See for example, Eric Pollet and Grace Winter, "The Social Organisation of Agricultural Labour Among the Soninke (Dyahunu, Mali)", in David Seddon(ed.), Relations of Production: The Marxist Approaches to Economic Anthropology, Frank Cass, London, 1978, p.333; for Hausaland, see Famoriyo, Land Tenure and Agricultural Development in Nigeria, NISER (Ibadan), 1979, pp.45-6.

and types of land tenure. These included the density of population, the amount of available land, the system of cultivation, the nature and level attained in social organisation and the strength and type of the state, whether being centralised and controlled by powerful kings or managed by a council of village elders.

In the latter type of state, population density was invariably low and therefore was available for everyone. So the need for legislative or even customary control with regards to the land tenure simply did not exist. Here control over land was minimal. Everyone farmed as much land as he could. Chiefs of small communities wanted control of people more than land. But in the former type of state where there was a dense concentration of population, control over land was strong. A good example would be the case of Kasar Kano. Here land shortages, especially in the central region, appear to have been experienced as from the second half of the eighteenth century.[2] In this case, the nature of land tenure was bound to be different.

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2. During this time a number of people, most likely from the central region of Kano, were moving out and settling in the northern region, especially in the areas which came to be known as Dambatta and Gumel. See NAK, Hist/4, Kanoprof.

(a) The Eighteenth Century.

Before the beginning of the twentieth century, the development of land tenure in Kano passed through a number of stages. Before the emergence of the state of Kano, land, whether utilized or not was vested in the heads of the various communities for the common benefit of their communities.[3] With the emergence of the centralised state in Kasar Kano, the ownership of all lands passed over to Sarkin Kano. Pieces of evidence which suggest the take-over of the control of land by the sarki are many.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, when Sarki Dauda was faced with the problem of accommodating the large number of immigrants led by Dagachi from Borno, he was reminded that since he owned "everything", he could settle the immigrants anywhere in his domain. The Dagachi and his followers were consequently provided with a tract of land in the area of Dorayi.[4]

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3. NAK, SNP.15/13 - Mr. Palmer on Land Tenure in the Hausa States with a Marginal Comments by Mr. Gowers; F. Lugard, Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1913-1918, London, Frank Cass, 1970, p.344.

4. Tarikh Arbab, p.109.

With the gradual administrative and political centralization, the control of the sarakuna over the land became firm. Consequently people became aware that they were holding their lands as grants from the sarki and the grant could be revoked at any time. The acknowledgement of the king's ownership of land was expressed by payment of various taxes. It has been suggested that the widespread practice of the throwing of a clutch of earth or dust over the head among the peasants, especially in the period before the Jihad,[5] symbolised their recognition of the king's claims to the ownership of land in his kingdom.[6] The association between taxes and land ownership continued even in the nineteenth century. By the end of the first half of the nineteenth century it became an established fact that failure to pay taxes would mean deprivation of the use of land or even expulsion from Kasar Kano.[7]

In the eighteenth century, therefore, Sarkin Kano had been recognized by his people as the sole owner of the

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5. For this practice, see M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1960); op.cit.(1965), p.119.
6. Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.197.
7. NAK, K/AR:5/2 - Tarikh Ningi (Translation).

land.[8] In order to facilitate allocation of land, especially to the ever increasing number of immigrants who had been settling in Kasar Kano over the centuries, the king delegated his powers to the various state officials, especially the dagatai.[9] Consequently a number of the talakawa, particularly in the remote areas, thought that it was these junior officials who owned the land. But it should be noted, however, that all categories of state officials were aware that the land belonged to the sarki and whatever authority they had, they were merely exercising it on his behalf.[10] Whenever any of these officials was deposed the land under his control would pass to his successor. With these powers in the hands of sarakuna they were able to regularise the acquisition, use and disposal of land. Therefore most subjects enjoyed a

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8. H. Solken, op.cit., p.149, NAK, Confidential Letter No.188 From Resident Kano Province to the Secretary, Northern Provinces, Kaduna: SNP.7/10, 5570/1909 - Kano Province Assessment Report 1909/10, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida and Gumel Districts; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979; AAH (Jahun), 8/4/79.

9. I.A.R. Library, A.B.U., Zaria, FAO/ICA Team, Kaduna, 1960 - Reports on Agricultural Survey of Northern Region of Nigeria; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

10. H. Solken, op.cit., p.149.

semi-permanent or absolute land tenure.[11] But such tenure was enjoyed on some conditions. It has already been pointed out that individuals or groups of people could be deprived of the use of their farmlands for wilful disobedience to the sarki or his officials, for failure to pay taxes[12] or for anti-social behaviour such as habitual stealing.[13] People could also be forcibly evacuated from any piece of land that the sarki might have wanted to be converted into a state farm or into the sarki's gandu.[14]

Generally, the sarki and his officials were conscious

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11. C.W. Rowling, Report on Land Tenure, Kano Province, Government Printer, Kaduna, 1952, p.4.

12. F. Lugard, op.cit., p.343.

13. NAM, AAG, UNY (Kura), 9/7/80.

14. NAK, SNP.7, 1055/1912 - Kano Province, Dan Iya Sub-District, Assessment Report. A well known case of forceful eviction of people from their land took place in the nineteenth century. The entire inhabitants of Gogel were forced to vacate their settlement so that the area could be converted into the Emir's gandu. The affected people were re-settled at a place which was appropriately called Garin Dole compulsory settlement or town). Some of the evacuated people drifted back to their former settlement later. Such arbitrary treatment of the talakawa in relation to land might have been rampant in the eighteenth century in view of the widespread oral and written traditions about the arbitrariness of the masu sarauta during this period.

of the fact that they had to guarantee tenure of land to all subjects as long as the latter were prepared to fulfil their obligations to the state.[15] This therefore made it possible for them to enjoy considerable security, to the extent that the heads of the households who exercised direct control of their respective land holdings believed that they "owned" the land which they were farming. But in reality, "ownership", from the point of view of the state, amounted to no more than rights of cultivation. This was not the same as right of proprietorship over land, since no one during this period had the right to alienate any piece of land allocated to him or inherited from his ancestors.[16]

Rights of cultivation were vested in the heads of the various households[17] and not in its individual members.

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15. F. Lugard, op.cit., p.343; NAK, SNP.15/3 - Mr. Palmer on Land Tenure in the Hausa States with a Marginal Comments by Mr. Gowers.

16. MAN, AAG, UMY (Kura), 9/7/70; NAK, SNP.15/3 - Mr. Palmer on Land Tenure in the Hausa States with a Marginal Comments by Mr. Gowers. Monetary transactions involving land was not official recognized by the state.

17. Most of these households were very large. In some parts of Kano, membership of the individual households varied from seven to ninety-six, averaging nineteen. See J. Greenberg, op.cit., p.17.

If these heads gave farmlands to their sons, wives, barori (clients) or slaves, the heads still had to pay taxes on such lands. Rights in land were inheritable and this, from the point of view of the peasants, was the major strength of the land tenure system.

These rights were vested in the most senior male member of each household. The general principle was that the elder excluded the younger;and the nearest relative of the head of the household excluded the more remote.[18] The idea behind this was presumably that the most capable member of the family or household assumed all rights and incurred all obligations of its deceased head. This also explains why women were generally excluded from the assumption of the leadership of a household. The land requirements of all the other members of the family were, however, taken care of since each member was entitled to farm a portion of the land inherited. The gandu (collective family estate) method of production ensured that each member of a household or family had access to land. This indeed ensured collective ownership and inheritance in right in land.

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18. F. Lugard, op.cit., p.358.

In a sense no formal inheritance or succession took place on the death of a head of a household because the family, like the "serki", never dies. This therefore ensured continuity of customs and tradition in relation to land tenure. The successor was in reality simply the trustee for the family or the household at large. He decided the rights of the family or the household. Also he solved disputes between the members of a household over their land. This was easy because external interference from agent of the states was minimal. The element of continuity woven into the land tenure system enabled the same family to "own" or farm the same piece or pieces of land, and this was the common practice for centuries. This was the reason why "ownership" of land was taken for granted and therefore had some advantages from the point of view of production. The stability of the land tenure ensured security for the "owner"; so it enabled him to continue to farm his land. So long as the head of a family continued to work his land or to allow others by special arrangement to cultivate the land which he had been allocated or inherited, and as long as he continued to fulfil his obligations to the state and to a lesser extent the members of the community in which he lived, he

could not be deprived of the use of that land. He and his descendants had the right to cultivate the land perpetually, but not to own it.

But if for any reason a person failed to fulfil his obligation, including cultivation, the land would be transferred to another person. However, this rarely happened, because the occupier of a land had other privileges which enabled him to continue to keep his land. With the apparent consent of his dagachi or mai unguwa, individuals were allowed to temporarily transfer the right of occupation to other persons. Leasing or subletting land was also generally allowed. Cases of pawning of land, possibly a development of later period, also occurred. However, the attitude of the state to this was vague.

On the whole the pre-nineteenth century land tenure in Kano conferred a number of advantages in the land users. While on the one hand efficient and hardworking peasants could easily obtain as much land as they wanted, at least in the sparsely populated parts of Kano, the system discouraged land speculation by vesting the control of allocation of land only in Sarkin Kano, thus minimising or even excluding the practice of land speculation since the commercialisation of land was not allowed. The regulatory

influence of the state also ensured that people did not encroach on each other's farmlands. So this minimised land disputes.

(b) The Nineteenth Century.

As in many aspects of the institutions of the state, the Jihad had some effects on the land tenure system in Kano. An indication in the modification of the pre-Jihad land tenure in Kano in the nineteenth century is contained in the work of Abdullahi dan Fodio, titled Ta^{c}lĭm al-Rādĭ Asbab al-Ikhtisäs bi Mawāt al-Aradi.[19] This work has dealt with the land tenure based on Islamic principles. But the value of the dicta depends on the precise meaning to be attached to the terms used in the work. The work appears to have been more concerned with the Islamic view of what land tenure should be, rather than practice of the administration and allocation of land in Kano and elsewhere in the Caliphate in the nineteenth century.

On the whole, there was no fundamental departure from

19. See Muhammadu Sani Zahradeen, Abdullahi Ibn Fodio's Contributions to the Jihad in the Nineteenth Century, Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1976, Appendix A. See also P.33/3 N.H.R.S., A.B.U., Zaria, for a copy of the work.

the pre-nineteenth century land tenure system. The element of continuity predominated over those of change. In spite of the apparent approval by Islam of the commercialisation of land or at least that which is given to individuals by the Emir or Caliph,[20] the authorities in Kano in the nineteenth century continued to regard the sale of land as illegal.[21] This, however, does not suggest that there were no new developments in relation to land tenure in the nineteenth century. But the changes had relatively less to do with the attempt by the rulers to implement the injunctions of the Shari'a on land tenure than with the misuse of powers on the part of the ruling class as well as the result of the rise in the value of land, especially in the central region of Kano, during this period.

The only major influence which Islamic principles had on the nature of land tenure in Kano was in the sphere of inheritance. The increase in the application of the Shari'a in matters of inheritance affected land.

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20. Abdullahi Dan Fodio, Diya ul-Hukkam, in Shehu Yamusa, op.cit., p.77.

21. NAK, SNP.10/9, 120P/1921 - Kano Province, Report for Fifteen Months Ended 31st March, 1921.

The implementation of the stipulations of the Shari'a with\ regard to the inheritance of land meant that on the death of the head of a household, the family gandu would be divided amongst all those entitled to inherit him. This, wherever it was applied, often resulted in fragmentation of holdings. In extreme cases, which were few, the share of farmlands obtained by individual heirs was no more than a few ridges.[22] This had the effect of forcing people to move into unoccupied areas or encouraging them to devote much of their time to industrial production or trade. This development was clearly manifest, particularly in the central region of Kano.

Nevertheless, generally the "traditional" pattern of pre-nineteenth century continued to form the basis of land tenure in the nineteenth century. Therefore, the senior member of a household took over the responsibility of the deceased head of the family or the household by continuing to administer the land on behalf of the entire members of the family.

The most important threat to the land tenure system

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22. M.A. Luning, An Agro-Economic Survey in Katsina Province with a Contribution /by/ B.R.L. Waddell, 1961, p.78.

which had provided reasonable security of "ownership" of land for the peasants was the ruling class. Apart from the take-over of land which had been deserted either temporarily or permanently by a number of people during the Emirate period, the masu sarauta engaged themselves in illegal confiscation of land especially in the central region of Kano in the nineteenth century.[23] This practice intensified with the increase in the number of masu sarauta, particularly from the royal family, the increase in the rate of the sedentarisation of the nomadic Fulani who required land both for cultivation and for grazing some of their animals, and the phenomenal increase in the number and size of the agricultural estates of the ruling class. The need for large agricultural estates by the rich attajirai, some of whom were Arabs or of North A rican origin, and Tuaregs,[24] especially in the central region of Kano, contributed to the violation of the

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23. NAK, SNP.7, 1055/1912 - Kano Province, Dan Iya Sub-District, Assessment Report; A. Patton, op.cit., p.136; SNP.15/3 - Mr. Palmer on Land Tenure in the Hausa States with a Marginal Comments by Mr. Gowers.

24. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, pp.486, 526.

established customs of land tenure. Forcible seizure of land seems to have derived partly from the perverted belief on the part of the princes and other descendants of the Jama'a that just as the overthrow of Alwali's government entitled their parents or ancestors to take over power in Kano, their take-over of the control of the land also entitled them to seize any land in the state. Such seized lands were either converted into their personal use[25] or sold to the attajirai. Sales of land became a common practice, especially in the later part of the century, among princes, sarakunan garuruwa, and dagatai.[26]

Due to these practices and the growing land shortages, especially in the central region of Kano, the rate of commercialisation of land continued to increase in spite of the official opposition to the practice.[27] Therefore, by the end of the nineteenth century a substantial part of the land in the central region had been acquired by the members of the ruling class.

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25. NAK, SNP.7, 1055/1912 - Kano Province, Dan Iya Sub-District, Assessment Report.

26. NAK, SNP.15/3 - Mr. Palmer on Land Tenure in the Hausa States with a Marginal Comments by Mr. Gowers.

27. NAK, SNP.10/9, 120P/1921 - Kano Province, Report for Fifteen Months Ended 31st March, 1921.

On top of the list of those who held numerous large tracts of land, especially in the central region, were the Emirs.[28] The sizes of the estates held by them ranged from 350 to 1,053 acres.[29] It is to be noted that all masu sarauta (title holders), princes (who as has already been stated, had become many during this period) and princesses held large agricultural estates, especially in the central region. Emir Ibrahim Dabo's daughter, Kumboto, for instance, owned much of the area which came to be occupied by the town of Kumbotso as her estate.[30] She had a large number of livestock raised and maintained for her. Other princesses held similar estates, especially in the central region of Kano. The non-titled princes also had larger estates. For example, Maliki, the son of Ibrahim Dabo, owned an estate which came to be known as Tudun Maliki, near Kumbotso. He too had a large number of livestock

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28. During this period, the Emirs had at least a gandu in almost all the territories controlled by a dagachi. See NAK, SNP.7, 5785/1912 - Kano Province, Damburam Chiroma's District, Assessment Report on; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

29. NAK, SNP.7, 5785/1912 - Kano Province, Damburam Chiroma's District, Assessment Report on.

30. MBD (Kumbotso), 12/7/80; Kumbotso District Notebook.

maintained on his estate.[31] Each of the title-holders and their deputies also held large estates that were maintained for them. The sizes of the estates held by these members of masu sarauta ranged from 89 acres for the princesses[32] to 25[illegible] acres for the title-holders, such as Damburam Ciqori.[33] Of course some of the estates might have been smaller or bigger than the minimum and maximum ranges which have been cited here. Some of the estates were so large that they often formed the nuclei of settlements.[34]

The leading attajirai who included Tuaregs, especially the Azbenawa;[35] Arabs and other members of the North African

31. MBD (Kumbotso), 12/7/80.

32. NAK, SNP.7, 4817/1912 - Kano Province, Jaidanawa Sub-District, Assessment Report.

33. NAK, SNP.7, 5785/1912 - Kano Province, Damburam Chiroma's District, Assessment Report on.

34. A detailed study of colonial records, especially those on the "Taki" (a detailed measurement of farms carried out by the colonial administration partly meant for land policy in Kasar Hano), might be helpful in determining the sizes of the farms owned by different classes in the society, especially during the nineteenth century. Some of the gandayen sarautu eventually became a nucleus of a free settlement in which were stationed dagatan hakimai or dagatan sarki. See NAK, SNP.15, Acc.No.289 - Dawaki Ta Kudu District, Assessment Report, 1937.

35. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.1, p.526.

community in Kano, appeared to have owned more agricultural estates than the masu sarauta.[36] With the probable exception of the Emir's estates, those of attajirai were also larger in size than those of masu sarautu. Some of the attajirai's estates were so large that one "needed a horse to cover its length and breadth in a day".[37]

This taking over of land, at the expense of the talakawa, among other factors, widened the gap between the ruling class and talakawa in terms of access to wealth. For land has been an important source of wealth in a predominantly agricultural society.

(2) Immigration and Expansion of Cultivated Land.

The policy of encouraging immigrants to settle in Kasar Kano which had been pursued in the earlier centuries was even stepped up in the eighteenth century because of the important economic and administrative roles of the immigrants. With the increase in the demand for revenue by the state, the rulers found it necessary to encourage

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36. P.E. Lovejoy, "Plantations in the Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate", J.A.H., XIX:3, 1978, p.361; Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.212.

37. Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.212.

the immigration of various groups to settle down in various parts of Kano. This helped in opening up hitherto unused land for cultivation. All state officials, especially the dagatai, seemed to have been instructed to adopt a liberal attitude in dealing with immigrants.[38]

The immigration was encouraged by the treatment of all immigrants as the guests of Sarkin Kano, whether they settled in the birni, in Karaye or in Jahun. New arrivals were often provided with food, accommodation, land and seeds.[39] Moreover, assistance continued to be given to them until they had fully established themselves in the state. It was these conscious attempts to induce people to settle in Kano that led to the introduction and promotion of certain institutions such as bakonchi (guest), and rangomi (clemency). These institutions were designed to give special privileges to immigrants in, among other things, the payment of taxes. In most cases new arrivals paid only half of the normal amount of taxes paid by other groups. However, there were differences in the degree of privileges enjoyed by even the immigrants. For example,

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38. [illegible] (Bebeji), July 1980.

39. AAY (Rogo), 4/7/80.

Hausa immigrants who were considered more stable and tolerant and who normally cultivated larger pieces of land, paid more taxes than the Kanuri or Fulani who were regarded as "restless", "independent", and "difficult to control".[40] Newly arrived immigrants were exempted from corvee labour such as aikin talauchi (for example carrying of azara from the country-side to the birni or the building and maintenance of town walls).

These policies were adopted with the belief that if immigrants would encourage others from their former areas of origin to join them. In the case of personalities who large tracts of land were given to them so as to found entirely new settlements or ungiwa. Settlements ending with the word "wa", for instance, Wangarawa, Larabawa, Gabasawa, and Azbenawa, some of which developed into towns, originated from the policy of allowing groups to found their own new settlements. Some of these settlements were founded in an unoccupied territory, far away from any town.

40. NAK, SNP.7, Assessment 1909/10 - Barde District, Kano Province.

The leaders of the immigrants were sometimes given presents of female slaves and sarautu of mai unguwa or dagachi, depending on the size of their followers.[41] As regards to the nomadic Fulani, sufficient incentive for their settling down in Kasar Kano was provided in the form of grazing land, protection against robbers and thieves, and guarantee of easy passage way in the form of the many burtali (cattle tracts) throughout Kasar Kano.

These policies which were adopted by the rulers of Kano and their officials, especially the dagatai, resulted in the continual influx of peoples into Kano throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[42] The movement of people into Kano was accelerated by both push and pull factors. The push factors were mainly occasioned by two main developments - political instability and climatological problems which caused droughts particularly in the Sahel region.

Politically there were two factors which contributed to the influx of people into Kasar Kano: firstly there

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41. MMM (Bebeji), July 1980.

42. For a specific example of large-scale movement of people into Kano in the eighteenth century, see Tarikh Arbab, p.126.

was the political or dynastic instability in Borno, its dependences and the neighbouring states, for example Baghirmi, in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.[43] Secondly there was the growing political tension in western parts of Hausaland.[44]

Droughts forced many people to move into Kasar Kano from the Sahel in the late seventeenth century and during intermitent periods throughout the eighteenth century.[45] On the other hand, the geographical location of Kasar Kano in the Central Sudan, especially in relation to the relatively drier regions to the north and the north-east, and the prospects which Kano held for all economically interested groups, including farmers, nomads, skilled craftsmen and traders, made this state attractive to immigrants. This explains the movement into Kano by several groups of people from Nupeland and other areas to the south. These areas were not affected by adverse climatic condition or acute political instability. The policy which was adopted toward immigrants not only

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43. H. Solken, op.cit., p.148.

44. NAK, Kanoprof, Hist/4 - History of Kazaure.

45. P.E. Lovejoy & Stephen Baier, op.cit., p.570.

encouraged the flow of immigration into Kano but also facilitated their settlement and then their integration into the society.

Large-scale immigration had implications for agricultural and livestock production in Kano. The movement of most of the immigrants was to the densely populated areas. This resulted in the need for more agricultural land. Consequently there was an internal migration from densely populated areas to the sparsely populated ones. Therefore there was an expansion in the area of cultivated lands in Kasar Kano. A good example was the movement of people from the central region to the area of Dambatta in the eighteenth century.

These factors, in addition to the developments in the nineteenth century, encouraged immigration into Kasar Kano considerably. The political instability in the neighbouring Emirates for example, forced people to move into Kano in the nineteenth century. This was the case with the Emirates of Katsina, Daura, Hadejia, Gumel and the state of Damagaram.[46] This was brought about by dynastic disputes

46. For a detailed account of the unstable political conditions in Damagaram and its adjacent areas, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, see M.A. Dunbar, Damagaram (Zinder, Niger), 1812-1906: The History of a Central Sudanic Kingdom, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970, pp.1-60.

which occurred after the success of the Jihad. On the other hand, after the initial problems of power struggle, Kano enjoyed considerable degree of stability throughout the nineteenth century. At the same time, the unprecedented programme of establishment of ribats (fortresses) in Kano which was embarked upon and executed with remarkable enthusiasm by the Emirs throughout the nineteenth century provided considerable security.

Equally important was the economic prosperity which Kano continued to enjoy throughout the nineteenth century. In this period "the state of Kano /was/ the wealthiest of the seven /Hausa states/". Due to the fact that its economy was "most flourishing" and "living is cheapest there",[47] it became an area of attraction to people from different areas both near and far. The expanding economy and favourable political and secured atmosphere created by the state, enabled all categories of immigrants, including unskilled persons who were employed as labourers,[48]

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47. Abdulkadir b. Al-Mustafa, Raudt thal ul-Afkari (trans. H.R. Palmer as "Western Sudan History: being the Raudt thal ul-Afkari", J.A.S., vol.XV, 1915-1916, pp.265-266).

48. F.O.403/64 - F.O.403/75, 1884-1887, Box 35-75 K.I.L., A.B.U., Zaria.

to avail themselves of the economic opportunities found in Kano.

Large-scale immigration into Kano was also stimulated and facilitated by the establishment of the Caliphate. The community feeling created among the people of the Caliphate, the relative peace which was established at least in the greater part of the Caliphate which facilitated easy movement and the establishment of relationship between the Caliphate and the other states of the Sudan and beyond, resulted in the increase of the movements of people from one part of the Sudan to another. Such movements were also encouraged by the periodic droughts which took place in the savanna and Sahel regions during the nineteenth century.[49]

In addition to these factors the Caliphal policy on the promotion of economic activities[50] also supplemented the pre-existing economic policies of Kano. Equally important was the programme of settling the nomadic Fulani. The large-scale sedentarisation of the Fulani and the Tuaregs resulted in the cultivation of large tracts of

49. P.E. Lovejoy & Stephen Baier, op.cit., p.570.

50. See Muhammad Bello, Usul ul-Siyasa, in Shehu Yamusa, op.cit., p.18.

land.[51]

Thus immigration, sedentarisation, and the programme of establishment of settlements and ribats by the state throughout the nineteenth century, led to further opening up of sparsely populated land especially in the south-east parts of Kano. This development was significant for agricultural and livestock production in this period.[52] The increase in agricultural production in the newly cultivated lands would be deduced from the concentration of ribats in the remote parts of the dazuzzuka (forests) which became centres of attraction to other people, especially peasants who were increasingly being squeezed out of the central region of Kano. Being one of the most fertile and wet parts of Kano, these areas became famous for the production of grains and other industrial crops, especially indigo. The region also became attractive to the nomadic Fulani, especially from Ganjuwa and Shira (Bauchi Emirate).[53] Many other Fulanis settled down in the

51. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.486.

52. NAK, SNP.9, 603/1924 - Kano Province, Sumaila District, Re-assessment Report.

53. NAK, SNP.7/10 - Kano Province Assessment Report, 1909/10, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida's District.

south and south-western parts of Kano during this time. Being well-supplied with farmyard manure and cow dung, the farmers were able to practice intensive cultivation of their farms and this contributed to the increase in output.

Immigration therefore contributed to agricultural and livestock production in many ways, in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Associated with immigration was labour which would be considered as a very important index for economic productivity.

(3) Labour.

To know the extent of the utilization of labour in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there is a need to discuss the different sources of labour and how they were utilized.

(a) Sources of Labour at the Disposal of the Ruling Class.

There were four sources of labour: the peasantry, the slaves, the barori, and wage labour. Their contribution to economic productivity varied.

The mobilisation and control of the labour of talakawa in relation to agricultural production was effected through the various institutions, for instance sarakuna of huda or

noma (farming) and makera (blacksmiths). The institutions of the various sarakuna of sana'a emerged long before the eighteenth century.[54] Like all other state institutions, they seem to have reached an important stage of development in the eighteenth century. They were hierarchically organised. The mode of the selection and appointment of the sarakuna of sana'a followed the same pattern as those of other masu sarauta. On being appointed, they received regalia from Sarkin Kano. Every sarkin sana'a, like other state officials, had his assistants and these in turn had their subordinate officers. The institution of the various sarakuna of sana'a were found at various levels of government - the central government, towns or settlements. In some cases, the sarkin sana'a at the central government level exercised authority over the sarakuna of sana'a at the other lower levels.[55]

The raison d'etre for the creation of these institutions by the state was the easy mobilisation and control of labour. The sarkin sanàa's intimate knowledge of each of his followers enabled him to select competent members

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54. See Tarikh Arbab, p.99.

55. P.J. Jaggar, op.cit., pp.18-19.

for specialised jobs or mobilised all of them for work that required many hands.

In relation to agricultural production, the most relevant and most important sarakuna of sana'a were the sarakuna of makera (head of blacksmiths) and sarakuna of huda or noma. Due to their central roles in relation to agricultural production, the mainstay of the economy, their sarautu appear to have been the most important and most organised. The labour of the blacksmiths were utilised in two closely related ways.

Firstly, whenever the need arose for mass production of implements such as hoes, axes, sickles and knives, the sarkin makera simply summoned the required number of blacksmiths, sometimes including those of the countryside for the purpose. This was also the case at the town and settlement levels.

Secondly, the blacksmiths were also made to give to the state certain numbers of hoes which they had produced, for use on the numerous state farms and the farms of the masu sarauta. The collection of the hoes was organised by the sarkin makera of Kano through his officials at all levels. The handles for these implements were similarly produced by wood-carvers, then collected and forwarded to

the appropriate quarters by sarkin masassaka (wood-carvers/ carpenters).

The sarakuna of huda or noma were responsible for the mobilisation of the labour force for utilisation during the various phases of agricultural seasons. As the state farms and gandayen sarautu were spread throughout the state, there was no need for a central institution for mobilisation of labour. The local sarakuna of huda or noma in whose areas the farms were located provided the collective labour force. Although such collective labour force for the utilisation of the ruling class was termed gayya (voluntary communal work), suggesting that it was a voluntary offer of one's service, it was in reality obligatory duty on the talakawa. The teeming population of the villages provided adequate supplementary labour to those of the slaves and the barori (clients) for the ruling class.

Because of the nature of information in our present state of knowledge, the extent of the utilisation of the labour of the slaves in the eighteenth century is not quite clear. It is safe to assume that they were used in large numbers by the masu sarauta. In view of the fact that even in the earlier periods slaves were stationed on the state farms in thousands and because of the policy

of stationing equal number of men and women on each farm,[56] there is every reason to believe that the number of slaves on the state farms were maintained mainly through reproduction. The numbers were also supplemented with new slaves who were obtained through raids in the eighteenth century.[57] While a substantial number of the slaves acquired in the eighteenth century were used in exchange for cowries and other military equipment from Nupeland as well as luxury goods, especially from North Africa, some of the slaves were settled on the state and masu sarauta's estates.

These agricultural estates were mainly administered by the representatives of the masu sarauta.[58] The representatives consisted mainly of slaves, but they were independent of the local dogatai or even sarakuna of garuruwa in whose territories the agricultural estates were located.[59] This was what made their status more than

56. Tarikh Arbab, p.110.

57. ibid., pp.124, 126.

58. NAK, SNP.15, Acc.289 - Dawaki Ta Kudu District, Assessment Report, 1937. This practice probably dated back to the eighteenth century or earlier in view of the antiquity of agricultural estates here.

59. NAK, SNP.15, Acc.289 - Dawaki Ta Kudu District, Assessment Report, 1937.

slaves and they were referred to as barori (clients). Their work included mobilisation of the villagers (with the aid of the dagatai and sarakuna of huda or noma) for work on the estates and the allocation of gayauna (small farms) to their slave inhabitants of the estates. In view of the number of slaves involved, their contribution to agricultural production was substantial.

However, not all the barori were of the same status. While the few senior barori were charged with the supervision of the various aspects of production, the majority of them were involved in manual work. Therefore the role of the latter group was like that of the peasants and the slaves. But their contribution to agricultural production was relatively less than the last two groups. This was also the case with wage labour during the nineteenth century.[1]

When the sources of labour in the nineteenth century is examined, it would be seen that there was increase in the roles of labour over and above that of the eighteenth century. There was also a diversification in the exploitation of labour.

In the nineteenth century, the utilisation of the talakawa labour was considerably increased in favour of the

ruling class. This was due to a number of factors: firstly, the number of masu sarauta, princes, and other non-titled members of the ruling class increased tremendously during the nineteenth century.

Secondly, the division of responsibility between the ruling class and the talakawa, indeed, tacitly served to facilitate and legitimise the claim of the ruling class to the labour and services of the talakawa. Therefore, the intense economic activities in which all or most members of the ruling class were engaged in (during this time), ensured the maximum utilisation of talakawa labour.[60]

Initially, the Jihadists' preaching about the necessity, on the part of every Muslim, to engage in useful economic pursuit;[61] and because of the high rate of sedentarisation among the nomadic Fulani (many of whom belonged to the group of the ruling class) resulted in

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60. The dense population of Kano provided ample labour for the ruling class and that was why "the Kingship of Kano ... /is/ the most enjoyable, because that land has a vast population which is useful to the King". See Imam Imoru, "Succession to Kingship - Nada Sarauta", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.224.

61. See for instance, M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1960), p.570; Abdullahi dan Fodio, Diya ul-Hukkam, in Shehu Yamusa, op.cit., p.24; Muhammad Bello, Usul ul-Siyasa, in Shehu Yamusa, op.cit., pp.18, 19; Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., pp.251, 254.

their great degree of participation in agricultural production. Therefore, the tempo of agricultural activities in the nineteenth century increased considerably. Though the role of the state in this was important, it favoured mainly the ruling class. In addition to the utilisation of labour, the state promoted the interest of the ruling class in terms of access to land, capital, and exemptions from payment of taxes on the crops they produced. Thus, labour provided by the talakawa continued to be important in the nineteenth century, if not more than in the eighteenth century. This was particularly the case because the institution of gayya increasingly came to be dominated by the ruling class.[62]

The use of slave labour also reached its peak in the nineteenth century. In the last chapter the mode of acquisition and numbers of slaves owned by the ruling class were discussed.[63] Apart from their numbers, their significance was also evident in their hardwork. Slaves were acquired to work and their owners expected to make maximum profit out of their investment in them. This is

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62. AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 8/9/80.

63. vide supra, pp.435-441.

clearly reflected in the widespread oral tradition, / especially concerning the length of time spent by the slaves at work during the agricultural seasons. Those slaves who were not kept in agricultural estates always left for work so early and stopped workin so late that "basa ganin fitar kaji kuma basa ganin shiger su gida (they could not see the hens coming out /of the house in the morning/ and could not see them returning to roost /in the evening/".[64] Unlike free men, who in many cases stopped working by the afternoons, slaves were made to work almost continuously throughout the day.[65] Since the owners of the slaves had many ways of disciplining them, it is reasonable to believe that their output was high.

The labour of the barori also became more important during the nineteenth century than in the earlier periods. For a number of reasons, ranging from avoidance of poverty to the hope of becoming a mai sarauta, a number of people attached themselves to the masu sarautu and attajirai.

During the nineteenth century, unlike the previous century, there was a type of labour which became

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64. BAH (Dutsen Dan Bakoshi), 29/12/80.

65. SNA, UIM, MAN (Kingim), 21/4/79.

increasingly important. This was the labour provided by the almajirai and dalibai (pupils/students) to their teachers who were in many cases craft specialists, estate agriculturalists and merchants, all in one.[66] For a number of reasons Kano became attractive to large numbers of almajirai during the nineteenth century. The concentration of industrial establishments provided them with opportunities for acquiring skills while undergoing their studies. On the other hand, many of them found it easier to put into practice the various skills which they had acquired in various places in the course of their learning. One of the leading mallamai, for instance, "became so concerned about his students, many of whom had been dyers in their home villages, who were roaming all over the city [the Birni], going to different dyeing centres to find employment", that he established a dyeing centre for them.[67]

In terms of agricultural production, the labour provided by the almajirai to their teachers was substantial.

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66. Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.308.

67. Philip J. Shea, "Black Cloth: An Export Oriented Industry in Kano", paper for the Seminar on Economic History of the Central Savanna of West Africa, Kano, 5-10 January, 1976, pp.8-9.

Because of Kano's large population, and since many[68] parents sent their children to schools, it could be safe to assume that many of the teachers had scores or hundreds of children in their schools. As a rule all able male pupils "helped" their teachers with work on the farms, while female[69] pupils and male pupils who were too young to work on the teachers' farms paid money instead. This and the fees paid for each pupil at the time of enrolment (about 1,000 cowries per pupil) as well as the regular fees paid for the education of the children, ranging from 20,000 to 30,000 cowries,[70] were used in employing wage labour for agricultural and industrial production or were invested in commerce and trade.

Similarly due to the increase in the population of Kano, the number of barori (clients) who attached themselves to the members of the ruling class also might have increased substantially.

Growth in urban population and shortages of land,

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68. Imam Imoru, "Elementary School - Makarantar Yara", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.260.

69. UYA (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79.

70. Imam Imoru, "Elementary School - Makarantar Yara", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.261.

especially in the central region of Kano, may have led to a deterioration in the living conditions of some of the talakawa and this forced some or many of them to enter into the services of the ruling class. While some of them became courtiers, others performed manual tasks such as cleaning the stables, or were employed in trading activities in the case of those who entered into the services of the attajirai. Others were employed as herders. Some of them also settled in the large agricultural estates. Here they spent part of their time working for their masters and another part of it working on their gayauna (small farm owned by members of households privately and independent of the householder) which were given to them.[71]

/ The increase in population also stimulated the increase in wage labour, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. By this time there were myriads of people whose only means of livelihood was by working for others as labourers. Such people were employed in large numbers, especially by the well-to-do members of the society for the purpose of agricultural production.[72]

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71. IGS (Kano), 12/7/80.

72. F.O.403/64 - F.O.403/75, 1884-1887, Box 35-75 K.I.L., A.B.U., Zaria.

Thus in the nineteenth century, the labour at the disposal of the ruling class was more than adequate. Their utilisation of this labour force, among other factors, enabled them to increase their agricultural and livestock output substantially. This widened the gap between the socially dominant group and the talakawa.

(b) Sources and Control of Talakawa Labour.

Both in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries, the most important sources of labour for the various households of the talakawa were the members of the family and gayya system (voluntary communal work). Gayya system should be regarded as part of the family labour because it was largely based on the exchange of labour between the different families or households.

