A HISTORY OF SHIKA, 1928-1980

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis entitled 'A History of Shika 1928-1980' has been performed by me in the Department of History under the supervision of Dr. U. Ladan and Dr. A. Adamu.

The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another degree or diploma at any university.

A.Z. Ibrahim ---------- 20th June, 2011

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled 'A HISTORY OF SHIKA 1928-1980' by Abubakar Zaria Ibrahim meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Arts of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is passionately dedicated to my father, Alhaji Ibrahim Abba Maiwada, my mother, Hajiya Hashiya Tallen Yarya and her senior inmate Hajiya Hawwa'u for their continuous care and tireless support. I pray that the Almighty Allah abundantly reward them. Amen

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempted to locate the socio-economic and political development of Shika in historical perspective. It traced and analyzed the growth it experienced as a settlement established during the colonial period up to 1980. Although the thesis focused on the period 1928-1980, the historical background which entailed the emergence of various settlements in the area before 1928 was treated in some detail.

The processes leading to the establishment and growth of the Government Stock Farm during the period 1928-1937 which became the National Animal Production and Research Institute (NAPRI) in 1976 was examined. In this regard we stressed that the colonialists established Shika in an area where indigenous settlements were already in existence. We also showed that right from the moment the Shika Stock Farm was established in 1928, it started having visible impact on the pre-existing settlements. In particular, we considered how Makoye and Mahuta were dispossessed of their agricultural lands and households from 1928. This allowed us to bring out the major purpose of colonial economy: the siphoning of the wealth of the colonized for onward movement to the metropolitan country. This is evident in the production and sales of stocks from the Stock Farm, the revenue of which was never used for infrastructural development the area.

We further demonstrated that migration and settlement played a significant role in the growth of Shika. This was influenced by the continued arrival of the labour force needed to work in the colonial Stock Farm. The subsequent neo-colonial economic development that led to the establishment of a tobacco farm also proved disadvantageous. This was because, in addition to neglect in the provision of infrastructure in both the colonial and the post colonial periods, the land of the peasants was expropriated primarily to execute projects by the colonial and neo-

colonial states. This trend, however, played a role in the transformation of the Shika society from a homogenous to a heterogeneous one; and from an agrarian society to a service oriented one. The resultant effect of this transformation is clear in the new social and economic activities deviant from those of pre-colonial setting that emerged in the area. While socially there was the introduction of the *Sarauta* system to aid the collection of taxes, the school and the clinic, economically there was the diversification of occupation and high cost of living. We also most significantly examined the administrative changes since the Makoye era, around 1902, up to the period in which Shika became a district headquarters in 1980.

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ABBREVIATION

A.B.U.	-	Ahmadu Bello University Zaria
AG	-	Action Group
D.H.	-	District Head
D.O.	-	District (or Divisional) Officer
G.R.A.	-	Government Residential Area
I.A.R.	-	Institute of Agricultural Research
J.A.H.	-	Journal of African History
J.H.S.N.	-	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
JMA	-	Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa
KIL	-	Kashim Ibrahim Library
NA	-	Native Authority (or Administration)
NAK	-	National Archives s Kaduna
NNN	-	New Nigerian Newspapers
NAPRI	-	National Animal Production and Research Institute
NEPU	-	Northern Elements Progressive Union
NPC	-	Northern Peoples' Congress
NPN	-	National Party of Nigeria
PRP	-	Peoples Redemption Party
PWD	-	Public Works Department
PCB	-	Price Control Board
RA	-	Resettlement Administration
SDA	-	Shika Development Association
SNP	-	Secretariat of Northern Province
UMBC	-	United Middle Belt Congress
Zarprof.	-	Zaria Province

