THE IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL DOMINATION ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES OF THE SOCIETY OF KANO, 1903-1950

BY

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D E D I C A T I O N

This study is dedicated to the memory of my mother Saudatu Ibrahim and my Step-mother Hajiya Binta Ibrahim.

D E C L A R A T I O N

I hereby declare that this Thesis has been composed by myself and that it is a record of my own research work. It has not been presented for any higher degree elsewhere. All quotations are distinguished by quotation marks and the sources of information are specifically acknowledged by means of references.

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A B S T R A C T

This subject matter of this thesis deals with the impact of British colonial domination on the social and economic structures of the society of kano It covers the period from 1903 to 1950-a period. in which a colonial society, with dependent structures, emerged. It was geared towards serving Britain, through colonial trade, as a market and as a source of Industrial raw materials.

The establishment of this colonial relation, among other things, entailled the re-orientation of the system of production and transformation of pre-existing institutions along capitalist lines.

The Aristocracy, the power that controlled and regulated the Emirate system of production, was subjected and transformed so as to allow for the re-orientation. The re-orientation of the system of production was carried out through the policies of the colonial state in the areas of land, labour and fiscal policies.

Out of the process of the establishment of the colonial system of production new classes and class relations with capitalist values began to develop* The result was the emergence of a new type of polarisation within the society made up of cash-croppers and labourers on the one hand and a ruling class on the other. The ruling class was made up of top bureaucrats which included the **Emir,** Hakimai. Pagatal and their advisers and trading agents. This division was sustained and sharpened by new forms of accumulation and aporopriation of portions of proceeds of labour. Through these new forms of appropriation and accumulation of proceeds of labour British imperialists and their surrogates, the ruling class, benefited immensely.

Thus, the period between 1903 and 1950 was one in which the Emirate social and economic structures underwent profound changes in the interest of British capitalism.

Table of Contents.

	PAGES
DEDICATION	i
DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii - v
ABSTRACT	vi - vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii - ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
GLOSSARY	xi - xviii
INTRODUCTION	xix - xxii
CHAPTER ONE:	
A Brief Survey of the Mode of Production in Kano in the 19th Century ...	1 - 49
I. The Emirate's System of Production and Exchange	1 - 15
II. Technology of Production	16 - 17
III. Craft Production	18 - 24
IV. Trade	24 - 26
V. The Emirate Political System	26 - 36
VI. Emirate Taxation	36 - 40
VII. Belief System	40 - 47
Conclusion	48 - 49
CHAPTER TWO:	
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE EMIRATE POLITICAL SYSTEM	50 - 125
The Transformation of the Emirate Political System into a colonial Bureaucracy	61 - 125

1. Territorial Reorganisation ... 91 - 96

2. The Creation of a Colonial Judiciary 96 - 112

3. The Creation of prisons ... ... 113 - 120

4. The Creation of Police ... ... 120 - 125

CHAPTER THREE:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DEPENDENT SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE ... ... 126 - 207

I. 1. Some Perspectives on the Nature of effects of British Colonial Domination 128 - 135

2. Monetization of the Economy ... 135 - 140

3. "Reorganization", Consolidation and Assessment of Taxes ... ... 140 - 161

4. The Transformation of the basic peasant production units ... ... 161 - 187

II. Further Proletarianization and the Emergence of a Dependent Bourgeoisie 188

1. The Proletariate ... ... 188 - 195

2. The Dependent Bourgeoisie ... ... 195 - 209

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE CREATION OF A COLONIAL INTELLIGENTSIA 209 - 248

I. The Transformation of the Emirate Intelligentsia ... ... 210 - 225

II. The Emergence of Western Educated Elite 225 - 248

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SOCIAL VALUES 249 - 280

General Conclusion ... ... 280 - 287

Note on Sources ... ... i - iii

References ... ... iv - xxi

ABBREVIATIONS.

1.	A.B.U.	-	Ahmadu Bello University Zaria
2.	B.U.K.	-	Bayero University Kano
3.	Knprof	-	Kano Province File - at Kaduna National Archives
4.	N.A.K.	-	National Archives Kaduna
5.	R.D.C.	-	Research Data Centre (at Bayero University Kano).
6.	Snp	-	Secretariat of the Northern Provinces
7.	Waff	-	West African frontier force.

A GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS.
SINGULAR(S) PLURAL(P)

1.	Aljannu(p) Aljani(s)	-	evil spirits
2.	Alkalai(p) Alkali(s)	-	judges
3.	Allah	-	God
4.	Alli	-	chalk
5.	Allura	-	needle
6.	Amir-al muminim	-	commander of the faithful- referring in this text to the caliph of Sokoto
7.	Angulayen Kanti	-	Hawkers of imported goods at Lebano - Syrians quarters.
8.	Aurandole	-	forced marriage
9.	Babban Malami	-	title of the leader of madabo ulama.
10.	Baduhu	-	a charm that can make its possessor invisible at his wish.
11.	Bakin Bature	-	being used to refer to Western educated bureaucrats who copied European ways.

12.	Barandami	-	hatchet.
13.	Baran Nasara	-	servant of the Europeans.
14.	Barori	-	servants.
15.	Basilla	-	large sewing needle
16.	Bayi	-	slaves
17.	Bagatai	-	village-headmen
18.	Dagi	-	a type of diggin tool
19.	Dan iya	-	a title of one of the Emirate Gundumi administrators.
20.	Danrimi	-	title of a leading slave official in the palace of the Emir of Kano.
21.	Daurin baki	-	a charm used to prevent creditors from asking for re-payment of debt or to soften the responses of other people towards its possessor.
22.	Dawa	-	corn
23.	Dazzuzzuka(p) Daji(s)	- -	forests or thickets
24.	Dimajai(p)	-	children of slaves

25.	Fuska	-	city section made up of wards
26.	Galadima	-	a little of one of the Emirate Gunduma administrators.
27.	Galadima kira		a title of an official of the blacksmith administration.
28.	Gandaye(p) Gandu(s)	-	Household lands
29.	Garuruwa(p) Gari(s)	-	towns
30.	Gatari	-	axe
31.	Gayauna	-	a small parcel of farm land
32.	Gayya	-	labour invitation
33.	Gida	-	Household
34.	Gidadanci	-	Countryside behaviour
35.	Goge	-	a type of Hausa music
36.	Gona	-	farm
37.	Gundumomi(p) Gunduma(s)	-	administrative territory of Hakimai
38.	Hakimai(p) Hakimi(s)	-	Heads of Gunduma administrations

39.	Iblis	-	Satan
40.	Ilm Schools	-	Islamic schools for higher education
41.	Jakadu	-	Administrative representatives of Hakimai
42.	Jangali	-	cattle tax
43.	Kafin Alkalami	-	deposit fee charged by Ulama before treatment.
44.	Kantin Kwari	-	Lebano - Syrian quarters
45.	Kasuwa	-	market
46.	Kauyawa	-	villagers or of countryside behaviour
47.	Kauyuka (p)	-	villages
	Kauye (s)		
48.	Kibiyoyi(p)	-	arrows
	kibiya(s)	-	
49.	Kofa	-	a term used to refer to a gate keeper
50.	Kudin Karofi	-	tax a dye pits
51.	Kudin kasa	-	farm tax
52.	Kudin rafi	-	tax an non-grain crops like sugar cane, onions etc.
	Kudin shuke shuke-(shuka)	-	tax on special crops

53.	Kurada	-	a small axe
54.	Kusa	-	nail(s)
55.	Lauje	-	sickle
56.	Layar zana	-	charm if squeezed makes one invisible.
57.	Maaji	-	treasurer
58.	Madaki	-	a title of a particular Hakimi
59.	Maguzawa	-	non-Muslim Hausa people.
60.	Maigida	-	Household Head
61.	Malaiku	-	angels
62.	Malamai (ulama)(p)	-	learned men
	malami(s)	-	
63.	Malaman Bariki	-	learned men who served the populations at urban centres.
64.	Malaman Duniya	-	materialistic learned men
65.	Malaman Kirgi	-	non-materialistic learned men
66.	Malaman fada	-	court literati.
67.	Masu unguwanni(p)	-	Ward Heads
	Mai unguwa	-	
68.	Mata masu zamman kansu	-	prostitutes
69.	Mazari	-	spindle

70.	Muqaddam (Makaddas)	-	initiators into sufi orders, or representatives of sufi leaders.
71.	Mukaddashin kira	-	a representative of chief of Blacksmiths
72.	Murmushin ciroma	-	a female cloth imported from and manufactured in Europe
73.	Mundaye	-	bangles
74.	Qadiriyya	-	a sufi order
75.	Rauhanai(p)	-	spirits
	Rauhani(s)	-	
76.	Raunji	-	slave village or fulani settlement
77.	Sabani	-	a charm that would never allow a debtor and his creditor to meet face-to-face
78.	Sadaka	-	alms, gift
79.	Shamaki	-	A leading Emir's slave who controlled all slaves in the palace.
80	Shashatau	-	a charm that makes other people forgetful.
81	Sangwami	-	digging axe.

82.	Sallama	-	ursher in the Emir's palace
83.	Sarkin bai	-	a Hakimi title
84.	Sarkin barayi	-	chief of thieves
85.	Sarkin dawaki maituta	-	A Hakimi title
86.	Sarkin gadi	-	Chief of "Native Authority" police.
87.	Sarkin majema	-	chief of leather tanners
88.	Sarkin makafi	-	chief of the blind
89.	Sarkin makera	-	chief of Blacksmiths
90.	Sarakunan sana'a	-	craft chiefs
91.	Sufi	-	mystic orders
92.	Taki	-	pacing
93.	Tamami	-	a locally manufactured sword.
94.	Taran Kano	-	council of nine
95.	Taskira	-	a container used for spinning.
96.	Tijjaniyya	-	a sufi order
97.	Tsangayoyi(p)	-	hamlet
	Tsangaya(s)	-	
98.	Tsarin kai	-	to protect oneself with charms
99.	Turakin kira	-	an official of blacksmith administration.
100.	Wakilin Fuska	-	Head of a group of wards

INTRODUCTION.

This thesis is the study of the impact of British colonial domination on the society of Kano.

The wholistic nature of the impact of colonial domination on the structures of Kano society has not received adequate attention from scholars. Works related to the history of Kano tended to limit themselves to one or two aspects of colonial domination. In most cases the focus has been largely on political and economic developments in the colonial state. Even in such cases little has been done by such works to base their analysis against the background of the preceeding Emirate society.

It is, therefore, the aim of this thesis to examine the developments under colonial domination as representing the transformations of pre-existing institutions.

For a correct analysis of the impact of British colonial domination on the social and economic structures of Kano it is necessary to look into the nature of the pre-existing social formation.

In chapter one therefore, the land tenure system, forms and relations of production of the pre-existing society are discussed. In this chapter we argue that the nature of institutions and values of the society were fundamentally determined by the level of its production system. We also indicate that the institutions of the society and therefore its system of production were controlled by the Aristocracy.

In chapter two, the imposition of colonial domination and the transformation of the Emirate political system into an agency of colonial control, forms the subject matter. The transformation of the political system was mainly made possible by the destruction of its economic basis and the limitation of the powers of the Aristocracy in the control and regulation of the system of production.

Chapter three analyses the process through which a dependent system of production, distribution and enchange developed. The first section of the chapter looks into the economic impact of colonial policies on the pre-existing system of production. The outcome of these policies

was the break-up of Emirate production units, leading to the emergence of cash-croppers and labourers. The second section dwells mainly on the transformation of the Emirate merchants into dependent trading agents tied to colonial companies. The relationships that developed between cash-croppers and labourers on the one hand and trading agents and leading bureaucrats on the other are also discussed in the chapter.

Chapter four discusses the transformation of the roles of the Emirate intelligentsia and the process of replacing them with western educated elite. In the first section of the chapter we argue that the ulama's roles under colonial domination changed in a manner that served the colonial society and the British. In the second section we argue that due to the inadequacy of the Emirate ulama in serving the colonial state, it had to be replaced with a colonially trained elite. In this section also the nature, purpose and roles of Western education are discussed.

Chapter five dwells on the changing values of the society under colonial domination. The values were brought into being by the transformations discussed in chapters two to four. These values took the capitalist character of the dominant form of production that emerged as a result of the transformations. The values also followed the nature of polarisation of the society along opposing poles of poverty and affluence.

CHAPTER ONE

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE MODE OF PRODUCTION IN KANO IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The twentieth century opened with the process of effective integration of Kano into the world capitalist system through the imposition and functioning of British colonial domination. The integration led to the creation of structures in which the economy of Kano complemented that of Britain. This development has profoundly affected the nature of the socio-economic and political structures of Kano. To understand the nature and degree of the transformation it is necessary to understand the nature of the mode of production in Kano in the late 19th century.

I. THE EMIRATE'S SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION

Land and Labour Utilization as the basis of Emirate SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION.

In 1900 A.D. the population of Kano Emirate was estimated at about 3 - 4 million out of this about 60 - 90 thousand lived in the capital

of the Emirate - Kano. Thus the bulk of the population lived in Garuruwa (towns), Kauyuka (villages), Tsangayoyi (hamlets) etc. This population inhabited a territory of about 13,000 square[1] miles of land which was used for a variety of economic activities - like agriculture, craft production, fishing, hunting, cattle grazing mining etc.

Land Ownership

Land, an important factor of production in the Emirate, according to the belief of the Emirate society belonged to God. Its custodianship was held by the Emir who represented the caliph of Sokoto. The people, therefore, only held its right of tenure. Because of this nobody privately owned any piece of land, its value also could not be bought or even assessed, but the right of tenure was transferred through gifts pledging, lease, loan or sale.[2]

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1. Hill, P. Population, Prosperity and Poverty. Rural Kano 1900 and 1970. (London, 1977) pp. 3-4.

2. National Archives Kaduna (NAK), Kano Province File (KNPROF) No.767. LAND TENURE REPORT by C.W. Rowling, 1949.

In practice, the people held rights to the portions of Emirate lands they utilised and enjoyed permanent tenure of such lands.[3]

This right to permanent tenure of lands enjoyed by the people was abused by the Masu Sarauta (titled officials) especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. By this period, the Masu Sarauta of the Emirates of Sokoto Caliphate were corrupt.[4] In Kano Emirate, the

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3. Makaman Danrimi Kano (MDK) recorded interview.

4. Mani, A. Zuwan Turawa Nijeriya ta Arewa. (Zaria, 1976) pp. 15 - 16.

   See also Lugard, L. The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa. 5th edition (London, 1965) pp. 198-199

   and Mahdi, A. "The Jihad and its role in Strengthening the Sarauta (Kingship) System in Hausaland in the 19th century: The Case of Kano". Paper presented to the Seminar on Nigeria's Political Culture. Kaduna, November 1981. pp. 4 - 9.

corruption was intensified by political strifes within the Aristocracy leading to, among other things, the increasing confiscations of landed and other properties of opponents and the rich by those in office.[5]

Because rulers did not personally own all the lands of the Emirate, free subjects could acquire and utilize any portion of land that was not in use. They could also expand their portions of land under cultivation to any limit within their cultivation strength if it did not entail encroaching onto a land cultivated by another person. Acquisition of land or expansion of acreage needed no formal approval of the Mai unguwa (ward head) or the Dagaci (village head who helped in running the Emirate administration at the grass roots).[6]

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5. Fika, A.M. The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule 1882 - 1940. (Ibadan, 1978) pp 18 - 22.

6. Ferguson, D.E. "Nineteenth Century Hausaland being a Description by Imam Imoru of land, Economy and Society of his People". (California, Ph.D. 1973) pp 59.

Also see MDK and Ukaegbu, K. "The Impact of Western Culture on the Traditional Nigerian Society". (Michigan, 1974, Ph.D.) p116.

Strangers in the Emirate had to seek permission before utilising any land. Acquisition and utilization of land for all purposes in the Emirate, was free of charge. As we shall see later, Gunduma holding and Emirate taxation which are cited by British officials to argue that the system was feudal were not based on land holding.[7]

The land of Kano was very fertile and supported voluminous agricultural production. Over twenty different types of crops ranging from cereals, root crops, vegetables and fruits, were cultivated for consumption while some were used as industrial raw materials.[8]

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7. On Describing the Emirate Society as Feudal see the following:-

   Lugard L. op.cit. p.198

   Temple, C.C. Native Races and their Rulers. Second edition, Frankcass and company, L. (London, 1968) pp. 34-35.

8. Ferguson, D.E. op.cit p.51

   See pp. 59 - 84 on the system of cropping in Hausaland as a whole.Ibid.

Agriculture was the dominant form of land use in the Emirate. House holds of all classes had farm lands which they cultivated permanently. Household lands were held generally by its free members that had blood connections.[9] This is demonstrated by the fact that in the event of the death of a household Head, his relatives inherited the farmlands along with his "properties". This in itself indicates that the concept of private property solely belonging to an individual was absent in the Household.

The Household was made up of "Yanuwan Maigida (relatives of the Household Head) Barori (servants) and Bayi (slaves)[10]. The Maigida (Household Head) "Yanuwa and Barori fall within the category of free members of the Household. Bayi and Dimajai (children of slaves) formed the secondary category.

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9. Damachi, U.G. Nigerian Modernization. A Colonial Legacy. (New York, 1972) pp 25.

   See also Shenton, R.W. "Studies in the Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria". (Toronto, 1981, Ph.D.) p. 20.

10. Ferguson, E.D. Op.cit. pp 245.

The control of the affairs of the Household was vested in the Household Head, who controlled its means of production and reproduction.

Having Barori and Bayi was limited to the Masu Sarauta, Attajirai (merchants) and prosperous peasantry. Poor peasants could not afford to have Bayi or Barori due to lack of necessary capital. They could not buy slaves nor could they maintain them and their Households were not rich enough to attract Barori.[11]

The Gandaye (household lands) of the peasantry (in case of agriculture) were tilled by all the members of the household. Distinctions between slave and free labour in production was not shown.[13] In most cases even the household Head participated along with the other members of the household in the production.[14]

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11. Ibid pp 205 on Source of Slaves.

13. Smith, M.F. Baba of Karo. A Woman of the Muslim Hausa. (London, 1965) pp 15-16.

14. Neil Skinner, Alhaji Mahmud Koki. A Kano Malam. (Zaria, 1977) p.17.

Because of the necessity for collective production, due to the nature and level of the agricultural technology,[15] not only were the household members collectively engaged in production for the household but households at ward and village levels practiced a system of labour exchanges for speedy cultuvation of each households lands which could have been more difficult or beyond the ability of the household to till. This is called Gayya (invitation). In the Gayya system households took turns at inviting the others to till its lands. At the turn of each household, the groups involved were fed by their hosts. In this system no fees were involved and no Household was under any obligation to honour an invitation, participation was entirely voluntary and free.[16]

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15. On the nature of the technology of production and the need for collective efforts see:

    Tahir, I. "Scholars, Sufis, Saints and Capitalists in Kano: The Pattern of Bourgeois Revolution in an Islamic Society". (Cambridge, 1975, Ph.D.) p.265

    We however reject Tahir's assumption that the 19th century economy of Kano was pre-industrial. refer to sections on technology and craft production , p. 16

16. ABDU DAHIRU JANGUZA (ADJ) Recorded interview.

Even in other forms of relationships like marriage labour was important, a suitor was expected to provide labour on the farms of his inlaws.[17] Thus mutual cooperation between members of a Household and between Households was of central importance for the peasant production in the Emirate.

Beside the Gandu of the peasant household there existed individual portions belonging to members of the household for individual's use. These were called Gayaunu.[18] Each member of the household was allowed sometime off the Gandu in the afternoons to devote time to his Gayauna.[19] In other areas members were given Thursdays and Fridays off for the same purpose.[20] Proceeds from Gayauna were entirely owned by the individual that cultivated it.

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17. Ibid.
18. MDK.
19. Smith, M.F. Op.cit. pp 18
20. MDK.

He could therefore dispose of it as he wanted. This was intended to complement the Gandu proceeds in satisfying the personal needs and obligations of all the household members. It should be pointed out that from the collectively produced proceeds from household lands the entire household was fed and clothed. It was also from it that obligations like marriage and payment of taxes were met.[21]

Beside the Gandaye of the peasantry there were those of the Malamai (learnedmen). The Gandaye of Malaman Duniya (worldly learned men) were numerous and larger in acreage than those of the peasantry. In the second half of the nineteenth century some of the Malaman Duniya were engaged in trade.[22] From this trade they were able to secure much capital sufficient to run large Gandaye. The Malaman fada (palace Mallams) also had many large Gandaye which

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21. Shenton, R.W. Op.cit p.20

22. This point was made by Tahir who even generalis that in most cases Malams were merchants See Tahir, I. op.cit. p.27

they maintained with wealth procured from the Masu Sarauta through administrative services.[23]

The Mallams engaged in trade and administration used a lot of slave and hired labour in their Gandaye. The Malaman Kirgi (non-worldly ulama - or those that abhorred materialism) were mostly poor and as such their Gandaye were not very much different from those of the poor peasantry. Many of them did not even own slaves.[24]

The Attajirai had several farm lands, the super rich among them like Kundila, Tulu Babba etc. had several slave estates and used considerable hired labour on their lands which they could afford with the capital secured from the large trading networks they dominated. Such farms even specialized in the production of particular commodities needed by the industries they monopolised.[25] It is to be noted that neither the merchants nor the mallamai depended

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23. On the benefits enjoyed by Malaman fada see Ferguson, E.D. op.cit. p.227

24. For an example see: NEIL SKINNER op.cit. pp. 9 and 15.

25. Tahir, I. Op.cit. p.272

solely on agricultural production,their labour was partly dispensed in other activities outside agriculture as mentioned.

The Masu Sarauta (Emirate officials) had their Gandaye situated in their Gundumomi (administrative territories). These Gandaye were considerably larger than the Gandaye of the peasantry and the Ulama. This was not unconnected with their financial strength associated with their political positions. Such Gandaye were worked by their slaves, which were numerous and forced labour procured through labour exactions on the peasantry in the form of Gayya. These Gandaye were situated mostly near the large towns of their respective Gunduma.[26] As was the case in all other households of the Talakawa (non-masu sarauta peasantry, malamai and traders) all of their slaves and servants were fed, clothed from the Gandaye proceeds and their obligations similarly met.

Masu sarauta had two types of agricultural lands: those belonging personally to their households and official lands. The former

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26. MDK op.cit

was used to satisfy the personal needsof their families and the latter, especially in the case of the Aristocracy for complementing administrative needs. Official Gandaye were not inherited by relatives of office holders but by successors to the office.[27]

Other Forms of Land Use.

Agricultural lands were also used for dwelling. Kano Emirate had many Birane (large walled towns and seats of administration) surrounded by numerous villages(Kauyuka) and hamlets (unguwoyi and runji).

The dwellings used in the settlements were mostly made up of temporary and or semi-permanent structures built of mud and grass and in most cases of corn stalks. The characteristics of these structures was determined by the nature of materials available in the immediate environment, the climatic conditions of the area and the level of building technology of the society. Settlement units comprised of households of production units

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27. Ibid.

with each household occupying a particular section of the settlement. In Zarewa town, for example a single household dwelling comprised of about 30 portions each belonging to a related family unit.[28] Some were considerably larger.

Non-agricultural lands were used by pastoralists as grazing areas for their cattle. While areas near sources of water were used for fishing and dry season gardening. In areas like Ririwai, Karaye and Kumbotso where minerals were available, such lands were used as sources of iron-ore.

The Dazuzzuka (forests) which were also part of non-agricultural lands, were exploited as sources of fuel and their trees for sylvan products.

The Animals these Dazuzzuka contained provided games for the seasonally organised hunting battues as additional source of meat (beside domestic animals) for the Emirate society. Hunting was carried out during the

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28. Smith, M.F. op.cit. p22

dry season in battues consisting of large number of people from several villages. Some hunting battues consisted of over 5,000 people. Gazelles, Rabbits, Rats, Guinea fowls etc were the usual animals hunted.[29] The trees and shrubs of the agricultural and non-agricultural lands were exploited by the Bokaye and yar masu ganye (doctors) for the prepartion of various cures of diseases - human and animal.

From the above discussion it should be clear that the Emirate production was characterised by the maximum utilisation of its lands and labour resources contrary to the claims of Hogendorns that it was during the 20th century that this was achieved, the credit for which should go to the colonial state.

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29. Ferguson, D.E. Op.cit. pp. 303 - 344

II. TECHNOLOGY OF PRODUCTION

All forms of production (agricultural and craft) used variety of tools in production. The tools used in production were derived from materials available or produced in the immediate geographical environment of the soeiety. The tools used by industries vary from one industry to another. With the tools and well-developed skills the craftsmen produced varieties of manufactured goods of high quality and in large numbers.[30]

The nineteenth century Kano craft production judging from the degree and range of territorial spread of its manufactures and their excellent qualities, can be said to be the highest in Africa. Though the technology of production was not power driven the society was able to use it for mass production.[31]

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30. Ibid pp. 298 - 299

31. On Nature of Technology see Adamu, M. The Hausa factor in West Africa (ABU Zaria, 1978) pp. 10-11.

The use of this technology to attain maximum production with ample surpluses necessitated the use of alot of labour strength and therefore called into being collective efforts in production especially in the basic peasant production units which solely formed the basis for the support of the Emirate society and its activities.

Because the technology of production called for collective efforts the influence of nature on the socie was considerable and this influence in itself explains the centrality of religion, superstitious beliefs and communitarian values in the production relations within units and between units of different classes of the society.

Therefore the nature and level of technology of production is important in the understanding of the system of production, values and beliefs of Kano Emirate.

III. CRAFT PRODUCTION

The Emirate was a region of considerable industrial activity. Numerous industries existed among the most important ones were mining, smelting, smithing, spinning, weaving, dyeing, calabash and gourd making, wood working, tanning and leather works, groundnut oil and snack making etc.[32]

Craft production was household based, carried out in settlements and in most cases hereditary. Though it was not uncommon for non-members to join the production as apprentices. Industries recruited apprentices from outside with the mutual consent of the household head of the family concerned and that of the intending apprentice. The hereditary nature of the industries and apprenticeship system indicated that inherent in craft production was craft education. Craft education was on the job training. Young members of the household and apprentices attach themselves to professional craftsmen in the household. They

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32. Ferguson, D.E. Op.cit. pp. 303 - 344.

helped the craftsmen in the production and at the same time learning and observing the processes and techniques involved. The learner may take several years before he qualifies to establish on his own. Training fees were not charged even on apprentices.[33] A trainee was required to provide his services in the production, to run errands for his master and in some cases to provide free labour on the farm of his master. It was not uncommon for a particular household to engage in several crafts as a household comprising of servants and slaves may have variety of industrial skills.[34] Males and females, slave or free did engage in craft production without exception. Some crafts were the exclusive preserves for women like spinning, baking, pottery while others like blacksmithing, building were the preserves for men.

Thus, craft production in the late 19th century was at an advanced stage owing to the

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33. On apprenticeship in Blacksmithing Industry see Jagger, P.J."Kano City Blacksmiths: Pre-colonial Distribution, structure and organisation" in Savanna vol.2, No.1 June 1983. p.22,

34. Smith, M.F. op.cit. p.19

numerical distribution of industries and the quality of their products which reflects the professional skills involved. The volume of production of the industries was great and their quality, by 19th century standards, very high as is indicated by the examples of smithing and cloth making industries given below.

Kano smithing industries were fed by mining industries in Riruwai Kano Emirate and from southern Katsina in the districts of Bakori, Ketare, Funtua and Pawa and even from Birnin Gwari.[35] Production was household based, and sub-divided into smaller units made up of an adult smith and a small boy who operated the bellows. The entrance hall to the compound or a hut near by was used as the industry. The industry used few and simple tools to produce for the diverse needs of the people and the state. The instruments of production were, for each unit, two leather bellows, charcoal, hammer, anvil and iron ore.

The Blacksmithing industry produced with these tools, all agricultural implements of the Emirate like the hoe, axe and sickle blades, for the tilling of all the agricultural lands of the Emirate. Fartanya (hoe) Galma (large bladed hoe)

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35. Jagger, P.J. op.cit p.24

sangwami (digging hoe) gatari, dagi, kurada (axes of different types) lauje (sickle) were some of the agricultural implements produced.

Beside agricultural implements, weapons were also produced like kibiyayi (arrow heads) tammami (sword) wukake (knives) barandamai (fighting knives) masu (spears).

Domestic items like kusa (nails) allura (needle) basilla (large sewing needle) were also produced. Others were metal doors, windows and chairs. Ornaments were also produced like mundaye (bangles) zobba (rings).[36] In the nineteenth century the Blacksmithing industry was providing sufficiently for the domestic, agricultural, craft and military needs of the Emirate. What seemed to be the only exceptions were steel swords and guns. The tamami produced from iron-ore in the Emirate was quite inferior to the steel swords of North Africa.[37] As such steel swords from North Africa were imported and assembled by the Blacksmiths. Guns were not manufactured. They were also imported.

It seems that the techniques of forging steel and the making of guns were little or unknown in Kano Emirate.

Like the iron related industries, textile industries operated in a chain of forward and backward linkages.[38] Spinning industries existed in all Households in the Emirate. Production was not limited to a particular class or status. But it was an exclusive preserve for women. Women of the Emirate at all levels slave or free did participate.[39] In fact the basic instrument of production of the spinning industry (taskira, alli, mazari) formed the central part of bride wealth at all levels.[40]

Thus, a mass supply base fed and supported the numerous weaving industries that produced the famous Kano cloth. Weaving was engaged by both males and females, though the apparatus each used differed. These produced cloth of different

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38. Labaru na da dana yanzu (Zaria, 1977) pp 13 - 14
39. MDK.
40. Gwaggo Hasiratu Kano (GHK) recorded interview.

makes and of remarkable quality some of which fed the dyeing industries which were also famous.

