

**THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM ON
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN
GALADIMA DISTRICT, KATSINA
EMIRATE 1903 - 1960**

BY

BAHAGO MUSA YARO
MA/ARTS/7856/2009-2010

**BEING AN M.A. THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POST-GRADUATE
SCHOOL, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA,
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF DEGREE OF MASTER OF ART IN HISTORY**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
FACULTY OF ARTS
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA**

MARCH, 2015

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the Thesis entitled: **The Impact of Colonialism on Agricultural Production in Galadima District, Katsina Emirate 1903 - 1960** has been written by me and that it is a correct record of my own research work. It has not been presented in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated and the sources of information are specially acknowledged by means of references.

BAHAGO, MUSA YARO

DATE

CERTIFICATION

This Thesis entitled “The Impact of Colonialism on the Agricultural Production in Galadima District 1902 – 1960,” by Bahago Musa Yaro meets the regulations covering the award of the degree of Masters of Art in History in the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

Dr. Mamman Musa Adamu
(Major Supervisor)

Date

Dr Kabiru Suleman Chafe
(Minor Supervisor)

Date

Prof. Sule Mohammed
(Head of Department)

Date

Prof. I. Zoaka
(Dean, Post Graduate School)

Date

DEDICATION

I hereby dedicate this thesis to my beloved late sister Hussaina D. Bahago, who passed away on 22nd December, 1995 and to my humble wife Asabe Musa for her immense support and encouragement during the difficult period of my research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank God Almighty for making it possible for me to undergo this master's programme in the History Department A.B.U Zaria. My profound gratitude goes to my first supervisor Dr. Mamman Musa Adamu and the second supervisor Dr. Kabiru Suleiman Chafe for the tremendous effort they put in reading and correcting the thesis. I also went to thank my wife Mrs. Asabe Musa and my children, Amina, Bishir, Umar, and Ashiru whose contributions, support and encouragement made the programme a success. My appreciation also goes to our able lecturers whom I owe great regard. The efforts of the following lecturers towards my success of this programme would never be forgotten in my life – Prof Enoch Ayodele, Prof Sule Bello, Prof Hamman Mahmoud, Dr. M.M Gwadabe, Prof Abdulkadir Adamu, Dr H.A Alahira, Dr. Usman Ladan, Dr S. Jimada, Dr John Agi, Mallam Safiyanu Aminu, the Post-Graduate Library staff and the departmental Secretaries.

I must show my deepest gratitude to my colleagues who studied the course with me. I sincerely enjoyed their company and I will never forget them. They are, Nasiru Gambo, Luka Jane Lamba, Tijjani Ibrahim, Grace Auta, Ibrahim Ahmed, Rahila A. Modibbo, Grace Musa Mmiyangi, Mohammed A. Benu, Mutuah I.S Rebecca, Sani Ahmed Namalam, Ezema Ogugua, Zainab Abdulrazak, Ibrahim Malam, Emeghara Stanley, Abdulkadir A. Yelwa, Alorfa Terlanga, Ibrahim Salihu Mukhtar and late Malu Clement [R.I.P].

ABBREVIATIONS

B.C.G.A.	-	British Cotton Growing Association Buying Agents
LBA	-	Licensed Buying Agents
N.A.	-	Native Authority
W.W. I	-	WORLD War One
W.W. II	-	WORLD War Two
D.D.R.	-	Deport Delivery Receipt
U.A.C. John Holt	-	United Africa Company
C.F.A.O.	-	Compagnie Francaise d’Afrioue Occidentale
E.C.G.C.	-	Empire Cotton Growing Corporation
D.O.	-	District Officer
A.D.O.	-	Assistant District Officer
A.B.U.	-	Ahmadu Bello University
NEPU	-	Northern Elements Progressive Union
SCOA	-	Society Commerciale de l’Quest Africain
SNP	-	Secretariat of Northern provinces
KATPROF	-	Katsina provincial File
KADMIN Agric	-	Kaduna Ministry of Agriculture
WAFF	-	West African Frontier Force
P.Z.	-	Patesson Zochonis
NAK	-	National Archives Kaduna
R.N.C.	-	Royal Niger Company
Sokprof	-	Sokoto Province File

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NOTES ON SOURCES

All the information's gathered to construct the writing of this thesis are from two categories of sources namely, primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included archival materials, journals and oral interviews with actual participants or witnesses of event under study, the colonial period that ended in 1960. The secondary sources are mainly unpublished thesis and published textbooks, journals and seminar papers on colonialism written by mostly prominent historians. They also include travelers accounts.

The Secondary Sources

Published Textbooks

These are written textbooks, journals and papers presented at important seminars on issues related to our topic colonialism and its impacts on the socio-economic aspects of the colonized societies from which we deduced the impacts on agriculture that concerns our study. Although there were just few literatures the researcher came across that discussed colonialism particularly on Katsina Emirate and especially Galadima district but many books touched on the subject and provided useful informations. There were also valuable papers presented on colonial agriculture which delved deep into the impacts but the major problem of these books was that only generalizations were made and little mention of Galadima district. Most of the textbooks also restricted to periods that did not tally with our periodization.

Unpublished Materials

These are thesis written by academicians mostly submitted to the History departments on related issues of colonialism and impacts on economy, agriculture and

culture of various colonized communities like Galadima district or the surrounding districts in Katsina Emirate.

Although most of the theses reviewed did not study the same topic with our own, some were in our study such as those written by M.M. Adamu on the role of the Native Authority on the agrarian and pastoral economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960 and the thesis by Tukur Bello Ingawa on the 'Rural econ of cotton producing districts of Southern Katsina Emirate etc. These unpublished materials relevant informations detrimental to the success of this work. The major weakness of these works was that they are afrocentric.

The Primary Sources

Archival Materials

These are sources retrieved from the National Archives Kaduna which contain important reports by the British colonial officials, official letters, District note books, minutes of meetings, memos, and instructions kept to serve as guide or information to incoming colonial officials through the period of our study 1903 to 1960. These records and official written transactions, after Nigerians independence in 1960, were transferred to the National Archives Kaduna for historical reconstruction purposes. However, not all the archival materials were found to be relevant. Moreover, many relevant ones were missing due to mishandling and waste rust, water and termites.

However, the work could be said to be reliant on these archival sources because the relevant ones included the KATPROF series (Katsina Provincial Records), the KATNA series (Katsina Native Authority Records), the KATNA series (Katsina Native Authority Records series), the S.N.P. series (Secretariat Northern Provinces) and the KADMIN Agric

Series. A selected list of these are reflected in the references and bibliography section of this study.

Travellers Accounts

There were just few travelers personal accounts of participants that were used as a source, notably on the accounts of Henry Berth and Paul Staudinger. Henry Berth was a German traveler who visited many places in the Hausaland in 1851 such as Kano, Katsina and Sokoto. He passed through towns and villages of Katsina Emirate such as Kusada, Birchi etc and he wrote valuable informations on the socio-economic activities especially culture, commercial, local crafts, culture and tradition of the Hausa people. Staudinger was also a German traveler in 1886 who came to Katsina Emirate and wrote on culture economy, political structure and agriculture of the places he passed through. These travelers accounts corroborated with those found in textbooks and the provided useful informations on the socio-economic activities of Hausaland including Galadima district on the eve of colonial domination. There major weakness was that they were written on a European perspective.

Oral Interviews

A large amount of oral source is used in our study to corroborate the other sources adopted. Most of the written records failed to focuss on the negative impacts of colonialism on agriculture but the oral source gave more details on that. The oral interviews were conducted throughout the period of writing with live participants of the event colonial domination so they were witness not historians or story tellers. They involved elderly people from the ages of 80 – 104 who are still alive, mentally sound, and healthy enough to recall and narrate those events during our interviews.

The interviews were conducted at different periods in different places, in groups or individually and they were nice sessions the people were jovial and honest to have the opportunity to speak on topic of discussion. Some of them were very critical and they actually provided useful informations to our study. The major problem encountered during these interviews was the death of informants before the interview began or before a second interview I scheduled. Some loose their memory before the interview or their health deteriorated.

A List of Selected Individuals Interviewed their names, places of interview, ages and date the interview were conducted.

ORAL INTERVIEWS

S/No	Name	Age	Occupation	Place of Interview	Date
1	Maigida Keso	110	Farmer	Gidan Maiwando, Kafur	5/12/13
2	Maigida Nadada	96	Farmer	Gidan Nadada Ruwan Sanyi	25/11/13
3	Maigida Mato Hassan	96	Farmer	BCGA Malumfashi town	30/11/13
4	Baba Barka Hassan	92	Medical Officer	Bayan Hali Malumfashi	10/2/12
5	Maiunguwa Sallau	80	Village Head	Tafkin Jage,, Kuringafa	13/11/13
6	Maigida Kabal	95	Fulani Nomad	Unfuwar Naino Kafur	20/2/13
7	Mallam Idris Sanusi	75	Farmer	Unguwar Kanawa Kafur	17/6/14
8	Shaaibu Attah	82	Farmer	Danbilago Malumfashi	17/7/14
9	Baba Samaila Dansarai	85	Farmer	Gidan mari Dansarai	5/10/12
10	Alhaji Usman Hada	96	Cotton Agent	Galadima Road Malumfashi	18/11/12
11	Alhaji Sanin Bariki	104	N.A. Worker	Galadima Road Malumfashi	5/12/13
12	Alhaji Ikiramu Gangarawa	79	N.A. Worker	Gangarawa Malummfashi	30/11/13

13	Alhaji Sani Produce	78	Agic Officer	MOW Malumfashi	5/12/13
14	Salawudeen Mohammed	55	BCGA Accountant	BCGA Malumfashi	3/12/13
15	Inspector Ibrahim Bature Kafur	62	Prison Warder	Malumfashi Prison	3/4/14
16	Dan Masanin Kuringafa	70	Village Head	Kuringafa Town	28/12/12
17	Maigida Yusuf G/Kaho	80	Farmer	Gidan Kaho, Yari Bori	10/12/13
18	Maigida Koli Kwanki	78	Farmer	Kwanki, Bakori LGA	13/2/14
19	Mama Jinjin Haki	85	Farmer	Tsaunin Tama Village	6/5/13
20	Maigida Korau	96	Farmer	Gidan Korau Hayin Jare	25/6/14
21	Baba iron Barau	99	Farmer	Gidan Barau Kukasheka	27/5/12
22	Maiguwa Ahmadu	92	Village Head	Unguwar Zaki, Ketare	17/6/13
23	Ibrahim Ghani Shugaba	83	Farmer	Tudu Town, Kankara	5/6/14

ABSTRACT

Some historians and political analysts are of the opinion that colonialism had benefited the colonized communities in the areas of civilization, agriculture, improved technology, economy and so on. Our study attempt to argue that this assertion in relation to Galadima district our area of study is not true, rather, colonialism had negative impacts. It was a one armed bandit, a plunder, a grab on our economic resources namely cotton, groundnut, hides and skins, through excessive exploitation, monopoly, and unequal terms of relationships, resulting to our present predicament of underdevelopment and impoverishment.

The study focused on the impacts of colonialism on agricultural production of Galadima district an attempt to argue that colonial agricultural policies and practices did not stimulate export crops production in order to develop our communities. It did not improve the agricultural technology or the peasant's skills in productivity. Rather, it failed to enhance the local crafts and industries, commerce and pastoralism and it did not build the capacity of the people to have control over their socio-economic affairs, But it stimulated production of export crops to the advantage of the colonialists and they used 'taxation technique,' on the colonised to foster smooth colonial administration. Colonial administration also stimulated hunger, poverty, indebtedness and destitution in Galadima district. The only good thing about colonialism was when it came to an end. Colonialism in its totality, underdeveloped Galadima district and undermined its agricultural viability and economic independence, so also its peaceful co-existence, transforming it to a chaotic and stagnating society.

Introduction

This research is on the Impact of British Colonialism on Agricultural Production in Galadima area of Katsina Province from 1903 to 1960. The choice of Galadima area as our area of study is for the fact that there has been no similar study conducted on the area, but there are few relevant books, publications and theses on Galadima District which lacks critical historical analyses and practical field research. Most importantly, a great deal of documented historical accounts of the colonial officers on Galadima area are critically examined and corroborated with the secondary sources and oral accounts from interviews conducted by the researcher himself with some actual participants of the colonial period who are still alive and have fresh memories of the colonial rule.

The choice of the period 1903 to 1960 is made because the year 1903 witnessed the consolidation of the British conquests of the Nigerian territories and consequently Galadima area was brought under British control. The period that followed was the colonial rule by the British which terminated in 1960 when independence was granted to Nigeria.

Our research study attempts to examine closely the essential nature of the British colonial rule and its significance on the colonial economy and fiscal policies which included land ownership, taxation, labour, export production and monopoly of trade against the colonised, that were imposed by the British and which effectively disarticulated our

economy, and consequently integrated it into the system of colonial exploitation and ensured the eventual impoverishment of the people and other colonial injustices.¹

After the occupation of the Katsina Emirate in 1903, the British alligned by law, the rights of control over land ownership by the traditional rulers to the British High Commissioner or his representatives on behalf of her majesty, the Queen of England. The implications contained in this included the fact that the British henceforth owned the mineral resources of the land² and would determine what crops to be produced, concede land freely to their commercial companies and imposed colonial agriculture designed to transform the settlement pattern of the area of our study.

Having transformed the pattern of rural agricultural production among the lives of small holder agriculture, the colonial government proceeded in export production. The Native Authority was used to coerce the cultivation of those export crops by farmers, at the expense of food crops; to be bought at cheap prices.³ The usual technique of European colonial economy was taxation. Money taxes were introduced on various items such as the land, cattle, handicrafts, trade and the people themselves.⁴ Taxation was one of the major policies of colonial government and Galadima district was over taxed because of its natural endowment.

The purpose of these taxes was to actually force the peasantry to produce export crops in order to pay their taxes. The consequent result of this policy was the excessive exploitation, impoverishment and indebtedness of the people in the area under study. The

¹ Umar Bappah: *The Impact of British Colonial Rule on Agriculture in Gwambe Division 1900-1945: A Study in Agricultural Development*. A Ph.D Thesis – ABU Zaria, August 1988. p.2.

² Bello Sule: *State and Economy in Kano, 1894-1960: A case study of Colonial Domination*, PhD Thesis, Department of History, ABU Zaria, 1982, P. 22.

³ Walter Rodney: *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*, Ikenga publishers, Enugu, 1982, P. 198.

⁴ M.M Adamu: *The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960*, P. 389.

district was transformed from a depot to an abode of hunger and destitution by the end of the colonial period. Galadima district could not feed itself due to the impact of the colonial agrarian and pastoral economy⁵.

In this research, we have examined the colonial policy on labour which was aimed at transforming the pre-colonial labour system in order to create a free labour market for private European companies and for the adoption of forced labour by the colonial administration. The colonial government banned slavery immediately after the conquest of Katsina emirate and in particular Galadima District in order to facilitate the development of a class willing to work for wages for the European private commercial companies⁶. Forced labour was also employed for public works for a given number of days per year. A great deal of this forced labour went into the construction of roads, markets stalls, bridges, fight against Tse-tse fly and locusts *Farindango*, all designed to promote colonial goals. All other designed policies on land, taxation, district re-organisation, export crops etc and the colonial strategies and institutions were aimed at consolidating colonial firm grip on the economic resources of the area and the evacuation of surplus to Europe.

Statement of the Problem

Advocates of the vent for surplus theory by Adam Smith believe that external trade would bring the production possibility frontier of a society to full capacity. Also, the proponents of modernization theory and the Eurocentric historians opined that colonialism brings positive development to the colonized communities. The proponents of vent for surplus theory included Adam Smith, Prof Williams Myint et. The proponents of

⁵ Ibid, p. 389.

⁶ Ibid

modernization theory included and some Eurocentric historians include Lord Lugard, Cecil Rhodes, Lewis Gann, Peter Duighnan, Roland Olives, J.D. Fage, Adu Boahen etc.

It is against on this basis that our study went to find out whether the above claims is true or not. Whether colonialism was beneficial to the colonized communities like Galadima District or rather, it destroyed the socio-economic base peasantry in the period of domination.

Scope of the Study

This research study titled “The Impact of Colonialism on Agricultural Production in the Galadima District” will confine itself to the area known as the Galadima District. Although some projections could be made to other districts of the Katsina Province and neighbouring provinces to show relevance, uniqueness and conformity of colonialism in Nigeria.

The Galadima District is located in the southern area of Katsina Province and among the 19 districts of the province created after the British occupation in 1905 by Richmond Palmer the British official to Katsina Province. The Galadima District is bordered by Musawa District in the north, Makama and Maska Districts in the south, Pauwa and Kogo District in the west and Gwarzo District of Kano Province in the east.

Today, the Galadima District under study covers three local government areas created in 1987 by the military regime of IBB during the states and Local Government creation process. These LGAs include Malumfashi, Kafur and Kankara LGAs. The Galadima was the title of the traditional chief of the district representing the emir of Katsina Emirate.

The choice of the period 1903 – 1960 was made because 1903 was the year when the British colonialists occupied Katsina Emirate and so the year serves as a landmark and a turning point in the history of the Galadima District which henceforth was officially brought under the British colonial control. The choice of 1960 as the terminal period of the research study is because it marked the end of British colonial rule, the year independence was granted to Nigeria.

The focus of the research will be a critical examination of the impact of British colonial occupation and British rule on the Agricultural production in the Galadima District and how it has affected the lives of the people in the district, tracing the root causes of the socio-economic problems to the defunct colonial rule. It will examine the ramifications of the colonial economy on agriculture and pastoralism that has to do with land tenure, labour, taxation and cash crops production. It will establish the exploitative and devastating nature of the colonial economy through policies designed to transform the pre-colonial societies and the transfer of surplus economy export trade oriented, thus making the community underdeveloped, the peasantry impoverished, destitution and indebted despite their immense contribution to the colonial economy. Some historians are of the opinion that research studies on colonialism and its impacts are exhausted and therefore focus should be directed at current historical issues of post independence period. This assumption is wrong.

Research Justification

The research topic is justifiably carried out for the fact that most histories of the twentieth century will focus on the big picture such as colonialism, Nationalism, independence, political parties, civil wars, petroleum and military rule⁷.

Of course, there are numerous literatures on British colonialism in Nigeria. Hardly, is there any topic that has received so much attention. But this does not mean to say that the topic is exhausted. Some historians, like the researcher are of the opinion that many areas are neglected in historical construction such as Galadima district, our area of study. The few relevant literatures reviewed by the researcher are insufficient to explain fully the impact of colonialism on micro communities bearing in mind that there are bound to be variations in opportunities, cultures, religions, geography, and ecology as rightly observed by Walter Rodney who believed that the British related with the dominated areas of their colonies unevenly at the rate at which the communities entered the money economy of colonialism. The communities whom the colonialist could not readily exploit or are too poor to produce any required raw material, were not offered opportunities such as roads, schools, hospitals, companies etc.⁸

In the light of the above, every community should be studied independently to establish how colonialism had impacted on its society. Consequently, our research will add to the relevant existing literatures on the area and Katsina province at large. Moreover, all the literatures the researcher came across have not focused on colonial agricultural production in Galadima district. This explains why our study heavily relies on primary

⁷ B. Onimode: *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria*, London, 1981.

⁸Rodney, W.: *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Ikenya, Enugu, 1982.

colonial sources found in the Kaduna Archives and oral interviews conducted across the district.

Another justification for the study is the approach to the topic. Our approach is based on critical analyses of the events in the period of study and the corroboration of available records – both primary and secondary, in order to establish sound conclusions. The literatures the researcher came across are mere documentations of facts characterized by praise singing and biographies of the royal families.

Literature Review

The relevant literatures reviewed have immensely contributed to enriching our data and focus of the study. Some of these works are published and some unpublished. Those consulted are M.A. Theses, Ph.D Theses, Textbooks, journals, and archival sources.

Probably the only literature the researcher came across that has resemblance to this study is that by Abubakar Babajo, “A History of Galadima Area in Katsina from 1903 to Present”, B.A History, Bayero University, Kano, 1989. This project seems to capture the political structures of Galadima area but it does not stand as a historical document because it lacked any serious critical analyses to make reasonable conclusions on the impact of colonial domination of the area. Rather it relied mostly on stories of origin and oral sources. It is actually more of a narrative history of Galadima area.

There is also the important work by Yusufu Bala Usman, “The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883”, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, 1981. Although the periodisation does not correspond with our period of study, it is an indispensable literature to our study on pre- colonial agriculture and society of our area of study. The work is

however not on Galadima District but the whole of Katsina Emirate. It is also not on the colonial period.

Another important literature is that by Richard William Hull, titled, “The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate, Northern Nigeria 1887-1944” Ph.D thesis University Columbia, 1962. The work provides a vivid picture of colonial administration in Katsina Emirate which includes the establishment of the indirect rule system, the change of the royal dynasty from the *Dallazawa Fulani*; clan to the *Sullubawa Fulani*; clan, the creation of Katsina province in 1929, re-organization process of the districts, the establishment of the *Baitulmal* and taxation system etc. The major weakness of the work is that it does not focus on agricultural production.

The work by Tukur Bello Ingawa: “A History of the Rural Economy of the Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate during the Colonial Period 1900-1939”, Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1984, is important to this work because it deals with agricultural production and also covers our area of study.

The major weakness of this study is the periodization which terminates at 1939 and it did not talk on the other export crops such as groundnut and hides and skins. The treatment given to Galadima district is also scanty.

The next relevant literature is by Abdullahi Idris Mahuta, titled, “Urbanization in Maska Region in the 19th and 20th centuries, with reference to Funtua”, M.A thesis department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1990. This study by Abdullahi Mahuta is on urbanization in Maska region and not on agricultural production.

Another important literature is by Mamman Musa Adamu, “The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960” Ph.D,

History Department, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 2002. This study has provided valuable data on colonial agricultural production. However, the study focused on the Role of the Native Authority in the Colonial Agricultural Production but our study is focused on the impacts of colonial agricultural production on Galadima district.

Most related literatures the researcher came across, did not focus on Katsina province. These works include that by Umar Bappah, “The impact of British colonial Rule on Agriculture in Gwambe Division 1900-1945: A study in Agricultural Development. M.A Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 19?? Another work was by Abdulkadir Adamu. “The British colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria (1902-1945): A case study of Soba District. M.A Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1992. These works provided some useful data to our study. However their major weaknesses include the periodization and the fact that their areas of study are not in Katsina emirate.

Theoretical Framework

In every meaningful research, there is need for the adoption of a theoretical framework of analysis to serve as a guide or in the form of ideology, context and focus as well as the direction of the research writing. The theory serves as work tool for analysis and interpretation from a point in view.

Thus, my study will adopt the Underdevelopment/Dependency Theory (UDT). This was a branch of the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism in which between the 1960s to 1970s attempted to explain the reasons behind the continued underdevelopment of African nations despite the independence achieved. The protagonists of this theory include Gunder Frank, Dos Santos, Amin Samir, Daniel Offiong, Claude Ake and Walter Rodney.⁹

⁹ B. Onimode: Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria. London, 1981.

The Underdevelopment Theory was an opposition to the modernization theory which groups societies into two enclaves, traditional and modern. The traditional represents backwardness characterized by values and norms which serve as roadblocks to development. Africa falls into this category. The modern society represents the industrialized countries of Europe and America characterized by values of achievement and rationality which promotes development. Its proponents include Lugard, Cecil Rhodes, Lewis Gann, Peter Duignan, Roland Oliver, J.D. Fage, Adu Boahen.

The Underdevelopment/Dependency theory sharply disagrees with the modernization theory. The argument is that imperialism created an international capitalist system and intergrated the backward countries into it. In that system there is unequal division of labour where the less developed countries produced raw materials and provided market, while the developed countries specialize in the production of manufactured goods. Significantly, this market is under the firm control of the developed countries in exercise of their financial and technological might. This unequal relationship led to what is described as a metropole-satellite relationship which led to overwhelming surplus transfer out of the less developed countries by the colonizing countries resulting to eventual backwardness, poverty and underdevelopment of the colonized countries and the development of the colonizers.¹⁰

The Underdevelopment/Dependency Theory is in a better position to explain my research problem in the period under study that is the colonial period to the period of independence. The research is addressed to the same question or problem the protagonists of the underdevelopment theory attempts to answer. This is the major strength of the theory and its weakness is that the theory might be regarded as Afro centric. But I

¹⁰ Ibid.

subscribe to the UDT theoretical perspective because it proves to have better understanding of the problems of Africa and a more critical analysis of the root causes of the problems and it has suggested solutions to solving the problems.

Problems of the Research

Like most studies, our research is not devoid of problems. The primary sources especially those in the National Archives and the government files are difficult to access due to restrictions for security reasons. The current regulation in the National Archives Kaduna is that a student on research must register every month at the rate of ₦ 2,200:00 to make a library Identity Card and to photocopy any document, a page is charged at the rate of ₦30.00 per page. This charge is exorbitant it deny the poor researcher opportunity to use abundant resources. The difficulty is increased by the high level corruption of the government officials who are the custodians of these documents.

A major problem faced by the researcher in the National Archives is the absence of vital sources related to agricultural production of Galadima district and a complete loss of such documents in Malumfashi Local Government secretariat, or the old Native Authority structures like the prison, police and courts as a result of the 2011 post election violence in which all the offices concerned where relevant documents could be accessed were burnt down by rioting youths. Other important records were misplaced or destroyed by rain, termites and rust due to poor storage and mishandling by the workers.

Also, a major problem of colonial sources is the fact that they are silent on important informations regarding the purpose of such measures as colonial fiscal policy, customs and tariffs. There is hardly any significant information on the relationships

between the administrators, traders, peasants, artisans, pastoralists, colonial companies and labourers in the context of such policies¹¹.

Similarly, there is more constraint in spending money on transportation, printing and purchase of textbooks due to inflation and time factor bearing in mind that the course will expire in twelve months and the researcher is a civil servant. Another difficult situation the researcher faced was in the process of oral interview with the active participants of the colonial period whose age limits ranges from 90-100 years old. Most of those scheduled for interview, died before the interview was conducted. And such survivors are difficult to come by because some of them may not be physically and mentally fit to recall and explain properly their past experiences.

However, in chapter one that follows, the study has provided useful information on the geographical location of Galadima area on the eve of the British occupation, the land and climate, the population and settlement pattern as well as the administrative structure of Galadima area.

¹¹ Sule Bello: *State and Economy in Kano, 1894-1960*, A study of Colonial Domination, PhD Thesis, Department of History ABU Zaria, 1982, p.22.

CHAPTER ONE

LAND AND PEOPLE IN GALADIMA DISTRICT ON THE EVE OF COLONIAL OCCUPATION

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we intend to introduce to the reader the geographical location of Galadima District and to examine its interesting socio-political features such as land and climate, population and settlement pattern, the administrative structure and its beautiful economy which had to do with agriculture, the base of the economy, the land tenure system, labour organization, pastoralism, commerce, crafts and industry. The goal of the researcher in this chapter is to give a clear picture of what Galadima district was or what it looked like on the eve of colonial domination. The chapter will in the long run provide a background knowledge of the economic and human resources which the Europeans robbed our communities in the period of colonial domination.

1.1 Location and Boundaries

Galadima area is bordered by Gwarzo district of Kano Province to the east, Musawa District to the North, Kogo and Fawwa Districts to the West, then Makama District to the South. It is situated on latitude $11^{\circ}44'N$, $11^{\circ}48'N$, and longitude $7^{\circ}34'E$ and $7^{\circ}38'E$. It is a plain, open, rolling savannah, broken occasionally by bushes *daji*, mountains and rivers. It lies between 510m to 630m above sea level¹². Malumfashi town, the headquarter of Galadima area is by road to distant places, 124 kilometers away from Kano City by the east, 160 kilometers away from Katsina town, by the North, about 430km to Sokoto, by the West 60km to Funtua, by the South 90km to Zaria, by the South-East, 80km to Gwarzo in the east and 40 km to Kankara town. Galadima area is in what could be referred to as Southern Katsina State. Galadima area today is linked to all the major towns mentioned above with good tarred roads and it has a good network of untarred roads crisscrossing the area.

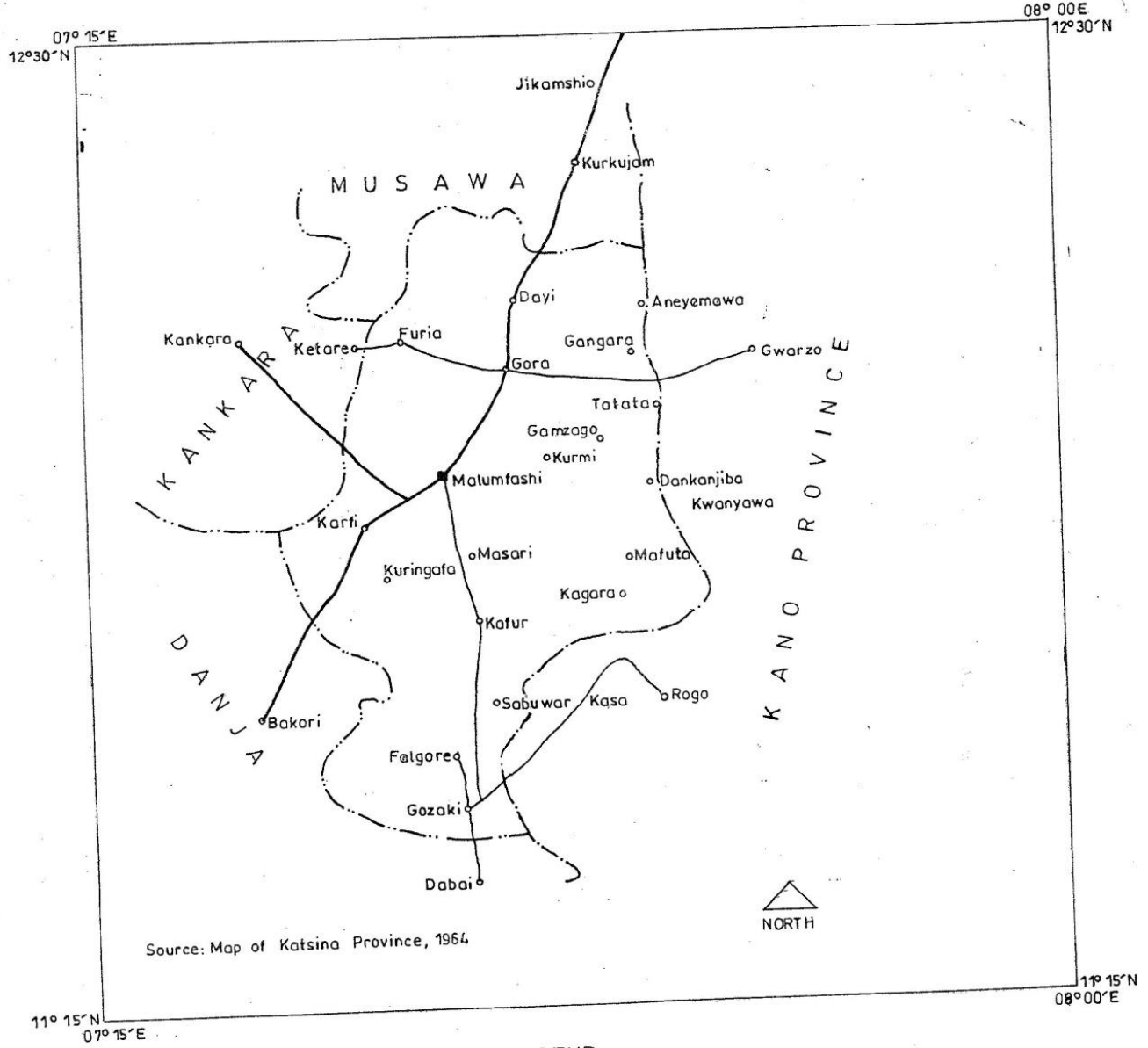
In the next page, a map of Galadima district during the colonial control is shown.

The map demonstrates the area covered and the districts boardering it and the roads linking major towns of the district.

¹² Haruna Sale: *Water supply and Demand Analysis for Malumfashi, Katsina State*. MSc Geography Thesis submitted to the Department of Geography, A.B.U Zaria 2006. Also see map of Galadima District on page 26.

GALADIMA DISTRICT

SCALE:- 1:1,000,000



LEGEND

- Boundaries: Province - - - - -
- District - - - - -
- Roads:- Major ————
- Minor - - - - -
- District Headquarter ■ Matumfashi
- Settlement ○ Gangara

1.2 The Land and Climate

Galadima district enjoys a very fertile alluvial soil that forms a sandy clay loam in some areas¹³. It is largely underlain by crystalline rocks, gneisses, granite, and metasediment rocks belonging to the Pre-Cambrian basement complex rocks.

The type of soil in the area is actually the same with most of Southern Katsina region. It is clearly different from that of the Central and Northern Katsina. In Northern Katsina, the soil is predominantly the sandy type and according to Clayton, the soils appear to be sedimentary or at least to have been derived from rocks in their immediate neighbourhood. As soon as you cross the Karaduwa River before Matazu, this feature changes towards south west showing slopes, valleys, hills, rivers with a type of soil described as the dark-clay loamy type *laka*.¹⁴ This is the kind of soil found in Galadima area and in most of the Southern Districts of Katsina Province. The area is referred to as *Katsina laka*; and the *laka*; soils of the area are of finer drift material some what heavier to till and with a pronounced clay horizon.¹⁵ Yusuf Bala Usman described the *laka*; soil of Southern Katsina as the most fertile lands in Katsina.¹⁶ Idris Mahuta added that this heavy soil type is as a result of the availability of constant and regular supply of rain reaching an average of 40 – 50 inches.¹⁷ Indeed, the land had and still has the most abundant and regular rainfall and on the whole, it has a climate much closer to that of the cooler and wet climate of Zaria Emirate. The bushes *dazuka*; eminent in Galadima area

¹³ M.M Adamu: *The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960*, A Ph.D Thesis, History Department, ABU Zaria, October, 2002, p.13.

¹⁴ Idris Abdullahi Mahuta: *Urbanization in Maska Region in the 19th and 20th centuries (with special reference to Funtua)*. An M.A History Thesis submitted to the Department of History ABU Zaria, June 1990, p.31.

¹⁵ Watt, M. *Silent Violence: Food, Famine & Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*. University of California press. Also, Cited in Idris p. 31.

¹⁶ Ibid: Idris Abdullahi Mahuta: *Urbanization in Maska Region...*

¹⁷ Ibid: Abdullahi, Idris Mahuta: *Urbanization in Maska Region...* p. 32. / NAK KAT PROF MH211P17.

and other districts of Southern Katsina make it a distinct territory both in terms of geography and economy from the rest of Katsina Emirate.¹⁸

There are rivers *rafuka*; cutting across Galadima area. There are also lakes *tafkuna* and ponds *kududdufai*; and watershed *fadamu*; areas. Some of the rivers serve as tributaries to the bigger ones especially river Jare located in Masari and Kafur which extends to River Wudil in Kano State and it links with the great river Benue. There is also River *Turami*; an important tributary of River Gangara drainage basin. To the east and south-east of Malumfashi, the ground rises to laterate capped hills which form a very important watershed between the North West wards flowing Gangara drainage system and the east/north-eastwards, flowing Chalawa drainage system, the latter into Lake Chad.¹⁹

Below is a table showing names of major rivers and areas which they are located within Galadima district.

¹⁸ Y.B. Usman: *The Transformation of Katsina, 1400 – 1883*, ABU Press, 1981.

¹⁹ Haruna Sale: *Water Supply and Demand Analysis for Malumfashi, Katsina State*: Department of Geography, ABU, Zaria, 2006.p.19.

Table 1.1
THE NAMES OF RIVERS IN GALADIMA DISTRICT AND THEIR LOCATIONS

S/N	Rivers	Location/villages
1	Hinache	Malaumfashi
2	Tankadoshi	Gozaki
3	Jare	Kafur, Sabuwar Kasa
4	Badanya	Kanya, rataya, gozaki
5	Mamakawa	Karfi, Salihawa, Tsaunin Chinya
6	Suran	Dutsin yanke
7	Gyashinshini	Tunkuda, Dansarai
8	Lamuntani	Lamuntani
9	Mainasara	Gamzago,
10	Dinya/gulbi	Malumfashi, Mashigi
11	Zuzzurfa	Yammama
12	Kadabo	Yari-bori
13	Masari	Masari
14	Kyarantan	Unguwar Kanawa, Rigoji
15	Silma	Rigoji – Kafur
16	Magarya	Unguwar Kanawa – Silma
17	Bunsuru	Masari – Jare.

SOURCE: KATPROV 180 A – Details of forced labour saran rafi In Galadima district dated November 1939, p.3. The table is designed from details extracted on forced labour in Galadima District.

Some of these rivers were big while others were tributaries to the major ones like river Jare flowing towards Wudil in Kano and down to the Sokoto rivers basin in the west and some to the Jama'are river basin in the east. Some of the rivers in Galadima district might not be mentioned here due to oversight or for their little significance to the economy of the people.

The natural vegetation of Galadima area falls within the variety of the Sudan savannah. The vegetation composed of scrubs and trees of the savannah. The trees are scattered and do not form a closed canopy. Trees and plants have adapted themselves to savanna climatic rhythm of a longer period of winter draught that is the dry season, and a short summer rain during the rainy season. Both trees and plants are deciduous in nature. They shade their leaves during the dry season as a mechanism to prevent excessive loss of

water through transpiration and lying dormant during the long draught. The grasses are usually tall and coarse.²⁰

The climate of Galadima area can be classified into two major wind currents. The first characterized by the north or east wind blowing directly from the Sahara desert bringing along a hot, dry, dusty air, commonly known as the harmattan *Hunturu*. It gradually becomes severe reaching its peak in the month of January while the whole of Northern Nigeria, down to the eastern Nigeria and even across the Atlantic Ocean are being affected by this harmattan. The second wind current starts from April to October which gathers momentum from the Atlantic Ocean, blowing from the south or west down to the east or north, carrying with it a high degree of moisture and heavy clouds that results to rainfalls across the country *Damuna*²¹.

“The wet and dry seasons are clearly defined, the former commencing in April or may and lasting until September. Normally, no rain whatsoever will fall until the following wet season, and during this period of draught, cold, dust laden winds, the harmattan, blow across the country from North East. They are characterized by the thick haze caused by minute particles of dust and very low humidity. These winds sometimes bring quite intense cold and at such times rural life is not astir until quite a later hour, the people keeping to the shelter of their huts until the rinsing sun has temperature”

The two wind currents usually affect the lives of the people positively or negatively depending on the gravity or level it reaches. For instance, the harmattan season could bring with it some health disasters which are cold related diseases such as influenza, pneumonia, catarrh and the death of fowls caused by a viral air borne disease locally known as *bingiri*. Also, excessive rainfalls may result to disasters like flood, erosion and

²⁰ M.M Adamu: *The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960*, p.13.

²¹ M.M Adamu: *The Role of the Native Authority...p 15*

destruction of farms and mud houses. On the other hand, shortage of the rains may result to draught and famine which may culminate into hunger, poverty, death and migrations. Some rains bring along strong winds that could be classified as hurricane, leading to destructions of farm products and houses causing loss of lives and properties. These disasters were actually not often. What is more important was the fact that people of Galadima area have adapted to its natural climatic condition and have been traditionally taking positive measures to prevent or handle occurrences of epidemics and disasters.²²

The fertile land in Galadima area produces different crops in abundance. The soil produces almost everything demanded for food and raw materials ranging from sorghum to tubers, vegetables and fibres, sugarcane and groundnuts, fruits, minerals, economic trees and various kinds of food crops. The land and climate is very favourable for farming and pastoralism.

The availability of rivers, lakes and streams flowing in all direction of the area provided good grazing grass for animals and the *Fulani* and pastoral groups enjoy this area both during the rainy and dry seasons. It is believed by most *Fulani* that the grass in this area (Sudan) has more nutrients and is healthier to cattle and animals for both fattening and reproductions.²³

The bushes *dazuka*; also contributed to providing a good grazing land, firewood, wood used for domestic purposes such as beams, and bush meat. The rivers and streams in Galadima area are a good source of water used for various purposes such as building, cooking, drinking, washing, fishing and irrigation, etc. by the communities. Most of the

²² Michael Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine & Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*. University of California press p139

²³ Interview with a Fulani elder, Maigida Kabal at Unguwar Naino, Kuringafa, Kafur L.G.A dated 20th February, 2013 aged 95 years

rivers are not navigable but were a barrier to motor transport except on foot or donkeys because the water in them was not stagnant but drains quickly after rain falls. Irrigation activities were also done along the banks of these rivers.