The gayya was also organised by suitors or sons-in-law for the purposes of performing some tasks at various stages of agricultural production for the families of their prospective wives,[73] or parents-in-law. Thus, in such a case, the gayya system would give families with extensive family relation through inter-marriages an edge over those who had not.

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73. HMA (Burumburum), 11/7/80.

The most permanent and most reliable form of labour, however, was that of the members of each family or household. These households, especially those in the countryside, consisted of extended families of several generations. By the later part of the nineteenth century,[74] each household looked more like unguwa (ward) than a "compound". Each generation of the household inhabited a separate dunguma (corner), which really resembled a compound. All of the dunguma of each household, however, were enclosed by a fence with but one entrance, and each of the enclosed dunguma was regarded as a compound; with only one gandu (large farm) belonging to the most senior person in the compound, usually the grandfather. This person, known as mai gida ("master of the house"), was the undisputed ruler of the household. By the later part of the nineteenth century or early part of the twentieth century, the population of each of these households ranged from about seven to ninety-six.

The "ownership" of land which was an important means of agricultural production, among other factors, enabled

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74. NAK, SNP.7 - Assessment Report 1909-10, Barde's District, Kano Province; J. Greenberg, op.cit., pp.14, 15.

the heads of the households to control their respective members. This provided such heads with means by which they compelled all members of the household to produce a surplus labour, that is labour beyond their subsistence requirement whenever and wherever possible. The gerontocratic formation in the households reflected the relations of production, whereby a certain group of people within the households appropriated surplus labour and justified such practice in the name of respect and authority.

In addition to the control of the means of production, other means were employed for the purpose of controlling the members of the household. Among these was the advantage which the heads of the households had in relation to the acquisition of skills. The acquisition of "technical" skills provided those who possessed them with some degree of influence over the members of their household; since the continuation of any group or community depended on such knowledge. Superiority in particular techniques invariably gave those who possessed them confidence and at the same time earned them the respect and loyalty of their respective communities. Therefore the acquisition and possession of knowledge and skills would in most cases result in "traditional" societies in a

greater authority of older people over younger ones.

But the acquisition of these technical skills may not necessarily sustain the authority of the heads of the household since skills could be acquired eventually by the younger members of the household. This would place them on equal footing with the elders. Therefore, in order to enhance or perpetuate their authority, the heads of the household had to extend their knowledge beyond the technical skills. They usually demonstrated good knowledge of their society; its customs, genealogies, history, and rules governing marriages; in addition to skills in the performances of rituals in connection with certain aspects of agricultural production. Through these various instruments of control the heads of the households were able to make maximum use of the labour and services of their members in various aspects of agricultural and livestock production.

The extent to which slave labour was used by the talakawa in the eighteenth century for agricultural and livestock production is not known. It may, however, be safe to assume that a few of them, especially those who were involved in long-distance trade, did own a few slaves. While such slaves made important contribution to

livestock production, it is unlikely that slave labour, as far as the talakawa were concerned, made any significant contribution to agricultural production during this period. But of greater importance in this respect was the labour provided by almajirai, because most of the malaman kirgi were involved in agricultural production. The role of the almajirai in the eighteenth century provided the base for their increasing role in agricultural production with the success of the Jihad in the nineteenth century.

The extent of the utilisation of wage labour among the talakawa in the eighteenth century is not yet clear. Therefore it will be premature to draw any conclusions or even to pass tentative judgement about this category of labour during that period.

While there was increase and diversification in the labour at the disposal of the ruling class in the nineteenth century, it seems that labour for agricultural, livestock and industrial production among the talakawa did not likewise increase in the nineteenth century. This was in spite of the fact that the population of the talakawa increased through high birth rate and immigration. The labour force for the use of the talakawa even seems to have declined through its greater exploitation by the

ruling class.

In view of the increase in Islamic learning throughout the state, however, it is reasonable to surmise that there was an increase in the use of almajirai's labour for the benefit of malaman kirgi (ordinary literati).

Similarly the increasing participation of the talakawa in long-distance trade enabled them to acquire a few slaves. While some of these were used as porters, others were made to provide labour on the farms.

The knowledge about wage labour among the talakawa in this period appeared to be similar to that of the eighteenth century. Therefore, the most important source of labour, outside household labour, continued to be that of gayya.

Apart from land tenure, immigration, expansion of cultivated lands, and labour, there were other factors of less significance for production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These were the result of policies pursued by the rulers as well as developments generated by expansion in all aspects of the economy.

(4) Other Factors Which Influenced Production.

The effects of those policies and developments were more pronounced in the nineteenth century. The new economic policies which were introduced in the nineteenth century favoured mainly the ruling class, especially in agricultural production. It consequently resulted in widening of the gap between the ruling class and the talakawa.

Among the other important factors which stimulated agricultural and livestock production during the period under consideration was trade. Trade stimulated production in a variety of ways. One of its greatest significance was the promotion of specialisation between individuals, between towns and the countryside, between different economic regions and between the various sectors of the economy, particularly between agriculture and pastoralism on one hand, and between the last two and the industrial sector on the other.

It is only when producers know that their surpluses could be disposed of that they would endeavour to produce more than they require for domestic needs. Such over-production of commodities beyond the subsistence level could be enhanced if the produce or product could be

disposed of profitably. A major significance of trade, √ especially internal trade, was the promotion of specialisation in agricultural and livestock production. However, trade was not the only factor which promoted specialisation. The distribution of areas of agricultural and livestock production regions and "belts" throughout Kasar Kano has been influenced by geographical and geological factors. The distribution of rainfall, and soil-types among other factors, have played some roles in distribution of the functions of the various economic regions. √But there is no doubt that internal trade played a leading role in stimulating production in the various regions and "belts".

By the end of the nineteenth century the different regions and "belts" had acquired a remarkable reputation for the quality and quantity of the respective commodities which they produced. Such "belts" included a stretch of territory from the west to the east in the extreme northern parts of Kasar Kano which became notable for its millet. This "belt" was also noted for raising large numbers of livestock, especially goats and sheep. The cotton "belt" covered much of the south-eastern, southern and south-western parts of Kasar Kano. The guinea corn "belt" stretched from Burumburum to Rano and other areas

to the south and the south-west. Although the leading crops and livestock which were produced in these "belts" or regions were also in many cases commonly produced in other parts of Kano, the productivity of labour and the yield per acre (in relation to the major crops of the economic regions or "belts") as well as the overall quality of commodities produced in these economic regions and "belts" were different from those of the non-specialised regions.

Trade therefore significantly raised the level of production during both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Without trade, division of labour would not have been possible since each producer would try to satisfy his needs by engaging himself in all aspects of production. This could hardly have promoted efficiency since a single individual could not be a master of all trades.

Besides the direct effect of trade on production, there were also indirect effects. These included high demands which stimulated greater production of especially exotic crops. A good example was the devotion of a substantial part of some farmlands as well as labour to

the production of wheat[75] and other crops such as tobacco.[76] This resulted in the intensification of the use of the river valleys for the purpose of producing these crops.[77]

The level of productivity was also significantly raised by the policies pursued by the state in relation to the provision of capital to the ruling class. Also, the policy of exempting certain crops from taxes was a significant stimulant.

These two policies, particularly provision of capital, do not feature clearly in the sources about the eighteenth century. But from the frequency of the application of these policies in the nineteenth century and in the absence of any evidences to indicate that they were introduced only in the latter century there is every reason to believe that they also occurred in the eighteenth century.

Slaves were a major source of capital for the ruling class in the nineteenth century and the state was their main source. Therefore the ruling class had greater

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75. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.485; AJI (Karaye), 28/12/78.

76. IGS (Rano), 12/7/80.

77. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.50.

access to capital formation through which they controlled other sectors of the economy. Slaves who were not sold by their masters and who were not engaged in specific occupations were made to pay murgu (taxes) on daily, weekly, monthly or annual basis, depending on their income.[78]

Another important source of revenue for the slave owners was the institution of fansar kai (self redemption). This involved the payment of specified fees by slaves who wanted to regain their freedom. Taking advantage of the anxiety of slaves to regain their freedom, the owners often imposed high fees on them.[79] In view of the large numbers of slaves acquired by the ruling class, the amount of revenue obtained from these sources must have been substantial. Money obtained from these sources were re-invested in more slaves who were again either made to redeem themselves, pay taxes or provide labour on the agricultural estates. The money was also used for acquiring livestock, especially cattle. Also significant was the use of such revenue for hiring labour in order to

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78. Imam Imoru, "Slavery - Bauta", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.230.

79. ibid., p.232.

work on the farms or look after livestock of the ruling class. In this way, capital was multiplied and this made the ruling class, especially the attajirai, wealthy.

Equally significant in their source of wealth was the policy which exempted the ruling class from payment of taxes. High taxes had a negative effect on production. In a situation where a farmer, as was the case with a talaka, was deprived of a substantial part of his produce through various forms of taxation, there was little or no motivation for getting anything done beyond what was necessary for tax and food. By being exempted from most or all forms of taxation therefore, the ruling class who controlled the means of agricultural production were encouraged to produce as much crops and livestock as possible.

Similarly in order to encourage production of industrial crops, such as cotton, Emir Abdullahi (1855-1882) introduced a radical policy which involved the exemption of key industrial crops, notably cotton, from taxation.[80] This act encouraged the talakawa to devote

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80. NAK, SNP.7, 2084/1909 - Assessment Report, Bebeji and Kofa Districts; SNP.7/10 - Kano Province, Assessment Report 1909-10, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida and Gumel Districts.

enough labour and land to the cultivation of cotton. This gave them a singular opportunity to earn extra revenue. The insatiable demand for cotton always guaranteed for them markets. For this reason large tracts of land, especially in the south-eastern,[81] south and south-western regions of Kano, were cleared and cultivated for the purpose of producing cotton and indigo.

In addition, the state introduced other policies and measures aimed at promoting agricultural and livestock production. Both in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries the state took keen interest in the delimitation and protection of burtali (cattle routes) throughout Kano. Particularly in the nineteenth century, most of the Emirs of Kano paid attention to the reservation and maintenance of community grazing grounds and burtali. Regulations were strictly enforced in relation to the nomads who deliberately or otherwise allowed their animals to damage farm crops.[82] Even more significant was the conscious efforts made by some of the Emirs to protect farmers and

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81. NAK, SNP.7/10 - Kano Province, Assessment Report 1909-10, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida and Gumel Districts.

82. Imam Imoru, "Jurisprudence - Shari'a", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.241.

herders throughout Kano against the raids of the Ningawa, Maradawa (people of Maradi), Damagarawa (people of Damagaram) as well as raiders from Hadejia[83] and Gumel, and against robbers.[84] In this regard, the ribats played a significant role. The relative degree of peace enjoyed by the inhabitants of Kasar Kano during most[85] of the nineteenth century is testified to by the surprise expressed by some travellers through Kano during this time,[86] in relation to many isolated and dispersed settlements in the countryside. This situation enabled the farmers and the herders to concentrate on the production of crops and livestock.

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83. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.26a.

84. ibid., p.22b.

85. In time of weak rulers, for instance Usman b. Ibrahim (1846-1855), robbers infested some of the trade route while hostile neighbouring Emirates and states raided into Kasar Kano at will. But the energetic rulers, especially Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846) and Abdullahi b. Ibrahim (1855-1882), kept the robbers and raiders in check for most of the periods of their lengthy rule.

86. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.487; C.H. Robinson, op.cit., p.100.

II. The Process of Agricultural Production in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries:

(1) The Involvement of the Ruling Class in the Processes of Agricultural Activities.

The important position of agricultural production in relation to other sectors of the economy was realised by the Kings of Kano and all other state officials. In addition to its being the major source of raw materials for the numerous and relatively huge industrial establishments, agricultural produce was also vital for sustaining the huge population of pastoral, industrial, commercial and the ruling groups and their large followers. It was this awareness that made the Kings and other state officials to pay considerable attention to every stage and aspect of agricultural production. The Kings always saw to the timely planting of crops as well as their harvests.

In Kano the state used to intervene in determining the planting season in order to avoid unnecessary loss of seeds and to ensure a good amount of yields if there would be no drought. The implementation of the state measures in this respect, were carried by the elders as well as sarakuna of huda or noma. There were rituals to be followed. The beginning of planting was announced by the beating of tambari. This was immediately followed by the

movement of the King and his entourage to the nearest royal farm.[87] With the firing of the bindiga (gun) he would plant the seeds while people would offer prayers for a successful agricultural season. Subsequently the news of the beginning of the planting season would spread all over Kasar Kano and people would become busy with various aspects of cultivation. Different crops were planted in a definite sequence, at specific times, depending on the amount of rainfall. Normally they started with grains, cotton, groundnuts and then other crops. To ensure successful seasons, during times of shortages, the state used to supply the peasants with seeds.[88]

The participation of the rulers in agricultural production did not end with the symbolical planting of the seeds. Rulers throughout the state, at all levels of government, had large farms which were inhabited by slaves and barori and sometimes the relatives of the masu sarauta.[89]

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87. MMM (Bebeji), 9/2/79.

88. Imam Imoru, "Farming - Ayukan Gona", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.60. Imam Imoru, in this case, specifically refers to developments in the nineteenth century. But there is every reason to believe that this practice dated back to earlier periods.

89. AAA (Dutse Gadawur), 4/2/79.

Each of the inhabitants of these gandaye(agricultural estates) was allocated a private piece of land known as gayauna, within the gandu. Some of the barori used their own slaves to work for them on their gayauna.[90] The mai sarauta's slaves and their wives, however, spent most of their time working in the mai sarauta's gandu.

At the moment it is not easy to determine the difference between the state farms and the personal farms of the Kings. Both categories of farms were located throughout Kasar Kano. The talakawa provided labour for the state farms for every stage of the agricultural calendar, from the time of clearing to the time of harvests. The prevalence of the gandayen sarautu and the state farms throughout Kasar[91] Kano and the frequent calling out of people for clearing of the land, sowing, weeding, harvesting and transportation of the produce to the towns meant that a substantial part of the talakawa's labour was appropriated by the masu sarauta.

The produce from the state farms and gandayen sarautu were used in feeding the multitudes of the fadawa (courtiers)

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90. IGS (Kano), 12/7/80.

91. AAA (Dutse Gadawur), 4/2/79; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

and their families, the barori (clients), mallamai (literati), horses and in times of serious shortages the grains were given to the needy.[92]

These processes were maintained and observed in the nineteenth century because of the increase in the ownership of land by the ruling class who were mainly absentee landlords. Therefore production in the large agricultural estates were supervised by their agents on their behalf.

An important feature of agricultural production in the nineteenth century therefore was the remarkable increase in development of estate agriculture. While it is premature to speak authoritatively regarding this development, it seems to be clear that by the second half of the nineteenth century, estate agriculture had become an important feature of agricultural production, particularly in the central regions, near the urban centres of other regions as well as in less densely populated but fertile areas of the Emirate. In other words, production on very large agricultural estates was increasingly becoming the vogue.

The reason for this may be sought in the various

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92. Imam Imoru, "Farming - Ayukan Gona", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.61.

factors of production which have already been discussed. ✓ Those factors had considerable effect on the method of agricultural production during this period. ✗ Central to the consolidation, method and scale of agricultural production during the nineteenth century was the state. The state was used by the ruling class to acquire vast and numerous agricultural estates.[93] On these estates the socially dominant group not only maintained their slaves, barori and livestock but also industrial establishment. It is due to their multi-purpose roles that many of them became focal points for caravan trade routes. ✓ Production in these estates, whether agricultural or industrial, was profit oriented. The produce and products of such estates therefore simply found their way into internal and external trade. This meant that they did not have to convey their produce and products to the towns before they were sold. In view of the large concentration and spread of these estates in the countryside, it is most likely that a substantial part of industrial goods were processed either in the estates themselves or in the settlements nearby. ✓ Many of the owners of the estates lived in the birni and

93. vide supra, pp.459-63.

other urban centres.[94]

Therefore there was a need for the absentee landlords to have their representatives in such estates to carry out the work on their behalf. Such representatives wielded great powers over the people working in these estates, be they slaves, barori or the talakawa. Consequently this method of agricultural production widened the social gap between the socially dominant group and the talakawa, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century when the acquisition of land by the ruling class reached its peak and the method was consolidated.

(2) Processes of Agricultural Production Among the Talakawa.

Among the talakawa there was a different method of agricultural production. This was determined by the amount of land and labour at their disposal. In relative terms, by far the most widespread method of agricultural production among them was that of "collective" farming in the form of gandu and gayauna.[95] This was based on the house-

94. This refers to the attajirai - Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.212; P.E. Lovejoy, op.cit.(1978), p.360.

95. Imam Imoru, "Families - Iyali", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.284.

hold.

The members of each household resided in a compound under the authority of mai gida. The head of the household exercised considerable influence over the members of his household. He was "like a ruler of a town".[96] The members of the household worked for him. In return he fed them, clothed them, and met their social obligations and other requirements. His major role in relation to production was in most cases supervisory. He determined the size of land to be put under cultivation in any particular year and the types of crops to be planted. He arranged for the supply of manure to the farms and after the harvest he decided what amount was to be sold and what was to be preserved for immediate and future consumption. He regulated the length of time to be spent on the gandu by the members of the family with the view to giving them adequate time to attend to their gayauna (private farms).[97]

Division of labour among the members of each household was not clearly defined. During the planting season, all the members of the family participated. While adult

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96. Imam Imoru, "Families - Iyali", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.284.
97. NAK, SNP.332P/1918 - Kano Province, Kano Emirate, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida's District, Assessment.

males struck the holes and dropped the seeds in them, women and children trampled on them. Weeding was carried out by both men and women. Children in most cases took care of goats and sheep. Harvesting was done mainly by men. The gathering of the bundles to the fage (central collection ground) was largely the work of women. Therefore the main source of labour for the talakawa was provided by the members of each household.

But another important source of labour for the talakawa households was gayya (communal work). Every stage of agricultural production was characterised by a high degree of co-operation among various communities, especially among neighbours, friends and relatives. Any person who required more service hands, simply extended an invitation to his neighbours through sarkin huda, who in turn went round to distribute kolanuts and in the process told the people the date and place of the gayya. Most people normally honoured the invitation, since frequent turning down of an invitation to gayya was regarded as anti-social. The institution was so strong in the society that its attendance was regarded as an obligation. It was the accepted principle that anyone

who accepted the goro (kolanut) would go to work.[98] The number of invitations sent out was calculated according to the amount of work to be done. The assigned work had to be completed in a day.

An important stimulant to the invited workers was the presence of girls at the site. So were the drummers. While work progressed, the girls stood in rows behind the workers, sometimes with mafichi (fan) in their hands,[99] singing their praises: such applauds and other complimentary remakrs re-invigorated the workers. The drummers who normally stood in front of the workers tantalised them by continually moving backward to encourage the lagging workers to catch up. The spirit of competition was so high among the workers that many of them took potions (made from herbs) in order to sustain their energies for the work at hand.[100] It was socially important at such times for youths to rival each other for excellence.

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98. NAK, SNP.7, 5785/1912 - Kano Province, Damburam Chiroma's District, Assessment Report on; AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 8/9/80.

99. AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 8/9/80. The mafichi were used for fanning the sweating workers.

100. AAA, BAA, SIM, DII (Rimin Gado), 5/9/80.

Particularly for the talakawa, the institution of gayya served very useful purposes. It was crucial for people who owned large farms but whose labour force was small either because of the size of the members of the household or because they were not rich enough to buy slaves or hire wage labour. Gayya, therefore, was the cheapest form of labour and the talakawa competed with attajirai over it. It enabled farmers to complete some of the most tedious work, for instance making kunya (ridges) easily. Weeding of large farms which would have taken a family days or weeks to complete, as a consequence of which crops might have been destroyed by weeds, were completed in a single day. This was also significant for the harvesting, threshing, winnowing and evacuation of the produce from the fields to the houses. Any delay in any of these stages of production resulted in considerable damage to the crops either by birds, insects, ants or livestock.

Another significant role of gayya in the society was the communal spirit which it generated: there were no rewards or payments expected for services rendered. This spirit transcended that of production. It covered all other spheres of the economic and social lives of the

various communities.

The organisation and processes of agricultural production among the talakawa did not undergo any significant change in the nineteenth century except with regard to the occurance of seasonal migration for farming and limited employment of wage labour. What appeared to have been more glaring was the increasing shortages of land, especially in the central region and other areas near the urban centres. This was the result of the development of estate agriculture among the ruling class at the expense of the talakawa. Therefore new farming methods, among other things, had to be adopted to compensate for the loss of land.

In attempts to overcome the land problem, the state adopted a number of policies while the talakawa took a number of steps to solve the problem. At first, the intensive method of cultivation was increasingly being practised. But because of the low level of technology there was a limit to which they could make maximum use of the land. Therefore, some of the farmers, especially in the central region, resorted to acquiring land in distant places from their area of domicile. An important consequence of this practice was the occurance of seasonal

migration of farmers between their farms and homes. During the agricultural seasons they spent all or most of their time in gidan gona (farm house), returning home only after the harvest. Those of them who had slaves kept them in the gidan gona almost on a permanent basis.

Where the rulers appropriated the farmlands of a group of talakawa,[101] the state often undertook to re-settle the affected persons in less densely populated parts of Kasar Kano. In order to get the farmers to move into areas, the state provided a number of incentives which included "principle of financing over the first year's harvest". This meant defraying the farmers' expenses. Besides such measures farmers were exempted from taxation in their first resettlement year.[102]

Other farmers, however, simply either concentrated on industrial production or trade, thus making farming a secondary occupation, or sought employment in the large industrial establishments of the attajirai. The "mai gida" system originated from such practice and it involved the

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101. NAK, SNP.7, 1055/1912 - Kano Province, Dan Iya Sub-District, Assessment Report.

102. NAK, SNP.17/2, 12004, vol.I - Kano Province, Annual Report, 1929.

"striking of a relationship" between a talaka and an attajiri so that the former could offer his labour or service to the latter. This was a kind of "yaro(lit. boy)-mai gida(lit. master) relationship". Such a "yaro" could be made to supervise the other workers on the farm, work in the industrial establishment of the mai gida or was entrusted with small capital (initially) for the purpose of undertaking both internal and external trade. A few others served as herdsmen for especially the sedentarised Fulani.

III. Livestock Production:

(1) Ownership.

By the eighteenth century many of the major Fulani groups had already moved into various parts of Kasar Kano. Many others continued to immigrate into Kano. By the end of that century many of them had settled down in or around the urban centres.

Some of the leaders of the Fulani groups became state officials, either as sarakuna of Fulani, or as advisers to the sarki, while others, especially the elders, devoted their time to learning. These and the increasing interaction between the nomadic Fulani and the other

members of the society promoted the sedentarisation of the nomadic Fulani. This had two related effects:

Firstly, a process of occupational transition was taking place among the Fulani. Those of them who had been in Kano for centuries before this period and others who for one reason or another lost their cattle,[103] gradually settled down and pursued agricultural activities. By the end of the eighteenth century therefore, there were three categories of Fulani in Kano. A relatively small group had fully settled down and was engaged in agricultural, and to a lesser extent, industrial production. A second group, probably larger in number, were engaged in a kind

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103. An outbreak of epidemic like that of rinderpest could easily sweep away cattle from an entire region. The most severe of the known cases of outbreak of epidemics in the Central Sudan took place between 1887 and 1891. Starting apparently from Darfur, the disease (rinderpest) reached the region of Lake Chad in 1886 and then spread westward. In the greater part of the area which came to be known as Northern Nigeria, the disease killed many cattle. Many of the nomadic Fulani, having lost most of their cattle, became demented. Some are believed to have done away with their lives while others became mad. For details of the havoc caused by the outbreak of this epidemic, see F.W. de St. Croix, The Fulani of Northern Nigeria, London, Gregg International, 1972, p.12.

While some of those who lost their cattle tried to re-build their herds from the scratch, others settled down in towns or settlements to engage in agricultural production.

of "mixed farming". This group was involved in both agricultural and livestock production. A third group, especially the Mbororo'en, continued to engage only in livestock production. The majority of the members of this group appear to have had no permanent bases. They kept on moving from one place to another.

It must be noted, however, that livestock production, even by this relatively early period, was not the preserve of the nomadic or settled Fulani. A good number of the other members of the society, especially the members of the ruling class, acquired large numbers of cattle. The first indication of the acquisition of large numbers of cattle from the Fulani by the masu sarauta in fact took place in the seventeenth century.[104] This practice was continued in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Whenever the members of the masu sarauta wanted to seize cattle from the Mbororo, all they needed to do was to trump up charges against them. By the eighteenth century therefore, both through taxation and reproduction, the masu sarauta acquired considerable herds of cattle. These cattle were

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104. Tarikh Arbab, p.119; Imam Imoru, "Cattle - Shanu", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.84; NAK, SNP.7/10, 5570/1909-10 - Kano Province, Assessment 1909-10, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida and Gumel.

reared for the rulers either by the Fulani shepherds or by their slaves or barori (clients). The attajirai also invested part of their money in cattle and other kinds of livestock.

The realization by the rulers of the importance of livestock industry in the overall structure of the economy prompted their interest in its expansion. Accordingly they encouraged the immigration of the rich Fulani groups, for instance the Yerimawa and the Jaidanawa, to Kasar Kano.[105] To ensure easy movements of animals and protect crops, the rulers delineated numerous burtali (cattle tracks)[106] and demarcated a number of grazing grounds, usually along river valleys and near lakes. The state also often tried to provide security through the services of the ubiquitous masu unguwa, Jakadu, Dagatai, Dogarai, and other oficials. These monitored movements of suspicious persons, especially along the burtali and near

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105. NAK, SNP. 4817/1912 - Kano Province, Jaidanawa Sub-District, Assessment Report on.

106. D.J. Stenning, Savanna Nomads: A Study of the Woda'abe Pastoral Fulani of Western Borno Province, Northern Nigeria, London, O.U.P., 1969, p.6; MAM, AAG, UMY (Kura), 9/7/80; F.W. de St. Croix, op.cit., p.7.

the water holes.[107] In the event of cattle raids or theft, these state officials often mobilised warriors to pursue, round up and retrieve the stolen cattle and other animals. Such adequate security which was provided, and other favourable policies or measures taken by the state, encouraged various Fulani groups who had already settled down in Kasar Kano to invite more and more of their relatives, friends and acquaintances to Kano.[108]

However, the acquisition of large herds by non-Fulani among the ruling class increased considerably in the nineteenth century.

As in the case of agriculture, a major feature of livestock production in the nineteenth century was the increasing concentration of livestock, especially cattle, in the hands of the members of the ruling class. By this period the non-Fulani members of the ruling class, for instance the Hausa, the Kanuri, and probably the Tuaregs, had started to compete and in some cases even surpassed other Fulani in the ownership of cattle. Some of the Hausa attajirai owned as many as 3,000 heads of cattle

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107. MAM, AAG, UMY (Kura), 9/7/80.

108. NAK, SNP.7, 4817/1912 - Kano Province, Jaidanawa Sub-District, Assessment Report on.

each.[109] However, it is important to note that with the accumulation of capital in their hands and their easy access to slaves, the ruling class in general was able to invest more in this sector of the economy. The importance which the society attached to the ownership of cattle in the nineteenth century manifested itself in the way by which nearly all members of the society who could acquire cattle made serious efforts to have them.[110]

As in the case of agriculture where there were absentee landlords, here too the owners who were living in the birni and other urban centres were using their slaves as herdsmen.[111] Nevertheless, some of the cattle owners used to send their sons from time to time to supervise the work of the slaves even if that would amount to staying in the gandaye for a considerable length of time.[112] This may explain the reason why some of the

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109. Imam Imoru, "Cattle - Shanu", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.84.

110. NAK, Kanoprof, 69/1919. Sheep and goats were in some cases largely bred with the view to buying cattle. The ambition of many people was the possession of cattle, which they found to be profitable investment.

111. F.W. de St. Croix, op.cit.(1972), p.6; D.J. Stenning, op.cit., p.65.

112. F.W. de St. Croix, op.cit.(1972), p.6.

cattle owners owned large tracts of lands near the urban centres[113] to maintain close supervision over the rearing of their herders. Consequently, this development helped in promoting the phenomenon of "mixed farming" in Kasar Kano in the nineteenth century.

(2) Division of Labour and Co-operation Among the Pastoralists.

Ownership, control, division of labour and the nature and degree of cooperation in livestock production, with a few exceptions, were generally similar to those which prevailed among the agriculturalists.whom we have discussed. Just as the sarakuna and the other state officials expropriated the labour of the peasants and other occupational groups through gayya, the same group of people also used some of the Fulani groups to take care of their cattle. In return, the herders, in whose charge such cattle were put, benefited from the dairy products of the cattle in their custody. They also, occasionally, received gifts of calves, heifers, and sometimes full-grown cows when the herders rendered services considered by the cattle owners, particularly the masu sarauta and attajirai, as

113. MBD (Kumbotso), 12/7/80.

satisfactory.[114] Over the years such gifts for services rendered became institutionalised and were expected from all cattle owners.

The bulk of the cattle, however, were owned by Fulani families or groups. The economic unit was the household. This consisted of a man, his wife or wives, and their children.[115] In the later stages of their development, especially among those who had settled down permanently in or near the settlements and towns, such families could include married sons, their wives, children, and possibly their barori and slaves.

The head exercised considerable authority over the members of his household, to the extent that while youths anxiously looked forward to the day when they would attain this position, the elderly men tended to regret that they had grown too old and had lost their former positions of authority.[116] The head of the household, in theory, owned all the cattle, took all decisions and represented the family at the meeting of elders. He decided who and when

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114. AAY (Rogo), 4/7/80.

115. D.J. Stenning, op.cit., p.6.

116. MAM, AAG, UMY (Kura), 9/7/80.

his son or sons would marry and settled all the expenses. He derived his authority from these and other such social responsibilities.

In terms of actual participation in production, depending on his age, he did relatively little. In the eighteenth century, especially in the second half, many of the Fulani elders and heads of the various households spent most of their time either performing their state functions, for those who received sarautu, or studying the Qur'an and other Islamic literature. Many were engaged in teaching and preaching, and performance of other functions reserved for elders, especially at various ceremonies. Some of them did, however, perform light duties such as making different types of ropes which were important in livestock activities. They made or secured komi or komasa (pales for watering animals). Sometimes, especially for families who suffered from shortage of manpower, some of the elders undertook to water the animals. This involved going to the village water holes around mid-day to draw water from the wells and fill the komi, ready for animals which would return from grazing in the afternoon.[117]

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117. AAH (Jahun), 8/4/79.

The elders also offered advice about pastures. They warned the herders about dangerous areas. Areas of hendu (diseases associated with spirits but manifesting themselves in paralysis) or ladde (cancer) which were known only to the elders were to be avoided. Since hendu would include such spore-forming diseases as anthrax, the information they imparted to the youths were often almost accurate,[118] and strict adherence to such advice often saved herds from epidemics. Other functions performed by some of the elders included procuring cure for a variety of diseases through the administration of different concoctions from bark of trees, potions of herds, and the administration of vaccination against contagious Bovine Pleuro pneumonia and the treatment of fractures sustained by animals.[119] The effectiveness of the treatment of many of the diseases which had been acknowledged by the British colonial veterinary officers[120] as very useful to the development of livestock in the savanna regions of West

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118. F.W. de St. Croix, op.cit.(1972), p.21.

119. ibid., pp.23-24.

120. One of them was F.W. de St. Croix. He spent a very long period travelling extensively in Northern Nigeria.

Africa, reflects the effectiveness of the herbs administered by the herders. Through the careful development of the art of preventive and curative medicine, and relatively efficient method of selection of acknowledged good breeders among the varied cattle, the herders were able not only to sustain the numbers of their cattle but also to expand the quantity and quality of their livestock. From among groups of herders there emerged a number of people who came to be regarded as experts in the various aspects of animal husbandry. It was these experts that attended to the cattle of their household, neighbours and friends. Service was offered free or almost free.

The heads of the households were also responsible for replenishing the herds of their respective families, especially through purchases. They also ensured that good husbandry in relation to the careful tending of calves, selection of reputable breed of cows and bulls, and the preservation of capital stock through strict regulation of sale or killing of productive animals, were maintained. It has to be pointed out that while the elders initiated and directed such activities, it was the young men who executed them.

Therefore, the manual aspects of animal husbandry

were carried out by the youth - male and female members of the various households, including the barori and slaves. This category of the members of the households spent almost all of their time looking after the animals. During the day they took the animals out for grazing. At night they were virtually forbidden from sleeping in the compounds. Only the head of the household entered his su'udi(rooms; sing. sudu). All young men slept near the coral or rough grass-couches in order to keep off wild animals and check cattle theft.[121] It was also the young men who accompanied the cattle on their seasonal movements, southward or northwards.

Children of about ten years and above also participated actively in the herding of cattle. Small boys controlled large numbers of cattle with amazing ease. In cases where families had no male children, young girls had to take part in herding the animals.[122] Women also played very important roles in animal husbandry. They milked the cows, prepared the butter, and carried out all transactions involving dairy products. All cash obtained from

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121. D.J. Stenning, op.cit., p.110.

122. AAY (Rogo), 4/7/80.

the sales of dairy products belonged to the women and men had no right to it.[123] The income from the sales of the dairy products was, however, expended mainly in buying foodstuffs, while the remaining was used for buying clothes for the members of the household. When and if dairy products would become short of supply, the head of the household had to sell some of the herd in order to tide over the period. The goats and sheep which were raised in large numbers were particularly meant to serve this purpose.

In addition to family labour, the heads of the households, like their agriculturalists counterparts, had access to other sources of labour. This included the labour of relatives, friends and neighbours. The nature of livestock production was such that a great deal of cooperation was absolutely necessary in all aspects of production. An outbreak of an epidemic, notably rinderpest, for instance, could and did render a whole group or groups helpless and would become dependent on its or their relatives whose cattle had escaped the outbreak of the disease. In order to re-establish their herds some

123. F.W. de St. Croix, op.cit.(1972), p.30.

people willingly offered their help by giving the victim or victims gifts of bulls and heifers. Such animals were kept until such a time when the person being assisted had acquired a reasonable number of cattle. In cases where a herder had lost his cattle and could not get assistance from his relatives, he had to work for a rich cattle owner who kept on giving him gifts of cattle until he could re-establish himself. He would then "retire" from the service of his beneficiary and stand on his own.

Cooperation and state intervention minimised conflict over grazing grouns, water-holes, and keeping away of infected cattle from the uninfected ones. This was important in view of the concentration of cattle in this region. Cooperation between herders therefore covered wide areas. Herders, for instance, not only shared information on the outbreak of diseases but also warned their neighbours or any newly arrived herders of an infection in their own cattle so that such neighbours may have the opportunity of moving their herds away in time.[124] Quarrels over grazing grounds were easily avoided by adopting a principle of "first come first served". When

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124. F.W. de St. Croix, op.cit.(1972), p.12.

some herders had settled in a certain place, the grazing area became theirs for as long as they stayed there. Late-comers had to go elsewhere even if the occupied area used to be their grazing ground.[125]

Cooperation was also extended to services of bulls which were allowed free. Also it was an accepted principle that if a family found itself unable to cope with its economic tasks, or if its herds were too small, it would have a free access to the assistance of other families or use the resources of their herds. On the death of a head of a household, his wife or wives, unmarried children and his cattle, were sometimes allocated to other families if they could not stand on their own. A number of families also often joined together to perform for them some essential tasks. These were effected through combining of herds of cattle for the purposes of grazing them together. In cases where herds were not very large, herding was carried out on rotational basis.

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125. NAK, Kanoprof, No.4158.

(3) Seasonal Movements.

An important feature of livestock production in Kano had been the seasonal movements of cattle and their herders. Seasonal movements were not due to the "restlessness" of the Fulani, but were dictated by the requirements of the animals. The alternating wet and dry seasons which greatly affected the supply of water and the availability of pasture, the positions of the tsetse fly belt, the wet conditions in the marshy and lowland areas as opposed to the dry and warm jigawa (sandy soil) to the north, all these have imposed a pattern of trans-humance on the herders. The annual treks of cattle from the wet areas had been part of a typical grazing tradition of the herders for centuries. Such treks resulted, as has already been mentioned, in the delineation and establishment of numerous permanent burtali (cattle tracks) throughout the state.

The burtali were of two kinds: there were the regional burtali which converged on three main areas in Kasar Kano. These were marshy areas which contained lakes and streams that carried water all year round. They were located in the neighbourhood of the present towns of Dambatta, Miga, and Ringim. There were also relatively

smaller grazing grounds near Kiyawa, Shanono, and Birnin Kudu. But the major centres of attractions for cattle during the dry seasons were the three areas mentioned earlier. The second type of burtali were the long-range ones which traversed across several states and regions.