Kano cloths formed one of the most important articles of trade of Kano with various parts of West and North Africa. Its fame and great demand was exemplified by the fact that it was even used as a unit of currency in various areas. In Bornu for example it existed side by side with Maria theresa dollar while in Hodh it replaced French Guinea.[41] The volume of production of the textile industries surpassed the Emirate cloth needs and was serving areas far away as is evidenced by the fact that

> "as late as 1890's, Kano clothes two thirds of the Sudan and almost all central and eastern sahara".

While it was commonly available in the markets of Lagos, Tunis, Alexandria and Tripoli.[42]

Therefore, craft production in Kano Emirate in the nineteenth century was at an advanced stage serving the needs of the people of the

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41. Johnson, M. "Periphery and Centre: The Nineteenth century trade of Kano". Paper submitted at Conference on Kano. 1981 at Bayero University. p.17

42. Ibid. p.17

Emirate and others far and near. During the period of colonial domination (first half of the twentieth century) the technologies of these industries stagnated and their outputs declined considerably. This was due to the general reorientation of production and trade, the creation of a colonial trade and competition from European manufactured goods; and the decapitalisation effects of colonial fiscal policies.[43]

IV. TRADE.

By the second half of the 19th century a class based on the extensive and voluminous trades of Kano had already emerged. Some of the very wealthy traders not only had large networks of trading agents operating on several trade routes but had used their profits from this trade to establish monopoly over productions of certain industries. They also had large Gandaye employing slave and hired labour to produce industrial raw materials for the industries they monopolised. Some traders did specialise in certain products. An Yargaya based family

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43. Refer to chapter three pp - 36-62.

for example, dominated leather trade. Others like Kundila, and Tulu Babba were general merchants. Tulu Babba had agents operating in Gonja and in at least four Emirates, he had about 15 slave Gandaye, and had contractual relations with weaving and dyeing industries. Such traders operated in several areas and had hundreds of agents and business associates in various areas and regions. The agents operated on several trade routes, their associates handled trade at the other end of the routes while to their clients they gave credits and goods advances. The merchants directed the trading activities of their agents and the production of their Gandaye.[44]

Thus, by late 19th century a class based on capitalist form of exchange had already emerged whose capital was slowly penetrating into agricultural and craft production. But this does not mean that capitalist form of production was dominant, it only dominated the area of exchange.

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44. Tahir, I. p. 272.

V. THE EMIRATE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The base of Emirate political system rested on the Emirate form of production which it regulated. It regulated production through control, as distinct from ownership, of basic factors of production - land and labour. In the political system the most important unit was the Aristocracy symbolised by the Emir.

The Emir came from the Sullibawa family which became the ruling family with the Jihad in Kano during the early decade of the 19th century. The Emir represented the Amir Almuminin (Commander of the faithful) or the caliph of Sokoto in the Emirate and had multiple functions and powers. Of pnime importance to this office was religion which was used as a legitimising factor of the Emir's control of the Emirate society.[45]

The devine nature of the office of Emir made the Emir the sole legislator in the Emirate

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45. Said, H.I. "Revolution and Reaction: The Fulani Jihad in Kano and its aftermath, 1807 - 1919" (Phid michigan, 1978) p.155.

assisted by a council of nine who, like the Emir, had executive functions. This council - Taran Kano by late 19th century comprised of five members from Sullibawa clan and four other titled fulani clan leaders.[46]

The Emir also acted as the Chief justice of the Emirate by virtue of being the chief custodian of religion in the Emirate. He and his council of advisers operated the highest court of appeal in the Emirate. As chief executive he presided over the administration of the Emirate. He was also the supreme military commander of the Emirate. The executive, judicial, legislative and military functions of the Emir were delegated to a hierarchy of officials which linked the Aristocracy with the peasantry.

Of immediate proximity and importance to the Emir's office, in the late 19th century, was a palace bureaucracy made up of the Emirs trusted servants and slaves. The bureaucracy was hierarchically organised and controlled by leading slaves. It was from the time of Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846) that palace slaves started to

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46. Ibid. 171

wield considerable powers in the administration of the Emirate. Their powers grew with increasing reliance of Emirs, right from the time of Ibrahim Dabo to the end of the 19th century, on them due to the exacerbation of intra-ruling family feud which worsened relations between incumbents and their officials. Ibrahim Dabo for example, on his accession had to purge the administration of its Sarkin Dawaki Ciroma, Daniya, Galadima and Qadi all of which he had inherited from his predicessor. His successors Mohammed Bello (1882-1893) and Aliyu did the same thing to their inherited officials.[47] Thus by late 19th century the Emirs had lost faith and trust in their officials and relied heavily on their slaves for the admini-stration of the Emirate. Therefore, the slave bureaucracy in the second half of the 19th century became increasingly powerful and infact became too powerful to the extent that it not only controlled the palace, the rural administration but even the Emir was said to be their puppet.[48]

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47. Hausa-wa da makwabtansu. Na biyu (Zaria, 1979) pp. 44-55

48. MDK. op.cit.

It becomes interesting when one examines the case made in favour of feudalism and compares it with the reality of the Emirate administration. The three most powerful Hakimai (officials) came from the palace. The Shamaki, Sallama and Danrimi, who were the three Hakimai, were of slave origins and remained as slaves of the Emir. The Shamaki was incharge of all slaves in the palace and the horses of the Emir. The Danrimi was the Emir's most important slave official. All Emirate weapons were in his custody. While the Sallama was the go-between the Emir and any visitor or official who wanted an audience with the Emir.[49] These three decided what the Emir should do, what was to be done by the Emirate officials, inshort their wills had to be obeyed by all.[50]

Distributed among these three principal slave Hakimai were free born Hakimai of Aristocractic origin who controlled the administration of Gundumomi. Among these Hakimai were members

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49. Ferguson, E.D. op.cit pp. 209-210

50. MDK. op.cit.

of the council of nine who advised the Emir and acted as the electoral college of the Emirate, like the Sarkin bai, Madawaki, etc. All affairs of the Emirate were taken to the powerful three for "onword transmission" to the Emir.[51]

The free born Hakimai controlled the administratio of the Emirate on behalf of the Emir. Their offices were hereditary. Hakimai were assigned Gundumomi to administer, usually in areas which their clans had conquered in the early part of the 19th century during the Jihad. The Gundumomi were basically administrative units, they were not economic units personally belonging to the Hakimai[52] as shown by the land tenure system discussed above and the discussion below.

The Hakimai delegated the administration of their Gundumomi to Jakadu who were assisted by their slaves and servants. These along with the Dagatai (village heads elected by the village people) took decision on the Administrative, political, judicial and other problems of their areas on daily basis. Decision taken and

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51. Ibid.

52. Hill, P. op.cit. pp. 7 - 10

activities of the Gundumomi were reported to the Hakimai who resided in the capital who in turn passed relevant parts of the decisions to the Emir. The Hakimai, their delegates and even the Dagatai did not own any Gunduma privately or the proceeds from its production.

Lands of any Gunduma had its tenure rights vested in its people, Hakimai and other officials were only entitled to a part of the proceeds in the form of taxes for the upkeep of the administration and to levies in the form of labour on their farms.[53] Through such exactions on production and labour and on exchange and the control over issuing out of land they were able to regulate production and exchange.

The administration was represented at the grassroots by the masu unguwanni (ward heads) who were answerable and derived their powers from the Dagatai.

Thus, by late 19th century the administration of the Emirate was done by numerous officials - free and slave. The administration was supported by the exactions on the peasantry

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53. Ibid.

procured through control of production and exchange. Its control was exercised by virtue of its coersive powers and religious stance and not due to its ownership of the people and land as wrongly assumed. Its devine stance and powers made it feared and respected.

It has already been pointed out that the Emirate technology necessitated mutual efforts in production, and the influence of nature was central to this mutuality. Of central importance to beliefs and values of the Emirateand even to the administration were the Malamai - the Emirate intelligentsia and custodians and interpreters of religion. The relationship between the malamai and the Aristocracy therefore very close. Indeed the Aristocracy emerged ou of the Malamai to assume political power with the Sokoto jihad. It did so through the use of religion and its sanctions.

The members of the malamai were important in the emirate administration. Those that engaged in administration formed the worldly wing of the Malamai. These served as judges, clerks, interpreters and advisers to officials.[54] As judges they dispensed maliki law to maintain peace and order necessary for the survival of the Aristocracy.

As religious advisers they defined to the rulers the ideals of Islamic Government, how rulers should rule etc. As the intelligentsia of the Emirate, therefore, they provided through religion the necessary support and legitimation to the political structure. By emphasizing the devine posture of the Aristocracy and through exhortations of the subjects to be submissive they consolidated the relationships between subjects and rulers. The people were made to understand that respect of elders and leaders had the sanction of God and that submission to them would be rewarded with a luxurious bounty living which would be forever in the here-after. In short the malamai supplied the emirate with a guiding ideology.

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54. Paden, J. Religion and Political Culture in Kano. (Los angeles 1973) pp 56-58.

The malamai provided social services to all the classes of the society. They presided over all the important religious occasions of the Emirate society. They acted as fortune tellers for the people especially the Aristocracy and the merchants like setting lucky days for wars, raids and setting out of caravans. As doctors they provided charms, prayed to God on their behalf and issued concoctions for cure of diseases and warding off of evil.[55] They prayed to God for rains during drought. They served both the rulers and the rich. Their services had no fixed fees only voluntary gifts were given. Some malamai were fed by the society,[56] some by the Aristocracy from Zakka while those appendage to officials were similarly

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55. Skinner, N. op.cit. p.17

56. Ibid 21, 23 and 24

fed and clothed by them.[57] Under colonial rule the worldly section of the malamai was recruited by the colonial state and assigned new roles in the colonial economy. The other arm, the non-worldly one shyled away even further into ascetisism.

Beside the administration proper, each type of industry had its officials hierarchically organised with titles similar to that of the Emirate administration. Sarkin Makera for example, (Chief of the balcksmiths) were titles of madakin Galadiman -, Turakin and Mukaddashin Kira all answerable to the sarkin makera who reported directly to the Emir. Other profession heads included sarkin Ruwa (Chief of water and fishing sources) Sarkin Jima, sarkin masaka etc.[58]
Others were sarkin makafi, (blind), the sarkin kutare (leppers) etc. It was even believed that there was a sarkin Barayi (chief of thieves) but the title did not enjoy

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57. MDK

    Also Ibrahim Mukhtar Kano(IMK) Recorded interview.

    And Perguson, E.D. op.cit p.227

    Smith, M.F. op.cit p.101

58. Jagger, P.J. op.cit. p.17

the official sanctions of the Aristocracy to function because of its immoral character.

While the Sarakuna of the disable controlled affairs of their groups and were appointed by the emir, they were not controlling economic activities of the groups. Their duties was to see to the well-being of their people.

VI. EMIRATE TAXATION

The buoyant economy of Kano was taxed by the Aristocracy through a well established mechinery made up of Hakimai and their agents the Jakadu ("messengers"), Dagatai (village Heads) and Masu unguwanni (ward Heads). All forms of production and exchange were taxed.

The most important tax was the kudin kasa (farm tax). All agricultural units paid this tax with the exception of those of the Masu Sarauta and their surrogates. The rates paid on farm lands varied from one locality to another but the usual official rate was put around 2,500 cowries per farm in the middle of the 19th century. This tax was raised to 4,000 cowries

in the late 19th century as an attempt to establish a uniform rate throughout the Emirate.[59]

Given the properous agricultural production of the Emirate, it seemed the production units could afford to pay the offical rate of 4,000 cowries. Judging also from the nature of land holding the amount was not harsh. It was not harsh because farm lands at this time were controlled by Households and Households contained several family units. Individual land holdings and agricultural production at this time did not emerge sufficiently to warrant individuals paying the rate. The only individual holdings that existed were the gayaunu of members of Households and these gayaunu were regarded as part of Household lands. It should also be considered that the Households were responsible for meeting all the obligations of their members. In the late nineteenth century 4,000 cowries represented less than the market price of two goats.[60] The official ceiling rate of this tax rose to 10,000 cowries in 1908 under colonial domination.[61]

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59. Hill, P. opcit. p.50

60. Temple, C.L. Op.cit. p.xviii

61. Hill, P. Op.cit. p.50

Kudin shuka (tax on special crops) was a tax on non-grain crops like sugar cane, potatoes, groundnuts. Its official rate also differred from area to area and depended on the crop. It ranged from 1,000 to 2,000 cowries.[62]

Market gardening was also taxed. Its tax was called kudin rafi. It was levied on onions, henna etc. Its range was between 2,000 to 5,000 cowries.

The rates of other agricultural taxes like zakka (charity tax) and craft tax were not generally fixed. Zakka was a tax on guinea corn and millet payable voluntarily by producers. Its rate depended upon the volume of production that exceeded thirty bundles. Producers were expected to surrender one tenth of their production, if it exceeds thirty bundles. Collection of craft tax was not the responsibility of the Hakimai, Jakadu and dagatai, but of the sarakunan sana'a (craft chiefs). In most cases the determination of ratesto be paid was left at the descretion of the craft chiefs. This tax was mostly paid in kind.

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62. Ibid. p. 51

Judging from the rates blacksmith paid 1 - 4 hoe blades per annum, it seemed the craft tax was also not high.[63]

Tax on trade seemed to be put on ox or donkey loads. For Kano Emirate the rates are not available but for Zaria it was 500 cowries per ox load.[64] This was abolished in 1903 to be replaced by a caravan tax.

It is difficult if not impossible to accutately assess the burden of Emirate taxation on the people because of the virtual absence of Household agricultural, craft and trade income statistics in the 19th century and the actual amounts paid as taxes. Therefore we had to rely on official incidences and take into consideration the buoyance of the economy. The burden of taxation must have been greater than what the official incidences suggest because of the official corruption prevalent in the Emirate and the size of the tax collection machinery.

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63. Jagger, P.J. op.cit p.19

64. Temple, C.C. op.cit p.xviii

Several Jakadu served the Hakimai as representatives and tax collecting agents. It was said that one Jakada may have more than "1,000 horses" in his entourage[65] all of which were not tax payers and had to be supported by the producers. What ever the degree of extortion and the tax burden the people shouldered in the Emirate it was far less than the burden of taxation under colonial domination. Despite the burden on them, the Emirate people produced what to subsist upon and fed numerous networks of prosperous trades and developing industries. What they surrendered to the Emirate officials was mostly retained in the Emirate. This was not so under colonial dominati n.[66]

VII. BELIEFS.

Islam formed the dominant system of belief of the Emirate society. Also it set out guide lines as to how individuals should conduct themselves, how they should behave and relate to each other - elders, peers and leaders. It sets out the

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65. M.D.K. Op.Cit.

66. Refer to chapter three pp. 177-178.

guidelines of justice, leadership and trade. In short, it provided a system of life. It was dominant because it formed the religion of the state and the majority of the Emirate society.

To muslims Allah is the Supreme Being, has all powers and had created everything for His purpose and to worship Him. Whatever happened did so at His will. After this temporal life there will be another world - the abode of paradise and hell to which every thing including humans would be sent. Actions in this world would determine whether one would be sent to paradise - a place for eternal bliss and luxury or to hell for an eternal life of misery and punishments unimaginable. The malamai summoned the compliance of people with the expected good behaviour of submission, honesty, truth, mutual co-existance, help and selfless conduct through citations of examples of most gruesome punishments thatawait deviants and non-conformists of the social order. With the help of these preachings minors, servants, slaves became submissive to the wills of their masters, elders and rulers. Thus religion strengthened the need

for co-existence, co-operation, and sharing in production. Not only would these lead to greater production but they were virtues seen as gateways to heaven. In order to leave no intending deviant in doubt the belief has it that attached to each human being, infact sitting on the shoulders of each person were angels who recorded all his actions good or bad to be accounted for an the judgement day just before entry into hell or paradise.

All evil deeds done by human beings were associated with temptations of the Arch devil Iblis himself condemned by God, for his evil, to hell fire. The idea was that Iblis wanted to get as many followers as possible as candidates for hell. Nobody would like to be branded as his follower. The conformity to societal values and the normative behaviour that arose out of the productive circumstances of the society and strengthere by Islam was so great that in the early 20th century a British political officer was greatly impressed. He commented that:

> "In all refinements of life such as polite manners, court etiquette, hospitality, and, in general, good behaviour and constraint, even to the point of suppressing all outward show of inner feelings, the Filane Emirs of the North and all their chiefs and notables and even the well-to-do merchants had progressed before our arrival about as far as it is possible so to do. It would be hard to surpass the manner of these people, indeed the peasants not infrequently put one on one's mettle in matters of behaviour"[67]

The cultivation of polite manners, hospitality etc, had been part of the pre-occupations of the basic production units. The entire households was engaged in the enculturation of their young members. Siblings were trained to accept their positions as members of their households and the community. They learnt about their relationships with other siblings and elders of their households and the appropriate respect that went with each level of relationship.[68] All seniors were respected and obeyed unquestionably. In them was inculcated the spirit of obedience, honesty, participating along with others, sharing etc.

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67. Temple, C.C. p.6

68. Damachi, G.G. op.cit p.14

The consequences of disobeying elders was cursing, beatings or even threats to the offender.

Thus the polite manners and self restraint observed by outsiders was not just a front put forward to deceive outsiders. They were the central tenets of the society and values most cherished.

Beside the role of achieving conformity with societal conventions, the belief system also helped in explaining mysterious happenings through the provision of a world view.

The Emirate society believed in the existance of other worlds and non-human creatures that had great influences on the people. The world of the Malaiku (angels), the Aljannu (devils) Rauhanai (spirits) Yanruwa (water spirits) existed and it seemed their existence revolved around human beings. All of them were invisible but could by chance be seen with attending repercussions on the person concerned. All had considerable powers of magic: for example, they could take any shape. With the

exception of Malaiku all had wills and were similarly organised communitarianly as the Emirate society. Not only had they rulers, subjects, slaves and servants but they did marry raise children, migrate, held ceremonies, etc.and defaecated just as the Emirate society.[69]

Aljannu were categorised into good and bad.[70] Bad ones maime all humans that interferred with their affairs, or send sickness or insanity by taking over the body of the person. In case of insanity the particular Aljani takes over the persons head - specifically the inner part of his cranium. These had to be appeased as a cure. The second category along with Rauhanai were good and if they love a person they made him to prosper. Their help could also be sought through religious rituals.

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69. Tahir, I. op.cit. pp 123 - 124

70. For detailed categorisation of Aljannu see Wangara, M.T.U. "Yadda ake Bori a Kasar Gezawa". (Student project, Gumel A.T.C. 1982/83) pp. 3 - 5 .

An individual who wanted to remain at peace or enjoy the goodness of such invisible beings had to exercise restraint and maintain a submissive character.

Not all the people of the Emirate were Muslims, pockets of Maguzawa (pagans) existed in the Emirate. Beliefs and worship of Iskoki (Aljanna, Yanruwa) were central to Maguzawa religion. Maguzawa religion formed the dominant form of worship in the pre-islamic period. Such beliefs among the muslims of the Emirate represented a carry over from the pre-islamic period - the period before the 14th century.[71]

Added to these beliefs were superstitions that developed out of the needs for conformity. These also were carry over from pre-islamic forms of worship. Superstitions were sources of norms of the society and helped in keeping individuals in check. The superstitions cover a wide range of the societal activities. The following are some examples:-

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71. Sagagi, K.A. "Sharhi akan garaya da Bori". (Student project, Gumel A.T.C. 1980). pp 1-2.

For the demarcation of powers in the household,

> "if a woman climbs into a corn bin she will bear a thief". And no woman would want to bear a thief.72

for segregation of women

> "if you eat from the same pot as a woman, she saps your strength from you!73

for siblings to exercise restraint,

> "if you are bitten by somebody and you rub the dung of a lizard over the wound, the teeth of the bitter will fall out".74

for decency in table manners,

> "if you eat as you walk, you are infact eating with the Devil"75

for respect of privacy

> "The Salaam (peace be on you) must be loudly said before you enter another person's room. This is to warn the jinns standing by the door way, otherwise you may step over them and bring about your death."76

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72. Madauci, I., Isa, Y. and Daura, B. (Comilators) Hausa Customs (Zaria, 1982) p83.

73. Ibid p. 83

74. Ibid p.88

75. Ibid p.86

76. Ibid p. 86

CONCLUSION

We have in this chapter tried to give a picture of the Emirate's dominant mode of production. Our description of the production system in the Emirate not only has shown that it was not feudal but that it does not fall within any of the categories of modes of productions which societies were compartmentalized viz. primitive communal, slave owning, feudal, capitalist and communist. In fact embodied into it were some elements of each.

Our second argument is that the nature of the Emirate system of production relied heavily on collective efforts due to the influence of nature which necessitated for values of cooperation to strengthen the emirate production relations in the production units. Added to this was that the character and nature of the Emirate superstructure rested on and was determined by the economic base. It was also this that determined the character of the non-material culture of the society. Our submission here is that once the nature of production system of the

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE EMIRATE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

We have indicated in the last chapter that the factors of production in Kano Emirate were "owned" by its people majority of whom were free peasant producers and industrialists. And that labour at all levels - Household, village and Emirate levels - and in all economic activities - agriculture, craft production and trading, was controlled through the control of land and capital by - Household heads at the level of peasant production units, by those in power at village and Emirate levels and by the merchants in the trading sector.[1] This control allowed for the regulation of the whole economic activities with the help of prevailing Emirate values.

It is our aim in this chapter to look at the effects of British colonial domination on the

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1. In this chapter Emirate refers to 19th century entity, while "Emirate" refers to its area under colonial domination

Emirate political structure.

The British imperialists wanted to control and exploit the economy of the Emirate. As such with the imposition of British colonial domination the political structure was tempered with and transformed because of its roles in controllir and regulating most aspects of life of the people. It was only by taking over the political control of the Emirate as well as restructuring its institutions that this exploitation could be successful.[2] Thus, the British over threw the rulers of the Emirate in 1903 A.D. and started, right from then, to create a dependent political structure necessary for the said purpose.

The British political officers who had created this dependent political structure had denied ever distorting, not to talk of destroying it, that all they did was to humanise it, through the indirect rule system.

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2. Bello, S. State and Economy in Kano 1894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination: (Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U. 1982) p. 52.

> Indirect rule is "a system of administration which leaves in existence the administrative machinery which had been created by the natives themselves; which recognises the existence of Emirs, Chiefs and Native councils, Native courts of justice, Muhammadan courts, pagan courts, native police controlled by a native executive, as real living forces, and not as curious and interesting pageantry; by which European influences is brought to bear on the native indirectly, through his chiefs, and not directly through European officers - political, police etc., and by which the European keeps himself a good deal in the background..."[3]

From the British point of view, this categorically states the policy of indirect rule as a preservative measure of the Emirate system.

It is our submission that European control was, right from the initial stages, direct. And that this direct rule allowed the external agency of change to temper with the superstructure and consequently the economy for the **needs** of British capitalism.

The imposition of colonial domination over the Emirate was through the use of force.

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3. Temple, C.L. Native Races and their Rulers. (London, 1968) p.30

The discussion that follows in the rest of this chapter challenges the validity of this concept.

The violent nature in which the Emirate was subjugated was through the use of the British West African frontier forces. This had been adequately dealth with elsewhere.[4] As such we shall limit ourselves to what came after the conquest. To understand what came after the conquest it is necessary to understand the motives behind it.

The first important reason given by colonial dominators for the conquest of Kano and other areas of the world that came under British domination was that of the need to civilize them.

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4. for details refer to the following:

Adeleye, R.A. Power and Deplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906 (London, 1977) pp259-293.

Tukur, M.M. "The Imposition of British Colonial Dominati on the Sokoto Caliphate Borno and Neighbouring States: 1897-1914: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Sources". (Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U. 1979) pp.52-65.

Fika, A.M. The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule 1882-1940. (Ibadan, 1978) pp.92-101.

and also Bello, S. op.cit. pp.52-88.

The need to civilize other peoples was seen as a role assigned by history to all leading nations of the world because of the backward state in which weaker states existed. Thus as a result of the development of history "the justification of conversion has to a great extent given way to the justification of "the humanitarian ideal".[5] Thus, leading nations of the world saw it as their duty "to establish better state of affairs" in the weaker areas.[6] Therefore based on this

> "principle the stronger groups have in this day of grace brought to a state of subjection all those weaker groups inhabiting the earth which it is possible so to do".[7]

Kano Emirate, in the end of the 19th century, in the light of the above classification, fell within the category of the backward, uncivilized and weaker states. A picture of barbarism in which its people lived

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5. Temple, C.L. op.cit. p.25
6. Ibid. p.25
7. Ibid. p.25

was painted by agents of imperialism to justify its conquest.[8]

But for Kano, specifically, the excuse for its immediate conquest was the need to bring to justice Mallam Magaji Danyamusa; the representative of the Emir of Zaria, who had killed a British captain - Maloney.[9] Magaji after the death of Maloney, in October 1902 fled to Kano to seek assylum with Emir Aliyu who was famous in his hatred of the British.[10]

The British felt that Maloney's death must be avenged, because if Magaji was allowed to go free the implications would be grievious. For one thing, it would be a challenge to the ego of the British and to the posture of colonial domination. Already by 1902 much of the southern areas of the Sokoto caliphate had been conquered and in their places the following provinces were curved out:- Ilorin, Kabba,

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8. On this refer to Lugard, L. The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa. (London 1965) p.198.

   On views that glorify the conquest as improving the conditions of the people refer to chapter three pp.128-13

9. Adeleye, R.A.op.cit p265

10. Ibid p.267.

Kontagora, Nupe, Zaria and Borgu.[11] The killing therefore challenged the posture of the British in those provinces as they were then trying to consolidate their hold in the provinces. Considering their numerical strength, in relation to that of the people they conquered, it was a threat to their very existence and to those of the administrations they were trying to establish. Thus:-

> "If the life of a European can be taken with impunity the prestige of the Government would be gone, and prestige is another word for self-preservation in a country where millions are ruled by a few score."[12] And it should be added through the barrel of the gun.

Secondly Aliyu's posture or that of Kano had affected the attitudes of the people in the conquered provinces. They believed that European stay would be temporary. This was based upon the belief that the might of Kano would defeat the intruders.[13]

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11. Bayero University Kano (B.U.K.)Research data Centre (RDC) Northern Nigeria Annual Report No.346 for 1901. p8

12. BUK RDC Northern Nigeria Annual Report No.409 for 1902 and 1903 p.75.

13. Adeleye, R.A. op.cit p.264, Refer also to B.U.K. R.D.C. Report 409 Ibid p.74.

Thirdly, Aliyu's intentions and actions gave colour to these beliefs. He was earlier alleged to have arranged with Katsina to attack and liquidate the British garrison at Zaria. It was only the death of the Sultan of Sokoto and or the failure of Katsina to honour its part of the agreement that made him change his mind.[14]

To make matters worse, it was believed that Aliyu had a team of spies gathering information on the British. That this team was encouraging the desertions of Waff officers to Kano where they were welcomed and recruited into Kano forces. Waff guns were also bought by Aliyu[15] to add to his armoury which he was stocking through Arab traders in preparations for a final show down.[16] Thus on the above reasons the British felt that

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14. BUK RDC Annual Report no.409. Ibid p76.

15. Ibid p.75. Waff refers to West African frontier force.

16. Adeleye, R.A. op.cit. p262

> "To shirk the conflict was impossible, and would have been interpreted as a sign of fear and a confession that Government admitted that Kano was more powerful than itself."[17]

Arguments against the reasons given by the British to justify the conquest of Kano had been made convincingly elsewhere and therefore, need not be repeated here.[18] It is nevertheless important to point out two things. That the conquest of Kano was only one of the last leg of a British design to take over the control of all the societies of the area that became Nigeria. Secondly, none of the above reasons, with the exception of the civilizing mission, was given by the British when they were taking over the other areas of Nigeria.

Beyond the superficial and unsound reasons put forward by the British to justify the conquest of Kano and other areas, the primacy of the economic factor becomes clear. Reading through colonial records, the economic factor as the primary reason for the conquest can be clearly

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17. B.U.K. R.D.C. Annual Report No. 409 op.cit. p.76.

18. Bello, S. op.cit. p.55.

discerned, despite the fact that the British had dwelt on it just in passing. Already the British knew the economic potentials of the area of Northern Nigeria long before its conquest.

> It was a "country blessed with a fruitful soil, and the luxuriant productiveness which marks the tropics, necessaries of life /capitalist life/ are procurable with a very minimum of labour..."19

"The luxuriant productiveness" of the area with potentialities of "necessaries of life" becomes clear in the statement that

> "the country might produce immense quantities of cotton, groundnuts, capsicums, beniseed, and the various other exportable agricultural products; while the Sylvan resources, the so-called "gutta" of Hausa land (the rubber of the 'Gamsi' tree), Shea nuts and Shea butter, wood oils.... are at present practically untouched and must remain so for lack of transport."20

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19. BUK RDC Annual Report No.409 op.cit. p.110

20. Ibid p.121.

This area of cheap labour, abundant resources, and of people with "keen trading instinct" was by 1903 taken

> "just in time to check the diversion of trade routes, a matter in which the french have shown such great activity",[21]

So also did the germans. It was therefore because of the great competition for raw materials and markets that the caliphate was taken over violently and brought under a total British control. The primacy of the economic reason in the take over of the Emirate can even be explained by the fact that all destructions, reorganisations or restructurings that the Emirate modes of production suffered was to help in the exploitation, as distinct from the development of the people.[22]

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21. Ibid p.121.