GLOSSARY

ajami	-	Hausa language written in Arabic letters
alaro	-	human porterage
alkali	-	judge
Allah	-	the supreme deity
amiyrul mu'miniyna (arb.)	-	Commander of the faithful
attajiri (pl. *attajirai*)	-	wealthy people
azara	-	timber derived from a palm tree
babbar riga	-	gown
kuka	-	baobab
baba	-	indigo
barkonu	-	pepper
bazara	-	hot season, before the rains (February – May)
birni (pl. *birane*)	-	a city
boko	-	Hausa language written in roman letters, Western education
bori	-	spirits possession cult/the actions of a person possed by *iskoki* (earth spirits)
caca	-	gambling
citta	-	ginger
dagwalo	-	mordant water
dagaci	-	village head
dakali	-	a mud built seat attached to wall
dako	-	see *alaro*
damina	-	the rainy season

dari	-	severe cold/hamattan season
dawa	-	sorghum
dinya	-	ebony (*diospyros mesiliformis*)
dorawa	-	locust bean (*parkia felicicoidea*)
fadama (plu. *fadamomi*)	-	valley – bottom land/marshy land.
faduwan ruwa	-	first rain fall
fura	-	a cooked millet flour ball
gamji	-	rubber tree
ganuwa	-	wall that usually surround a town or village
gayauna	-	roughly cleared farm land
gero	-	millet
gida	-	homestead/house
giginya/tukurwa	-	palm
gungume (pl. *guma-gumai*)	-	log
gyada	-	groundnuts
hakimi (pl. *hakimai*)	-	a traditional title holder
hamsun salawaatun (arb.)	-	five daily prayers
haraji	-	general tax
jaki	-	donkey
jangali	-	cattle tax
jarkasa	-	red laterite
kaka	-	harvest season
kaninfari	-	black pepper
karuwai (sign. *karuwa*)	-	courtesan/prostitutes,
katsi	-	mordant ash

ƙauyuka (sing. *ƙauye*)	-	villages
kuɓewa	-	okra
kuka	-	baobab tree, also the seeds produced by the tree
kunun tsamiya	-	a sort of pap in which tamarind fruit is used as one of the main ingredients
ƙura	-	dust
kwando	-	basket
maburgi	-	wooden stirrer
maɗaci (plu. *maɗatai*)	-	mahogany (*Swietenia*)
magatakarda	-	secretary/scribe
mai unguwa	-	ward head
maigida	-	family/homestead head
majuyi	-	stout stick
mallam (plu. *mallamai*)	-	muslim scholar (sing.)/ intelligentsia
man shanu	-	butter
marina	-	dyeing pits
marka	-	period of heaviest rainfall (August – October)
masallaci	-	mosque
masara	-	maize
masoro	-	clove
miyar gatsika	-	soup made up of fresh baobab leaves
miyar kuka	-	soup made up of dried baobab leaves
noman rani	-	dry season farming
nono	-	skimmed milk
rijiya	-	a well

rogo	-	cassava
runji (pl. *rumada*)	-	a settlement populated by slaves set up by a title holder
ruwan farko/fari	-	first rainfall
sa'i	-	a title holder in charge of tax
sarki (pl. *sarakuna*)	-	chief/king/traditional chief executive
sarkin tarihi	-	official in charge of oral tradition
saura	-	fallow land
shuni	-	dark blue colouring used in dyeing
taɓarya	-	pestle
toka	-	wood ash
tsamiya	-	tamarind
tukunyar baba (*tukwane*)	-	dyeing pits/dye pots
turmi	-	mortar
ulama (Arb)	-	intelligentsia
wake	-	beans
wakili	-	representative
wando	-	trouser
wanzami (pl. *wanzamai*)	-	barber
'yancaca (sing. *dancaca*)	-	gamblers,
'yar-ciki	-	jumper or a kind of shirt usually worn under *babbar riga*
zango	-	stop over
zaure	-	entrance room to a house

PREFACE

This study is fundamentally concerned with the examination of the emergence and evolution of a settlement in the Shika area with special focus on Shika itself. Shika as a settlement was established as recently as 1928. It was established as a labourers' camp of the Government Stock Farm by the British Colonial administration. There has not been a historical reconstruction of the emergence and evolution of any settlement around this area prior to this study. Moreover, recent historical studies on Zaria plains (vide bibliography) largely focus on urban settlements and centres. Such studies generally give smaller settlements either passing reference or none at all. Consequently, this creates a yawning gap in the history of our country. In summary, therefore, this dissertation is an attempt to fill only a part of this gap.

The study dwelled on the history of Shika which is constituted by heterogeneous elements grouped together without previous common tradition, economic or political life. The area consisted of several villages and hamlets whose history preceded the colonial period, but subsequently overshadowed by Shika. We, however, attempted to reconstruct the history of some of them which included Mahuta, Gungurfa, Tsibiri, Biye and Makoye which was displaced in the course of establishing Shika.