To Miga cattle came from Jahun, Aujera, Gangawa, Atuwane and Kibawa. Here the lakes of Kakkum, Shintali, and Gwarai satisfied the water requirements of the cattle. Other cattle came from Daura, the areas of Hadejia, Gumel, and Gobir.[126] In the vicinity of the lakes were to be found extensive grazing lands. To Ringim cattle came from Machina, some parts of Borno, the Bauchi regions, and other parts of Kano for example Sankara.[127] The cattle which converged on these places spent the dry season periods in the area. During the wet season, however, these areas became too wet and therefore most of the cattle were moved to the north.

The second type, the long-range burtali, which traversed through several states and regions followed the seasonal pattern of movement from north to south. They

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126. AAH (Jahun), 4/4/80.

127. SMA (Ringim), 21/4/79.

started from Borno, the other Sahel zones, Katsina, and passed through Kasar Kano to Zazzau and southern Katsina to the River Niger basin[128] and the Kaduna and Benue river valleys, especially the areas which came to be known as Nasarawa and Keffi. A few of the burtali traversed in the east-west direction, branching out in Kano from the north-south long-range burtali. The burtali traversed the Bauchi regions. Movements of cattle along such burtali were not as regular as along the north-south ones. Over the centuries these burtali developed into a kind of network or system, converging at certain points and branching out from others. Most of the smaller burtali started from the various Fulani settlements or villages and formed the tributary of the major ones. In Kano one of the most important meeting points of the long-range burtali was in areas of Kura and Rano.

Among the major north-south long-range burtali which passed through Kasar Kano were: one coming from Borno, passing through Guduri (Jama'are), Dutse Gadawur, Gaya, Rano, Zazzau, to Kaduna river basin. A second began from Gudiri and passed through Dutse Gadawur, Chama, Wangara, Duru, Dindibus, Gaya, Garko, Wudil, Rano, Tudun Wada, to

128. Bichi District Notebook.

Zazzau. A third started from Gudiri through Sindimina, Dimis, Kafin Gana, Fuguma, Sumaila, Magama, to Zazzau.[129] A fourth began from Gudiri and stretched to Ringim, Garun Mallam, Paki, Saulawa, Gubici, Kusallau, Igabi, to Keffi.[130] A fifth came from Gumel to Ringim, Duduru, Gaya, Wudil, Rano, to Zazzau.[131] A sixth started from Gumel to Minjibir, Baduma, Dawaki, Dirim, Unguwar Gangi (Kiru), Galadanci, Gabari, to Zazzau.

In the western part of Kano the major burtali was that which passed through Watari, Janguza, Farin Tafki, Magama, Kurma, Koraye, Damagari, Dutsen Kumurmuri, Rogo, to Zazzau.[132]

By the end of the nineteenth century some of these burtali had been traversed for about three hundred years.[133] Cattle passed through the various burtali twice a year. During the rainy season, most of the cattle moved to the northern parts of Kano, Gumel, and other parts of the

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129. AH (Birnin Kudu), 6/2/79.

130. JMA (Kiru), 9/2/79.

131. AAA (Dutse Gadawur), 4/2/79.

132. AAY (Rogo), 4/7/80.

133. NAK, SNP.15, Acc.No.289 - Dawaki Ta Kudu District Assessment Report.

Gudiri regions and Borno. Herds had to be moved there from the tsetse fly infested areas in the valley lands and advantage was taken of the seasonally available grazings on the drier plains. The river basins such as those of the Hadejia became too marshy and too wet for the animals to graze comfortably.[134] On the other hand, the light sandy soils which, after the occasional rains dried up easily and maintained a warm temperature, was much more suitable for the animals at the height of the wet season.[135] The prevalence of salt/natron/potash in an extensive region stretching from the western and south-western shores of Lake Chad also attracted the animals to the region. During the rainy season the kanwa (potash) turned into liquid form and could easily be licked or sucked by the animals while grazing.[136]

Many of the animals were therefore kept in the north throughout the wet season and the trek from the grazing grounds to those of the dry season grazing grounds in the south would start at the harvest time.

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134. SMA (Ringim), 21/4/79.

135. MAH, SAA (Tsakuwa), 10/7/80.

136. MAM, AAG, UMY (Kura), 9/7/80.

The young men and their wives and their belongings accompanied the animals back to the south. The elderly people remained home. They only paid occasional visits to the grazing grounds in the south and south-west. The visits were intended to acquaint them with the problems and progress of the herders. In order to take the greatest advantage of the corn and pulse crops which had just been harvested, the movement to the south was deliberately made slowly. There were, therefore, prolonged succession of short moves as the farm crops were being harvested in the areas into which the cattle could move and graze. The dry leaves of the cornstalks, remaining bean haulms and the like, left by the farmers, have been highly valued for feeding animals.[137]

By the time the hot season had set in, the cattle should have reached the area selected for grazing during that period, usually near one of the large rivers, lakes or in areas where streams are numerous in the Niger-Benue and Kaduna river valleys. Here it was usual to remain until after the advent of the first rains. Soon after the

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137. F.W. de St. Croix, "Some Aspects of the Cattle Husbondry of Nomadic Fulani", Farm and Forest, vol.V, 1943-44, p.31.

first rains set in, the trek to the grazing grounds in the north would begin. This northward movement was carried out gradually with the increase in the rainfall in the north.

(4) Production of Livestock Other Than Cattle.

Though the main livestock produced in Kasar Kano was cattle, there were several other types of animals which were raised. These animals played significant roles in the various sectors of the economy. These included donkeys, goats and sheep.

Donkeys provided the most important means of transportation. The largest concentration of donkeys were found in centres which were famous for trade, for example Bebeji. Such areas were the most important breeding centres.[138]

The method of breeding donkeys[139] was different from that of cattle. Donkeys were bred either by

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138. MAM (Bebeji), 8/7/80.

139. For a detailed discussion of the method of breeding donkeys, see G.O. Ogunremi, "Precolonial Transport in the Economy of Northern Nigeria, with special reference to the Significance of Park Animals", paper presented to the Seminar on the Economic History of the Central Savanna of West Africa, Kano, 5-10 January, 1976, p.28. Although the specific (cont

professionals, especially in the major areas of production, or by non-professionals. In these ways donkeys were bred in large numbers. Feeding was not a problem as donkeys could eat and survive on anything from grass to bark of trees.

A related animal which was also important in the transportation system, especially for long-distance trade between Kano and the Volta regions, were kuruwa (ponnies). These animals were capable of carrying more loads than donkeys. Production of ponnies involved mating a type of ass called matuwa with a horse.[140] Bebeji was the leading breeding area for this species of animal. Other centres were Garko and Kumurya. Payment was made for the services rendered by the stallions to their owners which was normally in the form of a bundle of cereal.

Goats were raised in large numbers in Kano.[141] Unlike

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example given by Ogunremi is that of Katsina, it is reasonable to suppose that the method might not have been different from that of Kano.

140. Imam Imoru, "Farming - Ayukan Gona", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.89.

141. NAK, Kanoprof, No.6581 - Tanning Industry, Report on, Kano Province. The Sudan savanna and the Sahel have been famous for breeding of goats and sheep. These animals thrived well in relatively dry climate.

cattle, most members of the society owned goats. Every member of most of the household had a goat or goats. "Only a destitute person has no goats and for this reason, children will say to each other in quarrel, 'there is not even a goat in your house'".[142] This indicates the prevalence of goats in Kasar Kano. It seems that women owned more goats than men, at least by the end of the nineteenth century. Each woman was said to have owned from one nanny and her kid to a small herd of some forty to fifty goats.[143] However, men had the ambition of acquiring as many goats as possible in order to use them as investment for acquiring cattle.

While the talakawa kept their goats in their houses, some of the members of the ruling class kept their own mainly on "ranches", especially in the northern and north-east regions of Kano. Some of the "ranches" had as many as 1,000 goats or more.[144] Most likely this practice was of considerable antiquity. The cheap means of breeding

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142. Imam Imoru, "Goats - Awaki", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.88.

143. NAK, Kanoprof, No.6581 - Tanning Industry, Report on, Kano Province.

144. ibid.

and raising goats accounts for the concentration of these animals in Kano during the period under consideration.

Apart from being an important stock of capital for the acquisition of cattle and a major source of meat, goats were also very important sources of raw materials for one of Kano's leading industries - tannery and leather-working industries. It was from skins obtained from the goats that the famous "Morocco" leather and other related products for which Kano became famous were made.[145]

Like goats, sheep were also raised in very large numbers. Many of them were reared by herders along with cattle. Broadly there were two types of sheep: there were the "Sudanese" type which were short, often white in colour and tolerating wet conditions. These have been bred both by the sedentary and nomadic groups. The second type is the uda. These were bigger in size than the first type. They were mainly bred by groups of Fulani known as Udawa. These sheep had been reared in large numbers and had thrived better in the northern part of Kano. It was not uncommon for a herder to own as many as 5,000 sheep

145. NAK, Kanoprof, No.6581 - Tanning Industry, Report on, Kano Province.

or more.[146]

As in other forms of production, the raising of goats and sheep among the sedentary population, especially the talakawa, entailed a great deal of cooperation in order to save labour. Instead of individuals taking their animals for grazing and spending the days looking after them, thus wasting valuable time and energy, two methods were followed. Firstly, there was a form of rotation whereby individuals could take all of the community's sheep and goats to the grazing grounds. Secondly, individuals who were paid weekly in cowries, took care of the village, town, or ward sheep and goats. These herders were also given incentives in cash or in kind whenever they look well after the herds. Such high degree of cooperation greatly facilitate the production of these types of livestock. But even of greater significance was the degree of cooperation between the cattle owners, especially the nomadic Fulani and the agriculturalists and other members of the society.

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146. Imam Imoru, "Sheep - Raguna", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.87.

IV. The Significance of Economic and Social Relationship Between the Nomadic and the Sedentary Groups.

Relations between the nomadic and the agriculturalists was marked by interdependence. This was for the mutual benefit of the two groups. Pastoralism was not pursued in isolation from the other sectors of the economy. So the inter-relationship between the different groups greatly stimulated production in all sectors of the economy, particularly in agriculture. In the central region of Kano and other areas near the urban centres where population density imposed intensive method of cultivation on the agricultural communities, the need for manure to increase fertility of the soil promoted cooperation between the cattle owners and farmers. This contributed to the development of intensive cultivation in the densely populated areas of Kano.

In the extreme south-eastern, south and south-western parts of Kasar Kano where population density remained relatively sparse up to the end of the nineteenth century, shifting cultivation appears to have been the main type of cultivation. This was in spite of the fact that these areas possessed the best soil-types in Kano. In spite of the rich soils, capable of supporting a variety

of crops, the intensive type of cultivation was not adopted in these areas.

Particularly in the eighteenth century when many of the nomadic Fulani had not settled down and (were) involved in large-scale agricultural production, they had to depend greatly on agriculturalists for their foodstuff. This promoted close inter-relationship between the sedentary and nomadic groups. The nomads often entered into agreement with the farmers whereby the former camped on the farms from a few weeks to two or three months.[147] In exchange for this important service the farmers gave the herders grains, gari (guinea corn flour), dusa (guinea corn or millet husk), potash, salt, daddawa (locust been cakes), dried vegetables for preparation of soup[148] and sometimes money.[149] In most cases such presents were made only once and this was called kayan sauka (welcoming presents). Sometimes the provision of manure was exchanged for mashekari (wet season pasturage). This involved the giving of

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147. Imam Imoru, "Cattle - Shanu", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.85.

148. AAH (Jahun), 8/4/79.

149. Imam Imoru, "Cattle - Shanu", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.85.

permission to herders to occupy a farm or farms so that they could have space for keeping their cattle during the rainy seasons. By the time the animals departed the occupied farm or farms would have been fully fertilised.[150] A farmer who had succeeded in establishing a good relationship with herders often had adequate supply of manure to his farms and even those of his neighbours, relatives and friends. This was due to the fact that a friendly herder, in addition to his cattle, often attracted other herders to camp on his friend's farm or farms.[151]

Benefits arising from the relationship between herders and sedentary communities not only promoted agricultural production, but also livestock production. Apart from providing the herders with foodstuff for their sustenance and the livestock with the valuable feeds as well as the necessary minerals such as potash which performed medicinal functions, the herders also obtained from the sedendatary population some materials which were vital for livestock production. These included calabashes

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150. AAA, SAY, NMA (Dawaki Ta Kudu), 19/7/80.

151. AAY (Rogo), 4/7/80.

of various sizes and decorations, baskets, leather goods and mats for construction of shelters and containers for transportation, wooden dishes, knives, axes, bows and arrows and the like. The sedentary population also provided adequate market for the dairy products, especially sour milk produced by the herders. Consumption of sour milk (with fura - porridge) was universal to all members of the society.

It seems clear therefore that the considerable degree of interdependence which developed between the cattle owners, especially the nomadic Fulani and sedentary communities particularly in the period before the nineteenth century, greatly raised the level of production in all the sectors of the economy.

V. Assessment of the Quantity and Quality of the Agricultural Commodities and Livestock Produced.

After taking into account the temporary setbacks such as the occasional droughts and effects of wars, it could be stated with some measure of confidence that the steady economic progress which were made in the period before the eighteenth century continued in the eighteenth century, until it reached its peak in the nineteenth

century. This assessment is not based on an accurate statistical data (which is difficult to come by). It is based on deductions from available information. This is more applicable to the eighteenth century. For the nineteenth century the picture is relatively clear. This has been made possible by information provided by travellers who passed through Kano during the period, internal sources, especially oral traditions and colonial records. All of which throw considerable light on the extent to which the land was used, the types and quantity of crops and livestock produced.

The assessment of the extent of agricultural and livestock production in the eighteenth century could be deduced from the developments which took place immediately before and after that century. Since the level of production in the period immediately preceding the eighteenth century had been high and since available evidence in the early part of the nineteenth century show a high degree of agricultural and livestock production,[152] it can be justifiable to say that the level of production in the eighteenth century was fairly high. The widespread network of trade

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152. Denham, Dixon & others, op.cit., pp.26,29,30,51.

routes radiating from Kasar Kano to many parts of the Sudanic belt and beyond could indeed be used to gauge the extent of agricultural and livestock production during the period. For the industrial commodities carried across these network of trade routes were largely produced from raw materials which were derived from agricultural and livestock commodities which were produced in Kasar Kano.

As for livestock production, the extent of output could be assessed even with greater confidence. In addition to the evidence which indicate a large concentration of cattle in Kano in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, there is also ample evidence relating to large-scale immigration of rich Fulani groups into Kano throughout the eighteenth century. These must have increased the degree of the concentration of cattle here during this period.

It could therefore be stated with some justification that Kano's leading position in the production of several types of agricultural commodities and livestock in the nineteenth century, as well as its general prosperity during the same period, was merely a continuation of the situation of the earlier periods. Otherwise it would be difficult if not impossible to explain how Kano, in spite

of the devastating wars of the Jihad in the early part of the nineteenth century, could continue to prosper during the same period.

By the nineteenth century Kano was still a leading producer of grains in Hausaland.[153] The continuing increase in the production of grains was being stimulated by the increase in the involvement of the ruling class in agricultural production as well as the expanding internal and external markets.

Wheat was also produced in large quantities.[154] The production of wheat increased greatly in the nineteenth century due to the remarkable increase in the number of the ruling class who consumed different types of food prepared from wheat flour.[155]

Groundnut, which was essentially a food-crop in pre-

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153. Imam Imoru, "Guinea Corn - Dawa", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.65.

154. Imam Imoru, "Wheat - Alkama", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.70; H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.485; AJI (Karaye), 27/12/78.

155. Imam Imoru, "Wheat - Alkama", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.70. Some of the various types of food prepared from wheat flour during this time, however, found their way into the market. These included fankaso (cakes), taliya (macaroni), gurasa (small cakes), and alkaki (a type of sweetened food).

colonial times,[156] was produced in Kano in very large quantities.[157] Kano has always been a leading producer of groundnut in Hausaland. Apart from its significance as a source of food, groundnut was also important in industrial production. Oil from groundnut was, among other things, used in tannery and leather-work industries.

Apart from these major food-crops, there were also numerous other minor food-crops which were relatively less significant in terms of the amount of land and labour devoted to their production. These included rizga (coleus potato) and yams which were produced only in the southern regions of Kano. Cassava appears to have been produced in large quantities throughout Kano.

The large-scale production of cotton which impressed Leo Africanus in the sixteenth century continued to expand in the succeeding centuries, until it reached its peak in the nineteenth century. The extent of production of cotton in Kasar Kano was such that almost all towns and villages

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156. Imam Imoru, "Groundnut - Gyada", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.77.

157. ibid., p.78.

have claimed a leading position in its production.[158]

In spite of the large quantities of cotton which was produced in Kano, this commodity continued to form a very important part of Kano's imports, especially from Zazzau,[159] Katsina, and Zamfara. The explanation for this and for the importation of other commodities such as hides and skins, indigo, and thread from other states and regions, in spite of the fact that these same commodities were produced in Kano in large quantities, is essentially economic. Since each state or region would concentrate upon its comparative advantage, an area of high population density like Kano could produce labour intensive goods more economically.

increase in population, large-scale sedentarisation of nomads, urbanisation and the acquisition of large tracts of land by the ruling class, particularly in the

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158. Such claims were made by informants in the course of my fieldwork throughout Kano. While it is true that cotton was produced in most parts of Kano, large-scale production of this commodity was mainly undertaken in the southern, south-eastern and south-western regions of Kano. Production of cotton was relatively easy, for even "one man can plant a lot of cotton in Hausaland because the plant does not die quickly [perennial plant]. It grows big enough to be climbed". See Imam Imoru, "Cotton - Abduga", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.81.

159. Imam Imoru, ibid., p.80.

nineteenth century, resulted in shortages of land especially in the central region. This led to increase in the number of people who were engaged in industrial production. Due to the large number of people involved in industrial production, especially textiles, the extent of specialisation increased tremendously. This development in itself stimulated large-scale textile production. Other factors which promoted large-scale textile production in Kano included the expanding internal and external markets, especially in the Gudiri, the Sahel and the central Saharan regions. In order to meet the demand for textile products, new techniques and innovations were continually introduced in the production processes and this resulted in large-scale production and therefore higher demands for cotton. In fact, in spite of the large-scale production and importation of cotton, Kano often experienced shortages of this commodity.

On the other hand, since the concentration of population, especially urban population, appears to have been relatively less pronounced in the other states of the central Sudan and since many of these states, for instance Zazzau, Zamfara and Katsina, had extensive and fertile land, especially for production of cotton, it was

assertion has also been confirmed by both oral traditions collected in Kano[163] and other sources.[164] According to Richard Lander,

> "... the indigo, manufactured by the inhabitants /of Kano/ has the reputation of producing a richer and more permanent dye than is to be met with in any other part of Africa whatever, and is on this /account/ in very high estimation with all classes of people".[165]

Because of this reputation of Kano indigo, people from Damagaram, and most likely beyond, brought camel loads of clothes, both old and new, to be dyed in Kano.[166] It was for the same reason that all types of textile goods which were dyed in Kano were highly sought after, especially in the Sahel and the central Saharan regions.

As for the concentration of livestock in Kasar Kano, it could be discerned both from the oral and recorded traditions and the spread of nomadic Fulani settlements

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163. MUM (Birni), March-April 1979. According to this informant, the best producers of indigo were: Kano, Sokoto, and Adama in that order.

164. Richard Lander, Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expeditions to Africa, vol.I, London, Frank Cass, 1967, p.200.

165. ibid., p.200.

166. MUM (Birni), March-April 1979.

more economical for them to concentrate on the production of this commodity for which they always had ready market in Kano. The large profit[160] they made from sales of the cotton in Kano encouraged them to transport their commodity to it. At the same time some or many of the farmers(and other groups) found it cheaper to acquire clothes produced in Kano. This was because the cost of production might have been relatively higher in these states than in Kano. Similarly, due to competition and specialisation among the textile producers in Kano, it was easier to produce a greater variety of cloths which appealed to the tastes of different people, especially in other states or regions.

Like cotton, indigo was produced in most parts of Kano.[161] Apart from being a leading producer of indigo, Kano also had the "best indigo in all Hausaland. The Kano people grow vast amount of it. That is why indigo is called 'the wealth of Kano - dukiyar Kano'".[162] This

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160. Imam Imoru, "Cotton - Abduga", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.80.

161. The leading areas of indigo in Kano coincided closely with those of cotton. Areas which were noted for the production of very high quality indigo were: Beli, Filata, Rogo, Jobe, Burji, and Bagwai. MUM (Birni), March-April 1979.

162. Imam Imoru, "Indigo - Baba", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.82.

in Kano. It was the concentration of livestock here that tempted the Ningawa and the Damagarawa to launch series of raids into Kasar Kano, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century.[167] The patterns and nature of Ningi raids indeed indicate their real objectives. Mainly areas of concentration of livestock were raided. During one of his raiding expeditions into Kano, for example, Dan Yaya (one of the sarakuna of Ningi), could hardly suppress his joy on sighting groups of herds grazing on the plains of Dagwaje. He exclaimed: "ringasa, Dan Yaya yaga Dagwaje (ringasa, Dan Yaya has seen Dagwaje)".[168] Dagwaje was, however, only one of the numerous areas of Kano which had heavy concentration of livestock.

The extent of agricultural and livestock production in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries therefore was very high. With this level of agricultural and livestock production, industrial production could be undertaken on large-scale basis.

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167. KMA (Gaya), 21/12/78; Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.26a.

168. KMA (Gaya), 21/12/78. By this, he means that what he expected to find was there in abundance. He carried many of the animals back to Ningi with him.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION.

The increasing pace of agricultural and livestock production in addition to the availability of raw materials, obtained both in and outside Kasar Kano, greatly influenced the level of industrial production in Kasar Kano in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. This development can be better understood if the factors, processes and the major characteristics of industrial production here are examined.

I. Factors of Production.

The major factors that influenced production in the industrial sector in Kasar Kano during the period of this study were: the state, immigration, techniques and innovations adopted in the various industrial establishments, sedentarisation and trade. These factors differed in the degree of their impact in the various industrial establishments and from one century to another.

(1) The Eighteenth Century.

To start with the state, it is important to point out that though its role in the eighteenth century was relatively less important than that of the nineteenth century, it played an important role through the various policies and measures it adopted and pursued.

One of such policies was the encouragement of immigration of people into Kasar Kano that led to a considerable increase in its population. With this development, urban centres increased and the utilisation of unused land expanded. These were significant in promoting industrial production in several respects. Land colonisation, for instance, led to expansion in the production of both food-stuff and raw materials for the urban centres and the various industrial establishments. At the same time, the development of urban centres greatly increased demands for goods and consequently facilitated trade. This resulted in the widening of markets. This in turn stimulated the development of new production techniques, organisations and introduction of economic institutions and infrastructures. Such developments increased productivity in the various industrial establishments throughout Kasar Kano.

It is significant that among the immigrants were skilled craftsmen like weavers, dyers, tailors, tanners, leather-workers, and blacksmiths. These played important roles in enriching the already established industrial base.[1] Some of the new techniques and innovations brought into Kano by skilled craftsmen greatly enhanced and increased the level of production. As will be shown in the later part of this chapter, the leading manufacturing and processing industries - the textiles, dyeing, blacksmithing, tanning and leatherworking, among others, - expanded as a result of the effective application of technology in industrial production. New techniques and innovations were also developed over the centuries, and through experimentation with different types of local plants and industrial waste such as blacksmith iron filings and waste materials from dyeing and tanning industries.

While it seems to be fairly clear that the development of industrial technology has been an on-going process, it is at the moment, due to the nature and paucity of sources,

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1. Kano possessed, since from about the beginning of the second millennium A.D., a number of skilled craftsmen, notably blacksmiths. See Tarikh Arbab, p.99.

difficult to determine the precise time or period when the various stages of these developments took place. It can, however, be surmised that some of these important stages in industrial development, especially in dyeing, tanning and leather-working, were attained during the various commercial epochs[2], when demands for industrial goods rose sharply as a result of expansion in Kano's commercial links with the states of the Central Sudan and the other distant regions.

That developments in the various industries passed through important stages seems to be supported by the interesting but rather somewhat hypothetical view which has been put forward by P.J. Shea in relation to the development of dyeing industry in Kasar Kano. According to this view, the dyeing industry witnessed three major changes before the end of the nineteenth century[3]. The first stage in the

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2. Evidence from various sources suggests that Kano's commerce expanded considerably just before or at the beginning of the second millennium A.D., in the middle part of the fifteenth century, the sixteenth century, the period between the late seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries, and the second half of the nineteenth century. See for instance, M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), pp.114,115; Tarikh Arbab, p.109; G.L. Anania, op.cit., p.339; H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, pp.510-22; and C.H. Robinson, op.cit., p.111.

3. P.J. Shea, "Economies of Scale and the Indigo Dyeing Industry of Precolonial Kano", Kano Studies, vol.I no.2, 1974/77, pp.57,58. Although dyers ..... (con·

development of dyeing industry represented the period when dyeing was carried out in small pots. This most likely took place before or at the beginning of the second millennium A.D. Written and oral traditions trace the practice of dyeing in Kano to this period.[4]

The second stage was that which involved a change from dyeing in small pots to dyeing in large fired clay pots. It is reasonable to suppose that this important change took place in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century due to the intense commercial activities which took place during these periods. The desire to meet increasing demands for dyed textile materials most likely necessitated the introduction of the use of large fired clay pots. Dyeing in the large clay pots, measuring about six feet, overcame some of the shortcomings of the smaller ones in terms of the quality and quantity of cloths that could be dyed at a time and the frequency with which solution had to be changed. These were both labour-saving and more economical in use.

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interviewed in the Birni in April 1979 denied any knowledge of the practice of dyeing in pots, the recent discovery of large clay pots by road construction workers near the western wall of the Birni, reinforces Shea's suggestion.

4. See for instance, F. Edgar, op.cit.(1911), Littafi Na Farko, p.276; MUM (Birni), 20/4/79.

The third and probably most revolutionary stage which involved a switch from the use of large pots to laso pits, was attained either in the late seventeenth century or early in the eighteenth century. The suggestion for this time is due to a number of reasons. This period witnessed considerable expansion in Kano's external trade. Secondly, by the second half of the eighteenth century, the development of Kano's textile industry had reached a remarkable stage.[5] Also by this period, the production of dyed textile materials in Hausaland, in which Kano appears to have led, was such that it would have been impossible to turn out such large quantities of materials through the practice of use of pots.[6] Finally, the fact that even the oldest informants in Kano could not recall the period when dyeing was undertaken in fired clay pots, shows that the switch to the use of laso pits for dyeing could not have taken place as recently as the nineteenth century.

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5. Y.B. Usman, The Transformation of Katsina, c.1796-1903: The Overthrow of the Sarauta System and the Establishment and Evolution of the Emirate, Ph.D. thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1974, p.137.

6. E.W. Bovill(ed.), Missions to the Niger, vol.I, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1964, p.104. See also footnote no.1 on the same page.

The laso pits varied in capacity, ranging from those which could contain four hundred gallons of water to those which contained one thousand gallons. Therefore a large number of cloths could be dyed more economically than in the large fired clay pots.

The result of the application of this technique was reflected not only in the amount of production of indigo dyed cloths but also in imparting colours obtained from other plants and substances to textiles and leather goods to the extent that people used to "dye in their country /Hausaland/ any colour but scarlet"[7]. Colouring materials other than indigo were also extracted from other plants. Karan dafi (red "leaf-sheath") obtained from dafi plant was used to produce red cloths and leather[8]. In addition to indigo and karan dafi, dyers, tanners and leather-workers used balangade (Cochlospernum)[9] and turi (Zingiberaceae) with lime juice, natron, Arabic gum and other plants and

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7. E.W. Bovill(ed.), op.cit.(1964), p.117. Although this refers to Hausaland generally, there is every reason to believe that Kano was in the forefront of the development being referred to.

8. Imam Imoru, "Dyeing with Dyes other than Indigo - Turi", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.308.

9. J.M. Dalziel, op.cit., p.45.

chemicals to produce a variety of colours.

The primary and secondary colours which the craftsmen were able to develop ranged from red, green, yellow, black, blue to brown. Apart from producing textile or leather goods which bore only one colour, these craftsmen mastered the technique of producing several types of materials bearing different types of colours. At the same time, they succeeded in imparting different types of colours to a piece of textile material or leather, thereby leading to the production of multi-coloured textile materials and leather goods. These innovations which were gradually adapted to the production of different materials were also accompanied by refinements in glazing processes by which means coloured cloth, especially dark-blue ones, were made shiny.

Parallel developments were also taking place in other spheres of industrial production. Notable among these were tanning and leather-working industries. Kano was famous for its leather for centuries. It was even said that "all the leather named Moroccan /leather/, dyed yellow or red, is prepared and dyed in Kano".[10]

10. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.283. In spite of the exaggeration in this statement, Monteil is correct in stressing the dominant position of Kano with regard to this industry. See also NAK, Kanoprof. no.6581 - Tanning Industry, Report on; Kano Province.

Among the most important developments in the tannery and leather-work industries which most likely took place before or during the eighteenth century was the introduction of the use of the deep laso vats which enabled tanners to process many skins at a time. There was also increase in the use of chemicals for tanning as well as for producing dyes for colouring. The best example in this respect was the use of a fermenting infusion of pigeon dung in the processes of purification.[11] The process is both chemical and bacterial. It was mainly in Kano that "pigeon dung to any large extent was used for puring".[12] They used local materials such as wood-ash, obtained from tsamiya (Tamarindus indica), pulp of fatakka or fatakko (Pergularia tomentosa) which were mixed with water to form the bating bath and bagaruwa (Mimosacease - Acacia Arabica).[13] The techniques were developed to the extent that a traveller in the northern part of the Sudan in the eighteenth century remarked that "the preparation of leather /in Kano and other Hausa states/ is as perfect as that of Europeans".[14]

11. NAK, Kanoprof no.6581, Tanning Industry, Report on - Kano Province.
12. ibid.
13. ibid.
14. E.W. Bovill(ed.), op.cit.(1964), vol.I, p.117.

The absence of patent laws, abundance of raw materials and the relatively low level of capital outlay required to establish an industrial establishment for tanning as well as the insatiable demands for leather and leather goods, encouraged the expansion of this occupation. Therefore, different groups of people were involved in the production of different grades of leather. The grades were determined largely by the colour of the leather. The dyed coloured leather ranged from red to green. While the red colour was easy to produce, the green was not. Its processes was complicated, expensive and required much expertise. Its production meant that dyeing in Kano reached an advanced stage by the eighteenth century.

With production continually expanding in order to meet the increasing demands for various goods, people engaged in various sectors of the economy often tried to maximise their efforts. These and other developments necessarily resulted in the development of specialisation which in itself, later on, became a factor in further promotion of industrial production. The continuing influx of peoples, with different technological and occupational background into Kasar Kano, enriched the specialisation process. Equally important in this respect were the climatic,

vegetational, topographical and geological differences between the various regions of Kano. These made each of the regions renown for the production of at least a particular crop, which contributed to the specialisation process especially in agricultural industries.

Apart from this regional specialisation there was also considerable specialisation between towns and the countryside. While the major towns and their satellite settlements were closely associated with industrial production and commerce, the countryside, for obvious reasons, concentrated on crop and livestock production. Even in the nineteenth century when industrial production spread throughout the countryside, particularly in the central region and in the neighbourhood of industrial and commercial towns such as Bebeji, Dutse Gadawur, and Birnin Kudu, the complementary roles of the large towns and the countryside were not radically altered.

Even among the towns, there were remarkable degrees of specialisation. While some towns concentrated on dyeing, others devoted their time to tanning. Others excelled in pottery. Within each town, in most cases, each unguwa (ward) specialised in the processing or manufacturing of a particular product. In the Birni, for instance, virtually

every ward was closely associated with the production of a particular commodity or distribution of particular goods.[15] While some wards were predominantly inhabited by tanners and leather workers and weavers, others were inhabited mainly by people who embroidered clothes or long-distance traders.[16] Specialisation between wards in the urban centres was largely influenced by the tendency on the part of some of the immigrants to establish an entirely new ward or settle in large numbers in the same ward or wards.[17]

The Nufawa who settled in fairly large numbers in the Birni and Bebeji, for example, were great weavers.[18] The Asirkawa and Auyokawa in Dutse Gadawur and Birnin Kudu were expert dyers.[19] Some Agadesawa immigrants were known to be skilled blacksmiths.[20] The Kanuri who established a number

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15. The area around the palace in the Birni was an exception. Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century, some princes were engaged in the production of highly specialised embroidered trousers known as mai kamun kafa. See Imam Imoru, "Sewing - Dumki", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.312.

16. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., pp.68.70.

17. ibid., pp.69,70,71.

18. ibid., p.68; MMM (Bebeji), 9/2/79.

19. AAA (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79; IUA (Birnin Kudu), 5/2/79.

20. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., p.70.

of settlements in Kasar Kano, apart from their participation in long-distance trade, were closely associated with dyeing.[21]

Within each major industrial sector, both in the towns and in the country side, branches were increasingly developed. In the leather-work industry, while some people produced mainly slippers, bags and other light products, other people produced mainly military equipment especially for the cavalry force.[22]

The influence of geographical factors in the process of specialisation was decisive. It is more than a matter of coincidence that the major dyeing centres of Kasar Kano were located mainly in the areas to the south of a line approximately stretching from Kiyawa through Dutse Gadawur, the Birni and Tofa in the west. Most of these areas were renowned for production of high quality indigo and adequate supply of cotton. This part of Kano also had more rainfall and therefore higher water table.

But within this broad belt there were variations,

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21. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., p.69.

22. For an idea of specialisation in the leather-working industry, see Imam Imoru, "Leather-working - Dukanci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., pp.316-26.

depending on local geographical conditions. This in turn influenced the nature and level of output of industrial crops. The indigo produced in Beli, Rogo, Dal, Rano, and Dawaki Ta Kudu, for example, was believed to have been of higher quality than the other species of indigo produced in other parts of Kano.[23] The location of major industrial establishments in the leading areas of production of raw materials was important because of the cost of transportation, particularly in the case of indigo. This was due to the f ct that the required product, kantun baba ("indigo bits") or cibrin baba ("pounded indigo")[24] obtained from tons of indigo leaves, was relatively small and it would not have been economical to transport such unprocessed indigo leaves over long distances. It was therefore much more sensible to locate the centres of industrial production as near as possible to the sources of the raw materials. This was even more important as regards pottery and blacksmithing industries.

Thus specialisation was clearly reflected in the degree of division of labour in any given industry.

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23. MUM (Birni), 20/4/79; J.M. Dalziel, op.cit., p.244.

24. Imam Imoru, "Indigo - Baba", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.82.

However, it should be noted that there were close inter-relationships between the specialised individuals and groups in any given industry. Although some of the wards, settlements, towns, or regions were known to specialise in specific industry or industries, this does not mean that these areas were not involved in other industrial activities in which they did not specialise. Moreover, a ward, a settlement, a town or a region, could specialise in more than one industry; for example Kura was noted for its black cloth and spinning,[25] not to mention the Birni where all types of trades were undertaken.

However, it is important to emphasize that the quantity and quality of goods produced by non-specialised individuals or different industrial establishments, did not actually recommend themselves to a larger market. While local produce or products satisfied the needs of the local communities, they could not, and indeed did not, compete with centres and regions which were better endowed with high quality raw materials and skilled manpower. Products or goods produced in specialised areas or centres often carried their own "trade mark", represented by a

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25. AAG, UMY, MAJ (Kura), 9/7/80.

Hausa prefix of "Dan" (lit. son) or "Yar" (lit. daughter) of a particular town in which the product was produced. Among the commonly known products which carried such trade marks were 'Yar Getso (shinfidar doki - a kind of mattress for spreading on the back of horses), Dan Kura (rawani - turban), and 'Yar Birnin Kudu (mafichi - fan made from dum palm leaves) and "lallen Kano"

Specialisation was indeed an important factor of production. Productivity benefited tremendously from the division of labour and from the greater efficiency in the techniques and organisation which were a result of specialisation. The trend toward increasing specialisation itself was concentrating the people's natural inventive curiosity on the problems related to manufacturing and other industrial undertakings.