The bushes *dazuka*; found in Galadima area like other parts of the Southern Katsina Province provide source of firewood and bush meat. The youth especially during the dry seasons involve themselves in hunting game *farauta*; to avoid idleness. There are also professional hunters who are experienced in using Dane guns to kill animals, and they became brave warriors recruited in the military whenever there was war. Some parts of the animals like the skin, fats, horns, etc. are utilized for traditional medication or practices. There are also some people who rely much on the bushes for the collection and selling of firewood.

Galadima area is blessed with plentiful economic trees spread all over the area. In addition to other professions, farmers take up other non-farming occupations throughout the year. The collection of sylvan products was a very important feature for non-farming activity for the farmer especially during the dry season. This included the collection of *dorowa*; locust beans.²⁴ *Dorowa*; (*Parkia Filicoides*) has many uses in the economic life of the farmer and it has beneficial effects on crops and vegetation growing underneath it because the leaves become a good source of manure²⁵. The *dorowa* tree is fairly spread all over Galadima area. It is of considerable value because the fruits *kalwa* are processed to make the well known soup ingredients in form of cakes known as “*daddawa* or *daudawa*”, popular and sold in every market in Hausaland and Northern Nigeria as a whole, it is used for “*tuwo*”, the staple food of the Hausawa in particular. The locust beans powder – “*garin*

²⁴ Tukur Bello Ingawa: *A study of the Rural Economic History...* p 5.

²⁵ MINAGRIC 2/12 File No. MH 211 Groundnut Products in Nigeria, 1951. P18

dorowa” It is used for “*gaskami*” a kind of porridge mostly during famines and hunger. The peelings of the *kalwa*; known as “*makuba*” contain special chemicals and are used for building purposes such as fencing, plastering walls, making local blocks *tubali* which prevents erosion during rainy season. *Makuba*; is also used for flooring *dabe*; which becomes similar to cement. It is also used by dyers in the dye pits. The bark of the locust bean is used as snake anti-venom.²⁶

Precisely, every household in Galadima area or among the Hausa communities ought to have locust bean trees which they claim as family property or belonging. Therefore, the trees are deliberately planted and maintained because it is one of the most recognized economic trees in the land. It also grows in the bush all over the savannah, on farmlands, and even in rocky locations, the seed dispersal is aided by wildlife animals such as monkeys and birds.²⁷

Another indispensable tree for families and communities in Galadima area and of course all the Hausaland is the *kuka*; tree (baobab tree) a specie of tree that could survive for decades or centuries. The Baobab Tree *Kuka*; is regularly pollarded, the young shoots being gathered and cooked as a form of spinach *miyar kirbe*. Traditionally, the Hausa communities relied on the leaves for soup making *miyar kuka*; the most popular and common soup.²⁸ The *kuka*; trees are located in towns and villages and on farms and old settlements *kufai*; left behind by the ancestors. This tree is one of the few that are actually planted around the villages and is often retained standing in the farm.²⁹ It also grows in the bush while seed dispersal is aided by humans and animals, at the same time; it is

²⁶Kimberly Sharpe. *Wikipedia show contributing writing*.

²⁷ *Ibid*.

²⁸ *Ibid* M.M. Adamu...

²⁹*MINAGRIC 2/12 File No. MH 211 Groundnut Product in Nigeria, 1951 MH P18*

deliberately selected, planted and maintained as well as inherited by offspring so every household ought to have its family *kuka*; trees. The leaves are dried and grinded and the powder used for soup and could be sold in markets and all those living in towns must buy it for their daily consumption because *tuwo*; and *miyar kuka*; is the staple food for a Hausa man. The fresh *kuka*; leaves could be used to prepare draw soup. The *Fulani* women use the powder of the baobab fruit after removing the seedlings to add to their cattle milk *nono* used to prepare a popular food called *fura da nono*; sold everyday. Also, the peels of the branches are used for making ropes which are sold in the markets and the fruits have nutritional value. It could be roasted, grinded and eaten especially by children.

The next economic tree of importance is the *kadanya*; shea tree (*butyrospernumparkii*). It produces fruits called *tabo*; which is edible and the seedlings have good commercial and nutritional value.³⁰ It is usually collected by women and children in the months of June and July and the collection is done early morning by going round the farms and bushes visiting each shea tree to gather the ripe ones that fell overnight.

“The well known shea butter nut tree *Butyrospernum Parkii* widely spread over the orchard bush belt fruits in the period June to September. The kernels are a well known source of vegetable oil, and as such they form valuable article of African diet, commanding ready sale in local markets, quite apart from export demands. One of the factors retarding greater export of this nut is the fact that its fruiting period corresponds with the period of heavy labour demand on the farm³¹.

The sheabutter oil is used traditionally for various purposes even before the colonial period. The shea butter is extracted from the fruit through a difficult and long process

³⁰ Ibid: Tukur Bello Ingawa: A Study of the Rural Economic History of the major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate during the Colonial Rule 1900 – 1939.

³¹MINAGRIC 2/12 File No. MH 211, *Groundnut Products in Nigeria, 1951*. P19

undergoing several stages such as cracking, separating, crushing, roasting, grinding and then separating the oils before finally collecting and shaping the shea butter. It is used for cooking a kind of food known as “*Dambu*” and also used for preparing soup. The shea butter is specifically used as pomade against harmattan. Also it is as an industrial commodity used for making cosmetics, soaps, hair dressing, and candles or lamps. It is also an important ingredient for medicinal ointments as well as used by makers of traditional instruments made of wood, leather and calabash.³² The *kadanya*; tree is among the economic trees recognized and preserved by the community as an export crop because the shea butter was an export crop. Its tree trunk is also the most recognized by wood curvers for the making of pounding mortar *turmi*; and the pounding pebbles *tabarya*; hoe handles *kota*; because of the quality of the wood and its durability and long lasting quality. The branches are said to be the best for firewood as well as producing good charcoal used by blacksmiths.

Another vital tree is the *tsamiya*; (*tamarindus indica*). The tamarind fruit has a sour taste suitable for *kunun tsamiya*; a kind of pap prepared as a local food. The tamarind fruit has a fleshy, juicy, acidulous pulp. It is filled with a sweet edible substance.³³ It is mostly a wild tree and hardly planted but deliberately selected during farm clearing and allowed to grow. As soon as it produces fruits, women and children are involved in collecting or gathering the fruits for family use or for sell in the market. This makes it an economic tree desired for the traditional food and the fruits may have medicinal value for

³² Oral Interview with Mal. Shu’aibu Attah aged 80 – Danbilago Malumfashi dated 17th June, 2013.

³³ Ibid T B Ingawa...

fever reduction, intestinal disorders and prevention of scurvy; it is also used in blood sugar-reducing medications.³⁴

Obviously, Galadima area is blessed with numerous kinds of economic trees that were also used for food, medicines, firewood, shades and decorations. The “*kanya*” tree is also an important tree that produces *yayan kanya* or “*baro*” when the fruit is dried is eaten and sold as well. The fruits are also sold in the markets but it is hardly exported and the seedlings are not used for anything except that traditional carvers preferred its branches for making hoe handles *kota*; which are sold to farmers in the markets.

Another notable tree is the “*dinya*” tree, which produces edible *dinya* fruits, also processed for *alawar dinya*; a kind of sweet chocolate prepared by professionals for sale. Other trees of importance include the mahogany tree known as *madaci*; *khaya senegalensi*; good for traditional medicines for curing stomach disorders and the branches or wood are used by carpenters to make chairs, hoe handles, wood plates and spoons *akushi*; and *koshiya*. Another tree is “*bagaruwa*” tree that produces gum locally called “*karo*” sold as an export commodity. *Bagaruwa*; is also good for medicines and dyeing clothes. *Gamji*; tree is another type of tree. Its fruits are edible. Others include the *giginya* tree *Boarass acthiopum*; also called palm tree was also important. *Giginya*; is used for building house roofing, pillars and fences because it hardly decays and the termite insects cannot destroy it because of its hard nature.

Next is the *Bedi*; or *Dalbejiya*; or Neem tree *Azadratha indica*; good for medicinal purposes. Then *marke* tree *Anageissus schimper*; the best wood for making hoe and axe handles *kotoci* ; and charcoal for blacksmiths. There are other trees of vital importance for medicines in the form of herbs, and grasses also used for the treatment of health problems

³⁴ Wikipedia the Free Encyclopedia – *Tamarindus Indica*.

ranging from numerous ailments, stomach aches, skin diseases, jaundice, epilepsy, fractures, etc. These include the *Goruba* – dum palm which produces edible fruits, the *doka* (*isoberlinia doka*); *sabara* (*guiera senegalensi*); *geza* (*grewia mollis*); *kalgo*; (*bauhinia thonningii*); *kaba* (*Hypaene thebiaca*); *kiryra* (*prosopis Africa*); *tukurwa* (*raphia spp*); *hano* (*boswellia dalzielli*); *rawaya* (*kigebe aethiopica*); *sansami* (*stereosperum kunthiamum*); etc.

There were many other trees and grasses which were either edible fruits or leave that were used for medicines or food. There were also grasses that were edible in which the leaves were cooked and eaten as *Rummace*; with *Kuli*; or groundnut or used for soup and some were used for medicinal purposes.

1.3 Population and Settlement Pattern in Galadima area

Galadima area was pre-dominantly rural on the eve of the colonial occupation. It was also among the most densely populated districts in Katsina Emirate as a result of the nature of the fertile land of the area which provided abundant socio-economic opportunities for a continuous influx of immigrants from various directions to settle in the region.³⁵ Such opportunities included a wide range of cultivable land for farmers, surplus grazing land for pastoralists and markets for commercial activities.

The populations of Galadima area are predominantly inhabited by Katsinawa, a dialectical included Hausa communities, and the *Fulani* or *Fulbe*; both nomadic and sedentary. But from origin these communities were very heterogeneous formed by centuries of local and long-distance migration and settlement and the distinct Hausa ascent had clearly emerged several centuries ago. The Hausa communities living in this area before the establishment of the territorial kingdoms of the Kasar Katsina developed economically, culturally and politically through diversified economic activities. This was in

³⁵ Ibid M.M Adamu...p. 153.

any case accompanied by the immigration of various tribes and origins of different classes of farmers, pastoralists, craftsmen, traders, artisans, warriors, slaves and scholars.³⁶

The area was an amalgam of ethnic groups because of the flow of immigrants from Kano, Agades, Borno, Nupeland, Birnin Tazar, Pauwa Zamfara, Kano and the upper Sokoto river basin.³⁷ There were several towns and villages of varying degrees, sizes and population density spread across the area. The people in rural areas lived according to their family clans and lineages side-by-side with immigrants who were readily accepted into the communities as the culture permitted. Apart from towns and villages, there were also innumerable hamlets and homesteads spread all over the district.

1.3.1 The Hausa

The word Hausa is more of a language than a tribe. The Hausa are a mixture of various ethnic groups that migrated to the area centuries ago. The Hausa were the same with the Non-Muslims, but the major difference is that they have adopted the Islamic culture as well and most of them lived in towns and villages in most cases separate with the Non-Muslims (pagans). Early Islamization proceeded peacefully and the number of those who accepted Islam was small. In many cases, the merchants and ruling class were the first to convert to Islam and it was practiced along with traditional religious beliefs. It was not until the 1800s that the jihad movement of Usman dan-Fodio began a revival in Hausaland to undergo a large scale of Islamic revivalism. Consequently, the jihad established the Sokoto Caliphate that ruled all the Hausa States under the tenets of the Islamic law, for a period of roughly one century. This accounts for the gradual reduction of the Hausa non

³⁶ Y.B. Usman: Katsina State in Nigeria Federation, p.5.

³⁷ Ibid M.M Adamu... p.154.

Muslims population on the eve of colonial occupation of Galadima area. The Hausawa were politically under the power of *Sarki*, Maiunguwa of which they must be Muslims.

The Hausa non Muslims are Hausa people who still adhere to some of the tenets of the pre-Islamic traditional religion in of Katsina, Kano, Zamfara, Gobir etc. Most of the Non-Muslims citizens were found in rural areas, villages, hamlets, and homesteads or *gida* even though they do live side by side in the towns and villages but majority of the Muslims lived in towns. They are known to have facial tribal marks similar to early rulers of Katsina before the overthrow of the old traditional institutions by the Islamic jihad of Usman dan Fodio led by the *Fulani* Danejawa ruling dynasty in the early 19th century.³⁸

1.3.2 The *Fulani*

The *Fulani*; are a migratory nomadic people spread throughout West Africa. They contributed to the introduction and spread of the Islamic religion in Hausaland and the subsequent jihad movement as well as the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate under the leadership of Usman Dan Fodio in the early 19th century.³⁹

The *Fulani*; are not only nomadic herders but also traders who established routes in West Africa that provided extensive links that fostered economic and political ties between otherwise isolated ethnic groups. They produced dairy products (e.g. *nono/manshanu*); from their cattle and the *Fulani*; women traded these to sedentary farmers in return for agricultural products and luxury items along their nomadic routes. Members of individual

³⁸ Y.B Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina*, 1400-1883, 1981. ABU press.

³⁹ Ibid Y.B Usman...

Fulani; clans settled down among their sedentary neighbours, intermarrying and establishing trading contacts for their future business transactions.⁴⁰

The two most significant factors in *Fulani* political system are cliental and competition, through which they sought political leadership as Chief, *Ardo*, “*Ardo’en* and the ‘*Fulani*’ – *Sarkin Fulani*; appointed by the Galadima and this applies to the whole Katsina Province as well as the Hausaland. The responsibilities of the *Fulani* traditional chiefs were mainly control over both sedentary and all migratory *Fulani*, collection of taxes and imposition of the famous *Jangali*; tax, judiciary and of course the maintenance of law and order. The *Fulani*; also enjoyed free access to all the resources of land such as grazing land, farming land, judiciary, market etc. in return for the taxes they paid and their allegiance to the constituted authority of Galadima area.

The *Fulani*; religion was largely if not wholly, Islamic, although there were varying degrees of adherence to the religion exhibited throughout the *Fulani*; society. It was usually the case that the wealthy and powerful and especially the sedentary ones were among the most religious, while those who had fewer resources were less likely to observe Islam so strictly. Majority of the *Fulani* population joined the jihad to escape the economic exploitation in the form of ‘*Jangali tax*’ and domination by Hausa aristocracy.⁴¹

1.3.3 Settlement Pattern

The settlement pattern of Galadima area can be categorized into towns’ *garuruwa*, villages’ *kauyuk*; and hamlets *unguwa*; and homesteads *gidaje*. Most settlements were located around marshy areas *fadama*; rivers or rocks *duwatsu*. Such towns were permanent settlements where commercial, industrial and agricultural activities were conducted. But

⁴⁰ Paul Staudinger: Translated by Johanna E. Moody: *In the Heart of the Hausa States*, Vol. 2. Ohio University, Monographs in International Studies, Africa Series, No. 56, 1990.

⁴¹ Ibid Paul Staudinger... No. 56, 1990.

less permanent and smaller settlements were situated in the areas of grazing grounds *saura*; and bush *daji*; mostly inhabited by the farmers, pastoralists, hunters and wood cutters.⁴²

The social organization of the settlements was made up of families, extended families and clans. The families grouped together form the lineages, which could be regarded as 'zuri'a'. In the villages, the homesteads of people belonging to the same zuria might cluster together maintaining considerable cohesion and co-operating with each other in farming activities. Some of these clusters take the form of large *gida*; all enclosed by a corn stock fence *danni*, recognizing a senior elder as the household head *Maigida*.⁴³ The *Maigida*; was supposed to be the most senior or oldest among the elders of the family. By household it meant one house or compound at the head of which stood a recognized master. The husband of the wife or wives in that compound and the father of all the children in the house who have opted for independence. The household was thus a corporate body for economic and social functions. A family might contain several households and these may be in the same village or spread over a wide area. The members of a household normally worked together under the supervision of the household-head *Maigida* who was responsible for the welfare of his dependents.⁴⁴ The dependents become independent as they marry. The male children once married, were given their portions of land and they now maintain their families and farm produce.

There are virtually four social groups that could be identified that regulated as well as gave meaning and direction to the communities in Galadima area on the eve of colonial rule and even throughout the British rule. These include the towns' *garuruwa*; and

⁴² M.M Adamu: *The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian...*p. 12.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁴⁴ Adamu Mohammed Fika: *The Kano Civil War and British Over-Rule, 1882-1940* p.43.

villages. There were towns that flourished for centuries as centres of trade such as Karfi, Kuringafa, Ketare, Dayi, Dantutture, Gamzago, Kurkujan, Gangara etc. Secondly, there were occupational groups *sana'oi*; the lineage *zuru'o'I*; and *addinai*; (religions)⁴⁵

The social organization of the Hausa communities in Galadima area is featured by hierarchy of age grades each with culturally defined roles and duties in the society. The age grades included the *Dattawa* ;(elders), followed by *Magidanta* ;(adults), the *samari* (youths) and *yara*; (children). The *Dattawa*; deliberated on major issues affecting the community and served in the maintenance of culture, norms, rituals and values. The *magidanta*; provided labour and defence force. They produced offspring and trained them in farming or various traits which they also inherited. The *samari*; also provided labour and practiced games such as wrestling and hunting and ceremonies as well as defence. The *yara*; partook in games and festivals such as circumcision, harvest and religious festivities.

The occupational groups in Galadima area on the eve of colonial rule cut across territories, kinship and religious ties. They included the *manoma*; farmers, the *makiyaya*; pastoralists, the *masu sarauta*; artisans and the *mallamai*; intelligentsia.⁴⁶ The *manoma* farmers were the majority. Almost every citizen of Galadima area practiced farming. Only very few in the towns that adopted *sana'a*; and depended on it. Farming was a general activity but the people maintained other traits such as trade, crafts and local industries, which they inherited from their forefathers. The *manoma*; produced food crops in abundance as well as some cash crops as raw materials. The food crops produced included guinea corn, maize, millet, cassava, potato, pepper, tamba, etc. while the cash crops included cotton, indigo, tobacco, groundnut etc.

⁴⁵ Op-cit M.M Adamu: p. 21.

⁴⁶ Ibid M.M Adamu... p. 23

The *makiyaya*; occupational groups in Galadima area were mostly the *Fulani*. The Hausawa almost entirely left cattle rearing to the *Fulani*; but many also adopted mixed farming and kept cattle for use on the farm (ploughing) and domestic work and for sale. Other animals like goats, sheep, donkeys, fowls etc. were intensively reared by the Hausawa and the animal faeces were used on farms as fertilizer.

The Galadima was the *Hakimi*; and fief head, the representative of the *Sarkin Katsina* and he was the superior officer to all the *dagattai*; and *masu ungwanni*; in the area. The appointment and installation of these chiefs was approved by *sarkin katsina* and in most cases he appointed his sons, friends and members of the ruling families in the *garuruwa*; towns and villages. The succession was by inheritance but a family may lose the position of *sarauta*; to another person or family depending on his good relationship with the Galadima.

The intelligentsia groups were the *malamai*; scholars, teachers or religious leaders. They were generally the Islamic religious mentors in learning, worship and they served as clerks, judges and advisers on religious matters as well as secretaries to the traditional rulers. They preached the religion and led in worship activities such as prayers, festivals and ceremonies such as birth, naming, death, burial, Id-el-fit' and Id El-Kabir Sallah occasions and they also interpreted the Islamic sharia law which was the state religion adopted after the jihad of Usman Dan Fodio in the early 19th century. In this sense the non-Muslims were marginalized and the religion of Islam was promoted at all levels even though the Sokoto Caliphate contained non-Islamic groups and accepted immigrant groups into virgin lands like Galadima area which actually offered opportunities for migrant farmers, pastoralists and the like.

Religion in the pre-colonial and colonial periods played a very vital role in cementing the social relationship and reinforcing the bonds of unity among the people of Galadima area as well as Katsina Emirate. By the beginning of the 19th century, the religion of Islam had been established as an ideological hegemony transforming the significance and nature of the older traditional beliefs such as the worship of cult or *iskoki*. Some of the specialized groups in arts and farming continued to practice exclusive cults. However, the majority of the population identified with the religion of Islam and its dominant culture, so they called themselves Muslims even though many of them retained the practice of cult worship. They identified with the religion of Islam for various reasons. Some for recognition and identification, while some sought the spirits to influence their individual or family fortunes, or in order to provide a basis on which trust could be established, business conducted and community life sustained.⁴⁷

Since the jihad, the impact of the *sharia*; law was grossly felt by the Hausa non Muslims group such that the *Fulani* and Muslim group were favoured by the ruling class. The *Jizyah*; tax for example was specifically imposed on the non-Muslim communities enjoined in the *sharia* law and the *Fulani* groups were encouraged to settle in the land, they were confronted and protected by the traditional rulers who were *Fulani* since they took over government during the jihad.⁴⁸ The sanction imposed on the non-Islamic communities speeded conversion to Islam and the gradual phasing out of the Hausa non Muslims or traditional religion, because inferiority complex was injected into the settlement pattern of the communities,⁴⁹ and therefore conversions to Islam was made out

⁴⁷ Y.B. Usman – *The Transformation of Katsina...* p. 52.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p.52

⁴⁹ Interview with the Maiunguwa Ahmadu Unguwar Zaki, Ketare, and aged 97 years dated 3/3/13.

of conviction or compulsion necessitated for a desire for recognition and a sense of belonging to modern life and opportunities.

The influx of migrants from northern Katsina into Galadima area was earlier noted in the 19th century by Yusuf Bala Usman. Such migrants were called *Ehohi*. The *Ehohi*; settlements sprang up as a result of the waves of raids and wars in northern Katsina, making some towns and farmlands desolate due to migrations of the citizens. Such political upheavals like the Maradi raids affected Mani and Mashi areas of northern Katsina. The boren Dan Mari (1842) and boren Dan Tunku were political revolts that adversely affected Kurfi, Ruma, Gyaza, Mazoji areas causing migrations of the citizens down south into the Galadima and Maska Districts. A contributing factor to those waves of migrations was famines, then experienced by neighbouring Kano, Zamfara and Borno,⁵⁰ and the influx of migrants settled in Galadima areas and their origins are not forgotten by their descendants till today.

Attached to the issue of *Ehohi*; was some kind of migrants who moved into Galadima area as temporary migrants only during the dry seasons to practice their traits and return home in the wet season for farming. These seasonal migrants came every year. They included irrigation workers, weavers, dyers, blacksmiths, pot makers etc. They found places suitable for their traits but many of such immigrants were gradually attracted to settle permanently because of the prosperous nature of the area.

The sedentarization of the nomadic *Fulani* and their adoption of mixed farming was another reason for the emergence of new settlements established across Galadima area. The settled *Fulani* were called *Fulanin Gida*; who as well kept cattle and used the animal dung for fertilizer on the farms. The Hausawa also adopted same farming methodology

⁵⁰ Y.B. Usman: *The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883*.

which became widespread among the communities of Galadima area even before the advent of colonial rule.⁵¹

The growth of new towns and markets could be connected to the settlement of traders *fatake*; who might select particular towns as their resting point *zango*; and they also maintained large farming estates in those places, while on the other hand, the traditional rulers were involved in deliberate transformation of old towns and the establishment of new ones to act as centres from where the officials conducted the administration of village and hamlets. The transformations took the advantage of the old trading routes. Take for example the major route mentioned by Yusuf Bala Usman which crossed Yandoto in Zamfara through Yan Kuzo, Ketare, Gora-mai-Kasuwa, through Kutama, Gwarzo down to Kano.⁵² Many towns in Galadima area such as Karfi, Kurkujan, Gangara, etc. flourished because of the trading routes. A good example of a town that flourished as a result of trade was Dantutire near Mahuta Town. The town was resettled in 1840s (after the socio-political upheavals that characterized the early 19th century), it grew into a prosperous little border town attracting migrants from Kano and Zazzau. Indigo and cotton cultivation was developed and the indigo and dyestuff produced here were traded to nearby places like Kano and Daura and to far away places such as Hadeja and Nguru. Weaving and dyeing come to be well established, supplying cloth to markets in Gora Mai Kasuwa, Karaye, Rogo and Gwarzo in Kano.⁵³

⁵¹ See the works of Y.B Usman on the transformation of Katsina also discussed by M.M Adamu the role of the native authority.... Chapter one

⁵² Y.B. Usman, *The transformation of Katsina 1400-1883*

⁵³ Y.B. Usman, *The transformation of Katinap...* p199.

1.4 The Administrative Structure of Galadima area

Galadima area was one of the seven fiefs *gunduma*; of the Katsina Emirate in the second half of the 19th century. The Katsina Emirate was one of the 14 emirates that constituted the Sokoto Caliphate established after the jihad of Usman dan Fodio between 1804 to 1812. The Emir of Katsina Emirate as well as the emirs of the other emirates derived their authority under the sovereignty of the Caliph the overall leader of the Caliphate. On the other hand the Emir controlled the emirate through an administration composed of aristocrats and officials subordinated to him and deriving their authority from him.⁵⁴

The Galadima was the highest ranking official in charge of the Galadima fief and he was among the seven *sarakunan sarki*; meaning that they were the senior advisers of the Emir of Katsina. These *sarakunan sarki*; included the Iya, Kaura, Galadima, Kankiya, Marusa, Durbi and Mashi. The Galadima and Kaura were regarded as the most senior official of the *Sarakunan Sarki*. The Galadima served as the Deputy of *Sarkin*; Katsina while the Kaura acted as the senior military commander.⁵⁵ The *Sarakunan Sarki*; were entrusted with the responsibilities of the supervision of the activities of the fiefs *Sarakunan Kasa*; or *Hakimai*; and were often sent on special missions connected to issues ranging from resettlement, reorganization of administration and resolution of conflicts in the districts. They were also responsible for the appointment and installation of a new *sarki*; when the incumbent emir was dead, but the actual process of selection involved other sections of the central government especially the senior members of the royal family, the officials of the

⁵⁴ Sule Bello: *State and Economy in Kano c. 1894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination*. PhD Dissertation, 1982, p. 15; Hogben, j.j., *The Muhammadan Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1930 p. 196; R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804 – 1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and Its Enemies*, London: 1971, p 205-219.

⁵⁵ M.M Adamu *The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian..* p.25.

gidan sarki; and some of the senior *sarakunan garuruwa*; and the selection was restricted to the *yayansarki*; royal princes.

In the same vein, the Galadima was a *Hakimi*; controlling virtually what was regarded as the Southern Katsina under the overlordship of the *Sarkin Katsina* the superior lord of the land *uban kasa*.⁵⁶ The Galadima was also assisted by subordinate groups of officials such as the *dogarai*; palace courtiers, the *Magajin Gari*; *Alkalai*, *Dagattai*; and *Masu unguwa*; in charge of the control of towns and villages, collection of taxes and the maintenance of law and order on behalf of the *Sarki*; and the Emirate. These ranges of officials were normally followers and social inferiors of the Galadima.⁵⁷ Their appointment was influenced directly or indirectly by the Galadima in favour of his family, friends, and associates in most cases subject to approval by the Emir.

The office of the *Galadima*; was the highest political authority in the district and the headquarter was in Malumfashi town. The office of the *Magajin Gari*; was also in Malumfashi town, the chief in charge of Malumfashi and its surrounding villages.⁵⁸ Other subordinate chiefs of the Galadima that is the *Dagattai*; and *Masu Ungwanni*; lived in other towns and villages. These chiefs were the relations of the *Galadima*; such as his sons, friends or trusted officials. The traditional rulers were the *masugari*; and every citizen *Talaka*; knew his responsibilities as a subject of the king in Katsina Province. The *sarki*; was the *Ubankasa*; father of the land, represented by the chiefs in descending order – *Hakimai* – *Dagattai* – *Masu unguwa*. Their roles as *iyayen kasa*; include the control over

⁵⁶ Ibrahim Muktar M: *British Colonial Labor Policies and the Changing Role of Labor in Kano Emirate c. 1903-1960*, Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria p. 26.

⁵⁷ Adamu Mohammed Fikah: *The Kano Civil War and British Over-Rule 1882- 1940* p. 172.

⁵⁸ Surajo Danlami Aliyu: *Tarihin Kafuwar Garin Malumfashi*. Gidan Dabino Publishers, Kano, 2006.

land, collection of taxes, enforcement of law and order and the maintenance of peace. The *talakawa*; cultivated the land freely in exchange for payment of taxes.

Some of the *Dagattai* in Galadima area were regarded as sub-district heads and they were chiefdoms that were older than Malumfashi Town and they maintained some considerable autonomy even under the Galadima control by similar officials of the *Sarki* and had influence on their surrounding villages. These *sarakuna*; were distinctive centres of authority in their various regions. Their dynasties and the communities which they ruled had maintained considerable cohesion for long periods, in some cases going back before the formation of the kingdom.

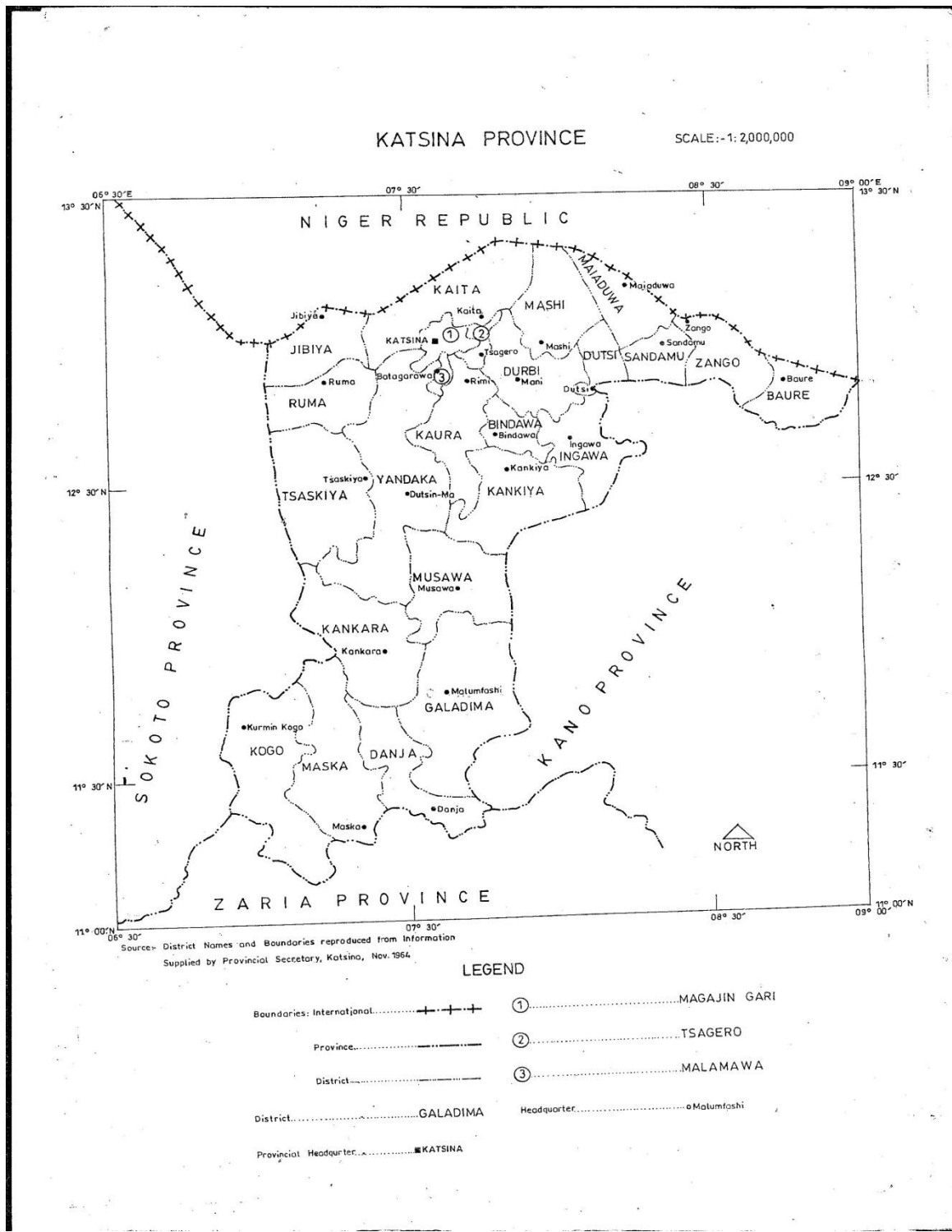
There were 35 village units noted in a report by a colonial officer during the early years of colonial rule and among these village units only 12 were directly under the fief Head, and this subordination he added was historical and there was no object in destroying it. The major *garuruwa*; in Galadima area referred to include Malumfashi, Gozaki, Karfi, Mahuta, Gamzago, Gangara, and Dayi.⁵⁹

The headquarters of Galadima district is Malumfashi Town under supervision of the *Magajin Gari*, who was in charge of the administration as well as the collection of taxes but was subordinate to the Galadima. He was in charge of the Malumfashi Town and the surrounding villages such as Borindawa, Tura and Kwarsu etc. The office of the *Magajin Gari*; existed even before the appointment of the Galadima in 1808. The first Galadima was Dudi appointed by the first Emir of Katsina Emirate after the jihad, Ummarun Dallaje. Like the *Sarki*, Galadima Dudi was a *Fulani* by tribe and he belonged to the *Danezawa*; Clan of the *Fulani* who came with the Emir. Initially, the Galadima and senior

⁵⁹NAK KAT PROF File No. 1695, Assessment Report of Galadima District: Statistics 1921-1922 P. 6.

officials of the *Sarki*; all lived in Katsina close to the king at the same time controlling their fiefdoms.

Below is the map of Katsina province, showing Galadima and its surrounding districts - Musawa, Kogo, Makama, Maska, and Gwarzo in the Kano province. The names of the major



Source: District names and boundaries reproduced from information supplied by provincial secretary, Katsina, Nov. 1964. The whole set up in the local administration of the districts was however, under the supervision of the officials of the central administration.⁶⁰

towns of the Galadima district such as Malumfashi, Karfi, Gozaki, Dayi, Gangara, Mahuta, Sabuwar Kasa, Dantuttire, etc could be located inside Galadima area.

⁶⁰ M.M Adamu: *the Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960*, p. 27.

For instance, the *jakada* was the official through whom the Galadima sent the taxes and revenues collected to the Emir yearly during taxation. The *jakada*; was actually a messenger or an ambassador charged with the delivery of letters of the *Sarki* as well as royal messages by mouth and he negotiates and conveys taxes and tributes from district heads to the *Sarki*. The *jakada*; held a permanent position. He must be a favourite of the *sarki*; to ensure negotiation and collection of an acceptable percentage of the sum total of the taxes collected and the percentage to be given to the Galadima, the *Dagattai*; and the Village Heads as their incentive for the collection of taxes. The *jakada*; then submitted the taxes collected to the Emir.

The Galadima had other officials such as his children whom he used in collecting other taxes. There were also officials responsible for regulating economic activities such as the *Sarkin Pawa*; *Sarkin Noma*; *Sarkin Makera*; *Sarkin Dawa*; *Sarkin Zango*; *Sarkin Kasuwa*; *Sarkin Rafi* etc. Similar officials also existed under the *masu gari*; or *Dagattai*; heading the *garuruwa*; and the *masu unguwa* who were in charge of the affairs of the villages, hamlets and homesteads. The control of the homestead was in the hands of the most senior head of the household commonly called *Maigida*. The *Maigida*; could appoint leaders in charge of the economic activities or *sana'u* but such appointments were done with the approval of the *sarki*.

The next group of *Sarakuna*; was the leaders appointed over the large cohesive immigrant groups mostly the *Fulani*, in the case of Galadima area.⁶¹ The *Sarkin Fulani - Filani*; and *Ardo'en* for instance were in charge of the entire immigrant *Fulani*; in their areas, and would assist in the collection of cattle tax – *Jangali*; and to intervene in

⁶¹ Ibid: Y.B. Usman.p.79.

communal conflicts between the farmers and the cattle rearers, during clashes on farmlands, and also to ensure strict compliance to law and order among the *Fulani* people.

The next were the judiciary. There were *Alkalai*; appointed for the area and there was only one court in Malumfashi and the sharia law was used while there were customary courts to try cases of the non-Muslim communities. The judicial system was headed by the *Alkalai*; who were chosen from the *Malaman Addinin Musulunci*; or the intelligentsia group.

The Galadima or any district head did not maintain a body of the army. But there were notable heroes also called *dakaru*; that were drawn from hunters, *yan farauta* and others who were skilled in the use of weapons such as sword *takobi*, *gariyo*, bows and arrows *kwari da baka*, the lance *mashi*, the throwing spear *asigiri*, *gaturanyaki*, *wukake* – daggers, *kulake* – clubs, *barandami*, *citaka*, *kaho* etc.⁶² Such people specialized in the use of charms, magical medicines and superstitions to help them overcome difficult and unforeseen situations. They used charms and amulets such as *laya*; *guru*, *bakin bante*; and devise other means to eat or drink as well as hide in the body objects to be protective during fighting or when facing danger. These defensive mechanisms made such *dakaru*; fearless and aggressive. Moreover the Hausa culture and philosophy promoted bravery; a trait all youth were expected to demonstrate at all cost either in work, in play, in wars, in fighting or hunting.⁶³

It will be important to mention that the heterogeneous nature of the society of Galadima area did not allow for political disintegration as the leaders were highly respected and respect for the authority was an important factor in the Hausa culture.

⁶² Ibid: M.M Adamu. p.28.

⁶³ Interview with Maigida Keso a famer in kuringafa village unit aged 110 years, dated 15/11/2013

Therefore, those in authority or in the administrative structure were obeyed and given full respect. The rulers had full control of the masses on the eve of colonial rule.

The role of the administration did not stop at collection of taxes and the maintenance of law and order but it included socio-economic development. In this regard, urbanization, building of roads and establishment of markets was promoted consciously based on the interests of the rulers. One of the most important activities of the traditional rulers all over the Sokoto Caliphate was engaged in fostering new settlements. There were areas in Galadima area which were formerly urban centres but they declined as a result of the political upheavals that characterized the 19th century such as the jihad and rebellious uprisings which led to widespread disruption of settlements and communications. Some *garuruwa*; e.g. Gozaki, Karfi, Mahuta lost their fame and glory or even broke up and were abandoned. But the political framework enabled new towns to grow up with relative ease for the fact that the promotion of economic activities had been a long established policy of the state in the realization that such participation was the only avenue through which it could get more and more resources for the different needs of the state.⁶⁴

Another vital feature of the administration of Galadima area worth mentioning was the promotion of the religion of Islam, a major goal of the jihad in the late 19th century. The *sharia* law was practiced on the non-Muslim communities, the non-Muslims were to be absorbed into Islam and they became Muslims in order to become fully privileged citizens of the State and so the path to complete absorption was clear.⁶⁵ *Jizyah*; a special tax, was imposed on the non-Muslim communities.⁶⁶ However, majority of the population of

⁶⁴ Abdullahi Mahdi and Y.B. Usman cited in Mamman p. 41.

⁶⁵ Paul Staudinger translated by Johanna E. Moody: “*In the Heart of the Hausa States*, Vol. 2. Ohio University, Monographs in International Studies, Africa Series, No. 56, 1990. p. 45

⁶⁶ *Ibid*:Y.B Usman, p.83

Galadima area on the eve of colonial rule, identified themselves with the dominant religion of Islam while most citizens living in the hamlets and homesteads declined to be converted and some of the highly specialized artistic and farming lineages continued to practice exclusive cults such as the Bagiro and Bori cult.⁶⁷

It was obvious that a non-Muslim could not be appointed to the post of a traditional ruler unless he converted to Islam. But there were positions of authority recognized such as the *Sarkin Arna*; the *Sarkin Noma*; *Sarkin dawa*; but they were not necessarily involved in policy making and tax collection. These officials were used to influence subordination of those pagan groups unlike the offices of the *Fulani* and Ehoi migrant communities.⁶⁸

The Economy of Galadima District – Pre-Colonial Period

1.5 Agriculture

Another word for agriculture is farming,⁶⁹ and it includes the management of farms and the organization of supply to the markets.⁷⁰ Agriculture was the major and most single important activity that was practiced in our area of study during the last half of the 19th century.⁷¹ It was actually the foundation or mainstay of the economy in Galadima area.

Our concern here is to demonstrate the existing pattern of agriculture and the mode of production on the eve of British occupation which will serve as a basis for the analyses of major alterations and the consequential impacts of colonial rule on agriculture and the lives of the population of Galadima area. It is argued that the distinguishing feature of colonialism was the entrenchment of its capitalist control over the production and

⁶⁷ Ibid: Paul Standinger, p. 45.

⁶⁸ Interview conducted with Baba Iro aged 96 years at Unguwar Barau, Kukasheka, 27/1/13.