The study consists of six chapters shedding light on how Shika emerged from Makoye and evolved to become the district headquarter of Shika District. The first chapter is mainly introductory and among other things highlights the geographical features of the Shika area. It also aims at explaining the origin and early history of the study area. Chapter two focuses on the establishment of the Government Stock Farm Shika from 1927 to 1937, a phenomenon which had great impact on the study area. In

chapter three we examined the impact of the establishment of the Stock Farm in connection with the economy of the area, migration and settlement up to 1945.

In chapters four and five we discussed the nature of population growth, administrative setting, law and order, decolonization activities, and most importantly the economy of Shika during the periods 1945-1960. Discussions on expansion of the society and economic changes in the post-independence period rounded this segment of the study. Our conclusion in chapter six, which ended the thesis, explained how the colonial and neo-colonial economies failed to develop the infrastructure of the area, as is typical in other colonized areas.

NOTES ON SOURCES

Historical reconstruction as carried out in this study is generally based on the use of various types and categories of sources. We have, therefore, greatly relied upon the fragmentary pieces of evidence provided by the sources at our disposal to achieve our aim of reconstructing a history of Shika from the period 1928 to 1980. One of the limitations of this research is that it could only use oral and written sources and to a very minimal extent, linguistic source, where we reconstructed the legend of the Tarino well. However, there is no archaeological work on the area to shed light on the early history of the Shika area. This would have enriched our attempt of discussing the evolution of some settlements in chapter one. Further research is suggested so as to come up with a coherent history of early period of the area using archaeology and other sources.

Written Sources:

a) Published Works

These materials were mainly consulted at the Kashim Ibrahim Library (KIL), Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS), both situated in A.B.U., Main Campus, Zaria, the National Animal Production and Research Institute's (NAPRI) library at Shika and the Arewa House, Centre for Historical Documentation and Research, Kaduna.

There are clearly no published books or articles on the history of Shika. Thus we generally consulted available materials on settlements established by or which evolved during the colonial period. However, these materials mainly deal with urbanization at a broader level, examining the process in Nigeria or even in Africa. There are very few works done on Zaria, the region in which Shika emerged, and these works are also all dealing with urbanization. There are few works also that

examine the colonial policies, especially agricultural, in Nigeria. These are also important to our study. The book written by Alvin W. Urquhart is the major work among these few. A.W. Urquhart's work titled ***Planned Urban Landscape of Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Zaria***[1] is quite significant for this study. However the work suffers from conceptual and methodological problems. In addition to that, it lacks historical depth.

b) Unpublished Accounts

The major unpublished work consulted is, A.V. Dhiliwayo's Ph.D. thesis titled "A History of Sabon Gari Zaria 1911-1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration".[2] This study is based on political economy perspective, providing holistic and class based view of Sabon Gari. It also seeks, among other things, to expose the hidden material basis of historical developments.[3] Consequently, Dhiliwayo's work contributed more to our understanding of the establishment and evolution of places like Shika as compared to Urquhart's work.

We also consulted A. Adamu's M.A. thesis titled "British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria C.1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District".[4] It examines colonial agricultural policies aimed at the development of export oriented agricultural production of raw materials in a society that was used to producing crops that meets its internal needs. These policies transformed the nature of the society's economy that had lasting effects of spreading poverty, indebtedness and

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[1] Urquhart, A.W. ***Planned Urban Landscape of Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Zaria***, A.B.U. Press, Zaria, 1977.

[2] Dhiliwayo, A. V., "A History of Sabon Gari Zaria 1911-1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration", Ph.D. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1986.

[3] In addition to A.V. Dhiliwayo, other writers that have made use of the political economy perspective in studies of areas other than Zaria are E.O. Oyedele (1987, Vide Bibliography), M. Castell (1977, Vide Bibliography) and U. Ladan (2002 Vide Bibliography), just to mention a few. Like Dhiliwayo did, these writers in their various works also gave a critical analysis of the various perspectives adopted generally in such studies.

[4] Adamu, A. "British Agricultural Colonial Policies in Northern Nigeria C.1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District", M.A. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1992.

decline of local industries. This work also significantly contributes to our study, more importantly because Shika evolved due to an agricultural policy of the colonial regime that led to the establishment of an Agricultural Research Station near Shika River, which led to the emergence of Shika as a settlement. However, the study is limited to Soba District so it did not examine the place of Shika in the history of Northern Nigeria.