22. What some writers call development like the establishment of colonial dispensaries, roads, railways, increase in groundnut production, water and electricity Education, etc. were all geared towards the exploitation of the people and the consolidation of colonial structures. The majority of the people especially the producers did not benefit from them. For an example of colonial developments see Fika, A.M. op.cit. pp.242 - 261.

We now discuss the transformation of the Emirate political structure and institutions under the colonial domination.

F. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE EMIRATE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS INTO A COLONIAL BUREAUCRACY

By January 29, 1903 the British had decided to leave Zaria and conquer Kano.[23] At that time the Emir of Kano, Aliyu, all his leading officials[24] and his forces consisting of about 2,000 horsemen had left Kano for Sokoto to pay homage to the new Caliph.[25] Thus, at the time of the British conquest of Kano its political institutions lacked the necessary leadership to put up an effective resistance. The British took over Kano on February 3,1903[26]. Aliyu and his forces were then returning from Sokoto. Aliyu fled his forces on the news of

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23. BUK RDC Annual Report No.409 op.cit p85
24. Ibid p.88
25. Fika, A.M. op.cit. p92.
26. Ibid p.93.

the fall of Kano just before the British engaged them in an encounter at Rawaya near Kwatarkwashi.[27] At this encounter on 25 and 26 February 1903 the Waziri who was leading Kano forces and more than ten leading Kano chiefs were killed.[28] The remainder of the forces fled, one under the leadership of Galadima and including Limamin Kano and Alkalin Kano went back to Sokoto to join the Hijra of Caliph Attahiru.[29] They were liquidated later by the British at Burmi by contingents of British forces that pursued them. The rest scattered and returned to Kano. Among these was the Wambai of Kano, Abbas.

The killing of most of the leading chiefs of Kano and the returning of some of them to Sokoto had created a political vacuum in Kano. Among those that were attracted by the political vacuum were two members of the leading ruling

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28. Adeleye, R.A. op.cit. pp 278-279

29. Fika, A.M. op.cit. p94.

families of Kano - Wambai Abbas and Abdu Tukur. Wambai Abbas, it could be recalled, was part of the people that retuned to Kano after the defeat of Aliyu's forces at Rawaya.[30] He submitted to the British in Kano and was a willing candidate for the Emirship.[31] Abdu Tukur came from Zinder claiming the right to Emirship which was in the hands of his family before the Kano civil war (1893 - 1895). The Kano civil war was the culmination of disaffection that was brewing within the ruling families of Kano. The civil war resulted in the dislodging of Tukur and his family from power by Aliyu. With Aliyu and his family defeated and dislodged from power, Abdu Tukur came forward claiming the Emirship.[32]

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30. Ibid p.94.

    M.M. Tukur had indicated that this group broke away from the forces after Aliyu had left it and before the encounter with the British. See M.M. Tukur op.cit pp59-60.

31. Adeleye, R.A. op.cit p.279.

32. BUK RDC Annual report no.409 op.cit p.92.

The riff-raffs he surrounded himself with raided and looted and even took over some of the houses of the officials of Aliyu who were their enemies. This added to the misery of the households of officials.[33] The looting and raiding was done as a retaliation of similar acts done to the Tukur family by the followers of Aliyu during the basasa. The British did nothing to stop these.

The British choose Abbas instead of Abdu Tukur as the Emir of Kano. On 3rd April the British installed Abbas as Emir to head a colonial bureaucracy. The selection of Abbas to be the Emir of Kano was done on the advice of Arab merchants resident in Kano. Abbas had good relations with the merchants when he was buying arms from them for Aliyu during the civil war.[34]

At the ceremony Lugard, and not the representative of the caliph, presented

> "the new Emir of Kano the staff of office of the first class.... an umbrella, a sword a dagger" all of

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33. Ibid p.92. Also recorded interview with Makaman Danrimi Kano (MDK) 3-4-83.

34. Fika, A.M. op.cit. p.109.

which Lugard had fastened on himself before presenting them to the Emir. And most important of all an appointment letter.[35] Abbas, in turn, with the approval of the British, appointed his relations and supporters to important state offices. With the above appointments the political vacuum had been filled.

The very act of appointing the Emir showed who was the sovereign. This in itself was a breach of the earlier custom that was the prerogative of the caliph of Sokoto on whose behalf Emirate emirship nominees were confirmed into office.[36] The appointment had breached all political relations between the Emirate and its former suzerain Sokoto. In fact through a similar process, the new caliph of Sokoto was

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35. BUK RDC Annual Report No.409. op.cit. p102

36. Ubah, C.N. "The Emirates and the Central Government: the case of Kano Sokoto Relations" in Studies in the History of Sokoto Caliphate. Y.B. Usman(ed.) (A.B.U. Zaria, 1979) p.298.

appointed by the British and his powers reduced to Sokoto and its immediate environs.[37]

The appointment of the Emir by Lugard, an outsider and a christain without the sanction of the Amir-al-muminin (commander of the faithful of the Umma), had destroyed the religious legitimation of the office, This was an insult in the eyes of the people especially the intelligentsia who, hitherto, had a say in the nominations of candidates for Emirship. And on the side of Abbas it destroyed his moral stand.

Abbas, even before his appointment was disarmed, and as Emir he was prohibited from raising troops.[38] Even his personal body guards[39] the Dogarai were later disbanded.[40] This reduced the

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37. Tibenderana, P.K. "The Administration of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungun Emirates under British rule 1900 - 1946" Ph.D Thesis, Ibadan, 1974) pp202-204.

38. Adeleye, R.A. op.cit. p279.

39. The Dogarai beside protecting the Emir performed other duties like maintaining peace and order.

40. Refer to pp. 120 - 124.

Prestige of the office and had destroyed one of the important functions of the Emir - to defend the Emirate society against external enemies; to maintain internal law and order and to wage, periodically, campaigns against pagan communities in the name of jihad.[41] In fact the military function of the Emirs was completely destroyed with imposition of colonial domination over Nigeria because it ended inter-state wars. Wars were sources of booty and slaves which added to the wealth of the Emirate officials. It was also a source of increasing the productivity of the Emirate through procuring of slaves.

Secondly, the British imposed restrictions on the Emir and his officials in the area of slave raiding. The Aristocracy and other titled officials were not allowed to enslave others. In fact the British encouraged freeing of slaves and slave redemption[42] which had the effect of reducing the economic strength of the Aristocracy,

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41. On principal duties of Emirs of Sokoto Caliphate see Ubah, C.N. op.cit p.279.

42. BUK RDC Northern Nigeria Annual Report No.409 op.cit. p93.

the rich households and reducing the overal economic productivity of household units that utilised slave labour.

Under the new administration the Emir was not the supreme authority. He was only the head of a colonial bureaucracy. He could not appoint officials without consulting British officials nor could he dismiss them. Like other officials of the colonial bureaucracy he owed his position to the British, and held his appointment on terms stipulated in an appointment letter. Like them also he was salaried and could be deposed.[43] The imposition of British colonial domination and the abolishing of the Emirate functions of the Emir resulted in two important developments that affected the society.

The turning of the Emir and his officials into a colonial bureaucracy, which the abolishing of the above powers indicate, had the effect of further alienating the people from the political system.

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43. Ibid. p.92.

Secondly, it had the effect of creating discord between the members of the colonial bureaucracy.

The imposition of colonial domination was resented by majority of the people of Kano. The British and their bureaucracy was hated. The hatred came into the open when the flight of caliph Attahiru provided an opportunity for the people to show their resentments to the British control. Caliph Attahiru was fleeing from the British and intended to join the Mahdi of Sudan and then proceed to Mecca. When Attahiru and his entourage were passing through the southern parts of Kano, most of the population of Kano was in a "most unsettled state",[44] in the area of Karaye the chief of the town and most of his officials had followed him. Much to the disgust of Abbas and resident cargill, over half of the populations of the districts the caliph had passed in his hijra had followed him.[45] So alarmed was the resident by the exodus that he warned that if the caliph was allowed to stay

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44. Adeleye, R.A. op.cit p.296

45. Tukur, M.M. op.cit. p.184

for just one week in Kano territory the whole population would fellow him. The British sent forces after him harassing his followers from the rear and trying to dissuade them from following him. The authorities at Tudun Wada even closed their gates in the face of the British expeditionary force and was ready to fight it.

The character of the following, which included people from other areas of Sokoto caliphate, and their attitudes indicates the wide spread nature of the resentment. The exodus was of a

> "mixed crowd(OF) thousands - mostly hostile, sullen or indifferent - bow and arrow men, slaves, caravan women, camel men, horse men, men at arms, priests, children ..... All the country..... (they) passed through has been burnt, looted or vacated."[46]

Abbas did all he could to persuade the people not to follow Attahiru. He sent letters to all officials especially village heads not to follow Attahiru. He made it clear that whoever followed him would be severely punished on return.[47] Despite this many followed him.

The British finally caught up with them at

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46. Adeleye, R.A. op.cit p.297

47. Tukur, M.M. op.cit. p.185.

Burmi and liquidated them.

Flight was not the only example of the alienation of the people or a demonstration of lack of faith in the "administration".

The Ulama and the peasants who could not follow Attahiru adopted another method of demonstrating their lack of faith in the new system. The Ulama as custodians of religion and the intelligentsia of the Emirate could not accept it. They saw British domination as a christian control. The Ulama of Madabo in Kano for example, were most infuriated because their books were destroyed in the conquest and the colonial administration had imposed an outsider as their Babban Malami.[48] Many of the Ulama, like the peasantry later forced by pauperisation through colonial taxation, took to fleeing out of the "Emirate". Among the measures taken by the colonial state to check fleeing from the "Emirate" was to make it compulsory for all people leaving the "Emirate" to

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48. Tahir, I. "Scholars, Sufis, Saints and Capitalists in Kano: the pattern of Bourgeois revolution in an Islamic Society" (Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge, 1975) p329.

report to the Emir for approval through their village and District Heads. Those fleeing in the guise of pilgrimage to Mecca had to obtain passports beside the above approval. While producers could only be allowed to leave their farms when it had been certified that they had paid their taxes.[49]

Those who could in no way flee resorted to joining sufi orders seeking direct communion with God to end the calamity that had befallen the society in the form of colonial domination. This provided the sufi orders with a mass base.[50] Deception through lying was practiced by the people of Kano before the coming of the Europeans. But it was in the first decade of the 20th century that it reached

> "a very high state of perfection among the natives of the Northern provinces of Nigeria..."[51]

Lying was to confuse the Europeans

49. Circulars of 7th May 1922 and of 24th September 1924 from the Emir to all District and village Heads in NATIONAL ARCHIVES KADUNA (NAK) KANO PROVINCE FILE (Knprof) no.2953 EMIRS INSTRUCTIONS TO DISTRICT HEADMEN.

50. Refer to pp.222 - 223

51. Temple, C.L. op.cit. p103.

to God on his behalf for the downfall of the British.[52] To top it, he joined Tijjaniyya mystical islamic sect as an act of spiritual retreat to ease his conscience for being part of the colonial bureaucracy.

The considerable weakening of the powers of the Aristocracy and the turning it into a colonial bureaucracy through series of proclamations and the taking over of powers over appointments and dismissals by the British, not only alienated the Aristocracy from the people but had created discord within the bureaucracy. The relationships between the "Emir" and "his" Hakimai, between Hakimai and "their" Dagatai, had become sour. As early as 1908 the etiquette and respect of superiors by juniors in the political hierarchy had already been destroyed and a condition of mutual independence had developed. Such a condition of "Zaman Kansa" which had developed on the ruins of the Emirate political structure was one of "mutu independence and suspicion among the native officials".[53]

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52. Tukur, M.M. op.cit. p277.

53. NAK SNP 40/09 Kano Province Annual Report for 1909.
This did not represent progress because it was part of the process of the development of a dependent political system.

Such a condition of Zaman Kansa could not have developed in the Emirate days because of the inumerable powers of the palace which were absolute. The condition of Zaman Kansa developed out of deliberate attempts at destroying the Emirate political system so that the British could have access to the means of production. The British created this by dealing directly with District and village heads and at the sametime bypassing Abbas. While turning round to blame him for the failure of any action. This in itself explains the hatred of Abbas for the British. The disharmony and strain among the "native officials" the British had created was very serious. Example of such a situation given below indicates how serious such a situation

In 1908 there was personal collision between the followers of Chiroma and the Waziri at Sallah. In that same year the Waziri failed to grant the Emir the right of passage through a gate during an occasion. Here the issue is that the legal adviser to the Emir and one who

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54. Ibid.

was supposed to be his dependable supporter not only had failed to observe the etiquette related to the Emir's office but even failed to acknowledge the supremacy of the office. This was all due to the tactics of weakening and breaking up the Emirate political system.

The Waziri's attitude was due to his identification with the British whom he correctly percieved as the real power in the area. Waziri identified with

> "the European administration in a manner that gave colour to the general belief that the Government had found the Emir impossible and was about to depose him....."[55]

perhaps the Waziri was expecting to be chosen as Emir to replace Abbas.

According to Resident Temple, the strained relations between the officials of the colonial bureaucracy if allowed to continue unchecked for about six months would lead to street fighting. Already factions belonging to different officials were cursing each other in the streets.[56] This has destroyed the respect due to senior positions in the political hierarchy.

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55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

The circumstances that borught about the appointment of the Waziri tells much. Kano had no tradition of waziriship. It was a new innovation introduced by Emir Aliyu. The office had not had time to consolidate itself when the British defeated Kano and the Waziri of Aliyu was mercilessly killed in an encounter between Emirate forces and the West Africa frontier force in 1903. Waziri Ahmadu lead the Kano forces into battle after the desertion of the force by Aliyu. Thus when the British were establishing their domination in Kano, this Emirate had no Waziri. The British had seen the role of the Waziri of Sokoto in the acceptance of British control as such they decided to revive the office.

The favourite son of Abbas who was more qualified for the office was by-passed and the "go- between" the Emir and the resident was appointed as the Waziri. Allah-bar-sarki, as he was called, was also the most trusted person by the Emir. In fact Allah-bar-sarki was a slave, and was no other than the Dan-rimi of Kano - the most powerful of the three slave Hakimai that controlled the Emir, the Hakimai and the other Emirate officials.

In a flagrant show of power the resident had the powerful Dan-rimi "formally" freed and officially appointed the Waziri of Kano.[57] With his newly found freedom, a new post added to his previous position, there was no reason why he should not challenge his former master especially when it is taken into consideration that the British avoided dealing with the Emir in matters of administration. In this system of by-passing the Emir he "was entirely eliminated"

> ...."by encouraging the officials to regard themselves as responsible directly to the European administration, by encouraging them to flout the Emir whenever the opportunity occurred."[58]

However, the Emir was blamed by the British "when orders not his own and not given through him were not executed".[59]

It was not only Abbas who suffered from the situation of Zaman Kansa but also the District heads. If District heads no longer accepted orders from the Emir, and looked down upon him

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57. Ibid
58. Ibid
59. Ibid.

for the above reasons, they too suffered the same fate in relations to their village heads - who also had adopted the attitude of Zaman Kansa because in many cases

> "District heads had been set aside and sub-district heads dealt with directly."[60]

Thus, the idea of indirect rule right from the initial stages, had no bearings with reality. With such a splintering of the political hierarchy, which was the organ of maintaining law and order, the Talakawa (commoners) adopted the attitude of defiance or concealed resentment in the form of lying when dealing directly with the British political officers or their agents. The Dawakin tofa tax riots is an example of this defiance. We shall discuss it in the chapter on the effects of colonial taxation.[61]

But the above was just part of the attempts to destroy the Emirate political system and to replace it with a colonial one which will allow for the exploitation of the "Emirate".

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60. Ibid.

61. Refer to p.178

The taking over of powers over appointments and depositions by the British had the effects of rendering the Emirs council obsolete. Village councils were similarly affected. That the electoral council's functions were abolished becomes clear in the confidential report on Emirs and chiefs, which in itself : is an indication of the direct supervision of District Heads by the British. In a report which was written in 1921 not only was the age character and conduct of each principal "native" official indicated but each also has a British recommendations on him. Two years after the appointment of Usman as Emir, the British continued to screen likely candidates as his successors. One of the two candidates recommended for succession, was commented on as follows: "exceptionally intelligent, energetic, efficient and reliable" while his conduct was seen as "extremely satisfactory" therefore if appointed Emir "a most efficient Native Authority would rapidly evolve". If the above candidate would make an ideal choice the other was commented on as "the most suitable successor to the present Emir" though he "has had

the reputation of being rather lazy and indifferent".[62]

Whether being "reliable and efficient" or "lazy and indifferent", made no difference, each would allow the British to have their way. Thus the British needed no electoral councils to select qualified candidates. Thus the electoral council was left to degenerate and later to be replaced with an "Emir's council". We shall discuss this later.

The policy of by-passing the Emir and dealing directly with his juniors left Abbas in the cold. The situation of Zaman Kansa, the humiliations he suffered from it, and the general belief of his impending deposition forced him to beg the British for some attention. Abbas wrote to the resident in a manner which an Emirate Emir would not have done, he said

> "formerly I was nobody before the whitemen made me king - now that I am sitting down doing nothing I always feel sick - and as you are the big white men I trust you would give me some strong work to do that will please the government.63

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62. For details see NAK SNP 15 No.225, Kano Province Report on Office holders and District Heads 1920-21.

63. Bello, S. op.cit p89

Terrorised and humiliated by the condition of disharmony, disorder and defiance, as a result of British policy of direct rule, Abbas submitted to British domination. After his submission the resident had

> "in no single direction.....
> been able to trace the least attempt
> at passive resistance or obstructions;...
> /Abbas/ on the contrary made useful
> suggestion which..../the resident/
> adopted and found most valuable".64

When Emir Abbas promised to be loyal to British political officers and to cooperate with them, the officials under him were called upon to recognize the seniority of his position and to respect him. With his submission, the British speeded up the development of the bureaucracy.

The advisory functions of councils at the village and Emirate levels was usurped by the British as such they were rendered obsolete. The British later replaced them with new ones that were different in substance and functions. This was part of the consolidation of their control.

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64. NAK 44/09 Kano Province Annual Report 1909 op.cit.

As early as 1909 the Resident of Kano, Temple, was suggesting that an Emir's judicial council be established to be made up of the Emir, Waziri and magajin gari.[65] It should be recalled that the taran Kano (Emirs council) had been rendered obsolete with the establishment of colonial domination in 1903. The judicial council was intended to assist in the control of the bureaucracy and settlement of cases that lay outside the jurisdictions of District and the chief Alkali's courts. The roles of this judicial council were rendered ineffective principally due to the increasing influence of slaves, mallams and "kofas". By the time of Emir Usman (1919-1926) they were able to dominate the affairs of the "Administration". The British commented that

> "As things were, the Native administration as such had become paralysed and the resident found himself up against a brick wall"[66]

This was because the slaves mallams and "kofas"

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65. Ibid. This suggestion was approved by the High Commissioner.

66. NAK Knprof 693 Kano Emirate Decentralisation of Executive Responsibilities in Emir's council. Report by Mr. Ward, 1932.

had become

> "the avenues for the approach to the Emir for District Heads, Native Authority officials and of the people generally".67

The British decided to remove the influence of these slaves, mallams and "kofas" by establishing a strong Emir's council. This council was intended to have four leading members each with a section of the bureaucracy to control.

It was in 1925 that a new council started to function in full-swing. The council was made up of principal officials of the colonial bureaucracy - the Waziri, Madaki, Galadima and Maaji.[68]

This new council unlike its predecessor was not only advisory, it had real executive and judicial powers subject to limitations set by the resident and was daily answerable and accountable to him.

The judicial and executive powers of the Emir theoretically combined during Emirate

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67. NAK Knprof 24/1926 Kano Province annual report for 1925.

68. Ibid.

days, became separated with the establishment of this council. The Emir's council was divided into judicial and executive sections, each functioning and sitting differently.[69]

The functions of the members of the council was as follows.

Waziri - legal affairs
Madaki - District Affairs
Galadima - City Affairs
Maaji - Treasury.[70]

with exception of the maaji all the functions assigned to the above officials were new to them. By 1946 the membership was extended to include Mallam Bello[71] from the educated group, Howeidy and Dantata from the merchant community. The merchant community at this time had become financially powerful through functioning as licenced buying agents of the colonial state.

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69. NAK, Knprof 693 op.cit.

70. Ibid.

71. NAK SNP 17/5 No.40234 Kano Province Annual Report for 1945.

The judicial section of the Emir's council acted as an apellate court. It tried cases related to homicide and land matters mainly. While criminal and minor cases were referred by it to the Chief Alkali's court. Cases of appeal were brought to it from the established rural courts through the Madaki - the officer in charge of rural districts, while those from the city were brought through the Galadima. This was quite different from the Emirate system in which the Jakadu passed cases to the Emir through Hakimai to slave Hakimai and then to the Emir. The new judicial council had no rights to try cases involving non-indigenes or even workers of the colonial state and companies. These were dealt by special courts, which will be treated later. The council held its meetings in the palace. Each morning all its members met and discussed what happened since the day before and approve issues previously discussed and propose new ones.

After that the judicial council started its sittings with the Waziri as its Chief legal adviser assisted by Mallamai who had been coopted into the council. The learned Mallamai

included the Imams of Yola, Galadanchi, and that of Kano. All these advised the Emir on matters of law and represented the legal sanction. They helped the Emir to pass judgements. In the sittings of the judicial council the Madaki, Galadima and Ma'aji did not attend.[72]

The executive section of the council started its meetings after that of the judicial council. Waziri the chief legal adviser did not attend its sittings. It was purely secular and discussed executive matters related to "Native Authority" departments. After the day's meetings the Emir's messenger left for the Residency to account for the day's proceedings.[73] The Emir's council was represented at weekly meetings with the Resident of Kano by the Emir, Madaki and Wali. At these meetings important communities were also represented. Saull Raccah and Ben Howeidy for example, represented the Lebano-Syrians, Alhassan Dantata and Nabegu represented

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72. NAK Knprof 693 op.cit.

73. Ibid.

the indigenous agents of colonial companies while a member represented the United Africa company.[74] The meetings concentrated on the activities of the"Native Administration". Some were criticised and in some cases directives or suggestions were given.

At the village and district levels, councils were also created. In the case of villages it was a replacement of council of elders which hitherto acted as electoral and advisory council to village heads.[75] During the pre-British days Districts did not exist not even to talk of District councils.

The British right from the beginning of their "reorganisation" were trying to decentralise the powers of the"Native Authority"down to the Districts and villages. That was why they created districts. The decentralisation was intended to devolve powers to the grass roots so that a direct control of the subjects of

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74. Tahir, I. op.cit. p413

75. NAK SNP 29652 Kano Province Annual Report for 1937.

In 1948 the colonial state decided to experiment with local Government system in the form of District and village councils with financial allocations. They were to replace the pre-existing councils.

District councils from then on were made up of elected representatives from the villages. It should be pointed out that around this time the composition of the Emir's council also increased to included two educated men and two representatives of business community. From it four representatives represented Kano in the newly created House of Assembly at Kaduna. While the Emir represented it on the House of Chiefs. This new turn of events and change of roles and compositions of these councils and the integration into the region and the Nigerian State at large was due to the fact that already the British had consolidated the dependence of the "Emirate" economy and the psychology of the people.

1. TERRITORIAL REORGANISATIONS.

The establishment of the Emir's council was part of the process of developing a colonial bureaucracy. Also as part of this process the territorial administration, hitherto done by the Jakadu and loyal servants of the Hakimai, was abolished to be replaced with a new system of administration created by the British. This dealt a final blow to the Aristocracy as the most powerful institution of the Emirate. In the process of creating a colonial bureaucracy the Emir was turned into

> "what.....(was) known in Europe as a constitutional monarch with a cabinet of ministers...."[77]

From this cabinet (the Emir's council) the Galadima and the Madaki assumed the direct control of officials who were assigned to consolidated territories.

In 1909, Kano city was mapped, its population estimated at between 35,000 to 45,000, with a floating population of about 10,000 in 1909.

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77. NAK Knprof 693 op.cit.

The population lived in about 6,000 compounds. Based on these statistics Kano was divided into ten large quarters with several sub-wards each under a maiunguwa.[78] The quarters were grouped into four fuskas each under a wakili to whom the masu unguwanni were responsible. The Wakilan fuska reported to Maajin watari who was then in charge of city affairs. But as from 1925, the Masu unguwanni reported to the Galadima who became the official in charge of city affairs. The Galadima also was heading thirteen different departments each under its respective officer. Some were even headed by Europeans.

The departments were:[79]

	Department	Officers
1.	Prisons	Yari
2.	Sanitary	
3.	Police	Sarkin gadi
4.	Buildings	
5.	Markets	Sarkin Kasuwa
6.	City wards	Masu unguwanni
7.	Sabon-gari	Sabongari
8.	Education	
	a) Middle	-
	b) Elementary	-

78. NAK Knprof 44/09 op.cit.

79. NAK 628 Kano Province annual report for 1931.

	Department	Officers
9.	Medical	Warden
10.	Works	Wakilin sana'a
11.	Veterinary	-
12.	Survey and printing	Head Mallam
13.	Water and light	-
14.	Roads	Wakilin Sana'a

The creation of departments which incorporated functions hitherto performed by Emirate officials from the palace, represented a new development in the colonial administration. It was not only the city administration that was "reorganised" as part of the destruction of the Emirate political system and the creation of a new one, but rural administration also.

The creation of a new rural administration, based on new territorial demarcations, was necessary for the efficiency of control by the colonial state and the effective exploitation of the people through a taxation policy. The colonial state from 1903-8 destroyed the administrative Gundumomi in the immediate south of the city and replaced them with a consolidated district under the control of a district Headman.

By 1917 this policy was extended to the rest of the Emirate. These Gundumomi along with their administrators - jakadu, slaves and servants of the Hakimai were abolished and replaced with twenty four Districts containing twenty six - sub-districts all with their appointed District Headmen in residence. The sub-districts were intended to be eliminated later by turning them into Districts or village units.[80]

Each of the newly created districts had its territory surveyed by the survey school that trained tax assessors. Maps of each district after the survey were

> "printed both in Roman characters and and Ajami. The Emir /was/given an ajami copy of every district as it/was/completed, and the District head..... another copy" [81]

so that they would become acquainted with the new administrative areas. Their Headmen were under the constant direct supervisions of British political officers.

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80. NAK 202/1917 Kano Province Annual Report for 1914-17.

81. NAK Knprof 628 op.cit. and 202/1917. Ibid.

In 1916 when the colonial state decided to pay village heads salaries, as they were paying District and sub-District Heads, village units in Kano were reconstituted. The village units of Kano which numbered about 4,000 were reduced to 500 "homogeneous" units. Thus, 3,500 units were abolished in the process so were their Headmen. The territory of each new village unit was demarcated in such a way that it would contain about 4500 people making it easier for the British to know in advance the taxes each unit would provide.[82]

The creation of these units, the residency of their administrators and the regular direct supervision of the British political officers made the Emirate jakada system unnecessary. They were abolished along with their functions. The new administrators assumed the functions of maintaining colonial law and order and the collection of colonial taxes as a necessary part for the creation of a colonial trade. In their functions they were assisted by the colonial courts, Dogarai and native Authority police.

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82. NAK Knrpf 628 Ibid.

2. THE CREATION OF A COLONIAL JUDICIARY

Kano Emirate had a system of justice which settled disputes at all levels and in all sectors. Formal courts existed in Kano city and in big towns. In areas where such formal courts did not exist justice was dispensed by the Jakadu and village heads. The sarakunan sana'a and kasuwa dealt with cases in their sectors. All these handled cases which were beyond the abilities of Household Heads, ulama and elders to settle. The Household Heads, ulama not associated with the state and elders formed the non-formal forums of settling disputes.[83]

This system of justice crumbled when the social system that called it into being and which it served began to give way to the colonial system. It took a new shape, corresponding to the needs of the new social system that was being established. Therefore the colonial system of justice functioned for the maintenance

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83. Refer to pp. 43 - 44.

of colonial peace and order necessary for the implementation of colonial taxation and creation of a colonial trade for whose purpose the colonial state was established.[84]

Thus, the courts established were looked upon by the colonial state for

> "effective assistance in such matters as the stopping of bush fires (which destroy Silvan produce), and of trees (so as to prevent deforestation); the enforcement of authorised taxes, and the detection of illegal practices by (tax) collectors, the evasion of tolls.." ect.[85]

Lugard, in all appointment letters given to the Emirs of former Sokoto caliphate and the Sultan himself made it clear that

> "in matters of law and justice, so long as it was not contrary to the laws of the protectorate, would not

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84. Refer to p. 140

85. BUK RDC No.516 Northern Nigeria Annual Report for 1905-6 p.411e.

> be interfered with, and the Emir's and Alkali's courts would be upheld and strengthened under the supervision of the Resident."[86]

This statement of British policy with regards to justice raises two fundamental issues that are important in the transformation of the Emirate judicial system.

First, as far as the colonial state was concerned, the sharia, and by implications the Emirate social values, from which the Emirate system of justice drew its inspiration, would not be the supreme basis of law. It was to be secondary to the laws of the colonial state, and to function at its convenience.