⁶⁹ G.E.D. Lewis: *Human Geography for West Africa*, Hodder and Stroughton, London, 1982 P. 40.

⁷⁰ The New Caxton Encyclopedia p. 93.

⁷¹ Ibid: p. 3.

commerce of our society through the systematic destruction of the pre-existing economic system.⁷²

Before the colonial occupation, agriculture in Galadima area had provided abundant food for the population as well as the necessary raw materials for the local industries and the peasants stored huge reserves of food in their granaries *rumbu*⁷³ and this abundance made possible for the export of surplus to their neighbours.⁷⁴ Guinea corn was the major food crop produced and a special way of preserving it in the local granary was called *ban zabo*; in which the corn in its unprocessed form *zangarniya*; was systematically arranged from the bottom of the granary to the top, overlapping, underneath the roof, showing from the outside to demonstrate abundance of food or riches of a family. These specially arranged granaries were kept untouched for a year or two or even more in case of any possible draught and famine. The guinea corn remained safe without being destroyed by insects. Local insecticide was applied into the granary in the process of arranging the grains and other crops like maize, groundnut, *tamba*; millet etc. were preserved in this way. Another method of preservation for the perishable potato was *kurfi*; made underground, a large roomy hole and the potato carefully and skillfully arranged when it was harvested fresh from the farm. It was kept safe in the *kurfi* for months before the next rainy season. However, a good number of these crops perished because of neglect.⁷⁵ Thus we can prove that the agriculture of Galadima area on the eve of colonial rule was self reliant, self sufficient and developing relatively independently through internal control and utilization

⁷² Bello, Sule: 1982, *State and Economy in Kano, 894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination*, PhD Thesis, Zaria: Department of History, A.B.U. p. 111.

⁷³ Ibid: M.M Adamu.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Grove: *Land and Population*, p.4.

of productive force which gave agriculture its viability and self perpetuating character.⁷⁶ After all, Michael Watts rightly observed that societies had found social and technical mechanisms to grapple with fluctuations in climate and food supply⁷⁷.

Agriculture in Galadima area determined the socio-economic activities of the society. Issues like wedding ceremonies, ritual activities, buying new clothes, payment of individual tax etc were done after the harvesting season. Poor harvests as a result of draught could lead to the cancellation or postponement of such important events. Also the riches of a family could be measured by its production capacity. One of the major reasons for polygamy or the marriage of many wives was to produce large number of children that could serve as a strong workforce for the family to be able to cultivate large estates of farmlands.

Variety of food crops were produced by the peasants before the advent of colonial rule. These included grains such as guinea corn *dawa*; millet *gero*; maize *masara*; rice *shinkafa*; and other crops such as cassava *rogo*; potato: *dankali*; cocoa yam *makani*; wheataccha; barley *tamba*; *ibiro*; groundnut *gyada*; beans *wake*; etc. Cash crops were also produced such as cotton *auduga* or *kada*; indigo *ba-ba*; tobacco: *taba*; sugarcane *rake* etc.

Irrigation was also practiced among communities that lived by river sides. Such places enjoyed irrigation during dry seasons precisely after harvests from the months of December or January to April before the next rainy season. But irrigation was carried on a very small scale. Hunting Bee keeping for Honey were practiced during dry season periods of idleness to farmers. Irrigation was definitely an important aspect of agriculture that contributed positively to the economy of those communities that practiced it. It was an

⁷⁶ Umar Bappah: *The Impact of British Colonial Rule on Agriculture in Gwambe Division 1900-1945: A Study in Agricultural Development*. A PhD Thesis – ABU Zaria, August 1988.P.5.

⁷⁷ Michael Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine, & Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, p139

agricultural activity for centuries in the past and it was mostly practiced by migrant communities in Galadima district in places where they had rivers. On the eve of colonial occupation, the shadoof was the major method used in the irrigation, as it was practiced along rivers or lakes. The products harvested from irrigation were sold or used for consumption to supplement the food crops produced on farms. Irrigation was a major means of poverty alleviation and it reduced idleness during the long period of dry season when farmers had to wait for rainy season to resume.

There were however, notably some slight variations of soil structure and rainfalls in the southern part of Galadima area demarcated by the Jare River popularly referred to as *Kogin Jare*. This river begins from Bakori cutting across Galadima area through Kafur, Mahuta down to Wudil in Kano emirate as a tributary to the Hadejia-Jama'are River Basin. The towns of Gozaki, Dutsen-kura, Sabuwar Kasa, Huguma and its surroundings had more similar features with Zazzau and it was densely cultivated so it became a major centre of cotton production. Therefore, there was the intensive cultivation in cotton, indigo and tobacco in these areas.

Tobacco cultivation was fairly widespread and it was planted after millet harvest, towards the end of the rainy season *damuna*; and harvested in the dry season after which the leaves were prepared and kept in a specially built hut for over 3 months. A rich farmer might produce anything up to 2000 *sanka*; as the bundles of tobacco leaves were known, each of which sold in the late 19th century at a price which varied between 50 – 200 cowries. The treated tobacco was sold to traders who specialized in tobacco trade in nearby markets or when they visited the areas from Katsina, and the tobacco dealers then in turn took it to the markets in the north, especially in Damagaram, from where they bought other things

like salt and natron which they brought to Hausaland Cotton was usually planted around August after the harvest of millet *gero*; and it in turn was harvested during the tail end of the *kaka* period sometimes stretching up to January and part of February during the harmattan period. Most of the cotton produced in Galadima area prior to the colonial occupation was sold at Kano textile market. Some communities or families and migrant groups were noted for weaving and thread making using the cotton as their raw material which they sold to traders from Kano, Damagaram and elsewhere.⁷⁸

On the other hand, the growth in the intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco was facilitated by the availability of cattle manure. Both cotton and tobacco are crops requiring fairly heavy manuring. Therefore, rich tobacco and cotton farmers owned their cattle to manure their farms.⁷⁹ They might also negotiate with the *Fulani* that had large number of cattle to settle on their farms for a certain period during the dry season in order to manure the land with their animal dung. The importance of cattle and smaller livestock as a source of manure and a stock of wealth had always been one of the major links between the agricultural and pastoral economy in Galadima area and the Katsina Emirate as a whole. The sedentarization of the nomadic and semi nomadic *Fulani* strengthened this link. This process continued and even intensified in the 19th century.⁸⁰ We can clearly deduce from this that mixed farming in Hausaland and particularly in Galadima area was not a colonial innovation as claimed by the colonialists and ethnocentric historians. The only new innovation about colonial mixed farming was the plough.

An aspect which was very important to the agriculture of that period was the collection of sylvan products such as the shea nut *tabo*; the locust beans *kalwa*; the

⁷⁸ Y.B. Usman: *The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883*.p. 203.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p.204.

⁸⁰ Ibid. p205.

tamarind *tsamiya*; etc as discussed earlier in chapter one. These were normally collected by women and children for consumption and to be sold in the markets. The sales of these sylvan products contributed to improving the income capacity of the peasant's families and the money was used by the women in buying clothes for the children and preparing the females for marriage. Hence, women were responsible for buying utensils and other domestic materials needed when their daughters were being married off.⁸¹

1.6 Labour in the Pre-colonial period

Our concern here focuses on the kind of labour and forms of labour practiced in agriculture by the community on the eve of the colonial rule in Galadima area. Labour was a major source of production and it included peasant individual or family labour *gandu*. The corvee labour *gayya*; and the slave labour. There was also the hired labour *kwadago* and forced labour *aikindole*. Usually forced labour was employed by the aristocracy *masugari*; for the purpose of public works to the state and also to work on the Emir's estate. Peasants could be called for a communal work such as to fight wars, build city walls, clearing of roads etc.

Production was predominantly organized around households both in agriculture and industry. The production was based on the labour of peasant family, slave labour and a proportion of hired artisans, apprentices and labourers e.g. *yan kwadago* in agriculture. Slave labour was largely employed on estates and plantations of the rich class and the aristocrats. Similarly, slave labour was also employed for industrial production such as textiles, smithing, iron smelting, dyeing etc. Although industrial production involved

⁸¹ Tukur Bello Ingawa: *A Study of the Rural Economic History of the Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate during the Colonial Rule 1900-1939* A PhD Thesis submitted to ABU Zaria 1984, p6-8

largely family labour, slave labour and hired labour such as porters, guides, apprentices, and construction workers were utilized.⁸²

The family labour was controlled as well as supervised by the leader of the family that is the most elderly person who directed the members of the family to work on the collective farm lands for at least six days of the week. Traditionally and in most cases among the non-Muslims in the villages and homesteads of Galadima area before the colonial rule, children owed their families six days work of the week and a day's free work was given to them or they join their mothers to work on the farms allotted to them called *gayauna*. The mother on every Sunday of the week could employ the labour of her own children to work on her farm *Ranar daka*. In return for this free land and free working day for women, the woman was expected to feed the family during the dry season *rani*; precisely from the month of January to April and the husband took over the responsibility of feeding the family during the rainy season and harvest *kaka* season. This practice was not accepted by the Muslim community because it is the husband that take the responsibilities of the wife. There was also among non-Muslim community, a day set aside for processing of guinea corn in preparation for food of the family. This special day of the week was called "*ranardaka*". The children especially males were free on this day to go for corvee labour *gayya*; or hired labour *kwadago*; as they so wished, or go to their small portion of land given to them by the mother from her personal farm *gayauna*⁸³.

Corvee labour or *gayya*; was a collective work by a community or group of people such as age grades who would come together as a team to work for the development of the community. For example, the clearing of roads, building of bridges or digging wells etc.

⁸² Bello Sule 1982, *State and Economy in Kano, 1894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination*, PhD Thesis, Zaria: Department of History, A.B.U. p. 22-23.

⁸³ Interview with Maigida Keso of G/Maiwando Tafkin Jage, Kuringata, Kafur LGA, aged 110years, 18/7/12.

Age groups could be organized to work on the farm of the in-laws of a member of their group. They could also work on individual family farmlands as the case might be in a rotational move. The corvee labour was free but food for the workers was prepared by the beneficiary. A family could therefore organize *gayya*; labour by sending invitations to various families and individuals indiscriminately and a day was fixed and the time also and venue as well were all communicated verbally using the local town criers known as *maroka*; during occasions such as wedding ceremonies and a good attendance was expected because of the various social connections with the family sending the invitations. For example, they could be connected through inter-marriage, some were members of an extended family, or even sharing farm boundaries with the host. Some were age grades of those making the invitation while others owed them such *gayya*; work which they wanted to reciprocate making it mandatory for all well wishers to attend.

Politically, the traditional rulers before the advent of colonial rule adopted corvee labour *gayya* as a means of communal labour to clear roads, build bridges, build market stalls etc. in attempt to develop their communities, open markets, for sanitation purpose, etc. On the other hand, the traditional rulers had farm estates which they also used communal labour or forced labour to cultivate. The chief fixed the date for the work, and information was sent round the community through the *Yaron Maigari*; that is the chiefs messengers and each family must be represented during the work. For corvee labour, no payment was expected but food and drink, usually alcohol *burkutu*; must be provided.⁸⁴

Traditional drums specially for farming purposes could be played to encourage the work and both the invited and none invited would join the work at the hearing of the

⁸⁴ Musa Usman Abdullahi: The Impact of British Colonialism on Zaria City and Environs 1902 – 1960. B.A. History Project, Dept. of History, ABU Zaria, Oct. 2006.p5

drums. Similarly slave labour was very significant in agricultural production. But slave labour was confined to the rich class and the ruling class. The most important factor about labour that greatly promoted agriculture was the peasant labour which largely depended on communal labour.⁸⁵

Every farmer in Galadima area had a clear idea of the most economic division of his labour force. The men performed the hardest work such as bush clearing, ridging, and harvesting, transportation of crops by donkeys, rearing cows, hunting and fishing etc. while women engaged in the house maintenance such as cooking food, gathering firewood, planting, weeding, winnowing, weaving and petty trade etc.

But the wives of the Hausa Muslims practicing purdah had some difference in division of labour; such that they had limited obligations to contribute labour to the household production. Though she has full personal control and responsibilities of her own capital resources and equipment. She may produce crops of her own by hiring labour and the wives grain may provide food during the hungry months, keeping goats was mostly done by women. Similarly, the proceeds of a woman spinning, weaving and petty trade were used to meet a part of the needs of her own daughter, to provide most if not all of the household equipment's which the daughter carries on leaving home to marry. It was the general practice for the women folk to perform the work of decortications, winnowing and oil extraction from groundnuts.

Children were drowned into actual labour after circumcision around the age of 5-6 years. Their main function was the collection of carriage of firewood and dried guinea corn stalks. They also served as chief vendors of foodstuffs. Some of them acquire great skills of

⁸⁵ Ibid p.5

arts and crafts in the construction of toys from guinea corn stalks and in building bird cages.

The actual cultivation of the soil was bestowed on the men folk as is the construction of housing, fencing, and granaries as well as tending the beasts. Some time might be spent during the redundant periods on hunting, fishing, gathering honey and going outside the community to look for labour. Men also were used for public works on roads and bridges etc.

From the foregoing, we establish that labour was central in every production and therefore, it was the propelling factor that immediately enhanced the well being of agricultural activities and other sectors which led to the promotion of the economy and this labour was largely dependent on the peasant labour and communal labour.

1.7 The Land Tenure System

There was available land for the population of Galadima area and there were large bushes *dazuka*, cultivable land that were desolate, good land but not cultivated. There was room for immigrants and this probably was the reason for the influx of immigrants from far and wide into Galadima area on the eve of the colonial occupation.

“Land tenure can be defined as the interrelationships between men in the use of land resources or as in the rights that people have in land that is their integral privileges to use, cultivate, disposed of and even exploit specified portion of the earth’s surface.”⁸⁶

The system of land tenure in Galadima area before the colonial rule was such that the land was held in trust for the people by the *Sarki* who delegates his authority to the *Hakimai* and *Dagattai* to administer the land on his behalf. The native system of land

⁸⁶ Phillips Anne: *The Engine of Colonialism, Br Policy in W/A*. Indiana Uni Press. Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989, p. 78. (Cited in Gwadabe p. 130).

tenure was such that the chief was bound to assign land when available to any one who required it. Complete alienation of land to Europeans or other non-natives was prohibited by law. Rights of occupancy however were granted to non-natives but the area in respect of which such rights may be granted for agricultural purposes was strictly limited.

Land was free for cultivation on occupation. This was in accordance with the traditional laws and customs of the Hausa community in Galadima area ever before the advent of colonialism. The *Hakimai* and *Dagattai* were subordinate fiefs. The *sarki* was the overall owner of the land *ubankasa* and the land tenure was directly related to the territorial overlordship of the aristocracy even though aristocracy had no ultimate individual overlordship over the land and they had official estates and regulated the use of land through various offices in general. On the other hand estates were owned by wealthy individual families.⁸⁷

The essential basis of native custom is that the freehold of land belonged to the section of the population that had conquered and was in possession of the land. The freehold of the land was in theory vested in the chief, although by no means should the chief alienate this right from his successors. The chief had the power to grant the use of lands to private individuals and was competent to transfer this power to his subordinate chiefs. The right of possession of the land by a peasant existed to a certain point, his eviction or removal from the land by the chief for no good reason such as treason and constant theft was considered an act of tyranny. The individual or community could transfer the right of occupation to someone else in the case of migration. No selling was allowed but leasing *aro* and pawning *jingina* of the land was recognized. Therefore ownership was subject to certain well understood limitations and obligations to the *sarki*;

⁸⁷ Ibid: Bello Sule:p. 27.

and the community to which the individual belonged. The major obligation to the individual for free cultivation and ownership of land was yearly payment of taxes in kind or in cash to the *sarki* through his subordinate chiefs – *masu unguwa*, *Hakimai* and *Dagattai*; from which were collectively used for the remunerations of subordinate chiefs, and partly used for the maintenance of the *sarki*'s; large family and for administrative purposes.⁸⁸

This policy of land tenure and ownership predated the jihad period and was maintained and modified under the British colonial rule to suit the interests of the colonialists. This practice was the same in Galadima area on the eve of colonial rule.

1.8 Pastoralism

Pastoralism was the practice of production of livestock mainly cattle, goats and sheep in commercial quantities. It was another activity practiced by people that were nomadic and semi-nomadic. The nomadic were the *Fulani* especially those who solely depended on cattle rearing, living in the *ruggage* and bushes or *dazuka* of Galadima area and also in small communities alongside the Hausa communities. The *Fulani* could be distinguished as the “*Fulanin gida*” and “*Fulanin daji*”.

The cattle dung *kashin shanu* or animal faeces served as fertilizer in the farms and were of great relevance since there was no modern fertilizer. The cattle produced milk *nono* used to drink “*fura*” which is a popular Hausa food. The fats extracted from the cattle milk *man shanu* is edible used for preparing foods or as an appetizer. The cattle also provided the bulk of the meat (beef) eaten in Hausaland and exported to neighbouring areas.

⁸⁸ NAK KATPROV File No. 1724: A Confidential Report by High Commissioner in Kaduna to the Chief Secretary in Lagos on Rural Land Policy. Ref Confidential K. 3695/77, KAT Kaduna dated 27/7/1923.

Initially, the activity of pastoralism was entirely left for the *Fulani* who were not peasants but a migratory group into Hausaland, which backdated the 11th Century and ever since they were responsible for the production of livestock in large quantities. These *Fulani* were often given herds to rear by the members of the ruling class while the Habe or Hausawa were gradually engaged into mixed farming.

Therefore, there was a close link between agriculture and pastoralism because the animal dung or the faeces of the herds was used as manure to promote plant growth and agricultural production to such an extent that farmers producing cash crops like cotton and tobacco which needed much manure, depended greatly on the use of cattle manure.⁸⁹ The nomadic *Fulani* also produced dairy products from the cattle and traded these with the sedentary farmers in exchange for agricultural products and luxury items. Also livestock production was indispensable in the economy of Galadima area as well as the Hausa communities as it was the source of many vital things such as meat, for consumption and for commercial purpose, hides and skin for the production of shoes, bags, shield for war, quiver for arrows, for “*buzu*”, a kind of leather mat used for resting and prayer by Muslims and a traditional leather dress called “*warki*” or *walki*, usually used by men during work on the farms, hunting and wars, etc. The butter *man shanu* extracted from the dairy was palatable and popular in Hausa food and the “*fura*” was mainly diluted with “*nono*” – cattle milk.

Pastoralism was greatly boosted by many factors. Politically, since the jihad of Usman dan Fodio, *Fulani* clans took over administration in Hausaland and the rights of the *Fulani* migrant groups were better protected.⁹⁰ Also, cattle routes and bush paths were

⁸⁹ Ibid: Y.B. Usman.,p,205

⁹⁰ Ibid.p,206

adequately provided in the district making it comfortable for passage by the nomads. The soil of Galadima area was very fertile producing fine grazing grass in the whole land, on the farms, the bushes, and especially in *fadamu* and river banks and most especially the corn stock as well as left-over of the crops such as beans and groundnut leaves after harvests were highly proteinous foods for the cattle which made them fat and healthy and this was a major reason why Galadima area received influx of *Fulani* groups every *kaka* harvesting season of the year. This on the other hand contributed to the sedentarization of *Fulani* clans and the intermarrying with the Hausa communities. In this way, many people adopted mixed farming and cattle rearing alongside their farming activity and some adopted it as a commercial business called *ciko ortugu* and it boosted the commercial activity of *fawa*.⁹¹ The density of the *Fulani* settlement in Hausaland during the period prompted a German explorer to say that he would rather call the Hausaland the Hausa-*Fulani*.⁹²

Conclusively, pastoralism in Galadima area on the eve of European domination was on the increase due to favourable conditions such as fertile land, free grazing grass, land for the nomadic *Fulani* families, enough bushes *dazuka* for cattle rearing and for the immigrant nomads to settle down, available rivers, streams and ponds across the area and the legally provided animal routes across the district which hitherto had reduced conflict among peasants and nomads. All these advantages were effective because of the welcoming attitude of the natives and the accommodating culture of the society to immigrants and also for the fact that the nomadic *Fulani* were encouraged to remain in the district by the rulers

⁹¹ This has been discussed by Y.B Usman: the transformation of Katsina... and M.M Adamu: the role of the native authority... and Tukur Bello ingawa: A study of the economic history... 1900-1939

⁹² Paul Staudinger translated by Johanna E. Moody: "In the Heart of the Hausa States, Vol. 2. Ohio University, Monographs in International Studies, Africa Series, No. 56, 1990.p. 48.

who were of the same *Fulani* stock. This smooth relationship promoted growth of the economy of Galadima area.

1.9 Commerce

There are indications of vigorous commercial activities in the second half of the 19th Century in Galadima district.⁹³ Certainly, one identifiable major trend was the growth of markets which tended to specialize in one or two major commodities.⁹⁴

The general political security gained in the second half of the 19th Century in Katsina Emirate and most especially, the security on the roads provided by the authorities to protect long distance traders from attacks by armed robbers⁹⁵ favoured commercial activity in Galadima area. There were few permanent traders in the towns of this area. But the situation favoured as well as boosted small traders who farmed during the rainy season and sold their surplus produce to buy their stock-in-trade after harvest. Such part-time-traders were then able to travel in small parties of two or three during the dry season. Since they were usually contented with small profits, the fall of the prices prevailing then as a result of the increasing European trade monopoly, did not affect their business. If anything, the small part-time itinerant traders of Galadima area seemed to have prospered.⁹⁶

The whole commercial activities revolved around the brokers in grains known as *ma'auna*; and livestock dealers' *dillalan dabbobi*; manufactured goods such as iron and wooden implements, cloth, leather and leather goods etc. The trade was divided into two and the first mainly involved the local trade in grains, livestock, crafts and industries etc.

⁹³ Ibid: Y.B. Usman:p.211.

⁹⁴ Ibid: p. 212.

⁹⁵ Ibid: M.M Adamu. p.56.

⁹⁶ Adamu Mohammed Fikah. p.146.

and was carried in the local markets while the second was the long distance trade through some special routes and it involved so many goods which served either as imports or exports.⁹⁷

The Sylvan products were varied and abundant but there was no much dependence on their sales or desperation to secure surpluses for marketing. Livestock supplemented the income of nearly every household. Almost every family or an individual could own a horse, one or more donkeys, a small herd of goats or more rarely some sheep, from which sales were regularly made. The donkey not only enhanced productivity of the farm by its use of haulage but it also made it possible to transport crops to markets in or near the large urban centres where prices were 20% to 30% higher than those in the local markets. The donkey owner could also hire services or that of his beast alone for transport work and could transport goods in order to engage in part time, small scale trading on his own account. The donkey was in most cases commandeered by men. Most women spun cotton yarn and prepared cooked foods and bundles of edible leaves or fruits for sale in the local markets, while men made rope, basketry, matting for sale in their spare time during the dry season.

The only major caravan track that passed through Galadima area was that mentioned by Yusuf Bala Usman from Maska to Bakori through Malumfashi and Gora Mai Kasuwa to Katsina and to as far as Damagaram *Zindar*; and to Timbuctoo.⁹⁸ It also branched from Gora Mai Kasuwa to Gwarzo and Kano. These routes were known as *Karabku*; and every town or the *garuruwa*; with flourishing markets linked with the major *Karabka*; as feeder roads. The bulk of the trade in kola nut and salt followed the major

⁹⁷ Ibid: M.M Adamu: p. 55.

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 57

route. Malumfashi and Funtua were major centres of kola *goro* dealers who imported the commodity from Yorubaland notably Gwonja in Oyo and Lagos. This trade in kolanut *goro*; produced a wealthy class of merchants in Malumfashi and Funtua living in and around the street known as Layin Yan Goro Malumfashi. Many people became rich and even during the colonial rule. This trade in *goro*; seemed to have prospered especially during the 1920s and 1930s when lorries were introduced into the transport system of the colonial economy.⁹⁹ Trade commodities were taken from Galadima area to as far South as Lagos on the coast, Kumasi in Ashanti and other distant places.¹⁰⁰ From the northern desert of Asben, Bagazawa salt, oxen and sheep were brought into Katsina Province which found their way to the Southern Katsina.

According to Polly Hill, there was the development of cattle trade in Katsina during the period under review and this famous trade was carried out by the tobacco farmers of Northern Katsina who sold tobacco at Damagaram. They in turn bought cattle, which they brought to the South along a route through Malumfashi, Bakori and Maska, down to Nupe and Ilorin to the Southwest and to Lafia and the Benue belt region in the Southeast. Other imports from distant places included Natron from the western provinces of Borno, mineral salt from Bilma, the Abzin, Kebbi and Awei in the Middle Benue valley, kolanuts from Gwonja, Nupe and Oyo, tin from Jos Plateau area and horses from Borno and *Abzin*; goats and sheep from the Adar and Azbin, textiles, glass and metal ware from Nupe, slaves from Zazzau and the south and silks, swords and fineries from North Africa. The long distance traders brought with them things produced particularly from Galadima area grains, tobacco, cotton, cotton thread, indigo and iron.

⁹⁹ Ibid: A. M Fikah: p.148

¹⁰⁰ M.Adamu: *The Hausa Factor in West African History*: ABU Press Zaria, 1980, p.50

The items imported played an important role in the economy of Galadima area and the whole of Katsina Emirate. Staple commodities like mineral salt, natron and kolanut were consumed by all classes of the population. So also other imports like Slaves, Horses and luxury goods from North Africa, Zazzau, Kano, Borno and Nupe, were used by the rich merchants and the aristocrats. Slaves were importantly used by wealthy farmers and the aristocrats to extend cotton cultivation in Galadima area and especially Gozaki area which produced a wealthy merchant class and the *sarakuna*.¹⁰¹

The major means of exchange in Galadima area on the eve of colonial rule were the cowries usually sold in the markets. The cowry shell was the major currency during the period and the measure of the value of the cowries included the fives *biyar*; tens *goma*; hundreds *dari*; thousands *zambar*; and twenty thousand *keso*. There was also trade by barter involving exchange of food grains, livestock, land, goods and balls of thread *sullage*.¹⁰²

Apart from the actual merchants, there were those who participated in different aspects of commerce such as *dillala*; usually specialized in mediating between the seller and the buyer and a token or a percentage of the total cost was given to them by the buyer. There were also *yankoli*; that specialize in the sell of women necklaces and assorted products that were not grains. There are also the *masu tugu*; those who would buy say an animal, brandish it and re-sale it for a profit. Some of the businessmen became financiers and moneylenders to the brokers and other merchants. The *fatake*; were of course long distance traders but in many cases, they employed the services of *yan hito*, *yan dako* and *masu gadi*.

¹⁰¹ Op-cit Y.B Usman: p. 58.

¹⁰² Ibid.

1.10 Local Crafts Industry

An outstanding feature of the economy of Galadima area on the eve of European rule was crafts and industries. There was a clear linkage between mining, agricultural and manufacturing sectors. The local industries were supplied among other things with the raw materials needed for internal cottage handicraft production and the latter provided most of the needed manufactures and tools for internal consumption and reproduction as well as for export.¹⁰³

The most important crafts and industries in Galadima area then included weaving, iron smelting, blacksmithing, carving, dyeing, barbing, building, butchering, tanning, pot making, mat making, indigo and thread making *kadi* etc. It was evident that metal work had advanced before the advent of colonial rule that revolutionalised trade and export of the economy of Katsina Emirate and Galdima area in particular in the second half of the 19th century.¹⁰⁴

“The evidence for the expansion of iron working in the 19th century is more palpable and might have been connected with the extension of cultivation. The iron ore mines of Kankara – Burdugau region attracted miners and smelters from other parts of the emirate and from Daura, Kazaure and Kano. Blacksmiths also came setting up their works near the mines. One ‘hoge’ of iron is said to have cost up to 1000 cowries at Kankara and could be used to produce 10 – 30 hoe blades, depending on its size. Traders came in to buy the pig iron, the iron implements and weapons, directly from the iron workers or through the iron brokers at nearby settlements and markets, such as Kankara and Ketare ...”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Ibrahim Danjuma Nababa, *Katsina state historical guide IV: agricultural and commercial development produce by Katsina state History and culture Bureau. December 2001*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*: Y.B. Usman:p.60-61

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid* Y.B Usman,p.208.

In fact the greater demand for iron seemed to have led to expansion of iron works in the whole Katsina Emirate. There were also other iron centres that developed as a result of this greater demand such as an iron ore site near Tandama Gozaki – Tandama region where cotton cultivation was extensively done. Tandama became an important iron centre not for its iron but for the population of its iron workers, brokers and others who populated this place especially during the dry season. It was also evident that iron work expanded in other places in Northern Katsina Emirate such as Kaga, Zandama, Lafiari and Kaita etc. The iron working near Birnin Gwari and Kuriga continued to expand and its influence on Galadima area was felt by the late 19th century and farmers appreciated the quality of the hoe produced calling it '*yar kuriga*'. The quality of the iron from Kuriga iron working site was far better in quality because of the method used in the furnace. Other iron implements were brought from places mentioned in Northern Katsina and elsewhere which farmers and blacksmiths used extensively in agriculture.¹⁰⁶

The peasants and migrant groups usually specialized in crafts and industry and were therefore carried out as guilds and members of the family inherited the trait and were automatically employed into the job. Crafts and industries such as dyeing were located in Mahuta and Malumfashi, etc.

Major works of art and industries in Galadima area included blacksmith, weaving, dyeing, leather work, tailoring, wood work, pottery, spinning, thread and rope making. Others included mat making, calabash decorations, building, barbing etc. Additional crafts and industries include food selling, singing, frying *kuli-kuli*, fishing, cap making, and local sugar known as *suga rawar doki*; etc.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

These economic activities were detrimental to the lives of the people of Galadima district because apart from agriculture, they served as the major means of their daily income and livelihood before the commencement of colonial domination and most of these economic streaks were gradually destroyed during the colonial period, only few managed to survive like blacksmithing, barbing, livestock etc because they were transformed to serve colonial interests. We shall discuss the measures and policies used by the colonial administration to achieve this purpose in the subsequent chapters.

In the process of imposition of taxes and most of these economic activities disappeared in the later decades of colonial rule as intended by the colonial administration. Those that survived were transformed and allowed to retain a small percentage of its practitioners in order to serve colonial interests. Therefore, the moment colonial policies were put in place (as we shall discuss in chapter three), the participants of these economic activities were over taxed so much so that all the income they accrued was spent on taxes. They abandoned the activities and concentrated on cultivation of export crops farming which was the only way possible to be at peace with the colonial administration.

1.11 Conclusion

The discussion in this focused on the location of our area of study and background history of the political, social and economic structures of the area on the eve of British rule. The discuss could throw light on the nature and extent of the interruption and possible destruction brought above by colonialism in the area. The chapter to examined nature of transformations made by the Europeans in order to achieve the objectives of colonial rule, and the colonial policies designed and the strategies for the realization of the colonial objectives.

CHAPTER TWO

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF KATSINA EMIRATE

2.0 Introduction

The British occupation of Galadima area was in line with the waves of conquests that were conducted in earnest by the British colonial government from 1900 to 1903. During this short period, the whole fourteen emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate and Borno Empire were subjugated and brought under forceful control through brutal conquests by the British West African Frontier Force.

The occupation of our area of study was purely for economic reasons; for the purpose of exploiting the human and natural resources. The colonial state was established to pursue colonial interests through the use of the colonial infrastructures and institutions under the indirect rule system.

This chapter attempts to examine the occupation of Galadima area as well as the creation of the Native Authority and its institutions such as the Native Courts, prisons and the Native authority police for the purpose of maintaining peace and order. There was the entrenchment of colonial policies for the realization of colonial goals, especially the, exploitation of the economic resources in the form of export trade and transfer of surplus.

2.1 The Establishment of Native Administration in Katsina Emirate

The occupation and domination of Katsina Emirate by the British colonial forces took place on the 29th March, 1903. Katsina Emirate was not conquered but occupied because of the absence of military fighting.¹⁰⁷ The Emir surrendered to the British forces without a single gunshot fired because Katsina was demoralized being the last to be defeated after Keffi, Zazzau, Bauchi, Sokoto and Maradi in Niger Republic etc. The purpose of this occupation was to consolidate the exploitation of the human and natural

¹⁰⁷ Hull, The Development of Administration, p.100-101.

resources of Galadima area which could only be possible with the establishment of an efficient system of administration.¹⁰⁸

The British adopted the Indirect Rule System which could be defined as the administration of the colonized societies through their traditional rulers. The concept of Native Authority was evolved as part of the Indirect Rule System as an institution that recognized the existence of traditional rulers including the Emir and all his subordinate chiefs. Later, the term Native Authority referred to the bureaucracy of the Native Administration. In other words the colonial administration recognized the existence of Emirs, Chiefs, native Councils and Native Courts not as on lookers but as real living forces.¹⁰⁹

The colonial regime adopted the Indirect Rule System for the fact that they lacked sufficient personnel to control the territories and due to shortage of revenue and military forces. So it was reasoned that if British rule was to survive, the position of traditional rulers must be maintained.¹¹⁰ These traditional rulers were however powerless in the responsibilities they shouldered which means their functions were subject to the supervision of colonial authority who had final say over all decisions. The British officials were to be called Resident or sympathetic advisers and counselors to the rulers rather than administrators or executives. The focus came to be more on supervision by the Native Authority Officials

Thus, the N.A. was created to provide smooth administration for the colonialists, to facilitate and promote export crops cultivation in our area of study. The colonial administration used the N.A. to pass down information and to implement its programmes such as the agricultural and pastoral policies.

After the occupation of Katsina emirate the British Official Mr. R.W. Palmer was posted to Katsina as Resident officer of the Emirate in 1904. He created the Native Authority in 1905. He also created the native treasury - *Beitul-mal* in 1907 and 19 districts in Katsina Emirate for administrative convenience. Galadima district was among the southern districts and District Heads were appointed and posted to govern the districts on behalf of the Emir. Mr. Palmer proceeded to convert traditional rulers to salary earners in order to maintain strict control and obedience to the colonial regime.

Initially, the N.A. in Katsina Emirate was not effective due to the non-cooperation by the first two Emirs Sarki Abubakar and Sarki Yero who demonstrated strong resistance to British domination that led to their removal from office. When Durbi Muhammadu Dikko became emir on the 9th November, 1906, the Native Authority took proper shape. The Emir was the head of the Native Authority and together with the members of his council, supervised the operation of the six departments and the 19 districts. They also decided on the estimates of the revenue and expenditure with the District officer or Assistant Resident officer. However, the council received orders and instructions on all matters of the Native Authority.

There were seven departments created in the Native Authority System. These included taxation and general administration occupied by the Wazirin Katsina the treasury

¹⁰⁸ R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906*, Longman, London, 1971.

¹⁰⁹ A.H.M. Kirk Green: *Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria: Selected documents 190-1947* (OUP, London, 1965) p.68.

¹¹⁰ R.W. Shenton; "Studies in the Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria," Unpublished Thesis (University of Toronto, 1981) p.61-62.

department was occupied by Mutawali Ummaru, prisons and the administration of Katsina town was occupied by Magajin Gari, All roads were headed by Sarkin Hanya, Trees and bush department headed by Sarkin Dawa, Schools were headed by one Alhaji Balarabe and the office of the Waziri Alhaji Muhammadu Zaiyana. The council of the Sarki included the Sarki, the Waziri and Magajin Gari who met periodically on important issues that concerned the emirate. The Galadima was the representative of the Emir in the Native Authority activities in Galadima district.

The Native Authority was responsible for the implementation of agricultural and pastoral polices in Galadima District and Katsina emirate at large. The Native Authority was responsible for tax collection, payment of salaries, construction of infrastructure like roads etc. They were the engine of colonial government.¹¹¹

2.2 The Institution of the Police, Courts and Prisons in Galadima District

The police, court and prison were administrative institutions used by the colonial regime from the on-set of colonial administration, to maintain law and order, peace and security for smooth and effective governance of the colonized areas. They were established to compel obedience to British laws and ordinances in relation to export crop production and pastoral policies. These were tools used by the colonial administration to establish political, social and economic stability so that there could be smooth market and transfer of surplus value to the metropole country. The three institutions worked hand-in-hand in order to check crime and offences in relation to maintenance of law and order. From 1914 to 1937, all the three institutions were properly established in Galadima District.

¹¹¹ NNAK SNP 472 Kano Province Annual Report 1909.

2.3 The Police

The Nigeria Police Force was first established at Abeokuta in 1905, modeled on the lines of the Egba traditional police similar to the Dogarai in the palaces of Hausaland traditional rulers. The formation of the police was meant to secure the Indirect Rule System adopted as the best strategy to prolong colonial domination. The *Dogarai* in Hausaland existed long before the establishment of colonial domination especially in Hausaland. They were drawn from a class of slaves and they combined the roles of body guards, messengers, executioners, revenue and diplomatic functions. Other functions included the duty to capture and discipline offenders to guard towns and sensitive places.¹¹²

According to Kemi Rotimi, the traditional police performed important duties of preventing crime, detecting and arrest of criminals for judgment after crime had been committed. They took care of markets, provided peace, collected tolls, controlled traffic. These roles provided the basis on which the colonial authorities adopted the *dogarai*; policing policy and transformed it into the Indirect Ruel System. The new policemen were transformed from being the *sarkis*; personal bodyguards to public servants with fixed salaries and distinguished uniforms during colonial regime.

However, the transformation of the *Dogarai*; to become the N.A. *Yandoka*; and *Yansanda*; Federal Police was remarkable only in appearance and not in mentality. The N.A. Police still saw himself as the loyal servant of the ruling class and not of the general public. He swore allegiance to the Native Authority and not to the force of which he was a member. He was determined to carry out all orders of the Native Authority.¹¹³ The Native Authority Police were involved in the recruitment of workers as forced labourers to work in the mines and construction sites. They were involved in terrorizing peasants during forced labour which added to the frustration of the labourers leading to high rate of desertions from the mines and construction sites. Police raids and patrols during payment periods for bicycle licenses and colonial taxes and court fines to farmers who violated ordinances of export crops production were also common and added to the difficulties, poverty and frustration to the citizens of Galadima district during colonial rule.¹¹⁴ They abused their status a lot.¹¹⁵

They promoted coercion, exploitation, oppression and corruption in the community. Peasants saw them as primary enemies and collaborators of colonial administrators.¹¹⁶

There were two categories of police in Nigeria during the colonial regime. These were the Nigeria police force *yansanda* under the control of the federal government and the native administration police force *yandoka*. The police maintained by the native administration in Katsina province were scattered fairly evenly among the districts. They were recruited in such a way that they could manage their own affairs under strict control,

¹¹² M.G. Smith "Government in Zazzau, 1880-1950", London, Oxford University Press, 1960, p.338; Also A.M. Fika, p.42, 47-48.

¹¹³ Kemi Rotimi, *The Police in a Federal State: The Nigerian Experience*, Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife Nigeria, 2001, p.170.

¹¹⁴ Kemi Rotimi, *The Police in a Federal State: The Nigerian Experience*, Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife Nigeria, 2001, p.175-176.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.184.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.193.

propose, training, discipline and instruction by the colonial officials to ensure the achievement of colonial goals¹¹⁷.

Primarily, the duties of the police included the prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders, the preservation of law and order, the protection of property and the due enforcement of all laws, regulations, rules and orders with which it was charged. The native authority shall collaborate with the Nigeria police force in discharging their duties.¹¹⁸

However, the transformation of the Dogarai to become the Native Authority, *yandoka*; and *yansanda*; Federal Police was remarkable only in appearance and not in mentality. The Native Authority police still saw himself as the loyal servant of the ruling class and not of the general public. He swore allegiance to the Native Authority and not to the force of which he was a member. He was determined to carry out all orders of the Native Authority.¹¹⁹

Unlike the Nigerian police force, the Native Authority police recruited uneducated indigenes Nigerian police. They dealt with cases of magistrate courts¹²⁰.

The Native Administration police received training at the police school in Enugu and Kaduna and were composed of indigenes, former *Dogarai*; and *Yan banga*. They were illiterates, who could hardly read and write or speak in English and didn't know the English laws and the constitutional regulations. Their uniform was quite different from the one of the Nigerian police force¹²¹.

The native authorities of Galadima District were charged with the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the district. They checked crime and law breakers, made arrest and handed over suspects to the Nigerian police or to the courts for persecution. They normally handled only civil laws. The *yandoka*; on the other hand handled the criminal as well as other offences related to the national laws. The *yandoka* police worked with the native courts only while the Nigerian police deal with the magistrate courts. The Native Authority police were originally the personnel attendants of the *sarki*, then utilized for a variety new roles and purposes such as messengers, watchmen, overseers of labor and some as police.¹²²

The *yandoka*; police worked hand-in-hand with the courts and prisons to handle any possible rebellion or resistance against the British colonial government. The three institutions – Police, Prisons, and Courts, provided a conducive atmosphere for the production of export crops and the maintenance of peace and smooth administration. By 1919, some Nigerian police were posted to Malumfashi and their office was built close to the Native Authority office. Some of the police were attached to the court while some were posted to market and some attached to the Native Authority and the district head.