We have also come across a manuscript on the history of Shika written by Alhaji Sama'ila Maiwada, one of the *dagatai* of Shika during the period covered by this study. This document serves as first hand information from a person in whose lifetime Shika evolved as a settlement. In addition, he was among the principal participants in the administration of the settlement. It is expected, therefore, that this document should provide some meaningful information. However, despite its strength as primary source, the manuscript is fragmentary and inconsistent in its organization. The historical focus therein is also shallow in the sense that it neglects the role of many participants in the process that shaped the evolution of the community.

c) Archival Records

Archival materials were the major primary sources used in the reconstruction of the history of Shika. All archival materials were consulted at the National Archives located in Kaduna. Broadly speaking, we have generally relied on two major categories of archival materials in this thesis. These include the Zaria Provincial Records (Zarprof) series and the Department of Agriculture Files. But in addition, we also on several occasions made use of the Secretariat Northern Provinces (SNP) series and the District Assessment Reports, the most important of which were the 'Giwa District Reports of 1920, 1927 and 1928'. All these series were in the form

of intelligence reports, district assessment and reassessment reports, tellers, memoranda and touring reports. Others include letters sent from one level of government to another, extra-ordinary reports, official diaries, etc. It is interesting to note that these archival materials arose largely from the need to document various activities of the colonial administration in Nigeria (particularly in the Northern Region) during the twentieth century.

Archival materials, therefore, were not originally intended for the general public but only for a restricted group of relevant officials or persons. Consequently these materials offer firsthand evidence, innocent in principle of any second thoughts destined for a larger public or posterity. It is possible that the correspondence of an official or the confidential proceedings of a board may conceivably have been drafted in colonial Nigeria to deceive another office, but they were hardly ever composed with an eye to deceiving posterity.

While we were aware of the strengths of archival materials for our study of Shika, we also took into consideration their major limitations in order to guard against subjective conclusions. Specifically, one of the major problems encountered with these materials is that most of them give only passive comments on Shika or none at all. Secondly, these documents are replete with spelling mistakes, particularly of names of indigenous settlements (like Makuye instead of Makoye), indigenous people (like Falani instead of Fulani), etc. Moreover, the most important limitation of archival records as source materials for the reconstruction of the history of Shika and Nigeria in general is, probably, that of conceptual framework.

The colonialists had their own perception and values which were undoubtedly in-built in the records they left behind. Their perception of the Nigerian social environment was basically predicated on the Edwardian-Victorian racial and capitalist

bourgeois ideology and cultural values. This means that the colonialists mostly described their Nigerian experiences from the outside, instead of from within. As a result, one finds in archival records the description and characterization of Nigerian societies as "pagan" and "traditional" among other such perceptions.

Oral Sources

In order not to become victims of a colonial and Eurocentric perception in our reconstruction of the history of Shika, we have, among other things, made extensive use of oral sources. In fact oral sources are comparatively richer in the kind of information this study is interested in. Hence, we interviewed quite a significant number of people both in the Shika area that include several settlements. We also interviewed some people in Zaria city who have worked in Shika during our period of study. It must be pointed out here that the evidences of reconstructing the early history of the settlements have largely been preserved in oral traditions.[5] Our great reliance on this source, therefore, made it very difficult, at times impossible for us to quantify certain important things such as; the size of the population of the settlements during this particular period, the number of houses in the settlement, heads of wards and villages etc.

However, apart from the limitations of memory of most informants, we were also aware of the problems relating to the impact of colonial and post-colonial experiences (and ideologies) on their perception. To be critical, therefore, data from the oral sources were compared with data from other sources. In addition, the various sources mentioned above were also used to complement each other.