Another important factor in the expansion of manufacturing and processing was trade. Trade greatly stimulated agriculture in a variety of ways, but in Kano's case, trade played probably more crucial roles in expansion of industry than agriculture. Apart from the vital raw materials and tools like iron ore and iron implements that were obtained through trade, Kano had also more to gain in other ways. It was through trade that many of the skilled craftsmen in

other states and regions came to realise the great prospects which Kano had for them. This encouraged them to move into and settle in Kano. Equally important were the important raw materials which Kano obtained from the other states and areas. Many of these raw materials were necessary for Kano's leading industrial establishments. These included natron, potash, and salt. These were mainly obtained through trade with Borno and the Central Saharan areas. It was also the importation of capital goods like cotton, iron ore, and livestock that enabled the people of Kano to accelerate the process of industrial production.

Profits made from trade were invested in industries thereby leading to their expansion to meet the ever-increasing demands for the manufactured and processed goods. Furthermore, by adopting the methods of large-scale production, the producers were opportuned to make large profits through the penetration of distant markets by their commodities. The opportunity for more productive investment of capital was made greater than they would if the market were limited only to, for instance, a village, a town or even a regional (that is within Kano) market. The larger the volume of trade therefore, the greater the potential for industrial production. This was indeed the

case in both the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

/ Here the role of the state was very important. By encouraging internal and external trade, the state contributed to the exploration for raw materials, thus stimulating industrial production. In addition the state in its protection and promotion of trade assisted in finding new outlets for the industrial goods processed in Kano.

The patronage provided by the rulers to various industrial establishments increased the quality and to a lesser extent the quantity of the goods produced. /Rulers not only acquired industrial goods in bulk but also insisted on receiving only high quality ones. Since these rulers were often prepared to pay well for such goods, they provided adequate incentives for the producers to turn out high quality products from their different industrial establishments./ As the number of the ruling class increased, and at the same time, as the income of nearly all other members of the society increased, due to the flourishing economy in its different sectors, the demand for high quality goods also increased, thereby leading to large-scale consumption especially of locally processed goods. This may account for the adoption of new techniques and innovations as well as re-organisation and

the increase in specialisation.

(2) The Nineteenth Century.

The factors that stimulated industrial production in the eighteenth century played the same roles in the nineteenth century, but with varying degree. This was due to the changing conditions which paved the grounds for some factors to be more dominant than the others.

The role of the state in industrial production in the nineteenth century became dominant. The reasons for this were diverse and the effects were profound. In particular were the policies of the state and the measures taken to implement them. These favoured the ruling class, thereby perpetuating economic inequality in the society. This encouraged the ruling class to invest more capital in the profitable industries and to exert more labour of the talakawa at minimum cost.

The considerable involvement of many of the Emirs of Kano in the economy in the nineteenth century was partly due to the incorporation of the Emirate into the Sokoto Caliphate. At the beginning of the establishment of the Caliphate, the Caliphs, especially Muhammad Bello, introduced various economic and social policies designed

to change the conditions of people for the better. The significance of these policies, as far as Kano was concerned, was their reinforcement and re-invigoration of age-long tradition of the state involvement in various aspects of economic activities.

The role of Muhammad Bello, and to a lesser extent Abdullahi dan Fodio, in fostering the economy of the Caliphate was particularly significant. In one of his series of messages to the Emirs, Muhammad Bello instructed every Emir that he

> "should provide public amenities for the people of his state for their temporal and religious benefits. For this purpose he should foster the artisans, and [should] be concerned with tradesmen who are indispensable to the people, such as farmers and smiths, tailors and dyers, physicians and grocers, butchers and carpenters and all sorts of trades [with] which to [stabilise] the proper order of this world. The ruler must allocate these tradesmen to every village and every locality .... He must keep villages and countrysides in prosperity, construct fortresses and bridges, maintain markets and roads and realise for them all what are of public interest so that the proper order of this world may be maintained".[26]

The extent to which the Emirs complied to these directives is not quite known. But in view of the state of

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26. Muhammad Bello, Usul ul-Siyasa, in Shehu Yamusa, op.cit., p.18.

Kano's long-standing tradition of active involvement in economic activities and in view of Kano's loyalty, especially in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, to the Caliphate, it is justifiable to assume that the Emirs closely adhered to the Caliph's directives. Quite a number of the economic and social policies which were introduced and pursued by the Emirs in fact closely conformed to these directives. Some of the Emirs, especially Emir Abdullahi, recruited skilled craftsmen from various parts of the Central Sudan and beyond.[27] At the same time, many other craftsmen, especially blacksmiths, established new settlements in various parts of Kasar Kano.[28] Others settled in the ribats. Therefore the urbanisation process fostered industrial production.

The incorporation of Kano into a much larger political system was also significant for the expansion of its trade. This in turn promoted the development of manufacturing and processing industries.

Above all, the establishment of the Caliphate made

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27. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., p.70; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979. Agades and Nupeland were major sources of skilled craftsmen.

28. NAK, Kanoprof, 69/1919.

migrations within the area easier. To a very large extent, people now felt more at home wherever they settled in the Caliphate. Some areas of the Caliphate, however, were more attractive - for economic and to a lesser extent political reasons - than others. Kano was in the forefront of such areas. Migrations of both skilled and unskilled craftsmen into Kano therefore increased considerably during the nineteenth century.[29] In addition, seasonal migrations of embroiders, tanners, blacksmiths, weavers, and dyers swelled the size of skilled labour during the period.

The pace and tempo of immigration into Kano were increased by the renewal of the various policies which had hitherto been introduced and pursued by the pre-nineteenth century sarakuna of Kano. The policy of providing a variety of incentives to immigrants was maintained and promoted by the Emirate. This and the unsettling conditions, partly caused by raids of Maradawa and partly due to dynastic struggles particularly in the Emirate of Hadejia,

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29. Some of these were slaves. See Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.42.

and the oppression policies pursued by some of the neighbouring Emirates and states forced many people to immigrate into Kano. Some of the immigrants arrived here in large groups and this enabled them, with the encouragement of the Emirs, to establish their own settlements[30] both in, or near the urban centres and in the sparsely populated regions of Kano. The settling down of the immigrants in sparsely populated region made it possible to utilize more raw material which contributed to the expansion of existing industries. So the encouragement of immigration was an important factor in industrial production.

One of the most important factors for immigration into Kano in the nineteenth century was the peaceful and stable political conditions which were established by many of the Emirs. The Emirate devoted a lot of time, energy and resources to protect the towns and the countryside.

Within Kasar Kano itself, the nineteenth century witnessed a number of developments which had considerable bearing on the extent and nature of industrial production.

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30. NAK, SNP.7, 5785/1912 - Kano Province, Danburam Chiroma's District, Assessment Report; NAK, SNP.7/10 - Kano Province, Assessment 1909-10, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida and Gumel Districts; NAK, Kadcap, Arabic Letter no.1, SNP.10/1/1, Item no.26, Reference O/AR.11,

These included the remarkable increase in the number of the ruling class and their increasing involvement in industrial production. By this period, even some of the masu sarauta directly participated in industrial production. Some of the alkalai (judges), fadawa (courtiers), and jakadu, were for instance, involved in dyeing.[31] Some of the princes were also engaged in tailoring and embroidery. Among the articles produced by them were mai kamun kafa (pairs of trousers) which were highly prized.[32]

The considerable involvement of the ruling class, especially the masu sarauta, in economic activities could be attributed to a variety of reasons. The influence of the religious milieu of the period, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, in relation to economic activities appears to have been an important factor. As has already been pointed out, the Jihad leaders, especially Caliph Muhammad Bello, enjoined the Emirs and other state officials to involve themselves in economic activities both for their own benefit and for the society at large. He

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31. NAK, SNP.7/10, 5570/1909-10, Kano Province, Assessment 1909-10, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida and Gumel.

32. Imam Imoru, "Sewing - Dumki" in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.312.

influenced the Emirs both by personal example[33] and through his writings. In his Tanbīh al-Sāhib ᶜālā ahkam al-Makāsih;[34] for instance, Muhammad Bello quoted several authorities very extensively in order to underscore the importance of engaging oneself in productive and profitable economic pursuit. Here are a few of the quotations from the work:

> "Verily Allah likes that his servant be industrious .... It is also narrated that /the Prophet/ Isa peace be upon him had met a man and he asked him: 'What are you doing?' He said, 'I am worshipping'. He said, 'Who is feeding you?' He answered, 'My brother'. He said, 'Your brother is more pious than you' .... Abu Huzaifa said, 'The best of you are those who did not abandon their world for the day of judgement and the day of judgement for his worldly activities'.... Abu Kalaba said, 'It is preferable to me to see you

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33. Caliph Muhammad Bello, for instance, initiated a number of agricultural projects including one which was established at Bakura. Ibrahim Tahir claims that Muhammad Bello "established a sugar-cane plantation and sugar-making industry centred at Bakura" (see I. Tahir, op.cit., p.245). This does not seem to have been the case unless he used an unknown source besides those of Muhammad Bello. This is unlikely. Muhammad Bello is only credited with the initiation of bustan (garden) or basatin (gardens) - see Muhammad Bello, Risala ila Abubakar al-Atiq, N.H.R.S., P.190/6. A partial translation of this document was done by Ahmed Kani of the N.H.R.S., Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, June 1982.

34. Muhammad Bello, Tanbih al-Sahib ᶜala ahkam al-Makasib, JM Collection 1/6. Partially translated by Ahmed Kani, June 1982.

> seeking your livelihood than to see you in the corridor of the mosque'".[35]

The significance of these quotations which were utilised by Muhammad Bello in his work lies in the encouragement which they gave to especially the rulers in relation to active participation in economic activities.

There was also an apparent emphasis in some of the traditions which were quoted on the acquisition of wealth.[36] This sort of orientation towards wealth through invocation of religious principles in some respects also encouraged individualistic competitive spirit especially among the leading ulema/attajirai. As will be shown, the increasing tendency toward competition was reflected in the various attempts made by the rich men to "swallow up" the businesses of their "weaker" colleagues and partners. Such competitions normally generated a lot of interest in the attajirai in relation to the expansion of their industrial and commercial establishments.

Besides these and the need to meet the demand for luxury goods, the ruling class was also encouraged to be more involved in economic activities by other factors. Most

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35. Muhammad Bello, Tanbih al-Sahib ᶜala ahkam al-Makasib, pp.2,3.

36. ibid., p.7.

important was the access they had to slave labour and capital obtained both directly and indirectly from the slaves who constituted a major source of wealth to the members of the ruling class. While part of the crops which were produced on the large agricultural estates by slaves were sold to some industrial producers, especially those who had no large areas of land to produce industrial crops to meet their needs. A substantial proportion of the industrial crops which were produced were also retained by the producers for the purposes of utilising them in their own industrial establishments, some of which were located right in the large agricultural estates. The fact that both the raw materials produced on the agricultural estates and the manufactured and processed goods often had a ready market both within and outside Kasar Kano, was itself an important incentive for engaging in economic activities.

The taxation policies pursued by the state in the nineteenth century also greatly promoted industrial production. Like in agricultural production during the same period, the exemption of the ruling class from payment of all sorts of taxes enabled them to invest much more resources in their industrial establishments, and this made it possible for them to produce more industrial goods.

Equally important, as far as industrial production was concerned, was the policy of exempting key industrial crops from taxation. These were indigo and cotton. This exemption was applicable to all members of the society who were involved in the production of such crops. This was to the extent that some of the peasants in certain areas simply gave up the production of other crops in favour of indigo.[37] Therefore, indigo production went higher and its price went down to the advantage of the people involved in dyeing industry. The involvement of large numbers of talakawa in the production of these much sought-after crops also enabled them to earn enough income with which they were able to purchase the manufactured goods. In view of the number of the talakawa, the demand for manufactured goods must have been substantial. In order to meet these demands the owners of the industrial establishments were encouraged to raise the level of production by expanding their industries.

Similarly, in order to encourage large-scale production in dyeing establishments, the Emirate charged very low taxes on the dye-pits.[38] This was in spite of the fact that

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37. NAK, SNP.6, 111/1908 - Kano Province, Assessment Report.

38. NAK, SNP.7, 2084/1909 - Assessment Report, Bebeji and Kofa Districts.

the amount of business done per pit was very high. Consequently, people who were involved in this industry were encouraged to establish new dye-pits and expand existing ones.

The Emirate policy on the sedentarisation of nomadic Fulani and urbanisation also played important roles in the expansion of industrial production. The relationship between urbanisation and industrial production here has not been very closely studied, but it would appear that urbanisation was essential, especially for certain industries such as dyeing and cloth-beating. While spinning, weaving and other relatively less labour-demanding industrial activities were undertaken both in the urban centres and in the countryside, many of the specialised industrial activities were undertaken mainly in urban centres and their satellites. This was not only because many of these specialised industrial activities required large intensive labour of people with considerable degree of team work, but also because some or many of the craftsmen worked largely on special orders from the Emirate officials or individual members of the masu sarauta living in the urban centres. Such industries could only have developed and operated successfully in places where artisans and other skilled

craftsmen congregated in large numbers and were in constant and easy touch with big time customers and places where a large number of people could be recruited to provide assistance to the skilled craftsmen.

Thus large towns like the Birni, Bebeji, Kura, Birnin Kudu, and Dutse Gadawur often attracted the best craftsmen as well as rich traders, financiers, and landlords throughout the Central Sudan and beyond.

The urban centres were also much more attractive to the 'yan cin rani (dry season sojourners) both from within and outside Kasar Kano. Both categories provided the various industrial establishments with skilled and unskilled labour. Needless to say the concentration of skilled craftsmen in Kano was important for industrial production. There was increased degree of application of technology in industrial production. The level of the workmanship attained by the skilled craftsmen by the second half of the nineteenth century was such that their reputation appeared to have spread to many parts of the Central Sudan. The Sultan of Wadai, Ibrahim, was so impressed by the goods made by these craftsmen that he sent a letter to Emir Aliyu of Kano (c.1894-1903) in which he requested for some of the craftsmen. Aliyu responded positively and sent him a

number of craftsmen who included a tailor, an architect, saddle-maker, shoe-maker, a maker of fans, and a maker of quilted horse armour.[39]

Sedentarisation and urbanisation were also important in other respects. Seclusion of women was generally related to urban centres and although this amounted to a decrease in the labour force in some sectors of the economy, it promoted production in others. Spinning of cotton thread and weaving, being time-consuming, could more appropriately be undertaken by women who were confined to their houses rather than those who were most of the time working in the fields, selling commodities in the market or performing other tasks outside their area of confinement. Spinning and weaving, of course, constituted the foundation of Kano's textile and dyeing industries. These were the leading industries in Kano.

Another factor that stimulated industrial production in this century was trade, especially external trade. A number of owners of industrial establishments concentrated

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39. J.N. Works, Pilgrims in a Strange Land: Hausa Communities in Chad, New York, Columbia University Press, 1976, p.65.

their effort on the production of goods which were designed primarily for external markets. The best example of these were dyeing, tanning and leather-working industries. These export-oriented industries increasingly operated on a much larger scale than similar industrial establishments whose products were geared towards satisfying internal markets. The export-oriented dyeing establishments, for example, often had about three hundred dye-pits in each centre.[40]

The significance of this development would be better appreciated when it is realised that a dyer operating alone would require at least two pits if he were to be fully occupied. This was due to the fact that after a solution had been made, it required about seven or more days before it could be used. When many dyers worked in a single centre, a relatively small number of pits could be prepared for use at any particular time, thus reducing the total expense, which would be necessary to keep all the dyers fully occupied, or conversely limiting the otherwise inevitable unemployment of individual dyers. Lending and renting[41] of dye-pits in large dyeing centres owned by

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40. P.J. Shea, op.cit.(1974/77), p.58.

41. ibid., p.59; MUM (Birni), 20/4/79.

individual dyers (as opposed to clusters owned wholly by individual rich attajirai) were common practice. This ensured that dyers could all be fully employed with minimum investment in dye-pits. Cooperation in large dyeing centres helped to reduce costs in other ways. The burning of pit sediments (katsi) to make mordant and laso was often done communally, hence reducing the cost of fire-wood. Specialist water carriers, sediment scoopers and pit agitators worked at different pits alternately, thus enabling dyers to specialise in their own work as well. In yet another way cooperation between dyers at the large dyeing centres enabled the producers to reduce costs. To produce a blue cloth quickly required a relatively new dyeing solution. But after a while, the solution no longer dyed the cloth as dark or as quickly as it should, but could still be used for dyeing cheap cloth, especially second-hand clothes which were re-dyed in very large quantities.

If a dyer were to operate alone he would have only two choices: either scooping out the remaining solution and making a new one (which would not be economic) or shifting his work to the dyeing of a lighter blue cloth which would be time-consuming and less profitable. In a large centre, however, a dyer had the additional option of

shifting to another pit and leaving the remaining solution to be used by people, especially slaves, learning the craft of dyeing or other dyers who lacked the capital for their own solution or for the more expensive kinds of cloth which were dyed dark blue-black.[42]

Similar innovations, new techniques and organisations, brought about by attempts to meet increasing demand for industrial goods as well as ensuring maximum output of high quality goods at a cheaper cost of production were also taking place in other industries.[43] The difference was that of degree which was determined by the demand for a particular industrial product. On the whole, all industries witnessed considerable degree of expansion during the nine-teenth century. In this way, the owners of industrial establishments were able to meet the demand of their customers both within and without the Central Sudan.

The owners of the large industrial establishments, especially the attajirai, had other factors in their favour. The two most important of the factors were cheap labour and capital. As in agricultural and livestock production, slave

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42. P.J. Shea, op.cit.(1974/77), p.59.

43. ibid., p.58.

labour constituted an important source of labour for the members of the ruling class. Some of the slaves had in fact acquired skills in various crafts before their capture and enslavement.[44] Others acquired skills in the various industrial establishments of their masters.

With probably the exception of those who became professional traders and those who opted, with the master's consent of course, to pay murgu (tax) all or almost all other slaves, including those who worked in the fields during the agricultural seasons, were often mobilised for industrial production especially during the afternoons and in the evenings.[45]

It would also appear that the slaves, due to their status, were as was the case in agricultural production, made to do the more arduous work in the various industrial establishments. There is no doubt that they spent more time at work than the free men. Due to the large number of slaves owned by the members of the ruling class and the relative permanency and effectiveness of their labour, it would appear that this form of labour was very important

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44. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.42.

45. Mary Smith, op.cit., p.49.

to the large industrial establishments.

This is not to suggest that other forms of labour were not important during this period. Wage labour, for instance, had become very important. In addition to 'yan cin rani who moved into the industrial centres from the countryside, many of them also came from the neighbouring Emirates or states, there were "myriads [of others] whose only mode of gaining a livelihood is by working for others as labourers". Though the method of payment is not quite clear, it is said that labour provided by these people was cheap.[46]

Another important source of labour was that of almajirai (pupils) and dalibai (students). By the nineteenth century Kano had become attractive both to scholars and students. Many of them were skilled craftsmen who were particularly famous for embroidery, dyeing and tailoring. Some of the malamai who were craft specialists and estate agriculturalists founded several industrial establishments both for themselves and for their students.[47] As in agricultural production, many of the malamai who owned industrial establishments benefited from the labour and

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46. F.O.403/64 - F.O.403/75, 1888, Box 35-75, K.I.L., A.B.U., Zaria.

47. P.J. Shea, op.cit.(1976), p.8.

tuition fees provided by the almajirai (pupils) and dalibai (students). They also benefited from kudin taimako or baraka (money given to malamai for securing luck in busines. transactions). Some of the almajirai and dalibai also sought employment in the various industrial establishments while pursuing their studies. They therefore formed part of valuable labour force.

Capital formed an important factor in the establishment and expansion of industries. This capital continued to multiply through the profit derived from the other sectors of the economy which were flourishing in the nineteenth century. In the case of the ruling class in general it should be noted that slaves, as in agricultural production, constituted an important source of capital, and in the case of attajirai in particular, in addition to other sources, they had their own profit multiplying through the income they derived from the fatoma institution which facilitated many unethical practices and means by which they extracted more profit. Such practices included chi

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kura (lit. eating hyena),[48] swindling,[49] and hoarding of goods.[50]

Apart from these major factors which stimulated industrial production in the nineteenth century, there were other minor factors. Firstly the state patronage as well as that of the masu sarauta for certain industries was one of these factors which played a role in promoting industrial production. By the nineteenth century the state often ordered different kinds of industrial goods in large quantities. These were meant for the various institutions of the state and for "tribute and other presents which were given to the various categories of rulers at Sokoto. Being the most prosperous Emirate in the Caliphate, the Emirs of Kano often made sure that Kano's "tribute" and contributions to the Caliphate were in consonance with its economic

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48. Chi kura was simply a method by which dillalai (brokers), in collusion with fatoma, mai gida or any attajiri, told a visiting customer that he sold a commodity for so much while he had in fact received much more than the stated amount. The expression "chi kura" meant that he was "eating" an unlawful thing (that is kura - hyena, which is haram - unlawful). For examples of unethical business transactions in market of the Birni, see Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.40.

49. Imam Imoru, "The Broker - Dillali", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.373.

50. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.41.

status. As the goods acquired by the state for this purpose were often paid for very well, the various industrial establishments often competed for such state patronage. Some of the industrial establishments did indeed rely heavily on royal patronage.

Particularly within Kasar Kano, the increase in the number of masu sarauta led to a substantial increase in the consumption of processed luxury goods. There were many rich

> "people with all the numerous wants and ideas which progress implies people passionately fond of voluminous garments, and who delight to cloth even their horses with gorgeous silks and velvets, tassels and tinkling bells - everything in fact which will make a brave show. They delight to gather about them articles of no particular utility but which attract and please the eye"[51]

As in the sphere of agricultural production therefore, the single most important factor in stimulating manufacturing and processing industries was the state. The policies and measures of the state provided a conducive atmosphere for the flourishing industries in Kasar Kano, particularly in the nineteenth century. Here too the ruling class owned the major industrial establishments and controlled and manipulated the benefits derived from this sector of the economy

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51. F.O.403/64 - F.O.403/75, 1884-1887, Box 35-75, K.I.L., A.B.U., Zaria.

to the disadvantageof the talakawa. The discussion of the processes of industrial production will make this clear.

II. The Processes of Production.

(1) The Eighteenth Century:

By the eighteenth century many of Kano's manufacturing and processing industries had been in operation for hundreds of years. In the period up to the eighteenth century an important feature of industrial production was the pursuance of different trades by craftsmen in their homes, under large shady trees or in their rumfuna (a kind of portico; sing. rumfa) in the markets. In the earlier periods only some of the industrial activities, especially those which required intensive labour and capital, for example dyeing and tanning, were undertaken as the main occupations. Others were undertaken only as seasonal occupations. People who participated in industrial activities on part-time basis were largely unskilled in their various undertakings. They were engaged in these activities during the dry season when they had little to do on their farms. The participation of this latter group in industrial production did raise the level of productivity.

This, in addition to other features, was a major strength of Kano's industrial production. The industrial establishments were spread throughout the country and were practised by almost all able people. Even in the nineteenth century when large-scale industrial production tended to be concentrated in the hands of the ruling class, particularly the attajirai, the majority of the people throughout the country continued to participate in one form or the other in industrial production.

Some of the workers who took their crafts as their main occupation normally had them on hereditary basis, through successive generations. So this allowed for continuous improvement in the skills and techniques in respective undertakings. However, this does not mean that craftsmanship in Kasar Kano by then was a close endeavour. It should be noted that immigration for instance was constantly adding fresh blood to the different industries.

Outsiders were often accepted into the different industrial establishments. Large-scale employment of slaves and other seasonal workers, especially in the second half of the century, also contributed to the breaking of the monopoly over certain crafts by certain families or groups. Rather, the factor of residence both

in settlemtnts, towns and in the countryside, played more important roles in determining the occupation of individuals. Different occupations were invariably associated closely with different unguwowi (wards). There were, for example, unguwan makera (ward of blacksmiths) and unguwar majema (ward of tanners). Most of the wards which bore the names of ethnic groups such as Unguwan Nufawa, Unguwan Beriberi, and Unguwan Wangarawa, were mainly associated with various occupations. The respective wards, although initially dominated by immigrants from different regions, were sooner or later overwhelmed by people from other groups.

Production based on unguwowi had a number of advantages. Firstly it promoted cooperation between the craftsmen. Secondly it enabled them to have easy access to raw materials which would be brought directly from the country-side to the areas of concentration of manufacturing and processing industries. Thirdly it provided an atmosphere for corss-fertilisation of ideas, skills and techniques.

The various sarakuna of sana'a (kings of the various crafts) often ensured that fellow craftsmen cooperated fully among themselves for the benefit of the entire group, establishment or ward. This might only have raised the level of professional ethics by offering the best services

to customers but also facilitated production, thereby increasing both the quality and quantity of goods produced in the various industrial centres.

In the absence of statistical data, it is necessary to make inferences from the epochs of trading activities to determine the periods of large-scale industrial production in Kano. It must be pointed out, however, that whereas there is often correlation between expansion in trade and that in production, it is not always the case that a law could be made out of this relationship. It is possible for a community or a country to expand its trade network and raise its volume of trade without a corresponding expansion in its production. A commercially oriented community could easily import goods from a neighbouring community or area. Such goods could be sold either within the area inhabited by the community concerned or re-exported to another area. A community could therefore be engaged permanently in such an exercise without dealing much in goods produced by its members.

But in the case of Kano, traders and merchants particularly in the nineteenth century, were not only involved in transactions in goods produced in Kano, many of them, especially those who immigrated from other areas into Kano,

participated actively in importation of commodities from distant states and areas which were needed badly for industrial processes and then for re-exports. Therefore, in the case of Kano, expansion in trade would mean expansion in industrial production.

To use trade as an index to measure industrial production, it may be said that the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century witnessed expansion in industrial production in Kano, given the high volume of its trade especially with the areas of the Middle Niger and the rivers Niger and Benue confluence zone.[52] In the period from about 1740's and the 1760's there was an apparent lull in economic activities in Kano. This was largely due to the various wars and tyrannical and exploitative policies which characterised the later part of Sarki Kumbari's rule (c.1743-1753).[53]

By the later part of the eighteenth century, however, the economy succeeded in picking up, so that during this period Kano's textile, tannery, and dyeing industries, among others, had reached a stage of considerable degree of

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52. Tarikh Arbab, pp.123, 124.

53. See ibid., pp.124, 125.

expansion.[54]

(a) Textile Industry.

The most important industry in terms of the number of people involved in various aspects of its production, the volume of goods produced, and the value in the overall economy, the variety of products and by-products, was textile industry. Its significance to the economy may be seen in terms of the variety of uses to which cloth was put. Apart from their conventional and their great universal importance for clothing and adornment, the variety of cloths produced have also been used not only in Kano but also throughout savanna, the Sahel, and areas of the forest zones as a medium of exchange, as a way of transferring wealth, as capital, as important items in religious rituals, and as a symbol of difference in status - social, religious, economic and political.

The process of textile production passed through various phases. The major phases were spinning, weaving, and tailoring. Generally, in each of these phases the number of people engaged corresponded to the work involved.

54. Y.B. Usman, op.cit.(1974), p.137; V. Lamb, West African Weaving, London, Durkworth, 1975, pp.95-97; NAK, no.6581, Report on Tanning Industry, Kano Province; E.W. Bovill, op.cit., vol.I, pp.104, 117.

Many more people were involved in spinning, the base of the textile industry, than in weaving, while relatively few people were involved in tailoring. The degree of complexity of the industry also appears to have corresponded with its pyramidal structure. An important features of textiles production was the degree of interdependence between the various people involved in the three major phases. Another important feature was the crucial roles which women, including girls played, especially in the first and second stages of the production of this industry.

(i) Spinning.

Spinning constituted a most solid foundation of Kano's textile industry. This was due to the great number of people practising it and the spirit of competition involved in it. The main labour force in this industry consisted mainly of women of all ages and almost all classes, even the wives of masu sarauta. The women of Kano were known to be excellent spinners.[55] The degree of participation of people in this industry would be appreciated if it is noted that in some regions even

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55. Imam Imoru, "Spinning - Zare", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.303.

men were participating in spinning.[56]

Spinning was also one of the occupations which were not dominated by any particular geographical region or town. This would reflect the widespread practice of this industry in Kasar Kano. It was practised both in towns and in the countryside. The only element of specialisation associated with spinning was in respect of the type of thread spun. While some people (and areas) spun very fine threads, specially meant for the weaving of materials for rawani (turban) and other related cloths, other spun coarse thread for weaving gwado (blanket).

The great participation of people in spinning was due to a number of reasons:

Firstly, spinning required little capital outlay since the equipment employed in it could be produced by almost everyone.

Secondly, cotton was obtained easily as nearly every member of each household, especially in the countryside, was involved in its cultivation. Apart from the cotton produced in the household gandu, every member of the house-

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56. NAK, SNP.7, 2078/1924 - Kano Province, Gwaram District, Re-assessment Report. According to this report, practically all men of Ajawa of south-eastern region of Kano were engaged in spinning.

hold, including women, young men and slaves also produced cotton on their gayauna.

Thirdly an equally important driving force was the incentive provided by the profit made by spinners because of the great demand for thread by the weavers.

Fourthly, girls constituted a major labour force in spinning because they had relatively more time, and spinning was in fact part of their training as useful future housewives. Their parents often or always saw to it that girls were properly occupied by engaging them in spinning whenever they were not involved in other domestic work. The girls normally formed large groups and moved from house to house in rotation for the purpose of spinning together.[57]

The training was often put to immediate test. As soon as they became amare (newly wed girls), they were tested for their nagarta and mutunci (goodness and respect). This involved spinning of a large quantity of thread. The cotton lint for the thread was provided by the father of the ango (bridegroom). Partly in an attempt to please her husband and parents, but probably mainly to escape from being branded as lazy by the members of her community, the newly wed girl often worked "day and night" to produce as much

57. GUM (Burumburum), 8/2/79.

thread as she could. After some time, usually ranging from a few months to one year, all the thread which had been spun was put on display for the members of the public to see either for the purpose of commendation or condemnation as the case might be. The thread that had been produced was known as zaren ganin hannu (thread for showing ability of the newly wed).[58] From the cloth woven from the thread, the newly wed girl was provided with two zanuwa (wrappers). The rest of the cloth was given to the husband and the husband's father.

The spinning of zaren ganin hannu was not confined to newly weds. It extended to most married women. The head of the household or the family often distributed cotton lint among his wives at regular intervals. This meant that the more wives he had the more thread he could accumulate. In attempt to surpass one another, a considerable spirit of competition was often generated among the wives. The driving force was the desire on the part of the woman or women to please the husband through spinning large quantities of thread.[59] From the proceeds of the threads or the cloth woven from the

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58. AH (Birnin Kudu), 6/2/79.

59. AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79.

thread the husband's accumulated jari (capital) for investment in one sector of the economy or another.[60]

These various means for large involvements of a great number of people in spinning made it possible to meet the increasing demands by weavers for thread.

(ii) Weaving.

The number of people involved in weaving, although relatively less than those involved in spinning, was substantial. Both men and women were involved in it. Like spinning, weaving did not require intensive capital or complicated infrastructures. The basic equipment consisted of kunkuru (lit. tortoise) which was either a heavy stone or the base of turmi (mortar) in which a hole was bored for straightening out the thread; a strong thread which was put through the bored hole and kwarkwaro - an object around which thread for weaving was wrapped and thrown. Others were allera (two heddles which were made of thread), matsefa (comb), and cakarkari (nut of dum-palm, gorriba or turkurma palm).[61] All of these equipment were obtained

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60. AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79.

61. Imam Imoru, "Handcraft - Aikin Hannu", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.304.

locally and easily. Weaving was carried out either in a zaure (entrance room), in a rumfa (portico), or under a large tree,[62] throughout the year, but it was intensified during the dry season because more people would be engaged in it.

Like in all other aspects of production, gayya was an important feature of weaving. The zaren ganin hannu was often woven communally, sometimes involving from fifty to one hundred weavers. These consisted of neighbours, relatives and friends. As was the case with gayya for agricultural production, the host provided food, kolanuts, and drinks to the weavers.[63] The type of cloth woven was to a large extent determined by the quality of the thread used and the degree to which individual weavers had mastered the art of their craft. The need to meet the demand for high quality cloths, especially for the ruling class and for exports particularly to the Sahel and the central Saharan regions, resulted in a continual refinement of the thread which was produced.

The high demand for cloth made it necessary for some

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62. AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79.

63. ibid.

groups to specialise in weaving. Therefore, weavers used different threads - both local and imported ones. Cotton thread was often used together with tsamiya (silkworm) and alharine.[64] The greatest variety of cloths produced were those for women. Differences in tastes encouraged mass production. Among the various types of zanuwa (wrappers) which were woven were: barage, which was woven from fari (white thread) and red alharine threads;[65] saki, woven from black thread called baki (black) and blue thread;[66] zalwani was woven from black and blue threads; gwanda, woven from blue and black threads; jimada, woven from black and red threads; and ridi, woven from black and blue threads. There were other cloths such as kudi, dan Katanga, karogo, bunu, kwarjalle, and razana kare.[67]

The relative value of the cloths woven was of course

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64. A high quality thread imported from or through North Africa (AAR, Dutse Gadawur, 3/2/79).

65. Men's garments were also sewn from this material and it was called rigar (gown of) barage. See Imam Imoru, "Weaving - Saka", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.305.

66. The women's garment was called zanen saki and the men's garment was called rigar saki - see Imam Imoru, "Weaving - Saka", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.304.

67. SMA (Ringim), 21/4/79; AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 8/9/80.

determined by the quality of the threads from which they had been woven. The commonest cloth woven for male and female garments was fari (white cloth - woven from plain white thread). Its greatest advantage was that it could be dyed according to any required colour. Fari was generally the cheapest material. The most expensive was kudi (lit. money); the name itself suggests the value of this type of cloth. It was woven from warwar (black and white threads). These were rare materials and normally worn only by the wives of the ruling class. The cheapest material for zanuwa (wrappers) was razana kare worn by the poorest people in the society.[68] As there were different types of cloths, there was a need for different expert tailors.

(iii) Tailoring.

Ma'dunka (tailors) who were numerous in the Birni and almost every town, specialised in sewing particular type of riguna (gowns), wanduna (trousers), taguwowi (jumpers and huluna (caps) and several other types of garments. Each of the garments carried what would indicate the place where it was made, normally bearing the name of the place, as represented by a Hausa prefix of dan (son of) or 'yar

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68. AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 8/9/80.

(daughter of). There were, for instance, dan Getso, dan Godia, dan Birnin Kudu, and 'yar Rimin Gado.

Apart from specialisation between towns in the sewing of different types of clothes, there was also a further specialisation between tailors who produced what may be referred to as non-military dresses and those who devoted most of their time to the production of largely military materials especially cavalry equipment.[69] The cavalry materials which were produced ranged from banten doki (loin cloth for horse) to rigar sirdi (saddle gown). Others were rigar katifa (case for horse-back mattress) and zagin sirdi (highly decorated saddle gown). Most of these materials were expressly produced for state and the members of the masu sarauta and the use of some of them were forbidden to the talakawa.[70]

Specialisation in tailoring resulted in the production of a great variety of clothes. It was this variety that popularised Kano's textile materials in different regions. The variety of clothes produced virtually suited all tastes, different sexes and ages. It also met the requirements of

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69. Imam Imoru, "Sewing - Dumki", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.310.

70. ibid., p.314.

both rich and poor.

Many of the garments were very voluminous and highly decorated by those who embroidered them. Embroidery work was normally undertaken largely on request, depending on the taste and also means of the customers who patronised them. The embroidery designs were called fuska (lit. face). Some of the fuska consisted of a single pattern, while others consisted of from two to eight fuska patterns. These were very expensive and as is to be expected, were purchased mainly or only by the ruling class, especially when they were made of tsamiya (silkworm).

(iv) Tsamiya (Silkworm) Industry.

The antiquity of silkworm industry in Kano is not quite known. Archival and other colonial sources traced the history of the industry only to the nineteenth century. Oral sources, however, assert that the industry had been practised for many centuries before the beginning of British rule in Northern Nigeria.[71] What seems to be clear, however, is that by the first half of the nineteenth century, Kasar Kano had emerged as a most dominant area of production of tsamiya and trade in the whole of West

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71. UAM, MHM, IM, ND (Basilan Tsamiya), 7/9/80.

Africa.[72]

Production of tsamiya seemed to have been dominated by clusters of small villages situated a few miles to the north and north-west of the Birni. The most important of these villages in terms of relative quantity of production was Basilan Tsamiya.[73] Other major centres of production of tsamiya in Kano were Garko and Sumaila. Unlike most of the other manufacturing and processing industries, Kano's main source of raw materials for this industry were outside its territory. Katsina, Zazzau and the "Bauchi region" were the main sources of supply in both the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.[74] Some of the other sources of raw materials which were largely opened up in the nineteenth century were parts of Borno and the Upper Benue basin.