¹¹⁷ KATPROF: 2533, Memorandum by Colonel A.S Mavrogordato, O.B.E Commissioner of the Nigeria Police-on the Training and Instruction of the Native Administration Police Forces in Nigeria-their Uses and Organization-and their Co-operation with the Nigeria Police, 3/April/1929.

¹¹⁸ Native Authority Police Force Rules 194... Kaduna. Printed by the Government, 1946, p3. Also in KATPROF: 2533, p31-32

¹¹⁹ Kemi Rotimi, p.170

¹²¹ Ibid: Native Authority Rules 194. P32

¹²² SNP 73095 Kano provincial report June 1907; and R. Hull, The development of administration in Katsina... p161.

The Nigerian police were feared in the district because they were given so much power to arrest, detain, and sometimes prosecute offenders and send them to court for judgment. For these reasons they gradually become corrupt receiving bribes before dispensing justice and they were used by the colonialist and the native authority officials to intimidate, harass and cheat peasants. Opposition parties were dealt with and victimized using the police. Any farmer who refused to obey the colonial rules on agriculture and the production of export crop was dealt with and the offender could face court charges and eventually might go to prison. Most peasants feared as well as hated the police because they were regarded as agents of oppression.

2.4 The Native Courts

As mentioned earlier, the colonial government established native courts for the maintenance of law and order and to force obedience to the colonial laws and ordinance in relation to export crops production and pastoral policies. The general duties of the native courts were:-

- a) To enforce colonial laws.
- b) To ensure tax collection.
- c) To establish peace and tranquility.
- d) To generate revenue.
- e) To deal with elites who opposed the colonial domination.¹²³

The ordinance for the establishment of colonial court was promulgated in 1900 in order to give them legal backing. The native court in Malumfashi was established around 1914, built opposite the Galadima palace and the Native Authority office, now a Sharia Court. It was the first court and it was made independent from the *Galadima*, a division of the former court practice during the Sokoto caliphate.

The native court had power or jurisdiction on natives within its catchment area- Galadima district, it was the first and the only court before the magistrate and others were added in the district. They maintained rigid system of keeping records to be checked by visiting officials. They were headed by *Alkali* appointed by the emir and approved by the colonial administrators. They presided over cases of land, tithes, marriage, customs and payment of small debts¹²⁴.

The *Alkali* was assisted by others officials. On the other hand there were the magistrate courts and there was the provincial court at Kastina headed by British colonial officers to handle cases of extortion, maladministration brought against tax collections, court officials or district head.

The native courts compiled reports of cases tried on monthly basis to be checked by the assistant resident officers. Cases could be referred to the native court from provincial

¹²³ Safiyanu Aminu: *The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria. A case study of zaria N.A, 1902-1945, M.A Thesis, dept of history, A.B.U Zaria, 1991, p12.*

¹²⁴ Mahmud Modibbo Tukur: *The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States: 1897-1914. Ph.D Thesis, History Department, ABU Zaria, July 1979. Vol.1. p.449-474.*

court and vice versa. The *Alkali* was receiving salary alone with the Native Authority officials and the district officers with the consent of the district officer install a new *Alkali* and dismiss him if necessary. The revenue collected by the court through fines, death duties and fees were remitted to the Native Authority through the office of the district head. This revenue was checked and verified by the treasurer using the list of returns of the month which the courts submitted⁸.

Before 1937, the courts proceedings were kept in Arabic and *ajami* but as from 1937 they were kept in Hausa and Hausa language was the official language used in the native court peasants could make appeals to the other courts of superior grade.

By 1921, there were grades of courts –grades A=2, Grade B=II, Grade C=I, Grade D=I. the two grade A were built in Kastina, Grade B were built in districts and the *Alkali* must be learned. There was a school for the *Alkali* at Kastina to further the education.

The revenue raised by courts continued to increase every year and in the last years of the colonial domination Galadima district was generating huge revenue. The colonial government used the native courts to entrench the colonial ordinances related to agriculture and pastoralism. Some of those laws were made to prohibit planting of unwanted species of crops and to discourage practice of local crafts. They stopped manufacturing using raw materials, collect taxes and impose official leaders. They used the courts in forcing labor and punished offenders who broke laws.

There was an unfortunate development; the native authorities used courts to extort money from peasants and it was a tool for victimization, harassment, intimidation or bizarre arrests of opponents. The *alkali* collects bribery and cheated the masses up and down. They engaged in all sorts of malpractices.¹²⁵

In 1924, assistant district officers wrote in a colonial reports warning the *magajin garin* of Malumfashi who was reported to have badly mixed-up in cotton advance *rikici*, being a friend to most of the cotton buyers and the *alkali*; was reluctant to dispense judgment on them when they have cases related to cotton business¹²⁶.

2.5 Prisons

The Malumfashi prison was built in 1914 and it was formally a resting house of the Europeans converted to prison after the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria.¹²⁷ It was a lock-up prison, one of the satellite prisons built in some district of Katsina province during the colonial rule. It could contain not more than 30 prisoners and criminal prisoners were not detained here except to prepare them for transfer to Katsina main prison. The prison only received offenders of civil cases while criminal prisoners were only detained in divisional prisons and maximum prisons.

Prisons *kurkuku* were not new in the experiences of the people of Galadima district. There were prisons during the Sokoto caliphate but none was built in the districts. When the prison in Malumfashi was built in 1914 only three prisons warders were posted to man the place.

A prison is a building where people are kept as a punishment for a crime or offenses they committed or while they are awaiting trial. Only the court or district head could send

¹²⁵ NAK KAT PROF, 1018: Kastina Division Annual Reports, 1928.

¹²⁶ NAK KAT PROF 1247: Kastina Division Annual Report, 1924.

NAK KAT PROF 1245: Katsina Division Annual Report, 1919, 1921, and 1924.

¹²⁷ Alhaji Labo Controller aged 104 Years, an influential member in the Galadima Council, Malumfashi quoted in an Interview with Inspector Bature Ibrahim Kafur, a Prison Staff of Malumfashi.

a person to the lock-up prison and it was the duty of the police to bring in the prisoner from the court or take him for trial. The prison of Malumfashi does not have the right to keep a convicted prisoner or life imprisonment. They could only detain an offender for a period of three to six months and at most two years any prison term that exceeded two years was transferred to Katsina maximum prison¹²⁸.

Satellite prisons like that of Malumfashi were feeding the prisoners, therefore there was a kitchen section who cook meals three times a day for the prisoners the money was provided by the colonial government through the native authority, but the prison warders salaries came from the treasury of the province. But prisoners who were tried for debt cases most feed themselves. The feeding amount was to be deducted from the gross debt they paid at the end. Food and pledges from individual friends and relatives were accepted but only through the administrative warders and they could not be given directly to prisoners.

Colonial prisons were an institution aimed at punishing defaulters of tax payment on other socio-political cases but the major concern of the British colonial regime was to crush any form of resistance to the government and to enforce colonial policies and programs. The prison was therefore center of harassment, victimization and intimidation of opponents for both the elite and the peasantry who opposed colonial laws and ordinances. The native authority therefore arrested opponents and locked them up without trial. The peasants see the prison as only a threat to the poor and masses that had no connection with the ruling group.

The Malumfashi prison was the only one in the district and it is still the only one with just little renovation since its inception in 1914. It only accommodated few prisoners from the district and so outsiders were not brought there. Though the capacity of the prison was only 30, it was characterized by overcrowding during the colonial rule and it became a place where other prisoners learn from their fellow prisoners unwanted characters of stealing, such as pick pocketing.

2.6 Territorial Re-organization

In 1904, the British Official Resident Mr. R.H. Palmer was posted to Katsina in charge of Katsina and Daura Emirates which was then merged under the Kano Province. Under the British administration, Mr. Palmer began a major reorganization of the Katsina Province. He created 19 districts out of the former seven territorial fiefs. A district head was appointed for each district, maintaining the existing traditional rulers or choosing among them members from recognized royal families of the societies and sometimes appointing good associates of the *Sarki* who were posted to hold such important positions as District Heads and Village Heads. Each of these District Heads was directly responsible

¹²⁸ Ibid: Interview with Inspector Bature Ibrahim Kafur.

to the Emir of Katsina. The districts were of varying sizes under the supervision of *Sarkin Katsina* who in turn was responsible to the British officials. Both the British officials, the Emir and District heads were involved in the reorganization process, assessment as well as collection of taxes and the administration of the districts. This process of political restructuring of power involved the creation of sub-districts by merger or amalgamation of villages and hamlets headed by *Dagattai* and *Masu unguwa* whose actual role certainly and primarily was the collection of taxes and maintenance of law and order.¹²⁹

In that year (1905) also the District Heads were told to either move out of the Birni or loose their positions. They however chose the former option. The Galadima that moved out from Birni Katsina was Galadima Sallau. All other fiefs also moved to their respective domains of authority. These fiefs included Yandaka Zubairu to Kurfi, Kaura Isyaku to Rimi, *Sarkin Sullubawa Shehu* to Kaita, Durbi Muhammadu Dikko to Mani, Dambo to Ingawa, Yerima Abdu to Safana and Iya Zakari to Mashi.¹³⁰

The table below provides a breakdown of people that occupied the seat of the district heads of Galadima District from 1808 – 1960.

TABLE 2.1
List of District Heads in Galadima District 1808-1960

	<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>
1.	Dudi	1808 – 1821 (13 years)
2.	Abdullahi	1821 – 1861 (40 years)
3.	Shawai	1861 – 1894 (33 years)
4.	Sallau	1894 – 1923 (29 years)

¹²⁹ Ibid: R.A Adeleye.

¹³⁰ Ibrahim Muktar M., *British Colonial Labor Policies and the Changing Role of Labor in Kano Emirate c. 1903-1960*, PhD Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria p. 140.

5. Abu 1924 (40 days)
6. Tunau 1924 – 1927 (3 years)
7. Adamu 1927 – 1944 (17 years)
8. Abdulmummuni 1944 – 1954 (10 years)
9. Abdullahi 1954

SOURCE: Surajo Danlami Aliyu: *Tarihin Kafuwar Malumfashi* P.44 2006.

At the end of the districts creation by Mr. Palmer in 1905, Galadima area was created and it retained its vast fiefdom covering most of Southern Katsina. Major towns or areas of historical significance within the Galadima area were transformed into sub-districts. A sub-district was a town controlling some villages surrounding it. These sub-districts included Gozaki, Karfi, Dayi, Gangara, Gamzago, Mahuta, Malumfashi etc.¹³¹ Also Galadima area was added with Bakori Town which was formerly under the Kaura and the old fiefs belonging to Kogo, Kankara and Machika, hitherto ruled by the sons of the ruling Emir of Katsina.¹³² As we shall see, the cornerstone of indirect rule became the regularization of the system of tax collection and the sharing of the tax between the central and the local government unit:

“The model for the conversion of Caliphal institutions into Lugardian Native Authorities was provided by Katsina emirate. In addition, H.R Palmer recognized the need in view of the demand for self finance through direct tax, to consolidate the scattered and amorphous fiefs into nineteen contiguous administrative districts and place each under a district head or Hakimi directly responsible to the Emir. This new political alignment of power also involved the creation of sub-districts either through the amalgamation of hamlet and village areas or the reconstitution of small

¹³¹ NAK KAT PROF File No. 1695, Assessment Report of Galadima District: Statistics 1921-1922 p.6.

¹³² Hull Richard William: “The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate Northern Nigeria 1887-1944”, New York, Dept. of Political Science, Columbia University, 1969... Cited in Abdullahi Mahuta’s Thesis... p140 and Surajo Aliyu Danjinkau: *Tarihin garin Malumfashi*, p.44.

fiefs. The lower position in the administrative hierarchy was the village head unit presided by a resident village head. Districts reorganization was in fact part of a larger scheme designed specifically for reform of caliphal taxation system”¹³³.

By 1914, the reorganization process going on in all the provinces of Nigeria was in fact part of the British colonial scheme specifically designed to reform the taxation system of the Sokoto Caliphate for effective domination and exploitation of the land was completed.

The first major steps taken by the British colonial government to reduce the power of the traditional rulers was to make them salaried chiefs. As a major reorganization process, the *Hakimai*, *Dagattai* and *Masu unguwa* were placed on specific salaries based on the amount of tax collected or the population of a particular fief and the size of his area. The traditional rulers were therefore graded on salaries aimed at making them dependent and obedient to the colonial government and would enable the British government to have firm control on the traditional chiefs.

Secondly from 1908 onwards, the territorial chieftains were ordered to move out of the Katsina metropolis to live in their areas of authorities as mentioned elsewhere.¹³⁴ This was during Galadima Sallau whose tenure witnessed the imposition of British rule on Katsina Province and Galadima area and his predecessors and all the seven major fiefs *Hakimai* lived around the Emir in Katsina. The Galadima lived in an area called the Galadanci named after the chieftaincy title.¹³⁵ Galadima Sallau was forced to transfer to Malumfashi Town where the *Magajin Gari* Aliyu lived at Kofar Fada and the House of

¹³³ Michael Watts, “*Silent Violence: Food, Famine & Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*. University of California Press. p168

¹³⁴ SNP/472/1909, p.3.

¹³⁵ Surajo Tanimu Danjikau: *Tarihin Garin Malumfashi*.p. 43.

Galadima was built at Kofar Fada too.¹³⁶ The proclamation on district reorganization issued by Lugard the then Governor General of Nigeria had made territorial reform at persons as *Hakimai* or District Heads and Village Heads, from time to time, for the purpose of supervision and collection of taxes.¹³⁷ The British authorities also intended to abolish the *Jakada* system of tax collection. By 1910, all the Katsina district heads were living in their district headquarters. The new administrative boundaries were quiet artificial, without concern for the tradition but to fulfil the needs of the British authorities¹³⁸.

The second reorganization process began in 1915 affecting the whole districts of the Katsina Province, necessitated by a widespread of tax embezzlement by the District Heads and Village Heads, particularly in Galadima area.¹³⁹ Many traditional rulers were deposed for embezzlement of the taxes collected from their *talakawa*. But this disciplinary measure did not stop embezzling, more and more Village Heads were caught and dismissed. This was attributed to the fact that the income of the traditional rulers was limited to salaries which could not take care of their expenses for their administration, luxuries and generosities and extravagances. Hence under the colonial rule, they were deprived of autonomy over taxation, slavery and forced labour. For example, prior to this period, traditional rulers owned private farming estates which were cultivated by the peasants through forced labour. The Galadima owned such estates at Burdugau and Yammama, and he was warned several times to desist from diverting forced labour to his farm. As a sign of frustration, the Galadima retired to his farms on selected days for the collection of

¹³⁶ Ibid.p. 44.

¹³⁷ Lugard: *Dual Mandate*, also cited in Mahuta p.142.

¹³⁸ Watts: *Silent Violence ...* p168.

¹³⁹ Ibid: Ibrahim Muktar M.

tax returns in the district and would leave his *yara* to do the work¹⁴⁰ and for this reason, the method of exercising a portion of area out of the area of authority of the culprit village head or district head was introduced. The exercised portion was then added to another village head or district head or a new village head was entirely created.

In 1910, for instance the District Head of Maska Halilu together with District Heads of Fawwa and Kaura were deposed for gross irregularities in their *Jangali* collection. Halilu was replaced with Abdullahi Dan Galadima the son of the Galadima Katsina who was appointed to become the new District Head of Maska. But in the same vein, Abdullahi Dan Galadima was deposed in June 1915 for the same reason of embezzling taxes that amounted to 300 Pounds Sterlin. Shehu, the brother of Halilu the deposed *Sarkin* Maska was appointed to replace Abdullahi Dan Galadima.

Also Galadima Sallau in the same period was accused of having embezzled taxes collected by the Village Heads and it was obvious that he should have faced similar disciplinary measure of dismissal from office but he was not deposed because he was very loyal to the British officials and he maintained very good relationship with them, so they put the blame on old age and he was allowed to continue. However, Galadima area was divided into two, the northern section remained under his control while the southern section was forged into Makama District (Bakori) and placed under Iya Labaran a good associate of the *Sarkin* Katsina Muhammadu Dikko.¹⁴¹ Similarly the Kogo District *Faskari*; was removed from Galadima area as a disciplinary measure to punish District Heads that embezzled taxes.

¹⁴⁰ NAK KAT PROF 1218, *A Report on the Galadima District by the Assistant District Officer, D.C Fletcher* dated 29th May, 1929.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*: Ibrahim Muktar M. p. 142.

Territorial re-organization was a major policy and continuous process during the colonial rule and the number of districts, village groups and sub districts and their sizes fluctuated over the years. The motive behind the reorganization was to punish traditional rulers who offended colonial officers and most especial who embezzelled taxes. In this way, new districts were created, some times cut into two or merged with other so the number of districts increased or decreased in either way of was convenient for the colonial regime at least for the purpose of smooth administration and collection of taxes. In a more critical sense, the process served as a clearing ground for the passing down of colonial agricultural and pastoral policies from the government officials, through the Emir, down to the District Heads to village Heads and ward heads.

The fact that tax embezzlement was rampant throughout the colonial period, coupled with the growth in population, the re-rganization process was repeated periodically. Initially there were seven fiefs when Katsina province was created in 1903. These were transformed by Mr. R.H. Palmer in 1905 to 19 districts as discussed. They included. Dankama, Dambo, Durbi, Dan Yusufu, Faulwa, Gatari, Galadima, Iya, Kankiya, Kaura, Kusada, Kwaiya, Magajin Gari, Marusa, Maska, Musawa, Ruma, Sullibawa and Yandaka districts.¹⁴² The districts went with the title names of their district heads or the names of the villages which had been the centres of district administration. In the 1930s, the number of districts increased to 22. There were 3500 village units from the inception of colonial rule, but these were reduced to 1600 in the 1920s. The number was further reduced to 503 in the 1930s and 271 by 1960. Similar reorganization process was taking place in all the districts especially Galadima district where tax embezzlement was most

¹⁴²Footnote Hull p.192-200.

rampant as we shall see later in this chapter. Examine the tables below to see the changes in district reorganization by 1930.

Table 2.2

A list of districts and village units in the 1930s in Katsina Emirate

	Districts	No. of Village Units
1	Danja	34
2	Dankama	5
3	Dan Yusufu	18
4	Durbi	34
5	Galadima	41
6	Ingawa	44
7	Jibiya	7
8	Kaita	25
9	Kankara	20
10	Kankiya	34
11	Kaura	35
12	Kogo	7
13	Magajin Gari	17
14	Mallamawa	6
15	Marusa	16
16	Mashi	27
17	Maska	31
18	Musawa	28
19	Ruma	13
20	Tsagero	6
21	Isaskiya	8
22	Yandaka	47
	Total	503¹⁴³

Source: Retrieved from M.M. Adamu: The Role of...98

The embezzlement of taxes by District Heads and Village Heads was a resistance to the colonial rule, exhibiting the unsatisfactory situation of these traditional rulers who relied on meager salaries received from the bulky taxes which they labored to collect from their peasants. The goal of the British government for the disciplinary measures was to ensure firm foundation for effective and perpetual domination of our society. In fact, all colonial accounts showed constant supervisions on Galadima area and all the village units and the inspection of the work of every village head. The tax lists were checked and their

¹⁴³ Source: Extracted from M.M.A. p.83.

receipts examined and compared with the counterfoils to ascertain corruption free tax collection exercise.

From colonial sources the appointments as Village Heads and *masu unguwa* during the colonial rule were made with the consent and the approval of the *Sarki* and the *talakawa* as well, whose views were sought on the person they would like to be installed based on the royal family line in accordance with the custom. The power to select and install a chief or *maiunguwa* was bestowed in the hands of the Emir but it must also be approved by the British Resident/the District Officer and the aim of this semi-democratic appointments was of course to choose a person who would maintain law and order properly and would command the respect of the generality of the population as well as implement properly the colonial policies in his area of authority. It was obvious that the Galadima just as the Emir of Katsina had utilized this power of appointment of the traditional rulers to place his relations and children in strategic positions of the Village Heads in the district. At least, twelve Village Heads were relations of the Galadima. These included his two children as Village Heads of Dayi and Kagara. Others related to him were the *Dagacin Kuringafa*, *Massanawa* of Sabuwar Kasa, *Sarkin Gozaki*, Mahuta, Gangara etc.¹⁴⁴

The British in their effort to control Galadima District through the indirect rule system, pretended not to interfere with the customs and traditions of the people. Therefore, inheritance into the office of village or hamlets heads was based on unanimous selection by the *talakawa* among the ruling families, or at least their consent was sought on whom they would like to succeed a Village Head who died or was deposed. The British officials would then send reports of recommendation by the Galadima to the Emir and the

¹⁴⁴ NAK KAT PROF FED 1/1 16 pg 70.

British resident for approval and the decisions of the Emir and the Galadima were in most cases recognized and implemented. For instance, in a report, the Village Head of Gangara, Yuguda, a wealthy *Fulani* and a brother of the late Village Head was chosen by a large majority of his people and was approved by the district head.¹⁴⁵

The villages of Damzaki, Burdugau, Salihawa and Tsaunin-chinya were formerly part of Karfi unit. They were separated because Karfi, Damzaki and Tsaunin-chinya stole *Haraji* in their wards, embezzled tax collected and a Village Head was appointed for each of them. The Village Head of Burdugau was moved to Karfi as the Dagachi in a bid to maintain usual link with the ruling family of Karfi. The people of Damzaki selected Usman the uncle of the late Village Head to become the village of Damzaki. One Tukur, a wealthy man and a ward head from neighbouring Kuringafa was selected to become the Village Head of *Tsaunin-chinya* because there was found no suitable candidate from the Karfi family to take over chieftaincy of Karfi and its villages attached to it such as Burdugau and Tsaunin-chinya. At the suggestion of Galadima and the approval of the British resident of Galadima district, the members of the family of Galadima were appointed with the popular support of the *talakawa*. Bature Nagigo, a younger brother of the Galadima was appointed as Village Head of Burdugau. Appointments of Village Heads was based on popular support of the masses due to the colonial policy of indirect rule system, not to temper with the traditions and customs of a place and to avoid crises and to ensure that only those whom the British thought were loyal, intelligent and trusted and would be closely watched

¹⁴⁵ NAK KAT PROF 1218, *A Report on the Galadima District by the Assistant District Officer, D.C Fletcher* dated 29th May, 1929, pg 75.

by the Galadima himself were appointed so as to maintain law and order and to enforce the colonial policies.¹⁴⁶

During the colonial rule, people in the villages of Galadima district were allowed to suggest the replacement of their Village Heads whenever the Village Head died or was deposed due to corruption or other reasons. In a confidential report in 1939 by one Assistant District Officer, he noted that at Kafur town, the people chose Mani, the only available son of the late Village Head. The people of Huguma chose Salihu, an uncle of the late Village Head. The people of Dutsin-Kura chose Iro the son-in-law of the late Village Head. The people of Dan Tutture asked if they could have the Village Head of Jargaba who was the younger brother of the late Village Head of Dan Tutture. Jargaba was until last year a ward in the Dan Tutture Village Unit. It was separated because the Village Head of Dan Tutture wanted to dismiss the ward head of Jargaba and replace him with his son, the people objected so strongly to this that they went to Galadima and said that if this was done they would all move elsewhere. On the strength of this, and with the approval of the District Officer and Emir, Jargaba was made a separate village unit. Later when the Village Head of DanTutture was removed the Assistant District Officer proposed that the two units of Jargaba and DanTutture be joined again. Musa Jargaba was then made the Village Head of the merged unit and the newly amalgamated unit was to be called Dan Tutture. The Village Head, Musa Jargaba hence would collect double salaries of the two amalgamated units. Even though the people were happy to have Musa Jargaba as their

¹⁴⁶ Ibid: Michael watts, p231

new Village Head., the British were determined to work with only those that would protect the British interests.¹⁴⁷

At Makaurachi, according to the same report, the people chose one Bawa, a grandson of the original family who founded the town. The late Village Head was a slave in their household and there was no reason why the succession should be kept with his family. At Barakai Village, the people unanimously chose Mu'alaidi, the younger brother of the late Village Head. At Malamawa, the people unanimously chose Ango, a ward head. The people did not want the ruling family rather chose Musa, the younger brother of a former Village Head of the original family. The late Village Head was not an indigene and in any case his family was not considered suitable. The District Head approved the choice of Musa and the Assistant District Officer recommended it. The Dutsi people chose Gidi the son of the late Village Head by a large majority and the District Head approved the choice while the Assistant District Officer recommended it.¹⁴⁸

Borindawa was formerly in the Malumfashi Village area but it was made a separate unit. The family of the Magajin Malumfashi had until then provided the Village Head. The last one was appointed seven years before but inspite of repeated instructions by the District Head, the Emir, and the District Officer, Mr. Dewar and the Assistant district officer, the chief himself refused to leave Malumfashi Town and live at Borindawa. The case was reported to the Resident British official and he agreed that the Village Head should be dismissed. The people heartily disliked the late Village Head and his connections and when the matter of succession was discussed they asked for a Village Head to be

¹⁴⁷ NAK KAT PROF 1218, *A Report on the Galadima District by the Assistant District Officer*, D.C Fletcher dated 29th May, 1929 pg 96.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid: p. 77.

appointed from Galadima's household. The Galadima suggested one Turare and the people immediately agreed, so Turare was approved and appointed as Village Head.¹⁴⁹

Jargaba village was formerly in the Malumfashi Village Unit but was also made a separate unit with Malumfashi providing the Village Heads. The people when asked to choose a successor also preferred to ignore connections of the late village. They chose Auta a ward head. As in the case of Borindawa, the late Jargaba had never left Malumfashi Town, contrary to the policy of the British enacted since 1907 by Resident Mr. Palmer when all the Chiefs were ordered to move out of Katsina Town and live in their respective domains of authority.¹⁵⁰ At Yanmama, the people chose one Maikau a nephew of the late Village Head, the people of Gora Maikasuwa chose Danbaba the son of the late Village Head, while at Tunkuda the people chose Aliyu the son of the previous Village Head.¹⁵¹

Most of these rampant replacements of Village Heads were due to the punitive measures of removal of Village Heads who embezzled taxes collected. There were constant supervisions and the British took no chance to arrest, detain, depose and dismiss any culprit. A report by an Assistant District Officer. J. D. Comes in 1931 stated that the Emir installed 14 Village Heads in the place of those who had embezzled tax.¹⁵² Consequently, this had caused some chiefs to escape from the district while others became defiant and opposition groups.¹⁵³ Malumfashi District was said to be the worst in the whole Katsina province in terms of tax embezzlements and the British officials changed the method of punishment to excision or merger of areas of authority of the Village Heads concerned. Out of 40 Village Heads, only the Village Head of Kuringafa paid all his tax and the rest were

¹⁴⁹ Ibid: NAK KAT PROF 1218, P. 77.

¹⁵⁰ KATPROF: 128, Notes on Galadima district 1921, p.77

¹⁵¹ NAK KAT PROF 1219, p. 78.

¹⁵² NAK KAT PROF (FED), 1/1/6, p.64.

¹⁵³ Ibid: NAK KAT PROF 1218, P.3.

summoned by the Galadima and given a grace of more days within which to rectify the problem—corruption and embezzlements. It was also a sign of frustration because the chiefs after the tedious work of tax collection were left with a meagre amount of money¹⁵⁴ and of course some were corrupt to the extent that the Village Heads had made use of their position to oppress and extort money from the *talakawa* or refused to give receipts to people who paid the tax.¹⁵⁵ It was not an easy thing for the traditional rulers who had to cope with the situation of being errand boys of the British. Nevertheless, despite all the embezzlements in the district, the amounts realized by the colonial government every year was remarkable.¹⁵⁶

In 1940, there was another village reorganization of Galadima area. The District Officer after full discussion with the Galadima forwarded a scheme for the reorganization which provided for a reduction of the number of village units from 46 to 22 and the table below shows the hamlet groupings recommended. The following are the names and the groupings of the village units:

¹⁵⁴ Ibid: NAK KAT PROF 1218, P. 5:10.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ NAK KAT PROF 84, 1940, p. 37.

Table 2:3**LIST OF VILLAGE HEADS AND HAMLETS UNDER THEIR CONTROL IN GALADIMA DISTRICT C. 1940**

TOWNS	VILLAGE HEADS
1. Garin Malumfashi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Halilu b. Danjumma c. S. garo d. Sambo e. Gangarawa f. Gwamutsawa g. Mai saje h. Madogara i. Danbilago j. M. dambo k. Kanau l. Dutsin kura m. Dilo n. M. aliu o. Mai jangali
2. Garin makauchi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Salihawa b. Ahi c. Tudun kudi d. Kauje e. Jakwallawa
3. Garin borindawa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Kwarsu b. Agagiwa c. Bako d. Dabawa e. Sha bugu f. Shan kuyau
4. Garin dayi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Almakiyayi b. Gero c. Babban duhu d. Gora mai kasuwa
5. Garin jargaba	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Zango b. Kurmi c. Mai hanchi d. Garin salihawa e. Marmara f. Tsaunin china g. Hanau h. Mazuga

6. Garin Rigoji	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Batsiya b. Dutsin yanke c. Bugawa d. Yanma e. Arewa
7. Garin mahuta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Nasarawa b. Ruwaiya c. Kyambo d. Kagara e. Kewaye
8. Garin yanmama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Buzu b. Gora dan kanawa c. u/kanku
9. Garin na'alma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Rugar geza b. Sabon gari
10. Garin dansarai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. U/aljawa b. Tunkuda
11. Garin sabon gari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Ruwan sanyi b. Kurmin sarki c. Daudun baka d. Dutsi e. Dan tafi f. Tura
12. Garin gozaki	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. U/madukarai b. Sama'i c. Huguma
13. Garin masari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Tara
14. Garin kuringafa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b. Malamawa c. Tafkin jage d. Jangayal
15. Garin kafur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Babban birni b. Dago
16. Karfi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Sule b. Mai farin kai c. Jargaba d. Gagare e. Dan zaki f. Makurdi
17. Garin Gamzago	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Bagari b. Butawa c. Barakai d. Badawa e. Kurmin dukuki f. Zamfarawa g. Malamawa h. Barde i. Kadandani j. Jurali

18. Garin sabuwr kasa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Bala b. Mairiya c. Waziri d. Iro e. Shakka (from rataya)
19. Garin gangara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Rugal waje b. Chida c. Bauda d. Lamuntanni e. Danfari f. Fanga g. Gora maikasuwa h. Yar raha
20. Garin rataya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Kanya b. Dutsin kura
21. Garin dantuttire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Daben fada b. Rafin sako c. Jange d. Malamawa e. Jargaba dan kanjiba f. Takawa g. Dan badawa

SOURCE: NAK KAT PROF 1218, A Report on the Galadima district by the assistant district officer D.C Fletcher dated may 29th May, 1929

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter we demonstrated how the British brought Galadima district under colonial control. The implication was that both the human and material resources of Galadima district henceforth became under their control. The institutions of the police, courts and prisons were established to foster the production of export crops. They were used to provide a peaceful atmosphere for the cultivation and marketing of agricultural produce. They were use as tools of oppression to coerce farmers produce export crops in order to pay taxes or be punished. They were used to entrench colonial policies in relation to agriculture. The traditional rulers became subservient to the colonial masters. The land was subjected to intense exploitation to serve colonialist goals. The citizens henceforth were subjected to domination equal to slavery. Policies were immediately set in place to transform the society to meet up with the new demand and the colonial economy was concerned in the areas of agriculture, land, labour and taxation which was intended to promote the production of export crops especially cotton hides and skin.

CHAPTER THREE

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICIES ON AGRICULTURE, 1903 - 1929

3.0 Introduction

The British colonial government intensively pursued its objectives of colonial occupation through carefully designed policies determined to achieve their colonial goals of domination, exploitation and excessive transfer of surplus capital in the form of cash crops or raw materials to promote their economic advancement. Hence, all the colonial agricultural policies were aimed at achieving this economic goal. To achieve this goal, they transformed the existing agriculture into an export oriented agriculture in which only the desired cash crops were produced as raw materials in response to the industrial revolution of Europe and the territories were as well required to become markets for the consumption of European products and will consequently be dependent on the British economy.

In this chapter, attention is drawn to the agricultural policies that were designed by the British administration between the period 1903-1929 on land tenure, labour, taxation, cotton production, groundnut production and hides and skins production. In the discussion, the researcher will show the factors behind the creation of these policies in the context of existing traditional practices of Galadima district.

3.1 Land policy

One of the prerogatives of the colonial government was to transform the traditional land tenure system of Galadima area in particular and the emirate in general.

As discussed elsewhere, agricultural activities were organized on household basis and the labour was acquired through the same household. The sizes of the household determined

the produce to be grown and the most senior person in the hierarchy of the elders in the family was responsible for the organisation and distribution of production for the purpose of consumption and division of surplus.

But the attention of the British colonial government on the land use and labour was geared towards the alterations of the existing patterns and to this effect, the British issued a declaration which transferred control of all unoccupied land to the British through the high commissioner or his representatives. The British Residents of all the provinces compiled a great collection of data on the various land tenure system in the Northern Protectorate which were eventually used to formulate a committee on land tenure and whose task was to produce a regulation for land use in Northern Nigeria. This regulation/law was promulgated in 1910 which theoretically transferred all land to the British under the control of the Governor who would use his power in cognizance to the indigenous laws, customs and tradition. However, in practice, the regulation of land tenure still remained in the hands of the Emirs, their subordinate chiefs and the entire hierarchy of traditional rulers and authority.

The chief had the power to grant the use of lands to private individuals and he was competent to transfer this power to subordinate chiefs who in their turn could transfer this power to minor chiefs and so on. But these transfers did not prejudice the original power of the paramount chiefs.¹⁵⁷ The law was slightly amended in 1916, but it virtually remained the only colonial land tenure legislation throughout the colonial period.¹⁵⁸ Basically the legislation adopted the age-long system of land tenure system of small holder rather than large estate like holdings as the dominant pattern of land tenure.

¹⁵⁷ Confidential Report K. 8695/77, Kaduna, to the Hon Chief Secretary, Lagos on Rural Land Policy. 27/7/1929, p.2. Also, Interview with Maigida Keso of Kuringafa.

¹⁵⁸ Tukur Bello Ingawa (1984) "A Study of the Rural Economic History of the Major Cotton...p.2.

The colonial policies on land tenure centered around four characteristics viz: outright expropriation of land by the colonial state. Secondly the transfer of this land to companies on the basis of certificates of occupancy, in other words, the direct expropriation of land by the colonial government and the establishment of a financial condition that will require rights to land ownership and usage. Thirdly, the resultant effects of over taxation, suffocation of local industries and impoverishment of the peasants which will lead to sales of land and lastly, there was no legal recognition of land usage which was not based on the colonial certificate of occupancy.¹⁵⁹

Consequently, the colonial state reserved the right to appropriate any land for “development” purposes, as well as to grant or refuse to grant rights to any individual or company.¹⁶⁰ As such, peasant were denied their traditionally inherited land upon which they depended and large portions of fertile land were taken away by force to construct roads, railways, dams etc to construct roads, railways, dams etc to construct colonial infrastructure. This created land shortage amidst land hunger for the cultivation of export crops in order to pay colonial taxes. Absence of compensation for the land used for colonial infrastructure aggravated poverty and landlessness among peasants of G.D. Similarly, mineral rights were vested in the British crown and these were transferred to foreign and specifically British mining companies.¹⁶¹

While the peasants were denied their rights to enjoy the mineral resources, it was an economic exploitation that undermined the development of the district and it promoted forced labour and increased immigrants seeking for wage labour from European Companies. As for rural settlements, the local inhabitants were legally considered as

¹⁵⁹ Bello, Sule, 1982, *State and Economy ...*p.117.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. P.118.

“temporary” and the chances for expansion of settlements as a result of population increases could only be made by purchase or acquiring rights of occupancy. The situation resulted in the destitution of the peasantry and artisans which tended to force them to sell lands and consequently became landless. The colonial policy created destitution and migration of peasants as a result of taxation, indebtedness and consequent sales of land and mortgaging of farms to money lenders and middlemen which started with the mortgaging of the farmers expected yield. The farmers were sometimes compelled to transfer their farming rights to their debtors.

On the other hand, a number of people displaced from the land were migrating to the township. Therefore, the stage was set for land owning class and a landless class,¹⁶² which eventually released free labour for European companies such as the British Cotton Growing Association of Malumfashi, established in the year 1926, the BCGA and *Unguwar Payamasa*; (from the word pay master) continued to receive influx of immigrants and migratory peasants from neighbouring villages seeking for wage labour and therefore settlements of labourers increased greatly over the years.¹⁶³

3.2 Labour policy

The British colonial forced labour took root from the pre-colonial labour in existence in Galadima district. The colonial administration took the advantage of the form of labour which was earlier discussed in chapter two of this study. We discussed that the family labour provided the nucleus for the production and there was the *gandu* or communal labour which was rendered to the service of the society. The aristocracy then used the forced labour to work on the farms of the district heads or send them to Sarki to build or repair houses, cultivate land, construct roads, bridges and culverts on the directives of the emir.

The traditional rulers were used to ensure adequate supply of labourers and so they also promoted forced labour not for the purpose of the development of their people but for the

¹⁶² Ibid: P. 21.

¹⁶³ Interview with Maigida Mato Hassan a farmer now residing in Payamasa, Malumfashi, aged 96 years, date 30th November, 2013.

realization of colonialist goals. This was an additional burden to the village heads apart from tax collection. The family labour was retained for the production of export crops while individual labour was encouraged to release free labour for wages and slave labour was also abolished in order to release labour for European firms. The labour used by traditional authorities was transformed to the European forced labour which was done during public project. Such as the railway, roads, bridges, culverts, tsetse fly and bush clearing, locust clearing, as well as the eradication of *kashinyawo*, *saran rafi* etc

In Galadima area forced labour was utilized for the building of roads, bridges, market stalls, bush clearing and insects or tse-tse fly control. The District Head and the Village Heads were deployed for organizing forced labour and they took the pains to supply a given number of men for a given period. The Emir under the directives of the British officials had directed all subordinate traditional chiefs to submit monthly reports of forced labour *aikin dole* carried out in their areas. They must give reports even if the *aikin dole* was not conducted in the prescribed months.

In terms of forced labour in Katsina Province, greater emphasis was laid on general or communal work such as making bridges *saran rafitse-tse* flies and insects control such as *farindango* and the fight against *kashinyawo* (a stubborn grass that affects farming). Each family must send its representative to work on its behalf and a person according to law was not expected to work for more than two weeks in a year.¹⁶⁴

However, the general work might exceed 14 to 20 days stretch. In such cases, the workers were substituted after every 3 days by other members from the families. The work was mostly fixed at the end of the year when rain falls had reduced and also when farm work was less severe. The communal work normally involved only the communities around the area affected the people by the project. In some cases if the work did not require large crowd, the workers were paid for the work per day, throughout the expected number of days they would work.

The colonial governments discouraged the random use of this *aikin dole* by traditional rulers on their farms. The District Head and Village Heads were on several occasions accused of using forced labour *ikin dole* on their farms and they were warned to desist from doing so. Rather, they were compelled to use paid labour. This was a calculated attempt by the British colonialists to replace paid labour with the communal labour.¹⁶⁵ The British officials preferred to use forced labour on major community projects such as roads, railways and bush clearing and to be supervised by the British official in charge of forced labour Mr. Evans.¹⁶⁶

Nevertheless, while payment was introduced into the communal labour, its spirit gradually died down paving way for hired labour preferred by the British capitalist interest. In his

¹⁶⁴ NAK KAT PROV, File No. 180A, No 293/30 *Details of Forced Labour, 1937-1942* p 5, dated 22/06/40.

¹⁶⁵ NAK KAT PROV, File No. 180A, No 293/30 *Details of Forced Labour, 1937-1942*, p 95.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p95,

letter to District Heads and Village Heads, the Emir of Katsina Muhammadu Dikko defined forced labour *aikin dole* to mean killing grasshoppers and making bridges in *Saran Rafi* to prevent spread of tsetse fly and the disease caused by it.¹⁶⁷ It is important to stress that the colonial authority in Galadima area and Katsina Province at large had adopted the use of age long forced labour on major communal jobs but discouraged its use in agricultural production and the simple reason was actually to promote hired labour in favour of their private companies.