Secondly, the courts would be changed or tempered with in a manner not to be decided by the society, but by the Resident - an alien to the Emirate society and a non-muslim not versed in Islamic law. Subjecting them to

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86. BUK RDC No. 409 op.cit. p.92.

protectorate laws, which their upholding and strengthening meant, means introducing British secular laws into the Emirate system.

The courts proclamation of 1904 had subsequently led to the establishment of colonial courts in all the conquered provinces. By the end of 1904 about eighty of such courts were "duly established" in the Northern provinces.[87] Here it should be pointed out that the duly established courts were formal courts with permanent structures and prisons attached.

In Kano Emirate about twenty-four such courts were established in the districts created by the colonial state. Prior to colonial domination, when districts did not exist, not all towns had courts. Justice was carried out by the Jakadu, village heads and Mallams.[88] Beside the twenty-four districts courts there were two in Kano city - the Chief Alkali's court and the Emir's judicial council. Thus all these had either

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87. BUK RDC No.476 Northern Nigeria Annual Report for 1904. p.291.

88. Recorded interview with IBRAHIM MUKHTAR Kano (IMK) on 5/1/83.

In Kano province membership of the provincial court included the District officers of Northern and Kano Divisions.[89] This court, in 1924 for example, used its powers to "quash" thirteen appeals, upheld seven, reduced the sentences of four and transferred eight to other "Emirates" and ordered for retrials of four from the "native courts" of "Kano Emirate".[90]

At the "Native" level the immediate court of appeal was the Emir's judicial council. Cases sent to it were referred to chief Alkali's court if they did not involve murder, land and political offences.

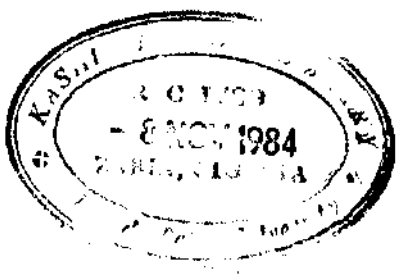
The functions of "Native" courts just before the 1904 proclamation was limited to civil and minor criminal cases. These courts were deprived of much powers due to the alleged concern of the colonial state with judicial fairness and decency.

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89. BUK RDC No. 346 Northern Nigeria Annual Report for 1901 p.14.

90. NAK 181/1925 Kano province annual report for 1924.

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Because the Emir's court had shown good conduct and had stopped abuses, its powers were restored in relation to capital punishment but only with the approval of the Resident and subject to his review.

Even after the 1904 proclamation out of the twenty-four established courts by the colonial state only six were under Alkalai of "recognized authority and learning".[91] An issue the colonial state was to solve once and for all by establishing a judicial school to train its judges in the heart of Kano, in the same settlement that was famous all over the Sudan for its training of judges in Maliki law. The school was to produce judges of "recognized authority and learning", as from 1927, not only for Kano "Emirate" but for some provinces like Sokoto and Katsina.[92]

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91. BUK RDC No. 516 op.cit.

92. NAK 236/1929 Kano Province Annual report for 1929.

The "native courts" were not allowed to try all cases that fell within the competence of their learned judges, as was the case in the Emirate period. All the "native" courts were graded and their duties and limits clearly specified beyond which the judges could not go even if their competence surpassed those limits. All the courts were graded from A - D.

Grade A court had powers of passing death sentence, with the approval of the Resident only even if the litigant had been found guilty on the basis of sharia.

Grade B courts mainly treated civil cases, complicated civil cases were referred to the Emir's council for reference to Chief Alkali's court.

Grade C treated criminal cases only while D dealt with minor cases such as disputes.

Kano had one grade A court - the Emir's council, twenty three grade B, one grade D,

and a mixed court at Sabongari for its plural community.[93] Kano had no grade C type until 1936 when criminal cases became pronounced. The subservient judges, despite the demarcation of the areas of their jurisdictions and the limitation of the type of cases they should deal with, were not allowed a free hand to run their courts and deliver judgements. All cases had to be fully documented in court record books provided by the Government. British political officers, who were all the year round touring the Districts, insisted on detailed and correct recording of all cases treated. Even the questions asked by the judges and the responses of the litigans had to be recorded along with sentences, fines or terms of imprisonments. These books were sent monthly to the Waziri's office for scrunity.[94] The office could ask for retrials and reduction of sentences. It also was responsible for

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93. BUK RDC No.516 op.cit p411

94. NAK Knprof 693 op.cit.

accounting the activities of the "native courts" to the Resident. Waziri, the chief legal adviser to the Emir's judicial council was the head of the "native" judiciary.[95]

Putting the Waziri as the executive head of the colonial "native" judiciary was nothing more than a deceptive front to shift blames of the character, functions and even excesses of these courts away from the colonial dominators by putting the courts under a person holding a "traditional" title. In fact such method was used to shift blames to the "traditional order" and to conceal the new subservient functions of the officials of the bureaucracy by maintaining "traditional" titles of former Emirate office holders.

In reality real powers lay with the British, who pretended that the above methods would conceal their direct control. Evidences from colonial sources support this contention. All political officers had jurisdiction in all their

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95. The Chief Alkali's court was not under the Waziri's office it was directly responsible to the Emirs judicial council.

administrative areas, they could attend any court proceedings, preside over the cases and pass judgements. Supervision of courts was part of the duties they were to discharge in all their touring assignments. They were always encouraged by the Resident to undertake touring of their Districts. In 1922 for example, one hundred touring days were recorded by political officers of "Kano Emirate", one hundred and twenty seven in 1923 while in 1924 one hundred and thirty one were recorded. The increase in touring days is apparent.[96]

Through such tours and supervisions, performances of "Native Authority" employees were assessed, praises and punishments apportioned and not through the Waziri's office. It was through this, in 1924, that a junior assistant of Tudun Wada court was found to be ignorant and incompetent and was therefore dismissed. In that same year also the staff of Tudun Wada and Taura courts were exchanged because the staff at Taura were

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96. NAK No.181/1925 opc.cit.

> "suspected of being too muchin league with, and under the influence of person attached, both officially to the District executive staff."[97]

This was a clear indication of British efforts at separating judicial from executive functions at District level. They had already done so at "Emirate" level. This is also an example of secularising institutions by divorcing religion from power and judicial from executive functions.

The attempts to separate judicial from executive functions (with the British legislating) and making each answerable to the British separately, not only created tensions and frictions, which had never existed before, between Alkalai and District Heads, but also with other employees of the colonial bureaucracy. In this separation the British were successful because it was reported that the District Alkalai were "models of uprightness and above reproach".[98] Those that did not fall within such model were summarily dismissed as was the fate of Alkalankiru and Garki.

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97. Ibid
98. NAK No. 181/1925 op.cit.

First it must be noted that all employees of European companies and the colonial state were beyond the jurisdictions of "Native courts" of what ever grade. An employee could not be tried by them even if he was an indigene of the area in which the court had jurisdiction.[99] Such category of people belonged to an emerging structure that was increasingly being Europeanised in actions and thoughts and was therefore raised above the local level by the colonial state.

An air of arrogance and feelings of superiority soon developed within the ranks of the category of the employed to such an extent that they found it fanciful to demonstrate their judicial immunity at the slightest opportunity. They even exercised certain judicial rights granted them by the political officers. A letter from the Resident of Kano province dated 7-8-1925 to Resident Kano Division throws light on this issue. It states that:

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99. Tukur, M.M. op.cit p.463.

> District Alkalai's "difficulties are not lessened by the presence of increasingly large numbers of Native technical experts who wonder about the Districts with little or no supervision but with authority to prosecute in the local courts for breaches of various rules and orders. It is easy to say that Alkalai who allow themselves to be intimidated by these persons (members of the agricultural, veterinary, survey and Road staffs) are not suitable men for their appointments but my sympathies are very much with them and they need our support. Meanwhile we must look to the European officers of those departments to impress upon the native inspectors e.t.c. that they are servants of the Emir and not "Yaran turawa".[100]

The technical staff were not necessarily versed in Islamic or colonial laws.

Secondly, the exemption of all workers from "Native courts" jurisdiction did create disaffection between people who hitherto co-existed.

The Yaran Turawa now above the "corrective" arm of the courts felt superior and looked down upon the "natives'. The feelings of power might

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100. NAK No. 181 1925 op.cit.

have led to the coercion and extortion of the commoners adding to similar acts by the District heads and their servants.

The judicial segregation was not between "yaran turawa" and the non-salaried subjects only, Judicial segregation of settlements was practiced. Under this divide and rule tactics, Sabongari which was populated by the cooks, gardeners and employees of the Europeans mostly southerners and the rift-raffs, was outside the control of the "Native" courts.[101] It was also outside the executive control of the Emir. It had its own court and administration as the number two settlement in the "Emirate," Nassarawa being number one.

The judicial system in Kano under colonial domination was a British creation and functioned through their direct supervision and at their will. Its officials were answerable to the political officers. These were debasements

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101. Tukur, M.M. op.cit p.464

of the Emirate system of justice. Litigants to the courts had to pay fees, which was not only contrary to Emirate justice but to sharia itself, so were its harsh fines, severe imprisonment terms that had the effect of scaring potential litigants away. Imprisonments and fines were regular punishments of cases that could have fetched warnings and whippings in the Emirate system. The courts imprisoned debtors, in fact a special prison was erected for debtors, jailing of debtors was unislamic and it seemed that it was never practiced under the Emirate.[102] They did not recognise rights by a master over his slave though the British accepted the non-legal rights of slavery. In fact the courts encouraged the freeing of slaves. In 1922, 323 slaves were freed by these courts, 264, in 1923, 114 in 1924 and 307 in 1925.[103]

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102. NAK Knprof No. 447/194 Kano province annual report half yearly for 1914.

> Imamm Imoruu had indicated that judges in the 19th century could jail debtors but he did not specifically say it was practiced nor did he give any example of jailing of debtors. See Ferguson, D.E. "Nineteenth century Hausaland being a description by Imam Imoru of land, Economy, and Society of his people" (Phd. thesis, California, 1973) p23

103. NAK Knprof No. 24/1926 Kano Province Annual report for 1925.

In litigation, witnesses of slaves and women were regarded as equal to those of free adults. The function of freeing slaves had the effect of helping in the break-up Emirate system of production through the deflation of the basic peasant production unit's labour strength and the creation of a landless class ready to sell its labour to the colonial state or colonial companies at very cheap rates.

The courts throughout the colonial period handled a great number of cases that were increasing with passing years. This is a reflection of the increasing impoverishment of the people through exploitation and the breaking of societal cohesion and the economic insurance inherent in it. The volumes of court cases would have been greater had litigants not been scared away by the court fees, harshness of the justice and predations from the yan ijara (summoners) whose services the litigants had to pay. Thus, many cases were settled out of court despite this staggering volume.

3. THE CREATION OF PRISONS

Along side the British colonial courts were prisons of considerable capacities established to handle the increasing voluminous sentencings. It was only in the 20th century that Kano came to have permanent standing court houses and prisons. Pre-colonial Kano had only small lock-ins as prisons while residences of Alkali served as courts.

As the establishment of the judiciary amounted to a usurpation of responsibilities that were largely civic and turning them into official duties for the benefit of the colonial state, so were the establishment of prisons and police which supported the judiciary.

Each created district had a prison with a permanent salaried staff specifically devoted to prison work. All the prisons in Kano "Emirate" were under the control of a chief warder called yari, yari was independent of the

Emir and responsible directly to the chief of city affairs - the Galadima - though a member of the Emirs council.[104] Their being salaried maintained their independence,along with the courts they served, from the Emir and District Heads.

In July 1908, from a suggestion by Resident of Kano Cargill which was approved by the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, all officials were put on British payroll. Prisons department was allocated a separate vote, curved out of revenue generated through taxation, of £300 per annum to cater forthe needs of prisoners, maintenance of gaols and the payment of salaries of warders.[105]

The need to have independent prisons along with the judiciary was not only to keep it free from the manipulations of the Emir's and District Heads and therefore allow for direct British control but to enable the British to use them in disciplining them. The laws they

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104. NAK Knprof No.693 op.cit.

105. NAK No.44/09 op.cit.

served and which the police enforced were not meant to serve them but the colonial state as such they could be used against them if they did not observe them. In fact, laws of the state were not in the interest of the former emirate executives at all levels like laws on slavery, slave trading, the extortion and embezzlement of taxes. Needless to stress that they were not in favour of the peasantry. That offences against native courts in 1924 numbered a staggering 1,181 is an example. It was therefore necessary for its direct control by European political officers.[106] In 1935 such a control was intensified for "disciplinary efficiency" because it was

> "doubtful if the big Kano prison... could remain much longer without European direct control."[107]

The putting of all officials on specific salaries and denying them the entire benefits of revenue drived from taxation while at the sametime using them as a part of the

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106. NAK, No.181/1925 op.cit

107. NAK 27810 Kano Province Annual Report for 1936.

collection machinery created a possibility for the officials to embezzle the taxes or extort the peasantry. In such cases the courts and prisons became handy. Thus for example, the District Head of Debbi, whose salary was at one time reduced from £800 per annum to £500, who was also the son of Emir Usman, was "imprisoned by late Emir for embezzlement" of taxes.[108] For a similar offence the District Head of Tudun Wada was deposed. Likewise in 1926 several village Heads due to their

> "usual regrettable lapses.... namely tax embezzlement, extortion and concealment of thieves.... have all been dealt with".109

Lugard had indicated that conditions in Emirate prisons, before the colonial domination, were deplorable and therefore it was the duty of the dominators to create more humane prisons.[110]

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108. NAK SNP 15 No. 225, Kano Province Report on office holders and District Heads 1920-21.

109. NAK SNP 17/4 No.30847 Kano Province Annual Report for 1938.

110. BUK RDC No. 409 op,cit. p.89.

Indeed they claimed to have created them in all Districts and in Kano city. It was even said that the staggering increase in prisoners in gaols was due to "the comfort of modern prison conditions".[111] In 1934 Kano "Native Authority" prison had 1,922 admissions which rose drammatically to 2,870 in 1935.[112] Correctly, there were increases in prison admissions each year, but not for their comforts because they were modern, but because of the increasing pauperisation of the peasantry.

Kano city had a "Native" Authority prison, a penitentiary at Goron Dutse, a debtor's prison and a juvenile reformatory. In 1931 the combined daily average of Kano "Native Authority" prison and Goron Dutse penitentiary settlement was at 879.86 official figures. While debtors prison had a daily average of 41.31 percent.[113]

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111. NAK No. 278110 for 1936 op.cit.

112. NAK SNP 17/3 No. 25673A Kano Province Annual Report for 1935.

113. NAK No. 628 for 1931 op.cit.

Some provided labour for the colonial public works like building roads, court houses, prisons, market constructions, while those of good character, probably the unshackled, made ropes and mats which were marketed. Also the prisoners did have a prison garden whose proceeds were supplied to Government offices weekly. The colonial reports did not furnish us with more details of the "modern conditions" of the prisons but whatever the conditions, no matter how modern, many prisoners had died or escaped from the prisons. A total of 32 prisoners died in Kano. "Native Authority" gaol in 1925 while in 1924 95 had died.[115] The conditions of poverty, disease, coercion and exploitation in which the people of Kano were thrown into, which will actually portray the prison conditions as humane, will be treated in the next chapter.

The proliferations of prisons during the period of colonial domination, their capacities

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115. NAK Knprof 24/1926 for 1925 op.cit and NAK Knprof 181/1925 for 1924 op.cit.

and staggering annual admissions was a way of dealing with people who were subjected and threatened by the domination.

4. THE CREATION OF THE POLICE.

The Emirate law enforcement agencies were not left out of the process of institutional transformation and subjection to the wills of colonial state. Policing duties was done, in the Emirate period , by the Dogarai - employees of the Aristocracy who implemented its interests and enforced its wills on the subjects.

The disarming of Emirs and the assumption by political officers of the duty of policing and "protection" dealt a mortal blow to the Dogarai. Immediately after the military conquest of the Emirate the British had as part of their scheme the destruction of this institution.

Thus:

> "In future ..... neither the Emir nor any chief would be allowed to have recourse to armed force, and the "Dogarai" (gunmen) would be abolished. If the Emir were unable to enforce his legitimate orders he would refer to the

> resident, for in the British Government alone was to be vested the task of policing the country".[116]

And so the Dogarai were disarmed. As early as 1909 A.D. they were put on the British pay-roll. The Dogarai were given a vote of £500 per annum - a sum that was £200 in excess of what was allocated to the prisons department to cater for its staff and prisoners. The department was headed by Sarkin dogarai (their chief) who was answerable directly to the Galadima - the chief of city affairs. The Dogarai (gunmen), under their new functions served as messengers from the capital to the rural districts - a function previously performed on behalf of the Aristocracy by the jakadu. They also acted as escorts of British political officers in their tourings of Districts to give an air of Emirs blessings to the tours - and supervisions by the political officers. Some were attached as personal body-gaurds to District Headmen far away from the capital and beyond the reach of the "Native Authority" and Government police.

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116. BUK RDC No.409 op.cit. p.93.

Yet some of them were assigned to European companies to keep law and order at the groundnut buying plots and to prevent cheatings by the cash croppers.[117] This became necessary when the cash croppers decided to retaliate to the under reading of the weighing scales by groundnut buying agents by adding grains, sand or pebbles to their groundnut sacks. Dogarai also kept law and order in the markets for the smooth functioning of the colonial economy. It is therefore, clear who they served.

In 1924, for the effective working of the Dogarai as escorts and in maintaining colonial peace and order, the British devised a means of making them psychologically independent of the Emir and his "domestic staff" by henceforth buying them horses from public funds.[118] They were since 1909 financially independent of the Emir.

Despite all these the Dogarai were "untrustworthy, indisciplined and frequently extortionate" because they were no longer

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117 NAK No. 628 for 1931 op.cit.
118. NAK No. 181/1925 op.cit.

yaran sarki (Emir's servants) but yaran turawa (servants of the Europeans).[119] The disharmony thus created between them and their former patron and employer - the Emir, their new character described above and the overwhelming increase in crime that went in lock-steps with the increasing impoverishment of the people made it necessary for introduction of a new force to take over the policing functions of the Dogarai. In 1925, thus, the famous Yangadi "Native Authority" police , the terror of the rift-raff was created. In its ranks it had, at that time, 151 men out of which 5 wereN.C.O's, 144 rank and file out of which 100 of them were recruited from the Dogarai, and 50 from ex-soldiers. An Ulama (learned man) acted as its clerk.[120] Its number rose to 280 in 1935.[121] Its duty was to police Kano city and fagge - third rate settlements.

119. Ibid

120. NAK Knprof No.24/1926 op.cit.

121. NAK SNP 17/3 25673A for 1935. op.cit.

Added to this was a Government police which was much more sophisticated than the Yangadi and Dogarai. Its members were literate or semi-literate. About 70 percent of its ranks was recruited not from Kano "Emirate" alone but from the Northern provinces and the remaining 30 percent from the poor of the Southern provinces. It was under the command of two European officers.[122] Its area of operation was the Sabongari and the European settlement (Nassarawa) - the first and second rate settlements. They dealt with the increasing floating population at sabongari a multicultural settlement of workers and hooligans the prostitutes and thieves. They dealt with the new cases of smuggling, drunkeness and professional thieving. They also provided security at Nassarawa.

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122. NAK No.24/1926 op.cit.

The Emirate political system had been put assunder and replaced with a dependent one that was created by the British and drew its inspirations from it. The creation of this political system was to facilitate the establishment of a dependent economy which in itself had serious affects on the material and non-material aspects of life of the people.

The creation of the dependent economy, which did not involve the introduction of British capital or skilled labour, forms the subject matter of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DEPENDENT SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE

The Masu Sarauta (rulers), through the mechanism of the Emirate political system regulated and controlled the system of production of the Emirate and thereby perpetuating the mode of production. This we have argued in chapter one. In chapter two we argued that the Emirate mode production was incompatible with that of capitalist Britain. For the economy to be fully integrated to that of Britain it had to be transformed in a manner that would make it possible for it to serve the needs of British capitalism. As the agent of this necessary transformation (imperialism) was external to the Emirate mode, and therefore had no material basis in it, force had to be used in the transformation. It was also necessary for the controlling mechanism of the Emirate mode to be subjected and transforme This as we have seen was effected through political and judicial reorganisations, which turned the Masu Sarauta into a colonial bureaucracy with entirely new orientations and functions

intended to create suitable material conditions for exploitation. The creation of a colonial system of production in Kano entailled the implementation of policies by the colonial state in the areas of taxation, labour, monetization of the economy and the maintenance of colonial peace and order. All of these allowed for progressive and in-depth exploitation of human and material resources of Kano. This was intensified further through the shaping of a colonial trade. Out of this development new classes emerged along with new class relations and values.

Thus it is our submission in this chapter that during the period of British colonial domination a new system of production was created out of that of pre-colonial Kano .

1. SOME PERSPECTIVES ON THE NATURE AND EFFECTS OF BRITISH COLONIAL DOMINATION

The military conquest of Kano Emirate by the British in February 1903 brought the people of Kano under the direct control of Britain and marks the beginning of their subserviency to international capitalism.

Several scholars have put forward views regarding the significance of this conquest and the domination that followed. Lugard, the person who presided over this conquest and the chief architect of the policies of the colonial state that was established, saw it as a blessing - a blessing because it established a Government of justice and fairness over the people. A people who prior to 1903 A.D. were subjected to "misrule and tyranny" because

> "the subjected races near the capital were..... serfs, and the victims of constant extortions . Those living at a distance were raided for slaves, and could not count their women, their cattle, or crops their own /and/ punishments were most barbarous, and included impalement, mutilations, and burying alive".1

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1. Lugard, L. The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (London, 1965) 5th edition pp. 198 - 199.

To P.C. Lloyd, the establishment of this fair and

> "efficient administrative machine, reaching down to villages in the most remote areas"

presumably did away with this "misrule and tyranny". That, construction of roads and rail road networks, health services and an educational system established by the "efficient administrative machine", which was the significance of the conquest, benefited the people. It is further argued that export of cash crops "brought much wealth to the people".[2]

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2. Lloyd, P.C. Africa in Social Change (Maryland, 1965) pp.8, 98 and 99.

That based upon the export of cash crops, a modern sector had emerged. This utilised private capital that was foreign and public capital, generated by the colonial state chiefly through taxation, to provide modern infrastructure for the new sector.[3] Cash crop production, as the basis of this modern sector, due to the huge amount of wealth it provided the producers led to increases in population, greater pressure on land and therefore land shortage. Despite this increasing wealth, population, and the consequent pressure and shortage of land, the pre-colonial 19th century land tenure system allegedly continued unchanged including its descent based character of ownership.[4]

Carl Eicher has tried to explain the emergence of the alleged modern sector and its fantastic increases in the volume of production

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3. Ibid p.68

4. Ibid pp 96-97

of export crops from 1900 - 1940 as

> "almost exclusively...../the/ result of bringing /of/ more land into production".5

Thanks to the colonial state's policy of preserving and protecting peasant farm lands which was part of its general laissez faire approach to peasant production.6

Even those that presumably view colonial domination from a different perspective seem to fall into line with the rest by seeing colonial domination as having brought prosperity and good life to the people. Gavin Williams, for example, posits that the development of indigenous capitalism was arrested by colonial domination because it subjected producers to the needs of British capitalism.7 But he went on to say that the development of forces of production

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5. Eicher, C.K. "The dynamics of Long-term Agricultural Development in Nigeria" in C.K. EICHER and C. LEIDHOLM (eds) Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy. (Michigan, 1970) pp. 7-9.

6. Ibid, pp. 7 - 8

7. Williams, G. Nigerian Economy and Society (ed) (London, 1967) p.12

under this subjection entailled the "mutual benefits of increased production". He argues further that the effects of colonial domination included the transformation of class relations and political institutions only. While institutions related to Kinship, land tenure, mobility and kingship thrived despite their being adopted to serve the colonial domination.[8]

Onyerisara, talking on social relations of the society, saw the effects of colonial domination as leading to the weakening of kinship loyalties and family obligations. Yet the society had

> "maintained a high standard of ethics and morality and group solidarity".[9]

Taken generally these seemingly different views fall within a particular conceptualisation of the nature of articulation of dependent modes with the capitalist metropolis. Central to this framework is the conception of the

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8. Ibid. p.19

9. Ukeje, O.B. Education for Social Reconstruction (London, 1977) pp41 - 42.

nature and effects of capitalist penetration of the subjected dependent modes. The nature of the penetration was essentially seen as the handwork of foreign capital and or skills which as a consequence created a modern sector based on market production existing in a dual formation with institution and forms of production of the pre-capitalist modes.[10] A process of reciprocity, partial accommodation, adaptation and some conflict governed the duality and provided it with its dynamics.[11]

The concept of duality governed by a process of reciprocity and partial adaptation and preservation is a form of escapism from the realities of the colonial situation in Kano. It does not only distort the colonial situation but it also prevents the understanding of that reality. For this reason we will take a different approach in this chapter. It should be pointed out even if we stand the risk of pre-empting the

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10. For a good example see Malinowski, B. (ed) Methods of Culture... Contact in Africa (London, 1959) p.viii.

11. The colonial society is seen independently of the metropolis by such a perception.

discussion which follows that foreign capital played little role in the articulation of the economy of Kano with that of Britain.[12]

As for the alleged benefits acrueing from the colonial situation it is true that some classes especially officials of the colonial state and traders benefited from the colonial trade, but it was far from a benefit that was mutual. We do not doubt the fact that the period of colonial domination, at least in Kano, represented a new era because the process of the development of dependency was also that of breaking away from the past. Their integration into the world capitalist system also resulted in the introduction of Western institutions and values, the pre-colonial values were fundamentally undermined and transformed. With their transformation they therefore ceased to serve indigenous needs.

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12. European capital did not play any role in the development of cash crop production in Northern Nigeria. In the development of capitalism European capital was only involved in the area of commerce and even that was at the initial stages before colonial taxation started to provide sufficient capital.

Similarly, the colonial administration's efficiency is not doubted. However, this efficiency was not geared towards fairness, justice and humanity but for maximum exploitation.

The idea that the creation of cash-croppers brought much wealth to the people is far from the reality because the creation of cash-croppers went hand in hand with their impoverishment. Impoverishment and commoditization of production were the effects of colonial taxation and trade.

The creation of a colonial economy in Kano was done basically through the monetization of the Emirate economy, imposition of colonial taxation and labour policies. Its creation went hand in hand with the weakening and destruction of the pre-existing systems and structures, so that by 1950 the economy had been fully re-oriented.

2. Monetization of the Economy.

In the second half of the 19th century European capital had tried to take over the control of the economy, especially commerce, of Kano region. This attempt was not successful due to the following reasons:-

In the 19th century the commodities Kano commercial region produced for trade were mainly manufactured goods like textile and leather goods. These were not the type of commodities Europe needed at this time. What it needed were raw materials for its industries which could be secured only when the economy of Kano region had been re-oriented.

Secondly, the economies of Kano and neighbouring areas were under the control and regulations of the Aristocracies of Sokoto caliphate. Any attempt at re-orientation would bring about a conflict with the Aristocracies because the economies formed the basis for these Aristocracies.[13]

Thirdly, the commerce of Kano with North Africa, which by the closing years of the 19th century was under the effective domination of European imperialist capital,[14] formed only about

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13. Bello, S. p.49

14. Shenton, R.W. "Studies in the development of capitalism in Northern Nigeria". (Ph.D, Toronto, 1981) pp 116-117 unpublished Ph.D. thesis.

a meagre twenty percent of Kano's commerce.[15] As such the influence of the agents of European capital from North Africa like the Ghadamsi was insufficient to provide a trading incentive for the re-orientation of the economy.

Fourthly, European capital that was gradually taking over regions and economies to the south of Kano in the second half of the 19th century, was saddled with internal conflicts in the nature of competitions between companies of different nationalities for the control and re-orientation of economies. Therefore, for the suitable re-orientation of Kano's economy to serve European capital, it was necessary for European capital to resolve its internal conflicts and to eliminate the Aristocracy.

Even with the military conquest of Kano Emirate by Britain in 1903, the economy could not be re-oriented successfully and exploited until it had been monetized. Monetization under colonial

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15. Johnson, M. "Periphery and centre: The 19th century trade of Kano". International conference on the History of Kano, Bayero University Kano. Sept.6th - 10th 1981. pp5.

rule meant the use of single medium of exchange in the subjected economy to replace indigenous currencies like cloth, iron bars, cowries etc. In Kano monetization meant the use of British currencies, controlled and regulated by Britain, which were of international convertibility. Monetization set the stage for the exploitation of the economy by Britain.[16]

After the violent conquest of the Emirate, the colonial state in 1904 officially abolished all currencies and other mediums of exchanges being used in the Emirate. Because by their very nature the Emirate currencies constituted an obstacle to the exploitation of the area. Some of them like the cowries were too bulky for large scale transactions, while some were acceptable in limited localities only. The indigenous currencies were not internationally convertible.

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16. On monetization in Africa see
Ake, C. A Political Economy of Africa. (London, 1981) pp. 32 - 33.