Although all forms of silkworms are referred to as tsamiya (tamarind) or audugan tsamiya (cotton lint of tsamiya) or rimin tsamiya (white silk cotton tree tsamiya),[75]

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72. P.J. Shea, "Kano and Silk Trade", paper presented to the Postgraduate Seminar, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, 29th April, 1980, p.6.

73. UAM, MHM, IM, ND (Basilan Tsamiya), 7/9/80.

74. ibid.; F.D. Golding, "The Wild Silkworms of Nigeria", Farm and Forest, vols.2-3 no.1, June 1941; P.J. Shea, op.cit.(1980), p.4.

75. J.M. Dalziel, op.cit., p.201.

thus suggesting that tsamiya tree was the only source of silkworm, but other trees and plants also constituted important habitat for tsamiya-producing worms. The adoption of the name tsamiya almost throughout the Central Sudan could be attributed mainly to the fact that the tsamiya tree constituted the most common habitat of the silk-producing worms. At the same time, the silk obtained from tsamiya trees had often been considered superior to other forms of silk obtained from worms of other trees.[76]

The pupae of the Anaphae vuilleti moth which feeds on the leaves of tamarind trees produces a kind of silkworm known in Hausa as tsamiyan tsamiya (lit. tamarind of tamarind). Another common kind of silk found in the savanna belt was called tsamiyar doka, sometimes referred to as tsamiyar falake, because it was mainly found in doka tree (Isoberlinia doka). The latter kind of silk was produced by the pupae of Anaphae moloney moth. A third but somewhat less common type of silk was known in Hausa as tsmiyar makarfo, as it was found mainly in makarfo tree (Afromosia laxiflora).

Collection of silk cocoons was carried out mainly during the dry season either by the local inhabitants who

76. J.M. Dalziel, op.cit., p.201.

sold them to the Kano traders or tsamiya workers who normally travelled to the centres of collection. The hazards involved in the collection of the cocoons was one of the main reasons for the high degree of cooperation among the silk workers. To obtain the fibres, the cocoons had to undergo a process of degumming. The cocoons together with the covers, in the case of tsamiyar doka, were boiled for a full day and night in an alkaline solution. This relatively complicated processes of production indeed shows the high level of technology employed in the production of textile in Kano during this period.

The ingredients of the solution consisted of wood ash of certain trees only and burnt katsi (dried sediment of dye-pit). The long process of boiling the cocoons in an alkaline solution helps to degum the cocoons so that the fibres could be separated out of the mass. After this process the cocoons were washed with clean water and dried before the fibres were separated out. The process of degumming is time-consuming and involved some fairly expensive materials such as alkaline additive and firewood and could most efficiently and relatively cheaply be done only on a large-scale basis. Therefore it provided a basis for the much needed cooperation among the tsamiya

producers.[77]

The fibres were spurn by hand (generally by men) in order to make the thread. The end-product had a number of uses. Although much of the silk was used in embroidery, a good amount of it was also interwoven with cotton thread in a patterned cloth. At other times it was also woven by itself. The women's garment was known as zanen tsamiya (tsamiya wrapper) and the men's garment was known as rigar tsamiya (tsamiya gown). Tsamiya products and clothes were much prized and were largely patronized by the ruling class. Tsamiya products added variety to Kano's textile industry. This variety was further diversified by the various dyed clothes which were produced in Kano in very large quantities.

(b) Dyeing and Cloth Beating.

By the eighteenth century, especially by the second half of the century, Kano's dyeing industry had reached a very high stage of its development. This is based on the great variety of dyed cloths which were produced, but also even more importantly because of the large quantities of dyed cloths and clothes which were produced to meet the demands of people in the savanna, the

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77. UAM, MHM, IM, ND (Basilan Tsamiya), 7/9/80.

Sahel, the central Saharan region and parts of the forest zones.[78] Indeed it is justifiable to believe that a substantial proportion of these dyed materials originating from Hausaland into these areas were processed in Kano. Both written traditions[79] and recent researches have indicated the importance of Kano as a leading area for dyeing. This had been made possible by a number of favourable conditions which enabled people here to practice dyeing on a large-scale basis.

A detailed study of dyeing industry in Kano in pre-colonial time has shown that large-scale dyeing could only be carried out economically under certain favourable conditions.[80] Foremost among these conditions was water supply. This explains why large-scale dyeing could only be carried out in certain parts of Hausaland. According to P.J. Shea, areas to the north of the Birni could not economically undertake the dyeing of cloth on a very large-scale basis. If this was indeed the case, it meant that most parts of

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78. E.W. Bovill, op.cit.(1964), vol.I, p.104.

79. F. Edgar, op.cit.(1911), Littafi Na Farko, p.276; Abdulkadir b. Al-Mustafa, op.cit., p.260.

80. P.J. Shea, The Development of an Export Oriented Dyed Cloth Industry in Kano Emirate in the Nineteenth Century, Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1974, p.103.

Hausaland which were located to the north of the Birni retrogressively produced less and less dyed cloths with increasing distance to the north. Therefore it would not be surprising that people in the far northern parts of the Sudan savanna and in the Sahel are believed to have brought into the Birni bundles upon bundles of cloths and clothes for dyeing and re-dyeing during pre-colonial period.[81] Thus if this was the case, the dyeing industry of Kano flourished greatly, at least from the second half of the eighteenth century. For as from this period the inhabitants of the Sahel and the Sahara depended on dyed cloths imported from Hausaland.

In most cases dye-pits were established in clusters and the clusters consisted of from a few pits to as many as two hundred, at least by the nineteenth century. Each cluster was called karofi. Dye-pits in any of the karofi were owned by several families and were heritable. The number of dye-pits owned by the individual families in a karofi ranged from one to as many as twenty or probably more. At least by the eighteenth century it was rare for an individual to own a whole karofi. Rich attajirai often

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81. MUM (Birni), 20/4/79.

owned a substantial number of dye-pits in a karofi.

Generally, dye-pits were not usually dug and worked inside the compounds, mainly because several aspects of dyeing needed a lot of cooperation. Some of these aspects were the stirring of baba (indigo) in the large and deep pits, the preparation and burning of katsi (dried sediment of dye-pit) and the plastering of the walls and floors of dye-pits. Others were the necessity for draining of karofi when it got flooded and the sharing of clothes for dyeing.[82]

The primary source of labour was provided by the members of the families who owned the dye-pits as well as slaves and barori. Women played important roles in some aspects of dyeing. The bundles of clothes brought into Kano, especially by Azbenawa, for dyeing or re-dyeing had to, first of all, be treated in a boiled water and pounded in mortars by women before they were dyed.[83] Old clothes meant for re-dyeing had to be treated in a solution of kanwa (potash) by women before undergoing the processes of re-dyeing.

An important feature of dyeing was the number of

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82. AMM (Bebeji), 7/7/80; MUM (Birni), 20/4/79.

83. MUM (Birni), 20/4/79.

people involved in the various aspects of the industry. Those involved in the digging of the dye-pits, plastering the pits, filling the pits with water, supplying of ashes, provision of dan tukunya (a basket made from geza shrubs and often plastered with cow dung for covering the dye-pits), supply of muchiya (a long stick for stirring the indigo in the pit) and several other materials, including raw materials were often paid labour for the temporary services rendered to the owners of the dye-pits. Given the varieties of work in the karofi, the number of such paid labour was very high. In addition to this fact, it should be noted that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the number of dye-pits in the major dyeing towns such as the Birni, Dutse Gadawur, Kura and Bebeji, ranged from twenty to two hundred in each karofi. These conditions enabled people, particularly the ruling class, with capital to eventually control the dyeing industry especially in the nineteenth century.

However, to have a better understanding of the dyeing industry, there is a need to examine the process of cloth-beating which constituted an integral part of the dyeing industry. It is likely that the art of cloth-beating pre-dated dyeing, for it was a standard procedure for treating

all types of clothes. It was a process by which wrinkles were removed from cloths or clothes after the initial sewing as well as after laundering. It was also an important mechanism for making coarse materials softer.

In its simplest form, anyone could and possibly did beat cloth occasionally, since it involved nothing more than placing a piece of cloth on a smooth stone or wood and subject it to a beating with a stick or even with a hand or hands until the desired effect was attained. But this method would not have been effective by the eighteenth century when a lot of cloths and clothes had to be treated. This necessitated the development of professional cloth-beaters. The expansion of this important occupation closely followed the development of textile and dyeing industries. By the second half of the eighteenth century almost every karofi had a centre or centres of cloth-beaters attached to it.[84]

Like in all other sectors of the economy, this industry also underwent significant stages of development. This included the nature of training (in the form of apprenticeship) innovations and specialisation. One of the

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84. MUM (Birni), 20/4/79.

most significant developments in this industry was the invention of the method of preparing concentrated shuni (dried and refined indigo). This involved the cooking of indigo and the whipping of the cooked solution into a foam which was then poured into lumps and then left to dry.[85] The main significance of the introduction of shuni into cloth-beating industry was that, henceforth beating was not just to smoothen out wrinkles on clothes but also to give colour to it. By beating shuni into cloth which had already been dyed with indigo, it became possible to allow the concentration of more dye in the cloth. Consequently a much darker colour would be obtained. So cloth-beating was a contributory factor in the perfection of dyeing. In addition, the spreading of shuni on the cloth and the beating to which such a piece of cloth was subjected resulted in the imparting of a sheen to the finished material.

The ability of the cloth-beaters to impart colour to cloth after it had been dyed meant that more and more varieties of dyed cloth could be produced by graduating the amount of sheen.

Different settlements and towns specialised in the

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85. P.J. Shea, op.cit(1974), p.170.

production of different kinds of dyed clothes. Those which specialised in the production of shiny clothes attracted buyers, especially those from the northern part of the Sudan savanna, Sahel and the Saharan areas. There was also an increase in the demand for shuni, mabuga (log for cloth-beating), dan bugu (mallet), and kasanki (a strip of cloth made specifically for wrapping-up dyed and beaten cloth for long-distance trade). These developments had increased the involvement of people in these industries, particularly in those associated with dyeing. Developments in the latter industry had a considerable effect on tannery and leather-working industries.

(c) Tannery and Leather-Work Industries.

These industries were of great antiquity in view of the fact that skins and leather constituted one of the earliest forms of clothing. The two industries performed important roles in the economy, especially in view of the great variety of uses to which skins and leather have been put.

By the eighteenth century the products of these industries constituted one of the most important items for Kano's internal and external trade. The well-known and

famous "Morocco leather" which was carried in large quantities across the Sahara for centuries was believed to have mostly originated from Kano.[86] Kano's tannery and other related industries flourished considerably in the eighteenth century as a result of expansion in the other sectors of the economy. The expansion in the industry was influenced in a number of ways: firstly there was the need to meet the increased need for military equipment especially in the nineteenth century.

Secondly, the easy access to raw materials such as skins,[87] chemicals and technological innovations, especially in relation to dehairing, de-liming, bating, puring, and colouring of leather promoted large-scale production in these industries.

Thirdly, increase in specialisation among the tanners and leather-workers resulted in the production of a great variety of leather goods. The most distinctive aspect of specialisation in the leather industry was the division of roles between leather-workers who concentrated on the production of cavalry equipment and those who concentrated

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86. NAK, no.6581 - Kanoprof., Report on Tanning Industry, Kano Province.

87. ibid.

on non-military goods. Among the latter were a variety of transportation bags for transporting agricultural produce and internal and external trade as well as equipment for blacksmiths, for instance zuga-zugi (bellows).

The military articles produced included saddles, zabuka (saddle pad), likaffu (stirrups), furtali (blinders), ragama (halter), kurufai (riding boots), sambattsai (ornamental sandals with cross bands of yellow and red leather), shields and scabbards.

The close relation between tannery and leather-working industries and other industries facilitated the former's expansion. The production of saddles, for instance, involved the participation of tanners, wood-carvers, spinners and weavers. Also apart from skins other major raw materials were obtained from other producers. These were wood-ash, hagaruwa (Acacia arabica) and fatakka (Perguloria tomentosa). The wood-ash obtained from Tamarindus indica was used in the preliminary stages of tanning, especially in dehairing. The selection of materials, use of their right proportions and the length of time for the skins to be in the solution

would determine the quality of the products. The ability of the tanners and leather-workers to produce high quality materials demonstrates the level of expertise they had attained.

The degree of the skill of the tanners and leather-workers would also be seen in the way they used local materials effectively. The production of a variety of colours from such materials is a good example. A bright red colour was produced by the use of pounded sorghum stalks, to which a solution of potash was added. A black leather was obtained by treating the leather with a mixture of honey and blacksmith's slags. To this mixture was added water which was made sour by washing grain in it. A sour mixture of flour and water could be a good substitute. Sometimes a little bagaruwa was added. A pale green leather was produced with the aid of a solution of brass filings mixed with lime guice, salt and other ingredients. Other substances which were used in dyeing leather were sour milk and balangade (Cochlopermum). The discovery of the use of the various chemicals and dyes enabled the tanners and the leather-workers to produce large quantities of leather and leather goods which had ready market both within and without Kasar Kano.

(d) Other Industries.

In addition to these major industries, there were others which were largely geared towards serving local needs. However, some of the products of these industries were exported to the neighbouring kingdoms or Emirates. Therefore they contributed directly or indirectly to the large-scale economic production in Kano in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

Such industries were blacksmithing, musk-making, pottery, carving, mat-making, basketry, production of alewa (sweat meat), mazarkwela (brown sugar), and the processing and preparation of groundnut and shea butter produce for production of cooking and lighting oil. Secondary industries like re-assembling and re-processing of especially imported goods were also undertaken. Those involved in the re-assembling of imported goods, for example swords, were mainly the blacksmiths.

Blacksmithing is one of the oldest industries in Kano. Oral and written traditions about early smelting and iron-working in the area of Dala, Gaya, Godiya and other areas have been widespread. By the nineteenth century numerous blacksmiths were found both in towns and in the countryside.[88]

88. AAS (Getso), 29/12/78.

The basic production unit was often simply a domestic unit, consisting of one adult blacksmith and an assistant who handled the zuga-zugi (bellows). Several of such production units normally worked in the same place, for example under a tree or in a zaure (entrance room).

As in other industries, the increasing demand for manufactured goods, for instance, farm implements, military equipment and ornaments especially for women, resulted in increase in the degree of specialisation among blacksmiths. The most distinct feature of specialisation was the division of roles between makeran baki (blacksmiths who manufactured goods in iron and steel) and makeran sanyi (lit. "cold-smithing") who were involved in tinkering, re-assembling and the manufacturing of ornaments such as rings. Specialisation between these two was particularly pronounced in the large towns, especially the Birni.

Similarly by the nineteenth century, certain parts of Kano had become renowned for the high quality pots which they produced. Therefore, whereas local pottery establishments produced relatively low quality pots for local consumption, pots made in towns like Dawakin Tofa and Takai, because of their high quality normally found their way into regional and external trade. The quality of tabo

(mud), yumbu (watery clay), and the availability of bakuwa (a kind of soft and shiny soil), played important roles in determining the quality of the pots.[89]

Within Dawakin Tofa itself, there was a further specialisation among the potters. Areas of specialisation were determined by the sizes and shapes of products which were turned out.

By the end of the eighteenth century the tempo of industrial production in Kasar Kano had become very high. This constituted a solid foundation for the economic expansion which took place in the nineteenth century. In spite of the difference in the volume of the processed and manufactured goods produced in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the major characteristics of the industrial sector in the two centuries were basically similar. But this similarity does not mean that the characteristics were identical.

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89. AAA, SMB, UUU (Dawakin Tofa), 6/9/80.

III. Major Characteristics of Industrial Production in the Nineteenth Century.

The effects of the social and political upheavals that beset the Central Sudan in general and Hausaland in particular in the later part of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century on the economy are not yet quite known. Nevertheless, it seems that those upheavals had in some respects adversely affected the economy of the above-mentioned area. But Kano was able to survive such adverse effects because of its solid economic base which had been built up in the preceding centuries, especially the eighteenth century. It may be for this reason that the teachings of the Jihadists in relation to economic activities were positively responded to in Kano. Consequently, these teachings and other new factors contributed to the economic productivity in Kano with the immediate establishment of the Emirate. This fact is clearly reflected in the travellers' accounts, like those of Clapperton and Barth. While the former tended to be very general in his information, the latter gave relatively detailed account.

Both Clapperton and Barth were highly impressed by the level of economic activities here, both in the countryside

and the urban centres. Clapperton for example compared the market of the relatively small town of Garko with that of Tripoli and it appeared to him that Garko was finer.[90] Also he reported that during his journey across Kasar Kano, "the road was still crowded, from sunrise to sunset, with people going or coming from Kano [the Birni]".[91] The prosperous nature of the economy even at this early part of the century is also reflected in Kano's external trade. Some of the annual caravans from the central Saharan region to Kano consisted of about 3,000 camels.[92] The figures 3,000 to 4,000[93] given for the later part of the nineteenth century show the level of industrial production during the earlier part of the century or even before that period. The latter figures represent those of the period when industrial production was at its peak.[94] The figures may be correctly used to gauge the level of industrial production because virtually all the visiting traders returned

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90. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.29.

91. ibid., p.30.

92. ibid., p.42.

93. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.290.

94. See H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, especially pp.498, 511, 512, 513, 514.

to their areas very largely with manufactured goods which were produced in Kano. These merchandise constituted only a small fraction of the industrial goods produced in Kano.

One of the most important characteristics of industrial production of this period was the capitalisation of the industrial establishments which were closely associated with large-scale production to meet the ever-increasing commercial demands. Those conditions created opportunities for the ruling class, especially the attajirai, who owned the capital and controlled the other aspects of the economy to increase their grip on the industrial establishments.

A second consequence of those developments was the rise in the phenomenon of high demand for wage labour in the industrial establishments, quite unlike the agricultural sector. This led to, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, widening of the social gap between the ruling class and the talakawa.

Ownership of the various leading industrial establishments was gradually being concentrated in the hands of the leading attajirai. In many of the leading dyeing towns in Kano, most of the karofi were controlled by a few leading attajirai. They also controlled clusters of karofi, often owning a dozen or more dye-pits in a given karofi. It was

also becoming fashionable on their part to control all the phases of production in any given industrial establishment. A typical attajiri had his thread spun by his slaves, hired labour, clients, wives and relatives, and the thread thus produced woven into cloth either by his slaves, clients or through gayya. The same attajiri had the woven cloth dyed either in his dye-pits or in those of his clients. Thus more and more labour was being utilised by the attajiri.

Similar developments were also taking place in the other industrial sectors of the economy. Some or many of the owners of the tannery industry, for instance, often employed about two hundred and twenty people in their industrial establishment at a time.[95]

The relationship between the leading owners of the industrial establishments was characterised both by competition and cooperation. In addition to competition over the patronage of the long-distance traders, they also competed over the services and loyalty of independent or semi-independent master craftsmen such as dyers and tailors. Competition between the various owners of industrial establishments over such master craftsmen often led to the

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95. Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.292.

loss of economic independence by the latter. The master craftsmen normally got themselves entangled in a web of the attajirai's manipulations which were, among other things, characterised by the granting of generous credit facilities which the master craftsmen eventually found impossible to refund. Consequently, the affected craftsmen found themselves as regular employees of the attajirai, thereby making the latter the most dominant among the members of the ruling class in terms of the accumulation of wealth. This is not, however, to suggest that the masu sarauta did not accumulate vast amount of wealth. Most of them did. The Emir of Kano, Bello, for example, is said to have accumulated so much wealth that he ceased to be interested in valuable gifts.[96]

However, production based on smaller individual or family enterprises continued to be important. This was particularly the case in regard to textile industry. But a substantial part of the products which were produced in this way, normally by the talakawa, often if not always, found their ways into the hands of the ruling class either through taxation or the mechanism of the market system. Therefore, the efforts of the small-scale producers, in

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96. Johanna E. Moody, op.cit., p.41.

the final analysis, were being frustrated by the ruling class. This exploitative relationship was epitomised by the operations and roles of the fatoma or mai gida systems. The system also epitomised the nature of relationship between the urban centres and the countryside.

Another major characteristic of industrial production in the nineteenth century were the considerable increase in the level of re-assembling and re-processing of manufactured or semi-manufactured goods produced especially in Europe and probably in North Africa. The significance of these "secondary" or "tertiary" industries to the economy of Kano lay in the roles which they played in diversifying economic activities and the huge profits made from the re-assembled commodities, especially when re-exported to the other areas within and outside Hausaland.[97]

Among the most important imported articles which were re-assembled in Kano were sword blades. These were imported mainly from Solingen (Europe)[98] and Malta.[99] By the middle of the nineteenth century, about 50,000 blades were set in

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97. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.519.

98. ibid., p.520.

99. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.35.

Kano. They were then sold in various parts of Hausaland, the Sahel including Borno, the middle Niger regions, the upper Benue[100] and other parts of Central Africa. The proceeds obtained from the sales of the swords were to the tune of about 50,000,000 cowries.[101] Similarly part of the calico which was imported from Europe was dyed in Kano and then re-exported,[102] "returning even the long way to Ghadames".[103]

The most important characteristic of industrial production during this period was the massive output in the various industrial establishments. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, Kano was believed to have clothed "two-thirds of the Sudan and almost the whole of the Central and Eastern Sudan".[104] Similar achievements had been attained in dyeing,[105] tanning and leather-working industries[106] as well as in other manufacturing and

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100. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.519.
101. ibid., p.519.
102. ibid., pp.517-8.
103. ibid., p.518.
104. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.282.
105. ibid., p.282.
106. ibid., p.283.

processing industries.

With the massive output from the industrial establishments, enough goods were made available for the internal and external trade. Like in the industrial production, the ruling class dominated this sector of the economy.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TRADE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

The eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries were important periods in the development of Kano's internal and external trade. This development was indeed in consonance with the largely progressive expansion in the agricultural, livestock and industrial sectors in the same period. In order to understand and appreciate that development, it is necessary to examine the factors that promoted the trade, the processes and methods of transaction involved in it, and the volume of the internal and external trade. Finally it is important to analyse the major characteristics of the trade so as to see the inter-relationships between state, society, and trade.

I. Factors Which Promoted Trade.

The factors that promoted trade in Kasar Kano were similar in both the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. But their degree of impact differed from one century to the other. Also the roles they played in promoting internal

and external trade were different due to the changing circumstances not only in time perspective but also in spatial terms.

(1) The Internal Trade:

The factors that promoted the internal trade in varying degrees were the roles of the state, population growth, urbanisation, specialisation, the geographical location of the Birni, and means of transportation. Therefore it is relevant to treat them in time perspective.

(a) The Eighteenth Century.

The state played both direct and indirect roles in the encouragement of the internal trade. These took two inter-related forms: establishing markets and providing security for the traders. Consequently, a conducive atmosphere under which trade flourished prevailed in Kasar Kano whenever the state was able to enforce these two policies.

With the establishment of new markets, more sarakunan kasuwa (kings of the markets) were appointed to regulate commercial transactions. Through them the state was able to control the commercial activities in the markets.

The essence of security provided by the state is

illustrated by the fact that:

> "when a King dies in Hausaland the market becomes vacant and the roads unsafe because people's belongings are plundered. Then the Galadima orders an announcement to be made that the town or land is under his control and anybody who touches another person's belongings will be dealt with by the Galadima, just as if he were the King. Once the announcement is made, the roads become passable and markets return to normal until a new King is installed".[1]

Although the statement may be an exaggeration, it does reflect the role of the state in providing security. This is important, because lack of security would force traders to avoid a whole country or region altogether.[2]

The Kings of Kano therefore often tried to ensure that all state officials were closely involved in the promotion of security throughout Kasar Kano. Those who were particularly charged directly with this responsibility were the dogarai, masu unguwa (ward heads), and sarakunan kofa (gate keepers). The sarakuna of Kofa had the power to arrest and

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1. Although the reference is being made to Hausaland in general, Imam Imoru is really referring to Kano. The sarauta of Galadima had always been the second most powerful state office in the state. Whenever the King (and in the nineteenth century, the Emir) died, the Galadima took control of the affairs of the state pending the appointment of the new King or Emir. See Imam Imoru, "The King - Sarki", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.213.

2. Nehemia Levtzion, op.cit., p.24.

detain suspects and real thieves for several days.[3] Any bako (stranger) who moved about in a suspicious manner was also detained until it was proved that he was innocent. That was because no bako should be harboured by any person without informing his mai unguwa. This proved to be one of the most effective means of maintaining security. Also these officials, particularly the sarakunan kofa, provided accommodation to baki (strangers) who were usually traders, especially those arriving in any town for the first time. Every stranger was regarded as bakon sarki (guest of the King).[4] Such strangers were eventually introduced to the business circles. As far as possible, the state saw to it that the business interests of these traders were protected through impartial dispensation of justice in cases arising from business transactions. In this respect, it is interesting to note that in the Birni, the important Kurmi market was administered by sankurmi (Sarkin Kurmi). His house which was located in or near the market contained a kurkuku (prison), He was assisted by several titled officials.

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3. UAM (Kofan Na'issa - Birni), 4/4/79.
4. YIS (Kofan Dan Agundi - Birni), 3/4/79.

Considerable attention was paid to the protection of animals belonging to the traders who were engaged in business in the various towns. This was a primary responsibility of every sarkin kofa to the interest of the merchants, especially their means of transport. This was in view of the fact that many traders arrived in Kano with large numbers of animals.[5]

With increased security there was expansion in the internal trade and this was reflected in the increase in the number of markets newly established and the expansion of the old ones. A second factor in the promotion of the internal trade was the population growth. By the eighteenth century the population of Kano witnessed a relative degree of growth. This is evidenced by the rate of urbanisation which took place during this period. This growth is also attested to by the reports of some European travellers who passed through Kasar Kano in the early part of the nineteenth century.[6] The growth in population was aided by continual immigration into Kasar Kano.

Population growth, together with movement of people

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5. UAM (Kofan Na'issa - Birni), 4/4/79.

6. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., pp.27-54.
H. Clapperton, op.cit., pp.163-8, 173-4.

from highly densely populated areas to sparsely populated ones, led to a higher degree of urbanisation through the establishment of new settlements, the development of old ones into towns, and the expansion of towns into big urban centres. Thus urbanisation constituted a third factor in promoting internal trade because demands for goods increased and consequently new markets were opened.

Therefore, with the expansion in the internal trade, specialisation, as in the other sectors of the economy, was accelerated. Specialisation in trade was influenced by the location of agricultural, livestock and industrial produce and products in the different regions of Kano. Thus merchants carried commodities from the regions where there was surplus to the regions where there was high demand. So a substantial number of the 'Yan Kasuwa (specialists in sale of grains) settled mainly in the grain-producing regions. In addition to these traders there were other specialised ones such as falke (long-distance trader), dan koli (haberdasher), dan tama (seller of wrought iron), 'yan kwarami and dillalai (brokers).

This not only raised the volume of goods in circulation

but also resulted in the establishment of trade network throughout the country. This in turn encouraged the movement of people, including producers (non-specialist traders), who conveyed their produce or products to the neighbouring markets. Increasingly people inhabiting the different regions came to develop tastes for goods produced in other parts of Kano as well as imported ones.

The exchange of commodities was further stimulated by the customs of the members of the society. One of these customs was the institution of marriage. The custom of accompanying every bride to her husband's house with a great variety of kayan aure or amre (marriage goods) such as decorated and other calabashes, brass bowls, mats, fans, knives, pots, butoci (kettles), and textile materials meant a lot of purchasing from different markets. Over the years, this and other factors fostered interdependence between the various regions and towns; between the towns and the countryside; and between various groups in the various sectors of the economy.

Exchange of commodities between the various regions and between the towns and the countryside, was also facilitated by the geographical location of the Birni in

relation to the other parts of Kasar Kano. Basically the Birni, in internal trade, performed two major functions: it served as a distribution centre for a substantial part of imported goods, and as a collecting centre for agricultural produce and industrial goods of the kingdom for redistribution within Kasar Kano and for export to other states and areas. Although other major towns performed similar functions, that of the Birni was the most dominant one.

The emergence of the Birni as a dominant commercial centre was brought about by a number of factors. The location of the Birni in Kasar Kano was one of these factors. The Birni was situated almost in the middle of the various regions. The other towns and villages surrounded it in the form of concentric cycles: the nearest being the satellite towns and settlements such as Fanisau, Tanagar, Dawanau, Dawakin Kudu, and Tofa. In the next cycle of towns and villages were Gaya, Gezawa, Kunya, Bichi and Rimin Gado. These towns and settlements were linked to the Birni by a complex network of trade routes.

The location of the Birni was also such that it served as a link between the eastern and western; as well as between the northern and southern parts of the kingdom.

The proximity of the Birni to the various economic regions facilitated trade between these regions, since the Birni was the main collecting centre of commodities produced in them. Thus the geographical location of the Birni encouraged many more people to participate in the internal trade. A trader, say from Kiyawa or Miga, who wanted to acquire high quality pots made in Dawakin Tofa, did not need to go all the way to that town since these products were available in the Birni. Similarly, a trader from Dambatta who wanted to purchase a large quantity of farm implements manufactured in Getso,[7] Gwarzo or Dutsen Dan Bakoshi, did not have to travel all the way to these towns since the products could easily be obtained in the Birni. It is also to be pointed out that the satellite towns and settlements around the Birni served as a link between the Birni and the frontier towns, thereby reducing the distance. The role played by the Birni, among other factors, greatly facilitated trade between it and all parts of the kingdom and between the various towns and regions of Kano, since farmers, manufacturers, and traders were always sure of finding market for their goods in the Birni.

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7. UMU (Getso), 29/12/78.

Although all sorts of commodities were found in the Birni, it was mainly the high quality and needed products which found their way to it from the respective economic regions. Such commodities were millet, dates, livestock, leather goods, textile materials, mats, cotton, indigo and pots.

In addition to highly prized commodities produced in the major economic regions and centres of industrial production, the people of Kano relied to a considerable extent on the Birni for their supplies of imported goods, such as cowries,[8] kola nuts, horses, horse-riding equipment, for example kamazuru, jalaba, and sirdi. They also obtained Nupe textile materials, slaves,[9] pepper, spices, as well as goods from North Africa such as thread and a variety of beads.

Producers also obtained some raw materials from the Birni. In addition to raw materials acquired from the economic regions, the Birni was an important source of yumbu (watery clay) which was obtained from Dala hill,[10]

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8. AAA (Getso), 29/12/78.

9. AAA (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79.

10. The famous potters of Dawakin Tofa used to obtain their yumbu from Dala hill. AAA, SMB, UUU (Dawakin Tofa), 6/9/80.

and limes and lemons which in the eighteenth century appear to have been produced mainly in the Birni. Juice obtained from these plants was either mixed with henna [as ointment which brides used for make-ups] or used along with tobacco blossom for staining their teeth, or better still, it could be mixed with non-indigo dyes for use in dyeing and leather-working industries. The juice from the limes and lemon plants was also used as medicine for the treatment of gyambo (ulcer) and indigestion.[11] Because of this, these plants were well sought after and highly prized. They, therefore, constituted one of the articles of trade between the Birni and other parts of Kano.

The composition of the population of the Birni itself as well as the availability of economic facilities and infrastructures which had been developing over the centuries, made the Birni the hub of internal trade. As the seat of the central government of Kano, it was inhabited by all categories of government officials, manufacturers, traders, financiers (fatoma) and many of the ulema. These groups, with their high income, had a very high purchasing power for both basic and luxury goods. They were great

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11. Imam Imoru, "Farming - Ayukan Gona", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.79.

consumers of high quality commodities such as textile goods, embroidered garments, leather goods, mats, furniture, and a akusa (wooden dishes; sing. akoshi), different variety of foodstuffs and raw materials.

The complex nature of the links between the town dwellers and the inhabitants of the countryside, enabled the former to have easy access to the commodities produced by the latter. The senior government officials, for instance, the holders of the sarautu of Kofa or Uban Kasa, were in constant contacts with the countryside through their jakadu, dagatai, and local attajirai who, as has already been shown, maintained specialised type of relationship with these officials. Through these local attajirai and the dagatai, the senior government officials were able to acquire large quantities of commodities in the form of gaisuwa and other forms of "gifts", especially during the two Eid festivals.

The markets of the Birni, particularly the Kurmi market, also attracted people both from the satellite towns and the far-away places. While the markets in the smaller satellite towns were held only on certain days of the week (on an alternating basis), those of the Birni, especially the Kurmi market, were open for business throughout the

week. It would even appear that business transactions took place in the Kurmi market during the night. This was not the case with markets which operated only during the day time.[12] For this reason, traffic between the Birni and the countryside was always heavy.

Above all, the fatoma institution, availability of accommodation, credit facilities, dillalai (market brokers), and transport facilities, made the Birni an important centre for trade and commerce. It attracted all types of people, especially merchants from near and far. Thus there was an increase in the level of specialisation in the eighteenth century. So specialised groups such as brokers, financiers, transporters and lodging-house keepers emerged. As the economy expanded, so did these facilities which even extended to other towns.

It is to be pointed out that the distributive role played by the Birni in relation to the rest of the country was also played by the major towns in relation to their respective settlements that surrounded them. These towns, particularly in the later part of the eighteenth century, also had their fatoma and the various economic facilities.[13]

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12. IGS (Rano), 10/2/79.
13. IUA (Birnin Kudu), 5/2/79.

These were, however, on much more smaller scale compared to those of the Birni. These facilities played the same roles to the traders coming from their vicinities and the neighbouring states, as those in the Birni. Long-distance traders who used these towns as stopping-places, also utilised these facilities.

Finally, the Birni had acquired a reputation for high quality goods. That was why the visiting traders (to the Birni) were prepared to pay whatever price for such goods. This was because of a belief that "everything made in Kano [the Birni] has its reputation and consequently has its price. The gowns made in Kano [the Birni] have a 'Kano cut'. The horse trappings [had] their own particular reputation etc."[14] This had a remarkable effect on the Birni's trade with the countryside. The desire to acquire "made in Kano" goods encouraged more and more traders and other buyers to flock to the Birni. This also contributed in raising the prices of commodities because more and more people tried to acquire them. This reputation continued even when high quality products were produced outside the

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14. NAK, Kanoprof, 2109/1911, Re-assessment Report of Kano City and Fage.

Birni and imported to it. People continued to believe that such commodities were the products of the Birni.

It was this high demand for the goods that encouraged the various attajirai in the Birni to hoard some of the goods, so as to raise their prices. This was in spite of the fact that the same attajirai acquired the same goods cheaply either through cheating their guests or by acquiring the commodities directly from the specialised areas of production. Therefore they made a lot of profit.

The sixth factor in promotion of the internal trade in the eighteenth century was availability of adequate means of transportation which greatly facilitated movements of people and goods between the countryside and the Birni, and between the various towns in the different regions So the various parts of Kano were linked by network of trade routes which were frequently traversed by producers, traders, herders and state officials. The professional traders, especially the 'Yan Kwarami, were involved in the transportation of all sorts of commodities which ranged from grains to dried vegetables like ganyen kuka (baobab leaves), okro, daddawa (locust bean cakes), to indigo and cotton.[15] These

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15. IM, AA (Laila), 11/7/80.

and the other categories of traders often owned large numbers of donkeys. While some traders owned only one or two pack-animals, it was normal for a rich attajiri to own so many of them, to the extent that, in the nineteenth century, some of the attajirai would have in one caravan as many as sixty or more of such animals.[16] It was common for colleagues, neighbours and relatives who owned no donkeys of their own, to hire them from those who had.

Professional traders, however, normally purchased their own donkeys in very large numbers directly from professional breeders or obtained them through brokers. Due to the low cost of hiring donkeys, some or many of the traders, especially the non-professional ones, usually acquired them on an ad hoc basis for transporting their commodities to the markets.[17] Such borrowers found this means of transport very cheap as they did not have to spend much on the maintenance of the animals. The donkeys could easily fend for themselves even while on the march; feeding on cornstalks and all sorts of plants. They could also do without water for several days in a week.

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16. Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.379.

17. G.O. Ogunremi, op.cit.(1976), p.31.

Transportation of commodities was also made easy by the availability of large numbers of professional transporters who served as carriers, drivers and guides to their hirers.[18] Others specialised in the transportation of bulky commodities from one town to another on their own. These categories of transporters were known as 'Yan Alaro. They are believed to have consisted mainly of Zabarma and Dakarkari.[19] To promote their profession they organised themselves in hierarchical order with persons in charge in most of the major towns. The sarakuna of 'yan alaro were duly appointed by sarakuna (kings) of Kano for those who resided in the Birni, or by the sarakuna of garuruwa or dagatai for those who lived under the jurisdiction of the respective state officials. It was through the various categories of the sarakuna of 'yan alaro that the attajirai and the other members of the commercial class acquired the services of 'yan alaro.