The researcher came across large accounts of forced labour over the years of colonial domination, on infested insects like the '*farindango*', tsetse fly and the stubborn grass called *kashinyawo* which were detrimental to agricultural export crops production greatly desired by the British administration.

The *saranrafi* was aimed at clearing tsetse fly to prevent sleeping sickness disease, and making roads as the colonial government depended on them to transport all export crops from feeder roads to the major roads and to railway stations which were eventually transported to the coast for evaluation to Europe. Thus road construction was inevitable to the colonial government.

All the reasons advanced by the British officials for the adoption and use of forced labour among which they claimed was for the benefit and development of our area is a deception and false. It was actually aimed at boosting their goals of colonization. The wage labour they introduced did not improve the financial position of the peasants because they were paid too little wages to sustain them just their meals for the day's job.¹⁶⁸

A major purpose of taxation policy was to serve as a stimulus to colonial production and as a source for the supply of revenue to the colonial administration and also to induce forced labour. The peasants who could not pay taxes were forced to work in a public project in compensation otherwise their properties were confiscated or alternatively they were jailed until their relations paid the taxes. It was through this process that the Native Authority mobilized forced labour for colonial projects during the period under study.¹⁶⁹

The Galadima District Head and some District Heads in the Emirate were noted to have maintained the use of forced labour on their estates during the colonial rule but they were compelled to abandon it and to employ wage labour by the British administration. Galadima Adamu (1927-44) in a colonial report of 1936 was warned by a British officer to

¹⁶⁷ NAK KAT PROV NO. 9/37/123.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with MaigidaNadada, a farmer in Nasarawa, Ruwan Sanyi of Galadima district, aged 96 years dated, 25/November/2013.

¹⁶⁹ Laboyari: Colonial Forced in Katsina Province 1903-1960: A Thesis submitted to the Department of History, B.U.K Kano, 2012. P.38.

desist from using forced labour on his farms. Apart from the district head, other village heads like that of *karfi* and *mahuta* had large estates. These estates were cultivated in order to produce export crops relevant to the colonial economy. In another colonial report the Galadima was said to have retired to his farm estate when he became frustrated from the excessive tax assessment by the colonial officers. And in order to meet the requirement of colonial economy especially in Cotton and Groundnut production in Katsina Emirate, the Emir Muhammadu Dikko in 1930 established the *kurmiyal* agricultural estate known as the *gandun sarki*.¹⁷⁰

It was this form of forced labour *aikindole* adopted by Colonial Administration in conjunction with the Native Authority to execute European public works. The directive was officially sent to Native Authorities by the British Resident to all district heads to provide a particular number of workers to work at specified European projects usually during the dry seasons after harvests. The district head will then meet with his council and give each village head his quota to comply unfailingly. Village heads will employ all *masuunguwa*; to do the selection house by house. Failure to comply with this directive by either the village head or *maiunguwa*; could attract harsh penalties sometimes suspension or dismissal.¹⁷¹

Since the occupation of the Katsina emirate and in particular Galadima district, the colonial administration relied on forced labour for all its public works and agricultural policies and programmes such as the clearing of *kashinyawo*, *saranrafi*; construction of bridges and market stalls. Some money was given to workers after or during the *aikindole*; but it was more of appreciation than payment. The traditional rulers on behalf of colonial officials only told the workers ‘*mungode*’; at the end of the exercises and they were told to return to their destinations until next time. The work could be divided and the villages grouped to work for some number of days, then they were substituted by another group.¹⁷²

The peasant of Galadima districts were exploited through various forms of forced labour during the colonial period. Every year from November to December work known as *saranrafi*; was conducted, roads were cleared as a colonial policy to make it possible for the smooth transportation of export crops produced in remote villages to major buying centers. The rivers which attracted *aikindole*; in Galadima district included the *Hinache River* in Malumfashi as recorded by a colonial report in 1952 when the *Hinache*; Bridge was constructed.

Below is table showing forced labour of *saranrafi*; organized by the native authority during the colonial administration in 1939. This activity of forced labour was organized yearly in the entire districts at the end of the raining seasons before cotton markets were opened.

TABLE 3.1
FORCED LABOUR IN GALADIMA DISTRICT - NOVEMBER 1939

¹⁷⁰ P.M Lubeck, Islam and Urban Labour in Northern Nigeria: The making of a Muslim Working Class, Cambridge University Press, London, 1986, p.6, p.24-26. Also mentioned by M.M Adamu and cited in LaboYari, p.58. Kurmiyel is a hamlet situated in Rubu forest along Katsina – Batsari road. Interview with Alhaji Sanin Bariki living in Galadima area Malumfashi aged 104 years, date July 2014

¹⁷¹ Ibid: LaboYari: P.40. Also, Interview with Alhaji Ikiramu Gangarawa aged 79 years date 30, November, 2013.

¹⁷² Interview with Mallam Shu’aibu AttahLawal, Tsaunin Kura village, retired school watchman at GDSSS Malumfashi, aged 82, date 17/7/2014.

Village Unit	Date work Began	Date work Ended	No of People	Name of River
Gozaki	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	80	Kuru
Sani	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	101	Tankadoshi
Kanya	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	158	Badanya
Rataya	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	174	Badanya
Karfi	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	104	Mamakawa
Mazuga	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	55	Burdugau
Salihawa	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	98	Mamakawa
Tsauninchinya	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	95	Mamakawa
Dutsenyanke	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	109	Suran
Kafur	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	70	Kafur/Jare
Gangara	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	22	Gyashinshini
Lamuntani	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	70	Lamuntani
Tunkuda	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	30	Gyashinshini
Dansarai	17/11/1939	30/11/1939	21	Gyashinshini
		TOTAL =	1187	

SOURCE: KAT PROV 1804: Forced labour report from central office Katsina, 11th November 1920. P3.

All the people worked from 17/11/1939 to the end of the month. A person who worked for a period of 3 days was substituted by another from his family. In other words the groups were replaced by others after every 3 days.

Aikin dole; was also employed on the construction of major roads such as roads from Funtua to Dayi via Bakori, Karfi and Malumfashi and from Dayi to Katsina via *Gidan - mutum-daya*; and Katsina Kankara roads. The major tarred roads during colonial domination that crossed Galadima districts were the Kano – Funtua and Kankara to Katsina roads linking from *kafur*; to Funtua roads. The *talakawa*; were not only employed to work on the roads connected to their district but all the roads that linked the emirate with others and those that linked the districts in the Katsina emirate. Indeed, the work was tedious and hated by the *talakawa*. But they could do nothing about it because the traditional rulers were involved.¹⁷³

From the beginning of colonial rule, precisely in 1909 the Resident of Katsina Mr. Palmer, met with the emir and all district heads and told them the necessity of building new roads in order to promote trade in the division. The result was the construction of new roads while others were cleared and widened. During the work, district heads were instructed to supply required number of labourers at the construction sites and all those conscripted must attend or face severe punishment or imprisonment.¹⁷⁴ In the course of the work, labourers spend up to 5 weeks before they were relieved or replaced by others. The work was supervised by the police, *dogarai*; and the representatives of the emir and that of the district heads. The labourers were divided into groups each with particular responsibilities such as the diggers, bridge builders, security etc. By 1921, the emir had a total of 551 miles (82 km) of motorable roads built by the Native Authority through the use of forced labour. The roads consisted of 255 class A and 296 class B roads.¹⁷⁵

The table below shows the motorable roads constructed through forced labour during the colonial rule of which Galadima district was affected like other districts.

¹⁷³ Interview with Maigida Keso, gidan Maiwando, Kuringafa unit, a farmer, aged 110 years, dated 5th July, 2012.

¹⁷⁴ M.M Adamu: British Colonial Labour Policy and the Provision of Roads and Railway in Katsina Emirate 1903-1960, Zahir: The Journal of Zaria Historical Research, vol 1 no.1,2001, p115-117

¹⁷⁵ Ibid: M.M Adamu p115-117

TABLE 3.2
THE MOTORABLE ROADS IN KATSINA EMIRATE BY 1921

Class A	From	To	Miles	Kilometers
	Katsina	Kano	58	93
	Katsina	Funtua	122	195
	Katsina	Maska	50	80
	Katsina	Daura	25	40
	Katsina	Dankama	30	50
	TOTAL	=	285miles	458km
CLASS B	Katsina	Funtua via kankara	95	160
	Katsina	Kazaure	50	80
	Kusada	Kankia	16	26
	Bindawa	Kankia	10	16
	Katsina	Dutsi	15	24
	Kusada	Ingawa	12	19
	Kankia	Gyaza	7	11
	Mashi	Mani	12	19
	Katsina	Kaita	16	26
	Gangara	Pauwa	33	53
	TOTAL	=	286miles	434km

SOURCE: H.R Palmer, Katsina Province, Gazetters of Northern Nigeria Province of Nigeria, Hausa Emirate. See also M.M Adamu, Colonial Labour Policy...p110

The British policy on forced labour empowered the colonial administration to use the peasants for the construction of railways and for mines both in the province and outside the province. Peasants of Galadima district were recruited to work on the railway construction from Zaria to Funtua and in some mining field and agricultural estates.¹⁷⁶

Like agriculture, mining took place in Katsina emirate before the imposition of colonial rule.¹⁷⁷ In places like Tandama, Burdugau, Kankara etc, the quest for minerals especially precious metals such as tin, copper, gold led the British administration to conduct expeditions and ecological surveys for the purpose of mining these mineral deposits. The colonial ordinance on mining prepared ground for the British companies in the extraction of the minerals deposits and their mining companies were granted special and extensive prospecting licenses for mineral investigation and extraction all over the provinces, Katsina inclusive.¹⁷⁸

“The rush... saw the extension of the gold fields to other provinces from 1936-43. These include *rubu* in Katsina province...”

There were numerous mining companies in areas like *rugu*; forest in *safana*; area, *wagini*; in Batsarietc and it was recorded that some alarming quantity of gold was excavated in the

¹⁷⁶ Mahmud Modibbo Tukur: imposition of colonial British occupation also see the work of Umar Bappah: the impact of colonial rule on agriculture M.M Adamu: British colonial policy on labour.

¹⁷⁷ P.A Roger: the regional dynamic Hausa iron-working: a social history of technology adoption in nineteenth century northern Nigerian, ‘M.A history, university of Wisconsin, 1990, pg 7-10.

¹⁷⁸ S.U Lawal, Imperial Policy, Capital Accumulation and Gold Mining in Colonial North - West Nigeria, 1915 - 55, Ph.D Thesis, History Department, U.D.U Sokoto, 1989, p.47.

Katsina province between 1936 -1943.¹⁷⁹ The quantities of gold extracted in Katsina emirate from 1936-1943 is here by demonstrated in a table below:

TABLE: 3.3
GOLD PRODUCTION, (IN 02 TROY) IN KATSINA EMIRATE
FROM 1936 TO 1943

Katsinaprov	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Total won	949.370	255	25.45	8	-	-	5	8

SOURCE: Adopted from S.U Lawal, imperial policy, capital accumulation, p.294.

What is important here to note is that the British companies needed labour for their mining activities and citizens of every district including Galadima were attracted to go to such mining sites where they offered cheap labour for a token money that amounted to forced labour utilized by the colonial administration. The labourers worked day and night under terrible conditions. They work individually or in groups and must sell all their winnings to the European mining fields owners at rates they so wish.¹⁸⁰

This forced labour also took the people of Galadima as well as other districts to mining fields in far away Jos area. European projects were labour intensive which required large number of labourers to serve in the mining, railway and road constructions. The peasants were conscripted by the colonial administration from every district of the emirate to work in the mining fields and Katsina was among the provinces said to have constituted the greatest number of labourers in mines cited in *Barikin Ladi; Naraguta, Dorowar Babuje*¹⁸¹ all in *Mangu, Barikn Ladi; and Bassa*; Local Government Areas of present day Plateau State.

The peasants of Katsina and their colleagues from the northern Nigeria found themselves in the tin mining fields as labourers. They work in a tin mining field of BarikinLadi, Naraguta and Dorowar Babuje. Before forced labour was abolished, they establish *Unguar Hausa* in different parts of Jos metropolis. Others remained in rural areas as farmers, artisans and craftsmen.¹⁸²

The conscripted labourers were taken to Jos mining fields by the native authority, the police and the representatives of the emir and the district heads every dry season of the year. The method of conscription and transportation of the labourers was annoying. They were undressed and examined by Medical Doctors to certify them for physical fitness to ensure that good able bodied and healthy people were conscripted. Malumfashi and Katsina were the centers for the conscription exercises and labourers were to converge there and after the selection they were marched on foot to Funtua where they will join the railway that was arranged to start a long and tideous journey to Jos. Both males and females were conscripted. The males included prisoners and representatives of families and villages selected by the traditional rulers. The females included harlots, widows and divorcees. They were escorted by the same Native Police *dogarai* and the representatives of

¹⁷⁹ I.M Jumare and A.I Yandaki (eds), *S.U Lawal: An Icon of Scholarship and Public Service*, Kaduna, Barakah Press, 2006, p.40.

¹⁸⁰ LaboYari: *Colonial Forced Labour in Katsina...* p69

¹⁸¹ B.T Bingel: *A City in Ruins: The Dynamics of Urban Politics and Violence in Jos, 1900-2004*, p48.

¹⁸² M.D Balarabe: *The Development of Hausa Community in Jos since 1916 to Present Day*. B.A Thesis. See also Goshit Z.D, *Colonial Period (1900-1960) in A. Olayemi et.al, p.476.*

the district head. Those who were not conscripted during the examination were allowed to return home.

While on the mining fields, the labourers were expected to undergo difficult and labourous jobs of mining for a period of 3-4 or 6 months. The British colonial laws provided for mining labour conditions and the labourers were to be settled in village type settlements but the mining ordinances were grossly violated by the companies because the labourers were camped in separate huts, poorly constructed camps that lacked sanitary provisions, with little or no good water supply, poor ventilation, no toilet facilities, no refuse dumps and incinerators. The mining companies built semi-permanent settlements known as *Barikin Kuza*; in remote areas, over crowded and they were provided working materials such as blankets, boots, rain coats, shovels, diggers and head pans at their own expense.¹⁸³

The deplorable condition which mining labourers were subjected to was accompanied by various health hazards and disease resulting illness and dead cases. Some sustained injuries and in some cases permanent incarceration because they loosed their leg, hands or eyes. Payments of wages were done according to the number of days a labourer worked and days of sickness were not recognised for payment and no free medication for those who were sick.

Payment of wages was inadequate so much so that a labourer could hardly eat well and keep part of it to carry home when leaving the mining fields. All expenses incurred by the mining corporation for the transportation of the labourers from the recruitment centers of Malumfashi and Katsina to Funtua and from Funtua to Jos on rail, were deducted from the wages given to individual labourers including monthly stoppages of 2pence of their pass.¹⁸⁴ The weekly pay was 2¹/₂ shilling per labourer who dig a pit of 6pt width and 3pt length *gandushidda*; the hea men of the group of workers collect 2pence, head pan and dodders each collected half pence *sisi*; *iyayen*; digger receive one and a half pence *siledasisi*; and the cook received two shilling *silebiyu*; and bags of guinea corn, millet, one jerry can of palm oil and fire wood.¹⁸⁵

This payment was too small compared to the hazards and painful moments experienced in the mining camps. Not only that, the cumulative wages were not paid directly to the labourers but usually given to the emir's representative called *Shantal*; who handed over the money to emir on return from the camps and from some wages 50% per individual was deducted from the emir 2% from the district head an 1% from the village heads before the remaining was given to the labourers. This is in human similar to slave. The traditional rulers were not sympathetic to their people and they used the opportunities offered to them by the colonial domination to exploit and ruin their citizens.

The history of colonial forced labour will be incomplete if mansion is not made to the extension of the railway line from Zaria to Funtua and Gusau which began in 1917 and was finished in 1929. The railway line was necessary to the colonial administration because it tapped the export crops of Zaria, Katsina and Sokoto provinces. The same future of colonial subjugation and exploitation by the use of forced labour was exhibited during the railway construction.

¹⁸³ Ibid: Z.D Goshit P.476.

¹⁸⁴ B. Freund: Capital and Labour. P147.

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Mallam Barka Hassan, aged 92 years, Mission area, Malumfashi, dated, 10/2/2012. Also, see LaboYari: Colonial Forced Labour... p.92.

The rail line reaches Zaria to Katsina boarder and labour for its extension to Gusau boarder was required from Katsina emirate. The Native Authority was therefore called upon to supply 3,100 men and these were to be drawn from four district including Galadima which were targeted as catchmen areas of the railway and every district head was charged to conscript labourers to fill his quota. The recruitment was said to be voluntary but it was compulsory for the district heads to fill in their quotas.¹⁸⁶ This implies that Galadima district yearly supplied between 200-300 labourers as its quota.

On the arrival of the labourers from Galadima district they were expected to work for 3-4 months then they were released to go home and face the work of the raining season. This meant that the railway construction work was active during the dry season when farmers have finished farm work. The nature of the railway construction was also deplorable because it involved the tedious clearing of the bush for the rail line to be extended. The labourers were grouped in tens and twenties and assigned various types of jobs ranging from cutting trees, digging and laying of rail as well as building bridges etc they were supervised by headmen, the Native Police, the representative of the Emir and the District Head.

The mode of payment for Zaria to Funtua and Gusau railway was unjustifiable and corrupt, similar to the nature of payment in the mine fields in Jos, where the labourers were paid through the representatives of the district heads and emir as assign of subordination to their traditional ruler. Each labourer was paid 9d per 7 days work and 3d was deducted as tax to be remitted to the district head. The labourers camps were hurriedly built like barracks and local musicians and alcoholic drinks and harlots were provided for entertainment after working hours. The camps changed to a rendezvous *shagali*; centers in the night, a side attraction for the poor labourers to spend what they earned.

In the case of *saran rafi*; each village head was instructed by the district head to commence work usually in the month of November and December to clear feeder roads that criss-crossed the district which hinder smooth transportation during the rainy seasons. Some rivers in the district cut off some export producing villages from easy access to the markets and these rivers were cleared in a communal effort to pave way for smooth transportation on donkeys and on foot. The colonial administration transformed this traditional *aikingayya*; to a forced labour so that good transport infrastructure would be available to foster smooth evacuation of export crop to the motorable roads for evacuation with lorries to railway stations. However, the colonial administrations gave orders and maintained a particular period every year for this *aikindole*.¹⁸⁷

It was mandatory for the village heads to summon representatives of families in each village to attend the *saranrafi*; labour. It took 2-3 days or more depending on the severity of the work, no food was provided during the work and no payments were made because it was regarded as a community work, beneficial to everybody. But the colonialists maintained this form of labour because it helps them achieve the goal of getting cheap labour in order to provide the needed infrastructure for the evacuation of export crops produced in the district and from all other district in Katsina emirate.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ A.F Usman: Inter Group Relation in Gusau: A case study of the Yoruba and Hausa c.1920-1996 ,Ph.D Thesis, History Department, University Of Usman Dan Fodio Sokoto, 2003, p.79.

¹⁸⁷ KATPROF 180 A details forced labour 11/November/1939.

¹⁸⁸ NAK KATPROF/106/59, annual report,1945 p.6

The same labour was applied to bush clearing for tsetse fly control, general killing of the destructive grasshopper known as *farindango*; and any insects that portray a plague to the farming season. As earlier discussed, the provincial administration through the Native Authorities received monthly reports on the *aikindole*; and also reports from various departments on the signs or appearance of such problems and dangers to farming. They took stringent measures to control pests such as locusts, disease and epidemics like draughts that could damage crop leading to its failure in export crop production. The district heads used their village heads to supply labourers whenever the need arises and give reports of the work done, the days it was done, the number of people, the success of the work and if the work was not done, the reasons for the failure must be given in clear terms or else it could attract penalty to the village heads or district head.

Apart from the work in the Jos tin mines, Katsina labourers also worked at the construction of a dam called Tenti Nesco Dam 1942-43.¹⁸⁹ The dam was constructed to provide adequate water for the work of the tin mines. It was envisaged that the dam would ease most of the problems of water supply to tin mines. As such, this dam was constructed at Tenti village, an isolated difficult place, by the tin mine labour force which consisted of contingents from Katsina, Kano, Sokoto, Benue etc. The Katsina contingent comprised people from the Galadima district.¹⁹⁰ The working conditions at Tenti dam site were so miserable so much so that many died in the period. Some 185 men were recorded dead at the end of 1943 season only. The table below shows a death rate by provinces at the Tenti Dam construction work between 1942-4.

¹⁸⁹Nesco is a town in Mangu Local Government Plateau State located along few kilometers off the main road linking Dorowar Babuje and Mangu town.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Maigida Keso of gidan Maiwando, Kuringafa, Kafur LGA, together with a group of people, dated 30/12/13.

TABLE 3.4
A DEATH RATE ANALYSES BY THE PROVINCES
OCTOBER 1942 - DECEMBER 1943

Province	Bauchi	Benue	Borno	Kano	Katsina	Niger	Plateau	Sokoto	Zaria
TOTAL	59	63	46	2	34	59	0	96	5
	4.4	25.6	5.75	1.0	4.0	13.1	0	7.1	3.7
TOTAL	63.4	88.6	51.75	3	38	72.1	0	103.1	58.7

SORCE: B: Freund: Capital and labour..... p.147

The table above would suggest to you that labourers from distant provinces like Katsina suffered higher rate of death victims because they were exposed to weather conditions different from their areas. It was recorded that the labourers were parked to work in a sea of mud, the whole day in high winds and rains and without food and no rest. Worst still they were accommodated in huts that were poorly and hastily constructed and they received less wages than those at the tin mines.

3.3 The General Impacts of Colonial forced Labour

The colonial forced labour had great consequences on the people of Galadima district and Katsina emirate at large. The colonial forced labour was the same in all the districts, it was adopted in the ginneries known as BCGA particularly the ginnery at Malumfashi, the road constructions, railway construction, the labours in the Jos mines, the Tenti dam construction etc. All what the colonial administration did was to transform the pre-colonial communal form of labour to suit their goals in the provision of infrastructure detrimental to imperialism.

The major impact of forced labour in the agricultural sector was the fact that the conscripts of young able men and taking them outside the district led to a gradual decline of agricultural production as well as the killing of indigenous occupations like textile, iron working, crafts etc. Most of those recruited for the forced labour experienced for the first time, providing labour outside the peasant and feudal cycle of production.

In fact forced labour was intended to promote capitalist production. It also introduced the process of individualization of labour which had damaging effect on indigenous rural production units. The process of *gayya*; system communal labour and the rate of accumulation of capital by peasant unit were to be maintained. This accelerated the depeasantization process.¹⁹¹

The labourers recruited were the actual farmers who produced food crops and export crops and their absence even in the dry seasons affected the families' production capacity because those that were left behind were the wives and children and the aged parents who could not properly maintain themselves as well as the farms. The labourers at the end of the labour fell sick or some return in a state of incapacitation while some never return. Forced labour stimulated migration, either as an alternative to escape from it or as a means to tax evasion.¹⁹² The situation worsened during locust invasions, draughts, famines, especially in the 1930s and 1940s that were frequent during the colonial period. The families, without these energetic people lived in miserable and deplorable conditions. There

¹⁹¹ Ibid: Labo Yari: P. 101.

¹⁹² Ibid.

was also great demand by the colonial administration on Katsina emirate for money, labourers and grains. According to a report, Katsina emirate in 1942 supplied the British administration, 400,000 bags of grains and 2,000 labourers. Food requisition created shortage of food that caused peasants to migrate to some place in search of food.¹⁹³

Below is a table showing the number of tons of grains supplied to the colonial administration by the Northern provinces for the mines fields from 1942 to 1943 in which Katsina emirate contributed more than all other provinces and this resulted to serious shortage of food in all the districts including Galadima.

TABLE 3.5
MILLET & SORGHUM REQUISITION 1942-1943(TONS)
FROM NORTHERN PROVINCES

Commodity	Bauchi	Benue	Borno	Katsina	Sokoto	Zaria	Total
Millet bags due	1,000	250	2500	4,000	3,000	-	10,250
Amount supplied	1,000	25	55	3,315	2,622	-	7,217
Sorghumbags due	3,000	650	7,000	8,000	2,500	3,000	24,150
Amount supplied	2,464	445	6,848	5,873	2,415	2,882	20,927

SOURCE: Z.D Goshit; food crisis in plateau area during World War II 1939 – 1945; Studies In the history of central Nigeria area vol.1, ISS publishers, Lagos p.373. See also M. Watts, p330, see also B. Freund p143.

Another impact of forced labour was frustration and psychological Nostalgia leading to covert resistance to forced labour which metamorphosed into riots, strikes, lateness and desertions. The revolts and protests became rampant due to hardship and the miserable condition the labourers lived, in addition to the hard labour. Coercive measures were taken in most cases to control the uprisings in the camps and mining sites. Gradually the stigma of resistance was developed so that the people of Galadima district became notorious in opposition to colonial rule and oppressive rule even after the independence. Malumfashi, Karfi, Rigoji and many other towns of Galadima district in the post colonial period became strong members of NEPU political party noted for its stubborn opposition to the ruling party N.P.C that took over the leadership of Nigeria from independence. This emotion was built as a resistance against corrupt traditional rulers and colonial domination and forced labour under colonialism.¹⁹⁴

Forced labour represented a dehumanizing experience to the people of Galadima district. It was almost equal to slavery. Since women were involved, they lost their social status, economy, religion and political rights and privileges. Before colonial domination, labour was voluntary and women were in most cases exempted in hard labour or communal labour. But this was transformed during colonial rule to recruit female workers in forced labour during colonial projects. Henceforth, the people had no right to determine where to offer their labour. Also, the fact that the labourers were detached from their families,

¹⁹³Micheal Watts: Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria, MacMillan, London, 1975, P.127. Also, Z.D Goshit: Economic, Politics and Ethno-Religious Relations in Jos Plateau Area during the Colonial Period, 1900-1960.

¹⁹⁴H. A. Alahira: Labour and Capital: Mechanism of Labour Exploitation in the Jos Tin Mines 1900-1960, a paper presented.

created nostalgic feelings and frustration leading to excessive alcoholic consumption, drug abuse and immoral sex and harlotry.

As we discussed earlier, harlots, local musicians and alcoholic drinks were supplied to mining camps and railways and BCGA camps by the European companies which eventually changed the attitude of the labourers to horrific life styles such that it could not be condoned by their local communities. Many of them became infected with sexually transmitted diseases such as gonorrhoea, syphilis etc resulting to deaths and severe sickness. Some labourers abandoned their families at home and lived as migrants in the areas they labored. A good example was the *payamasa*; and *tudunmaiduna*; settlement in Malumfashi town which developed as a result of the influx of migrants from villages in the entire district and from distant places like Kano, Maradi, Chad etc and the Hausawa settlements in Jos Plateau.¹⁹⁵

Even after labourers returned back to the districts, many that were influenced by wage labour syndrome refused to settle in their home villages but lived in townships where they could sell their labour to European companies. This led to rapid urbanization that was witnessed especially in Malumfashi beginning from the colonial period. Forced labour also was responsible for the emergence of prostitution, joblessness, destitution, broken homes, crimes, immoral sex, drug addiction and violation of traditional norms and values. This gave rise to a class of hooligans, thugs and nonentities in a society that was peaceful and transparent before colonial period. European forced labour led to the decline of some places and urbanization of others and the emergence of migrant communities within and outside Galadima district such as Funtua and Jos mining areas.¹⁹⁶

3.4 Taxation

Once the British occupation of Katsina emirate was effected on the 29th march, 1903, the next step was the imposition of colonial rule accompanied by the imposition of colonial taxes. Taxation was a major colonial policy adopted to accumulate revenue for administration and to stimulate export crops production.

In the pre-colonial period, the main source of revenue for the government such as tax on land *kurdinkasa*; and this was levied on all those who were engaged in general farming activity. The unit of assessment was the *gida*; and it was really a tax on the produce of the *gandungida*. Other agricultural taxes were levied on *fadama*; cultivation *kurdirafi*; and the upland cultivation of various crops like groundnut, tobacco and indigo. Then there included taxes on various economic activities of commerce and manufactures

¹⁹⁵ Ibid: Z.D Goshit: Also, Interview with a farmer in Kukasheka, aged 78 years, dated 14th January, 2014.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid: Z.D Goshi. Also, an interview conducted with a group of people at Malumfashi, LayinTabarka, 7/4/2014.

kudadensana'a; then custom tolls levied only on certain produce when it enters the emirate *kudinrito*. Another tax was the *Jangali*; a tax on cattle especially those owned by the *Fulani* herdsmen, was also collected.¹⁹⁷ The taxes on agriculture were collected from the peasants through their traditional chiefs, that is Village Heads – *Daggattai*; - *Hakimai*; and finally they were remitted to the emir.

The colonial administration, adopted the Native traditional system of taxation but with modifications at various periods to suit its colonialist goals. The general principle of the existing native assessment was retained especially for the reason that both the chiefs and the peasants seemed to appreciate or understand the native assessment.¹⁹⁸ The District had hitherto been assessed by the “*zakka* system” but this was not altogether satisfactory after being examined properly in 1915 and again 1921 when there was failure to realize the amount needed, it was modified.

The native assessment of peasants before colonialism was to be paid in bundles of guinea corn for the farmers. The amounts for individuals did not change from year to year. The bundle *dami*; was used in a conventional sense, the individual being assessed at so many bundles. If he had crops other than corn, these crops were roughly assessed in the value of bundles of corn. The tax therefore was paid by farmers only, while the industrial class such as in a big town like Malumfashi in most cases escaped payment even though they all depended on agriculture. The colonial government made some modifications in order to increase income level and a tax system to make sure that nobody escaped payments and taxes were increased over the years and with the introduction of British currency, payment of tax with British currency was enforced which was a practical attempt to introduce the

¹⁹⁷ Ibid: Y.B. Usman: p.83.

¹⁹⁸ NAK KAT PROF File No. 1695, Assessment Report of Galadima District: Statistics' 1921-1922 p2.

cash economy by the British in their bid to promote export oriented agriculture.¹⁹⁹ The fact that many ordinances were made in relation to taxation and cultivation of export crops, they were all tailored towards coercing the farmer to cultivate those wanted export crops and he must do so because he could not get money to pay the taxes except he cultivate the export crops. Food crops were too cheap to enable him pay the taxes and failure to pay those colonial taxes could attract severe penalties such as arrest, detention, public beating and prison terms or court fines usually meted to adult in the presence of their families in their villages. On the other hand, since the taxes were increased almost every year, farmers opened new farms to increase their export crops output to be able to meet up the tax increases.

The first step taken towards solving these administrative problems was district reorganization and redistribution of the existing fiefs or tittles and excluding as far as possible those of them who were of slave descent or status.²⁰⁰ All the traditional rulers were appointed and given some executive authority in tax collection and the maintenance of law and order. The function of these Village Heads and District Heads was to be primarily tax collection. In remodeling the taxation system, the colonial government had two primary objectives, namely to preserve the continuity of the system which had developed in the emirate before the imposition of the British colonial rule, and to simplify taxation by merging the many taxes under a few heads. Codification and simplification of taxation absorbed the first two decades of colonial rule.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ NAK KAT PROF File No. 1695, Assessment Report of Galadima District p2.

²⁰⁰ Ibid p.115.

²⁰¹ Cf. cd. 5102 which cites Palmers evidence that in Katsina there were 26 taxes by the time of the British occupation in 1903.

Henceforth the Village Heads and District Heads were expected to collect taxes by themselves and the *jakada*; system was to cease, because they were regarded corrupt and their functions will encourage negligence of duty on the part of the District Heads and moreover they were of slave origin.²⁰² The *jakada*; therefore was charged with the actual delivery of official letters to the District Heads.²⁰³

In the colonial taxation, the general principles of Native Assessment have been retained of which the aim of the assessment was to make an individual pay tax in proportion to his wealth. This principle for assessment was however regarded sound by the colonial government. A nominal roll was completed by a house to house count of *masugidaje*; in each unit. Against each man's name was entered, in the second column the number of married males other than *Maidiga*; and in the third column, the number of *samari*; or unmarried youths. These lists of *masugidaje*; were left with the Village Heads of the original list of recorded householders for identification. When the tax was divided up, this list was referred to and the name of the *maigida*; and his tax written up for the year. Additions to or subtractions from the list was a matter for annual revision.²⁰⁴

An attempt was made to depose District Heads and other officials in the Katsina Province for misdemeanours and shortcomings in collecting and accounting for taxes assessed for their respective districts. As a result of embezzlements, and neglect of duty on the part of the Village Heads in Galadima area, many were deposed or imprisoned. Nevertheless, an annual and steady increase in the total amount of tax collected was recorded every year for the revenue of the Native Treasury and the colonial government. Of course, the secret

²⁰² Ibid. p. 120.

²⁰³ Paul Staudinger: Translated by Johanna E. Moody: "In the Heart of the Hausa States, Vol. 2. Ohio University, Monographs in International Studies, Africa Series, No. 56, 1990 p. 33.

²⁰⁴ NAK KAT PROF File No. 1695, Assessment Report of Galadima District p. 4.

behind this increase in the sum total of revenue collected was due to the over taxation of the peasants especially those of Galadima district and the intensification of the assessments as well as improvement of tax collection methods.

The major step taken by the colonial government for the improvement of tax collection and raising revenue was the adoption of the institution of what was termed as “*Taki*” system. The *taki*; system of assessment was measurement by foot of the area of farms to assess an individual’s land acreage to arrive at his income strength. The system was devised in 1921 in Galadima district so that the communal lump-sum assessments of towns, villages and dwellings could be dropped as inefficient. Assessment of taxation by the *taki* system became so popular with the colonial government that they endeavored to extend the method gradually to cover the whole district as the most accurate and nearest method in arriving at proper taxation.²⁰⁵ This was because it gives better assessment of individual’s income capacity, which should amount to higher level of revenue collected and this was what the colonial government wanted. In other words, the aim of the assessment was that individuals should pay a tax in proportion to his wealth²⁰⁶.

The *taki*; assessment was attempted in Galadima area in the early part of 1921. The result was most unsatisfactory owing to partly absence of supervision and also due to the corruption of the government officials’ *malamantaki*.²⁰⁷ From investigation over Southern Katsina, Galadima district was found that the *taki*; system of tax assessment was corrupted as a possible method of fixing the rate per acre over a considerable land that could be compared with the *zakkah*; system because of the corruption of *Malamangona*. The

²⁰⁵ SNP/134P/1913, paragraph

²⁰⁶ NAK KAT PROF 1695: *Assessment Report on Galadima District, Katsina Province* by H.O Lindsell, District Officer, p2

²⁰⁷ NAK KAT PROF 1695: *Assessment Report on Galadima District, Katsina Province* by H.O Lindsell, District Officer p. 3-5.

uncertain condition of farming, the extent of farms and variation of productivity and in a situation where maturing did not become a general practice by the peasants coupled with the inability of the '*Taki Malams;*' to avoid serious errors in measuring farms that were complex with uncertain definitions, made it impossible to fix a rate per acre either high enough to raise a sufficient tax or low enough to prevent it being oppressive to the poor farmer.²⁰⁸ For instance, a poor and rocky farm could not possibly be put in the same category as a rich compact sugar cane plantation near the same area. The differentiation of acreage rate would have to be made farm by farm, the data which does not exist.²⁰⁹ These shortcomings had given room for the corrupt government officials to excessively exploit peasants and misappropriate the tax revenue.

The work of the *takimalamai;* (as they were called) made them the main intermediaries between the farming, tax-paying peasantry on the one hand and native and colonial administrators on the other. Their job included measurements of farms, tenancy of new farms and the reporting of complaints of the peasantry to the administration. They acquired so much power to tyrannize the peasantry as such they committed a lot of abuses that became so open in the communities. Unfortunately they were not adequately supervised and so these men had long been enriching themselves by corruption and intimidation at the expenses of the revenue. Of course the *takimalamai;* were the creation of the colonial government²¹⁰ and they substituted the *jakadu;* in their economic roles. However, while the *malamantaki;* were very corrupt and they often intimidate the peasantry, they were seen as the saviours of the peasantry from the old age, often harsh, despotism of the ruling groups and other government officials. More so, District Heads

²⁰⁸ Ibid: NAK KAT PROF 1695: *Assessment Report on Galadima District ...*p. 3.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. NAK KAT PROF 1695: *Assessment Report on Galadima District...* p. 3.

²¹⁰ SNP/318P/1919P.P.11. Also see SNP/635/1925,P.42.

found themselves drawn to corruption and embezzlement²¹¹. For these reasons the *taki*; system was dropped and the tax method changed to the nominal roll completed by a house to house count of *masugidaje* in each unit as discussed earlier.

The period 1903–1926 was a period of the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule. More taxes were introduced such as the industrial tax *kurdinmasusana'a*; which was a tax on craftsmen and levied on every adult male even if he was paying another tax as a farmer, the rate being fixed at twelve shillings per head.²¹² The colonial taxation, we should bear in mind was targeted at coercing the peasants to produce export crops because it was only those who cultivated those crops like cotton and groundnut that could comfortably pay their taxes. On the other hand the industrial tax was intended to suffocate the local industries.

Moreover, most of the people practicing local industries in Galadima district were farmers, and if they joined the two economic activities they stood the risk of paying double taxes. Gradually, they were bound to abandon the local industry because the burden was too heavy on them. The aim of the British colonialists was of course to kill the local industries and to stop the production of local materials in order to avoid competition with the European goods in the markets and to provide for themselves the raw materials they needed at their home industries.

Village Heads were instructed to issue receipts to each tax payer immediately on payment. Propaganda was carried out urging tax payers to demand a receipt for their money or to lodge a complaint if it was withheld. District heads were under the same obligation to the emir. The District Head on the other hand entered particulars of the remittance on the

²¹¹ Michael Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine, & Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, p165

²¹² SNP/316P/1920, p.3; SNP/120O/1921 p. 9.

Village Head assessment paper, in the district tax book and in his own cash book. Before accepting the Village Heads' remittance, the District Head was instructed to check the village tax receipts books to ensure that the sum agreed with the receipts issued and he then cancelled the checked counterfoils with a rubber stamp. In the same way, the district head remitted to the Native Treasury. He forwarded the receipts books for checking and cancellation and details of payment were entered in their assessment books. The District Head and all the Village Heads were attached with scribes who did most of the tax work on their behalf.

The procedure of tax collection was thought to be effective in protecting both the taxpayers and the Treasury from fraud. That was not the case because many officials were involved in fraud during tax collections both the Village Heads and District Heads were found guilty and every year some chiefs were punished for embezzlement cases. However, the European officials had underrated the strong ties between the traditional ruler and his *talakawa*; in their propaganda to expose the tax frauds. The difficulty in detecting such irregularities was that people who were not issued receipts would rather deny their payments than expose their traditional ruler. In spite of the propaganda and every encouragement by the colonial officials, the peasants were reluctant to demand receipts on payment. This could be attributed to the fact that the peasantry and the Village Heads were illiterates and even the scribes were semi-literates and most of them were unwilling to adopt to new methods of paying tax because they were accustomed to payment of tax in kind for generations, hence collection of receipts and all forms of paper were regarded as tiresome innovations to be ignored whenever possible and not really important except in

the eyes of the Europeans.²¹³ Likewise European officials tended to use tax as an instrument to remove lower level office holders, usually on the grounds of embezzlement, yet they might grant favour to their loved ones who implemented the proper colonial aspirations and attitudes²¹⁴.

The following table shows the names of the *Magaddai*; Chiefs in the district, their appointments, their salaries, increases and decreases in salaries and retrenchments of offenders who embezzled taxes. It demonstrates how 26 unfortunate Chiefs were dismissed in one month proving the fact that the act of embezzlement was an act of rebellion to the colonial domination which manipulated traditional rulers to collect huge sums of money in the form of taxation while in the end they received meager salaries which could not cater for their huge roles in the community. You can imagine the numbers of those chiefs that were dismissed and the replacements as well as the continuing district re-organizations process to serve as punishment to embezzlement cases. Nevertheless, some of the offenders who were loyal to the colonial government escaped impeachments. Consequently, the British had introduced corruption into our political institution.

Traditionally, when a Chief dies or was impeached for any reason, his biological son or someone from the ruling family will be chosen to replace him. But on the bases of the dismissals and replacements made during the colonial domination, this structure of selection of Chiefs was sometimes altered. The result was the creation of centiments and opposition groups among the ruling families and the society at large.

²¹³ KAT PROV 84/90, *A letter to all the districts from the office of the Secretary, Northern Provinces*, signed by R. L Payne, Resident, Katsina Province, dated 27/10/39.