Despite the official abolition by the British, indigenous currencies were still being used by the people perhaps due to their familiarities with them. To destroy this competition against British currencies, currency boards were established, and exchange shades created in markets to make it easier for the people to patronize the British currencies by discarding the ones they were using. Cowries collected from the exchange shades were deliberately flooded back into the markets so that their exchange rate and purchasing power as against British currency would rapidly decline making it unprofitable and difficult to use them in transactions.[17]

But monetization itself could achieve the intended purpose only when it is supported by a rapid commoditization of labour and production which it was aimed at facilitating. This was

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17. Tukur, M.M. "The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States 1897 - 1914: A re-interpretation of Colonial Sources". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (A.B.U. 1979) p.747.

achieved through the policy of making it compulsory for payment of colonial taxes in cash,[18] and of wage labour. The people could pay their taxes in cash only if they engaged in cash gaining activity like selling their labour to colonial state and companies or taking to production for the market. It was this orientation of labour and production towards the market that brought into dominance the production of exchange values. The dominance of the production of exchange values, during the period of colonial domination, was a reflection of the transformation of the Emirate economy in which production of use-values was dominant.

3. "Reorganization", Consolidation and Assessment of Taxes.

With the imposition of British colonial domination, the colonial state "adopted" the pre-colonial taxes, modified their methods of collection, to increase the efficiency of collection and increase returns so that, we are told, the colonial administration could finance itself. The British did not abolish taxation as they abolished the legal

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

status of slavery because

> "Failure to impose it is regarded as a sign of weakness or fear... /and that/ it forms no burden" 19

and so we are expected to believe.

The colonial state claimed that at the initial stages its taxation policy in muslim areas of Northern Nigeria was indirect and therefore did not in any way represent an imposition in the real sense. Their argument was that the collection machinery used by the chiefs was still the one in use though with little modifications and that still the collected revenue went to the "chiefs" as in the Emirate days. It was only a portion of the collected revenue that was taken away from the "chiefs".[20] This idea of indirect taxation was part of the colonial state's preference of seeing "chiefs" and their officials as not part of the colonial bereaucracy. This is ofcourse fallacious.

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19. Lugard, op.cit p.218

20. Bayero University Kano(BUK), Research data Centre (RDC). Northern Nigeria Annual Report No. 409 for 1902 and 1903. p.111

Colonial taxation even at the initial stage was not simply an issue of carrying over of pre-colonial taxes and appropriating only a portion of it from the "chiefs". First, the incidences of each of the taxes was to

> "continually grow from year to year and form a substantial contribution..."21

Secondly ac a part of "rendering the country sèlf supporting" the British introduced in Northern Nigeria new taxes as from 1902 - 1903 - canoe licences, caravan tolls, tax on sale of local liquor, hawkers licence, and fishing tax. Compared to the pre-colonial taxes, these taxes were more numerous and more severe.[22]

Caravan tolls consisted of 5% levy on indigenous goods passing each province up to a maximum of 15% i.e. the goods become not taxable after having paid taxes for three provinces.[23] In the pre-colonial period tax

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21. Ibid p. 112

22. See Temple, C.C. Native Races and their rulers. (London, 1968) pp xvii - xviii.

23. BUK, RDC, Northern Nigeria Annual Report No. 409 op. cit. p.113.

on ox-load of goods was about 500 cowries. 500 cowries was then the market price of 5 ounces of honey.[24] Canoe licence was not fixed but based on each canoe's "earning capacity". The tax ranged from 5/- to £3 per annum.[25] Liquor tax did not affect the population of Kano because brewing and taking of alcohol was little or unknown.[26] Game tax was in the form of licences issued to hunters as permission to hunt.[27]

The introduction of the above taxes was to enable the British to effectively tax the incomes of the people of Northern Nigeria.

In Kano these new taxes coupled with modified

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24. Temple op.cit ppxvii - xviii.

25. BUK, RDC. Northern Nigeria Annual Report No.409 op.cit. p.113

26. Tukur, M.M. op.cit pp.601 - 602

27. Ibid. pp 598 - 600.

taxes inherited from the Emirate made it difficult for the British to systematically and effectively tax the people. Thus the British decided to abolish taxes that did not bring much revenue and merge the others, gradually, into a single general tax on income with a more effective assessment method.[28]

In 1907, the British abolished caravan and canoe taxes.[29] Hawkers licence was similarly abolished.[30]

From 1909, the Britain decided to start abolishing taxes related to agriculture-Kudin Kasa (Land tax) shuka (special crops) karofi (dye pits) zakka (charity tax).[31] They were abolished because much efforts were wasted in their collections and they brought little revenue.

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28. On British desire to consolidate pre-existing taxes into a single one see: L. Lugard op.cit. pp 241 - 242.

29. Tukur, M.M. op.cit pp 596 - 597.

30. Ibid. p.607.

31. for details see
Tukur, M.M. op.cit pp 558 and 579.
Hill, P. Population Prosperity and Poverty. Rural Kano 1900 and 1970. pp.49-53.

Added to this was the fact that the British felt that certain developments had began which would allow for the institutionalisation of a General tax - a tax on individual adult males. This tax was intended to be based upon a thorough assessment of individual's income.

The "indirect taxation" described above was adopted by the British until such a time the society attained a level of "development" that would allow for the imposition of "direct taxation". Lugard had made it clear that Government was opposed to "direct taxation" at the outset because it was

> (1) "... premature until individual property in land has become recognized, and (2) until the system of serfdom has given place to one of independent agricultural labour, and (3) until a currency has obtained a footing so as to obviate too frequent a payment in kind."[32]

Thus, "direct taxation" was not introduced until the basic production units of the Emirate had been transformed into commodity producers and sellers of labour.

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32. BUK, RDC, Northern Nigeria Annual Report no. 409 op.cit. p112.

The imposition of tax on income is thus an indication that at least the individualization and commoditization of production had started by the end of the first decade of the 20th century sufficient to allow for a tax on individuals.

Emirate taxes were never on individuals but on households. The General tax was on individual adult males. Adulthood, it should be noted, as far as the British political officers, tax collectors and Headmen were concerned started at ages 10- 13.[33]

We have earlier indicated in chapter two that the transformation of the Aristocracy and the destruction and replacement of Emirate system with consolidated districts with resident headmen was done principally for the imposition of colonial taxation and the maintenance of colonial law and order.

Territorial reorganisation was started by the British after conquest, by 1914 all Emirate Gundumai had been replaced with twenty-four consolidat

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33. Abdu Dahiru Janguza (ADJ) recorded interview.

Districts with resident Headmen - styled Hakimai.[34] They were salaried and directly supervised by political officers. Also we have seen that the composition of village units and territories were changed. Out of this process the Emirates 4,000 village units were transformed into 500 "homogeneous units". Thus, about 3,500 Emirate village units and headmen were abolished.[35]

Prior to this "reorganisation" payment of taxes was disorganized because Gunduma holding itself was scattered. In Ciromawa town for example, its 309 compounds paid taxes to different headmen; 179 paid to Kadawa, 30 to Ringimawa, 21 to Garun Babba and 16 to Mallam.[36] Thus, with the consolidation of territorial units at an advanced stage and the development of commodity production and sale of labour beginning to emerge, the British began to abolish gradually all taxes related to agriculture from 1909. In their place compound.

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34. National Archives Kaduna (NAK) Kano Province Annual Report No. 447 for 1914.

35. NAK, Kano Province Annual Report No. 628 for 1931.

36. Tukur, M.M. op.cit p. 342.

and farm taxes were introduced as part of the process of replacing communal taxation with a single one based on individual's income.[37] For the assessment of individual's income taki (pacing) and Resident forms of assessments were introduced.

For compound tax, at first it was a flat rate of one shilling six pence per annum on each compound in Kano city and its surroundings. Areas far from Kano like territories of Barde, Wambai and Sarkin Dawakin tsakar gida (titles of state officials) the rate for each compound was one shilling.[38]

The rates of one shilling and one shilling six pence was too harsh on the people. Many people migrated into Ningi,[39] Katsina[40] and other areas to avoid it. Those that did not migrate devised a means to reduce its burden

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37. Fika, A.M. The Kano Civil war and British over rule (1882 - 1940) (London, 1978) p182.
    Hill, P. op.cit. pp 52-53.
38. Fika, A.M. op.cit.p182.
39. Hill, P. op.cit p.53
40. ADJ

by merging two or more compounds into one. The British devised a means to neutralise the effect of compound mergers on tax burden by introducing taki method of assessment in Kano city and areas near to it.[41] For taki assessment the tax mallams, trained in the British established survey school as from 1909, entered each compound, measured its size by pacing the length of its walls. The incidence for each compound, based upon the size of its area was assessed[42] at a rate of one penny per each twenty square yards. Farms were similarly assessed with a rate ranging between one shilling and one shilling eight pence per acre.[43] This taki assessment was gradually extended to cover the whole Emirate.

Areas far from Kano city, before the gradual extension of taki method of assessment, were put under resident assessment. The assessment was based upon counting of compounds and farms with their rates at one shilling six pence and one shilling per acre respectively. In remote areas only

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41. Hill, P. op.cit p.53.

42. Skinner, N. Alhaji Mahmud Koki A Kano Mallam (A.B.U., 1972) pp68-71.

43. Fika, op.cit. p.182

compounds were asessed at a rate of one shilling six pence each. Farms were not assessed but other pre-reform taxes like Kudin kasa, kudin shuke shuke were paid.[44]

In 1919 the tax on compounds was abolished and to make for the loss of its potential revenue farm rate was fixed at a uniform rate of one shilling six pence per acre[45] throughout the Emirate. Thus, from 1919 a single tax replaced all other agricultural taxes. The cattle herders, who did not pay agricultural taxes because they were not sedentary, in place of this single tax on income continued to pay Jangali.

The consolidation of a single tax based on individual's personal agricultural income did not seem to have encompassed all the people in the "Emirate". Craftsmen and wealthy people were left out. Because of this the British decided to introduce kudin sana'a to be paid by all crafts men in Kano city who did not engage in agriculture. The rate was twelve shillings per craftsman. With the British need to regress the indigenous industries and to give the European

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45. Ibid p.185

manufactured goods and upper hand over indigenous manufactures, kudin sana'a was extended to all craftsmen in the "Emirate" in 1925-1926 whether they paid the general tax as agriculturalists or not. Beside kudin sana'a kudin masu arziki (wealthy tax) seemed to be introduced. But this did not seem to be given much attention.[46]

Assessment of individual's income and collection, as can be recalled, was done by British trained tax mallams(officials). But the actual overall assessment of each District's economic potentiality and therefore that of the incomes of its population was the duty of the Britis political officers. It was they also who fixed the tax rates. For the general assessment of economic potentialities, the British political officer

> "...compiles a statistical register, showing the number of men, and children, of live stock and huts, with notes on the area under cultivation, the special conditions affecting each village, and method by which he arrived at the amount of assessment."

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46. Ibid pp 186 - 187.

> The report illustrated by a map contains such historical and ethnographical information as he has been able to collect, with notes as to the incidence of former taxation..../and/ the prospects of introducing new cultures and any matter of interest."[47]

The tax mallams helped the British political officers by carrying out detailed censuses of their assigned areas, they even reported number of births and deaths monthly to the political officers. In areas close to Kano city the assessment included analysis of soil texture and fertility, and assessments were based on maximum productive capacity. This form of assessment of economic productive capacity, it can be recalled, was gradually extended to cover all the area of the "Emirate". Assessment was done twice yearly. The first, just after planting and the other before harvest. The collection of taxes always coincided with the launching of the groundnut buying season. Later it was gradually extended to cover lump assessed areas. Reassessments of districts led to significant increases in taxes which a district had to pay.[48] Added to this

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47. Lugard, op.cit. p.248

48. See the discussion that follows.

were increases in individual incidences which the British did at will without regards to the conditions of the people, some increases were even made to coincide with periods of famines. It seems that the development of cash crops production and the increases in taxes intensified the frequency of famines.

The imposition of colonial taxes resulted in the development of cash crop production and sale of labour which helped in the development of colonial trade.

The severity of colonial taxes is evidenced by rapid increases in the amount collected. The total land tax and Jangali collected from the nine "Emirates" of Kano province was increasing as follows:[49]

1903 - 1904	-	£2,428
1904 - 1905	-	7,149
1905 - 1906	-	7,141
1906 - 1907	-	13,442
1907 - 1908	-	24,556
1908 - 1909	-	51,842
1909 - 1910	-	56,588
1910- 1911	-	69,659

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49. See Bello, S. "State and Economy in Kano 1894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination". Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (A.B.U., 1982) p.118.

From the second decade to the closing years of colonial domination the volume of tax collected took staggering proportions. This was due to the use of various tax assessment methods.[50]

The thorough assessment of productive capacity of Kano "Emirate" already described, accounted partly for the dramatic increases in taxes collected. The other reason for the increase of tax collected was the sharp reduction in witholding of tax-returns by the tax collectors. The British imprisoned many officials over embezzlement and withholding of tax returns. Subsequently, many officials became more careful in withholding and embezzling tax returns. In 1928-29 Kano "Emirate" alone paid a total of £215,124.00 as general tax and £43,026.00d as Jangali.[51] The total £258,150.00d makes the 1911 total of all the nine "Emirates" (£69,659) look chicken feed.

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50. NAK Knprof 24/1926 Annual Report for Kano province for 1925.

51. NAK Knprof 236/1929 Annual Report for Kano province for 1929.

Even at this staggering level, volume of the taxes continued to increase. Thus, it became £242,767.00d and £43,988.00. General tax and Jangali respectively in 1929 - 1930,[52] 1930 - 1931 £257,000.00 and £42,880.00 by 1937 - 1938 it had reached £266,583.00[53] while Jangali increased by £2,165.18.6[d].

Fika (1978) after having discussed in details the purpose and changing nature of colonial taxation and the various forms of assessments involved, came to the understanding that revenue from taxation was on the increase in the colonial period. But he concluded that:-

> "Despite the steady rising revenue from taxation, these reforms did not mean that the Kano talakawa had to pay more. For the majority of the people the incidence of taxation remained about the same as in pre-reform days and the spread of cash economy based on the groundnut industry enhanced the capacity of the peasantry to meet their tax obligations.[54]

We reject this view because the incidences were higher and the tax burden was greater. The burden of these taxes on the people especially the peasants and other related groups in the society should by now be clear. This situation continued to deteriorate

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52. Ibid
53. NAK 30847 Annual Report for Kano province for 1929
54. Fika, A.M., opcit. p.187.

due to frequencies of increases in the pre-existing taxes.

Added to this were high incidences and frequent increases. Cattle owners for example paid their Jangali on the basis of two shillings per head of cattle which by 1948 had been raised to three shillings. For the General tax colonial records had not been very helpful in providing us with yearly incidences but we have been lucky to know that in 1929 the tax incidence per individual "adult male" was increased from six shillings nine and a half pence to seven shillings four pence.[55] By 1930 it had reached seven shillings ten pence. In the 1940's the period of rising cost of living and declining cash crop prices incidences were increased. In 1943 one shilling six pence was added. One shilling in 1944,[56] in 1945 the incidence was at eleven shillings one pennny.[57] As if this was not high enough in 1948 there was an increase of 10 percent of incidences.[58]

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55. NAK, 236/1929 op.cit
56. NAK, 39157. Annual Report for Kano Province for 1944
57. NAK, 40234. Annual Report for Kano Province for 1945
58. NAK, 45599. Annual Report for Kano Province for 1948

Tax incidences of say eleven shillings one penny may not be regarded as high but when viewed from the economic context of Kano and elsewhere in the period it was severe. That the incidence was on individuals and not households makes the burden of taxation much higher than what was usually paid under the Emirate. That small boys of ages 9 - 13 were included in British idea of "adult males" created more burden on parents who had to pay their own tax and that of their children. Added to this was decline in cash crop prices and rising costs of imported goods which did not help the tax payer. In 1930 for example, when one pound of Dawa was selling at 0.6d, Gero at .7d, beans at .6d, tax incidence was at the level of 7/- 10d.[59]

In any case the tax incidence figure and total revenue generated represented only the official figures. Real amount the people had to pay was much higher due to extortion by tax mallams and corruption in the tax machinery. Thus, the tax mallams, village and District Heads also contributed their own quota to this

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59. NAK 438 Annual Report for Kano Province for 1930.

exploitation. Because their incomes were restricted to their salaries they supplemented them with unofficial increases in incidences and the counting of small children as adults of tax age. These tax agents were not even satisfied with what they could squeeze out of the people (or may be because they couldn't extort enough) they took to embezzling the collected taxes. The British responded with massive deposition and jailing of such offenders. In 1914 there were 46 such cases.[60] Taxation therefore represented not only the appropriation of surplus of production but most of the production itself.

The other tax that was collected beside General tax was Jangali (cattle tax), its assessment was based on the numerical strength of each herd including its calves. Yearly recounting of herds took place but increases in its tax incidences were not as frequent as that of General tax and the tax was the far less severe.

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60. NAK 447/1914 op.cit.

There is no doubt that the burden of taxation fell on producers and cattle herders who had no access to political power. The Masu sarauta, most of the Ulama, and wealthy traders did not pay any tax. As early as 1909 colonial reports had clearly indicated that it was the Talakawa that exclusively paid the taxes, thus,

> "The wealthy man of business escapes /paying taxes/.... only the lower-middle class" paid.[61]

It is understable why agents of the colonial state, and their Ulama did not pay any tax.[62] The traders, by 1910 were mainly trading in European manufactured goods, taxing them would be a discouragement to colonial trade.

The rulers were not taxed because it was in their name that the taxes were collected. The British wanted as much as possible to create an air of importance around the Emirs. Taxing them would negate this. Also taxing them would add to the rates of embezzlement of taxes and extortions of the peasantry which would increase the danger of mass uprisings. It was not just

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61. NAK Secretariat of the Northern Provinces (SNP) 15/3 No.157 Annual Report Kano Province for 1909.

62. NAK, SNP7 3272 Annual Report Kano Province for 1909.

the rulers, traders, and their Ulama as individuals that were exempted but the whole of their households. Thus in Rano district for example a total of 95 compounds belonging to such people did not pay any tax. It should be noted that traders, their malamai and rulers formed the "moneyed men" of the society.[63]

Traders, palace ulama and Masu Sarauta formed the ruling class of the Emirate as such they did not pay taxes. Only gaisuwa, a form of rededication of loyalty was given to the titled officials by the traders. It seems this practice was condoned by the British in the 20th century. Though they attempted to tax the rich by introducing kudin arziki (wealthy tax) in the 1920's, the tax was not given much attention by the British perhaps because it was not emphasized or fully enforced.

The form of payment of taxes was in kind from 1903, but by 1914 they were paid compulsorily in cash. Rural producers and cattle herders could only get cash through selling their labour and animals or becoming cash croppers. Which ever

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63. Ibid.

they chose,. they would be serving an external power. It was the need to establish a market-oriented money economy for exploitation by Britain that led to the imposition of taxes and their payments made compulsorily in cash.

4. The Transformation of the Hausa Peasant Production Units.

The sources of cash were the "native authority" and colonial companies who both employed labour. The companies bought raw materials from the producers and paid them, at first, in kind, and later in cash. Because opportunities for the sale of labour to the companies and the "Native Authority" were few, the majority of producers took to cash crop production. In Kano the main cash crop was groundnut., Before colonial domination groundnuts were produced by the people in quantities that fed the groundnut oil and cake industries to satisfy their needs; it was therefore regarded as a food crop. Under colonial domination Kano became the largest producer of groundnuts because "it was largely on .....(its) sale that General tax was paid".[64] It was not because it brought profitable returns.

64. NAK 438/1930 op.cit.

The need to pay taxes led to the commoditization of agricultural production which turned peasant producers into cash croppers, people increasingly sold their lands, and labour to pay taxes and support themselves.

In the process of producing cash crops household out put of use-values declined considerably. During periods of famines and low prices of commodities, which were not few, household produce meant for its own subsistance was marketed to meet tax obligations. The household economic security therefore rapidly declined. Faced with the prospects of impoverishments the household began to see its land as marketable asset. As early as 1909 many households started to sell their lands. Commoditization of land led to increasing fragmentations of household lands especially after the death of household Heads.[65] Increasing fragmentation of land meant increasing individualisation of holdings and production. This trend became common enough to attract the attention of the colonial state into generating

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65. NAK SNP 15/3 157 1909 op.cit.

revenue out of the process. A sum of one shilling was imposed for each fragmented plot.[66] This was instituted through colonial courts which used maliki inheritance law to effect the fragmentation. The imposition of fees for fragmentation of plots by colonial courts should not be seen as an attempt by the British to check the fragmentation of lands and the emergence of individual holdings. The process was at an advanced stage to be discouraged. In fact it was because the process was far advanced to be reversed that the British decided to generate revenue from it. Inheritors rarely asked for sharing of inherited properties before the colonial period.

Lugard even commented on this process that

> "side by side with these primitive conceptions of land tenure, we find a growing recognition of the conception of individual ownership"

which to him meant development because "it makes for individual progress, thrift and character".[67]

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66. Ibid.

67. Lugard. op.cit. p.285

But individual "thrift and character" was directly opposed to values of cooperation, participation and sharing. It is central to privatization of property.

C.W. Rowling in his study of land tenure in Kano confirmed that this process by 1946 was at an advanced stage and had even made land sale common, because the temptation to dispose of a personal property was great. He states that

> "with the break up of household cohesion for which individual taxation is in part responsible, farmers are thrown on to their personal resources whenever they need money. Their fields are often or even the only way of getting it."[68]

Land sale was so common that even non-indigenes came to own farmlands,[69] much against the wishes of political officers who wanted to limit the activities of foreigners to trading and selling of labour. In Zakirai district, for example, a wife of a clerk had thirteen different farms, also many syrians in Babura had farms. This development made the Emir to write a circular to

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68. NAK 767A. Land tenure Report by C. Rowling 1949.

69. Ibid.

all District Heads to stop non-indigenes from acquiring farms.[70]

Though the colonial state was against sale of land to non-indigenes, it did not frown against land transactions between indigenes. The attempts by the British to prevent non-indigenes from acquiring farms represented a move to prevent the development of settler colonization and consequent settler production in an area where colonial trade was already thriving. Settler production would destabilise British colonial dominance not only in Kano but in Nigeria as a whole because British control, and policies were based upon this . . form of exploitation. The most dangerous thing was that the people likely to establish this colonization were the Lebano-Syrians some of which had become wealthy enough to be independent of British capital and even to start exporting raw materials directly to Britain. They had already out-competed British companies and agents in the buying trade right from the 1920's.

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70. Circular dated 21st November 1928 NAK 2953.

If they were allowed to establish themselves as settlers, with their abundant capital they would out compete the British in the export trade as they did in the buying trade. This would destroy the purpose of British colonial domination.

We have earlier indicated that the establishment of dependency involved a re-orientation of the society along capitalist lines. This reorientation in case of land tenure, holding and technology took a regressive form. In Europe, the development of capitalist agriculture involved not fragmentation of land but consolidation of small parcels into compact farms which would make mechnisation of production possible.[71] In Kano it was not the aim of the colonial state to develop agriculture for the benefit of the people. Its aim was to exploit as much as possible what the people could produce. As far as the people could be compelled to produce for the colonial trade its purpose was achieved.

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71. Roxborough, I. Theories of Underdeveopment. (London, 1979) p.69.

Shenton had observed that Lugard's land policy had tried to create a landless class by encouraging the emergence of landlords with large tracts of land.[72] This policy after Lugard was discarded in favour of curving out large areas of uncultivated land as government reserves or farms. In 1943 there were a total of forty eight forest reserves in Kano province.[73] These reserves were Government properties and could not be used by the people - unless with a special permission. From its fuel resources Government was getting alot of revenue through sales. The total realised from the sale of wood as fuel in Dansosia reserve alone was £637-19-2d.[74]

The creation of these reserves and the restriction of their exploitation through the Malaman Daji (forest officers) reduced the possibility of expansion of acreage under production.

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72. Shenton, op.cit pp 62-64.

73. NAK SNP 17/4 Annual Report for Kano Province for 1943.

74. Ibid.

We submit that colonial domination did not lead to absolute increase in acreage under production as the Carl Eichers and Hogendorns would want us to believe. Secondly, the fees imposed on any person who wanted to exploit the fuel resources of the reserves forced the people to fall back on trees in their farms and settlements. Most of these trees were either economic trees important for industrial production or were specially planted to provide shade for the people. The above limitations helped in the gradual decline of the said industries and the de-shading of settlements and farms making it easier for erosion to set in.

The "Yarmasu Ganye (Herbalists) who hitherto exploited such areas for herbs were also affected. While the seasonal hunting battues mounted by villages as a source of recreation and getting meat rapidly declined.

If the colonial state's forest reserve policy denied the people the possibility of expansion of acreage, its "development and welfare" policies reduced the actual area under cultivation.

In 1924, for example, the colonial state appropriated 160 acres of farmland at Nassarawa for crops expriment.[75] Already in the beginning of the century the Nassarawa and Sabongari settlements were curved out by taking over of farmlands. In 1924 also a Giginya planatation, of undisclosed size, was started at Kwanyawa in Karaye district.[76] By 1932 considerable portions of lands have been curved out at Rano, Dutse, Taura, Dawakintofa, Bichi and Ungogo for mixed farm experiments.[77] All these were at the expense of peasants farmlands.

Secondly, large tracts of people's lands - residential and agricultural lands, were appropriated in the name of development. On such appropriated lands Government buildings were erected like prisons of large capacities, court houses, European rest houses, schools and dispensaries. These were intended to serve the

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75. NAK 181/1925. Annual Report Kano province for 1924.

76. Ibid.

77. NAK 628 op.cit

people and therefore no compensation was paid to previous owners of the lands. Colonial state's transport programmes cut away a lot of land out of cultivation, for example, by 1924 535½ miles of strips of fertile land was lost to the road policy of the colonial state.[78]

'The other thing which the British did in relation to the technology of production , beside stagnating it through the destruction of its industries by massive importation of goods similar to indigeneous ones but cheaper in prices and by over-taxing trade in products of these industries, was the attempt to create mixed farmers. The British trained cattle for mixed farming and loaned them to farmers.[79] To help make the scheme a success, an agricultural implements factory was established in Kano to supply implements like cultivators, hoes, cattle and donkey carts, harrows, rakes, feeding hoppers etc to the farmers.

The establishment of the implements factory and the mixed farming scheme was not intended

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78. NAK 181/1925 op.cit

79. NAK SNP 17/4 Annual Report/Kano Province for 1943.

to improve the technology of production and the general quality of agricultural production in Kano province. This was because the cattle were advanced to the farmers at astronomical costs ranging from eight pounds to nine pounds sterling, which very few people in the "Emirate" could afford.[80] This is evidenced by the fact that though the scheme was established in the 1930's by 1948 only 1205 people out of a total population of 2,929,083 of the province were involved in the scheme.[81]

Secondly, the implements factory was small, employing only eight atisans, and was run at a profit. Thus, the factory was too small to improve the quality of technology and production in Kano province.[82]

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80. NAK SNP 17/3 27810 Annual Report for Kano Province for 1936.

81. NAK SNP 45599 Annual Report for Kano Province for 1948.

82. NAK SNP 17/4 40234 Annual Report for Kano Province for 1945.

Mixed farming scheme was intended to increase the quality and production of cattle products like milk and butter which were needed in Britain and by British political officers in Northern Nigeria. European companies were involved in the export of butter abroad and sale of milk locally.

To facilitate the export of raw butter, United Africa Company in 1935 took over a ghee factory that was run by Kano "Native Authority" producing ghee locally for sale. It took over this factory from the "Native Authority" because: It

> "has now found that there is a large market abroad for untreated butter".[83]

Thus it took over the factory and bought butter at four pence a pound for export.

London and Kano Company was involved in the sale of milk locally. In 1944 it sold a total of 16,000 bottles.[84] Thus mixed farming and the

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83. NAK SNP 17/3 25673A. Annual Report for Kano Province for 1935.

84. NAK SNP 17/4 39157. Annual Report for Kano Province for 1944.

implements factory benefited the British political officers, the European companies and the rich few involved in it as mixed farmers. Therefore, the policies of the colonial state reduced considerably the total land hitherto at the disposal of the people. It also regressed the technology of production.

This raises the question of the influence of nature which must increase due to the regressing nature of the technology. Surely this would have added to the need for combined efforts in production, and therefore strengthen household cohesion. It did not, instead it led to its break up because the increasing commoditization made it nearly impossible for the household to stick together as a unit of production. Impoverishment went along with taxation and commodization.

It was not the producers only that sold their properties to pay tax, cattle herders sold their cattle to pay jangali (cattle tax). Cattle and cattle products became an important part of the colonial trade due to sales to meet

tax obligations. At first cattle were railed to Lagos alive, when their number became too bulky to be railed alive, they were slaughtered and railed. Along with cattle, goats, sheep, rams, hides and skins, chickens, fresh vegetables, guinea fowl eggs and dried fish were also railed.

Evidences of the break-up of the basis of household production - land - and increasing commoditization may seem insufficient to prove that colonial taxation actually destituted the people and splintered the household and its cohesion, more evidences and statistics may be necessary. Colonial reports on Kano from 1909 - 1950 A.D. have not been consistent in providing statistics of commodities of trade and their prices each year. From those that have been given, it is evident that the volume of commodities traded increased greatly over the years; while prices of these commodities did not keep up with the increases in volume, and

it even seems that they were in decline.[85] Tax figures are available and they show fantastic yearly increases.

Worse than the relationship between increasing tonnages of commodities and their declining prices was the nature of the commodities "railed to Lagos". The commodities contained protein a substance vital in body building and necessary for a people who had to rely on their physical strength to produce for survival in the face of increasing exploitation. In 1945 the following sources of protein were lost through colonial trade by Kano province.