Although the 'yan alaro transported commodities mainly from one part of Kasar Kano to another, they also extended their services to the neighbouring states such as Zazzau,

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18. G.O. Ogunremi, op.cit.(1976), p.34.

19. MAM (Bebeji), 8/7/80.

Katsina, Daura, and the area of Gudiri. One of the major advantages of using 'yan alaro in the transportation of goods was the reliable service they offered to their employers. Once the services of the 'yan alaro had been engaged, they often made sure that they fulfilled their obligations. They travelled on their own. The owners of the goods might follow them later. In cases of the attajirai who had their agents stationed in various parts of Kano or in the neighbouring states, all they did was to give the carriers a letter of introduction to their agents, instructing them (the agents) on how to dispose the merchandise[20].

The security of the merchandise being transported was believed to be guaranteed because the 'yan alaro were said to have been immune to attacks by highway robbers. This was partly due to the fact that the membership of the 'yan alaro was determined by the physical strength of individuals which was buttressed by the concoction of herbs and other substances that they used to take for maganin karfe (medicines which made them "iron-proof"). Some of the 'yan alaro were also believed to be ex-robbers. Therefore they

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20. MAM (Bebeji), 8/7/80.

feared no dangers in the course of their journeys.[21]

While on their various trips, the 'yan alaro often appointed their leader who decided on such issues as the time of departure and stopping places for rest. The members of each team of carriers usually took with them kwabara (flutes) with which they provided themselves with music to lighten their burden and to announce their arrivals at their destinations. The weight of the load which each one of them carried was such that whenever they reached their stopping places they dared not put the loads on the ground.[22] Instead, each carrier stook his load against a tree or placed it in the gofa (parting) of a tree. Resting involved walking or jogging from place to place "domin jini ya watse" (so as to allow blood to circulate freely).

While approaching the end of their journey, the music and songs of 'yan alaro always attracted the attention of the inhabitants of the towns they were approaching. This served as an announcement for the arrival of new commodities. Both wholesalers and retailers usually converged on the house of the attajiri or the agent who received the

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21. MAM (Bebeji), 8/7/80.

22. ibid.

goods. The 'yan alaro were accommodated and fed by sarkin 'yan alaro of the town and it was from this sarkin 'yan alaro that they obtained information on goods for conveyance on their return journey.

As the economy expanded, the professional transporters responsively specialised in the transportation of different commodities. Among such specialist carriers were 'Yan Rugun, a group of people (mainly women) who did nothing but transporting pots from various centres of production to the Birni and other major towns.[23] Others devoted much of their time to transporting firewood from the countryside to the Birni, and to a lesser extent, the other towns. These developments greatly facilitated production and distribution of commodities and goods throughout Kasar Kano and the neighbouring states and areas. The development of the transportation system further accelerated and expanded with the increase in Kano's trade with especially the neighbouring states and areas in the second half of the century when Kano's textile, leather-work, and dyeing industries blossomed. The expansion of these industries meant importation of more and more raw materials, especially cotton, from the neighbouring states.

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23. AAA, SMB, UUU (Dawakin Tofa), 6/9/80.

Dilation in long-distance trade was in itself an important factor in the development of internal trade. As long-distance trade developed, internal markets kept pace, expanding and flourishing all over Kasar Kano and the neighbouring states and regions. With the burgeoning of trading activities, self-sufficiency was on a continuous decline. This led to increasing dependence by a substantial number of people on goods produced in distant places. These factors, indeed, continued to play increasing roles with the phenomenal expansion in the internal trade in the nineteenth century.

(b) The Nineteenth Century.

The major political, demographic and economic changes which took place in Kasar Kano, the Central Sudan and its neighbourhood in the nineteenth century, intensified the roles of the same factors which shaped the economy of Kano in the eighteenth century.

Of all of these factors, the roles of the state appear to have been the most important in promoting the development of internal trade. This was due to the fact that its effects were multidimensional. One of the most important policies of the state that greatly influenced the

promotion of internal trade in the nineteenth century was the programme of the establishment of ribats (fortresses). In addition to their initial roles as military focal points, they gradually developed into urban centres that promoted internal trade in two inter-related ways: by providing security and opening new markets.

The ribats fostered economic interdependence between them and the old towns and settlements as well as between them and the countryside. At the beginning the ribats provided security as they were mainly inhabited by military personnel and other government officials. Therefore they depended on the countryside and the other towns for their livelihood. But they had slaves for exchange. Once this pattern of exchange was established, it continued to grow for some time until the ribats developed into towns. This therefore enhanced the advancement of internal trade, not only by the security it provided, but also by aiding in the opening up and consequently the exploitation of the resources of new and rich regions. There was, for instance, a remarkable growth in the traffic of the 'yan kwarami (professional grain traders) between the heavily populated central region of Kano and newly cultivated

areas of the south.[24] Therefore, the establishment of the ribats in the remote and strategic parts of Kano,[25] helped in providing both psychological and physical security to traders and other people who traversed the routes. From time to time, the military personnel who inhabited the various ribats used to provide escorts and protection for caravans and other traders who passed through or moved from one part of Kasar Kano to another. This was important for checking the activities of marauders who often waylaid caravans travelling, especially along Ningi-Bauchi-Kano borderlands in the south and south-east, and along Katsina-Zazzau-Kano borderlands in the west and the south-west.

For the greater part of the nineteenth century when Kano was ruled by effective rulers, the Emirate was to a large extent rid of highway robbers.[26] The Emirs, especially

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24. NAK, SNP.10, 535P/1915 - Gwamgwam Sub-District, Assessment Report on; NAK, SNP.332P/1918 - Kano Province: Kano Emirate, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida District, Assessment Report on.

25. Some or many of them were deliberately on or along the trade routes. See Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.22a.

26. The only time in the nineteenth century when highway robbers and thieves harrassed people at will was in the time of Emir Usman. See H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.525.

Abdullahi b. Ibrahim Dabo, "killed almuharibin (highway robbers) and [he] put an end to thieves". Consequently,

> "people slept by night without closing the doors of their houses and the cattle were left without shepherds except during spring. During this time Allah opened the roads to the extent that [even] the women travelled alone from Kukawa to Kwara".[27]

Though this information may be an exaggeration, it reflects the degree of security in Kano during that period.

The security was not just confined to the trade routes. It was also extended to all towns and settlements. The importance of this Emirate policy could explain the enthusiastic manner in which the Emirs, especially Abdullahi b. Ibrahim Dabo, executed the stipulations of the Shari'a regarding the treatment of thieves and robbers.[28] Therefore, a sense of fear was created among the highway robbers and thieves which minimised their menace.

It seems that the state attempted to promote the internal trade through organising the markets by building of stalls in them. Clapperton reported that stalls were being let by the sarakuna of kasuwa at fixed rents per

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27. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.22b.

28. See Imam Imoru, "Jurisprudence - Shari'a", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.242; F. Edgar, op.cit., pp.273-4.

month.[29]

Also the sarakuna of kasuwa had, as part of their responsibilities, to fix prices of commodities[30] and enforce regulations strictly.[31] These measures and organisations gave the merchants more confidence to the extent that

> "if a tobe or Turkadee (H. Turkadi), purchased here, is carried to Bornou or any other distant place, without being opened, and is there discovered to be of inferior quality, it is immediately sent back, as a matter of course - the name of the dylala /broker/ being written in every parcel. In this case the dylala must find out the seller, who by the laws of Kano, is forthwith obliged to refund the purchase money".[32]

This efficient system prompted Clapperton to remark: "indeed, there is no market in Africa so well regulated".[33]

Moreover, the Emirate saw to it that the commercial transactions were conducted in an /atmosphere of confidence and reliability. It took serious steps to ensure that all contractual and other obligations, as well as the credit

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29. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.39.

30. For this they collected commissions at the rate of about 50 cowries per commodity. See Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.39.

31. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., pp.39, 40.

32. ibid., p.41.

33. ibid., p.39.

system, worked smoothly. Imam Imoru pointed out that if a debtor had no money,

> "his belongings are seized, and if they are not not sufficient, his house is sold. If he has no house and no possessions, he is given a bad time and different types of punishment are administered to him, including tying him up"[34]

In order to encourage internal trade, the Emirate exempted pack animals, especially donkeys[35] and oxen[36] from taxation. Transporters and producers were encouraged to acquire these animals. For example, "sheep and goats would be sacrificed [sic] for the possession of donkeys in many districts".[37] The possession of large numbers of these animals facilitated trading activities.

Immigration was accelerated in the nineteenth century by the concerted efforts made by most of the Emirs in creating favourable conditions for economic activities in general and trade in particular. Such conditions did not exist in the same degree in neighbouring Emirates and states

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34. Imam Imoru, "Jurisprudence - Shari'a", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., pp.239-40.

35. NAK, SNP.9, 603/1924 - Kano Province, Sumaila District, Assessment Report.

36. NAK, Kanoprof, 95/1914.

37. NAK, SNP.9, 603/1924 - Kano Province, Sumaila District, Assessment Report.

of the Central Sudan like Hadejia, Daura, Damagaram and parts of Borno.

By the nineteenth century, large numbers of traders and other members of the society, had easy access to credit facilities.[38] This enabled the beneficiaries to undertake trading expeditions both within and outside Kasar Kano.[39] The practice of giving bashi da ruwa (usury) appears to have been common.[40] It is certain, however, that the financiers often charged as much as one hundred per cent (100%) interest on the money they lent out.[41] But due to the enormous profits reaped by the traders, especially those of them who conducted trading activities to distant regions, for example Baghirmi or the Upper Benue regions, they were still able to secure reasonable gains after they had paid back their debts. It was such profits that resulted in the proliferation of both big-time and petty attajirai. Since

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38. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., pp.252-3; Johanna E. Moody, op.cit., p.43.

39. E.R. Flegel, "The Biography of Madugu Mohamman Mai Gashin Baki" (trans. from the German and annotated by M.B. Duffil), paper presented to the Seminar on Economic History of the Central Savanna of West Africa, Kano, 5-10 January, 1976.

40. INM, MIM (Ringim), 21/4/79.

41. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.III, p.578.

trading was more profitable and required less effort than involvement in agricultural and industrial production,[42] this sector of the economy attracted more people. In some cases, about one-quarter to one-half of a population of a town was engaged in trading activities, especially during the dry seasons.

As in the eighteenth century, but in a greater degree, the use of slaves, yara (lit. boys), and the dillalai by the socially dominant group, especially the big attajirai, greatly increased the tempo of internal trade during the nineteenth century.

Other factors which promoted the development of internal trade during this period included the expansion of external trade, large-scale increases in agricultural and industrial production, the increase in the degree of specialisation between the various economic sectors, among various craftsmen and between the towns and the countryside, and the phenomenal increase in the number of markets.

Lastly, the shift of some of the industrial establishments from the Birni to the countryside played an important role in the promotion of internal trade in the nineteenth

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42. NAK, SNP.7, 4817/1912 - Kano Province, Jaidanawa Sub-District, Assessment Report.

century. That shift probably began in the second half of the eighteenth century due to two main factors: firstly the attempts of the artisans and manufacturers to avoid the heavy taxes and the strict measures in collecting them.[43] Secondly the process of urbanisation in the countryside, by then, was gaining momentum. Consequently, in the old urban centres, such as Dutse Gadawur and Birnin Kudu, new industrial establishments were expanding at a fast rate, while other towns and settlements, such as Bebeji and Kura, emerged as very important industrial centres. The products of these towns outclassed even those of the Birni.[44] Also these centres increased in population by the first three decades of the nineteenth century. It is reported, for instance, that the population of Bebeji rose to about 25,000.[45] Therefore, these developments stimulated the internal trade between the Birni and those centres remarkably in the nineteenth century.

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43. Tarikh Arbab, p.124.
44. IGS (Rano), 10/2/79.
45. H. Clapperton, op.cit., pp.166-7.

(2) The External Trade:

(a) The Eighteenth Century.

The state played a major role in promoting external trade as it did in the internal one, particularly in the period between the late seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. The driving force behind the active state involvement in economic activities, especially during this period, was the growing demand for military equipment and horses for the cavalry as well as for re-export, kayan sarautu (regalia), cowries and other related commodities. Fortunately for Kano, this was also a period when demand was very high for its goods or the goods passing through its territory, especially in the middle Niger and northern Yorubaland, and to a relatively lesser extent, the confluence zone and the middle Benue regions.[46] Demand for Kano goods had also highly increased in the Volta regions as well as in the Sahel and the central Saharan regions. Exchange of commodities between the other regions of the Central Sudan had similarly increased substantially. All these had a remarkable effect on the growth of Kano's external trade during the eighteenth

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46. See for instance, H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, pp.516-22.

century.

A substantial part of the imported articles, especially from North Africa, were for the needs of the state and for satisfying the luxurious life of the ruling class. A good example for the latter would be ostritches from the Sahel.[47] For the former, horses and military equipment from Azben,[48] and Borno which was an important source of horses for Hausaland.[49] The military equipment was a major commodity in Kano's commercial transactions with the Sahel and central Sahara in the north, and middle Niger and northern Yorubaland to the south of it, with the Kano merchants playing intermediary roles by re-exporting commodities of those areas. Kano's needs for guns, muskets, gun-powder, shields, and algaita (flutes) were an important factor in stimulating its trade with the south and the south-west.[50]

Even of greater importance, from the point of view of the overall economy, was the importation of cowries. This

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47. P.E. Lovejoy,& S. Baier, op.cit., p.551.

48. Y.B. Usman, "A Re-consideration of the History of Relations between Borno and Hausaland before 1804 A.D.", paper presented to the Seminar on Borno, January 1973, p.25.

49. ibid., p.25.

50. Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

stimulated trade.

The time for the introduction of the cowry currency into Hausaland is fairly still controversial. So also is the direction from which cowries have been introduced. The assertion in the Tarikh Arbab[51] that the cowries were introduced into Hausaland in the first half of the eighteenth century seems to be corroborated by recent researches into the subject.[52] Hiskett's forceful argument that cowries were introduced into Hausaland not through North Africa as implied in some published works but through the Guinea coast, is also reinforced by Marion Johnson's works.[53]

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51. Tarikh Arbab, p.123.

52. For a detailed discussion of cowries and other currencies in pre-colonial West Africa, see M. Hiskett, (i) "Materials Relating to the Cowry Currency of the Western Sudan, I", B.S.O.A.S., XXIX:1, 1966, pp.122-42; (ii) "Materials Relating to the Cowry Currency of the Western Sudan, II", B.S.O.A.S., XXIX:2, 1966, pp.339-66; Marion Johnson, (i) "The Cowrie Currencies of West Africa", J.A.H., XI:1, 1970, pp.17-49 & 331-353; (ii) "The Nineteenth Century Gold 'mithqal' in West and North Africa", J.A.H., IX:4, 1968, pp.547-69; (iii) "The Ounce in Eighteenth Century West African Trade", J.A.H., VII:2, 1966, pp.197-214.

53. This may still have to be regarded as tentative, however, because it is known that cowries were important commodities in the trans-Saharan trade to the Bilad as-Sudan from about the eleventh century. Therefore the question which is yet to be answered is why cowries were still not in use in Hausaland before the eighteenth century.

It seems, however, that partly as a result of the systematic policies and efforts of the rulers of Kano and other Hausa states, to introduce or acquire large quantities of cowries and partly as a result of the expansion of commercial activities in West Africa during this time, the use of cowries as a currency became widespread.

The first reason, probably, was the most important for the introduction of cowries into Kano. It was due to the concerted efforts made by, particularly, Sarki Sharefa (c.1703-1731) and Sarki Kumbari (c.1731-1743) that cowries were acquired from Nupeland,[54] and most likely Yawuri,[55] and other areas to the south.[56] Probably the high demand for cowries was related to the introduction of many taxes by Sarki Sharefa.[57] Therefore it may be inferred that the

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54. Tarikh Arbab, pp.123, 124; M. Hiskett, op.cit.II (1966), p.355.

55. An informant in Tofa believed (September 1980) that cowries used as currency in Kano and elsewhere in pre-colonial times were derived in a large well or lake in Kasar Yawuri. This indicates that this commodity was obtained from this area in large quantities.

56. See M. Hiskett, op.cit.II(1966), p.355, for the penetration of cowries from the coastal areas inland.

57. See Tarikh Arbab, p.123; M. Hiskett, op.cit.II (1966), p.355.

state had a dominant role in the acquisition, regulation and distribution of cowries in Kano in the eighteenth century.

The active involvement of the rulers in the importation of cowries was not peculiar to Kano. A king of Gobir, for example, was credited with the importation of about 10,000,000 cowries from Nupe in exchange for horses.[58] So given the fact that Kano was a much more important commercial area than Gobir, it would not be surprising that one merchant in Kano had 20,000,000.[59] These figures show the extent to which cowries had been in circulation in the eighteenth century.

The use of cowries as a currency appears to have become universal throughout Hausaland and elsewhere during this period. Virtually every item, including slaves, had their prices quoted in cowries.[60] This made the convertibility of other currencies easier in a large part of West Africa.[61] It also facilitated the development of trade in

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58. See Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, "The Raudthat ul-Afkari", J.A.S., XV:59, 1916, p.261.

59. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.12a.

60. Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa, p.171.

61. ibid., p.169.

the areas. The convertibility of the cowry into other currencies may in fact explain why it was able to dominate financial transactions without its being used physically in other areas like western Borno. While prices were sometimes quoted in cowries, the payments were made either in local currencies or in commodities.

The use of cowries as a means of exchange had several advantages: cowries possessed certain essential qualities. In addition to their attractiveness, and apparent uniformity, for instance their other attributes included convenience, durability and an almost total resistance to forgery - an important aspect of a good coinage. They were easy to identify and sub-divide. As a currency, cowries were certainly superior to cotton strips, salt, grains, and other forms of currencies which were in use in West Africa in pre-colonial times.

The adoption of cowries as a universal currency in several parts of West Africa, therefore, was a major event in the development of commercial system from which Kano traders benefited tremendously. Being a commodity of universal intermediary, it became a denominator in all commercial transactions. For the first time, it became possible to exchange unlimited number of commodities simply

and quickly through the use of the cowries over a large area. Once the cowries had become a general equivalent, the value of goods was expressed by a certain number of units of cowries. This eased the problem of the cumbersome method of exchange by barter, thereby facilitating the growth of trade between different communities and areas. The introduction of cowries into Kano therefore, was one of th greatest contributions made by the state to the development of trade and commerce in the eighteenth century.

The expansion of external trade of Kano was greatly stimulated by developments in both the Central Sudan and other areas in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. There was an apparent increase in the tempo of trading activities between Kano and both the middle Niger regions and Yorubaland. In addition to the evidence provided by Tarikh Arbab about increase in trading activities between Kano and the middle Niger regions and Yorubaland, recent studies supported that evidence, particularly in relation to Kano trade with the Oyo Empire.[62] This was because Oyo, in addition to its increased demands for horses

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62. See R. Law, The Oyo Empire, c.1600-c.1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977, pp.238, 240.

and horse-riding equipment, also needed large number of slaves both for domestic purposes and for sale to European traders at the coast. By this time therefore, Oyo was importing slaves from Kano and probably from other states of the Central Sudan.[63]

It is interesting to note that this was the very period when a number of masu sarauta in Kano, notably Sarki Muhammad Sharefa,[64] and Sarki Kumbari, were actively engaged in military expeditions[65] which were aimed at acquiring slaves. The slaves were partly used to acquire horses, horse-riding equipment and other related goods for exporting to the south. These developments, no doubt, paved the way for increased commercial contacts between Kano and the middle Niger and Yoruba states to the south. More people must have become involved in trading in various commodities other than military equipment and slaves. The increase in commercial contacts between Kano and Yoruba-land during this period is indicated by the settling down

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63. R. Law, op.cit., p.217. Before the eighteenth century, Oyo exported slaves northwards.

64. M. Hiskett, op.cit.II(1966), p.355.

65. Tarikh Arbab, pp.123, 124.

of groups of Yoruba traders in the Birni.[66]

The opening up of the various regions to the south, but particularly the south-east, also positively affected the expansion of Kano's external trade in the eighteenth century. This was caused by the penetration of these areas by some Kings of Kano and their officials in the course of their military expeditions. During the reign of Sarki Kutumbi, Kano's military expeditions penetrated as far south-east as the Congola valley.[67] These had the effect of establishing a permanent link between Kano and those regions through founding of settlements by those people who migrated to the area. The migrants included exiled princes. In the first half of the eighteenth century, for instance, a prince of Kano called Maki, is said to have been expelled by Sarki Kumbari, apparently for challenging Kumbari for the throne of Kano. Maki, his family and followers, are believed to have journeyed southward in the direction of the present town of Bauchi and eventually established the town of Kanam.[68]

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66. R. Law, op.cit., p.212.

67. Tarikh Arbab, pp.118-9.

68. Mahdi Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History, Zaria/Ibadan, A.B.U. Press/O.U.P., 1978, p.36.

The largest group of emigrants from Kano into the Bauchi regions consisted of craftsmen, traders and mallamai (literati), who were normally associated with commercial activities. This group of people moved into this region in order to take advantage of the real and potential markets and resources of the areas by establishing weaving, dyeing and other industries.[69] These included the ancestors of the present people of Muryam of Kura, just off the Plateau edge, who asserted that their ancestors were emigrants from Gwarzo.[70]

By the eighteenth century therefore, several settlements had been established in different regions to the south and south-east by people of Kano origin. Similarly, people of the Bauchi regions were also settling down in Kasar Kano. Among these were captured slaves and Fulani groups who immigrated into Kasar Kano from the areas of Gombe.[71]

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69. C.K. Meek, The Sudanese Kingdom, New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969, p.30.

70. Mahdi Adamu, op.cit.(978), pp.29-30. Oral traditions collected at Gwarzo in the course of fieldwork in December 1978 speak of dyers and other groups moving out of the central region of Kano southward before or in the eighteenth century.

71. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., p.69.

While immigrants who were either forcefully moved into Kano or reached it through voluntary immigration provided useful information to Kano manufacturers and traders concerning the resources of the regions and about the local trade routes and settlements, those Kanawa who settled in the regions formed some sort of bridgeheads and established a network of trade routes between Kano and the former, thereby facilitating trading activities between the two areas. The Muryam, from their base, penetrated the lowland regions as far as Awe and Azara in the middle Benue region in order to acquire salt.[72]

As more information on the commodities of the region as well as the presence of people of Kano reached Kano, more people must have moved into the areas. These areas therefore increasingly became important as markets for goods produced in or re-exported from Kano.

The need to meet the increasing demands, particularly for Kano textile materials (especially the dyed textile materials) in the various regions of the Central Sudan, the Volta regions and elsehwere, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, resulted in the augmentation

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72. Mahdi Adamu, op.cit., p.30.

of industrial production in Kano during this period. This in itself was an important factor in the expansion of external trade. As more and more industrial goods were produced both for internal and for external markets, more and more raw materials were imported particularly from the neighbouring states of the Central Sudan. With production, aided by a number of factors - geographical, geological, demographic, level of technological differences, tastes and customs among the various communities and members of various classes in the societies of the Sudan and beyond - a complex network of trade and trade routes had developed by the eighteenth century.

The resources and their processing made the different areas of Central Sudan and its adjacent areas to specialise in the production of certain commodities which they produced on a large scale and exchanged them for those commodities they were lacking in. This promoted Kano's external trade.

The geographical location of Kasar Kano itself was an important factor in the expansion of its external trade. Just as the location of the Birni stimulated trade within Kasar Kano, the location of Kasar Kano in Hausaland, the Central Sudan and some other parts of Africa, was also important for its external trade. It was surrounded on

all sides by states and communities that were greatly involved in production of foodstuffs and raw materials which were important to Kano's manufacturing and processing industries. Kano's imports from these states and regions consisted largely of capital goods of considerable variety. The ability of the communities in various states and regions to produce large quantities of commodities enabled them to consume large amount of manufactured and processed goods which were produced, assembled or re-processed in Kano. The combination of these acted on one another and stimulated the development of trade and commerce in the Central Sudan and beyond.

Trade routes originating from different regions passed through a number of states as well as most towns in Kano before converging on the Birni. Consequently, Kano became a focal point to all major trade routes coming from the east through Borno, from the south through the middle Benue and Niger-Benue confluence, from the west through western Hausaland, and from the north through the Sahelian region.

It is in this context that the location of Kasar Kano became an important factor in the expansion of Kano's external trade. In this respect the assertions in

published works that the geographical location of Kano on the major trade routes, played an important role in its economic prosperity, are valid up to a point. The major limitations of this view are: firstly, the trans-Saharan trade would not have been attracted to Kano had it not been for the degree of high development of natural resources, and the availability of surplus and demands for other commodities. Secondly, the emphasis being made on Kano's location on the trans-Saharan trade routes is rather over-exaggerated. Emphasis should have been placed on all the trade routes which passed through Kasar Kano from various directions. The products and commodities conveyed along the various trade routes other than the trans-Saharan trade route(s) were more significant both qualitatively and quantitatively. Thirdly, the over-emphasis being placed on the location of the Birni on the trade routes - particularly the trans-Saharan trade route(s) - is a misplaced one. It is true that many of the long-distance trade routes which converged on Kasar Kano often terminated in the Birni. But some of the important trade routes either passed through Kasar Kano without reaching the Birni or simply terminated in the satellite towns.

Even the small settlements which were situated far

from the major trade routes were connected to them either directly or indirectly through local trade routes which originated in the different towns and settlements through which the major trade routes passed. This facilitated the distribution of the imported commodities. Commodities which originated in these settlements also directly found their way into the external markets through the zango, some or many of which were not located in or near the major towns. Many of the zangos (also known in certain places as muchiya) were located near or under large trees, big hills and near water-holes (along the major trade routes) often situated far away from any major town or settlement. Such zangos included those of Damagari, Kumurmuri, Karkachiyar Kadanya, Kasuwar Bulki (or zangon Bulki). The villagers who inhabited the dispersed settlements through which the trade routes passed were afforded the opportunity of participating directly in long-distance trade though on a small scale, by converging on the zangos whenever the long-distance traders arrived, where they sold to the traders prepared food such as tuwo (cooked food), kulikuli (groundnut cakes), fura (porridge), gwaza (coco-yam) and other locally produced commodities such as grains, textile materials, hides and skins, and cotton. Sometimes these

commodities (including the prepared food) were offered to the long-distance traders on credit basis. The debts were settled on their way back from their destinations.[73] Many of the inhabitants of the countryside therefore had direct access to foreign goods. Therefore, Kano's internal trade was dovetailed into its external trade. This element of inter-relationship was important for the absorption of imported goods and channelling into the external markets the different commodities and goods which were produced in Kano.

The external trade was, further, facilitated by the adequate means of transportation which was at the disposal of the traders. Although details of the system of transportation of goods on long-distance trade routes during the eighteenth century is not yet clear, the available evidence does reflect the adequacy of the means of transport by then, particularly for Kano's trade north and north-eastwards. Transportation of goods in these directions appears to have been made easier by a group of people who specialised in long-distance trade. Two groups who came to be associated with transportation of goods were the

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73. AAY (Rogo), 4/7/80.

Manga[74] and Tuaregs.

The Tuaregs easily made themselves available as transporters, trading agents, caravan guides and guards. Employing their camels, the Tuaregs transported large quantities of trade goods between Kano and the various parts of the Sahel and the central Saharan regions. Their services, like those of the 'yan alaro, greatly facilitated trade between Kano and the vast regions to the north and the north-east. The Tuaregs were believed to be transparently honest, reliable and patient in their dealings with the owners of the goods they transported. They were also reliable to the extent that the merchants or manufacturers who engaged their services often paid them for a number of months' journey in advance. They were similarly given goods on credit with the least suspicion.[75] Indeed such atmosphere of confidence provided favourable situations for the owners of the large industrial establishments and the merchants to easily concentrate on production and acquisition of goods in Kano, since they could easily get trustworthy transporters and

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74. An ethnic group which largely has been inhabiting the western parts of Borno.

75. G.O. Ogunremi, op.cit., p.21.

agents for the distribution of their goods.

Finally, the keen interest shown by the various rulers of Hausaland and its neighbours in collecting tolls and taxes from traders,[76] would indicate their endeavour to promote trade. One of the most important policies pursued by virtually all the rulers of these regions was the protection they extended to traders and trade routes which passed through their territories.[77] These rulers also extended official patronage to the traders in relation to business transactions. Inter-state cooperation greatly facilitated the movements of goods throughout these areas. Such policies constituted an important factor in the expansion of Kano's external trade in the eighteenth century. The Kano merchants took advantage of this situation thereby leading to greater increases in the volume of commodities exported from and imported by Kano. This development, however, reached its peak in the nineteenth century.

(b) The Nineteenth Century.

Almost the same factors that promoted the internal trade in Kano in the nineteenth century played similar roles

76. H. Clapperton, op.cit., pp.147, 151, 159.

77. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

in stimulating the external trade of Kano during the same period. But in addition to those factors, there were other internal and external ones which contributed mainly to the expansion of external trade. These included protection of merchants outside Kano and penetration of new areas. Thus Kano became the nerve centre of trade and commerce throughout the Caliphate.[78]

The roles of the state, as in the internal trade, were dominant in the external trade in the nineteenth century. One of the most important aspects of the state policies was the protection of Kano traders who operated outside its territory. The policy had been effected either by the Emirs of Kano acting alone or in conjunction with other Emirs and rulers. It would appear that the Emirs of Kano used the military personnel stationed in the ribats, particularly those situated along Kano's borders with other Emirates and states, to provide escort. This protected the trading caravans against assaults from Kano's enemies, notably the Ningawa and the Maradawa.[79] The protection was particularly very important for Kano's lucrative trade with

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78. See P.L. Monteil, op.cit., pp.250-251.

79. A. Pattern, op.cit., pp.100, 206.

Bauchi Emirate, the upper Benue regions, and Central Africa. The commitment of the Emirate of Kano to the protection of its traders in the neighbouring Emirates and states was such that any attack on them often resulted in a punitive military expedition, sometimes in collaboration with other Emirates.[80]

Diplomacy in respect of powerful states such as Borno was often employed for the purpose of securing protection and granting of favourable conditions necessary for commercial activities for Kano traders. Fortunately, many rulers were ready to cooperate for the mutual benefits of their states. In a correspondence between Borno and Kano in relation to the promotion of inter-state trade, for instance, the ruler of the former state implored the Emir of Kano, Aliyu (1894-1903);

> "to remain on friendly terms with him as their grandfathers and fathers were to each other in their life time and to let them cooperate with pace and to allow his subjects to come [to Kano] with merchandise to the markets of his country".[81]

In areas where the Emirate of Kano was not in a position to protect its traders both militarily and

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80. NAK, Kadcap, item 26, no.0/AR.II. A good example was the expedition to Damagaram.

81. ibid.

diplomatically, it often warned or instructed traders to keep off dangerous areas.[82]

In respect of protection, the Kano traders benefited from the establishment of the Caliphate.[83] The bringing under the control of a centralised authority of such a large territory (which was rich both in human and material resources) was of considerable significance for the development of trade and commerce. Therefore this enabled the Kano merchants to station their agents and establish branches of their businesses on a permanent basis throughout the Caliphate. These branches and agents constituted important infrastructures for commercial activities. They also facilitated the distribution of goods and collection of raw materials and other commodities for Kano's industrial establishments, and for re-export particularly from the areas which had been penetrated by Kano traders, for example the upper Benue valley and Bamenda highlands.[84] These areas were important for two main reasons: firstly they were virtually "virgin"

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82. NAK, Kadcap, item 26, no.O/AR.II.

83. See footnote no.87 below.

84. C.H. Robinson, op.cit., p.28.

for commercial activities - a good market for Kano's industrial and re-export goods. Secondly, the areas were also important sources of cheap slaves who were very important for the other economic sectors.

The establishment of the Caliphate therefore contributed in many ways to the promotion of Kano's external trade. In the first place, as a result of the establishment of the Caliphate, a number of urban centres developed from small administrative units outside Hausaland. Among these were Yola, Bauchi, Bida, Gombe Abba, Kontagora, Keffi, and Nasarawa.[85]

In the second place, the Caliphate contributed to the expansion of Kano's external trade by maintaining law and order in the Caliphal domain as well as the enforcement of the settlement bills on business transactions. All Emirs and other state officials were under obligation to protect traders who passed through their territories or transacted business there. Any state official who neglected this responsibility was severely punished.[86] One of the best examples of such cases was related to the robbery of Kano

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85. Abdullahi Smith, op.cit.(the Journal, 1971), p.72.

86. See footnote no.87 below.

interest in the promotion of these facilities because many of them acquired goods on credit. Because of these facilities, Kano became the financial and commercial centre of the Caliphate.[90] The inter-relationship between the rulers and the Kano-based attajirai is demonstrated in a clear way by the fact that bills on business transactions were settled easily in Kano, especially in slaves.[91] Here it is important to note that the rulers, particularly those of Sokoto, received large numbers of slaves in the form of tribute and gifts from the eastern Emirates.[92] It seems that most of such slaves found their way to Kano in the form of payment for business transactions conducted in Kano because Sokoto was not a commercial centre and most of its business transaction was conducted in Kano. It appears that the Emirs of Kano were often involved in effecting the settling of the Caliphs' bills of exchange

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90. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.250.

91. ibid., p.252.

92. The annual tribute from three Emirates alone - Katsina, Bauchi and Adamawa - to Sokoto ranged from 2,600 to 10,000 slaves. According to C.H. Robinson, at least three quarters of the tribute paid by Hausa Emirates to Sokoto consisted of slaves. See C.H. Robinson, op.cit., pp.105, 134.

in Kano.[93]

The involvement of the various rulers in effecting the settlement of bills of exchange gave the attajirai much confidence. In addition to slaves, livestock such as horses and asses were also made available to merchants[94] and other travellers in Sokoto. The bills for such purchases were settled in Kano.[95]

Thus the operation of the credit system facilitated the pace of business transactions and distribution of trade throughout the Caliphate and beyond.[96] It made it quite easy for Kano's merchants and manufacturers to dispose their industrial products and to import goods, and at the same time acquire capital goods.

Slaves who were used as a form of payment in such transactions also proved to be very important in Kano's external trade. They were used as currency for exchange

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93. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., pp.250-1, 252.

94. ibid., pp.252-3.

95. ibid., pp.252-3.

96. For example, see Deanham, Dixon and others, op.cit., pp.31, 34.

with goods, and as porters. Therefore they were guaranteed and moveable capital whenever the merchants made long-distance business trips.[97]

The availability of relatively cheap means of transportation of goods along most trade routes facilitated external trade. There were adequate supplies of bullocks, mules, asses, and slaves - both male and female slaves. "Even some [free] women hired themselves to carry loads [to Kano] ... from Nyffe [Nupe]".[98] H. Barth was, particularly, struck by the high degree of involvement of women in transportation.[99] Here also, transportation of goods was sometimes conducted on credit basis, payable in Kano.[100]

In addition to these major factors, there were others which contributed to fostering both internal and external trade. These were increases in output in agricultural and industrial production - developments which induced producers to look out for markets, the increase in number and complexity of financial facilities and economic infrastructures - partly expanded at the instigation of

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97. C.H. Robinson, op.cit., p.131.
98. H. Clapperton, op.cit., pp.68, 137, 180.
99. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.484.
100. H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.77.

Caliph Muhammad Bello and partly brought about by rapid urban growth both within and outside Kasar Kano - and expansion in commercial activities.

The main beneficiaries of these developments were the big-time attajirai. Their relation with the masu sarauta (both within and outside Kano), their privileges and command of capital (derived either from agricultural estates and industrial establishments or from long-distance trading activities and other services they rendered as fatoma and brokers), enabled them to take full advantage of the favourable economic situation. The more they participated in the various aspects of economic activities, the more capital they accumulated. This was re-invested, and it yielded more and more profit, thereby creating more capital. This gave them great impetus for expanding their business in collaboration with the masu sarauta.

II. The Nature of Trade.

In Kano trade, there were close inter-relationships between the factors, mechanics, and processes of trade. The last two, in many cases, fostered or hindered the expansion of trade. In the case

of Kano in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, they acted as catalysts that speeded up the process of the trade as it was indicated in the previous section of this chapter. These were reflected in the organisation of the markets, the conduct of business in local as well as external markets - especially in regard to credit facilities and transportation.