²¹⁴ Ibid: Michael Watts, p167

Table 3.6
GALADIMA DISTRICT: NAMES OF VILLAGE HEADS AND MONTHLY SALARIES
SHOWING DISMISSALS OF CHIEFS WHO EMBEZZLED TAXES

HEAD & ITEM	APPOINTMENT "MAGAJI"	NAME	RATE OF SALARY PER MONTH	REASON FOR INCREASE OR APPOINTMENT	DATE OF DISMISSAL
1	Rugargeza	Umaru	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
2	SabonGarinDayi	Ali	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
3	Malumfashi	Dahiru	12.18.0	8s. Increase	1/5/40
4	SabuwarKasa	Sada	1.17.0	12s. Increase	1/5/40
5	Salihawa	Abu	4.8.0	38s. Increase	1/5/40
6	Sani	Lawal	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
7	TudunKudi	Balarabe	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
8	Tora	Umaru	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
9	Wazirci	Bala	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
10	Mahuta	Sani	3.10.0	25s. Increase	1/5/40
11	Masari	Idrisu	3.16.0	46s. Increase	1/5/40
12	Rataya	Mamman	3.1.0	46s. Increase	1/5/40
13	Dankanjiba	Isa	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
14	Dayi	Abdu	3.4.0	36s. Increase	1/5/40
15	DutsinYanke	Abu	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
16	Ganzago	Bello	3.4.0	14s. Increase	1/5/40
17	Gora Mai Kasuwa	Barmo	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
18	Gozaki	Abdu	2.9.0	11s. Increase	1/5/40
19	Dantulture	Musa	2.7.0	37s. Increase	1/5/40
20	Kuringafa	Bala	3.10.0	10s. Increase	1/5/40
21	Lamuntani	Gwanda	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
22	Malumfashi	Mamman	5.12.0	28s. Increase	1/5/40
23	Riyoji	Adamu	2.15.0	25s. Increase	1/5/40
24	Kagara	Amadu	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
25	Gora Mai Kasuwa	Ibrahim	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
26	Gangara	Yuguda	2.15.0	35s. Increase	1/5/40
27	Karfi	Mu'azu	4.2.0	22s. Increase	1/5/40
28	Dankanawa	Amadu	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
29	Yammama	Kano	2.0.0	20s. Increase	30/4/40
30	Jargaba	Auta	1.17.0	17s. Increase	1/5/40
31	Borindawa	Turare	1.11.0	4s. Increase	1/5/40
32	Dutse	Gide	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
33	Kurmi	Musa	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
34	Malamawa	Ango	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
35	Makaurachi	Bawa	2.0.0	20s. Increase	1/5/40
36	Kafur	Mani	3.4.0	4s. Increase	1/5/40
37	Huguma	Salihu	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
38	Karakai	Mu'alanyidi	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
39	Dutsin Kura	Ibrahim	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
40	Mazuga	Bature	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
41	TsauninChinya	Tukura	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
42	Na'alma	Abdulmumini	3.13.0	33s. Increase	1/4/40
43	Danzaki	Bello	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
44	Kanya	Dahiru	-	Dismissed	30/4/40
45	Dansarai	Umaru	1.5.0	10s. Increase	1/5/40
		TOTAL	£65.18.0		

Source: NNKA KAT PROF 1218: Inspection on Galadima district by the district officer, Katsina, 1940.

The tax collection was cumbersome but the colonial government through the Native Authority did not take chances to supervise and enforce the policy to achieve desired results. Basically, the British administration worked with mostly illiterate village heads that relied on scribes to collect taxes and the scribes themselves were semi-literates. Well trained scribes were not available in the district and the colonial educational policy produced only a small number of educated citizens trained as clerks and scribes. There were bound to be mistakes in the tax collection and added to this was the fact that the traditional rulers themselves were made corrupt by the system. This was rightly observed by a colonial official, that the margin for errors was too obvious to need explanation because reliable scribes in sufficient numbers were simply not available and will remain so until the general level of education among the people reaches a higher standard than existed at present.²¹⁵

Jangali; was a kind of tax adopted by the colonial administration. It was a tax on cattle and this burden particularly fell on the *Fulani* herdsmen because they own the cattle in large numbers and rearing cattles was their profession. The tax collected also goes to the Native Treasury as revenue and the *Jangali*; period was 1st July to 31st October.²¹⁶ Again, the District Head and the Village Heads together with the *Fulani*; instituted chiefs known as Ardo and *Fulani* as the representatives of the *Sarki*; were responsible for the collection of *Jangali*. All procedures of writing receipts and counterfoils, preliminary counting of the cattles, was done by the Village Heads, during the collection period, to ascertain amounts to be paid by the family head. The District Head would then give a period of about a week or 10 days in which to complete the preliminary count. He then toured his district to check

²¹⁵ NAK KAT PROF, 84 p. 3:6.

²¹⁶ NAK KAT PROV, 84/90: *A letter to all the districts from the office of the Secretary...*, p4.

their assessments²¹⁷ and he was accompanied by the *Malaminharaji*; (tax scribe) who would enter up the *Jangali*; abstract book from the counterfoils in the hands of the Village Heads. The *Jangali*; abstract book was an exercise book ruled with columns to show number of receipts, names of cattle owners, number of cattle, number of sheep and goats etc, amount payable. There was hardly any *Fulani*; herdsman that could escape this exercise because of the gains the traditional rulers and tax collectors made out of it and the *Fulani*; hated this practice so much so that many of them deserted the district during the exercise. The major effect of this tax called *Jangali*; was that it accelerated migration of the *Fulani*; out of Galadima area to distant places in order to escape the colonial tax. But this was accompanied by *huji*; a punch of the cattle ear to signify that it has been counted during the *Jangali*; collection period. Some *Fulani* would bribe the Village Heads in order to reduce the number of cattle they owned which would as well reflect in the amount they would pay. The *Jangali*; tax was also remitted to the Native Treasury headed by the office of the *Waziri*; in Katsina.

It was noted on many instances by the inspecting British officials that in most cases, tax work was generally understood but it suffered from lack of supervision on the part of the Galadima and Village Heads have been let to do as they pleased.²¹⁸ The visiting British officials conducted their assessments of the villages by gathering the peasants in assemblies declaring the results of their assessments and making public disgrace of the Village Heads that were found wanting.²¹⁹ In any case, faults noted by the visiting European official, the *Galadima*'s; attention was drawn to effectively ensure proper compliance by his subordinate chiefs. The Galadima cautioned Village Heads about these mistakes and made

²¹⁷ Ibid. KAT PROV 84/90, *A letter to all the districts from the office of the Secretary...*

²¹⁸ NNAK NAK KAT PROF 1218 *a Report on the Galadima District...*

²¹⁹ NNAK KAT PROF, File No. 1695, Assessment Report of Galadima District: Statistics 1921-1922. P4.

those who could pay, refund surpluses to the tax payers, the aged etc. A few Village Heads who were found to have used their position to oppress their people or extort money from them unnecessarily, were punished. Every Village Head who could not account for his tax collected was given a grace of period within which to pay.

In one incidence, Galadima Adamu was discovered to have paid in sums of balances of taxes owed by four Village Heads who were related to him to save them from the pending consequences. At the end of this report dated 2 - 4 - 1931, the then Assistant District Officer of Galadima area, Mr. Jimbalder stated that, of the 40 Village Heads in the district, 12 have paid up in full, 2 are fugitives, 2 are bed ridden, 6 are in prison and the remainder have been given further days of grace by the Emir to bring the rest of the money outstanding against them.²²⁰

In fact, the cases arising from tax collections involving Village Heads continued to determine reorganization process of Galadima area in most of the period of colonial rule. Added to the taxation malpractices was the increase in population and inefficiency of some Village Heads in the control of their people which necessitated the creation of more village units.²²¹ From the initial stage there were 35 village units, and a total of 133 hamlet units. By 1940, the number of village units had risen to 40 and only the District Head and Village Heads were paid salaries. The *masuunguwa*; controlling the 133 hamlet units were not paid and this aggravated the corruption and oppression of the masses by them. But even the Village Heads salaries were not sufficient to make them contented.²²² However, the use of *Masuunguwa*; by the salaried Village Heads to collect taxes was discouraged by the

²²⁰NNAK NAK KAT PROF, 1218 *A Report on the Galadima District ...*P2, item 5.

²²¹NNAK KAT PROF, File No. 1695, Assessment Report of Galadima District: Statistics 1921-1922. P4. p 2, 6 & 28.

²²²NAK KAT PROF, File No. 1695, Assessment Report of Galadima District: Statistics 1921-1922. P4. p. 6.30.

Europeans, conscious of the fact that the *masuunguwa*; must compensate themselves in one way or the other because they were not paid salaries.

This was the reason why some chiefs and even the Galadima at a time lost interest in the exercise and showed their frustration in the collection by appointing their boys *yara*; to collect the tax on their behalf. For instance, Galadima Adamu in 1940 was accused of negligence to the tax collections and he refused to attend to the tax collection exercise but resorted to his farm on collection days, so also some Village Heads preferred to use the *Masuunguwa*; to save them from embarrassment of refunding or being imprisoned or deposed.²²³

New Farming Scheme and Techniques

3.5 Introduction of Farming Scheme

Mixed farming refers to the system of husbandry (farming) of which the major feature or difference with the traditional agriculture was the substitution of ploughing with bullocks (cows) for the more usual hand cultivation with a hoe. The scheme was first introduced by the colonial government on a small scale in 1928 after it had been experimented for many years by the department of agriculture Samaru Zaria.²²⁴

Throughout the period of colonial rule, the British administration adopted peasant agriculture instead of the plantation or mechanized agriculture that was used in Europe at the time. The farmer was allowed to own strips of land to produce the types of crops that were needed by the colonialists, while the colonial government interfered in the production of these crops through the provision of seed and gining facilities as well as buying and selling the produce through their representative companies such as the British Cotton Growing Association etc. It also intervened through taxation, colonial by-laws, extension schemes, fertilizer programme, mixed farming and quality control legislation in order to cage the peasants to specific forms of agricultural production.²²⁵

The Nigerian colonial state had developed what it considered to be a competent and adequate agricultural policy, the mixed farming scheme. This scheme was at the beginning aimed at maintaining the fertility of soil in order to continue exploiting our agricultural resources and to develop a capitalist farmer class, so that eventually the agriculture would

²²³NNAK NAK KAT PROF, 1218 *A Report on the Galadima District...* p 99.

²²⁴NNAK KAT PROF 505: S.I. Kafinsoli.

²²⁵ M.M Adamu: A Paper titled, "Farm Centers and Export Crop Cultivation in Katsina Emirate C. 1926-1960", A.M Yakubu (et.al), Northern Nigeria, a Century of Transformation 1903 – 2003 p. 321.

be like the type in Britain, a situation where by a group of farmers would own the means of production and employ labourers on a permanent basis.²²⁶

Mixed farming scheme was a programme adopted by the colonial government through a designed propaganda by the Native Authorities in favour of the British colonialists. It was believed that cultivation of larger acreages could be done through mixed farming, using ploughs, cattle improvement, to produce the animal power needed for mixed farming, land settlement schemes, where farmers would be settled in demarcated areas and allocated large strips of land to cultivate crops like cotton, rice and sugar cane on previously uncultivated land that were in most cases flooded swamps and improvement of the marketing systems and ways to enable quick and efficient adoption of improved methods of farming and the transportation of the produce to the ports.²²⁷

Without any delay, the Agricultural Department under colonial administration conducted extensive experiments on methods of maintaining soil fertility. The use of a green manure especially the *mucuna*; or velvet beans was tried out in several areas but it failed to maintain a satisfactory degree of fertility by this method in our soils²²⁸. A rotation of two years cotton planting and one year of *mucuna*; as green manure was not maintaining the fertility. It was decided to use farm yard manure instead. Cattle in the proportion of 4 per farmer were introduced to the *Daudawa*; centre, 2 of the beast being ready to work at the outset and 2-3 year olds to be ready to work in the following year. It was proved at *Daudawa*; farm centre that a dressing of one ton of farm yard manure per acre in alternate years gave very considerable increase in crop yields.²²⁹ Thus, the mixed farmer would harvest higher amount of crop in a small piece of land. Also, the mixed farmers had to reduce the amount of intercropping for the fact that the nature of interplanting was not suitable to cattle cultivation.²³⁰

It became obvious that the Nigerian peasant could not produce the quantity of export crops desired by the capitalist colonialists using his traditional methods of farming. This failure was attributed to the peasants conservative attitude to adopt to modern agricultural practices and on the issues of increased productivity and the maintenance of soil fertility, the peasant was his own problem and must be compelled to change.²³¹ Majority of the Agricultural officers were of the opinion that only mixed farming could solve the problems of agriculture in Nigeria. Therefore technical improvements in farming and irrigation was advocated and to be introduced to selected progressive farmers who own between 10 to 30 acres of land, to demonstrate to the others the advantages of modern farming techniques especially through the mixed farming. This assumption by the colonial officials was biased

²²⁶ NAK MINAGRIC 1/1 119: *Memorandum from D.A to Assistant Director of Agriculture, Northern Provinces ADA, NPS, 17th April, 1939.*

²²⁷ NAK MINAGRIC 1/1760, P 41-44; *Increasing peasant production: Paper presented to the Conference of Colonial Sectors of Agriculture, London, 25/6/1950.*

²²⁸ NAK KAT PROF MH 211: *Groundnut Production in Nigeria P27*

²²⁹ C.B. Taylor: *An Experiment in Land Settlement. "Tropical Agriculture"* Vol. 20 No. 11

²³⁰ NAK KAT PROF MH 211: *Groundnut Production in Nigeria P28*

²³¹ Z.A. Bonat, "Development Planning and Performance of the Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945-1985. A paper presented at the Seminar on Nigerian Economy and Society since the Berlin Conference, 1, NISER, FASS – ABU, 11th – 15th Nov. 1985.p. 20.

so the problems of agriculture were attributed to the peasants and they stopped short of analyzing the existing production process itself.²³²

In general, a farmer who took up mixed farming should in his third year produce upwards of eight times as much as he produced by hand, four times the number of acres and fully twice the average yield per acre.²³³ The change to mixed farming was viewed as a revolution in which the farmer has to learn a whole new system of farming in place of his traditional methods which will greatly improve the wealth and welfare of the farmers and the colonial government too.²³⁴ The scheme was designed to be implemented through the establishment of farm centers and demonstration farms and to be under close supervision of trained agricultural officers. Certainly, the successful farmers will continue to improve and new men in the neighbouring areas will learn from them in time. The mixed farming scheme does not only proposed the use of animal power for ploughing but it also include the breeding policy of cattle required for the scheme and improvement of cattle foods and milk yield for good quality butter and nutrition for the people.²³⁵

Mixed farming was intended to cut across all classes of the society. The largest percentage of mixed farmers were recruited from the ranks of peasant farmers, for it was this class it was hoped that mixed farming will eventually have the most appeal. With farming as their sole occupation they were able to devote their whole attention to mixed farming. All the district heads and village heads were involved in mixed farming.²³⁶ The middle men were not good farmers because they paid more attention to the produce season. Workers of the Native Authority were also involved in the scheme.²³⁷

In the case of loans collected for mixed farming, payments are made on monthly bases by salaried farmers while the unsalaried farmers paid usually at harvest time. In order to ensure that the right type of farmer was chosen, an applicant was required to obtain a recommendation from his District Head and agricultural Officer but also to make a small payment before starting as an indication of good faith. Another condition was to build a cattle pen and the collection of litter. There were supervisors and staff of the Agricultural departments in charge of the mixed farming scheme who were trained and paid fixed salaries. Those employed on mixed farming extension work received higher salary than those agricultural officers employed on cotton market work²³⁸. This policy was applicable to all the Northern provinces and districts including the Galadima district.

The Kafin soli farm center was also used for the purposes of extension services by the colonial government, which among other things concentrated on raising the general standard of farming among peasants in our area of study, especially the mixed farming technique and its spread and also the care and feeding of farm cattle used in the mixed farming scheme and improvement of poultry. To this effect, propaganda was set in motion

²³²NAK MINAGRIC 1/1 100; Memorandum No. 2139/DA/940 of 17/4/1939 from DA, Ibadan to ADA NPs, Zaria, Notes on Mr. Drummond – *Hay's Criticism of Mixed Farming*.

²³³ NAK KAT PROF 239 Vol. 1 *Memo to the Hon Secretary, Northern Provinces, Kaduna* by O.T. Fulkner, Director Agric, Dept, 25/1/1934, p.1.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid: P.1-11

²³⁶ Nak SOK PROF File, 56 Agriculture in Sokoto Province. p.49-53.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ SOKPROF File No. 56 Agriculture in Sokoto province p.49-53

for the use of fertilizer, insecticides and the cultivation of the three major export crops which included cotton, groundnuts, hides and skins.²³⁹

By 1956, the Native Authority of Katsina province under the Department of Agriculture had employed a total of 136 Agricultural extension officers to supervise and monitor the mixed farming scheme. Among these extension staff, there were 4 area supervisors, 25 agricultural assistants, 15 soil conservation staff, 32 ploughman instructors and 2 fisheries. There were also one senior cotton supervisor, 7 senior cotton examiners and 44 cotton examiners.²⁴⁰ These officials were posted to districts and the Native Authority in Galadima district was allocated its own share.

As part of the mixed farming programme, implements and their parts were supplied to the selected farmers such as ploughs and carts so also cattle in bulk were supplied to farmers at subsidized rates after branding and inoculation at the Kafin soli farm. Spare parts stores and demonstration farms were opened in each district. The blacksmiths at Kafin soli, Malumfashi and Kankara produced most of the implements required for the programme before the introduction of the foreign implements.²⁴¹ When Mixed farming became more widely adopted, it could not be possible to enforce the rules of the scheme. Farmers bought and trained their cattle, have them inoculated at the veterinary camps and probably purchased their ploughs and spare parts direct from the market.²⁴²

Also, as part of the mixed farming scheme, demonstration farms were opened at various places and the first one was opened at Malumfashi in 1932. It was a ten acre farm and it was the property of the Galadima, supervised by one Mallam Iro Dan Dambo under the scheme. The farm was situated around Yammama village and the colonial assistant district officer in 1936 advised that the farm be sold to the care taker Malam Dambo because of the failure of the programme. Other demonstration farms were subsequently opened in Mani district in 1933 and at Bakori in the *Iya*; District in 1935 for the southern Katsina province. The farms were purposely established to serve as demonstration grounds in colonial agriculture, to show that a farmer, with the aid of a pair of oxen could easily farm, increase his land acreage and maintain the fertility of the soil.

In the efforts to spread the mixed farming techniques in the Galadima and surrounding districts, an arrangement was made for senior elementary boys from schools to visit the Agricultural school at Kafin Soli and the farm center while periodical classes were opened at Malumfashi, Bakori and Mani for the boys in local schools and subsequently many of them were withdrawn to join the agricultural training farm at Kafin Soli. In this way, the Kafin Soli School had greatly influenced local farming and the spread of mixed farming in the Katsina province and Galadima area in particular. It greatly improved the standard of both crops and animal husbandry in our area of study. The school was remodeled in 1956 to give admissions both in Katsina, Zaria provinces and beyond. When students graduated, they were given certificates legible for employment or admission into higher schools of agriculture. The admissions into this School was regrettably monopolized by the

²³⁹Ibid:NAK KAT PROF 505; Also mentioned in Northern Nigeria, A Century Transformation... 1903-2003, p. 331.

²⁴⁰ Ibid A.M Yakubu; I.M Jumre: A.G Saeed (Ed): *Northern Nigeria – A century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, ABU Press LTD, p. 332.

²⁴¹ Ibid. A.M Yakubu; I.M Jumre: A.G Saeed (Ed): *Northern Nigeria – A century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, ABU press LTD Pg 328.

²⁴² NAK KAT PROF 239 VOL. II: Letters by the Senior Agricultural Officer R.B. Shald, Agric Department Kafin Soli, titled “*Regulations to Control Mixed Farming*”, dated 21/9/1945, p2

traditional rulers and native authority officials. The children of the peasants were discriminated against in favour of those who were not serious farmers.

“It is however, significant to note that while the school was meant for the children of the peasantry, it ended up as a school for the children of the NA officials. Only the sons of the district and Village Heads as well as those of other NA functionaries got admission into the institution. This fact could be seen from the first enrolment in 1938. Of the 24 boys admitted, eleven were sons of district heads and were prepared to work on their farms. Four were sons of Village Heads and one was an education Mallam’s son. Out of the total number, only five were children of farmers”.²⁴³

The mixed farming scheme in Galadima district and other districts in Katsina provinces faced serious problems. It was dominated by the Native Authority officials in other words, the traditional rulers and the friends of the Native Authority officials. These groups were not serious farmers and they were only interested in collecting the loans advanced for the purchase of bulls and divert the money for something else. This called for adequate supervision of every mixed farmer in the district and this necessitates the need for increased agricultural staff. Almost all the traditional rulers collected loans and majority failed to pay the loans so they were exempted from the scheme.

Secondly, the greatest difficulties were faced during the first year after a farmer had adopted mixed farming, one of the most formidable being the stumping of the farm.

Another was the cost of the bulls which most farmers could not afford to pay and the Fulani white cattle breed needed for improvement and supply to mixed farmers as well as other stock breeders for improving their herds were difficult to obtain good quality ones in open markets.²⁴⁴

Some districts were more successful in the mixed farming scheme than others. While there was a general increase in the number of participants in various districts and provinces, the numbers in Galadima district decreased over the years. According to a report by an Assistant Agricultural officer, he explained that although the Malumfashi demonstration

²⁴³ Ibid: A.M Yakubu; I.M Jumare: P. 330-331.

²⁴⁴ NNAK KAT PROF 239 Vol.1, Mixed Farming Northern Provinces: Memo from the Secretary, Northern Provinces to the Resident Katsina Province on Agriculture/Extension and mixed farming, Kaduna, 22/10/1935. P.5.

farm was one of the best in the country, the effect on the local peasantry had been very slight and from the point of view of progress in mixed farming, Galadima district was one of the most backward in the emirate. Due to this failure, the demonstration farm at Malumfashi was sold to the care taker Malam Iro Dan Dambo, who had cultivated it so well for a period of five to six years²⁴⁵.

From every indication, most farmers in Galadima district who wanted to participate in the mixed farming scheme could not be enrolled because the Agricultural department made a regulation that participants had to apply and must receive the support of the village heads and district head. This brought about a game of favouritism and corruption and ultimately a source of discouragement to peasants.

It could be noted that the British administrators had introduced mixed farming and many other programmes because they knew what they wanted and they envisaged an agricultural system that would enable them exploit the peasants for the benefit of British industries. The need to maximize the exploitation forced them to maintain a peasant economy despite their apparent dissatisfaction with the peasant form of Agricultural production. They had desired to maintain the peasants to produce export crops and provide state revenues continually. For the peasants to successfully perform this task they needed to acquire sufficient capital to improve their farms. The peasant farmers could not do so given their low income levels. The colonialists accused the peasants of being conservative, and they tried to overcome this by introducing technical improvements, which the peasants were to be persuaded or forced to adopt. But this development too did not wholly transform the social condition of the *talakawa*; to a better one, as only few of the farmers benefitted at the expense of the bulk of the majority. The success of the agricultural programme depended on the co-operation of the traditional rulers who favoured mostly their sons and close associates. The successful farmers had actually their income level improved but their taxes were simultaneously increased.

At the end of the day only few benefitted, the favoured ones while the majority were neglected. An Agricultural Department worker described the mixed farming programme as a window dressing. It was a programme that was corrupted and politicised and even for those who were successful in it, the benefits went to the colonialists because the aim was to produce greater quantity of export crops.

Mixed farming loans did not improve the condition as it was not easy to get the cattle loans, only the traditional rulers and their associates had access to it. They collected bribes before a farmer was approved. The loans collected were not in most cases used for the farming. The traditional rulers were found guilty of not paying the loans. The scheme was frustrated by Native Authority officials and the traditional rulers.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ KATPROF 2960. Record of discussion held at the Residency, Katsina, on November 15th 1936, between the Resident, Katsina Province, the Assistant Director of Agriculture and the Agricultural officer, Northern Katsina.

²⁴⁶ Interview with Maigida Keso, a farmer, Gidan Maiwando Kuringafa Unit, aged 110 years, date 5th December, 2013.

3.6 Introduction of New Farming Inputs – Fertilizer, Chemicals, etc.

Modern fertilizer was also introduced, improved seeds variety, modern methods of cultivation, insecticides applications, agricultural extension services, supervisions and control on quality of crops produced, provision of transport for easy evacuation of the export crops to the coast and many more measures were applied as agricultural policies to ensure domination and excessive exploitations of our human and material resources.

The green manure technique attempted as early as the 1930s as a cheap way of producing fertilizer to resuscitate the soil fertility. This was necessitated by the fact that the British had seen the value of maintaining the peasants system of production and because the farmers produced their own food, even in some cases worth surplus as the case was in the Galadima district, it was possible to pay them very low prices and to compel them to increase export crop production even when prices of those commodities fell.²⁴⁷ But underlying this policy was the fact that the peasants must be able to feed themselves. So in the case of the peasant production, the major problem became the maintenance of soil fertility so that farmers would not only feed and reproduce themselves but also to increase the production of export crops. So where the production of export crops was very prominent, food production came under squeeze in favour of exportation.

The green manure fertilizers production met with failure due to the large quantities of green manure that was required to facilitate in agricultural output. Experiments on the Farm yard Manure (FYM) were carried out to substitute artificial fertilizers when applied to major crops. The British were aware that farmers in our area of study and northern Nigeria in general were using the farm yard manure for ages and combinations of cattle manure, rotational farming, bush fallowing and shifting cultivation for the bush farms. The mixed farming scheme was aimed at encouraging farmers to use cattle manure but because of the much emphasis on increase of product and acreage, bush fallowing and shifting cultivation were abandoned.

There was a deliberate campaign by the native authority and the department of agriculture on the use of fertilizer by the colonial authority. Farmers were encouraged to adopt the application of the fertilizer in order to increase the output of export crop production. The focus of the colonial regime was to boost export crops production since they were not satisfied with the previous local manuring and fertilizers as well as the methods and they hoped to get maximum export crops cultivation by the famers.

There were practical demonstrations conducted to famers who adopted the mixed farming scheme to show how it works on a growing plant and the difference between that which fertilizer was applied and the other one which it was not applied. The practical demonstration and experimentation of the modern fertilizer was first done at Kafin soli farm centre from where it spread and extension agricultural officers were engaged in teaching farmers the right type of fertilizers for particular crops, the time to apply and the spacing of the planting, the quantity of fertilizer required per plant and so on.

The famers in Galadima district quickly realized the remarkable difference in growth and output of the crops and each season more and more famers were adopting the use of modern fertilizer. It became some what a revolution to abandon the use of old system of manuring the cultivable farms in favour of the *takinturawa*. Hence, the use of modern

²⁴⁷ Ibid: A.M Yakubu; LM Jumare, P. 325.

fertilizers became a competition and the great demand or reliance on its usage resulted to price inflation to a level the farmers could hardly afford to buy.

The *takinturawa*; was made up of mixture of chemicals from minerals which were converted to water soluble phosphate salt and by treatment with sulfuric or phosphoric acids invented in 1927.²⁴⁸

The popular fertilizer sold were the NPK popularly called compound or *kampa*; Urea, Sulfur, & Super *supa*. The compound fertilizer was a mixture of the Nitric acid (HNO₃), Calcium Nitrate (Ca (NO₃)₂) and Potassium (K) Potash fertilizers usually contained Potassium Chloride, Potassium Sulfate, Potassium Carbonate or Potassium Nitrate. All nitrogen based fertilizers contained elements of the calcium, magnesium and sulfur. It easily dissolves in water and if there were scanty rains or draught it burns the plants to death leading to loss of the plant. The fertilizers could be applied to both food crops and export crops, but the intention with which it was introduced was to boost export crops production.

The impact on the use of modern fertilizer in Galadima district during our period of study was remarkable. It has greatly increased the output of crops cultivated by the farmers as a result taxes were increased and European manufactured goods that became essential commodities continued to increase in cost and a high level cost of living was ushered during the last two decades of the colonial rule

A major consequence of this development on the lives of the peasantry was over reliance on the use of modern fertilizers and many farmers were living at the margin of poverty because they could not afford the fertilizer. Also, the fertilizers were made of acid and its corrosive nature or the chemical reaction to the natural soil was negative. It does not preserve the natural soil fertility but it drastically reduces the soil fertility, therefore after a few years the strength of the soil fertility had deteriorated and the remedy was to increase the quantity of fertilizer applied and once it was not used, the farmer could reap nothing. The farmers were then caged into dependence on the producers of fertilizer so much that it was almost impossible to produce the export crops without it.

All the fertilizers applied to the farms up to 1960 was produced and imported from Europe and distributed to farmers by the agricultural departments and registered marketeers. The use of modern fertilizer therefore became an issue of pure exploitation of the masses. The use of the fertilizer increased the cultivation of virgin lands so much so that land became scarce and farmers started encroaching into the cattle tracks reserved for the cattle of the Fulani which increased conflict between Fulani and the farmers. Also, the use of the *takinturawa*; meant more production of export crops in order to get money, at the expense of food crops, leading to eventual hunger and destitution.

Certainly, there were other consequences. One of such was corruption. Since fertilizer had become the major problem of the farmers, the whole economy depended on when it is not in supply, all farmers were thrown into confusion. The Native Authority Officials, traditional rulers and registered marketers became highly corrupt, selling above the prescribed prices and diverting supplies to other areas. They also adulterate the fertilizer or reduce the contents of the bags. Farmers suffered the consequences resulting to increased poverty, destitution and indebtedness.

²⁴⁸ Fertilizer from the Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia (redirected from fertilizers...).

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, we argued that all colonial policies were geared toward the promotion of colonial goals namely export crops production and the provision of infrastructure to promote smooth evacuation of the surplus to Europe. Land, labor and the institution of taxation were aimed at stimulating export crops cultivation at all cost and to provide revenue for administrative convenience as well as cheap labour to minimize costs of production, construction and also to maintain low prices of all export products which will guarantee the maximization of profits by European firms. The colonial agricultural policies consolidated European exploitation and monopoly over the human and material resources of our land.

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPACT OF COLONIAL POLICIES ON CULTIVATION AND MARKETING OF EXPORT CROPS

4.0 Introduction

In chapter four, we intend to argue that colonial agriculture was heavily reliant on export crops and the peasants of Galadima district were coerced into promoting the colonial desire for export crops. The word export crops is used in place of cash crops because cotton, groundnut, hides and skins were produced in Galadima as cash crops before the advent of colonial domination as demonstrated by Yusuf Bala Usman²⁴⁹. The peasants produced them before the colonial period and they were sold to outside merchants and much of it too were consumed by the internal markets for local industries and that was the major income of the peasants.

We shall also argue that low prices of cotton were always maintained at in order to favour the European cotton firms to achieve maximum profits. The colonial government had always protected the interests of their home companies at the expense of the farmers and those foreign firms were influential in determining or formulating colonial agriculture policies. The low pricing of cotton in our area of study caused frustration and poverty.

4.1 Cotton Production

Long before the advent of the colonial period, cotton was cultivated in Hausaland and it was used for domestic textile as well as for export to neighbouring states and distant places through the trans-Saharan trade. Trade in cotton, cotton cloths; thread spinning and indigo for dyeing had advanced, items were exported to the outside world.

²⁴⁹Y.B Usman: transformation of Katsina 1400 – 1883. A.B.U Zaria press Ltd, 1981, p.203-210.

Most of the people in Galadima area were farmers but there were textile producers most of whom were immigrants from neighbouring states like Kano and some were seasonal professional migrants who spent some months during the dry seasons of each year and returned to their homeland during the early rains of the dry seasons to cultivate the farms²⁵⁰. Cotton was the most wanted export crop during the colonial period in Northern Nigeria. Other export products namely groundnut, hides and skins were added in the top list. But even in the whole Katsina Province, the Southern Katsina precisely Galadima and Maska Districts were the greatest producers of cotton.²⁵¹ However, this explains why cotton ginneries were established only in these districts, one at Funtua in 1926 and another in Malumfashi in 1927.

The following table contains names of catchment areas for the ginneries at Funtua and Malumfashi (Galadima) which suggest that Malumfashi zone is the bigger and the cotton turn over was ultimately higher.

The wealth of Galadima District and Katsina Emirate, according to one Nigerian Director of Agriculture, still mainly comes from cotton²⁵². Food production was not seen by the colonialists as part of the wealth of the Protectorate of the Northern Nigeria because their concept of wealth consisted of export crops such as cotton, groundnuts, hides and skins etc.²⁵³

Henceforth, farmers in Galadima area were coerced into extensive cotton cultivation and year after year tons of ginned cotton was expropriated to the British

²⁵⁰ Ibid: Y.B. Usman.

²⁵¹ Interview with Alh Usman Hada Malumfashi, aged 96 years, a former LBA agent of the BCGA in Galadima district, 18/11/13.

²⁵² NAK KAT PROF, 239 /Vol.11: Agricultural Extension Work (Mixed Farming), 1937-1948, P. 204.

²⁵³ Ibid: P.204.

metropole. Unfortunately, most of the money they got from cotton production was spent on taxes and few luxuries and the end result was destitution and indebtedness to foreign companies, local buying agents and money lenders. The peasants were deliberately overtaxed. It was even admitted by the British colonial resident to Katsina Province that Galadima, Southern Katsina was over taxed. This meant that the taxes paid in Galadima area were heavier and greater than those paid by their counterparts in the Northern Katsina Province and this was because export cash crops were produced in the area and peasants seemed to be getting more money than their counterparts in the Northern Katsina province. But over-taxation was not accidental; it was a deliberate British policy to compel the peasant farmers to increase their land acreage as well as their production output of the cash crops desired by the colonial administrators.²⁵⁴

Throughout the colonial period, the policy on cotton production was for the Ministry of agriculture to promote and support a vigorous and continuing expansion of cotton growing in suitable areas²⁵⁵. This policy was relentlessly pursued and even during the depression periods and draughts, there was never a time when the colonialists promoted food crops more than export crops rather during difficult situations the peasants were coerced into vigorous productions of the two.

The British Cotton Growing Association; a group of textile companies based in Britain obtained land in Malumfashi town and established a cotton ginning company known as the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) in 1927²⁵⁶. The BCGA was

²⁵⁴ Ibid. Also, Memo by the Director of Agriculture Ibadan to the Assistant Director of Agriculture, Northern Province, Zaria: Notes on Mr. Drummond – Hay’s Criticism of Mixed farming, dated 17th April, 1939.

²⁵⁵ MINAGRIC KATP ROF, FILE NO: 6001/S Vol. 1: Cotton Price Policy, 1956-58.

²⁵⁶ NAK KAT PROF (FED) 1/1 16 *A colonial Report on Galadima District* by the Assistant District Officer, Katsina province p.22

assigned by British the work of discovering the best cotton producing areas and it subsequently found northern Nigeria and in particular Galadima district to produce the cotton they required.²⁵⁷ The railway construction though terminated at Funtua was intended to reach Malumfashi but for the refusal by the traditional rulers of Galadima area it was abandoned.²⁵⁸ The construction of the tarred road from Kano to Malumfashi and Funtua to Sokoto and to Zaria was a deliberate network to help in transporting cotton, groundnut, hides and skins from the interior to the coast.

The following table contains names of catchment areas for the ginneries at Funtua and Malumfashi (Galadima) which suggest that Malumfashi zone is the bigger and the cotton turnover was ultimately higher.

Table 4.1

MALUMFASHI AND FUNTUA GINNERIES OF EVACUATION AND COTTON MARKETS

S/N	MALUMFASHI GINNERY	S/N	FUNTUA GINNERY
1	Danmusa	1	Bakori
2	Dankanjiba	2	Bilbis
3	Dutsen-ma	3	BirninGwari
4	Gora	4	Tsafe
5	Gurbi	5	Dandume
6	Jikamshi	6	Daudawa Stage I, II, III
7	Kafur	7	Faskari
8	Kankara	8	Guga
9	Karaduwa	9	Kwatarkwashi
10	Ketare	10	Mahuta
11	Kurfi	11	Mada
12	Musawa	12	Maigora
13	Rimaye	13	Mairuwa
14	Safana	14	Maska
15	Tsakiya	15	Makurdi
16	Tuge	16	Tabani
17	Yari-bori	17	RuwanGodiya
18	Gwarzo	18	Yankara
19	Tsanyawa		
20	Yandaka		

SOURCE: M.M. Adamu "The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral... P. 245

²⁵⁷ BCGA Improved Transport Facilities in Northern Nigeria, Deputation to the Prime Minister, May 17 1906, p.36, 49.

²⁵⁸ Interview with Alhaji Salawudeen CGC Malumfashi Accountant, at Malumfashi, dated 3/12/13

The British Treasury provided funds for the promotion of cotton production and cotton buying. The farmers were allowed to grow the cotton by themselves and the farm to pay for itself and to cater for the employment of a large paid staff. This explains why the cotton farmers were in most cases exempted about the cotton transactions, which they produced. The primary function of the peasant was to produce the cotton, the *Yanbaranda*; that is agents of the Europeans firms purchased it from all the nooks and corners of the district and then transported it by donkeys to the designated plots *fulotai*; where they meet a joint committee of government employed workers. The agricultural officers did the measurement of the cotton after the produce officer had graded it and payment was effected by the local buying agents who were given Local Buying Agents license and Depot Delivery Receipt (DDR) from whom the government purchased the cotton and forward it to the ginnery for processing.

The British Cotton Growing Association was independently ginning the cotton purchased by colonial government and for individuals who brought their cotton in tons. The colonial government paid the British Cotton Growing Association for all the work done for the year at the end of the ginning season.²⁵⁹ In fact, the Native Authority which included the agricultural extension workers, the Local Buying Agents and *Yanbaranda*; benefitted in the whole cotton production process at the expense of the bulk of the peasantry in Galadima district whose crops were under-priced.

The *Yanbaranda*; were agents who went out searching and bought cotton from the farmers and cheat farmers through wholesale. They were subsidized by European firms and they had strips of donkeys. They bought the cotton at No. 2 process or lower and sold

²⁵⁹ Ibid: An interview with Alhaji Salawudeen the BCGA Accountant and a group of others in the C.G.C office.

in the market at No. 1 graded. The farmers were saved the trouble of transportation but it was a very unfair deal for them²⁶⁰. The European firms that engaged in cotton buying in Galadima district included the UAC, John, Holts, CFAO, GBO, LMC etc²⁶¹.

Cotton production in Galadima area proved to be the leading export crop during the period of colonial rule so much so that, the British Cotton Growing Association work brought about the rapid urbanization of Malumfashi Town. Hundreds of labourers were employed for daily paid jobs every cotton ginning season and these labourers were mostly immigrants from neighbouring villages and districts of the Katsina Province, including Zamfara and Kano provinces. Most of the migrants came during the dry seasons and return to their home towns during the rainy season when the ginning exercise was closed against preparations for the next season. Gradually, most of these migrant workers took hired houses or even built their own houses and settled there permanently. Hundreds of houses sprang up around the British Cotton Growing Association company which came to be known as Bisije. Another *Unguwa*; settlement developed around the house of Magaji Dodo a popular BCGA Accountant, opposite the tarred Funtua – Yashe road, Western side of the Malumfashi Town which came to be called *Payamasa*; (pay master)²⁶² As a result of this conglomeration of British Cotton Growing Association workers, houses expanded to mission compound and beyond reaching the *Dam Side* and the *New Tudun Maiduna*; layout. More and more migrants continued to flock into Malumfashi Town because of the money in circulation from the British Cotton Growing Association. Many peasants who could not pay their year tax came to the British Cotton Growing Association seeking for

²⁶⁰ NAK KAT PROF (FED) 1/1 16 *A colonial Report on Galadima District* by the Assistant District Officer, Katsina province p.22

²⁶¹ Ibid: p.23

²⁶² Ibid.

such hard jobs. The money so far earned was used to subsidize the food shortages experienced by village farmers.²⁶³

The table below demonstrates Galadima district was a major cotton producing region during the colonial period.

Table 4.2

FIGURES FOR THE BCGA COTTON BUYING STATIONS 1926/1927

Name of Station	No. of Bags	Weight	Tons	CNT	ORS	LBS
Funtua	26002	1582299	706	7	2	19
Kankiya	247	17911	7	19	3	19
Kankara	1948	224947	100	8	1	23
Kurfi	148	11859	5	5	3	15
Galadima	13658	193376	439	0	0	16
Bakori	7545	415841	145	12	3	15
Musawa	644	47476	21	3	3	16
Maska	9355	693059	309	8	0	3
Total	59547	3976767	1775	6	3	11

Source: NNAK KAT PROF 150-159, Katsina Division Report for March Quarter 1923

Table 4. 3.