35,056 cattle probably hand fed

12,359 sheep and goats

1,144 tons of onions

298 tons of guinea fowl eggs[86]

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85. Prices of groundnuts, hides and skins show some decline. Groundnuts prices per ton were in 1914 at £14.15.0d. It declined to £7.7.6d in 1936 and to as low as £2.12.6d in 1938 and rose in 1941 to a level below that of 1936, to £5.7.6d. Prices of hides and skins show a similar tendency - in 1914 hides sold at 10d, skins 20d, in 1924 7½d and 2/4d, 1936 7½d and 2/2½d while in 1938 their prices fell by 40% and 25% respectively.

86. NAK SNP 17 39157 annual report for Kano province for 1945.

butter tonnage has not been provided for the year 1945 but for 1944 it was 72,005 lbs while groundnuts tonnage was above 300,000. 1946 figures gives us partly the cost of the protein loss by Kano province.

Animals worth £500,000
dried fish £200,000

16½ million guinea fowl eggs
100,000 chickens.[87]

Cost of groundnut and butter were not provided.

It should be noted that Kano "Emirate" provided most of these commodities because its population was about 2,478,593 while the whole province had a population of 2,760,681.[88] The colossal loss of these sources of proteins could not fail to create dietary deficiencies and decrease the productive capacity of the population.

It is this staggering loss that had failed to catch the attention of the Lloyds, Gavins, Hogendorns etc. What mattered to them were the staggering trade returns which they thought

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87. NAK SNP 17/4 41986 Annual Report for Kano Province for 1946.

88. Ibid.

the people benefited from.P.C. Lloyd even made the unfortunate statement that the prosperity left the household structure intact.[89]

We do not doubt that traders and some few people benefited from these trade returns. The majority of the people especially the producers however, did not benefit, in fact they suffered. These impressive trade returns were scooped off by the colonial state through taxation. The money, as revenue, was used to finance the colonial projects, provide capital for the companies in the form of fixed deposits in banks, while some of it was "invested" in banks in Britain through crown agents to add to the capital strength of British capitalism.[90]

The period of colonial domination represented to Northern Nigeria as a whole a period of decapitalisation and transfer of indigenous capital to colonial banks in Nigeria and parent banks in England. The colonial state made it compulsory for all the fifty treasuries in

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89. Lloyd, P.C. op.cit. p.98.

90. NAK No. 181 Annual Report for Kano Province for 1924.

Northern Nigeria to "invest" part of their revenue in the form of fixed deposits in colonial banks and in Britain through crown agents. In 1924 for example, Kano treasury had about £289,480, out of this amount only £54,663 were in cash for meeting the day to day finances of the "Native Authority". For the rest, the sum of £175,000 was deposited in colonial banks in Nigeria. Banks which formed the source of capital for the colonial companies while £59,480 was "invested" in England through the crown agents.[91]

The deposits in local banks by Kano "Native Authority" for 1930 was £120,000 and £64,747 as "investment" in England.[92] In 1938 fixed deposits were £25,000 and in England £129,928.[93]

The circumstances in which Kano people were thrown into as evidenced by their attitudes towards production and taxation will clearly show not only that the people did not benefit from this trade and colonial taxation but that they were impoverished.

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91. NAK Ibid.

92. NAK 438 for 1930 op.cit.

93. NAK SNP 17140 No. 30847 for 1938 op.cit.

Cattle herders at first took to concealing their cattle from tax mallams. When it became clear that the consequences of concealment of cattle was imprisonment not only for the herders but also the tax mallams and village Heads, they adopted the tactics of migrating to other provinces at the time of assessment and collection.[94] In Kano city, where job opportunities and prosperity was relatively more abundant because it served as the province's centre of colonial trade, seat of its colonial administration, and the base of colonial companies, some people had to sell even their gowns, to pay taxes.[95]

The people protested in various ways against colonial taxes.

The people of Dawakin Tofa in 1908 took to open rebellion. It was ruthlessly put down. It earned the leaders of the rebellion imprisonments and a contingent of colonial forces was stationed in the district.[96] This consequence, the nature

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94. Tukur, M.M. Ibid p.689

95. Skinner, op.cit. p.68

96. Tukur, M.M. op.cit pp. 662-667

of the violent conquest of the Emirate and even the disarming of the Emirate rulers and forces, which all show the might of the colonial state, do indicate the futility of resistance. Thus, the rural households took to desertions. Many migrated to Ningi and Katsina areas. Desertion of farms and villages became common enough to threaten peace and colonial trade. This warranted the sending of circulars to District Heads by the Emirs. The circular written on 7th May 1922 instructed village and District Headmen to prevent anybody from deserting his village unless it has been certified that his farm had no crops in it or he had paid his tax. Even with the tendering of a tax receipt as a qualification for desertion, the qualified deserter had to obtain official permission.

The colonial state made sure that it did not lose taxes from desertions. Deserters had to pay taxes even in absentia. Who ever was not around at the time of tax collection the district and village Heads mortgaged his property to cover his assessed tax.

There were many ways of deserting farms and villages. To some the Holy land was their destination. Increasing desertions in the disguise of pilgrimage made it necessary for any intending pilgrim to show evidences of tax payments before he was permitted to go on pilgrimage.[97] Even those who managed to stay or who couldn't desert their farms and villages to go on pilgrimage, did not permanently stay on their farms and villages. They adopted a new way of life in which

> "the entire household went off elsewhere, leaving only an odd member or two to look after their home /not farm/, the total exodus of households varied from 10 percent when there is a good harvest and 60 percent in a year of bad.... /to/ conserve its food supply".98

It should by now be very clear that the permanent desertions of and periodic exodus away from farms and villages were not due to the availability of cheap rail transport and numerous road networks that were created by the colonial state. Nor do they represent a response arising

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97. Circular of 24-9-1924 from the Emir of Kano to District and village Heads. NAK Knprof 2953.

98. NAK Knprof 767A op.cit.

from a general prosperity from colonial trade or the civilizing impact of colonial taxation. If anything, it disproves the idea that colonial domination preserved the structures of the society, especially the household structure. It is our view that this trend reduced the numerical and cohesive strength of the household and that eventually it led to its collapse because it was impossible for its unity and cohesion to be maintained with the mobile character adopted by the units. Even though the values of cooperation, participation, sharing etc. survived the colonial period, they did so only as shells, with the kernel (i.e economic and social significance) lost. The substance of these values was changing due to "individual thrift and character" whhich were central to individualism and privatization.

The increase in the movement of the Household units and individual members away from the rural areas created a labour reserve that sold its labour to supplement its income. The exodus therefore explains how the colonial state was able, for example, to recruit 2,000

to 3,000 carriers to Zungeru in 1907 and to send 1,400 people to the railway in 1910.[99]
From the labour reserve also it was able to raise a Governmen police, to recruit labourers for its public works, and the colonial companies to get a steady supply of labour.[100]

To be fair to the colonial state the destitutions of the people was not only due to the direct effects of colonial taxation. Famines and epidemics had their share. The colonial period from 1903-1950 A.D. was puntuated by no less than ten serious famines and several epidemics.[101]. While small cases of replapsing fever, meningitis, small pox and numerous cattle diseases were common, all of which decimated the population. In Rano district.

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99. Bello, S. op.cit. pp.136 - 137

100. Ibid. p. 137

101. The years of serious famines included 1908 1914, 1924/5, 1930, 1941, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1948. This information is collected from the annual reports of Kano province for these years. For reference to their files see the bibliography.

in Kano, for example, the 1908 famine mortality was put at 60 percent official figures.[102] For the European population it was not a case of famines, meningities and small pox but malafia and venereal diseases.

Famines, epidemics and sicknesses could be dismissed easily as arising out of natural causes. But it is our contention that their effects could be squarely blamed on the colonial state. The harsh nature of colonial taxation forced the people to produce cash crops at the expense of food crops thereby increasing the frequency of famines and their severity. In some cases even the small quantity of food crops for consumption produced alongside cash crops were marketed to pay taxes. This occurs

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102. NAK SNP 3272/1909 Rano District assessment report Kano Province.

in cases of cash crop sales falling short of the amount needed to pay tax. The producers after paying taxes, which were collected just after harvest, had little and in some cases nnthing left for consumption. Thus, the people after paying taxes, became economically poorly equipped to face the on-setting dry season and if the next rains fall short of what was needed for a successful harvest, famine sets in and hits the poor peasants severely. Also since 1907, Zakka, the institution that served the Ulama, the poor and also the rest of the population in times of needs was abolished by the colonial state never to be replaced with another welfare scheme. The household served as a social security unit for its members. This social security disintegrated along with the household as a production unit as a result of severe taxation.[103] Had they not been destroyed,

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103. The alarming rise in Household disputes is a reflection of the disintegrating process the peasant households were undergoing during the period of British colonial domination. In the period under study, cases related to family disputes and marriages formed the majority of civil cases throughout. In 1935 for example, a staggering 29,141 cases were matrimonial out of a total of 38,023 civil cases. Also in five semi-urban districts statistics of court cases of 1923-1926 show that between 65-100 percent involved marital disputes, of these about 55-75 percent led to dissolutions by the colonial courts. Hence the proliferation of prostitution and the emergence of sex as a commodity along with that of labour as a necessity for survival.

the mortality rate would at least be reduced.

As for the diseases, their frequent recurrence and the resulting staggering mortalities do indicate that the majority of the people were not the beneficiaries of the colonial state's curative medical and health services schemes. The insignificance of the colonial stete's medical and Health services is shown by the following: In 1938 the whole of Kano province had only four hospitals - three in Kano and one at Hadejia. It also had only nine dispenseries, seven of which were in Kano, one each in Gumel and Hadejia.[104]

All the hospitals and dispenseries of the province had only two European Doctors,

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104. NAK 17/4 Annual Report for Kano province for 1938.
In this year, 1938, there was cerebro spinal meningitis epidemic a carry over from 1937. Deaths officially recorded as a result of this epidemic were in Kazaure "Emirate" 1,253 in 1937 which increased to 3,242 in 1938. For Kano "Emirate" the official figure was 53,461 in 1937 which increase to 62,466 in 1938. Beside this, and despite the "usual prevalence of malaria, dysentry, venereal and respiratory complaints" the colonial report indicated that "the health of the people of the province /Kano/ as a whole has been normal....." This indicates that such occurrances were a normal part of the colonial society. The above mortality figures represented only a portion of the province.

two European Nurses, one African Assitant Medical Officer. The dispenseries were manned by Africans who had a one year training at Kano"Native Authority" Hospital. The point is that two European Doctors, two Nurses, one African Assistant Medical Officer and about **nine** dispensers were too inadequate to serve the European population, civil servants, company workers and the whole population of Kano province.

The effective integration of Kano entailed the destruction of structures and the formation of new ones. Out of these destructions a proletariat and a dependent bourgeoisie began to emerge.

II. FURTHER PROLETARINIZATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF A DEPENDENT BOURGEOISIE

1. The Proletariat.

We have already indicated that the decapitalisation of peasant production (involving de-industrialisation),coupled with the break-up of the basic peasant production units with their resultant deepening impoverishment of majority of the populace, had the effect of forcing the peasantry to embark on migrations. Some migrated permanently out of the province while others migrated seasonally especially during the dry-season to places "elsewhere" to conserve their food supply and to find alternative sources of existance.

Movements of people existed in the pre-colonial period especially when crops have been harvested. These movements were undertaken mainly by traders, Ulama and cattle herders. The traders went from market to market trading their wares and buying items of trade to be sold in other localities. The ulama moved from one centre t of learning to another in search of knowledge, while cattle herders moved southwards

in search of pasture for their cattle when the dry season sets in. These main forms of population movements were not undertaken due to the inability of production to support them adequately as was the case in the colonial period. It was under colonial dominations that poverty and exploitation became important factors in population movements.

The colonial state did not hide the fact that like the Emirate regime it conquered it realised that "labouring classes must exist" and therefore it

> "had no desire to convert existing farm and other labourers into vagrants and thieves... but hoped that they would by and large see the advantage of paid free labour which.../it/ considered more profitable than slave labour".

Therefore it took positive steps towards the creation of this more "profitable" "paid" labour.[105]

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105. BUK RDC No. 409 Northern Nigeria Annual Report p.93

The 1901 proclamation prohibited raiding and transactions in slaves in the whole of Northern Nigeria. The legal status of slavery was abolished. It encouraged effectively slave redemption through its courts. In 1906 alone the courts of Kano province helped to free 252 slaves. This continued in the following years, for example 323 in 1922, 267 in 1923, 307 in 1924.[106] For the 307 of 1924, for example, 92 were released through self ransom, 217 through manumission by their owners while 8 were ransomed by a third party. Thus it was not only through the action of the courts that slaves were freed, the economic conditions were becoming very unsuitable for keeping slaves, it was expensive. This economic reality coupled with active encouragement given by the colonial state had resulted in the freeing, through various means, of a total of 11,649 slaves from 1903 to 1930 in Kano province.[107] This did not include the

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106. These figures were computed from the annual reports of the years indicated. See bibliography for the details of the files.

107. NAK 438 annual report for Kano provinces for 1930

number of slaves released in Kano market immediately after conquest and those freed voluntarily by their owners.

The well publicised abolishing of the legal status of slavery and the active encouragement of slave redemption also had the effect of giving many farm slaves the initiative to run away from their masters.[108]

When we consider that the majority of slaves in the "Emirate" were engaged in rural production, the progressive decline of slavery through self redemption, manumission and escapes, had the effect of considerably weakening the household production through considerable reduction and draining of labour strength of households. This added to the increasing inability of households to materially support themselves in the face of an emerging new form of production - that of cash crops.

It must be pointed out that many slaves, despite the above incentives decided to stay with the families they served, preferred the social

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108. For an example see Smith, M.F. BABA OF KARO, A woman of the Muslim Hausa. (London, 1965) p.49.

and economic securities provided by the households than the insecurities of the labour markets. As for those that opted to remain as slaves their issue as far back as 1904 had

> "caused scarcely any difficulty"... because they "were well treated, well housed, and well fed, and the laws.../were/ so well known that masters dare not ill-treat their slaves lest they should complain to the British court."109

This had the effect of reducing the control owners had over their slaves. Slaves might even refuse to carry out the orders of their masters. The case of the preference the British showed for Danrimi over the Chiroma of Kano in appointment to the second highest bureaucratic office, that of the Waziri; his being central to the decisions to be carried out while the emir was by-passed coupled with his successful, albeit for a short duration, challenge to the Emir's authority must have had an encouraging effect on slaves.[110]

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109. BUK RDC Northern Nigeria Annual Report No. 409 for 1904 p.290.

110. Refer to the section on Zaman Kansa in chapter two.

Those that chose to remain slaves, therefore, might have considered themselves at equal level with the free members of their household .

For those that opted for freedom, they had to earn their living. In their newly gained freedom they lacked any property, no farms or shelter - they had to start from the scratch with nothing except their labour power to depend upon. This freed labour together with the one from seasonal migrations as well as those who lost their lands created a floating labour reserve ready to provide cheap labour to the British. Some were absorbed into the colonial bureaucracy to serve in its departments under the colonial "technical experts", others were employed on its "development" projects for the construction of roads, rails, hospitals, prisons, court houses etc. yet others were employed by colonial companies especially mining companies in Jos and Riruwai. These provided cheap labour

along side forced and unpaid labour secured through labour quota exactions on Districts.[111] Those that could not get any employment became rift-faffs and took to thieving as a new trade.[112] Added to these were an army of women released from the households due to proliferation of divorces and the break up of the households. These women trooped into urban centres depending upon the sale of their body to survive. Sex began to turn into a commodity. For these labourers the urban centres, the bureaucracy, and the mining camps became new socializing units where one had to rely on himself, his wits or his labour power to earn a living and survive. The functioning of the individual based on his own

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111. See NAK SNP 17/3 25673A. 1935 op.cit.

112. By 1929 thieving has reached a professional stage. Adult professionals were running schools that trained young boys at cutting pockets. In the rural areas stealing of goats for their skins was wide spread due to its demands by colonial companies. for details see:

NAK SNP 17/4 34242 annual report for Kano province for 1941 and NAK Knprof 236 annual report for Kano province for 1929.

self efforts, well divorced from the household - social and economic control resulted in the reordering of societal values. Thus in the urban centres and the mining camps new sub-cultures were emerging. Like cash crop production, the labour policy of the colonial state was producing labour that primarily functioned as a commodity - with the primary aim of getting cash. Labour and production were geared towards the market to serve British capitalism. The form this production and labour took resulted in the emergence of new attitudes and values. The form of production and the nature of labour helped in the development of a colonial trade. In this trade indigenous merchants played an important role as agents of colonial exploitation.

2. The Dependent Bourgeoisie.

The Emirate had considerable trading connections with North Africa, the Sahara and the forest regions for centuries before the establishment of colonial domination. In the 19th century a merchant class based on this extensive commerce was already emerging. The merchant class not only dominated this commerce (especially

with non-north African areas) but had control over several slave estates. From these estates the merchants derived part of their capital through the appropriation of surpluses produced by their slaves and hired labour. The jinga (contract) relations entered into with some industrialists especially weavers, dyers and leather workers plus monopolies established over some industries allowed for the appropriation of industrial surplus which added to the capital in the hands of the merchant class.

Armed with this capital the merchants employed services of numerous agents who undertook trading activities on their behalf on diverse routes and in different regions.

Credit relations based on trust and delegation of trading activities became necessary because of distance factor which made trading returns to take much time to be realised. Added to this was slow communication based on human poterage and pack animals.

European capital in the 19th century had failed to take over the control of commerce of Kano region due to several factors that had already been indicated. Therefore it was only in

the 20th century that European commercial capital was able to impose its dominance over the Kano commercial region when the colonial state had been established and the economy was forcibly reoriented through its policies. Throughout the six decades of colonial domination European commercial capital enjoyed the patronage of the colonial state because the establishment and perpetuation of its dominance necessarily required that patronage.

By 1903, the nature of the economies of Northern Nigeria was already known to the British. It was for example known that the economies had the potentialities of producing

> "immense quentities..." of cotton, groundnuts capsicums, beniseed, "and various other exportable agricultural products".113

It could also produce sylvan products like the Rubber of Gamji, Shea nuts, Shea butter, wood oils, gambia pods, capaiba tamarind. Skins, feathers, ivory and minerals were also available.

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11. BUK. RDC. Northern Nigeria annual report No.409 op.cit.

It is therefore evident that the manufactured goods that were produced exchanged and redistributed by the commercial emporium of the Sudan were incompatible with the needs of European industries on whose behalf the survey of the above potentialities were made. The establishment of the colonial state, its policies and the development of colonial trade were to exploit the above raw material potentials which at the time of imposition of colonial domination were almost untouched. The exploitation of these prospects had the effects of restructuring the economy of Kano through reorienting production, distribution and exchange which had destructive consequences on Kano's pre-colonial trade.

As early as 1902, the colonial state advised European firms to take "the trouble" of going inland to establish trading bases instead of staying at their depots on the Niger

> "waiting for trade to come to them". In this "any new comers would find the Administration keenly eager to assist in every possible way and ready itself to share in the pioneer work and expenses".114

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114. Ibid. p.123

To solve the transportation problems these companies were facing, they established a railway from their Niger base to the heart of the production region.[115] It also constructed road networks connecting the railway terminus at Kano with production areas.

The new transportation system and the establishment of national and provincial boundaries along with deliberately discriminatory ~~harsh~~ custom duties made sure that

> "The exports of other provinces ..../were/ diverted by more direct routes to the factories of British merchants, instead of passing through the hands of..... /local/ middlemen and brokers. The cotton of Zaria will then cease to come to the looms of Kano or the skins and hides to her tanneries..[116]

Thus the Kano trade with North Africa, Bornu, Gonja and other areas in manufactured goods declined considerably to be gradually replaced with colonial trade.

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115. Ibid. p.124

116. BUK, RDC. Northern Nigeria annual report No.476 for 1904 pp 296-297.

In the area of production colonial state's policies especially that of taxations and direct encouragement of cash crops production helped in reorienting production. It encouraged the distribution of seeds especially cotton, to farmers. It undertook soil surveys and sent indigenious raw material samples abroad for suitability tests. Farms and nuseries of suitable seeds were set up. Government thought it

> "most useful to place in the Government gardens specimens of indigenous trees of economic value (e.g. the various rubber plants, wood-oil trees, gambia, pod etc.) so that residents and others on arrival could learn to recognise these, and promote their cultivations and check their destruction in the provinces".[117]

Colonial courts were asked to, through prosecutions, check bush burning. While British political officers provided information on other potential sources of raw materials.

To further promote the trade in raw materials and European goods, markets of large expanse were established, British currency was introduced to replace local ones.

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117. BUK, RBC , report No. 409 op.cit p.118

The rapid decline of industrial production and that of manufactured goods as items of trade, the change in production to cash crops and the effects of taxation policy destroyed the capital basis of indigenous traders thereby alienating them from the producers. While the establishment of colonial transportation network turned the caravan system obsolete and an expensive burden. With no control over the production of new commodities or the colonial transportation system and lacking in capital, the indigenous traders had no alternative but to be subservient to the British commercial interests. In the new situation the Emirate trading organisation and values of trust governing it changed. The trade dimension was reduced mainly to rural urban spectrum.[118]

The imposition of British domination brought the establishment of European firms in Kano city. In 1903 only Ambrossini and London and Kano Trading company limited operated.[119]

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118. For details of European companies and their activities see Shenton, R.W. op.cit. p.169 - 181.

119. Bello, S. op.cit p.152.

But when railway from Baro reached Kano in 1912 the number proliferated. In 1915 there were as many as fifteen European, thirty five Arab, four Syrian and three African non-indigenous firms all engaged in trading of manufactured goods for raw materials.[120]

Colonial banks were created to provide ready credits to such firms. The capital of these banks was mainly generated through deposits of "Native Authority" revenue. In fact some "Native Authority" revenue was even "invested" in banks in Britain through crown agents adding to capital available for the parent companies in Britain as we have already indicated.[121] Thus, European companies depended mainly on capital generated locally in areas of exploitation. The indigenous traders did not have access to credits from banks in Britain and they lacked necessary securities to qualify for credits from local banks. At best they could only function as agents of colonial companies.

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120. Fika, op.cit. p.[illegible]

121. For sources of these see footnotes 90, 91 and 92

As middlemen they received cash and goods advances which they gave as advances to the producers for profits and in return for cash crops.[122]

Those advances replaced the land lord or Jinga relations between them and the producers. The effect of these advances was to throw the producers into considerable debt as most of them spent the advances well before the harvesting period. Chronic debt in the face of frequent famines and plagues threw the producers into considerable poverty and misery. To ensure the safety of advances made by the middlemen to producers, jailing of debtors was legalised and a debtor's prison established. Thus the Dantatas, Agogos, Sharubutus, functioned as distributing and buying agents of colonial firms accumulating wealth through commissions and exchange differences between raw materials and manufactured goods.

The indigenous middlemen had competitors from the Southern part of Nigeria who had more experience and business acumen in European trade.

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122. Shenton, op.cit. p172.

The development of commerical potentialities of Kano in the colonial trade attracted them.[123]

Another set of competitors were middle Easterners or Lebano - Syrians who in 1920 were sufficient in number and had much capital that allowed them to relegate the indigenous middlemen to a lower level of the commercial hierarchy and to threaten the existance of European firms by going directly to the rural producers. The Lebano - Syrians were able to do this and to dominate local trade by establishing produce buying plots in the rural districts by-passing local middlemen who served the European firms. Going to the producers ensured that most raw materials especially groundnuts went to the Syrians.[124]

Added to this crippling effect on the European firms was that some of them were able to accumulate enough capital to become independent of credits from the European firms. Many of them started to export directly to Europe by-passing European firms.[125]

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123. Fika, op.cit. p.210

124. Shenton, op.cit pp. 169-173

125. Ibid p.172.

European firms retaliated by strengthening their buying pools and establishing in rural areas. By 1930 a total of 129 temporary and permanent plots had been issued out to them by the colonial state in the districts of Kano province.[126] Local Dogarai (gunmen) and produce inspectors under the employment of the "Native Authorities" were drafted to these plots to keep law and order[127] and prevent cheetings on the part of the local producers. It is needless to stress that prevention of under reading of weighing scales and underpayments by the colonial companies fell outside their schedules of duties.

Thus from 1903-1940s the establishment of the dominance of European capital in Kano created a new commerce and commercial set up in which the indigenous middlemen were out competed by Lebanese and Syrians and southern middlemen.

During the second world war and immediately after it, it became necessary for the British to

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126. NAK 236 annual report for Kano province for 1929.

127. NAK 628 for 1922 op.cit.

establish iron control over the economies of its colonies to help it in strengthening its war weakened economy. In Nigeria marketing boards were created which presided over the buying of raw materials at very cheap prices and sold to manufacturers at a profit. In this process of under-buying of raw materials, the groundnut marketing board between 1947-54 successfully appropriated 25% of potential producer income. Funds from such boards not only provided needed capital by Britain but became source of financing regional political parties in the 1950's.[128]

The marketing boards employed indigenous middlemen as licensed buying agents who accumulated much money and property through commissions and appropriating the difference of producer and buyer prices. In this way social polarisation occured between the middlemen and producers who oscillated at opposite poles of increasing accumulation on the one hand and increasing poverty, misery and squalor on the other. Against this background the behaviour of the emerging bourgeoisie of fanatical agreed

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128. Shenton, op.cit. p.212.

to accumulate and the burning desire to ostentate, as a sign of status, can be understood. Money considerations replaced trust and social responsaibility. It could also be understood that unlike their pre-colonial counterparts wealth was not profitably invested in industrial production because their wealth was acquired through appropriation at the level of circulation. This did not involve the production of values but its appropriation as such it was spent ostentatiously at that level. Increasing social prolarisation went hand in hand with the break up of pre-colonial social bonds and the emergence of new ones.

The reduction of Kano's trade dimensions to rural-urban spectrum, and the consequent centralisation of commerce at Kano brought influx of outsiders and people from the rural areas. New settlements emerged at Sabon-gari and Kantin Kwari. Kantin Kwari contained shops of Lebano - Syrians and their indigenous agents the angulayen Kanti. Sabongari served as commercial centre of indigenes and settlements of non-native Africans who served the colonial state and companies. The hetrogeneous nature

of Sabongari acted as a cultural melting pot where migrants and casualties of household break-ups took refuge to undergo re-socialisation.

As a result of the establishment of colonial trade the Emirate system of commerce its organisation and items of trade had changed. Traders were transformed into agents of European commercial companies and subjected to the wills of European commercial capital. This emergent dependent bourgeoisie by virture of its wealth came to acquire new status in the society. This wealth and status, and its dependent nature put it in alliance with the western educated people to whom, in the closing years of colonial domination, the British handed over power. These people it was alleged fought for independence. In the next chapter we shall discuss the transformation of the Emirate intelligentsia and the emergence of a colonial elite.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CREATION OF A COLONIAL INTELLIGENTSIA

It is a fact of History that any social formation that emerges does so along with a corresponding intelligentsia.[1] In chapter two and three we have argued that the colonial period represented a new era, an era of transformations in which a colonial society emerged out of that of the Emirate. In these transformations the Emirate ulama, especially the section that served the Emirate as an intelligentsia, were not left out. The roles of the ulama as from the conquest of Kano Emirate began to change in a manner that served the emerging colonial social formation. When the colonial social formation had emerged and its dependent structures fully consolidated, a colonially trained elite was intended to take over their roles of servicing the dependent formation.

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1. Gramci, A. The Modern Prince and Other Writings (New York, 1975) pp119

I. The Transformation of the Emirate Intelligentsia.

We have indicated in chapter one that the ulama was a learned group in the Emirate that provided services in various forms to the different classes of the society. Thefefore the ulama did not constitute a class and had no common economic basis. It is this lack of a common economic basis that makes the relationships between the ulama and the different classes very complex. The ulama could be broadly divided into two groups[2] on the nature of the services they provided and their sources of finance.

The first group acted as the intelligentsia of the Emirate.[3] It defined the Emirate philosophy and framework of political action through administrative participation and political advice. Their participation in the administration provided legitimation to the Emirate government. Such ulama were attached

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2. Paden, J. Religion and Political Culture in Kano (Los . (Angeles, 1973) p.57

3. Ibid. p.57.

to the Households of the Masu Sarauta, taking care of their spiritual and protection needs. These were called the malaman fada (court literati). They were supported by the Masu Sarauta.[4] Among such Ulama were Judges versed in islamic law. They gave the legal interpretation for the emir's court, helping in deciding judgements.[5] Some represented the Emir in the rural areas in settling serious cases and sharing properties of deceased people among hiers. They moved about with the jakadu (emir's rural representatives) in the rural areas. Small cases were settled by village heads and their Ulama.[6]

The British territorial "reorganisations", which abolished the jakada system, transformed the functions of these Ulama. The reorganisations

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4. Ferguson, D.E. "Nineteeth century Hausaland being a description by Imam Imoru of land, economy and society of his people". Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1968. p227.