Of particular importance to the mechanics and processes of the internal trade were the institution of the fatoma, availability of accommodation, credit facilities, and dillalai.

The fatoma and the brokers provided traders, especially those coming from other parts of Kasar Kano or other states, with adequate services. Each of the numerous traders, coming into the Birni, for example, was able to transact his business, as each of them benefited from the services of their respective fatoma. They were provided with accommodation, storage facilities, food, market information and the service of the dillalai (market brokers). The fatoma also introduced their guests to customers or potential customers. Of course, he was well qualified for this function since he knew more about the requirements of such customers than the traders who

would come occasionally to the markets. Also, the fatoma knew the people from whom and the places from where the requirements of the visiting traders were to be met.

Though the fatoma's reward for the services rendered was normally supposed to be only the la'ada (commission), given after agreement on transactions between the sellers and buyers had been concluded, quite a number of them, particularly those of the Birni, indulged in all sorts of business tricks, always to the disadvantage of buyers and sellers. So they would inflate prices of commodities offered for sale to the visiting traders or connive with the dillalai or traders whom they knew by offering the lowest prices for commodities entrusted to them by their guests.[101] In this way, the fatoma and dillalai made considerable profits which they re-invested either in some industries or trade. Some of the guest merchants were aware of the shady deals perpetrated by the fatoma and the dillalai. But the methods of transactions in the Birni and later on in the major commercial towns in Kano was such that, in most cases, it became impossible for the traders, coming from the countryside or from distant

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101. Imam Imoru, "The Broker - Dilali", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.373.

regions and areas, to by-pass these middlemen. Nor were the visiting traders much worried by the unethical activities of the fatoma and dillalai, since they had the opportunity of off-setting their loses in their respective towns and settlements.

Indeed, the efficiency of the mechanics and processes of the internal trade greatly affected the flow of goods from Kano to the neighbouring Emirates, states and areas, and from the latter to Kano. This discussion of these inter-relationships would not only indicate the degree of production showing the level of surplus and shortage, but it would also reflect the mechanics and processes in this trade. Therefore the discussion of Kano's trade with the other states and polities forms an integral part of this study.

For the purpose of convenience, Kano's external trade would be treated in three main geographical categories: the neighbouring states and polities in the Central Sudan, the distant parts of the Central Sudan and their adjacent areas, and lastly distant areas outside the Central Sudan.

The major problems of such study are: firstly is how to determine the volume and value of the trade in the

absence of statistical data. Secondly the trade with the different states and polities had not been maintained at constant level throughout the period under consideration. Therefore, in respect of the first problem, an attempt has been made to consider the intensity of traffic on trade routes and the diversity of commodities involved as indices to determine the volume and value of that trade.

With regard to the second problem, in treating each of the geographical categories, it is indicated whether the trade was stable, constant or fluctuating, with some reflections on the reasons for each case.

(1) The Neighbouring States and Polities.

These were Borno and its dependencies, the "Bauchi region", Zazzau and its neighbouring polities, Katsina and Daura, and states of the Sahel. From these regions, normally raw materials were imported for the expanding Kano industrial establishments. In exchange, mostly processed goods, were exported to these states and polities. This trade was stable and constant, all the year round, thus reflecting the close economic inter-dependence between the various parties engaged in that trade, with Kano representing the focal point of the commercial activities.

(a) Borno and its Dependencies.

The Gudiri region formed a very important part of Kano-Borno trade, especially by the later part of the eighteenth century, both as a source of a great variety of raw materials and as a leading market for Kano's textiles.[102] Moreover, it was in the centre of a network of trade routes radiating from the natron-potash-salt producing belt of the Chad basin. Therefore the exports and imports were complementarily stimulating production in the two areas.

The high demands for these commodities was due to their cheap prices and their use in different ways. Potash/natron and salt of different types were important, particularly in dyeing and tanning industries and livestock production. Also they were used for the preparation of medicines and different types of food and drinks. Potash/natron was often ground with tobacco to prepare snuff or chewed with fresh tobacco leaves.

In the Kano-Borno trade, the merchants of Kano were the middlemen. Because a substantial proportion of the potash/natron (and other commodities) obtained from Borno

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102. Y.B. Usman, op.cit.(1974), p.137.

were not consumed only in Kano, it formed an important part of re-export commodities to parts of the "Bauchi region", Zazzau, the middle Benue regions, the Niger-Benue confluence zone, the middle Niger regions, Oyo and other parts of Yorubaland, and the Volta basin. The middleman role of the Kano merchants was made possible because the producers and merchants of Borno rarely went beyond their region.[103]

The mentioned commodities, however, were not the only items of trade between the two areas. To a large extent, Kano's tannery industries benefited from the raw materials supplied by Borno and its dependencies. In addition to hides and skins, it also obtained gabaruwa from which chemicals for tanning was obtained. The area stretching from Tashina and Gabari deep into the Gudiri region was rich in gabaruwa trees.[104] Another commodity of this area from which chemicals for dyeing and tanning were obtained was dan Chamba.[105] It was used with lime juice and the application of the mixture to a textile or leather material

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103. Nehemia Levtzion, op.cit., p.20.

104. IM, AA (Laila), 11/10/80.

105. This is a tree called turi (Zingiberaceae) but was commonly known as dan Chamba, a place in Borno.

enabled dyers and tanners to obtain yellow coloured material. In addition, green materials were produced by soaking plain cloth or leather into a liquid mixture of dan Chamba, lime juice and natron.[106] Also imp rtant for dyeing and preparation of ink and other processed items was gum, for which the Gudiri and other parts of Borno were famous.[107]

The civet cats were imported into Kano from this area.[108] They were kept alive for the production of turare (cent) which was an important item for Kano's internal and external trade.

The Gudiri region and its neighbourhood were a major area that supplied Kano with iron ore. By the nineteenth century, iron ore was smelted in numerous settlements (in about one hundred and seventy-four known settlements) in and around Azare.[109]

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106. Imam Imoru, "Handcraft - Aikin Hannu, Rubutu", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.309.

107. K.R. MacDonald, "The Gum Arabic Industry in Borno Province", Farm and Forest, vols.2-3, 1941-42, pp.13-14.

108. Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa, p.159.

109. NAK, 6249/1912 - Kano Province, Azare District, Katagum Emirate, Assessment Report.

Apart from these largely capital goods, Kano also obtained other consumer commodities such as dabino (dates). The areas of dabino production were Katagum, Hadejia and Gumel. According to informants, the dates of these areas could be stored for a very long period of time without spoiling.[110]

In exchange for these commodities, Kano exported to these areas (in addition to textile materials), kolanuts, pepper, daddawa (locust bean cakes) and other commodities from the south and the south-west.[111]

(b) The "Bauchi Region".

The trade with this region was progressively expanding with the increasing degree of the penetration of Kano merchants in the region and Kano military expedition. Consequently, the settlements of Kano merchants multiplied and the tempo of commercial activities rose, particularly in the nineteenth century. The exports of Kano to this "region" were textiles, leather works, horses and horse-riding equipment. But in the nineteenth century, the exports included kolanuts, swords and Fez caps which were

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110. IM, AA (Laila - Sabon Gari), 11/7/80.

111. AMA (Kiyawa), 2/2/79; UIM, MAM (Ringim), 21/4/79.

imported from Darfur.[112]

From these, Kano imported iron ore, ivory,[113] antimony, slaves, and tsamiya (silkworm),[114] among other things. Tsamiya was obtained from the Gongola River valley, the areas around Darazo, Nafada, and the area which came to be known as the Yankari Game Reserve, especially in Duguri to the south and Kumo to the east of the Reserve.[115] Other commodities which reached Kano from the region included akusa (wooden dishes) and faifai[116](trays made from dum palm fronds) commonly known as dan Gombe.

In the nineteenth century, slaves constituted an important item from these region to Kano. Basirka, one of the slave depots near Gwaram, was said to have handled hundreds, if not thousands, of slaves annually for export to Kano.[117] Kano also imported darma (smelted tin), ponies,

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112. IM, AA (Laila), 11/10/80.

113. ibid.

114. P.J. Shea, op.cit., p.1.

115. ibid., p.4.

116. NAK, SNP.10/3, 389P/1915 - Kano Province, Hadejia Emirate, Mabude District, Assessment Report.

117. NAK, SNP.7/10, 5570/1909 - Kano Province, Assessment 1909.

ivory, cattle, fari gowns, and daddawa.[118]

(c) Zazzau and its Neighbouring Polities.

As for Kano's trade with Zazzau, this was facilitated by easy movements across the flat plains, a common lingua franca (at least in the northern parts of Zazzau), and fairly dense concentration of population and rich raw materials in Zazzau. The borderlands were very rich in resources, especially cotton and indigo. The location of the two states in relation to one another was also important in influencing the nature and volume of trade between them. Kano was Zazzau's gateway to the north. On the other hand, as a major "entreport" of southern Hausaland, the town of Zaria linked Kano with the peoples and markets of the middle and lower Benue valley, the confluence zone, and the middle Niger and Yorubaland.

The strategic position of Zaria is in fact shown clearly by the number of trade routes which converged on the town by the eighteenth century. From the far west via Yawuri and Kamuku dependencies; from Yorubaland and the middle Niger, especially Nupeland, through Gumma and the

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118. Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.376.

Gwari country; from the lower Niger, via Kwato and Kajuru; and from the lower and middle Benue via Zangon Katab.[119] From Zaria a major trade route formed as a result of the convergence of several other trade routes from the south and the south-west, passed through Likoro, Kwatakware, and on reaching Kasar Kano it divided into several branches, reaching the Birni via several towns such as Karaye and Bebeji.

The intensity of the traffic of trade along these routes is evident from the great number of terminii of trade routes along the entire borders of Kano and Zazzau, as well as the establishment of numerous zangos such as Damagari. These factors stimulated trade greatly and many commodities were conveyed along these trade routes.

Cotton and indigo were the main commodities exported to Kano,[120] and they promoted the establishment of textiles industries on Kano's side of the Kano-Zazzau borderlands, especially in the nineteenth century when the trade reached its peak. Even by the beginning of the twentieth century,

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119. Abdullahi Smith, "Some Notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings", in M.J. Mortimore (ed.), Zaria and its Regions, A.B.U., Zaria, 1970, p.89.

120. Imam Imoru, "Farming - Ayukan Gona", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.62.

20,000 bales were sent to Kano annually.[121] This would explain the emergence of Gwarzo, Getso, Rogo, Beli, among others, as famous industrial towns and consequently commercial centres, with lodging houses, credit facilities and brokers.[122]

A related commodity which was imported from Zazzau and its neighbouring polities was tsamiya from the area around Tsundu.

Therefore, contrary to the widely held view, Zazzau was not a major supplier of slaves to at least Kano.[123] No evidence has been found to support this widespread tradition.

An equally important raw material obtained from Zazzau and its neighbouring polities was iron ore, as well as farm implements. Smelted iron, especially in the Gwari areas, was exported to Kano.[124] Evidence for the intensity

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121. P.E. Lovejoy, op.cit.(1978), p.356; NAK, SNP.7, 3272/1909 - Assessment Report, Rano District; Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.376.

122. AAY (Rogo), 4/7/80.

123. In the traditions of Hausaland, each of the Hausa states was identified with a particular specialty. Zazzau is said to have specialised in the supply of slaves to the other states.

124. Mahdi Adamu, op.cit.(1978), p.32.

of trade in iron ore between Kano and these areas could be seen in the impressive, but now abandoned, iron works of Getso, a town situated relatively close to the major iron ore producing countries of the south and the south-west. Apart from Getso, there were many colonies of blacksmiths throughout Kano which smelted and processed iron ore imported from Zazzau,[125] and other areas. Imports from Zazzau and its adjacent areas also included manufactured farm implements such as 'yar kuriga.[126]

In exchange for these commodities and products, Kano sent into Zazzau and its neighbouring areas mainly textile products like 'yar Getso,[127] horses, horse-riding equipment, leather goods and asses.[128] These animals were particularly exported to Zazzau in large numbers. In addition to these, Kano re-exported North African goods to Zazzau and to the areas south and south-west of it.

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125. AAA (Getso), 29/12/78.

126. Imam Imoru, "Blacksmithing - Kira", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.328.

127. AAA (Getso), 29/12/78.

128. MAM (Bebeji), 8/7/80.

(d) Katsina and Daura.

The concentration of towns and settlements on both sides of the borders between Kano and Katsina which stretched from Rogo in the south to the area of Kazaure[129] in the north, reflects the intensity of the economic relation between the two states.[130] Kano benefited from the abundant raw materials of Katsina which greatly contributed to the expansion of Kano's industries. The most important items were cotton, tsamiya, iron ore obtained from Pauwa,[131] Ketare, Maska, Bakori and Kankara regions, livestock, particularly goats,[132] sheep and donkeys, hides and skins.

Apart from those merchants, both professional and non-professional, who were directly involved in the Kano-Katsina trade in these commodities, there were the Katsinawa middlemen who were engaged in long-distance trade but who greatly contributed to this trade between

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129. The area of Kazaure became an Emirate in the nineteenth century.

130. See the map in Y.B. Usman, "Some Aspects of External Relations of Katsina before 1804", in Savanna, vol.I, no.2, December 1972, p.181.

131. Y.B. Usman, op.cit.(1974), p.134.

132. See Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.376; Y.B. Usman, op.cit.(1974), p.78.

Borno and the Volta basin in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as the Saharan areas.[133] Most probably those merchants promoted Kano's external trade with those regions as well.

The northern parts of Katsina and Kasar Daura were famous throughout Hausaland for production of bullrush millet. The zango (a variety of millet found mainly in Daura and probably other parts of the Sahel), which is immune to insects, could be stored over a long period of time. This species of millet was believed to have been the best in Hausaland for the preparation of fura (porridge).[134] It was also highly prized as feeds for war horses. These qualities made this species of millet popular and a lot of it was imported into Kano. From the northern parts of Katsina and Daura, Kano also imported livestock, especially sheep, goats, donkeys, and most likely civet cat (the latter being found here in considerable numbers).[135]

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133. Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa, p.169.

134. Imam Imoru, "Farming - Ayukan Gona", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.69.

135. Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa, p.159.

Kano's articles of trade to both Katsina and Daura consisted largely of manufactured and processed goods. These were textiles - a substantial part of which were most likely re-exported by Katsina traders to other areas[136] - and processed cocoons of tsamiya from which the Katsinawa made thread for embroidery.[137]

(e) The States of the Sahel.

Historical and geographical factors have always contributed to the interaction between the inhabitants of the Sahel and the savanna belts through migration and trade. The Tuaregs, for instance, who settled in the savanna towns, particularly the Agadesawa and Azbenawa who settled in the Birni, promoted trade between the two belts. These immigrants provided the traders from their areas of origin with lodging, transport, storage facilities, market conditions, services of brokers and customers, and translation facilities when necessary.

Four items constituted the main commodities of trade between Kano and the Sahel and the central Saharan areas:

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136. AAA (Getso), 29/12/78.

137. NAK, SNP.7, 5374/1912 - Silk Cocoon Industry, Document no.2, From Resident i/c Katsina Province, to Resident Kano Division.

textiles and grains from Kano, and livestock (and livestock products) and salt from the Sahel. Textiles and grains were highly demanded in the Sahel area. For instance millet constituted a real standard for exchange in the markets of the Sahel and other areas to the north by the nineteenth century.[138] Similarly, almost all of the textile materials used by the inhabitants of the two areas to the north came from Hausaland. Kano, most likely, was the principal supplier of these textiles, since it was the main producer of these commodities. In addition to these, Kano exported leather goods, onions, pepper, vegetables, kolanuts, calabashes, products of trees such as tamarind, locust bean trees and others.

In exchange, Kano imported from the two areas, a number of commodities such as horses, cattle, sheep, goats, mules, ostriches, and donkeys.[139] Other major commodities obtained from these areas were civet cats and ostrich feathers. Both domesticated and wild ostriches were found in large numbers, particularly in the area of Damerghou. They were brought into Kano in garke (herds)

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138. P.E. Lovejoy & S. Baier, op.cit., p.555.

139. AAA, SAY, WMA (Dawaki Ta Kudu), 18/7/80.

and were bought mainly by the members of the ruling class. Apart from providing meat, ostriches were valued for their feathers which were used for making fans and decorating slippers for the ruling class. Ostrich skins were used for making buzu, while their eggs were utilised in the preparation of different types of food.[140] The empty white shells were fixed on roof tops for the purpose of decoration. Faeces obtained from ostriches were used in preparation of medicines for treating ailments like kurkunu (guinea worm). Also the southern parts of the Sahel exported to Kano dates, mats, fans, kaba (dum palm for weaving), mangala (bags for transportation of manure, farm produce and goods for internal and external trade. They are often in pairs and placed on the backs of donkeys).[141]

It seems clear therefore that Kano's imports from the neighbouring states and regions consisted mainly of capital goods. These and the enormous amount of resources generated within Kano itself, enabled the industrial producers to turn out large quantities of manufactured and processed goods both for internal and external trade.

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140. MAM (Bebeji), 8/7/80.

141. AAA (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79.

(2) The Distant Parts of the Central Sudan and their Adjacent Areas.

These areas included firstly the distant parts of Borno and its adjacent areas to the north-east and east. Secondly, the middle Benue, the confluence zone, the middle Niger, Yorubaland and adjacent areas, and the distant parts of western parts of Hausaland such as Gobir and Kebbi.

As in the first category, Kano mainly imported raw materials from these areas and exported processed goods. But the difference in Kano's external trade with the two categories was in the degree, continuity, frequency, and volume of that trade. Apart from the distance, these three aspects were determined by the law of supply and demand. The latter factor played an important role in opening the distant areas in this second category as it is to be discussed.

(a) Distant Parts of Borno and its Adjacent Areas to the North-East and the East.

The major item of trade from these areas to Kano was cattle because Borno and Kanem were major cattle producing areas.[142] Borno was also an important source of

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142. E.W. Bovill, op.cit., vol.I, p.118; Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa, p.131.

ostriches,[143] and barewa (antelope) and gazelle skins.[144] The skins of gazelle were highly prized by Kano tanners as leather obtained from them was reputed to be softer than those of goats and sheep. A substantial portion of the processed skin was re-exported to North Africa.[145] Cob skins were also highly prized and were popular as prayer skins and for making shoes.

Because of the high military need of Borno for horses, most likely the state continued to exercise some control on trade in them. Nevertheless, in view of the number of horses imported from North Africa and Bahr-el-Ghazal of Lake Chad basin, as well as the "unnumerable" horses bred for the state particularly in Kanem,[146] it is most likely that some of these horses were used by the state to exchange them for the highly needed goods from Kano.

In the nineteenth century, slaves constituted a

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143. MAM, AAG, UMY (Kura), 7/7/80.

144. NAK, Provincial Administration, 1316, Antelope Skins. The hunting of gazelles and antelopes was an old profession among the Shuwa Arabs and the Tubu. Many of them are said to have depended on the meat obtained from gazelles for their livelihood.

145. NAK, Provincial Administration, 1316, Antelope Skins.

146. Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa, p.131.

major commodity exported by Borno to Kano. Slaves from Sara Ilum, Musgu and Shiwu were brought to Kano.[147]

In exchange for these commodities, Kano sent to Borno mainly textile materials, especially the famous turkudi, kolanuts, indigo and other goods obtained from Nupeland and the other areas to the south and the south-west. The Kanawa, especially of Borno origin, were the main distributors of these commodities.

(b) The Middle Benue, the Confluence Zone, the Middle Niger, Yorubaland and their Adjacent Areas.

In the south and the south-west, Kano's major trading areas during the eighteenth century were the middle Benue valley and its adjacent areas, the confluence zone, the middle Niger regions and Yorubaland. The trade with these areas, particularly the last two, considerably expanded in the early part of the eighteenth century. After the apparent lull in Kano's trade with these areas in the middle of the century, the trade picked up by the

147. Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.375. It would appear that the rulers of Borno sent the slaves to Kano in large groups. Like many other imported commodities, the attajirai of Kano re-exported some of the slaves to Borno singly or in small groups. See H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.515.

end of the same century. This is supported by the evidence of the settling down of Nupe and Yoruba immigrants in Kano in fairly large numbers.

Trade with the areas to the north of the middle Benue valley had been on for centuries. It mainly involved exchange of horses for slaves. By the eighteenth century, however, the trade between Kano and these areas had been diversified. Unlike the earlier periods, by the eighteenth century, more and more traders from Kano were gradually penetrating the entire areas and moving even deeper southward. This development was enhanced by the interests shown by the various polities of the areas. The rulers of these areas encouraged the traders to bring more and more goods to their polities by providing them with adequate security[148] and official patronage. This encouraged the settling of weavers, dyers, blacksmiths and traders from Kano in those areas. The settlements established or inhabited by the emigrants extended as far to the south-east as the valley of Katsina Ala river.[149] The presence of these settlers here provided a permanent

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148. Mahdi Adamu, op.cit.(1978), p.45.

149. ibid., p.45.

link between Kano and the middle Benue valley and beyond, hence enhancing the development of trading activities by providing lodging, information about raw materials and needed goods.

Slaves, iron ore, antimony, salt, and probably silver and ivory, reached Kano from this region. In exchange, Kano sent horses and horse-riding equipment, textiles including embroidered garments, leather goods, beads, spices, onions, and swords. A substantial part of these goods were consumed by the rulers of this region. This explains why they showed much interest in the trade.

To the west of the middle Benue valley, Nupeland was the single most important area with which Kano had regular economic contacts for centuries; reaching its peak in the first half of the eighteenth century. From Nupeland, Kano imported military equipment such as guns, muskets and gun-powder - cowries, kolanut, palm oil, and interestingly enough embroidered gowns and trousers (saki) because of the taste of the ruling class; while Kano exported to this area mainly slaves, horses, and commodities from Borno and the Sahel, particularly salt, natron and potash.[150]

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150. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.515; H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.137.

It was due to the increase in commercial interaction between the two areas that a fairly large number of Nupe immigrants settled down in Kano in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.[151] The immigrants wanted to take advantage of their proximity to Kano's markets in relation to their various trades, especially textile production. Their settling down, particularly in the leading commercial centres such as the Birni and Bebeji, enhanced the growing commercial relations between the two areas.

Kano's trade with the areas to the south of the middle Niger valley, which was mainly Yorubaland, had become important by the first half of the eighteenth century. In addition to horses, horse-riding equipment and slaves, Kano exported to these areas textiles including embroidered garments, tsamiya (silkworm)[152] and tsamiya products, leather goods, indigo, potash, salt, onions and livestock.[153] In exchange, Kano obtained probably all kinds of goods brought across the oceans, for instance cowries, copper dishes, beads, gun-powder and

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151. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., p.68.

152. UAM, MHM, IM, ND (Basilan Tsamiya), 7/10/80.

153. ibid.; H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.137.

forest products such as black pepper, kolanuts, spices and camwood.[154]

Kano's trade with the various states and polities of the south-east, south and south-west (of the Nigerian area) which witnessed considerable expansion, especially by the first half of the eighteenth century, contributed greatly to the development of its manufacturing and processing industries. At the same time, expansion in these industries provided enough incentive for increased output in the production of cotton, indigo and livestock, thereby leading to the overall development of the economy. The commercial expansion also promoted the development of Kano's mercantile class. The increasing participation of more people in trading activities generated competition for markets, which must have led both to the diversification of their commercial activities and to venturing into new areas. Consequently trade and commerce, by the end of the eighteenth century, had reached an advanced stage which continued throughout the nineteenth century.

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154. R. Law, op.cit., pp.216, 217.

(3) The Distant Areas Outside the Central Sudan.

Trading activities with these areas were determined by the long distance to be covered, the many natural hurdles to be overcome - for instance the Sahara, the thick forests and big rivers - and the commodities to be exchanged. Therefore, the volume of goods was not only relatively small, but it also required very high capital. Consequently only the big and dominant merch nts were able to engage in such endeavours and only on annual basis. From this, one would question the validity of the thesis put forward by many authors about the central role of long-distance trade, and particularly the trans-Saharan trade, in shaping the economy of states and polities of Bilad as-Sudan.

In spite of the prominence given to the long-distance trade, namely the trans-Saharan in most published works,[155] in relation to its significance to the prosperity of Hausaland in general and Kano in particular, it seems that such trade played a secondary role in the promotion of the economy, at least that of Kano. Most of the

155. For a discussion of this topic, see Abdullahi Mahadi, "The Genesis of Kano's Economic Prosperity in the Nineteenth Century: The Role of the State in Economic Development up to 1750", paper presented at the 23rd Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Zaria, 4-8 April, 1978.

commodities were luxury or military goods which were needed by the ruling class. Therefore more vital for Kano's economy was the trade with the neighbouring states and polities, and those of the distant parts of the Central Sudan and their adjacent areas. Because, from such areas, a lot of raw materials were imported and these expanded Kano's industries. Also from these areas staple commodities were imported into Kano and were consumed by all categories of the members of the society. Thus, while commodities from these areas were basic, those from the distant areas, outside the Central Sudan, played mainly a supportive role in the overall economy.

Some of the commodities imported from distant areas, however, played several different roles in the economy of Kano. For example, trade with the Volta basin involved the importation of kolanuts on a large scale.[156] This commodity performed a useful social function, especially in agricultural production, because it formed the standard item for the invitation to gayya. Also it constituted an important re-export commodity, like some of those imported

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156. For a detailed discussion of this commodity in relation to the economy of Kano, see P.L. Monteil, op.cit., pp.283-5.

from and through North Africa especially in the nineteenth century.

It must also be pointed out that the expansion in Kano's tanning and leather-works industries in the eighteenth century may have been greatly influenced by the increasing demand for their products (the "Morocco"leather) in Europe and elsewhere. It is most likely also that the consumption of the imported luxury goods by the members of the ruling class, especially the masu sarauta, caused them to introduce a number of policies so as to encourage production and trade, which would have been in the overall interest of the economy. It is mainly in these indirect roles that the significance of long-distance trade, particularly the trans-Saharan, should be seen.

By the eighteenth century, Kano's trade with the Volta basin and its adjacent areas, had expanded remarkably.[157] This was of course in harmony with the general expansion in Kano's external trade during this period. The variety of cloths produced in Kano always had ready market in the Volta basin.[158] In addition to textiles,

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157. P.E. Lovejoy, op.cit.(1973), p.87.

158. Informants in Kano have asserted that even re-dyed old clothes were purchased in the Volta basin (MUM, Kofar Mata - Birni, 20/4/79).

Kano exported to the Volta basin leather goods, foodstuffs such as onions, daddawa (locust bean cakes) and other dried vegetables; horse-riding equipment such as saddles, bridles, bits and stirrups; antimony, and other goods from North Africa.[159]

On the other hand, the products of the Volta basin, notably kolanuts, was continually being imported in large quantities because of its high rate of consumption. This trend was further enhanced by the facilities provided by the emigrants from Hausaland (who founded new settlements or settled in fairly large numbers both along the trade routes and in various parts of the Volta basin).

Like the trade with the Volta basin, Kano's trade with North Africa was undertaken on an annual basis. The North Africans arrived with trade goods in Kano once a year, usually at the end of the rainy season.[160] The articles of trade from North Africa were: red caps, check linen, light coarse woolen, small Turkey carpets, plain Mesurata carpets, silk, tissues of brocade, sabre

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159. Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.377.

160. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.200.

blades, Dutch knives, scissors, coral beads, small looking glass, gun barrels, guns, piston locks, iron bars, tin, brass, allum, dyeing wood, and brimstone.[161]

Probably with the exception of iron bars, tin, brass and dyeing wood, all the other articles were consumer commodities, which especially in the nineteenth century, were not able to compete with Kano's locally processed goods.[162] Lucas reported that a number of North Africans complained about the decline in the volume of goods exported from North Africa to the Central Sudan.[163] Thus it would be rather ironic to attribute to the trans-Saharan trade a major role in the economy of Kano at a time when that trade was actually declining.

Therefore from the foregoing discussion, it is reasonable to say that the extent of the areas with which Kano had trading relations and the intensity of the trading activities, say much about the extent of production in

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161. Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa, p.161-88.

162. H. Barth, op.cit., p.517.

163. Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa, p.180.

Kano during the period of the study. That Kano was a leading manufacturing and processing area is supported both by the large quantities of raw materials such as cotton, tsamiya, hides and skins, iron ore which it imported, as well as the extensive areas it supplied with industrial goods. The importation of the commodities which were produced in Kano underscored the level of industrial production.

Thus trade, both internal and external, played a major role in the economy of Kano in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Such roles would not be without profound social impacts. Therefore it is important to identify and analyse the major characteristics of that trade in order to put those impacts in their proper perspectives, and in their roles in shaping the social and political developments which characterised the nineteenth century in Kano.

III. The Major Characteristics of Trade in the Nineteenth Century.

There are major differences in the nature of internal and external trade. Therefore the characteristics of each of them also differed. Consequently, each of the two would

be examined separately in order to provide adequate grounds for understanding the social and political developments which took place in Kano in the nineteenth century.

(1) Internal Trade.

Among the major features of internal trade in the nineteenth century was the proliferation of markets. This was brought about both by the tremendous expansion in economic activities and the establishment of new settlements and the rapid growth of old ones. By the end of the nineteenth century, each of these settlements and towns had a market. The major towns, especially the Birni, had several markets besides the central ones.[164]

In spite of the proliferation of markets throughout Kano and the considerable increase in the size and importance of markets of other towns, for instance Bebeji, the Birni continued to be the hub of internal trade in the nineteenth century. The centrality of the Birni in this connection could easily be discerned from the number of traders and travellers from all parts of Kano who converged on it. It continued to be the primary destination

164. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.523.

of traders and trade goods from Europe, northern, western and central parts of Africa. It was therefore the centre of wholesale business. Travellers like Clapperton, Barth and Monteil daily met groups of traders on their way to and from the Birni from morning to evening.[165] Retailers from all parts of Kano and the neighbouring Emirates and states obtained their commodities in bulk from the Birni. It also served as the single most important collection centre for goods and commodities which were produced from all parts of Kano for exportation.

Kolanuts was one of the best examples of a commodity the distribution of which in Kano, Hausaland and other parts of the Central Sudan was dominated by the Birni.[166]

At the same time, although it is true that by the nineteenth century all major towns, for instance Bebeji, held their markets on daily basis,[167] traders from towns and villages found it worthwhile to travel to the Birni

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165. See for example Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., pp.27, 28, 30.

166. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.285.

167. H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.166.

rather than satisfying themselves with markets of their localities because of the low prices, high quality, and wide variety of goods in the Birni.

In addition to markets, business transactions also took place in houses, especially those of attajirai, under large trees[168] and in zangos which were scattered along trade routes and found at the outskirts of virtually every town. Business transactions in these places were carried on on daily basis, except in zangos where transactions were conducted only on daily basis when caravan traders were around. However, smaller towns market days alternated.[169]

A third characteristic closely linked to the two discussed above was the regularisation of business transactions in the markets. This is important because it paved the way for the ruling class to intensify their control over the economy.

Business transactions in all markets were well regulated by the state officials. These were the sarakunan kasuwa (Kings of markets) and the sarakuna of

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168. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.28; H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.531.

169. See Imam Imoru, "Markets - Kasuwa", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.369.

the various commodities and goods sold in each of the markets. Prices of each commodity sold in the market, ranging from slaves and horses to dried vegetable leaves, were fixed almost on daily basis, depending on the relative abundance or scarcity of each commodity. The dillalai (brokers), in consultation with the sarakunan kasuwa, were responsible for determining or influencing the prices of commodities. "The buyer doesn't need to worry about the seller, being satisfied or not, if the middleman has sold [a commodity or product], the buyer can force the seller to deliver the goods".[170] This practice was particularly reinforced by the anxiety of the fatake (long-distance traders) and other traders to return to their various places of domicile, and by the connivance of the fatoma, the dillalai and some market officials. Generally goods brought from other parts of Kano (and the neighbouring Emirates and states) into the Birni, and from the satellite villages and countryside into the major towns, were often sold at cheap prices. On the other hand, the same group of people - that is the

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170. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.282. Also for dillalai see Imam Imoru, "The Broker - Dilalai", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.373; Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.41.

fatoma, dillalai and market officials - taking advantage of the monopolistic tendencies on the part of the attajirai and the various devices employed to cause scarcity of goods, often sold the same goods at high prices. It was not difficult to cause artificial scarcity, for "the merchants understand the benefits of monopoly as well as any people in the World; they take good care never to overstock the market, and if anything falls in price, it is immediately withdrawn for a few days".[171]

The consequence of these was the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the ruling class, especially the attajirai of the Birni and other leading commercial towns, at the expense of the talakawa. Thus in trade, as it was the case in agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy, the socially dominant group was in control in the nineteenth century as they had been in the eighteenth century. Therefore this situation was conducive for the ruling class to maintain its grip over the society.

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171. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.41.

(2) External Trade.

Like the internal trade, the nature of the external trade in the nineteenth century determined its major characteristics, which in the final analyses, served the interest of the socially dominant group.

The prosperity of Kano in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries led to a profound expansion of Kano's external trade in the nineteenth century. The expansion was not only in terms of the increase of the volume of that trade with its age-long trading partners, but also the penetration of entirely new areas and the venture into others. This process was facilitated by the establishment of a complex of network of agents and clients, in the various Emirates, states, polities and other areas,[172] as well as the roles of the immigrants and emigrants.

What characterised Kano's external trade with the neighbouring Emirates, polities and states in the nineteenth century was the importation of raw materials and foodstuffs both for industrial establishments and consumption respectively. Kano exported to those areas processed,

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172. H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.136; E.R. Flegel, op.cit., p.20; Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., pp.291, 293.

manufactured, and re-export goods. The import and export goods were in large quantities. This would indicate three important developments: firstly, it reflects the high density of population in Kasar Kano which required importation of foodstuffs since Kano's agricultural and livestock production was very high by then. Secondly, the importation of large quantities of raw materials and the exportation of similar amount, if not more, of processed goods in spite of the high rate of consumption of such goods, demonstrate the high level of industrial production in Kano in the nineteenth century. Thirdly, the high volume of this trade required more than the efforts of the petty traders to conduct. Therefore, with their huge capital, the socially dominant group, especially attajirai, controlled directly and indirectly the external trade with the neighbouring Emirates, states and polities.

The huge capital of the attajirai in Kano in the nineteenth century, made it possible for Kano's external trade in this period not only to diversify the commodities, but also to promote and expand that trade with distant places on regular basis. Such was the case with Kano's trade with the eastern and south-eastern parts of Borno, Baghirmi, Wadai, Darfur, and the Nile valley. From these

regions Kano obtained slaves, camels, and copper.[173] A considerable supply of copper was imported into Kano by Jellaba of Nimro in Wadai every year. The value of the metal amounted to from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 cowries.[174] The rich merchants were multiplying their profits by exchanging these commodities with textiles, leather goods and kolanuts, while at the same time they re-exported especially the copper and copper materials to other areas.

A second distant area which was opened to Kano's external trade in the nineteenth century were the regions of Shari-Logone river basin, the upper Benue valley, the Bamenda highlands and their adjacent areas stretching southward as far as the Congo basin.[175] This area constituted one of the most profitable areas of trade for Kano merchants in the nineteenth century because of cheap slaves, ivory, cattle, and other commodities.[176] Also from

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173. Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit.,pp.375, 376; H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.521.

174. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.521.

175. H. Barth was surprised to meet some of them even in the remotest corners of the region. This was indeed the case with other areas which had trading relations with Kano.

176. E.R. Flegel, op.cit., pp.3-20.

here the Kano traders obtained Maria Theresa dollars which were highly prized by women in Hausaland and elsewhere.[177]

The areas were also important markets for Kano's industrial and re-export goods. The fatake (long-distance traders) took to the areas vast quantities of baki (glossy black cloth), turkuda (sing. turkudi), kore and embroidered gowns, leather and leather goods, horse-riding equipment, assembled swords, different types of beads, a variety of alkyabba (bernous), and other goods.

In these areas, the Kanawa were in control of supply, transportation and distribution of Kano goods and the collection of commodities of those areas to be sent to Kano. Therefore, the Kanawa in such cases, were making very huge profits, quite unlike the areas where the transportation, distribution and/or acquisition of goods were carried out by other people, as was the case in the Sahel, the central Saharan region, and North Africa.

A third distant area penetrated by Kano merchants in the nineteenth century were the areas to the south of the middle Benue valley and the confluence zones. By the later part of that century, Kano merchants found their way

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177. E.R. Flegel, op.cit., pp.3-20.

to Idoma, Igbo, and Ogoja areas.[178] From these areas, Kano merchants had mainly tozali (antimony)[179] and ivory in exchange for textiles, horses, horse-riding equipment, swords, kayan sarauta (insignia).[180]

As for the Niger-Benue confluence zone, its commercial importance for Kano in the nineteenth century, lay in its role as major market for slaves.[181] Here Kano merchants or their agents disposed some of the slaves they acquired from different regions.