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[5]The commitment of Nigerian historians and of course Africans, to the use of oral sources, whether these sources be traditions or personal narratives derived from a healthy skepticism about permitting written sources, often produced by outsiders, to stand as the only recognized evidence of the Nigerian or indeed African past. See Dike, K.O "African History twenty-five Years Ago and Today", in Oluntumehm, B.O. (Ed) JHSN Vol. 10. No3, December 1980, Ibadan, pp. 13-22.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ECOLOGY AND PEOPLING OF SHIKA AREA BY 1928

1.1 Introduction

This chapter basically examines the ecology of Shika area by 1928. We shall first and foremost look at the location of the area so as to locate it within the Nigerian plains. Soil and topography of an area provide the conducive setting for human settlement. We shall therefore examine their influence in our area of study. What influence the nature of soil around the world are climate and vegetation. Thus, we shall explain these ecological features in Shika. Hydrology is also very important to human settlement. Thus, the chapter shall discuss the sources of water in the Shika area to point out why it attracted human attention.

Subsequently we shall discuss the origin of settlements in the Shika area, focusing on the politico-economic activities that took place up to 1928. Our focus on the early history of the Shika area in this chapter will enable us to bring out the main historical processes of the settlements. We shall discuss the peopling of the area by looking at the foundation of some villages, their economic activities and socio-political settings. The choice of this focus is generally predicated on the fact that any study of the changes and developments associated with Shika area, or any other place for that matter, which does not put its early history into consideration would largely remain incomprehensible and, therefore, unhistorical. Before we get to this, however, we shall discuss the geography of the area.

1.2 Location

Shika lies directly north-west of the Zaria urban complex and it is situated betwee latitude 11^0 35' 49" north and 12^0 27'5" east.[1] The area is presently bordered in the North by Danja of Katsina Emirate and in the West and South it is covered by Giwa District. To the east it is bordered by Kudan and Sabon Gari, one of the units that made up the Zaria urban complex.[2]

Moreover the Trunk 'A' road that goes to Sokoto from Zaria passes through the area which is approximately thirteen (13) kilometers north-west from Zaria by this highway. Interestingly, a traveler who approaches Zaria from Sokoto or Funtua of Maska region of Katsina through this road will immediately notice from Shika area that important feature of Zaria economic culture, the selling of food items along the highway. In the area are villages such as Mahuta, Tsibiri, Biye Kurku, Maje, Guga, Bajimi, Kundum, Fan Hauya, Salanke, etc that are all within the present Giwa Local Government Area.

1.3 Soil and Topography

The significance of examining the environment (which includes topography, soil, climate, vegetation, etc) of a given area is to find out if there is a conducive setting for human settlement in that particular area. There is no doubt that geography plays a very significant role in the emergence of settlements especially when we consider the climate, soil and vegetation that allow for food production.[3] As far as the soil type in the Shika area is concerned, it is not different from that of the larger Zaria plains. It is largely made up of ferruginous red laterite (*jarkasa*) soil. However, the

[1] Map of Zaria, Microsoft Encarta 2007.
[2] See map on page 9.
[3] Diamond, J. ***Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fate of Human Societies***, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 2005, pp. 93-103.

dark clay soil is also available within the area where *fadamomi* are located. The red laterite is typical of the tropical region of Nigeria.[4] This type of soil is highly weathered and markedly laterized by the loss of silica, and its temperature, which is generally much higher than that of the soil type in temperate regions, ranges from 25 to 30^0 at 30cm depth.[5] The water retention capacity of the ferruginous soil is good, and crops generally respond well to the application of phosphate fertilizer in it. Crops that grow favourably in the area of *jarkasa,* which Shika area is endowed with, include sorghum, millet, groundnut, cowpeas, cotton, maize, etc. Other crops such as sugar cane, spices and vegetables are grown in the *fadama* around the river beds in the area.[6]

The dark clay soil around the *fadama* is heavy, blackish and of fine texture. It has alluvial origin and is of high fertility. Because of its appearance in areas of low depression with high water table, it holds enough moisture and could therefore be irrigated all year round. In addition to those earlier mentioned, crops like rice in Shika area, and other tropical areas, favourably grow on an annual basis along the *fadamomi.* Moreover, varieties of sorghum, millet, other grains and sugarcane are also grown in the *fadama* during the dry season.[7]

The topography of the Shika area is not dissimilar to that of the larger Zaria plains which has been described by several scholars as a gently undulating plain.[8] Thorp has told us about this plain thus,

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[4]Clyton, W.D. ***A Preliminary Survey of Soils and Vegetation in Northern Nigeria,*** Kaduna Soil Survey, Ministry of Agriculture and Kowal, J.M. and Knabe, D.T. ***An Angloclimatological Atlas of Northern States of Nigeria,*** A.B.U. Press, 1972, Zaria.