5. Ibid. p. 228

6. Recorded interview with Ibrahim Mukhtar, Kano (I.M.K.) 5, January 1983.

led to the creation of consolidated Districts with their Headmen in residence. Permanent courts were created. These were manned by Alkalai who were recruited from the members of the Ulama that hitherto represented the Aristocracy in judicial matters.[7] The Alkalai were entrusted with the responsibilities of maintaining law and order and seeing to the success of colonial policies in the rural areas. Unlike before, the Alkalai represented the colonial state. In their duty of maintaining law and order they handled large number of cases that increased with passing years as a result of the increasing social conflicts and strifes that characterised the colonial situation.[8] Through harsh court

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7. For details refer to pp 99-112

8. The total number of civil and criminal cases for Kano division (made up of Kano and Kazaur "Emirates") for example, rose from 42,740 in 1924 to 56,242 in 1935. Figures computed from NAK Knprof 24/1926 and NAK SNP 17/3 2567A 1935 Kano province annual reports. These figures represented those that colonial courts passed to the British colonial officers. Many cases were not taken to the colonial courts because court fees had to be paid by litigants.

fees, severe prison terms or fines they were able to restrain and keep the poor peasantry in check,[9] thereby maintaining the exploiter - exploited relationships that existed between the colonial state on the one hand and the cash croppers and labourers on the other. Also through the same means, especially imprisonment, they were able to maintain the creditor - debtor relationship that existed between trading agents and these same cash croppers and labourers. It should be remembered that jailing of debtors which these Alkalai now sanctioned was unislamic.

Most important of all, they contributed to the transformation of the Emirate system of production by accelerating the disintegration of Emirate production units through a high rate of dissolution of marriages by their courts. Thus, adding to the problems of growing individual production and commoditization of labour and sex.[10]

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9. The harsh nature of colonial justice was on the orders of the British political officers. In a circular no.2 of 20 January 1909 from the resident to all district heads and Alkalai, the resident instructed that "The punishment for Drunkenness, larcenry or Gambling is never to be a fine only".

10. Tahir, I. "Scholars, Sufis, Saints and Capitalists in Kano 1904-1974: The Pattern of Bourgeois Revolution in an Islamic Society". Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge University. 1975 p.402.

These Alkalai owed their positions to the British, their services were not on civic basis but paid for by the British, their powers were clearly defined and they were closely supervised by them. In fact the District Alkalai and their Mallams received direct tuition from British Administrative officers on how to discharge colonial justice effectively and keep good court records.[11] Later a law school was established at Shahuci in Kano city to formally train their successors.

Beside the Mallaman fada who were turned into Alkalai of colonial district courts, there were others who were incorporated into the judicial wing of the Emirs council.[12] Yet, some were absorbed into the British created Waziri's department.[13] Those incorporated into the Emirs judicial council represented the most learned

11. NAK 24/1926 op.cit.

12. NAK Knprof 693 Kano Emirate - Decentralisation of executive responsibility in Emir's council. Report by Mr. Ward.

13. NAK Knprof 628 Kano province annual report for 1931.

of the Malaman fada. They gave legal opinion on cases taken before the Emirs council. The type of cases that lay within the jurisdiction of the Emirs council included political and revenue offences and cases involving homicide. The judicial council, despite the services of the learned ulama at its disposal had no powers to try civil cases of all types. Such cases fell within the jurisdiction of the chief Alkali's court.[14]

In the Waziri's department the ulama services were in the form of going through court record books of cases treated by all district alkalii courts for review. They approved some, and ordered for retrial of others while cases of appeal were passed to the chief Alkali.[15] It could be recalled that the waziri's department helped the British political officers in supervising all district courts of Kano "Emirate" and by virtue of doing so it was helping in the development of colonial system of justice. Needless to say

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14. NAK Knprof 693 op.cit.

15. Ibid.

the waziri and his staff were ulama.

It should be noted that the ulama attached to the personal households of the masu sarauta, mostly remained so attached. They remained so attached either because they could not be absorbed into the colonial bureaucracy or because of the benefits they got from the services they rendered. Also by being so attached they escaped the horrors of paying taxes and contributing to labour quota demands of the colonial state.

The other section of the ulama, who were not associated with the Emirate administration, in the 19th century, mainly operated at the grassroots.[16] They disseminated islamic religious knowledge , offerred spiritual guidance [17] to the people and preached for tolerance and non-materialistic living.[18] In addition they provided services like charms for protection, the

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16. Paden, op.cit. p57.

17. Tahir, op.cit. p.136

18. Ferguson, op.cit p229

setting of Lucky days and future forecasts.[19]

In return for the services of the ulama the people paid them nominal fees and gave them gifts.[20] Some of them that toured the country side, in most cases with their students, disseminating and seeking for knowledge, were accommodated and fed by the people. The students of the ulama tilled their farms and attended to their household chores.[21] Each year, during the Eid festival (Karamar Sallah), households gave out corn measures to the ulama as alms. Therefore the activities of ulama not associated with the Masu Sarauta was financed by the producers in the nineteenth century.

This economic basis of the Ulama was destroyed by the colonial state.

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19. For an example see: Skinner, N. Alhaji Mahmud Koki (Zaria, 1977) pp. 9-10.

20. Skinner, N. op.cit p10.

21. Smith, M.F. Baba of Karo. A Woman of the Muslim Hausa (London, 1965) pp.100-101

The colonial state's land policy of establishment of plantations, experimental farms, forest reserves, among others, constricted the available lands which the Ulama, in their itinerary ventures of seeking and disseminating knowledge, utilised.[22]

Secondly, the generosity of the society which they generally enjoyed rapidly dwindled in the face of the colonial situation of increasing poverty and social dispersion. Poverty and social dispersion accelerated the decline of industries, and of the volume of crops produced by Households for consumption.[24]

This even seems to discourage Islamic learning. In the situation of poverty peasant households found it very difficult to accommodate and feed

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22. Refer to pp 167-170

23. This has been discussed in detail in chapter three.

24. Migrations from the rural areas affected the ratio of sex and age distributions. On this issue refer to U.G. Damach Nigerian Modernization. The colonial Legacy. (New York, 1972) p.58

the itinerary ulama or employ their services. Many could not afford to finance the education of their children. In this way the ulama not associated with the masu sarauta were deprived of the labour services of their pupils and clients on their farms, in industries and trade.

The effect of these was the intensification of the commoditization of the Ulama's services necessitated by needs for their survival. Such roles provided by the Ulama at the grassroots level like offering of medical services, presiding over rituals and ceremonies, issueing out of charms which were hitherto given almost free without any definite fees, became away of earning a living. People, for example, that requested for medical services had to first of all pay a deposit fee or Kafin alkalami. Full payment was then done after recovery.

Secondly, the conditions of the people itself added to the commoditization of ulama services. The colonial situation, it could be recalled, was one of abject poverty. Many people resorted to thieving or fell into debt in order to improve their situations. By 1914 thieving had became wide spre

in the rural areas.[25] While in the capital it had reached organisational stage by 1929.[26] Cases of theft were so common that even village Heads were protecting thieves. Like thieving debt became very common and formed an important part of the relationships between the poor peasants and the rich. Cases of debt default were so many to warrant the establishment of a debtor's prison in Kano city.[27] In 1924 for example, a total number of 2,594 debt cases came before the colonial courts.[28] In such a situation debt defaulters needed some form of protection. They resorted to the ulama.

Therefore the nature of the colonial situation called for the production of some

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25. NAK Knprof 447/1914 Kano province half-yearly annual report for 1914.
26. NAK Knpfof 236/1929/Kano province annual report for 1929
27. A Debtors prison was established in Kano on March 18 - 1914. NAK Knprof 447/1914. op.cit.
28. NAK Knprof 181/1925 Kano province annual report for 1924.

specific charms. Among the most common of these charms were for protection (tsarin kai) due to increasing insecurity, and theft (layar zana) due to increasing poverty and the resort to thieving, for debt evasion (shashatau , daurin baki and sabani) due to the deepening debt. In fact the need for these services was sufficient enough to warrant the emergence of some Ulama in the city that specialised in such services. These Ulama were called malam Bariki.

The colonial situation had affected the nature of the forms of worship of the Emirate. Long before the establishment of colonial domination Sufi orders existed. The most important were Qadiriyya into which most of the Emirate rulers and intelligentsia belonged, and the Tijjaniyya.[29] Recruitment to these orders was done by Maqaddams (initiators).[30] The forms of worship and activities were restricted to family or clan circles. Most traders and the Masu Sarauta belonged to Qadiriyya.

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29. Paden, op.cit. p.65

30. Tahir, op.cit. p.136

The colonial conquest and the dissolution of Sokoto caliphate which generated migrations of people and Ulama out of the caliphate weakened the Qadiriyya allegiance to Sokoto. Many changed their traditional Qadiriyya allegiance to new branches introduced by North Africans resident in Kano.[31]

The final blow to Qadiriyya allegiance to Sokoto came with the appointment of Abbas as Emir of Kano by the British. Abbas, to emphasize his independence from Sokoto changed his Sufi order to Tijjaniyya. As a result of the weakening of the Qadiriyya order and the conversion of Abbas to Tijjaniyya,most officials of the colonial bureaucracy, traders and ulama joined the order.[32]

The weakened Qadiriyya later in the colonial period embarked upon reforms through attempts to establish a mass base. These attempts resulted in the merger of its sammaniyya and shaziliyya branches into one body.[33] As a result of the

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31. Paden, op.cit p.68
32. Ibid. p.82
33. Ibid p.150. It should be noted that some ulama did not join the reforming orders. Maybe because the new orders were associated with merchants and officials of the colonial bureaucracy.

reforms of the two brotherhoods and the break-up of peasant Household units, due to colonial exploitation, membership of sufi orders became based upon inidividual's disposition. Thus, the Sufi orders membership cut across family lines and they became trans-ethnic unlike the pre-colonial period.[34] This and the increasing mass membership of these orders indicated the dire need of the people to escape the realities of their situation with its stresses and strains. The sufi muqaddams called the people back to God, to renounce worldly things and join the Sufi orders for salvation. The sufi orders promised direct communion with God, the Almighty, the redeemer of people from miseries. The Ulama even claimed to have the power to intercede with God on behalf of the people for a life of luxury and bliss in paradise - this, therefore, generated mass membership.[35] Therefore sufi mallams provided a forum for psychological relief to the people

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34. Ibid p.203

35. Ibid pp 65-67.

and the orders represented an escapist channel away from the colonial realities and a rejection of these realities.

The membership and domination of the sufi leadership by the members of the colonial bureaucracy or their associates, did not represent an attempt by them to escape from the colonial realities. What it represented, so it seemed, was an attempt at resolving their conflicting roles of leaders of Islam and agents of an alien christian domination.

The feforming sufi orders, therefore, served a very important role in the maintenance of the colonial situation by being forums that united, religiously, agents of exploitation and the exploited. In this way the stresses and strains arising from the increasing poverty and alienation of the peasantry and labourers were psychologically reduced; and, at the same time, their subjection to the wills of the colonial state assured.

The Emirate elite (the intelligentsia and the Masu sarauta) that were turned into a colonial bureaucracy had no sufficient orientation to serve, adequately, the colonial state. Therefore, the British political officers decided to gradually replace them with western educated elite.

II. The Emergence of Western Educated Elite

The roles of the Emirate elite were transformed in a manner that would serve colonial domination. But they were not well equipped to perform these roles without direct supervision from British political officers. This was because of their Emirate roots, orientations and their religious inclinations. For the officials to function in a manner suitable to British interests without direct supervision, it was necessary for an intelligentsia to be trained in the British own image. The British realised right from the first decade of the 20th century that the Emirs, District Heads, Village Heads and their Ulama (which they believed were fulani) were

> " 'unfit at present to exercise power except under-supervision....but /they/ hope/d/ that with careful guidance their sons and grandsons will form invaluable rulers under British supervision and that their superior intelligence can be developed as a useful asset in our administration.' [36]

The way this would be done was by introducing Western form of education with all its racist and segregational biases, to deliberately train candidates for absorption into the administration. The nature of the colonial education must follow the class character of the colonial society for it to achieve its purpose - the training of people for the preservation and strengthening the exploiter and exploited relationship that existed between the colonial state, the officials and the masses on the other.

To achieve this objective a school for mallams was opened at Nassarawa in Kano to train teachers that would teach at the Nassarawa School which was to be opened in 1910. The Nassarawa school, after it had been established, had the following

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36. Quoted from A.F. Ogunsola. Legislation and Education in Northern Nigeria. (Ibadan, 1977) pp. 6-7.

sections:- Sons of chiefs, survey, workshop and Mallams section.[37]

In 1911 the school for sons of chiefs had 97 students, that of mallams had 80, survey 10, while that of the workshop had 13. Already nearly all District heads and Chiefs had sent their children or near relations to the school. Among such students were the sons of the Emir of Kano, Makama, Maaji, Sarkin Rano, Sarkin Gaya, Turaki Manya, Wambai, Sarkin Karaye, Sarkin Dutse, while the Madaki sent a grandson.[38] The school hours were from 3 - 5 p.m. The students were taught the alphabet.

In this same year an elementary school was established to absorb the students of the Nassarawa school. This elementary school was to produce students for entry into the provincial school which was established in 1912. From then on the colonial state embarked upon the establishment of schools in different areas of the province.

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37. Ogunsola, op.cit. p.17

38. NAK Knprof 447/1914 op.cit.

By 1935 there were a total 17 elementary schools.[39] These were mainly established at strategic centres. As for the rural areas, to the colonial state:

> "It is clear that, except in such centres as Bichi, Kazaure, Hadejia and Gumel, a number of small one-teacher schools will best satisfy the educational requirements of the Districts....and this type of school will have more chance of approximating to the aims of and ideal 'village school'."[40]

Such one-teacher schools were of four year durations. New students were admitted every four years. In 1935 five of such schools were established.[41] The number of elementary schools in Kano province rose to 31 in 1946 with a total of 2,608 students from a population of about 2,831,778.[42] The number of these schools increased to 37 in 1948.

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39. NAK 25673A Kano province annual report for 1935
40. Ibid
41. Ibid
42. NAK No. 41986 Kano province annual report 1946.

The curriculum of these schools included Arabic, Religious Knowledge, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. The teaching was done in Hausa.[43] The teachers were recruited from the graduates of these same elementary schools while few were graduates of Katsina training college. Thus, out of the 44 elementary teachers existing in the province only 14 were tained.[44] The admission into these elementary schools was almost invariably through the Emirs or their accredited representatives.[45]

The provincial school which was opened in 1912 served the whole of Kano province and it was fed by the elementary schools. In 1914 it had a student strength of 93 out of which 10 were expelled, 6 left and joined revenue survey department. One was promoted to teach at the school, while one had left to join forestry, another simply ran away.[46]

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43. Sanderson, L. "Education and Administrative Control in colonial Sudan and Northern Nigeria" African Affairs Journal of the Royal African Society. Vol. 74, No.297 p.435.

44. NAK No.33147 Kano province annual report for 1929

45. NAK knprof 438/1930 Kano province annual report for 1930.

46. NAK Knprof 447/1914 op.cit.

This school, which we said served the whole province had a total of 75 students, in 1925 out of which were 24 sons of District Heads and a son of the Emir and Alkali of Kano. All the 26, therefore, came from the "ruling classes" of Kano.[47]

Already in 1929 the Government had embarked on a new education policy which led to the establishment of middle schools, at least one in each province of Northern Nigeria. In Kano, the provincial capital and capital of Kano division the middle school established absorbed the provincial and craft schools. This school was working on a "modified and more comprehensive curriculum."[48]

In 1932 the teaching staff were as follows four certificated teachers, two arabic teachers, two woodwork instructors, two metal and one drawing instructor.[49] It's student strength by 1944 had reached two hundred and twenty five.[50]

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47. NAK Knprof 24 Kano province annual report for 1925

48. NAK Knprof 438 op.cit.

49. NAK 628/1932 op.cit.

50. NAK SNP 17/4 No.39157 Kano Province annual report for 1944.

The survey school, which was established along with that of sons of chiefs at Nassarawa in 1910, was to be the nucleus of Kano arts and crafts school. Its main purpose was to provide skilled labour to "Native Authority" departments. This school which had the whole province as its catchment area had a total of eighty five students in 1924 out of which seventy five came from Kano "Emirate". The school had several sections, mechanical, wood works and brick works sections. A total of twenty two artisans had graduated from the school, thirteen as motor mechanics seven as wood workers.[51] The students were drawn from houses of the "Emirate officials" or those close to them.

As in the pre-colonial days, the British accorded women a secondary position in their scheme of things. Thus, their education started late and of course with a curriculum that reinforced their secondary positions. In August 1930 the British started to experiment with girls education by establishing a girls centre

51. NAK No.181/1925 op.cit.

with intakes of ages between four and eleven years.[52] By 1932 their number was fifteen and the centre had a section for older girls to be trained for lowly jobs in the health and sanitation department.[53] Later the colonial state decided to introduce girls into elementary schools to study alongside boys. In 1935 there were twenty seven girls attending four elementary schools.[54] It rose to sixty four in 1938 while at the girls centre there were fourty eight girls.[55] In this same year the Government decided to allow them to attain middle school standard education. Thus, twenty one girls were admitted into middle school at a time when their number in elementary schools in the province formed about one-third of the student population.

Right from the beginning the curriculum of the girls centre was of a very "elementary character". It included:- Personal hygiene like care of the nails hair etc., laundry work,

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52. NAK Knprof 438/1930 op.cit.

53. NAK prof 628/1932 op.cit.

54. NAK SNP 17/4 27810 Kano Province annual report for 1936.

55. NAK SNP 17/4 30847 Kano province annual report for 1938.

plasticine modelling, needle work and drawing.[56] To this was added weaving as an innovation in 1938.[57]

Formal training of judges for the colonial judiciary started in 1930's to replace the informal tuition by the British political officers. The training was aimed at producing suitable judges and scribes

> "so that the old type of mallam who has had no education in the generally accepted sense of the term but has learnt his law in an old fashioned Koran school ....."[58]

could be replaced. In 1934 a law school was established in Kano city for this purpose with Northern Nigeria as its catchment area. Kano the centre of colonial exploitation and commerce, of growing inequalities and disaffection was bound to require more judicial officers to

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56. NAK No. 628/1932 op.cit.

57. NAK No. 30847/1938 op.cit.

58. NAK No. 29652 Kano Province Annual Report for 1937.

keep colonial law and order. Out of the fourty students enrolled in the first year the allocation for each area was as follows:[59]

Kano	-	11
Borno	-	6
Katsina	-	6
Sokoto	-	5
Bauchi	-	4
Niger	-	3
Zaria	-	2
Ilorin	-	2
Jos	-	1

The curriculum of the law school differred from that of the "old fashioned" malikiilm schools for which Kano was reknown . In addition to teaching of law, theology, tradition, Biography of the prophet, grammar, and Koran, the pupils were taught Arithmetic, dictation, copying and English grammar all of which were necessary in keeping court records. Scribes were also trained here.[60]

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59. NAK No. 1185 Kano province annual report for 1935.

60. Ibid.

For the older generations the British had designed a suitable education for them. Like that of the youth it had class bias. This adult education also was not limited to Kano city but the rural areas. This adult education was divided into two:- General and Special.
In the special section were the following:

1. private classed for the Emir and his eldest son - the hier apparent. Taught by special teachers from Gordon college.[61]

2. Class for Senior "Native Authority" officials - mainly employees of madaki, ma'aji and Galadima. The Ma'aji himself attended. Total students were 6 in 1935.

3. Class for junior"Native Authority" officials which included a section for police and Yangadi recruits.

4. Class for juvenile reformatory school.

5. Classes for the inmates of shahuci prison

6. Classes for village heads and their tax mallams - held only during the season of non-tax collection.[62]

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61. NAK No. 2567A/1935 op.cit.

62. NAK No. 30847/1938 op.cit.

General education was for all especially the business community.

Beside different subjects taught to the different classes, Reading, Arithmentic, Writing, a little Geography, History and Religion were also taught.

We have so far surveyed the structure of colonial education and have indicated with examples the strength of the students in each of its sections and where possible we have also treated the nature of the curriculum up to 1940's.
From this survey several issues need to be pointed out. Throughout the period, covered, the curriculum did not include Biology, Physics, Chemistry and Engineering, subjects that were fundamental in creative and scientific education. Even the technical section of colonial education had nothing to do with inventions or innovations but the production of cart wheels and cart bodies, bricks etc. These were needed to maximize and accelerate the transportation of cash crops.

Students from elementary and middle schools were geared towards absorption into the departments of the "Native Authority" to serve it as tax assessors and collectors, machanics, bricklayers etc., duties that did not need any creativity.

Colonial education was therefore geared towards producing trained people to strengthen and maintain the functions of the colonial bureaucracy and therefore support colonial domination.

Thirdly, colonial education had inherent class, generational and geographical biases beside the racist nature of its curriculum.

The nucleus of colonial education in Kano, the Nassarawa school, had segregated sections, for sons of chiefs, for mallams and for artisans. Later with the proliferation of elementary schools for youth, adult classes were introduced thus the youth and adults each had a separate education.

Adult education like that of the youth had its own internal differential aspects. Each cadre of employees of the "Native Authority" had their own separate classes, so were business-men, prisoners and juvenile delinquents.

This education had geographical bias in tune with the emerging polarisation of settlements from which the distinction between town and country was discernible. The rural areas were the abode of cash crop producers, while the city that of administrators, workers and businessmen.

Colonial educational and other institutions were concentrated in the Birni (city) at the expense of other parts of Kano. This created a lopsided colonial development pattern whereby virtually most of the money at the disposal of the "Native Authority" was spent on the Birni. The other parts, from which most of the colonial revenue was generated, were almost completely neglected. This was because for the other areas the only administrative services needed were for assessment and collection of taxes, keeping of peace and order. Added to this was the fact that no British education was necessary before the peasants could produce cash crops or sell their labour. Thus the schools mostly established were one-teacher schools.

The creation of the middle school, which integrated the different sections of colonial education, did nothing in the way of solving the

geographical lopsided development of colonial education and its class character. Throughout the period surveyed, admissions into elementary schools in Kano province was

> "almost invaiably through the Emirs or their accredited representatives in the districts, and repeated attempts to inculcate the democractic ideal have met with little success".[63]

These people would favour their relations and servants in admission into the elementary schools. It should be noted that these elementary schools produced students for entery into the middle school. Even the girls at the girls centre came from the households of the officials of the colonial bureaucracy. Thus, it was mainly youth and adults from the households of officials of colonial bureaucracy that received this education. On the whole, the common people were mostly left out. In fact this class character of British education has been maintained and is being strengthened twenty three years after independence by the type of elite it produced. A scholar writing on education in Nigeria had this to say:

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63. NAK Knprof No.438/1930 op.cit.

> "The inequality and subsequent disharmoney in the society, which is due to the disharmony between a relatively few privileged public schools and their teeming under privileged counterparts, is an important feature of educational development in Nigeria since independence."[64]

It was not only because education was in the hands of the "ruling classes" that the common people were left out, but their abject conditions of poverty made them to develop a negative attitude towards it. Thus, the problem colonial education was facing

> "in Gumel and Hadejia no less than in Kano Emirate, has been the persistent belief that these schools, like so much else, are for the 'bourgeoisie' and no concern of the 'proletariat' ....."[65]

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64. Ahmed, U.B. "Education as an obstacle: The Nigerian Neo-colonial System" Paper presented at National Seminar on Nigeria Since Independence Project. Zaria, 28 - 31 March, 1983, p.9.

65. NAK SNP17/3 No.29652/1937 op.cit.

Thus, for example, applications for admission into Shahuci primary school were

> "forthcoming voluntarily from certain classes only. The Emir, Waziri, Madaki appear to want all their sons of suitable age to enter. Government messengers, Native Administration Messengers and Mallams, Soldiers, Police, (in short those whose work bring them into touch with Native Administration or Government activities) and also some Arab and Hausa traders, from various motives are anxious for their sons to enter."[66]

Colonial education made no appeal to the producers and labourers because they were more concerned with struggling to survive. Members of the ruling class have many children each staying idle at home. They could afford to send their children to colonial schools and due to their privileged positions, they could finance the education of their children. They could also do without the labour services of their children because they had adequate services of slaves and Barori at their disposal. The producers and labourers on the other hand, especially those in the rural areas could neither afford to finance the education of their children nor do without their labour services. Their children had to

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66. NAK Knprof 236/1929 op.cit.

work on their farms or personal plots, look after the cattle or engage in cash gaining activity to supplement their incomes.

Added to these was the behaviour of pupils which further scared poor parents from sending their children to school. The pupils of the schools developed tastes for higher living which poor parents could not afford.[67]

The curriculum of most of the schools did not help matters either. It stressed British methods of reading, writing and arithmetic which had no bearings with their economic pursuits. They, therefore,

> "pin their faith on the teaching in the Kora'an schools and ilm schools..../which gave/what is necessary in a boy's upbringing;.../i/e/ tangible results in religious observance and practice."[68]

Thus, the western educated elite came from the families of the officials of the colonial bureaucracy and mainly from its top echelons. They were absorbed into it to replace the former Emirate elite. Towards the closing years of the

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67. Ibid

68. Ibid. The western type of schools were regarded by the people as unislamic, this added to the reasons why people did not like to send their children to these schools.

1940s their position in relation to the inherited elite from the Emirate was getting stronger and in the following decade they were beginning to assert their influence over the "Native Authorities." Their growing strength and different orientations and educational refinement brought many into logger-heads with the former Emirate elite.

The power struggle between the two set of elites had long been in the making. Long before the western educated elite got a better hand, British political officers always interceded on behalf of the traditional elite. The case of Mansur Gaya is an example. In 1934 Mansur Gaya a teacher at elementary school Gaya, because of his status had the guts to

> "show discourtesy and insolence towards the district Head of Gaya"

When the issue was taken before the Emir of Kano, he "dismissed him on the spot."[69]

The British political officers transferred him to another school because

> "it did not appear to be clear /to them/ whether the Emir wished the man to be dismissed altogether or be transferred....."[70]

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69. NAK Knprof No.1155 Elementary Schools in Kano province routine correspondence.

70. Ibid.

Later it was conveniently reported that this teacher, who was transferred to Goron Dutse school was arrested by Yan-gadi "in a private house in the city..... He and five others were gambling."[71] Mansur was jailed. It was when the Emir and other "traditional" elite made it clear that Mansur must be punished for showing discourtesy and insolence to one of their likes that the British decided that Mansur was not even qualified to be a teacher, because they remembered that he failed his elementary school certificate as far back as 1934.[72]

The case of Malam Mansur Gaya is only an example of similar fates educated elite sufferred in the hands of the "traditional" elite . In 1946, Abdulrahman Bida, Raji Abdallah and Abubakar Zukogi were expelled from their posts in the Kano "Native Authority" for activities that challenged the basis of the "Native Authority."[73]

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71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Feinstein, A. African Revolutionary. The Life and Times of Nigeria's Aminu Kano. (New York, 1973) p.105.

In the 1940's and 1950's the relationship between young educated elite and the "Native Authority" leaderships took the form of a power struggle. From the 1940's the educated elite in Northern Nigeria began to organise themselves into radical groups. In Zaria the friendly society was formed in 1941, later to be replaced by Zaria Youth Association. In Bauchi the Bauchi general improvement union was formed in 1943 while in Sokoto the Sokoto youth social circle emerged.[74] Many associations developed in Kano like the society of feiends[75] (Taron Masu zununta). These were to merge into a wider organization, the Northern Elements Progressive Association. In Kano the radical groups, at the initial stages, enjoyed the patronage of some trading agents, ulama and the producers.[76] It could be recalled that some of the members were of ulama and merchant parentage. The peasantry supported them because

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74. Ibid pp. 86-91.

75. Tahir, op.cit. pp. 431-432

76. Ibid. p433.

they challenged the oppressive policies of the "Native Authority" especially its taxation policy and the brutality of its police.

To counteract the opposition of the Educated elite the "Native Authorities" retaliated by banning some of these radical groups and expelling their members from the services of the "Native Authorities".[77]

The educated elite were sufficiently organised to survive the retaliations of the "Native Authority" leaderships. Added to this was the fact that the "democratizing" process in Nigeria had already been setting in motion immediately after the first world war in which the educated elite were best equipped to play a leading role within a nation wide context. The "democratization" process was introduced at a time when the economies of Nigeria had been fully reoriented. What remained was the consolidation of a fully dependent political structure that would maintain the dependent economies without the supervision of the British.

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77. Feinstein, A. Op.cit. p91

In this "democratization" process political parties were formed for the establishment of the dependent political structure. In Northern Nigeria, the Northern Peoples Congress emerged as a poltical party with the main aim of preserving the status quo in which Emirs, ulama and merchants were the priviledged. With this the merchants and the ulama changed their support from the radical educated groups which had connections with southern based political parties to the Northern Peoples Congress.[78] Thus, the radical educated elite were left with only the support of the exploited peasantry and labourers. Later they formed the Northern Elements Progressive Union. Thus, in Kano, politics of decolonization took the form of class struggle in conformity with the nature of classes created by British colonial domination.

The development of the western educated elite was part of the development of a colonial society in which distinct classes were developing. The proletariate, the comprador

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78. Tahir, op.cit. p439

Bourgeoisie and cash croppers began to emerge out of the colonial situation as distinct classes with corresponding values. The nature of values corresponding to the consolidating classes forms the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SOCIAL VALUES[1]

For centuries before the establishment of colonial domination Kano Kingdom and later on Emirate, functioned as a commercial centre in the Central Sudan. This commercial standing reached its peak in the 19th century when it eclipsed centres like Borno and Katsina.[2] This trade, as we have argued in chapter one involved mainly manufactured goods which were exported or re-exported to areas far and near. On this trade, as we have argued, a merchant class partially depended.[3]

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1. The term values in this chapter refers to forms of behaviour arising out of the circumstances of individuals and the society. For a comprehensive definition of the term refer to Sills, D. (ed) Internation Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences vols. 15,16, and 17. (New York, 1972) p283.