COTTON PURCHASED BY MARKETS NOV-DEC 1925

<u>Market</u>	<u>Weight in LBs</u>
Malumfashi	2,070,024
Bakori	1,392,457
Maska	134,158
Funtua	3,787,423
Kankara	719,144
Danja	1,560,861
Kankiya	534,922
Tuge	981,167
Dutsinma	821,422
Ruma	981,167
Faskari	468,657
Katsina	612,413
Ingawa	76,639

Source: NNAK KAT PROF 1252, Katsina Division Report for March Quarter 1925.

²⁶³ Interview with Alhaji Ikiramu Gangarawa, Malumfashi ex-Native Authority Worker aged 82 years, date 30/November/2013

There were nine ginneries in Northern Nigeria during the colonial domination, namely, Zaria, Mayanci, Malumfashi, Funtua, Challawa, Karaduwa, Gusau, Moriki and Lokoja. They were established in the 1920s. Below is a table showing the ginneries, their location, types and production capacity.

TABLE 4.4

BCGA GINNERIES IN NORTHERN NIGERIA INCLUDING MALUMFASHI (GALADIMA DISTRICT)

S/No	Location	Type	Production capacity
1	Zaria	Pneumatic type	100 bales per day
2	Dutsen –Wai (<i>Sic</i>)	Pneumatic type	60 bales per day
3	Challawa <i>Sic</i>	Pneumatic type	60 bales per day
4	Funtua	Pneumatic type	70 bales per day
5	Malumfashi (Galadima)	Pneumatic type	70 bales per day
6	Karaduwa	Pneumatic type	20 bales per day
7	Gusau	Pneumatic type	50 bales per day
8	Moriki	Pneumatic type	20 bales per day
9	Lokoja	Pneumatic type	50 bales per day

SOURCE: WARDLE – The BCGA and its operations, P. 440

The above table demonstrates that the Malumfashi-Galadima Ginnery was only second to Zaria in production capacity. The ginnery plant in Karaduwa *Matazu*; was established in 1927 the same year with that of Malumfashi but the plant was closed down a year or two later probably as a result of the severe consequences of the great depression of 1929 – 30. The ginnery in Malumfashi, however, could not process all the cotton in the area. About $\frac{3}{4}$ of the farmers in Galadima district grew cotton between 5 – 6 acres.²⁶⁴

A large amount of cotton was therefore transported by road from Malumfashi to Funtua and Zaria Ginneries. The farmers in the area had no option than to plant cotton crop extensively despite the rate of price fluctuations and other problems associated to its production.

²⁶⁴ Ibid: Tukur Bello Ingawa, P. 241.

Below is a table of cotton exports from Southern Katsina and Northern Katsina in bales of 400 lbs. Even though it did not concern only the Galadima district, the yearly prices shown on the table were same in our district. The price fluctuations were dictated by the world market and the situation was the same throughout the colonial period.

TABLE 4.5

EXPORT OF COTTON FROM SOUTHERN KATSINA AND NORTHERN KATSINA IN BALES OF 400 LBS

Date	Price In D	Total Exports From Northern Katsina	Total Exports From Southern Katsina	Total Exports From Katsina Poor
1924 – 25	3 d	2,240	10,525	12,765
1925 – 26	2.5	1,783	15,336	17,119
1926 – 27	1.1 raising to 1.8	143	9,011	9,154
1927 – 28	2.4 falling to 2.1	1,915	7,261	8,176
1928 – 29	2.3 falling to t.1	1,880	10,029	11,909
1929 – 30	1.6 falling to 1.2	2,106	15,253	17,359
1930 – 31	0.8 falling to 0.5	273	8,582	8,855
1931 – 32	0.6 raising to 0.8	Nil	3,517	3,517
1932 – 33	0.8 raising to 0.9	1,706	9,432	11,138
1933 – 34	0.9 raising to 1.2	1,053	7,901	8,954
1934 – 35	1.1 raising to 1.5	4,136	15,896	20,032
1935 – 36	1.1 raising to 1.6	7,289	12,077	19,366
1936 – 37	0.6 raising to 0.3	3,541	10,623	14,164
1937 – 38	0.6 raising to 0.8	576	8,744	9,320
1938 – 39	0.7 falling to 0.6	1,881	7,607	9,488
1939 – 40	1.0 raising to .4	7,217	15,594	22,811

Source: NAK/SNP 17/10199 VOL. I, VOL. II Agricultural Department, Report on Cotton Industry in Nigeria.

In an attempt to boost cotton production, the colonial government selected *Danja*; district because of its central position in the fertile soil of Southern Katsina for the establishment of a special cotton scheme in 1929 by the Agricultural department. The scheme was established for the growing of the American Allen Cotton newly introduced as a better cotton variety preferred by foreign buyers. The scheme was to cover 15 Villages in Danja district and 5 Villages from Southern Galadima District making a total of 20 Villages. This scheme was intended to influence all the surrounding districts in cotton

growing and it succeeded in changing most of the farmers into cotton growers rather than food crops producers which eventually contributed to food crises and eminent hunger in the whole Katsina emirate²⁶⁵.

From the 1930s to 1960s, Galadima district witnessed great boom in cotton production. This was an achievement to the Native Authority for its ability to adopt many policies and to compel the farmers to produce cotton and other crops. From 1939 – 1945 during the Second World War, there was a slowing down of activities and the agricultural department was made to²⁶⁶ play a greater role in the production of crops which was also greatly desired by the British. This was necessitated by the need for food supplies to its armies in the colonies and the workers in colonial mines and also to its colonial administrators. But one thing we should note is that there was never a time or a general policy that discouraged the production of export crop by the peasants, throughout the colonial era. Rather, farmers took the burden of producing export crops and food crops at the same time, despite the consequences. It was a prosperous business for foreigners and their business agents while the peasants groaned over hardship.

A colonial official admitted in his report that most of the cotton purchased by Zaria Ginnery came from Southern, Katsina Galadima district inclusive. Nearly 2000 bales of cotton for ginning were transferred from Southern Katsina to Zaria Ginnery yearly and from this amount much of it came from Galadima district.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵Ibid: M.M. Adamu, p. 236

²⁶⁶ M.M. Adamu: *The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903 – 1960*. Ph.D Thesis ABU, October, 2002. P.233.

²⁶⁷Tukur Bello Ingawa :*A Study of the Rural Economic History of the Major Cotton Producing Districts of Katsina Emirate during the Colonial Rule 1900-1939*. A Ph.D Thesis – ABU Zaria 1984, P. 239.

It was recorded that even during the depression period, Galadima district produced above most of the districts in Katsina emirate. The BCGA in southern Katsina emirate was able to purchase over 15,000 bales of seed cotton during the 1929/30 seasons and this figure represented the highest purchase during the depression years.²⁶⁸

4.2 Groundnut Production

Groundnut *Arachishypagaea*; production in Galadima area was done even before the advent of colonial domination. Also the soil fertility offered a good ground for its production. The farmer plants his groundnuts on ridges about 9 to 12 inches high and about 2½ feet apart. The planting season, depended on the rains and the rain falls varies from April to June and harvesting took place from August to November every year. This was noted by some European Explorers in the 19th Century who visited Hausaland-Katsina, Kano, Daura, and Zaria. By the 1950s Dr. Barth visited the area and he commented that groundnut was a very common foodstuff. Baba of Karo in her accounts to Mary Smith noted that the groundnut formed part of a regular tribute from slaves to owners.²⁶⁹

In the 1880s, the German traveler, Paul Staudinger found women selling groundnut along the roads. Groundnuts were eaten roasted or lightly cooked or crushed for the oil which is used in cooking and oil lamps. The baked cake made from it was called kuli-kuli in Hausa and sold in markets and it formed part of the food in Hausa culture. The dried stalls were used as fodder for cattle, sheep, goats, horses and camel.²⁷⁰ The importance of

²⁶⁸ Ibid: Tukur Bello Ingawa: P. 239

²⁶⁹ Paul Staudinger: translated by Johanna E. moody: "In the heart of the Hausa States, Vol.2. Ohio University, Monographs in International Studies, Africa series, no. 56, 1990.

²⁷⁰ Jan. S. Hogendorn: *Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origins and Early Development*. ABU Press and Oxford University press Nigeria, Zaria.1978 p. 37.

groundnut as a product and as an export crop was the same in the whole of Hausaland including Galadima district.

By the beginning of colonial domination of Galadima district, groundnut was not produced in large quantity as export crops for British companies. But as commercial demand grew and so policies for cultivating it were set in motion by the colonial government, making peasants increased their land acreages for production of the nuts. Groundnut became the second most important commodity needed in Northern Nigeria by European firms. The nuts were used in Europe for soap making, margarine and cooking foods. Peasants found it easier to work than cotton and it was inter-planted mainly as insurance against a millet failure and its price was favourable in the market. Also groundnut added nitrogen to the soil, meaning that little fertilizer or manuring was necessary²⁷¹. As early as 1912, some exotic varieties of groundnut were introduced for trade but they proved not better than the local varieties. They were ultimately discovered and no new introductions were made until 1927 and 1928.²⁷² Groundnuts, which before 1914 were relatively little processed in Europe, except in France, became during the interwar period one of the most important raw materials of European seed crushing industries for the production of edible oil and cake²⁷³.

Groundnut production grew rapidly when roads in Northern Provinces were built such as the Funtua-Yashe road in 1926 crossing right across the Galdima district and also the coming of the railway to Kano and Funtua. The development of transport infrastructure by the colonial government solved the problem of transporting groundnut,

²⁷¹ NAK KAT PROF MH 211: Groundnut Production in Nigeria: and Economic Consideration 1949/1950 Second Devonshire Course Study by D.J.R. Walker Senior Officer Department of Marketing and Exports Nigeria P15

²⁷² Ibid. P16.

²⁷³ Ibid. P8.

the heavy commodity. The boom of groundnut production began after the First World War (1914), when there was new demand for the product as a result of the manufacture of margarine especially in France²⁷⁴.

The colonial government ensured continued under pricing of the groundnut crop through its marketing board agency and it protected its purchase by other foreign companies who offered higher prices to the peasants so much so that the groundnut was smuggled outside the protectorate through Niger border with Katsina Emirate. Under local legislation the export of groundnut and groundnut oil was subject to strict control by the Nigerian Groundnut marketing board and the policy of that body in respect of local crushing industry implied that it was an offence to offer or be in possession of for sale, for export, groundnuts containing more than 1 ½ % of impurities and the strict enforcement of this law by government inspection staff had largely been responsible for the then general practice of removing the nuts by hand when little or no impurity was gathered²⁷⁵. They were then beaten with pestle in a mortar or with sticks on the ground and the kernels were winnowed by tipping them from one calabash to another.

Another method was to beat the haulms with nuts attached in the mortar. The kernels could be ripped open by the use of fingers though this was time consuming and much labour was wasted but it yielded desired result, otherwise the use of mortar resulted in a high percentage of broken nuts and the fatty acid content of such nuts tended to increase with greater rapidity than in the case of whole nuts. This did not augur well for export. The decortication of groundnuts in mortars in Galadima district was mostly done by women and the shelling of nuts to be used for seed was performed by hand involving all

²⁷⁴ Ibid. P1.

²⁷⁵ NAK KAT PROF MH 211Groundnut production in Nigeria 1951... P32

the family members. Oil extraction was exclusively along side with the backing of *kuli-kuli*; for sale and consumption. Most groundnut farmers were not involved in the oil extraction except those who did it as an economic activity and the rest could buy the groundnut oil and *kuli-kuli*; from their neighbours or markets.

The World War II, offered low prices for export crops including groundnut, compared to the world market prices and for the fact that it was a much wanted crop in the world market at the time. The prices of groundnut fluctuated yearly and prices in the early 1930s ranged from \$10.7.6 per ton to \$10.10.0 per ton. The price at Malumfashi market dropped to less than \$3.00 in 1931 but rose to \$9 in 1932. Prices were higher in northern Kastina districts because of the smuggling of the groundnut crop into Niger and other French territories through Kastina and Zangon Daura routes. The prices of groundnut began to rise in Galadima district and the whole of Kastina province especially when the French colonial government placed an embargo on foreign groundnut imported into the French territories. The embargo was aimed at boosting the groundnut production also in the French territories ²⁷⁶

From 1945, there seemed to be a boom in the growth of groundnut cultivation and its trade²⁷⁷ which added to the peasants' income capacity to be able to pay tax and buy other European products like bicycles, building and roofing materials, zinc, cloths, soaps etc. The Kafin Soli farm centre established in Kankiya District by the colonial government was intended to serve as the centre or headquarters of the Agricultural Department of the

²⁷⁶ NAK KAT PROF 2335: Kastina Province Annual Report 1935; NAK KAT PROF 2156: Katina Province Annual Report 1936.

²⁷⁷ Ibid: NAK KAT PROF M.H 211 Groundnut Production in Nigeria. Also see Jan S. Hogeandorn: Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origins and development, ABU Press and Oxford University Press Nigeria Zaria 1978.

Emirate and the whole province from 1931 to the last decade of colonial domination.²⁷⁸

This farm centre had great impact on the cultivation of groundnut in Galadima area and all the other districts of the Katsina Province.

The aftermath of the world war two brought a great demand for meat and food with proteins such as groundnuts used for margarine and oil. France was number one importer of groundnut even before the war. From 1943 to 1946 the farmers in Northern Katsina districts were advised by the agricultural department under colonial government not to plant cotton crop as a result of the food crisis but to concentrate on groundnut production. The game here was that the colonial authorities had never discouraged peasants from producing export crops but because in northern Katsina the soil was very good for groundnut production and so they wanted the farmers to produce groundnut not for consumption but for export.²⁷⁹

By 1945, there was greater demand for groundnut both as raw material and for food diet in Europe when it looked towards its colonies for the supplies of food stuff due to the war impacts. Consequently, Nigeria became the leading exporter of groundnuts in the world from 1946, due to a spectacular decline of the exports to Europe from India and French West African colonies. Also, groundnut cake *kulikuli*; demand increased greatly as a result of its integration with the advanced European livestock production²⁸⁰. The campaign for groundnut developed rapidly so much so that it diminished trade in sheanuts and competed with cotton production. In response to the groundnut boom, the colonial government increased the rate of taxes envisaged to make the farmers produce

²⁷⁸ A.M Yakubu; I.M Jumare: A.G Staeed (Ed): *Northern Nigeria - A century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, ABU Press Ltd ... p. 328.

²⁷⁹ Michael Watts: *Silent Violence: Food Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria...* Also, cited in M.M Adamu, P.274.

²⁸⁰ NAK KAT PROF MH 211: *Groundnut Production in Nigeria...* P15

more. There was no doubt that farmers in Galadima District were subjected to a relatively high level of taxation compared with their counterparts in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Nigeria.²⁸¹

Competition for buying groundnut was very high in every market. There were experienced merchants who specialized in handling and transporting groundnut. Most of the groundnut produced in Galadima area was transported to Kano because it became the centre of groundnut production and the buying companies were established in the city. The groundnut campaign office Headquarters was built in Kano in April 1943 to promote the production of groundnut during the Second World War. Groundnut was highly demanded by France and Portugal almost more than Britain. And the porous border of Katsina Province and Maradi–Niger Republic had provided opportunity for smugglers to cross border with the groundnut produced in Galadima district via Katsina or Daura boarders. The colonial government had to close the borders using its agricultural Officers to stop the smuggling of the groundnut produced out of the British territory.²⁸²

Farmers in the district found it more profitable to grow groundnuts and the market of the British Cotton Growing Association was challenged and it found itself at a disadvantage. Within just one year the farmers switched from cotton to groundnuts.²⁸³ A decisive and rapid change was taking place in the groundnut production and trade. After the 1946 groundnut special commission in northern Nigeria, there was boom in groundnut production. Another impact of World War II on groundnut production was the fact that decline in prices of cotton made transport ships divert to carrying groundnut to Europe.

²⁸¹ Ibid: p. 65.

²⁸² Interview with Mallam Sani Produce Malumfashi a Retired Produce Officer in Charge of Groundnut Production in Katsina, aged 78 years. 5th December, 2013.

²⁸³ Ibid, NAK KAT PROF MH 211... P.112 & 124.

With the available railway lines that reached Funtua and Kano, the groundnuts produced in our area of study was easily evacuated to Kano rail terminus. Famers in Galadima district suffered loss whenever there was too much rainfall in the year because the groundnut does not yield much under such condition. And during the groundnut boom most of the famers chosed to plant groundnut rather than cotton because it was easier to cultivate and was a substitute food crop.²⁸⁴

The major impediments to groundnut production included its low pricing, diseases that affected the plant leading to its low productivity and its heavy weight making its transportation more expensive so also the process of its decortication was difficult and time wasting. Yet there was continued pressure on the famers to grow more groundnuts by the Native Authority. The Emir instructed the district heads and village heads to encourage farmers to grow the groundnut crop. During the World War II, famers were stimulated to plant groundnut with a slogan developed in 1944; “*kashuka gyada rana daya domin akori Hitler*”; meaning, plant groundnut a day and keep Hitler at bay.²⁸⁵ Even local singers *Maroka/Mawaka*; were not left behind in the propaganda. They sung praise on groundnut product that nothing brings money than groundnut crop.²⁸⁶

The impact of this propaganda for growing groundnut crop was that more land acreage was opened for groundnut cultivation and consequently more tons of the export crops were produced. In 1946 a total of 54,000 tons were produced in the whole of the Kastina Emirate. Another impact was that groundnut was produced at the expense of

²⁸⁴Barth, Henrich: Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, Vol. 2, London, 1890. Also, Jan S. Hogendorn: Nigerian groundnut Exports: Origin and Early Development. Oxford University press Nigeria, 1978.

²⁸⁵Interview with Maigida Nadada, a farmer, aged 96 years, confirmed that this slogan was very popular when they young. He believed it was a propagander by the Colonialists against Hitler.

²⁸⁶ Ibid: Interview with Maigida Keso of gidan Maiwando.

grains which resulted to food crisis in the emirate.²⁸⁷ There was inflation of food items and clothing materials. The price of corn rose from 1^{1/2}d to 2^d per 51 lbs to 5^d to 7^d. The situation worsened as a result of evacuation of food especially guinea corn to other places like Kano, where urbanization has brought high population growth. Also, the constant famines in the 1940s and 1950s caused serious concern for food crisis while famers diverted to export crops products.²⁸⁸

Several measures and policies were adopted by colonial government, the Native Authority and the Emir of Kastina Emirate to boost groundnut production. For example the native authority enacted a policy on the adulteration of cotton with stones. The emir mobilised all his 22 district heads and the village heads in his propaganda for groundnut planting. The native authority became involved in advancing money for the purchase of groundnut and the total production in Galadima district in 1948/49 session reached 4,995 tons.²⁸⁹

Below is a table showing total purchase of groundnut for the 1948/49 season from Galadima district and other districts

²⁸⁷ M.M. Adamu; The role Of Native Authority in . . . P269

²⁸⁸ KATPROF 3851, Kastina province annual report 1947

²⁸⁹ NNAK KAT PROF 3859: Katsina Province Annual Report 1947. Also, NNAK KATNA 446A Vol. 1, Groundnut weight of 1958/49 season.

TABLE 4.6**PURCHASE OF GROUNDNUT FOR 1948/49 SEASON IN TONS**

S/N	DISTRICT	TONS
1	Danja	2127
2	Durbi	1030
3	Galadima	4995
4	Ingawa	1443
5	Jibiya	1752
6	Kankara	2373
7	Kogo	297
8	Marusa	845
9	Mashi	1674
10	Maska	1021
11	Musawa	5217
12	Ruma	2690
13	Yandaka	4720
14	Kaura	5283
	TOTAL	39,811

Source: NNAK KATNA 446: Vol.1 Groundnuts weight of 1948/49 Season. It took no account of the crop exported to French territory.

In 1949 the Groundnut Board was established to replace the West African Produce Control Board. The board was mandated to purchase all groundnut of exportable quality through its L.B.A^S using a minimum naked ex-scale railway buying station price.²⁹⁰ Kano was the centre of groundnut trade and our area of study falls within this range. Export of groundnut crops to the French territories continue unabated causing high cost of seeds for planting to the extent that our famers in 1950 could not afford to buy. Native Authority helped the situation by providing farmers with the seeds produced from the agricultural farm centre in Kafin Soli. The seed was the variety called castle carry amounting to a total of 1554 bags which were distributed to famers on credit through the village heads at the cost of 40/- to 45/- per bag, to be paid at the time of harvest. The irony was that the seeds were paid when the price of groundnut had dropped to 19/- to 22/- per bag. To solve this

²⁹⁰ NAK KADMIN AGRIC 1ST Collection 4557/51: Groundnut Representative Committee, Agenda minutes.

problem, the Emir of Katsina instructed all farmers in the province to reserve their seeds at the end of every season.²⁹¹ Farmers were also urged to continue to plant the castor carry new groundnut seedlings in order to replace the then old specie called “*yardakar*”; The prices offered for groundnut showed differentials because of the policy which suggest that those living near railway lines received more pay than those living far away from it. They received \$21.4.0 per ton and \$16.4.0 per ton respectively. Districts like Galadima were not opportune to have railway heads and so they stood the risk of paying higher prices for manufactured product and receiving lower prices for their export crop productions.

4.3 Livestock Production

Hides and skin was another important export commodity greatly desired by the colonialists and its supply by the peasants was monopolised through designed policies in agriculture and trade. On the eve of colonial domination, there was flourishing internal-external trade in hides and skins with the outside world. Trade in hides and skins flourished during the trans-saharan trade with the Arab world. The use of animal skins was strongly connected with the practice of Islam through the use of *buzua*; local skin mat for prayer, religious learning and scholarship and even for sleeping purposes. The tanning and colouring methods of skins was incredible and the ready made skins were used in the leather industries for the production of shoes, bags etc. Galadima area and the whole of the Hausaland had advanced in their supplies of leather products for export to the outside world including Europe. The fine quality leather products of the Hausaland was recognized by 19th Century European explorers such as the German Henrich Berth who

²⁹¹ M.M. Adamu; The Role of the Native Authority in . . . p274.

visited the Sokoto Caliphate precisely Kano and Katsina in the Hausaland in the period 1850s.²⁹²

But all the hides and skins locally produced depended on the consumption of meat by the population. Even though the majority of the people in Galadima area were peasants, they consumed significant amount of meat in food especially during celebrations such as marriages, naming, death ceremonies so also religious ceremonies and festivals such as the *id-elfitr*; and *id-elkabir Sallah*; celebrations and the traditional eating of the roasted palatable *tsire*; and *balangu*; desired by the people.²⁹³ It was also a tradition to remove the skins of animals that were slaughtered whether cattle, goats and sheep for the purpose of selling the skin. Therefore, flaying *fida*; of animal skins, so also tanning *jima*; and colouring *rini*; of the skins were traditional occupations in hausaland centuries before the advent of colonialism.

Like the groundnut trade, the trade in hides and skins was organized and controlled for export during the colonial period being one of the major export crops highly desired by Europeans. The role of the traders of hides and skins in Galadima district during the colonial administration was only acting as agents for the bigger merchants and their companies. The income capacity of the peasantry improved as a result of the production of hides and skins export crops to enable them pay colonial taxes. The amount of meat consumption increased and the business in hides and skins flourished. The number of animals slaughtered on daily bases for consumption as food and for dietary reasons boosted the export trade in hides and skins. Furthermore, Kano stood as the headquarters of this

²⁹² Ibid: Paul Staudinger: In the heart of the Hausa states... Also, discussed by Jan S. Hogendorn: Nigerian Groundnut Exports... Also, see Travels of Heinrich Berth to Hausaland.

²⁹³ Paul Staudinger, translated by Johanna E. Moody: "In the Heart of the Hausa States, Vol. 2. Ohio University, Monographs in International Studies, Africa Series, No. 56, 1990, p.27.r p. 13.

business because most of the companies involved in the businesses, were based at Kano. The hides and skins from Galadima district were taken to Kano from where it was railed to Lagos for export.

The colonial government, in order to protect the interests of foreign buyers, took strong measures in the 1930s to regulate the quality of hides and skins standardized for the export market. Henceforth, the quality improved steadily and the Nigerian hides and skins became very popular in overseas markets. One of the measures taken was to encourage women to keep domestic animals such as goats and sheep and the mixed farming scheme also aimed at boosting the care of cattle and raising good species of animals for the purpose of meat, manure for agriculture, hides and skins.²⁹⁴

The colonial administration paid great attention to this export crop and made policies to transform it. But during official supervisions by the British officials into Galadima District villages, they inspected the domestic animals of peasants and forced them to dispose off and stop rearing the species of goats or sheep unwanted by the European demand.²⁹⁵ The peasants were highlighted on the types of unwanted domestic animals by the colonial authorities and peasants showed their opposition to this colonial policy so much so that whenever the colonial officials came for inspections, peasants hide their goats on mountains and bushes to escape punishment by authorities.²⁹⁶

A major colonial policy was a measure to prevent animal disease causing deaths of animals and low quality skins. According to the chief Veterinary officer, disease was responsible for 75 per cent of defective skins and the defects of the remaining 25 % could

²⁹⁴ NNAK KAT Prof, file No 748 Vol. 1: Hides and Skins 1923-35, p1-8.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Mai Unguwa Sallau Gidan Doki aged 83 years & Baba Keso Tafkin Jage, aged 110 years, Kafur LGA 5/3/2013.

be attributed to bad flaying *fida*. Serious efforts were made to improve the methods of flaying in order to remedy the problems of skin production due to faulty flaying. Two policies were designed to remedy this problem:- (i) A system of inspection, and (ii) The appointment of a Head Butcher in the Emirate to work hand in hand with the chief Veterinary officer and the district Heads in training all local butchers in the districts the methods of flaying and to encourage by propaganda method, the flayers to pay more attention to this work. Flaying of goats and sheep skins, was generally advocated to be done by hand after the knife has been used for first opening and this policy was quite understood by butchers in Galadima district and it improved greatly the production of good quality skins in the later decades of colonial domination²⁹⁷.

The Kafin Soli Farm Centre was a scheme used as a ground for the improvement of cattle production, that is the local white *Fulani* breed and ultimately to supply improved bulls and heifers to mixed farmers as well as other stock breeders for improving their herds, and to boost the quality of hides and skins in open markets.²⁹⁸

On market days, the skins were directly purchased by the European firms through their agents. Only a small percentage of it goes to local peasants who made leather shoes, bags, drums etc, but the bulk of the skins produced were purchased by European firms because the leather industry was killed. Apart from those animals killed during market days, local butchers kill animals in villages where markets do not exist and sell the meat to the people. The Native Authorities provided official Quarters for slaughtering animals and every butcher must be legally registered to operate and could only slaughter animals in the prescribed places as a measure to control and monopolize production of hides and skins.

²⁹⁷ NAK KAT PROF 748 Vol. 1 Hides and Skins 1923-35 p1-8

²⁹⁸ Ibid: M.M. Adamu: *The Role of the Native Authority* ...p. 333.

Other sources of skin in the Galadima district included periods of ceremonies and festivals such as naming ceremonies, marriage, deaths, *gayya*; work, festivals, turbaning ceremonies etc. All the skins produced outside market areas were purchased by agents of the European firms, obviously at low prices. The production of hides and skins took the third position of most important export product at least in the Galadima district and Katsina emirate at large²⁹⁹.

Below is a table showing market days in various districts including Galadima and the number of animals that were officially slaughtered which continued to increase over the years in the colonial period and all the skins were sold to the private European firms. Note that Galadima District was a major hides and skins producing district in Katsina Emirate. The figures continued to increase at alarming rate especially in the 1940's and 1950's.

TABLE 4.7

RECORDS OF ANIMALS SLAUGHTERED ON WEEKLY MARKET DAYS IN SEPTEMBER 1928 IN KATSINA EMIRATE

District	Cattle	Goats	Sheep
Kaita	-	442	-
Tsaskiya	13	76	-
Galadima	139	236	44
Ingawa	21	202	39
Musawa	61	169	71
Kankiya	39	115	8
Mashi	3	339	5
Durbi	19	257	15
Kogo	16	1	2
Kankara	42	52	24
Ruma	16	244	37
Danyusifa	15	103	5
Danja	121	166	63
Magajingari	31	1400	74
Masaka	164	434	-
Yandaka	72	95	-
Kaura	47	257	34
Total	819	4,588	421

SOURCE: Marketing of Agricultural Produce.

²⁹⁹ NNAK KAT PROF 748 Vol. 1: Monthly Report of September 1928 P.3-6

4.4 Marketting of Agricultural Produce

Despite the problems associated with cotton growing in our area of study, farmers were compelled by the Native Authority to continue to plant cotton. A considerable proportion of the Danja and Guga cotton came from Galadima district.³⁰⁰ The peasantry endured all the hazards so the figures of the cotton produced kept on rising over the years and the poor prices were offered despite the good prices in the world market. The circumstances surrounding World War II and the world economic depression generally had serious consequences on agriculture in Galadima district so much so that low pricing caused decline in cotton production because the world price also declined. Farmers reduced planting cotton and increased groundnut production.³⁰¹ This was attributed to the war insecurity in which transport of raw materials on the ocean from colonies to Europe was halted and added to this, most textile companies in Britain also slowed down due to the war and the food crises that developed in the British economy brought more demand on food items.

After the World War II, Galadima district experienced increased production of cotton again with the active encouragement of the Native Authority and the intensification of colonial policies on monetization and commercialization of the economy. There were other factors that aided the increase of the cotton production. The cotton buyers from Southern Nigeria came to purchase cotton in Galadima district because of the low prices and they took it to the South for re-sale. It became a lucrative business because in our area of study, the colonial government had maintained the low prices and protected interests of foreign buyers reducing serious competition among them. Moreover, the BCGA was

³⁰⁰ Ibid P. 236

³⁰¹ KATPROF 2738, Katsina Provincial Report 1938/Also KATPROF Katsina Provincial Report 1939

notorious in offering low prices for cotton and it embarked on a policy of killing the entire local textiles and it completely destroyed their competitive power in the market.³⁰² This was achieved by the government backing as it over taxed all economic activities related to traditional textile and eventually the active participants were forced to withdraw to farming export crops.³⁰³

Cotton production started another boom in the 1950s. More policies were designed that intensified demand on the cotton crop and once more it became a principal raw material seconded by groundnut in the colonial economy. In 1949, Nigeria Marketing Boards were established based on the Nigeria Marketing Ordinance No. 3. The Marketing Board were established to promote export crops production at all levels and to promote profit making by the European firms as well as providing legal backing because low prices were maintained and gazetted markets were established in every district to regulate the purchase of the cotton and groundnut crops. These gazetted markets were not in the interest of the farmers. The roles of the cotton marketing board included fixing and regulating prices for export crops as well as food crops. Also, the Native Authority transferred to the Board, the responsibilities of the Payment of cotton mallams and the duty of cotton seed distribution to farmers for re-plant every year.³⁰⁴

In 1952, the Cotton Marketing Board came out with a proposal that the Local Buying Agents were to purchase all graded cotton for export. Most of the merchant firms in the area were therefore recognized henceforth as Local Buying Agents LBAs expected to buy cotton at gazetted markets. There was only one gazetted market in Malumfashi at

³⁰² NAK/SNP 7/5529/1912: Cotton Industry Report 1912 also cited in Tukur Bello Ingawa: A study of the rural economic history of the major cotton...P. 230.

³⁰³ Ibid: Tukur Bello Ingawa: p. 351-366

³⁰⁴ NAK KATPROF 2738: Katsina Provincial Reports 1938 and 1939.

Galadima district, from 1926 – 1946. These gazetted markets were established a long time ago before World War II and there were other non-gazetted markets where market stalls were built by the Native Authority and sheds were provided for approved LBAs to buy the cotton at prescribed prices by the Cotton Marketing Board. The Purchase of cotton outside the gazetted markets stalls was prohibited. The LBAs apart from buying cotton, were charged with the duty of bagging and storage and arranging for transportation to designated areas and to the ginneries of Malumfashi and Funtua for railway evacuation to the coast.³⁰⁵

Below is a table showing the gazetted markets in southern Katsina emirate and the companies with the number of market stalls in selected markets. It should be noted that the gazetted markets in Malumfashi, Kafur and Tuge were all in Galadima district while other districts had only one market.

TABLE 4.8

THE 1949/50 COTTON PURCHASE SEASON IN (TONS) AND ALLOCATION STALLS TO EUROPEAN COMPANIES

Area	1949	UAC	HOLTS	P2	GBO	L&K	SCOA	CRAC	PSM
Malumfashi	707	1	1		1	1		1	
Kankara	624	1			1				1
Kurfi	341				1	1			
Dutsinma	1095	1	1	1	1				
Karaduwa	522	1			1				1
Dan musa	755	1				1			
Jikanshi	228	1							
Kafur	115	1				1			
Tuge	318					1			

SOURCE: NNAK KATPROF 353 A Cotton Advisory Committee.

The Marketing Boards introduced the grading system of cotton to make sure that only clean cotton was bought and to encourage production of the desired specie of cotton by the European firms. A farmer who brought the unwanted cotton or a dirty product was

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

either sent away or the cotton was graded low and this meant the money was slashed down compared to normal price. The LBAs were interested in buying the American Allen Cotton which did not contain impurities of sand, leaves and grasses. The clean cotton was graded as N.A I, followed by N.A II and subsequently N.A III in accordance to the impurities sited in the cotton. The prescribed price in the gazetted market was 6.00 d per lb for grade one, subject to fluctuations in accordance to the world market.³⁰⁶ The cotton was brought by individual farmers on donkeys. The gazetted markets added difficulty to farmers who took all the trouble to carry their heavy loads of cotton on donkeys called *kichingiri*; to the markets. There were donkey transporters who specialized in this business and the farmer had to pay for the transport if he did not have his own donkey.³⁰⁷

In addition, the farmer who took his cotton to the market for sale had to undergo a difficult process of joining a long line. He would spend the whole day or even two days before he was cleared and could wait for additional days to be paid. The first line he would join was to meet the grading officer who must grade the cotton accordingly. If it was clean and the American Allen Cotton type, it would be graded No.1. But the grading officers were very corrupt and the farmer must bribe them or else they would lower it to grade II or even three. A farmer whose cotton was harvested from one farm and taken to the market on two occasions could be graded differently. An intelligent farmer who knew how to bribe his way could earn two donkey loads with only one donkey load. This was because the grading officers and cotton Mallams never followed the right procedures and standard

³⁰⁶ NAK KAT PROF 2738: Katsina Provincial Report 1938-1939, Also NAK SNP 17/10/79, Vol. IV, Cotton Marketing and Exporting.

³⁰⁷ Interview with Mai Unguwa Sallau of Tafkin Jage Village, Kuringafa, aged 80 years, dated 13th November, 2013.

set by the Cotton Markets Board. The farmers had nothing to do than to accept whatever was given to them and appreciated God for having at least what to pay for the yearly tax.

After the grading, the farmer collected a small piece of paper with the colour of the grade which the grading officer had indicated and the weight of the load written on it. He would proceed to the next line to meet the cotton Mallams for his payment. In a situation whereby the cotton firms were in short of currency, the farmers would be directed to go back home and check in the next one or two weeks when money was available. The farmer then took the trouble of keeping that small paper given to him or else he would loose payment for his cotton. This monopoly had caused untold hardships and frustration to farmers and a rising hatred for the colonial officials.³⁰⁸

In 1949, 80% of UAC's purchases were financed by capital loan to middlemen.³⁰⁹ Each middleman was permitted to buy cotton in 3 places only and could sell at one center *puloti*; only. The market stalls for buying the cotton were formally separated meaning a stall for grade 1 and another for grade 2. This separation was abolished in 1951, so farmers who did not collect advanced payments could enjoy the freedom of inviting the middlemen who did not erect sheds in the market to go to their houses to buy. Farmers preferred selling in their houses because it saved them the difficulties of transportation of the cotton yield, waste of time and energy from long queuing in the markets as well as embarrassments in public etc. The other choice was to go to the market sheds provided. The middlemen used this advantage of going to the farmer's houses to buy the cotton at

³⁰⁸ SNP 1 710,179 Vol. IV: Cotton Marketing and Export; Also, cited by M.M Adamu, P. 251-258.

³⁰⁹ KATPROF 211: Firms Agents Advancing Money for Purchase of Produce.

rates far below the prescribed amounts. In fact they bought at mere guessing without measurement.³¹⁰

TABLE 4.9

LIST OF COTTON MARKETS IN GALADIMA DISTRICT BASED ON GRADES 1949/50 SEASON

S/N	Cotton markets	Stalls	Grades	Opening date	Remark
1.	Malumfashi (Galadima)	6	1	11 th November	BCGA
2.	Tuge	1	1	“	“
3.	Kafur	1	1	“	“
4.	Makurdi	2	1	2 nd December	“

SOURCE: Extracted from a table cited in M.M Adamu: p.257.

Before this time, the only gazetted cotton buying station by agricultural ordinance of 1916 for markets and buying area was in Malumfashi.³¹¹ The Native Authority provided the market stalls, stores, *Rumfa*; for food sellers, a Well and a place where farmers who brought cotton could peg their donkeys before going back. The Native Authority also provided the *dogarai*; and *yandoka*; to every market for security purposes. Also, the district head delegated his boys on every market day. The colonial government banned people from buying cotton outside the gazetted markets without due permission. The Native Authority therefore made a law concerning this to try defaulters in the District Native Court. The District Heads and all Village Heads were warned to adhere strictly in compliance to this rule.³¹²

In the same period, what added to the rising cost of cotton was the fact that large quantities of cotton were carried across the French border of Niger because the French

³¹⁰ SNP 17/10/79, Vol. iv, Cotton Marketing and Exporting

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid: NAK KAT PROF 1710, 179 Vol. IV.

were desperately looking for cotton for their textile at home and this appreciated the cost of cotton in our area of study. They bought at 3d to 4d per 1b while the cotton firms in Galadima district bought at 1d per 1b. The total cotton purchased for the 1943/44 season was 1883 tons for the whole Katsina province.³¹³

The farmers in Galadima district were robbed of their cotton product continually. The *Yan-baranda*; cotton examiners, grading officers, traditional rulers and court officials, all connived to cheat up and down. The agricultural officers were excessively corrupt. A farmers cotton was likely to be graded III instead of grade I unless he gave bribe. The difference between grade III and grade I was much. Grade III cotton cost 3.10^d while grade I cost 1.10^dper lb. The cotton examiners also decided ways of spoiling the spring of the balance either by frequently soaking it inside water so that it would rust or they placed a stone inside to obstruct the performance of spring during measurement. In some cases they could divert the attention of the illiterate farmer to obstruct the weighing of the loads with their legs knowing that he could not read the meter of the balance so they would record the wrong figures. Some used to temper with the hand of the spring clock so that it would read wrongly the exact weight of cotton.³¹⁴The farmers were heavily cheated in the cotton production business. They were offered ridiculous prices and they had no option than to sell and be grateful to Almighty God for having the opportunity to even produce what to pay colonial tax that would save them from embarrassment by the local authorities. Below is a table showing price differences offered to farmers.

³¹³ Northern Nigeria Agricultural Station Reports Vol.1, Part 1, Katsina.

³¹⁴ Interview with Maigida Nadada Ruwan Sanyi, a farmer, aged 96 years. Date November, 2013.

TABLE 4.10**COTTON PRICES DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHAT WAS OFFERED TO FARMERS IN GALADIMA DISTRICT AND ITS EQUIVALENT PRICE IN THE WORLD MARKET**

Year	Liverpool Price of Cotton Per lb	Price Offered for Farmers	Percentage
1914	-	1d	-
1915	7.5d	1.75d	23.3%
1916	12.33d	1.75d	14.20%
1917	21.68d	2.5d	11.53%
1918	19.23d	2.75d	14.00%
1921	11.37d	.2d	1.75%
1922	14.92d	2.5d	16.75%
1923	17.66d	21/2.4d	18.40%
1925	10.77d	21/2d	23.21%
1927	11.17d	11/4d-11/2d	12.31%
1929	9.09d	1.2d-1.6d	15.40%
1931	5.62d	0.8d	14.23%
1932	6.02d	0.9d	15.00%
1933	6.93d	0.9d	13.00%
1934	6.93d	0.8d-1.2d	14.43%
1935	6.52d	1.1d-1.5d	20.00%
1936	7.11d	0.9d-1.3d	15.47%
1937	4.97d	0.8d-1.5d	23.13%
1938	-	0.6d-0.8d	-
1939	-	11/2d	-
1944	-	4d	³¹⁵

SOURCE: NNAK KATPROF 1252, 1286 Vol. I. SNP 1710, 179. Vol.II and IV

The cotton buyers also established a tradition falsely claiming that one lb of the measurement must be subtracted from each bag of cotton to supplement the weight of the cloth *kichingiri*; used to tie the cotton. They claimed that the cotton firms would deduct 1lb from each bag out of the overall measurements. This practice was commonly referred to as *bayantiya*;

³¹⁵ NAK KAT PROF 1252, 1286, VOL.II; SNP, 1710, 179, VOL.II and IV.