[5]Yunusa, S.I. "Rates of Soil Wash in a Bad Land Area under Savanna Climate, Zaria", M.Sc. Geography, A.B.U. 1981, Zaria, p.21.

[6]My fieldwork for this research has given me the opportunity to observe the various crops grown and produced in Shika area.

[7]For more details on Fadama soil see Clayton, W.D., op.cit.

[8]Thorp, M.B. 'Landforms' in Mortimore, M.J. (ed) ***Zaria and its Regions: A Nigerian Savanna City and its Environs,*** A.B.U. Press, 1970, Zaria, p.13 see also Adamu, A. "The Food Economy in Colonial

> *The region itself is part of the vast High Plains of Hausaland, which extends almost unbroken from Sokoto in the west to Lake Chad and beyond eastwards, and from South of Kaduna to the Tigueddi Scarp near Agades northwards.*[9]

Rock inselbrergs and lateric iron stone capped mesas are the two types of hill features that dotted the plains of Zaria and its environs. These plains lay at 2,000 feet above sea level.[10] The most prominent of these rocks, which outcropped over the long ranges of the land, are Kufena, Madarkaci, Fantambari, Fanwanki and others located near Tukur-Tukur, Hanwa and Basawa. In a metaphor, Hugh Clapperton describes these rocks to have appeared "like islands in the midst of the sea".[11] These inselberg vary greatly in dimension and shape and were noted to be the earliest centres of settlement on the plains of Zazzau.[12] This was based on the importance which pre-Islamic culture and tradition of the people in Hausaland attached to inselbergs as centres of *bori* ritual practices.

1.4 Climate and Vegetation

Climate and Vegetation are among other important factors that influence the nature of soils all around the world.[13] The climate of Shika is like that of the larger Zaria plains and it is mainly influenced by two wind systems. These are the north-east trade (or Continental) winds or harmattan, which blows southwards from the Sahara desert and the south Monsoon (or Equatorial Maritime) wind which blows

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Nigeria: A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis c.1902-1960' Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 2001, A.B.U. Zaria, p.1.

[9]Thorp, M.B. 'Ibid'.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Clapperton, H. ***Journal of Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa***, Frankcass and Co. Ltd., 1966, London, p.137.

[12]Smith, A. 'Some Notes on the History of Zazzau Under the Hausa Kings' in Mortimore, M.J. (ed) ***Ibid***. p.82-101.

[13]Buchanan, K.M. and Pugh, J.C. ***Land and People in Nigeria: The Human Geography of Nigeria and Environmental Background***, London University Press, 1966, London, p.8-41

from the Atlantic Ocean. The climate is of tropical savannah and falls into the drier limit of A.W. Type, with two different seasons, the wet and the dry.[14]

Like the rest of the Zaria plains, the climate is divided into the rainy season (*damina or* (*marka*) and the dry season (*bazara* or *kaka*). What influenced this division is the relative importance of the two air masses mentioned above that compete for position in the atmosphere. The *damina* period in Shika area lasts for about six months. Rain starts here around May and stops in October or early November. The area, therefore, receives between 40 – 50 inches of rainfall on annual basis.[15] The down pour in the area rises to its peak from about July to September.

The *rani* (dry season) commences immediately after the wet season from about November. This season usually starts with the harmattan which is largely characterized by *dari* (cold) and *kura* (dust). The period is also generally dry and brings about continuous change in the relative humidity of the area. The relative humidity at this period starts at 31 per cent in the morning and drops to about 16 per cent in the afternoon.[16] However, the climatic condition changes noticeably by February when it starts becoming hot and uncomfortable. This period which end just before the rain is known as the *bazara*, which is part of the dry season. In line with what generally obtains in Zaria plains, the Shika area, records a mean maximum temperature of 33.1 degree annually.[17]

It is quite evident from various studies that vegetation exerts a powerful influence on the formation or evolution of all communities.[18] In addition, human