2. On development of Kano as a trading centre see: Adamu, M. "The Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan in the 18th and 19th Centuries" in Y.B. Usman (ed) Studies on the Sokoto Caliphate. (ABU, 1979)pp59-104

3. For examples of such merchants refer to Tahir, I. Scholars Sufis, Saints and Capitalists in Kano 1904-1974: The Pattern of Bourgeois Revolution in an Islamic Society." (Ph.D. Cambridge, 1975) pp 268-291.

But this capitalist form of exchange, despite its centuries of duration and level of development, did not represent a reflection of capitalist production. Industrial and agricultural productions geared towards the market did not form the main stay of the economy of Kano. Labour was not subordinated to capital as a commodity because of the dominance of the production of material use-values.

Capitalist form of production became the dominant form of production only in the twentieth century.[4] This was the result of the implementation of colonial policies especially those related to monetization, taxation, land, labour and education. The development of dependent capitalism involved the necessary re-orientation of the pre-existing system of production and production relations of the Emirate. It is our submission in this chapter that based upon the re-orientation of production

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4. Freund, B. Capital and Labour in the Nigerian Tin Mines. (Burnchill, 1981) p.4.

and the emerging capitalist classes, capitalist values as concomitant correlates of the overall development of capitalism began to take shape in the society of Kano. The development of capitalist values went along with the erosion of pre-existing values.

As has already been stated the household in the Emirate acted not only as a production unit but also as a socializing unit with corresponding values. Its social ethics emphasized cooperation, participation, sharing, industriousness, discipline etc. These values were not only decided by its socially cohesive nature but also by the level of development of its tools of production.[5] The household was heavily influenced by nature. Thus, the character of production followed the season. Agricultural production predominated in the rainy season, craft and hunting in the dry season. The work

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5. Refer to p.17.

rythms of the units follow the seasons and even days. Mornings and evenings for production and afternoons for the recuperation of labour. There was no idleness. Ideas, beliefs and values of the unit or society were, therefore, greatly influenced by nature and served the societal attempts to harness nature. Moral principles of the units and the society as a whole were couched in such a way as to forge and strengthen cohesion. It is therefore logical that the societal concepts of good and bad, truth and falsehood, right and wrong were central to the existence of its units and to its production and reproduction.

In chapter three, we have stated that under colonial domination the Emirate production units were transformed along with their production basis towards predominantly individualistic production of material exchange values.

Colonial labour and taxation policies reduced considerably the numerical and or labour strength of the production units in all

sectors and classes. This considerably weakened the economic and social security functions of the units and therefore their internal social bonds.

At the basic level of peasant production units, as production geared towards earning cash developed, money considerations started to become an important part of social relations both within the units and between them and other units. Individual thrift and character began to emerge as a form of social and economic secutity, replacing those of the household. Beside commoditization of production, severe colonial taxation which created poverty and the inability of units to maintain themselves, also helped in the reordering of social values. New relations purely divorced from communitarian ones began to develop.

The emerging poles of poverty and affluence, representing de-capitalisation and accumulation effects on rural producers and metropolitan trading agents respectively, created debt

relations between the two. Credit institutions began to emerge at village town and metropolitan levels. Credit institutions and the individual thrift and character developed to provide economic securities to the poverty stricken and at the sametime replacing the weakening securities of the households. It was not only debt that commoditized social relations but also poverty. The inability of the households to cater for their . members led to migrations, mostly, of their young members to the urban centres to sell their labour. This had the effect of dispersing the Household members.[6] The relations between the rural and urban members was no longer that of cohabitation and mutual interdependence but one in which relations were maintaned through periodic material gifts and visits. Thus, material contributions replaced labour contributions.

This also had the effect of affecting the nature of marriage institution which was a

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6. For details of the re-orientation of economy refer to chapter three.

a collective social responsibility and which acted as a cementing bond between households.[7]

Under colonial domination, with able bodied young members of households increasingly staying away in the urban centres selling their labour in return for cash, cash and material gifts became important in all aspects of marriages. Thus, the Murmushin Chiromas Maikano Agogos,[8] Kaima tsaya ka samu naka[9] were introduced as Kayan zahce[10] to replace paying inlaws in labour for the bride.[11]

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7. Damachi, U.G. Nigerian Modernization. A Colonial Legacy. (New York, 1972) p.29

8. This was a name of a popular trading agent given to a brand of imported cloth.

9. This also refers to a type of European Cloth that had become popular. The name Kaima tsaya ka samu nake means you should try to get yours.

10. Zance means courtship

11. Recorded interview with Gwaggo Hasiratu Kano. (G.H.K.)

Because of the distance that separated the migrant labourers from their household, zance came into being between the intending bride and bridegroom as preparatory to the arrangement of marriages. Initially marriages were arranged at household levels without even the consents of the future partners.

As materialism permeated the marriage institution, marriage costs increased, Auren Sadaka (gift marriage) began to rapidly decline or to be modified. Poor parents tended to accumulate alot of wealth from gifts by many suitors and preferred to give their daughters' hand in marriage to the rich.[12] This introduced competition between suitors into the marriage institution. This competition and the attempts by parents to accumulate material things turned marriage into a expensive affair . The consideration of suitors' material standing as an important issue in marriage led to the emergence of auren dole (forced marriage).

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12. Damachi, U.G. op.cit. , p29.

The idea of zance which provided a chance for women and girls to meet their suitors and decide who to marry, began to be abused by such parents for material gains. This added to the instances of divorce. Divorcees from such forced marriages tend to troop into the urban centres to take to prostitution.[13]

It was not economically feasible for migrants and labourers with their meagre earnings to establish Households in the urban centres. It was only possible for them to establish nuclear families. Thus, nuclear families began to emerge in the urban centres.

In the light of increasing odds against the survival of rural households their members took to seasonal and permanent migrations into areas where job opportunities were greater. Migrants trooped either to the capital - the seat of "Native Administration" and centre of commerce or to the centres of mining. This

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13. Tahir, I. p.402.

migration of able bodied youngmen and women created a large supply of labour ready to sell itself for cash. Migrations from the rural areas had by 1909 created a large floating population of about 10,000 in the capital.[14] Thus, even before 1910 the colonial state had no problems of getting wage labour. From such a floating population, in 1910, about 2,000 to 3,000 labourers were recruited to carry public works department materials from Zungeru at a rate of 6d a day. In 1908 about 3,523 labourers were similarly recruited.[15]

Paid labour in the mines, in the bureaucracy or in the service of European companies took a new character quite different from that in the households before the imposition of colonial domination

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14. NAK SNP 6 No.44/09 Kano Province Report (Preliminary) for 1909.

15. Bello, S. "State and Economy in Kano 1894 - 1960. A Study of Colonial Domination. (Ph.D A.B.U., 1982) pp. 136 - 137.

In the new setting, each, labourer provided his labour not as a component and integral part of a group or unit as in the household, bound by communitarian ethical principles, but as an individual. Because he represented a single unit of labour like others he depended solely on his own efforts and inputs to earn his pay and to progess. He used his individually earned pay to support and recreate himself and to give gifts to his rural relatives. In his new environment he lacked the social and economic support enjoyed previously in the household. The labourer in his work place became subjected to new work rythms. Rythms not set by nature but by the employers of his labour. In Jos tin mines for example, labourers worked for 54 hours in a six day week at a rate of five shillings six pence in the 1920s.[16] The wage fell to a meagre two shillings six pence in 1932. Labourers were subjected to the discipline of the organisation they worked for under headmen

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16. Freund, B. op.cit. p.82.

(helima) who owed their positions to demonstrated sychopancy to the employers and abilities to coerce labour and not due to the ownership of capital (land and tools) as was the case with the household heads.

Thus, the migrants positions changed from being component parts of production units to mere individuals as units of labour. The group he worked with were also individual labour units lacking in social bonds and support like those of the household. They represented groups from diverse areas with different backgrounds and cultures. One thing brought them together - the need for cash. Cash considerations therefore predicated their social relations. Such cash and material relations were extended to their relatives in the rural areas. Individualism and cash consideration were central to the values of this secular and individualistic group. Quite the opposite of what obtained in households.

At these centres of sale of labour new forms of behaviour began to emerge due to the

heterogeneous nature of the population. The population in the capital was made up mainly of students, bureaucrats, merchants and riff-raffs. Socially and economically they were distant from the rest of the populace. The distance from conventional social controls; the lack of social and economic securities; their meagre earnings and attendant job frustrations coupled with urban work rythms forced such a population to take new habits like drinking of alcohol, gambling, and prostitution.

Patronising prostitutes and attending <u>goge</u> dances as recreations were means of easing their frustrations. Such habits were either unknown to the society of the Emirate or were few. Such centres attracted, it was said, even the children of "ruling classes and merchants"[17] who paraded and squandered the wealth of their parents in beer parlours, on prostitutes, musicians and in gambling.

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17. Tahir, I. op.cit. p.404

Therefore the Sabongari, fagge and the mines were the abodes of indiscipline, disrespect,[18] ostentatious display of wealth and criminal practices that were strongly detested by the rest of the society. Because of the concentration of population in these centres, Sabongari for example, had a population of 4,900 Nigerians in 1931 out of which 3,000 came from the Northern provinces of Nigeria;[19] and its situation, theft was a common occurrance. Not only was thieving and gambling common in such population but they had even reached a stage where successful thieves and gamblers were publicly praised.[20]

On thieving, the colonial report indicated that in 1936

> "There has again been an increase in the number of criminal cases from the township, but there has been no really serious increase in crime the majority of cases heard having been petty theft cases".[21]

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18. Alrashid, H. Wakokin Hamza Caji. p.12
19. NAK Knprof 628 Kano Province Annual Report for 1931.
20. Alrashid, H. op.cit. p.19
21. NAK No.25673A Kano Province Annual Report for 1936.

They were petty and their increase did not represent something "really serious" because it did not challenge or threaten the existance of the capital basis of the colonial state, its companies or the wealth of its trading agents. Therefore, the social implications of thieving was not a matter of concern to the colonial state. But it mattered to the people whose values it was destroying.

In fact thieving by 1929 had become so well organised that it reached organisational stage as an institution. Even little boys were trained by adult professionals to cut pockets.[22] This led to the rise in juvenile delinquency. A juvenile reformatory was established to deal with the culprits.

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22. NAK Knprof No.236/1929 Kano Province Annual Report for 1929.

Beside thieving, prostitution was a way of making a living for women referred to as Masu Zaman Kansu (those who depend on themselves). In the urban centres there were many prostitutes. This was due to the fact that matrimonial cases, which mostly led to dissolutions of marriages, formed the majority of civil cases handled by the colonial courts in the whole of Kano province. This fact was not unconnected with the growing inabilities of households to catter for their women folk, commoditization and the forced marriage described. Divorcees were attracted to areas like Fagge and Sabongari where social control and the need to exer self restraint were absent. In such areas money was sprayed and a life of bliss existed. Many successful prostitutes became very popular and attracted praizes of musicians.[23]

The prostitutes provided pleasure not only to the willing population of the settlements but to British political officers and other-non-African population in return for money. The annual reports for Kano

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23. Al-Rashid, H. op.cit. p.13-14.

province were full of statistics of diseases afflicting the colonial society, unlike the "native" populations the diseases afflicting "non-natives" were mainly venereal diseases.[24] This disease was referred to as cutar-Birni (city disease) by the indigenes. The "non-native" population patronized the local prostitutes as their male population by far outweighed that of their women folk. The European population had a separate section in European hospital dealing specifically with cases of venereal diseases. Thus, a wide market attracted potential divorces to such areas as prostitues.

Drinking of alcohol, a habit largely unknown to the society of the Emirate and very unislamic, became the major source of recreation for such a population. By 1929 the habit of taking alcohol had become so common that alcohol was "freely drunk by natives....."[25]

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24. NAK Knprof No.236/1929 op.cit.

25. Ibid.

As the only possible source of supply was the colonial companies because the society in Kano did not brew alcohol, the colonial state, in order to absolve itself and its surrogates from blame, said that the alcohol was supplied by European firms, who,

> "through ignorance.....were selling a liquor called "alcool de menthe" a sort of semi-potent medicine found to contain over 80 percent alcohol."[26]

Official estimates of the average monthly sales of this "semi-potent medicine" put it at a conservative 130 gallons a month in Kano township alone.[27]

Thus, the budding cultures at the Sabongaris, Fagges and mining centres stood distinct, alienated and disinherited from the rural populations where the impact of colonial domination and creeping materialism were producing more gradual but similar effects.

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26. Ibid

27. Ibid

Disinheritance and alienation was not restricted to the creation of sharp cultural divisions between places like Sabongari and rural areas. It also separated the capital and its emerging classes from the rural areas and populations. Settlement polarisation had created two different poles-the rural areas, the abode of cash croppers and producers while the capital the abode of the bureaucrats, merchants, agents, soldiers, labourers and students. .

The rural populations mainly consisted of women, children and old people especially in the dry season because able bodied males were away to the urban centres to sell their labour.[28] This population, considering its age and orientation, faced with the increasing problems of self preservation in the face of deepening exploitation and coercion and almost completely excluded from European education tended to shy away from the capital and feared its populations and its ways. Because of their

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28. Damachi, U.G. op,cit. p58

alienation they treated the city people with suspicion and abhorred their ways of cunning and deceit or zaranci. The city people saw the rural populations as Kauyawa (uncivilized) whose habits were characterised by gidadanci, duhunkai and jahilai or conservatism and lack of elightenment. Out of the population at the capital of the state, the student group, which formed the basis of western educated elite, was much more receptive to new values.

This was partly due to their age and partly due to the fact that the Europeans made it a deliberate policy to inculcate in them their own values which they considered to be more refined. These values gave the students a sense of distinction from the rest of the society. They identified with the Europeans who tried to train them for absorption into the top posts of the colonial bureaucracy. By virtue of being able to read and write and to speak the English language the students and other educated elite saw themselves as a special group in the society that should be respected by young and the old.

The British political officers did not try to conceal their aims of introducing European values to the students.

In 1937 for example, the British were worried by the rate at which students were adopting European values, especially those of them from the "ruling classes". Therefore it was suggested that a special school be set up specially for children of the chiefs of about ten years of age. The school would have two to three British instructors so that the boys would learn

> "more about English social ways and be more able to be at ease when they grow up".[29]

Though the resident of Kano, in response to the above suggestion from the secretary of the Northern provinces, was not in objection to the setting up of such a school, he preferred such a school to absorb middle school graduates only. He was in total support of greater inculcation of European social ways. He observed that:

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29. NAK No.2221 routine correspondences on school for sons of chiefs. Refer to letter No.28961/2 of August 10, 1937.

> "it is very noticeable how quickly youths and even older officials will acquire English social ways. If they have the advantage of the personal interest and attention of Administrative, Education or other officers."[30]

He therefore suggested that middle school graduates (the sons of chiefs only) should

> "have a finishing course where English and English ways could be made a special study under European masters....."

though such a school was not immediately established, Kaduna College served this purpose.[31]

For the students the school provided a socializing environment quite distinct and apart from the elders and the household. In this environment students developed new values and habits independent of the rest of the society. In it the student became aware of himself as an individual, relied on his own efforts to succeed, also competed against others to succeed. He developed confidence in

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30. Refer to letter No.28961/93 of March 16, 1948

31. Ibid.

himself and the ability to take decisions and make judgements on his own, quite divorced from the dogmatic orders of parents and elders.

Education gave him a sense of superiority and he looks down upon others who were not so ~~opportuned to~~ have similar experience.[32] The British political officers had observed that the

> "tendency of pupils is to appreciate a higher standard of living and cleanliness, more methodical action, and mental and physical development generally, /which/ tend to give him a genuine, if unconscious, feeling of superiority to his illiterate elders, or to give fathers a corresponding feeling of inferiority to their more enlightened sons..."[33]

Thus, the students had no respect for parents and age.

In these schools the teaching was not "sufficiently utilitarian" but "mainly literary"[34] because the objectives were not to inculcate dignity of labour but to

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32. Damachi, U.G. op.cit p.14

33. NAK No.236/1929 op.cit.

34. Ibid.

> "train a generation /that would be able/ to achieve ideals of its own, without slavish imitation of Europeans, capable and willing to assume its own definite sphere of public work, and to shape its own future"[35]

and therefore not of the rest of the society.

It was also to train a generation of

> "native chiefs of higher integrity, a truer sense of justice and appreciation of responsibility for welfare of the community".[36]

While for those it intended to absorb into the Administration and colonial companies the aim was to train them to be

> "efficient, loyal, reliable and contented - a race of self respecting native gentlemen".[37]

Under the colonial situation therefore, the creation of a group with a "sense of higher standard of living and cleanliness" and "mental development"; of more "methodical action" with feelings of superiority to elders and parents and "capacble of shaping its own

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35. Lugard, C. op.cit. p.425
36. Ibid. p.426.
37. Ibid. p.426.

destiny" represented a departure from the communitarian values of the society of the Emirate and a representation of their destruction.[38] The educated elite would later in the closing years of colonial domination take over the helm of the affairs of the society and establish the dominance of their secular values.

Colonial education aimed at creating a group of

> "efficient, loyal, reliable and contented....self respecting native gentlemen"

with a truer sense of justice had failed in this very objective. It failed mainly because of the predominantly literary nature of the contents of education and its elitest character. Instead, it created, out of the pupils, a group that was

> "unreliable, lacking in integrity, self control and discipline and without respect for authority of any kind."[39]

Lugard in lamentation to this unfortunate outcome had observed that:

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38. Ukaegbu, K. "The Impact of Western Culture on the traditional Nigerian Society". (Ph.D. Michig[illegible] 1974) p.142.

39. Lugard, L. op.cit. p.428.

> "European civilization on tropical races /as a whole had/ indeed the tendency to undermine that respect for authority which is the basis of the social order. The authority of the head, whether of the tribe, the village or the family, is decreased and parental discipline is weakened. /This was due to/ that emancipation of thought which results from our /British/ educational system."40

The educated was referred to as the Bakin Bature or (Black European) by those not opportuned to get western education.

The colonial bureaucracy (the "Native administration") absorbed the young educated people into its folds. Importing into it their habits feelings and behaviours described above.[41] Their absorption resulted in the development of conflicts between them and the rest of the officials of the bureaucracy especially the senior ones.

It could be recalled that the imposition of colonial domination had resulted in the transformation of the functions of the masu sarauta.[42]

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40. Ibid. p462

41. Damachi, U.G. op.cit. p98-99

42. Refer to chapter four.

Under the colonial arrangement appointments of senior officials of the colonial bureacuracy was in the hands of the Emir, subject to the approval of the Resident of Kano. These officials inturn appointed the staff under them with the approvals of the Emir and the Resident. Thus membership into the colonial bureaucracy in the above sense, was in the hands of the masu sarauta.[43] People appointed into the bureaucracy were mainly their relatives and supporters though some few western educated people from the Households of the ulama and trading agents gained entry into the administration by virtue of their education. Therefore, descent and sychopancy played important roles in the membership of the administration. Appointments based on merit only started to become important later in the colonial period when the colonial schools startedto produce many products.

Under the British the masu sarauta no longer solely enjoyed the benefits of taxation nor were they left a free hand to collect it and disburse it as they wanted. The salaries, as regular fixed

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43. See circular No. 7 orders to Native Chiefs of 22:1:1909. NAK

income the officials were getting under the British were not sufficient to cater for them and to discharge their social and religious obligations. Even Zakka, the state social security system was abolished. Thus, the granduer of the offices held by the masu sarauta in the colonial bureaucracy rapidly declined along with their socially expected ethics and ettiquttes. Dogarai no longer served them and enforce their wills but those of the British. Their teams of slaves that provided them with prestige in the eyes of the people and the jakadu were disbanded.[44] Thus such offices stood stripped of their sources of granduer.

As a result of the decline of their incomes and the need to restore the granduer and prestige of their former positions, they engaged in activities geared towards accumulation of money and properties. In such attempts they became corrupt,[45] and extortionate. They also took to embezzlement of public funds.

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44. Refer to pp.94

45. The Masu Sarauta for example, received bribes for land and stall allocations. See Tahir, I. op.cit. pp. 429-430.

For embezzlement it was discovered that the treasury at Kano suffered a deficiency of about 1,913 pounds sterling and 13 shillings in 1914. On checking the treasury books only 36 pounds sterling 13 shillings and 4 pence was actually missing. But due to the problems created by Nickel and Silver exchanges the treasury was facing, the issue was dismissed and the Treasurer absolved of all blames.[46] In 1921 the District heads of Gwarzo, Gwaram, Debbi and Jahun, among others, were found to be highly extortionate along with their servants and had embezzled parts of the taxes collected.[47]

Village heads were not left out in the similar behaviour of officials. The colonial reports indicate that

> "there has been the usual lapses on the part of several village Heads, namely tax embezzlement, extortion and concealment of thieves."

While in 1924 nineteen of such village heads were

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46. NAK No.447 Kano Province Annual Report for 1914.

47. NAK SNP 225 1920-21 Reports on office holders and District Heads.

designated as tax defaulters, thirteen of them were sent to jail and the remaining six absconded.[48]

Extortions, embezzlements of funds and concealment of thieves represented attempts on the parts of members of the colonial bureaucracy to accumulate private property. It also represented lack of concern for the welfare of the society.

The economic basis of the Emirate traders and merchants was also destroyed by the reorientation of the economy due to the economic policies of the colonial state. The traders and merchants were turned into agents of colonial companies, buying raw materials and selling European manufactured goods in return. In this process they accumulated money and property through commissions, underpricing of raw materials and overpricng of manufactured goods. The officials of the colonial bureaucracy were busy at their own means of accumulation extortion of the peasantry and embezzlement of public funds.

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48. NAK No.181/1925 Annual Report for 1924.

Thus, extortion plus severe colonial taxation were pushing the producers into poverty while allowing for accumulation in the hands of trading agents and top bureaucrats. Thus, it was not surprising that the trading agents tended to enter into alliance with the bureaucrats and the Ulama.

As for the relationship between trading agents and the producers it was that of credit. Agents advanced money to them in return for cash crops after harvests. Many fell into debt in cases of poor harvest and shortage of rains. The poor, in their destitute conditions, received loans from the trading agents with heavy interests.[49] Chains of creditors linked the cashcroppers with the trading agents - the two poles of poverty and affluence.

The widening gap between the poor and the rich made acquisition and display of wealth a sign of status in the society. The wealthy

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49. Shenton, R.W. "Studies in the Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria. (Ph.D. Toronto, 1981) p.256.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This thesis has dwelt upon the nature, degree and scope of the impact of British colonial domination on the pre-existing social and economic structures of Kano. In the analysis it has been shown that the political and production systems along with the values of the pre-colonial society were fundamentally transformed.

The Aristocracy with its wide executive, legislative and judicial powers, backed by a religious legitimation provided by the court literati, controlled the administration. The British knew in advance that the Aristocracy would constitute an obstacle in the path of their interests because, through its administration, it controlled and regulated the Emirate system of production. This therefore necessitated the military conquest of the Emirate and the transformation of the administration to make it possible for the imperialists to re-orient and control the Emirate economy.

The first important action taken in the transformation of the Emirate political system was the limitation of the powers of the Aristocracy. The incapacitation of the Aristocracy involved the destruction of its religious legitimacy and allegience to Sokoto; the limitation of its powers over appointments and deposition of officials; the abolishing of its military functions and the separation of its executive from judicial functions.

The British political officers also undertook the transformation of the other aspects of the administration. The main agency through which the pre-colonial Aristocracy performed its functions, the Gunduma administration, was abolished. The functions of the Jakadu, some malaman fada and slaves as officials that manned the Gunduma administrations were also abolished. In place of Gundumoni, consolidated Districts were created with resident Hakimai, Alkalai and tax mallams. The functions of the Hakimai and Alkalai, as officials on the payroll of the colonial state, was to maintain colonial peace and order and to assure the collection of taxes.

The transformation of the Emirate administration into a colonial bureaucracy did not represent an attempt at establishing a more humane political system based on social justice as the British claimed. The bureaucracy continued to be corrupt, extortionate and coercive. It was intended to serve and actually did serve the British imperialists in the areas of appropriation of part of the proceeds of labour and the maintainance of colonial peace and order. All of these assured the exploitation of the producers.

* The concept of indirect rule had no bearings with the realities of the colonial situation in the light of the facts that the colonial bureaucracy was a British creation; its officials were on their payroll and served them; that these officials were in most cases, directly supervised by and that ultimate powers lay with the British. Also in the light of the above, concepts like "traditional" or "natural" rulers and "traditional" political institutions that have been in use represent a distortion of reality.

The policies related to land, labour, monetization and taxation, which were formulated by the British and executed with the help of the colonial bureaucracy, had generated developments that brought into dominance a capitalist form of production. The production of exchange-values became the dominant form of production, forcing the production of use-values to a secondary level.

This development arose out of necessity, on the part of the producers, to meet the obligations imposed on them by the colonial state. Under the burden of the obligations imposed by the colonial state, especially that of taxation, the peasant production units, despite their corporateness, began to break-up. Individual ownership of land and individual production coupled with sale of labour began to develop. In this process peasant producers were gradually and primarily turned into cash-croppers and labourers. As individual production of exchange-values developed, individualistic values emerged. We have already indicated that individual production and individualistic

values were not a prominent feature of the pre-colonial society.

The central conclusion drawn on the issue of economic impact of colonial domination is that the development of the capitalist production did not involve the penetration of British capital into the Emirate system of production. Instead of its development through the intrusion of British capital, it was through a de-capitalisation process of the production units by the colonial state, European companies and their agents, that this was achieved. In chapter three we have indicated that the appropriation of a substantial part of the proceeds of labour was partly deposited in colonial banks in Nigeria to serve European companies. Parts of the proceeds were also deposited in Britain, thus, augmenting British capital. While another portion was retained by the colonial bureaucracy for the payment of salaries of officials and for financing colonial development projects like roads and railways, all of which facilitated the decapitalisation of the producers.

The de-capitalisation process itself, which resulted in the stagnation of the technology of production and the indigenous, industries created conditions of poverty for the majority of the people. This is contrary to the assumptions that colonial domination had resulted in the economic development of the society.

The new forms of appropriation of portions of the proceeds of labour and accumulation had resulted in intense polarisation in the society. The society was polarised along opposing poles of poverty and affluence - cashcroppers and labourers on the side of poverty line and bureaucrats and trading agents on the side of affluence. The bureaucrats accumulated wealth through bribes, extortions, fines and appropriation of collected revenue. Trading agents accumulated through over-pricing of manufactured goods, under-pricing and under-weighing of raw materials, and through trade commissions and issuance of credits with high interests. All these represented ways and means through which producers were thrown into poverty.

As a result of the emerging poles of poverty and affluence, wealth assumed a very important status in the society, leading to ostentatious habits on the part of the bureaucrats and trading agents. The conditions of poverty which generated migrations to urban centres for the sale of labour also resulted in the development of new habits of excessive individualism and new practices like thieving and gambling as attempts to accumulate money and property in order to escape from poverty.

The period 1903 - 1950 was one in which the Emirate social and economic structures and values were transformed into structures that were meant to serve the interest of Britain. By 1950 the dependent structures were sufficiently developed enough to make it unnecessary for British physical presence. Thus, by 1950 a process was set in motion that was to lead to the relinquishing of British political control.

NOTES ON SOURCES

In the course of this research various sources of information have been consulted. These can be classified as follows:

A) primary sources made up of
   1) archival material and
   2) oral accounts.

B) secondary sources made up of
   1) unpublished works
   2) books and articles.

A. Primary Sources.

1) Archival material

The archival material on Kano in National Archives Kaduna and Research Data Centre of Bayero University Kano have been used in this research. They contain mostly, colonial official reports on administration of the province; economic activities of the people; colonial development projects; trade and other related matters. These reports contain alot of information that if treated expertly would throw much light on the nature of colonial domination and its impact. They are abundant and easily accessible.

The main weakness of these reports is that in most cases they do not portray objectively the colonial situation. This is because they represent the official angle and that the writers of the reports, British political officers, stood culturally alienated from the society. They therefore, could not accurately and objectively reflect the ways of the people and their responses to particular issues and in particular situations.

2) Oral Accounts

Many living witnesses of the colonial situation are available though some are too old to be of much use. In the course of this research many people have been interviewed. It has been found out that the oral sources contained alot of information which had proved useful in corroborating information from Archival materials and other sources.

The main problem that confronted interviewers relates to suspicion. The Emir and most of his officials had completely resused to grant interviews. As for the rest of the people their suspicion gradually faded away as good relations have been established with them.

A) Secondary sources.

1) Unpublished works.

Several dissertations have been written on Kano especially on the colonial period. Their information had been of much use though the thrust of some of their arguments and interpretations do not reflect the reality of the colonial situation.

2). Alot of books and articles have also been written on various aspects of our area. These have been found useful. The main problems with some of these sources are the use of wrong concepts and methodology which affects the depth and nature of their analysis.

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ALHAJI ADAMU ABDULLAHI (AAA). A former licensed buying agent for United African company. About 55 years old. Interviewed at Karaye, Rogo Local Government, Kano State, on 16-1-83.

ALHAJI IBRAHIM MUKHTAR (AIM) A former Judicial staff. About 75 years of age. Interviewed in Kano city on 5-1-83.

ALHAJI SADU GWARZO (ASG) former Head of Civil Service Kano state and a pioneer educationist. About 49 years old. Interviewed in Kano on 25-1-83.

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