A fifth area with which the Kanawa merchants expanded their trade was the middle Niger region and Yorubaland. Kano continued to export and import almost the same commodities of the eighteenth century with the exception that in the nineteenth century, the quantities increased considerably. In addition, Kano exported necklaces,[182] lantana (beads made from expensive black

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178. Mahdi Adamu, op.cit., pp.106, 197.

179. E.R. Flegel, op.cit., p.2.

180. MAM (Bebeji), 8/7/80.

181. NAK, Kadcap, item 26, Ref.No.O/AR.II.

182. Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.375; H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.515.

stone), and samfola (a type of cylindrical blue beads) which commanded high prices there. The Kano merchants used to import these articles from Baghirmi.[183] Also French silk was exported to Yorubaland and Gonja[184] because they could not find market in Kano.

From these areas, especially from Nupeland, Kano continued to import different types of cloths (such as zalwanin Nupe which outclassed those of Kano, gowns, gwanda, and bununuwa), kolanuts, sabulun salo, glass beads, and spices. From Yorubaland, Kano imported bununuwa and rigunan saki (black and blue gowns).[185] Thus these areas were important for luxury and military goods which required very high capital to finance.

A sixth distant area was the Volta basin, which, like the previous areas, provided markets for Kano textiles, leather goods, gabu (dried onion cakes), and different kinds of beads.[186] This trade reached its peak in the nineteenth century. So the tonnage of kolanuts

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183. E.F. Flegel, op.cit., p.3.

184. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.520.

185. Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.376.

186. ibid., p.377.

increased substantially. Barth estimated the donkey loads of kolanuts imported to be 500 annually, at a value ranging from eighty million to one hundred million cowries.[187] Both estimates must have been very conservative in view of not only the high consumption of kolanuts in Kano but also re-exportation of this commodity to different areas. Likewise the group of traders participating in this trade increased considerably. It has been said that some of the caravans consisted of 1,000 persons each.[188] This trade was to a large extent controlled by the Kanawa. Therefore the huge profit made from kolanut sales constituted an additional source of wealth for the rich merchants of Kano.

A seventh area with which Kano's external trade either newly developed or expanded in the nineteenth century was to the west of Hausaland: Liptaku[189] and Timbuktu respectively. The two areas were important markets for Kano's textiles and leather goods which were highly valued and demanded there and then. By the middle of the nineteenth century, about 300 camel loads of

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187. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.377.

188. H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.68.

189. Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.376.

merchandise estimated at 60,000,000 cowries, were being sent annually from Kano to Timbuktu.[190]

On the other hand, Kano imported from there mainly ostriches and ostrich feathers. This is a clear example of how the external trade was directed to serve the interest of the owners of huge capital which was invested both in industries and trade.

Similarly, Kano's trade with the southern and central Saharan areas in the nineteenth century served the interests of the same socially dominant group. These areas provided markets for Kano's textiles and other processed goods as well as serving as a transit area for the traditional markets of North Africa and the new but important markets of the Niger buckle areas in the nineteenth century. The huge capital invested in this trade was demonstrated in two ways: the approximate value of the imported salt from those areas to Kano ranged from 50,000,000 to 80,000,000 cowries.[191] Secondly, one of the annual caravans involved in this trade was said to have consisted of a number ranging from 3,000 to 4,000 persons.[192]

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190. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.511.

191. ibid., p.515.

192. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.290.

As for Kano's trade with North Africa during this time, the types of commodities involved, the people conducting it, and the volume and value, made it impossible for the other people who did not have huge capital to participate in it. The commodities exported from Kano were mainly dyed leather goods, textiles, ivory and slaves,[193] while Kano imported from or via North Africa dresses, copper, zinc, and other related commodities which were valued at 120,000,000 cowries annually.[194] This trade was mainly conducted by North African merchants resident in Kano. There were between 400 to 500 people[195] carrying out that business with close association with leading attajirai at Kano and the masu sarauta.

Goods of European origin received in Kano during this time still consisted mainly of non-capital consumer products. The annual value of these goods were: Manchester goods valued at 40,000,000 cowries, woolen goods valued at 15,000,000 cowries, beads of different types valued at about 50,000,000 cowries, sugar about one

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193. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, pp.513-4.

194. ibid., pp.518, 520.

195. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.291.

hundred camel load annually valued at 12,000 cowries, common paper value at 5,000,000 cowries, needles valued at 8,000,000 cowries, sword-blades about 50,000 being imported annually valued at 50,000,000 cowries, common razors valued at 2,000,000 cowries, spices valued at 15,000,000 cowries, French silk valued at 20,000,000 cowries, rose oil valued at 40,000 cowries, and then tin and other smaller articles valued at 10,000,000 cowries.[196]

From this, it is evident that there was a great increase in volume and value of Kano's trade in the nineteenth century with or via North Africa. If the sources have not inflated the volume and value of trade goods, it means that the prosperity of Kano and the proliferation of the masu sarauta - who were the real beneficiaries of that prosperity - in the nineteenth century, promoted the consumption of these luxury goods and thus cementing the alliance between the masu sarauta and the rich merchants. Therefore, it would not be surprising that merchants made great efforts to penetrate new areas, to encourage more specialisation, and to finance huge caravans so as to meet the increasing demands of the ruling class in the nineteenth century.

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196. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, pp.518, 519, 520, 521.

As for the penetration of the new areas, in addition to what has been discussed earlier, it should be noted that such a phenomenon was carried out mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore the Jihad wars during that period were not unconnected with economic interests of those merchants who were venturing for new markets. This would explain why the merchants often accompanied military expeditions especially for slaves[197] and the commodities they acquired at cheap prices. For example, elephant tusks acquired for 200 to 400 cowries were re-sold for 100,000 cowries, and a slave bought for 4-8,000 cowries would be re-sold for 12-20,000 cowries in Kano.[198]

Just as the traders made enormous profits on slaves, ivory and beads, they also made such profits on cattle, potash, kolanuts and other commodities. On one of his trading expeditions to the upper Benue and the central African regions, for instance, Madugu Mohamman Mai Gashin Baki purchased farin wuta (sulphur) in Kano to the value of 15,000 cowries. With this he was able to acquire

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197. Mahdi Adamu, op.cit., p.94.

198. E.R. Flegel, op.cit., pp.2-3.

five loads of ivory which was valued at 1,600,000 cowries, thus making a profit of about 10,633%.[199] Such high profits which constituted a feature of Kano's trade with many areas in the nineteenth century motivated traders to venture into new regions.

With the expansion of trade within and outside Kasar Kano and the investment of huge capital, specialisation in external trade began to crystalise. Specialisation developed and operated at two levels - regional and commodity-wise.

By the nineteenth century, many or most merchants devoted their trading activities to different areas. There had emerged, for instance, the fataken Adamawa (the long-distance traders to Adamawa), the fataken Borno, and the fataken Gonja. In most cases, these respective groups of fatake knew little or nothing else of other places apart from the ones to which they travelled to regularly.

Secondly, many of the various attajirai and fatake specialised only in the distribution of certain goods which they or their agents acquired from the different areas. There were therefore specialists in the distribution of kolanuts, potash/natron, livestock, ivory and so on.

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199. E.R. Flegel, op.cit., pp.14, 15, 16.

Specialisation led to or promoted monopoly over commodities by the rich attajirai and therefore contributed to the accumulation of their wealth. This may explain why petty traders and traders with small capital normally would not specialise on regional or commodity basis. Rather, some of them engaged in business transactions in more than one commodity and region, normally with the financial "aid" of the attajirai.

The monopolistic practices of the rich attajirai made it possible for them to conduct their business by organising their own caravans. Other mechants had to come together to organise a joint caravan or they had to enjoy protection and facilities of any of those rich attajirai. In view of the extensive nature of Kano's trade, the organisation of such caravans became one of the major characteristics of that period. Contrary to the impressions created in some works,[200] caravan trade was not peculiar to the trans-Saharan trade or Gonja trade. It applied to all regions with which Kano had trade links. The phenomenal increase in the proliferation and frequency of the formation of the caravans could be attributed to a variety of

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200. Discussion of caravan trade has often been concentrated on the trans-Saharan and the Gonja trades.

reasons. In addition to the increase in the numbers of traders, both from Kano and the other Emirates and states (who joined the primary caravan from Kano), the traders attempted to avoid lowering their profits through payment of taxes and tolls to the various authorities through whose territories they passed[201] and to have better safeguards. Also they joined caravans in order to have advantages of being in the company of experienced fatake.

The fact that trading expedition to the distant areas, for instance the upper Benue and central African regions and the Volta basin, was undertaken on annual basis, meant that the merchants had to accumulate large quantities of goods (this took several months), both within Kano and from their agents in the neighbouring Emirates and states. By the time they launched their trading expeditions, they would have accumulated so much goods and commodities that, they had to employ large numbers of people and pack animals to transport the trade goods to their various destinations.

The primary unit of a caravan consisted of the madugai (leaders of caravans; sing. madugu) of the

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201. For the frequency of collection of tolls along trade routes, see H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.147, 151.

various towns in Kasar Kano. But since caravans were markets in motion, traders would be involved in buying and selling of goods along the trade routes. Also, with the caravans progressing towards their destination, more traders joined them both in Kasar Kano and outside it. Hence the size would increase, especially that the dates of the movements of the caravans were known to the various fatake.

The sizes of the caravans ranged from 1,000 to 5,000 people.[202] For the most part, however, caravans consisted of from 3,000 to 4,000 people.[203] The caravans consisted of attajirai, the slaves of attajirai -- who performed different functions, for example business transactions, porterage, etc. -, yara or barorin attajirai ("house boys" or clients of rich merchants), members of the ulema (some of whom were employed as scribes and accountants by the madugai), artisans, hired carriers, wives of the various members of the caravan, drummers and musicians.[204]

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202. For the caravan which consisted of 5,000 people, see E.R. Flegel, op.cit., p.21.

203. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.42; H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.282; P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.290.

204. Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., pp.376-84.

In order to protect their interests, the attajirai with the masu sarauta made the organisation of the caravan in such a way as to protect capital. The madugai were given power of life and death over the members of the caravan. They received official recognition with the presentation of several daggers by the Sarkin Musulmi[205] (Caliph) or his representative, the Emirs. The madugai and their officials, for instance the Wazirin Madugu or Shamakin Madugu, were under obligation to judge cases arising from misunderstandings between members of the caravan and were empowered to punish the offenders.

In addition to providing clerical, religious and accounting services, the members of the ulema who were often found in caravans provided judicial services to the caravan leaders. The madugai and their officials, like all other masu sarauta, enjoyed a number of privileges. Apart from being exempted from payment of contributions (to which other members of the caravans are subjected) and the benefits which they derived from such contributions - some of them, for example Mai Gashin Baki, embezzled the contribution -, they had easy access to the various rulers

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205. E.R. Flegel, op.cit., p.8. This, however, applied mainly or only to important madugai.

of the Emirates and states through, and to which, they travelled. This conferred on them a number of advantages. They were, for instance, in a better position of acquiring slaves and other booties from such rulers.

From the foregoing discussions of these characteristics, it becomes clear that the overwhelming dominance of attajirai was one of the basic realities of Kano's external trade in the nineteenth century. Therefore, the prominence given by Imam Imoru to attajirai in the various caravans and his relative silence about the role of the talakawa,[206] is revealing.

This dominance of the attajirai was due to the capital they possessed, the complex network of agents they established, the control over the agricultural, livestock, and industrial production they had, the adequate means of transportation at their disposal and the protection of the state - which took the form of maintenance of peace and order, exemption and semi-exemption from taxation, and enforcement of honouring bills and re-payment of credit - they enjoyed.

Indeed, although the attajirai and the masu sarauta

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206. Imam Imoru, "Long-Distance Trade - Fatauci", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., pp.378, 379, 380.

enjoyed the benefits of this prosperous economy, the former derived greater benefit from it. That is because the attajirai dominated all sectors of the economy of Kano which was commercially oriented. Thus the assessment of business transactions would constitute a reliable index for gauging the dominance of this group.

There is of course a great difference between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, both in terms of the availability of data and the scope of the economy, especially in regard to the volume. The scarcity of statistical data for the economy in the former period, however, should not pose a serious problem for the purpose of this assessment. This is because the nature of the economy in both centuries was basically similar. Also, while the foundation of the economy was mainly laid in the eighteenth century, its consolidation and expansion took place in the nineteenth century. Therefore, the net-result of the assessment for the two periods would be a difference of degree.

It is to be noted, however, that even for the nineteenth century, there is the problem of the availability of statistical data in relation to the internal trade. The available data is mainly for external trade. Hence it

is difficult to avoid deduction and speculations in the assessment of Kano's trade in the nineteenth century. But this would not undermine any findings if they would be in line with the general patterns of the developments and trends which prevailed in Kano by then.

The external trade of Kano in the nineteenth century, as has already been shown, expanded tremendously. Robinson, who travelled widely in Africa in the nineteenth century, noted that:

> "the market of Kano is the most important in Africa and its manufactures are to be met with from the Gulf of Guinea on the south to the Mediterranean on the north and from the Atlantic on the west to the Nile or even the Red Sea on the east".207

From this, it would therefore not be surprising to find that trade routes from near and far and from different directions converged on Kasar Kano during this time.

In spite of this fact, however, statistical data on Kano's external trade is very meagre, except for the relatively adequate information on Kano's trade with northern Africa. One of the limitations of this information is that it is provided mainly by one source, Barth. Nevertheless, his information, if used with some caution, could provide

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207. C.H. Robinson, op.cit., p.111.

a good base for assessing Kano's external trade because much of his information is in harmony with what has been discussed about Kano's imports and exports in the nineteenth century. Moreover, it has to be noted that, after Barth's visit to Kano, many areas were penetrated by the Kanawa merchants. Consequently, one would expect an increase rather than decrease in the volume of the external trade, since the middle of the century, when Barth visited Kano.

The imports and exports of Kano by the middle of the nineteenth century as presented in the following two tables, are based on the information provided by Barth.

Table 1 - Imports.[208]

Commodity	Value in Cowries
Kolanuts	50,000,000
Salt	80,000,000
Manchester goods	40,000,000
Coarse silk etc.	70,000,000
Woolen goods	15,000,000
Sugar	12,000,000
Paper	5,000,000
Needles	8,000,000
Sword-blades	50,000,000
Razzor	3,000,000
Silk	20,000,000
Dresses	10,000,000
Spices	40,000,000
Copper	20,000,000
Total	473,000,000

208. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, pp.514, 515, 517-22.

Table 2 - Exports.[209]

Commodity	Value in Cowries
Textiles	300,000,000
Shoes etc.	10,000,000
Dyed skins	5,000,000
Slaves	200,000,000
Natron	10,000,000
Ivory	10,000,000
Total	535,000,000

A number of conclusions could be drawn from these tables:

Firstly, these lists are not comprchensive. Though many items for the long-distance trade are included, some important articles from the immediate neighbouring Emirates, states and polities, are not included. For example, foodstuffs, cotton and livestock. So even if the value of the imports and exports mentioned by Barth, who did not attempt to give a comprehensive list, are inflated, still the total should be considered moderate.

Secondly, comparing the value of the imports and the exports, the trade balance was in favour of Kano. Also it

209. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, pp.511-15.

has to be noted that most of the articles included in the import list were re-exported. This fact provides another evidence for the nature of the economy of Kano as a commercially oriented one.

Thirdly, there is a need, by way of comparison, to have an approximate idea about the value of Kano's imports and exports in relation to the British currency during that time. Before the British occupation of Nigeria, the exchange rate of cowries, in relation to British currency, varied from 1,500 to 3,000 cowries for one shilling in Hadejia. After the British occupation, the exchange value was fixed at 1,500 cowries for a shilling.[210] Taking the highest figure (3,000 cowries) for conversion to provide the minimum value and to avoid exaggeration, the value of the imports will be £7.85 million while the exports will be £8.91 million.

By the standard of that time, these figures reflect a very strong and prosperous economy in Kano by then. It is reported by Barth that 50,000 to 60,000 cowries a year would enable a whole family to live in comfort in Kano.[211]

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210. See NAK, SNP.10, 181P/1917 - Kano Province, Hadejia Town, Assessment Report.

211. See H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.512.

Fourthly, Monteil estimated that the export of Kano to North Africa in the nineteenth century constituted one-fifth of Kano's total exports.[212] This means that the amount would be about £2.2 million. Therefore, it would suggest that the trans-Saharan trade with Kano began to flourish again. But in view of the fact that most of the commodities in this trade were luxury goods, consumed mainly by the ruling class, this will support the earlier conclusion that the economy of Kano was serving the interests of that class. Moreover, the circulation of the huge amount of money in that long-distance trade, which was monopolised by the rich attajirai, shows the degree of their domination of the economy and their mutual inter-relationship with the masu sarauta. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that/the second half of the nine-teenth century, the economy was dominated by the few at the expense of the talakawa as it was the case before the Jihad.

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212. P.L. Monteil, op.cit.,pp.290-291.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION.

The conclusions from this study are significant in two inter-related ways for African history in general, and Nigerian history in particular. These are: historiographical issues and the problem of development which are misconceived through blind application of Western ideas and concepts.

One of the most important influences of the Western traditions of historical writing on the study of Nigerian history is its periodisation. Some writers, consciously or unconsciously, have often treated Nigerian history in three distinct periods, viz: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial. Apart from the conceptual problem which such terms would pose, because the colonial phenomenon existed before and continued to exist after colonial rule in one form or another, in such periodisation the so-called pre-colonial period has been considered as static and unimportant. Consequently, many of those historians have devoted their research to the study of

the colonial rule and the post-independence periods because they consider these periods as dynamic and more stimulating. On the other hand, they neglected the period before colonial rule, as they have failed to appreciate the major changes that have taken place, both quantitative and qualitative, either out of ignorance of the sources, meagre data or the influence of European views about the African society before the colonial period.

In this study, for instance, it has come out clearly that at least politically in Kano there were three major qualitative changes: the emergence of the centralised state, the overthrow of the sarauta system and the establishment of the Emirate, and lastly the restoration of the sarauta system. These developments were consequences of and accompanied by quantitative and qualitative changes in the economic structures.

Another misconception which has dominated most of the historical studies on the Bilad as-Sudan, especially Hausaland, has been the overstressing of the role of the external factor in determining the major developments

whenever they were able to identify them.[1] But in this study it has been shown that the major developments in Kasar Kano were caused by internal factors, while the external ones played secondary roles. Such was the case with the overthrow of the sarauta system by the Jihadists who exploited the discontented talakawa. Therefore, it is important to note that explanations for changes, be they social or economic or both, should be sought for in the development of the internal forces of a particular society itself.

One of the most important internal factors which shaped developments in Kasar Kano during the period of this study was the interplay between the state and the economy. While the socio-economic conditions led to the emergence of the state in Kasar Kano and the evolution of a complexity of political institutions, these institutions were used by the socially dominant group through various policies to consolidate their grip on the society. Consequently, the study has shown that the different

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1. Over the past twenty years, a number of historians have challenged the traditional accounts in relation to the roles of external factors in determining developments in Hausaland. See for instance, Thomas Hodgkin, op.cit.(1960), p.21, and Abdullahi Smith, op.cit.(1970), pp.330-45.

sectors of the economy reflected the strong alliance between the masu sarauta and the other owners of the capital - both in the form of moveable and unmoveable property - especially attajirai, at the expense of the talakawa. Thus the socially dominant group enjoyed different kinds of privileges which led to the accumulation of wealth that enabled them to influence the political processes and decisions, and to direct them towards attaining their material benefits. The rich attajirai, in particular, wielded enormous influence through the control of the different sectors of the economy, be it agriculture, livestock, industrial establishments or internal and external trade. The extent of their power and the stamina they brought to their social position therefore would not be surprising, since they owned much of the capital and enjoyed state protection institutions and facilities.

It has to be noted therefore that the attempt to explain or attribute the accumulation of wealth by the attajirai to aljanu (spirits)[2] and other mysterious and mythical forces, is nothing more than the attempt to mystify the exploitation of the talakawa and to divert

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2. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit.(1955), p.85.

their attention from the real causes of their misery.

This misery of the talakawa constituted a major rallying force against the sarauta system in the later part of the eighteenth century under the leadership of the malaman kirgi, hence the success of the Jihad movement. The movement attempted to establish a new social order, free of injustices which were the cause of that misery. Though the Jihadists succeeded at the beginning, they eventually found themselves allying with the socially dominant group, and this resulted in the perpetuation of the privileges of that group and the exploitation of the majority in the society. Therefore, a substantial number of the Kanawa continued to live in poverty in spite of the prosperity of Kano during especially the two centuries under consideration.

The changes themselves could not be attributed to ethnic or religious solidarity of a single group dominating the society. As the discussion of the economy of Kano, particularly in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries has shown, it was social interest rather than ethnic or religious solidarity which was the bond of unity among the different social groups. In spite of the attempts by the ruling class to use both religion and ethnicity to maintain

its privileges, it has been shown that the masu sarauta the attajirai, and the talakawa, each of these categories consisted of heterogenous ethnic groups. Therefore the belief held by some writers that the wealth of Kano was controlled by a certain group of people like the North Africans[3] or the Agalawa, is baseless.

As a result of those changes, the economy of Kano reached its peak of development in the nineteenth century. But it is errorneous to consider the prosperity of Kano as a nineteenth century phenomenon - as has been propagated by Barth and subsequently echoed by other writers.[4] Indeed from the foregoing discussions of the different aspects of the economy, it has been shown that with the probable exception of short periods of disasters such as droughts or political instability and tyranny, the economy of Kano was characterised by a steady growth as from the fifteenth century, so that by the eighteenth century, a solid foundation was laid down and it was on this foundation that the

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3. Paul Staudinger, who did not comprehend the social and economic systems of Kano, was the first person to make this assertion, and it has since been re-echoed by other writers. For Paul Staudinger's assertions, see Johanna E. Moody, op.cit., p.48.

4. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Abdullahi Mahadi, op.cit., pp.3-4.

prosperous economy of the nineteenth century was built.

The nature of this economy was commercially oriented. The huge quantities of agricultural produce and industrial products were mainly geared towards satisfying the increasing population within Kasar Kano and the expanding demands for them outside the Emirate. Thus the internal and external trades of Kano were greatly boosted, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. So, it is difficult to accept Hopkins' assertion, without qualification, that a trend toward export drive which started in the early part of the nineteenth century in the economies of West African states stagnated in the second half of the same century.[5] Though this study does not deal with West Africa in general, it is still safe to say that such an assumption is not applicable to Kano's external trade in the nineteenth century. Also, given the great variety and quantity of goods involved in Kano's trade and the great number of areas, both near and far, with which Kano had commercial links as well as the complex network of trade routes connecting Kano and the various areas in the second half of the nineteenth century, it is difficult to

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5. See A.G. Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, London, Longman, 1979, p.235.

accept the stagnation "theory".

Nevertheless, no attempt is being made to rule out the gradual adverse effects of European commercial penetration from the coast northwards, especially along the Niger and Benue rivers,[6] on Kano's external trade. But these effects were gradual and had little effect on the economy of Kano. It is most likely that the effects began to be evident in the first decades of the twentieth century which is outside the scope of this study.

Moreover, it is important to note that during the second half of the nineteenth century, Kano was not yet integrated into the world capitalist system. Its economy continued to produce and import raw materials for its industrial establishments. If it had been integrated into the world capitalist system, its economy would have been geared to producing raw materials for European industrial establishments. In addition to that, Kano's population depended mainly on internally manufactured and processed goods. And lastly, the capital for the different sectors of the economy - though it was controlled by one social

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6. The imperialistic activities of the National Africa Company on the Benue affected the commercial activities of some Kano merchants. See E.R. Flegel, op.cit., p.20.

group - was largely in the hands of the Kanawa.

This will lead to a very important observation which is related to the issue of development and industrialisation processes in the "developing" countries. That is the ability of Kano economy, because of its integrated and participatory nature, to produce massive manufactured and processed goods within a framework of harmonious relationship between the different sectors of the economy and between the countryside and the urban centres, as well as the massive participation of people, including women, in the production processes. Therefore, it is not necessary, in order to attain large-scale industrial production, to depend on the use of large and sophisticated machines. It may be far more important, as Kano experience has demonstrated, to have a technology which is in complete harmony with the physical environment and the culture of the people to ensure maximum utilisation of the natural resources of a given society. However, there is only one problem with the Kano experience which would not solve one of the greatest problems of the "developing" countries. That is the exploitation which characterised the social system of Kano. The "developing" countries could emulate the example of Kano while eliminating the demerits of

the system.

If this study has raised more questions than it had attempted to answer, it could be regarded as a successful undertaking because new avenues for further research would have been opened. I hope it did.

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Reference	Title and Description
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108/1916	- Annual Report, Kano Province 1915.
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202/1917	- Annual Report, Kano Province 1914-17.
115/1921	- Hadejia Annual Report 1920-21.
17/1927	- Kiru District (Kano Emirate) Tax Collection. (2) Re-Assessment.
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iv. Kiru District Note Book.

v. Kumbotso District Note Book.

vi. Kura District Note Book.

vii. Rano District Note Book.

viii. Tudun Wada District Note Book.

ix. Ungogo District Note Book.

IV. Oral Sources.

List of Informants:

AAA = Abdullahi Abubakar Abdullahi, at Dutse.

AAA = Abdulmutalabi Abdulkadir Ahmadi [Group Interview], at Rimin Gado.

AAA = Abubakar Ahmadu Abubakar [Group Interview], at Kunya.

AAA = Ada Amadu Abubakar [Group Interview], at Dawakin Tofa.

AA = Ahmadu Abdulrahman [Group Interview], at Laila.

AAA = Ali Abdulkadir Abubakar [Group Interview], at Dawakin Kudu.

AAA = Ali Ali Ali-Audu, at Mai Unguwan Larabawa's Palace.

AAA = Amadu Audusalam Amadu, at Dagaci Getso's House.

AAA = Audu Abubakar Audu [Group Interview], at Tarai.

AAB = Abdulhayatu Abdullahi Bello, at Minjibir.

AAB = Adamu Abdullahi Bello, at Gaya.

AAG = Ahmadu Abubakar Gambo [Group Interview], at Kura.

AAH = Abubakar Abdulhamid Hakilu [Group Interview], at Jahun.

AAR = Abdullahi Alhasan Rilwan, at Dutse.

AAY = Abubakar Abdulkadir Yamusa [Group Interview], in zauren Dagacin Rogo.

AB = Alhaji Barau, in his zaure at Kura.

AHS = Adamu Haladu Sarkin Aska [Group Interview], at Sarkin Aska.

AIA = Abdulkadir Inuwa Alhaji [Group Interview], at Ungongo.

AJI = Aminu Jibrin Ibrahim Dabo, at Karaye.

AMM = Abdulkarim Muhamma Muhamma, at Bebeji Primary School.

AMM = Abubakar Muhammadu Mamu, at Tofa.

AMS = Alhaji Muhammadu Sarkin Fulani, [Group Interview] at Kiyawa.

AMA = Amadu Musa Abubakar [Group Interview], at District Palace.

AMH = Audu Muhammadu Husaini [Group Interview], at Tsohuwar Karaye.

ANI = Aliyu Nuhu Ibrahim, at Birni.

AUI = Abdullahi Usman Ibrahim, at Gabasawa.

AUU = Adamu Umaru Usman [Group Interview], at Kunya.

AYA = Alhasan Yahaya Abubakar, at Bukka.

AYM = Abdullahi Yunusa Mallam [Group Interview], at Dagaci's Palace.

BAA = Badamasi Abdu Abdullahi [Group Interview], at Rimin Gado.

BAH = Bello Abubakar Hassan [Group Interview], at Dagaci's Zaure.

DIY = Dahiru Ibrahim Yusufu [Group Interview], at Dagaci's Palace.

GIS = Garba Idi Sambo [Group Interview], at Karaye.

GUM = Gimba Umaru Muhamman [Group Interview], at Burumburum.

HKA = Habu Kano Adamu [Group Interview], at Aujera.

HMA = Harira Musa Adamu, in Gidan Hajiya at Burumburum.

HJS = Harisu Jalalu Suleiman, in the house of Dagacin Gwarzo.

HYM = Haruna Yahaya Mustafa, [Group Interview] at Tofa.

HGH = Hayatu Garba Hayatu [Group Interview], at Godiya.

HSA = Husaini Samaila Adamu, at Gezawa.

IAA = Ibrahim Abdu Abdullahi [Group Interview], at Dutsin Dan Bakoshi.

IAM = Ibrahim Audu Mustafa [Group Interview], at Dambatta.

IGS = Inuwa Garba Shehu [Group Interview], at Rano's Palace.

IHM = Ibrahim Huseini Mamman [Group Interview], at Tarai.

IMI = Ibrahim Muhammadu Ibrahim, at the Palace of Sarkin Kofan Dan Agundi.

IMM = Isa Mahaman Mamman, at Getso.

IM = Ibrahim Muhammad [Group Interview], at Basillan Tsamiya.

IUA = Ibrahim Usman Adamu [Group Interview], at Birnin Kudu.

IAU = Idris Adamu Usman, at Tudun Wada.

IAU = Inuwa Audu Usman [Group Interview], Gaya District Head's House.

IM = Ibrahim Muhamman, at Laila.

IUM = Isa Umaru Muhammadu [Group Interview], at Tamborawa.

JMA = Ibrin Musa Adamu, at Kiru (Kilu).

KMA = Kariya Makama Audu, at Gaya.

MAM = Muhammadu Abubakar Mustafa, at Bebeji Quranic School.

MAI = Muhammadu Alhasan Idi [Group Interview], at Karaye.

MAH = Muhammadu Attahir Husein [Group Interview], at Sarkin Tsakuwa's Palace.

MDS = Muhammadu Dan Sadau [Group Interview], at Bebeji Quranic School.

MHM = Muhammadu Haruna Muhammadu [Group Interview], at Basillan Tsamiya.

MHS = Muhammadu Husein Shehu [Group Interview], at Tsohuwar Karaye.

MIM = Muhammadu Ibrahim Muhammadu [Group Interview], at Dutse District Office.

MIM = Muhammadu Ishiyaku Muhammadu [Group Interview], at Tamborawa.

MIS = Muhammadu Iliyasu Sule [Group Interview], at Ungongo.

MSA = Muhammadu Suleiman Amadu [Group Interview], at Dambatta.

MUM = Muhammadu Usman Muhammadu, at Sarkin Kofar Mata's House.

MYI = Muhammadu Yusufu Ibrahim [Group Interview], at Bebeji.

MBD = Mansur Bello Dalha [Group Interview], at Kumbotso.

MAM = Musa Adamu Musa [Group Interview], at Gaya.

MAG = Musa Amadu Garba [Group Interview], at Tsohuwar Karaye.

MMM = Musa Muhammadu Musa, at Bebeji.

NMA = Nuhu Malami Adamu [Group Interview], at Dawakin Kudu.

NMN = Nuhu Muhammadu Nuhu [Group Interview], at Birnin Kudu.

SMB = Sa'adu Muhammadu Buhari [Group Interview], at Dawakin Tofa.

SMG = Sa'adu Muhammadu Garba, at his palace.

SMS = Sallau Mamman Shehu [Group Interview], at Tsohuwar Karaye.

SIM = Salisu Ibrahim Musa [Group Interview], at Rimin Gado.

SYN = Sambo Yaro Nuhu [Group Interview], at Karaye.

SSM = Salisu Sa'idu Musa [Group Interview], at Karaye.

SMA = Sha'ibu Muhammadu Adamu [Group Interview], at Ringim.

SAA = Suleiman Abubakar Adamu [Group Interview], Sarkin Tsakuwa's Palace.

SAY = Sule Abdullahi Yakubu [Group Interview], at Dawakin Kudu.

SMA = Suleiman Mohammed Abubakar, at Sarkin Miga's Palace.

UIM = Umaru Ibrahim Makan [Group Interview], at Sarkin Ringim's Palace.

UYA = Umaru Yunusa Adamu, at Gwari.

UAM = Usman Abdu Muhammadu [Group Interview], at Basillan Tsamiya.

UAY = Usman Adamu Yalli [Group Interview], at Kwazzazabo (Fagoji).

UAM = Usman Abdu Muhammadu, at Sarkin Kofan Na'isa.

UMU = Usman Musa Umaru, at Getso.

UMY = Usman Muhammadu Yari [Group Interview], at Kura.

UUU = Usmatu Umaru Usmatu [Group Interview], at Dawakin Tofa.

WD = Womau Dauda [Group Interview], at Basillan Tsamiya.

YDI = Yahaya Dahiru Ibrahim, Sarkin Kofar Kabuga.

YIS = Yakubu Inuwa Suleiman, at Sarkin Kofan Dan Agundi's Palace.

YUA = Yamusa Umaru Alhassan, at Sayasaya.

YMA = Ya'u Mamman Audu [Group Interview], at Dagaci's Palace.

ZAA = Zakari Ali Adamu, at Mabugan Alhaji Zakari.

APPENDIX

SAMPLES OF NAMES AND CREDENTIALS OF INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED IN THE COURSE OF FIELD WORK FROM 1978 TO 1980.

1. ANI - Aliyu Nuhu Ibrahim Maina Baghirmi (Birni), March-April 1977.

The first interview (which was accompanied by several others both in 1979 and 1980) was conducted in his zaure. By the time of the first interview (4th April, 1979) he was eighty-five(85) years old.

His ancestors arrived in Kano from Baghirmi and like himself, they held different sarautu in the central government of Kano. His great-grandfather accompanied Muhammad Alwali to Zazzau during the Jihad wars. With the establishment of the Emirate his grandfather, Barka, ingratiated himself with the new ruling class and was given the sarauta of Dan Rimi, one of the most powerful sarautu in Kano.

Aliyu currently holds the sarauta of Makaman Dan Rimi. Like his ancestors, he has an intimate knowledge of the institutions of the sarauta system. He has read a lot of the written traditions, including probably the Tarikh Arbab. Copies of some of these documents

were borrowed by Mr. Palmer but they were apparently never returned. He is also versed in the oral traditions of Kano and other neighbouring Emirates and states. Even at his age his memory is sharp and I have been fascinated by his frankness and his insistence that I should record only the correct information he provided. Sometime we stayed together from the early morning to the latter part of the evenings. During the three years of field work, I kept returning to him to check and cross-check his accounts in the light of new findings or other viewpoints. He often admitted certain lapses.

2. Group Interview at Kura, 9/7/1980.

The interview was held in the District Reading Room and among the leading informants were:-

(a) MAM - Muhammadu Abdullahi.

He is versed in Islamic sciences. He acquired his education under several learned malamai. He is a retired Dagachi of Kura.

(b) UMY - Usman Muhammadu Yari.

He is about eighty(80) years old. He is a dyer and a long-distance trader. The two occupations were handed down from one generation to another in

his family. He has travelled widely in western, central and northern parts of Africa in pursuit of commercial activities.

(c) AAG - Ahmadu Abubakar Gambo.

He is about seventy(70) years old. He is a builder, an occupation which he inherited from his father.

The interview covered a wide range of topics, including pastoralism and dyeing. When I realised that Usman Muhammadu was well informed about the business of dyeing and commercial activities, I secured an interview with him the following day.

3. Interview at Dambatta, 6/9/1980.

This was a group interview conducted at the District Office of Dambatta. The group consisted very largely of people who were acquainted with pastoralism.

(a) MSAH - Muhammadu Suleiman Amadu Hadiri Gebi.

He is a direct descendant of Dan Tunku family who participated in the Jihad and subsequently carved out the Emirate of Kazaure out of parts of Kasar Kano. He attained a mature age while his parents were still living. He acquired considerable

information from them.

(b) IAMIMM - Ibrahim Andu Mustafa Idris Musa Mo'ijo.

He is about sixty(60) years old and has travelled extensively in the Sudan and Sahel in quest of learning. He attended adult education classes and worked as a malamin dagachi for about eleven years. He learnt the history of Dambatta from elders.

(c) MMMK - Muhammadu Mansur Muhammadu Kwairanga.

He is about fifty-five(55) years old. He is learned in Islamic sciences. He has also travelled widely.

The interview which lasted for nearly four hours of two sessions was dominated by discussion of various aspects of livestock production, including transhumans. Other topics covered were the production of mats for which Dambatta has been famous. I also made inquiries.

All other interviews held throughout the periods of the field work followed these patterns.