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[14] Hore, P.N. 'Weather and climate in Mortimore, M.J. (ed) ***loc.cit***, p.41.
[15] Arigu, P. "Loc.cit", p.57
[16] Ibid.
[17] Mohammed, B.K. "Rainfall Reliability and Tobacco Production in Zaria Region", M.Sc. Thesis, Geography, 1992, A.B.U. Zaria, p.4. Olarewaju, R.A. "Rainy Season in Zaria", B.Sc. Project, Geography, 1974, A.B.U. Zaria p.61, Arigu, P. "Trends and Relationship of Temperature and Rainfall of Samaru-Zaria," B.Sc. Geography 1991, A.B.U. Zaria, p.55.
[18] Example of such studies are: Buchanan and Pugh, ***ibid***, Mabogunje, A.L. ***Urbanization in Nigeria***, London University Press, 1968, London, Kay, G. ***Development and Underdevelopment: A Marxist***

beings also play an important role in moulding the social environment. The Shika area was characterized by the woodland type of vegetation with a well developed grass layer of tuffed *andropogoneae.*[19] It is noted that the area had been subjected to permanent cultivation for several centuries.[20] This partly helps to explain the predominance of food and economic trees in the area. Some of these are the parkia felicicoidea/locust bean (*dorawa*), Shea nuts (*kadanya*), baobab (*kuka*), tamarind (*tsamiya*), ebony (*dinya*), mahogany (*madaci*), palm (*giginya* or *tukurwa*), rubber (*gamji*), eriodendron oriental/silk cotton tree (*rimi*), *bagaruwa, cediya, darbejiya* etc.[21]

The locust bean tree, which is of considerable value, is fairly plentiful and spread all over the area. Its beans are used to make the well-known and popular *daddawa* spice cakes. This spice is sold in every market place especially throughout Hausaland. The Shea nuts tree is also found in large numbers spread all over the area. The fruits of this tree are gathered by women and children to produce *mankade* (an oil used for local lamp, cream, medicine and even for food purposes). The processed fruits also used to be exported in larger quantity.[22]

The baobab tree is also found in fairly large quantity. Indeed historians have used the concentration of this type of tree in an area as an indication of the antiquity of settlements in the area.[23] The leaves of baobab are dried and used for soup making (*miyar kuka*) and at times the fresh leaves are also used for preparing a type of soup

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Analysis, The Macmillan Press, 1975, London, Usman, Y.B. (ed) ***Cities of the Savannah,*** Nigeria Magazine, 1980, Lagos, Diamond, J. ***op.cit***, etc.

[19]Jackson, G. "Vegetation" in Mortimore, M.J. (ed.) *loc.cit*, pp.61-71.
[20]Maigida, U.S.H., "The Importance of New Technique on Shika Agriculture", B.Sc. Geography, A.B.U., 1966, Zaria. p.37.
[21] Ibid., p.17.
[22]Group interview with Salihu Muhammad Saliyo (MSS) age 100 years, Iliya 'Yankusa (IYK) age 75 years, Malam Abdu Kano (MAK) age 80 years and Muhammadu Gali (MMG) age 64 year on January 22, 2008.
[23]Usman, Y.B. ***The Transformation of Katsina: The Emergence and Overthrow of the Sarauta System and the Establishment of the Emirate (1400-1883),*** A.B.U. Press, 1981, Zaria, p.9, see also Jackson, G. *ibid.*

called *miyar gatsika*. Tamarind trees are also found in large proportion in the area and its fruits are used in preparing porridge (*kunun tasamiya*). Tsamiya is also used for medicinal purposes, like in treating stomach pains and disorders. *Swietenia* (mahogany), another available tree in the area, is also used for medicinal purposes such as common stomach ache. Closely connected with this is the *darbejiya* tree which is also found around the area. The leaves serve as a good combination for the treatment of yellow fever, malaria and stomach ache.[24]

The palm tree (*giginya*), on the other hand, is used in house construction, while timber (*azara*) derived from the tree is useful in making roofs and fences of houses. The fruits of the tree, moreover, are collected and planted in large quantity in prepared beds (*fangala*) to obtain the edible roots called *murucci*. The palm tree, which is however not plentiful, has apparently been more or less exterminated by wood cutters who use it for timber. The rubber tree (*gamji*) used to be a good source of rubber which had once formed a major economic undertaking in the past.[25] Thus, what this implies is that although some of these trees are to be found in the area long before the emergence of settlements, human activities have had a considerable impact on them, and man has significantly modified the vegetation for his own use especially by the beginning of our period of study.