The *yaransarki*; were another group who joined the cotton buyers in the market stalls and they rushed to collect farmers load and quickly mount it on the measurement spring so that before the farmer noticed the figures they would announce it and they would not say the correct figures. This was known by the cotton examiners so the amount realized through this method would be deducted at the end and shared among them.³¹⁶

Also in the cotton sheds, some boys were allowed to malinge around picking pieces of cotton in the name of *kala*; at the end of the day they could sell bags of cotton realized. The traditional rulers were not exempted in the cheating business. It was earlier reported by a colonial officer that a few village heads had made use of their position to oppress and extort money from their people.³¹⁷ In the same vein this colonial officer accused the *magajin garin*; Malumfashi as having badly mixed – up in the cotton advance *rikichi*; at the same time he was friendly with most of the cotton traders against whom the Alkali was reluctant to enforce judgment.³¹⁸ But he added that those who were mainly responsible for this extortion were hamlet heads and employees of the village heads.

Another disadvantage to the cotton farmers was, when few buyers came to the market on market days. They bought the cotton at the rate they wished, neglecting the prescribed prices. This happened normally when the companies closed buying. The result was frustration of the farmers and they were forced to sell at a great loss.³¹⁹

The rampant cheating of cotton farmers was noted and the colonial government started propaganda for co-operative societies which would aid farmers to sell directly their cotton to companies. They only paid a meager sum of 10d per ton and enjoyed the benefits

³¹⁶ Ibid: M.M Adamu: p260.

³¹⁷ NAK KATPROF 1218: Galadima District Report 1931. Also, Northern Nigerian Agriculture Station Report Vol.1, Part 1, Katsina.

³¹⁸ NAK KAT PROF 1218: Inspection Note on Galadima District, 1936.

³¹⁹ Interview with Mai gida Sama'ila Dansarai, a farmer, aged 85 years, dated, 5 October, 2013.

of membership loans for agricultural purposes and general advice on marketing of their crops. Unfortunately the farmers in Galadima district did not enjoy those co-operatives because majority were literates and those co-operative societies were monopolized by the civil servants and Native Authority officials who misused the loans collected for other purposes rather than agriculture.³²⁰

Below is a table of purchase figures of cotton by government selected markets in Galadima district from 1946 – 56.

TABLE 4.11
PURCHASES OF COTTON IN TONS, IN THE MARKETS OF GALADIMA
DISTRICT 1946-1956

S/N	MARKET	1946-1947	1947-1948	1948-1949	1949-1950	1950-1951	1951-1952	1952-1953	1953-1954	1954-1955	1955-1956
1	Malumfashi	702	185	599	706	835	1012	876	-	-	-
2	Makurdi			253	550	370	386	259	-	261	162
3	Kafur			86	115	130	90	68	-	-	-
4	Tuge		74	152	317	437	647	497	-	-	-
	TOTAL	702	259	1090	1688	1772	2135	1700	-	261	162 ³²¹

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There was yet another impediment to cotton production which thwarted the efforts of the farmers. That was the adoption of various kinds of traditional credit system. The cotton buying firms and their agents in an effort to tie farmers to sell to them their export produce, advanced to them monies in expectation of payments during harvesting season.³²²

The issue of credit System was not a new thing in Galadima district and the Hausaland as a whole. Before the advent of colonial rule there was the *Adashe*; in which participants made periodical contributions to one person and this rotated until every

³²⁰ Ibid: Northern Nigeria Agriculture Station. And an Interview with a group of farmers at Karfi, aged between 70 years and above, dated, 5th December, 2013.

³²¹ Extracted From a table in M.M Adamu: The Role of Native Authority, P. 264.

³²² Ibid.

member of the group collected his share. The *Adashe*; was however between friends or relations and it was interest free. Another form of credit was *jingina*; mortgage. Here, a person mortgaged his property to collect money against a stipulated period of time, when he returned the money, he collected back his property. These properties could be animals, land and any valuable material. There was another loan known as *kan-ta-fasu*;. This was advanced in cash during hunger period usually from July to August, before the grains ripe and the farmer in expectation of a bumper harvest hoped to pay back the loan. There was another loan known as *falle*; buying a particular crop in advance before harvesting season. There was another loan known as the *bashin kaddara*; which means a farmer would collect a particular product *e.g. zane*; wrapper at the cost of a certain price and then resell it at a lower price in order to get quick money to solve a pending problem.³²³

All the above described forms of credits were adopted by the European cotton firms through their agents and their payments were connected to exports crops seasons and payments preferably made with the cotton crops. But the impact was severe. Unlike the traditional interest free credits systems, this involved exorbitant interests and the peasants were heavily exploited through this method. More so, they had no option to sell their produce to anyone they wished. The end result was poverty and indebtedness of the peasant because the effect of the loan was felt even after payment of the loan such that the farmer must collect again in the next season and it became a vicious circle any year he produced, would return to square zero. All efforts made to stop money advance failed.³²⁴

The European Companies that were involved in the purchase of export crops in Galadima districts included the BCGA, UAC, John Holts, CFAO, GBO, L.K &K etc. The

³²³Tukur Bello Ingawa: A Study of the Rural Economic History of the Major Cotton...Chapter 6.

³²⁴ Ibid.

agents they employed helped them to buy huge amount of cotton within short periods. The table below shows the major companies involved in the export crops trade, the number of agents they employed and the amount of cotton they purchased within two weeks of the 1935/36 cotton season from 18th November 1935 to 14th January 1936, amounting to 164 tons of cotton.³²⁵

TABLE 4.12

PURCHASED COTTON GRADE 1

UAC with 6 buyers had bought 105, 5500 lbs of grade 1				
John Holts	4	“	67,000	“
CFAO	4	“	48,000	“
GBO	4	“	34,000	“
L&K	1	“	28,000	“

SOURCE: NAK KAT PROF 1218: The District Officer Katsina; Galadima District 16th April, 1931, P.23.

John Holts bought most of the cotton Grade II in that season amounting to 12,752 lbs. The money advances made to farmers on security of the cotton was not much compared to previous seasons. John Holts advanced \$480, UAC \$200, GBO \$50, while L&K nothing at all. The reason why UAC was getting most of the cotton of Malumfashi market was because they employed the biggest and most popular traders in town and because they were buying above the advertised prices.³²⁶ A popular European, station in Malumfashi town, Mr. Constantinides was L & k’s company buyer. The British Mr. Miller was a BCGA agent who made Malumfashi his second home to the extent that he married a Nigerian woman and lived comfortably speaking Hausa language fluently. Other prominent people in cotton business, living in the Galadima district included one Alhaji Yahaya dan Miller, Alhaji

³²⁵ NAK KAT PROF(FED) 1/1/6. P.23.

³²⁶ Ibid: NAK KAT PROF 1218 P.23; L & Ks company buyer Mr. Constantinides was a European stationed in Malumfashi town.

Hussaini, Alhaji Halliru Bello and Alhaji Yusuf Magaji Dodo. Alhaji Dodo was a BCGA staff who worked at the ginnery of Misau as manager and ‘pay master’ from 1941 to 1958, when he retired and became a cotton agent. He was the first indigene to attain this position in a foreign cotton company.³²⁷

The activity of buying cotton was an incredible period for the European Cotton Companies who made huge profits at the expense of peasant farmers. The season commenced every November and ended in March or April each year before the next rainy season set in properly. There were other problems associated to the cotton buying exercise. There included the case of *Yanbaranda* who were employed by the European Cotton Companies as local agents to purchase for them cotton from individual farmers amidst increasing competition among the foreign firms. There was also the issue of advanced payment and credit systems adopted by those European Cotton Companies in order to buy large quantities of cotton.

“*Yanbaranda* = Agents who go out and buy cotton from the farmers and cheat them wholesale. They are subsidized by firms and the nation buyers and have strings of donkeys. They buy at No. 2 prices or lower and sell in the market at No. 1 graded. The farmers are saved the trouble of transportation but it is a very unfair deal for them”³²⁸.

The *Yanbaranda* were indigenes who were employed to assist the European Companies in buying cotton amidst serious competitions among the companies. As we have mentioned earlier in this study, cotton business was not a new trade in our area and most of those *Yanbaranda* were good Hausa merchants and were well known in the area. The European Companies used them to purchase a lot of cotton from the villages because they could go to

³²⁷ Yusuf Abdulrahman Dodo: Cotton production in Malumfashi District to c.1960; Being a Project submitted to the School of Humanities, History Department, Isa Kaita College of Education, Dutsin-ma, Katsina State, October, 2003. P.18

³²⁸ NAK KAT PROF 1218: Cotton Markets. A Report on Galadima District by a Colonial Officer in 1936.

individual farmers' houses and negotiate the price directly. These were used as agents by the European Companies to advance money even before harvesting period. The cotton farmer received advanced payment in order to pay tax and the company withheld his receipts until the cotton was paid. The *Danbaranda* took advantage of his monopoly to under buy the farmers cotton and he would prefer payment in cotton rather than money. In accordance with the agreement, he would deduct the loan he gave the farmer with an additional big interest. At the end, the farmers were heavily exploited and cheated. During the next season, more advanced payment could be received by the farmer and it became a vicious cycle in which the farmers ended up in destitution and indebtedness.³²⁹

When competition became fierce among the cotton buyers and the government realized the implication of cheating farmers and cotton smuggling, the *Yanbaranda* were banned from purchasing cotton. Over the decades in the period of colonial domination, gifts and money were used to tie farmers to the companies so that they had to sell to them their cotton every season. After the ban, the hidden price methodology was adopted by the companies so that prices negotiated with farmers were not disclosed. The first company to start this method in our area of study was the CFAO. This hidden price methodology stimulated farmers to grow more cotton. But it resulted to under weighing and adulteration of the cotton. The Northern provinces Department of Agriculture reported that the system of advanced payment almost overthrew farmers off the cotton marketing.³³⁰

In the last decade of colonial domination, from 1950 to 1960, intense propaganda was started in order to increase cotton production. The cotton marketing advisory committee made a proposal on intensive propaganda. In the 1952/53 season, they ordered

³²⁹ Ibid: NAK KAT PROF (FED)1/1/6 Malumfashi District. Also, NNAK/SNP 7/5529/1912: Cotton Industries Report. Also see the work of Tukur Bello Ingawa: *The Study of Rural Economic History...* p.230.

³³⁰ Ibid. Tukur Bello Ingawa a study of the rural economic... P. 249

that all cotton in Galadima district be uprooted and burnt before 15 March of every year and no cotton was to be planted before June, 18th of every year. So farmers were coerced into obeying this rule whether it favoured them or not. The reason behind the new law was to set in motion, the control of pests and diseases associated to cotton growing and in this case the American Allen Cotton was more vulnerable to attack by a disease called *bollweevil*; than the local breed cotton. The American Allen Cotton strain was not suitable to the local weevils because of its reddish colour.³³¹ It was also more difficult to plug during harvesting season. If the farmers had option, they would have stopped planting the Allen cotton. The impact of this new regulation was that many farmers lost their cotton by fire.³³²

Never the less, as a result of this intense propaganda for cotton growing, there was a remarkable increase in cotton production in Galadima district. It increased from 7,469 tons in the 1952/53 season to 11,175 tons of strain 26^c cotton in 1953/54 season. Another increase was witnessed in the 1955/56 season to 22,672 tons of cotton. This increase continued to rise up to the end of colonial domination. In 1960, Katsina Emirate witnessed significant rise of figures in cotton production reaching 33,870 ½ tons, 17,316 tons from the Southern Katsina and 7,938 tons from Northern Katsina. However this increase was attributed to increase in taxes, intensive propaganda by the Native Authorities and the use of modern fertilizer³³³

Despite ban on the *Yan-baranda*; it continued and all other forms of cheating the cotton farmers continued without solution to the problem. There were other forms of cheating not discussed. The cotton farmer was more or less surrounded by groups of

³³¹ Ibid: P. 230

³³² Ibid: M.M Adamu: p.246, Also, an Interview with Mallam Idris Sanusi, a farmer and labourer at Unguwar Kanawa Village, aged 75 years and a group of Farmers at Mahuta whose information proved the incident.

³³³ Northern Nigeria Agriculture Station Report vol. II Part I, Katsina.

parasites or cheaters who made gains more than the farmer himself. The money Lenders were another set of merchants that contributed greatly to the impoverishment and indebtedness of the people in our area of study. The Money Lenders gave to farmers materials on loan to be paid in cash after harvesting season. Cotton farmers were readily given such loans and exorbitant interests were added on top of the loans. Farmers were enticed with essential commodities such as salt, cloths, shoes, sowing machines and bicycles etc which were entirely European goods. The menace of money Lending was too much so that the colonial government made effort to ban it. The Emir of Katsina also supported that it should be banned. He ordered all the District Heads and Village Heads to discourage money lending in their areas of jurisdiction.³³⁴

From 1938, remarkable efforts were made to stop Money Lending in the whole of Katsina emirate. The shari'a law was used to point to the dangers of such act but to no avail. The Native Authority promulgated the money Lenders ordinance forbidding money Lending business as a whole. The Emir of Katsina also declared that loans could not be made on the security of standing crops. And usury was forbidden by both Qur'an and tradition but in response, the money Lenders avoided mention of security during the agreement of the loan in order to bring to action for recovery. Effort was made in collaboration to invite renowned Islamic scholars from Sudan to come to Katsina and preach against money lending in accordance to Islamic Teachings. It succeeded to some extent as many of the Muslim money lenders wrote letters of testimonies and declaring themselves out of the business. For example, One Ali Garzali Dutsin-ma wrote his letter dated 4/5/48, Bature Rimi wrote his letter dated 13/5/48, and Alhaji Amadun Karofi wrote

³³⁴ Reference to part 2 of Al Adawi Ala El Risalatu, Chapter on Sales.

his letter dated 31/5/48 and many others, all wrote letters of resignation quitting out of the business of money lending in obedience to the teachings of Islam by the Sudanese scholars. But the Southern Nigerian Money Lenders were not affected by this development. The colonial government issued an ordinance on 28/3/1939 for the official registration of Money Lenders. Therefore it became officially recognized and the registration fee was £5. This registration fee was mostly paid by the companies whose products were sold and the money lending business did not cease.³³⁵

“The activities of money Lenders in Nigeria are regulated by Cap. 147 of the laws and the regulations made there under. By section 4 (1) of the ordinance (Laws Vol. II P. 1568) every Money Lender is obliged to register himself and his business address under penalty of a fine of £100, and the register cannot refuse registration nor can publication 6 (c) (Laws Vol. III P. g 948) be withheld. A registered money Lender may ply his trade anywhere in Nigeria”.³³⁶

With this development Money Lenders especially the Yorubas and Igbos from Southern Nigeria trooped Galadima District and they took the advantage of cotton production to impoverish the peasants.

4.5 Conclusion

Here, a graphical demonstration of the increased cultivation of export crops in Galadima district amidst hunger and poverty as a result of the neglect of food crops and the intense propaganda for the cultivation of export crops was made. After World War II, the marketing boards were established to foster strict control of agricultural produce by the colonialists. The marketing Boards were not in favour of the farmers as claimed advocated by the colonial regime that the intension of the marketing boards was to prevent inflation and hold farmers courage to increase cultivation of export crops. The marketing

³³⁵ NAK KAT PROF 211 Firms, Agents, Advancing Money for Purchase of Produce.

³³⁶ NAK KAT PROF 128: Memorandum, Money Lenders pg.1.

of agricultural produce was monopolized and exploitation consolidated. They were used to maintain low prices of both export crops and food crops and to avoid a free market system. Farmers were coerced to produce export crops no matter the consequences. Low prices were maintained by the colonial regime and farmers were exploited heavily only to cultivate and pay taxes. The farmers produced to the taste of the foreigners while poverty, hunger and indebtedness was on the increase throughout the colonial period.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPACT OF BRITISH AGRICULTURAL POLICIES ON FOOD PRODUCTION AND OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

5.0 Introduction

This study has attempted to outline the impacts of colonial policies on the agriculture of the people of Galadima area in Katsina Province, from 1930-1960. In the previous chapter, we discussed the various colonial policies on agriculture especially on the production of export crops which included cotton, groundnuts, hides and skins that were strongly connected with the economy of Galadima district. Those agricultural policies were carefully planned, strategized and implemented to achieve desired results. The implementation of the colonial policies had drastically transformed the traditional production system and as well had adverse effects on the lives of the people in the district.

There was boom in the production of export crops and their excessive evacuation of the surplus productions to Europe in unequal exchange relationships. Therefore, chapter five will discuss the various impacts, effects and consequences of these colonial productions on the communities of Galadima district up to the termination of colonial domination. In this way, we are going to look at the impacts in terms on food production, followed by cotton production, hides and skins etc.

Certainly, the exploitative policies, monopolies, strategies, coercion, maneuver and plunder of the economic resources, left the farmers with nothing other than poverty, hunger and indebtedness that are still glaring today in the socio-economic lives of the people of Galadima district.

5.1 Food Crops Production

Agriculture in Galadima area before the advent of the colonial rule was producing sufficient food for its citizens, similar to what was obtained all over Nigeria and Africa.³³⁷ In other words, agricultural production was dominated by food crops³³⁸. During the early decades of colonial administration, it left the production of food crops in the hands of the peasants while the agricultural policy laid much emphasis on the production of export crops at the expense of food crops. This objective was achieved through series of policies like the taxes levied on peasants and craft products and as a result, the cultivation of food crops declined leading to hunger, poor nutrition and desperation of the peasants. It created conditions for the food insecurity in Galadima District and Katsina Emirate at large.

As for the British colonial mentality, agricultural development meant the production and export of those export crops needed by their home industries. This conception of agricultural development became state policy in which agricultural development simply meant the production of export commodities as distinct from what has been termed subsistence farming. The rapid export crops production overwhelmingly took up available land already cultivated by the farmers, as well as the previously unused land. The unused land was henceforth cleared and committed to the production of export crops.

Consequently, as from the 1930s, the practice of shifting cultivation or bush fallowing as a means of preserving the natural soil fertility adversely ceased which resulted to rapid deterioration of soil conditions in the area under study. This situation caused concern for the British government and during the great depression periods the demand for food crops steadily grew, because the colonialists conscripted farmers into the British army and sent them to overseas to fight Germans, Japanese, Italians and other enemy forces while some were retained in the Nigerian army to protect the British colony and also thousands were recruited to work in the mines. Britain at home needed food supplies from Nigeria as the war had strong effect on its economy and had led to the blockade of food supplies from Latin America and Asia. So the only solution was to increase their supplies from its colonies in Africa. This situation created the need to produce more food crops needed to feed the army and the mines workers and import those food items required by the European market.³³⁹ The world wars depression had actually crushed the British economy and her trade and commerce declined drastically which led to changes of policies in its territories.³⁴⁰ The war effects had compelled colonial Britain to embark upon rigorous programmes of producing new crops like potatoes, rice, fruits, sugar cane, vegetables and livestock Products such as dairy cattle, poultry, pigs etc. But prior to the Second World War, the British imperialists had opposed the introduction of those crops to improve African diets.³⁴¹

The dual burden on the peasantry during the war depressions and especially after the second world war to keep the tempo of increasing export crops production in order to earn money to service the British war debts and to rebuild the British economy as well as to

³³⁷ Ali A. Mazrui: *General History of Africa*, p.320.

³³⁸ Ibid: NAK KAT PROF MH 211: Groundnut production in Nigeria... P21.

³³⁹ Z.A.K.A Bonat: Development Planning and Performance of the Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian Economy 1945-1985. A paper presented at the Seminar on Nigerian Economy and Society since the Berlin Conference, 1, NISER, FASS – ABU, 11th – 15th Nov. 1985.p 425-427.

³⁴⁰ Baughey: *Man and Environment*, p. 47.

³⁴¹ NAK MINNA SRC/12422: *Provincial Development Committee. Zaria Provincial Agricultural Advisory Bulletin*, July 1943.

provide a substantial shipment of food to Europe, stretched the efforts of the farmers. Land resources and labour was getting exhausted. But experience had proved that farmers could be pushed to provide under difficult conditions. So the British adopted several measures to achieve their desired goals.

Agricultural policy was redefined and programmes were designed and implemented and there was increased effort in agricultural research and extension services as a means of getting the farmers adopt technical improvements in farming. Such improvements were to be financed by the farmers themselves.³⁴²

From the late 1930s and 1940s, there was significant intensification and expansion of research activities, extension and training officers of the agriculture department.³⁴³ The Agricultural department had various officers in charge of farming and they inspected as well as reported on both cash crops and food crops. The research centers at Samaru Zaria, Daudawa and Kafin Soli also produced improved seeds variety for the food crops such as guinea corn, maize and millet and the use of insecticides like Fernasand “D” powder for planting to protect seedlings from being destroyed by insects. The research had improved seeds and the agriculture of the Galadima district but to the benefit of colonial administration while the farmers had nothing to show for their hard labour and long term suffering.

The colonial authorities actually did not show strong support for mechanised farming and this explains why the technology in modern farming was not applied. Propaganda for mainly export crops was made and the prices of food crops were checked at various markets and the marketing boards set out prices and controlled inflation to ensure cheap sales of those food crops and this had great consequences on the peasants’ income capacity and standard of living.

The peasant for example was logically expected to keep increasing his productive output and the sale of whatever he had produced in order to get enough money to pay his colonial taxes. In a situation whereby the market does not need what he had produced and all his resources exhausted, as it used to happen, the poor farmer had no choice than to go into *ci-rani* – a temporary migration to sell labour outside his community during the dry season period, to search for food and money to be able to feed his family and pay his debts. In this process, he became a perpetual semi-proletariat, shuttling between his locality and areas where he sells his labour. The peasant was unable to grow sufficient crops or make sufficient money to sustain him before the next harvest. At planting time he was on a semi-starvation diet and incapable of tending his farm properly. This leads again to a poor harvest and so the vicious circle continues.

The fruits and food crops that were plucked or eaten free of charge were committed for money and those things neglected like corn stalk, groundnut leaves etc became commercialized. Everything meant money and life became very difficult for the poor. Young and able men were forced to relocate to towns to seek for wage earning jobs with private companies or the colonial service as soldiers, police, labourers and domestic servants. In this way, food crops production continued to suffer amidst reoccurring

³⁴²NAK MINNAGRIC,(FED) KATPROF 1/1: Agricultural Policy Katsina Province – Instruction and Policy, 1939-56, p.51.

³⁴³ Author Nwachukwu Chinweizu N. a.k.a flash (internet): A paper presented on a discussion in details the History of Agriculture in Nigeria from Colonial era to the present day pointing out clearly all Agricultural Programmes, dated 5/12/2006.

famines that deteriorated the living conditions of the farmers especially in the 1940s and 1950s.

But the most painful part of the story is the fact that colonial authorities pretended not to be aware or responsible for the backwardness of the peasantry instead the peasants were accused of being the cause of their backwardness for their refusal to adapt to modern methods of farming. The destitution of the peasantry was not seen as a threat to the colonial government when their strategic interests were affected. Measures taken were not to actually improve the well-being of the farmers but the farming itself so the farmer was not the central focus but the colonial interest.³⁴⁴ The colonial agricultural economy had destroyed the shock absorbing machinations of the peasantry that guarded against natural disasters such as draughts and floods that prevented the community from falling into the dangers of famine and hunger were totally undermined. Colonialism had diverted the strength of the peasant producers into the production of exports crops and other economic activities just vital to the colonial interests.

An estimate was made by a colonial official on the agricultural products of a tax payer in Galadima district which determined his income from food products. The estimate was not done on the bases of household but on individual taxpayer and it would mean that he had paid his tax out of cotton and groundnuts. There was not much or virtually nothing left for other things after he had paid the tax. He relies on his earnings of trade or special crops he produced to solve his daily needs such as clothes.³⁴⁵ On the whole, taxpayer lived just on the borderline of hunger and whenever there was poor harvest or famine the end result was destitution and hunger. Food items were always sold very cheap compared to the European imported foods and manufactured product.³⁴⁶ Gradually as colonialism consolidated its exploitation on the agriculture of Galadima district, food production was reduced in favour of export crops. Peasants concentrated on cultivating cotton and groundnut and therefore committed most of their farms to export crops production and henceforth food became scarce. Thus, the impact of the neglect for food production had resulted to lower productivity, loss of variety of food items, malnutrition and widespread infections of various types.³⁴⁷

5.2 Commerce, Crafts and Industry

Although majority of the citizens of Galadima area were peasants as expressed by the researcher in the previous chapters, there were traders and many people were engaged in commercial activities. We have seen in the previous chapters how the colonial regime through blockade and monopoly regulations banned exports to the French territories and outsiders neighboring Katsina province to allow them buy at cheap prices, determined by them. In the same vein the local crafts and industries were squeezed out of production through the usual tool of taxation. Those that managed to survive were transformed to serve colonial interests while some were reduced to manageable sizes and co-opted into the colonial policies. The local industries were killed because they offered to the European

³⁴⁴ Michael Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine...* P.231.

³⁴⁵ Ibid

³⁴⁶ Interview with a group of People at Malamawa in Galadima District. 10/3/2014.

³⁴⁷ Abdullahi Sule Kano: *Capitalist Transformation and Food Crises in Colonial Nigeria. The Political Economy of Malnutrition in the Peasant Communities of Kaura-Kimba and Gidan Shukau of western Sokoto, 1903-1960*, p. 22.

firms a strong challenge in the markets and their products were cheap compared to those European products.

Textile industry for example, prior to colonial rule was a big local industry comprising many branches such as weaving, dyeing and tailoring. It also involved many families and groups of workers that depended on it for their daily income. Attached to the textile families that owned the local industry were migrant labourers who engaged in the processes of production, dyeing and selling of the materials produced and were paid accordingly. When these industries were killed, all those involved in the textile became jobless and the only option for them was to return to the farms or go to the townships to be absorbed into the colonial labour force.

The technique used to suffocate the textile industries was taxation. Heavy industrial tax apart from the general poll tax was deliberately imposed on the participants such that they could not pay. A large quantity of clothes of different kinds and European made blankets were imported into the local markets of Galadima district so that it was a substitute to replace the traditional clothes. The cloth traders who could not sell quickly in the markets stood at loss and the profits could not pay their taxes or feed their families. We also realized that the European merchants brought the materials needed for the textile activities to replace those locally produced. E.g. Sawing threads; needles and dye colours were imported which flooded into our markets to replace the local ones. The long aged Indigo used for dying ceased to be important. Variety of clothes for both men and women were imported so also white and colored yards were brought to serve for traditional dresses. Tailoring machines were also imported at costly prices such that most tailors could not afford to buy and the adoption of those machines rendered many tailors jobless. The few that bought the tailoring machines were employed to sew military uniforms and belts or prisoner's dresses and uniforms for colonial workers, students, civil servants and labourers etc. These were made to wear only European dresses. The few tailors that remained to serve the community mostly resorted to mending and patching of tattered clothes. This was the fate of all other commercial activities, local crafts and industry in Galadima district.

Conclusively, the impact of colonial agriculture forced peasants of Galadima district to abandon their commercial activities so also the local arts and crafts. Some of the local merchants became European buying agents and the rest were transformed into selling European goods. The local industries were deliberately destroyed to pave way for European manufactured goods and to force the peasants to concentrate on farming and the cultivation of export crops. Life became very difficult because the sources of income of peasants in Galadima district were closed and the money they could get by producing export crops were used to paying taxes so there was little or nothing left for the tax payer to buy cloths and cater for his daily needs. They lived at the margin in hunger and destitution. The colonial policies were applied to destroy the local economic activities as we shall see below.³⁴⁸

Through a series of taxes on agriculture and craft products and by taxing traders on local crafts, Nigerian peasants were forced to produce the crops needed by the British in order to procure tax money. By destroying local industries through taxation, prohibition of certain local manufactures,

³⁴⁸ NNAK KAT PROF (FED) 1/1/6.

and the importation of cheap manufactures from Britain, the British colonialist created conditions whereby the peasants had to produce export crops for sale in order to procure items of necessary for consumption.³⁴⁹

5.3 Pastoralism

The colonial agricultural policies not only hampered farming activities in the Galadima District but also pastoral activities. The colonial authorities through the Native Authorities made sure that all herds and flocks moving round and migrating out of the district were liable to jangali tax, hated by the Fulani herdsmen. This measure hindered cattle mobility in search of grazing grounds except through the illegal means and emigrant herdsmen were scared from crossing the district. The damage did not stop there, the colonial regime under the forestry department of agriculture, had acquired large portions of land through the Native Authority which they declared as forest reserves believing that this will improve the soil fertility which would also mean improving the livestock and the dietary of the peasants. By 1930 there were 8 Native Authority forest reserves in Katsina Province. By 1943, there were 31 forest reserves covering an area of 766 square miles in the emirate.³⁵⁰ The colonial government also issued orders declaring all former trading routes and cattle tracts to be under the control of the forestry regulations for the protection of free growth.³⁵¹ Similarly, in 1952, large areas apart from the existing forest reserves were turned into communal forest areas.

The impacts of those agricultural policies on the people of Katsina Province and particularly the Galadima District were immense, leading to acute shortage of grazing land and cultivable lands for farmers who increased their farms in their bid to get export crops and the money with which to pay taxes. Farmers cultivated all *fadamu*; and herdsmen.

³⁴⁹ Ibid: Z.A Bonat, “*development planning ...*” p.26.

³⁵⁰ NNAK KAT PROF 333: Katsina Provincial Report, 1943.

³⁵¹ Ibid: NAK KAT PROF 333.

Several measures were taken by the colonial government to solve this problem of communal clashes but to no avail.³⁵²

The Native Authority were behind this programme that denied good grazing lands and cattle tracks to farmers which were converted to forest reserves. Additional reserves over the years were opened in Katsina province, making a total of 40sq miles and the districts were allowed to establish their own forest areas so much so that before 1950, there were 20 forest reserves in Southern Katsina Province alone including those established in Malumfashi, Mahuta and Tumburkai village units in the Galadima District. Those herdsmen, who lost their cattles due to epidemics like renderpest, turned to criminal activities and became a menace to the society or alternatively, they migrate to towns in search of colonial labour.

When the colonial government finally realized that there was no solution to the problem of the shortage of grazing grounds in the province, it resorted to limiting the number of livestock in the province by increasing taxation. The peasants were not likely to stop encroaching into uncultivated grounds. There were increasing clashes between the nomads and farmers which was created by the colonial pastoral policy and more nomads tend to settle down in one place in other words convert to sedentary lives because they could not maintain their cattle in good condition like their counterpart mixed farmers.³⁵³

“It is significant to note that by the end of the colonial domination, the population of livestock in Katsina Province had dwindled to about 40,000 cattle, 750,000 goats and 20,000 sheep as “a result of the colonial agricultural policies”.³⁵⁴

5.4 Conclusion

³⁵² NNAK KAT PROF 4145: Katsina provincial reports 1951.

³⁵³ NAK KAT PROF Katsina Provincial Annual report 1942, 1955/56, 1951.

³⁵⁴ Ibid: Northern Nigeria: Agricultural Station Report Vol.1 part 1; Katsina half Annual Report 1st Oct, 1956 – 31st March, 1960.

In this chapter, we argued that the colonial policies on agriculture had advisedly affected galadima district so much so that at the end of colonial domination it had created remarkable confusion, tension, and frustration among families, groups and individuals. It caused a general uncertainty, insecurity and hardship in the lives of the people who were living comfortably prior to colonial domination.

Galadima district that could be described as a food granary for the other districts in Katsina Province prior to colonial occupation was reduced to a hunger zone. Food production declined drastically because throughout the colonial period, the administration was busy with expanded programmes on export crops production at the expense of food crops production. Consequently, there was boom in export crops production to the benefit of the colonialists and food crises on the other hand at the expense of the peasants. The colonial policies on agriculture had drained the blood of the peasants to the extent that they could not feed their families and they became migrant labourers, dependent on the colonial economy that resulted to their destitution and indebtedness. The factors that further aggravated the problem of food crises in the district included taxation, colonial forced labour and the frequent draughts and famines experienced in the 1940's and 1950's. Colonial taxation coerced the peasants into excessive production of export crops to be able to pay colonial taxes and it also aided complete commoditization and monetization of the economy. On the other hand, forced labour conscripted for colonial constructions and mines work further deteriorated food production because the bulk of farm labour rested on the youths who were eventually carried away to work outside their communities. This policy crippled the gandu labour such that peasant families could not feed themselves as well as maintain the needs of the family members in the absence of the youth. Moreover, as

we learnt earlier in this thesis, most of those conscripted for forced labour outside their communities could not return home because of the ridiculous labour wages and the terrible conditions they found themselves in the construction sites.

Attached to this were the grains contributions collected from individual farmers for colonial administrators, military and mines workers. It was also noted that adults who could not pay their taxes with the export crops they produced had to sell their food crops to complete the payment and those who run away in order to evade tax, their families were forced to sell their food crops to settle the debts or their properties were being confiscated or in the absence of all these it may attract jail sentences. Also, the introduction of modern fertilizer had worsened the situation because it further decreased the soil fertility causing drastic decline in food production. All these culminated to destitution, break up families other social ills and diseases that were foreign to the community of Galadima district prior to British control.

Also, colonial policies on agriculture were intended to destroy local commerce, crafts and industries in favour of export crops production. The peasants were forcefully tied to cultivation of crops desired by foreigners and the labour of those connected to local commerce and industries were released for colonial constructions and wage earning labour for the European companies except if they were to serve colonial interests. For example, most indigenous merchants transformed to either sells of European goods or simply became Local Buying Agents. At the end of the day, local commerce, crafts and industries disappeared in the face of the colonial obnoxious agricultural policies in Galadima district.

Similarly, draconian colonial agricultural policies were applied to pastoralism to promote the production of European export crop of hides and skins and the provision of

beef both for export and for food consumption by colonial officials and the military and also to improve the dietary condition of the peasants to enable them cultivate the required export crops. The policy of creation of forest reserves and cattle tracts adopted especially in the 1950's had serious consequences on both farmers and herdsmen which resulted to confusion, tension and crises, because there was acute shortage of farm lands for farmers who wanted to open new farms to enable them cultivate sufficient export crops with which to pay colonial taxes or face embarrassments such as jail terms or forceful migration.

The jangali tax was paid by every cattle owner but it mostly affected the Fulani herdsmen because they kept large number of cattle. The jangali tax was used to raise revenue for the colonial administration and possibly to live sedentary lives and to adopt the mixed farming scheme so as to cultivate export crops. Consequently, the imposition of jangali tax and the creation of forest reserves in addition to increasing communal clashes led to a general decline of pastoralism in the whole district. There was reduction in the number of cattles due to migrations by the Fulani herdsmen outside the district to avoid jangali tax which they regarded as a day light robbery by the colonial administration and their allies the Native Authority officials. It also increased the tempo of corruption among the traditional rulers and their boys *yara*; involved in the jangali collection every year.

Hence, the major concern of the colonial government was to transform pastoralism to serving only colonial interests most especially the provision of revenue and hides and skins as well as providing meet for food consumption. However, the implementation of the pastoral policies was coercive, brutal and inhuman, thereby causing frustration, insecurity and migrations out of the district especially in the last decade of colonial rule.

The colonial rule by 1960 when it terminated, had nurtured the emergence of a distinct class of capitalists which comprised of the Aristocrats, the Native Authority personnel and their friends and the *yanbarada*; who virtually monopolized all colonial policies to their advantage and they were skillfully exempted from paying taxes by the colonial administration because they were their collaborators, rather they were made to collect the taxes and also benefited from it, apart from their lucrative salaries and the excise of power which they employed to crush their opponents. And on the other hand, it resulted to the emergence of a radical group who opposed the colonial policies and stood firmly on the grievances of the masses. This radical group became the notorious, fearless and outspoken elements known as the NEPU *Yan-Neh*; a political party led by Alhaji Aminu Kano, established in 1947. They were very critical of the exploitative policies and their strong holds included towns such as Malumfashi, Karfi, Rigoji, etc. The Galadima District is known for the *Yan-Nehu*; radicalism till today.

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37	32/2 vol. 11	Malumfashi	1948-57
38	32/3	Malumfashi Junior Primary School Monthly Report	1952-57
73	64	Agricultural show	1957
77	66	Tees felling and planting	1939-51

NAK KATPROF 1218, A Report on the Galadima District by the Assistant District Officer D.C Fletcher dated 29th May, 1929.

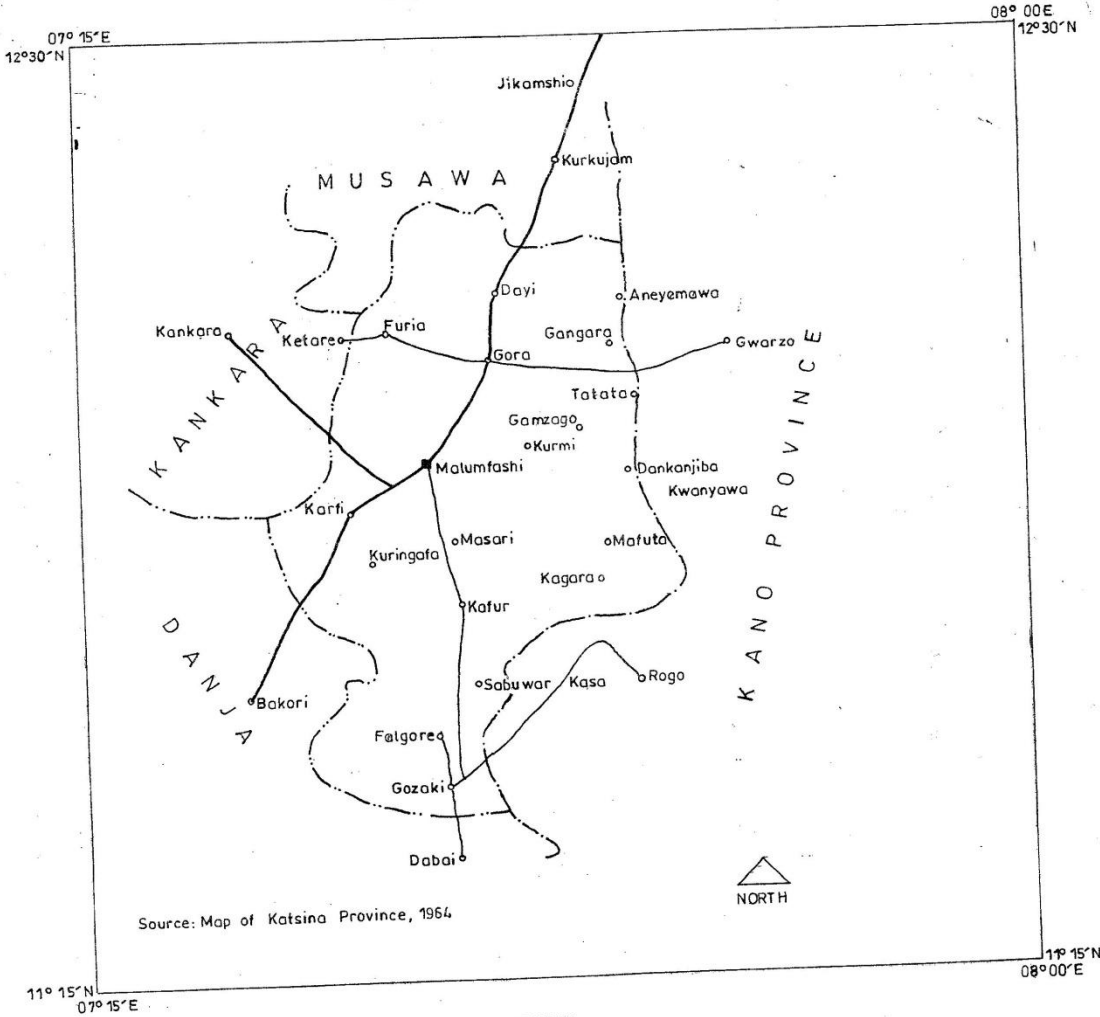
NAK KATPROF 84 Tax collection and evasion relating (a) to tax method of collection (b) exempt from taxation etc 1932-1942

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX II

GALADIMA DISTRICT

SCALE:- 1:1,000,000



LEGEND

- Boundaries: Province - - - - -
- District - · - · -
- Roads:- Major —————
- Minor - · - · -
- District Headquarter ■ Malumfashi
- Settlement o Gangara