1.5 Hydrology

Drainage in the Zaria plains is generally carried out through three most notable rivers of Kubanni, the Galma and Saye. At various points all the rivers empty their waters into the river Kaduna. There are several other streams and water courses,

[24]Interview with Muhammadu Maidawa Wanzami (MMW) age 80 years on March 16, 2008. The wanzamai in Hausaland are known to be knowledgeable in traditional medicine using roots and branches.
[25]Ibid.

however, around the Zaria plains which carry water for most part of the year, among which is the river Shika. The Shika river starts at a place called Kudumi near Biye as a tributary of the Kubanni River and forming a very large *fadama* at Kan-Fadi. The Shika river stretches through our area of study, the settlement called Shika, which derived its name from this very river,[26] goes further north to Madobi and Hunkuyi, meanders southwards to Unguwar Damaga, Farin Kasa and Sabon Gari to join the river Galma. The Shika river provided the needed drainage to the Shika area and its environs (i.e. most of the streams empty their water into it). More importantly, it serves as an important source of water to the people of the area and their livestock. Moreover, along the banks of this river and its tributaries like the Jawarwar, Bankama, Gungurfa and Kwaire are rich *fadama* lands that favourably allow for dry season farming.[27]

[26]There is a general consensus among my informants that the settlement derived its name from the river Shika. For more details on this see chapter three.
[27]Fadama usages are discussed in chapter five which treats the economy of the area.



MAP I SHIKA AREA BY 1980. (Source: Yusuf, A.M. 'Rural-Urban Relationship: The Case of Zaria and Giwa District', B.A. Geography, A.B.U. Zaria, 1981, p.35)

1.6 Peopling of the Area

It is quite evident that there were settlements in existence within the area long before the establishment of Shika. Shika as a settlement itself was established as recently as 1928. We must make it categorically clear, right from the beginning, that our knowledge of the early settlements in this area is limited. This is for the fact that the area has neither been studied by archaeologists nor by other scholars before this attempt. The available written sources basically treat the larger Zaria plains, making scant reference to the Shika area.[28] Hence, the little we know so far depends largely on oral accounts. Some accounts seem to suggest that settlements in Zaria have been

[28]Some of those written sources are the colonial reports such as found in the archives. For example:
National Archives Kaduna (NAK) /Zaria Province (Zarprof.) 384/S.1 Giwa District Report
NAK/Zarprof. 3937/Development Scheme: Agriculture
NAK/Zarprof. 238/1915/C.B.D.H. Giwa
NAK/Zarprof. C11/1946 N.C.N.C. /N.E.P.U. Activities etc.

in existence for more than a millennium.[29] For a better understanding of the history of settlements in our area of study, therefore, we will highlight on the evolution of settlements in Zaria and its region since the *sarauta* period. Mortimore opines that:

> *With a gradual increasing degree of political centralization and social control, the growth of more complex and larger settlements in Zaria became possible. This led to the emergence of the birni (usually meaning a city) of Zaria as the unchallenged head of a hierarchy of settlements grading from indisputably rural to urban. Generally, a distinction is made between gari (usually translated as 'town' or smaller settlement of politically dependent status) and birni. Both were normally surrounded by walls (ganuwa), at least by the nineteenth century.*[30]

Some of the *garuruwa* (towns) in Zaria have developed from ancient villages at the feet of inselbergs while others were established on new sites by communities enjoying the patronage of one of the ruling families in the kingdom. However, with the establishment of the emirate system, villages were set up by the Emirs and other title holders (*hakimai*) in the Zazzau emirate as slave settlements (*rumada*).[31]

In connection with the issue of slave settlements, the fifth Emir of Zazzau Mamman Sani (1846-1853), is reported to have had a very busy reign territorially. He is said to have:

> *Undertook military campaigns against the Gwari and other peoples in present day Kontagora, forced the Kaje in Southern Zaria to submit, and attacked Abuja. He gathered to himself a vast booty of slaves with whom he populated many rumada or slave farms, the biggest being Taban Sani which is said to have held over 3,000 of the king's slaves. Zaria traditions rank Mamman Sani as the richest of all its Fulani rulers, crediting him on his death with nearly ten thousand slaves and affirming that customary third of his corn supplies*

[29]Smith, A. "Some Notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings", *op.cit*, p. 82.

[30]Mortimore, M.J. "Settlements Evolution and Land Use", in Mortimore, M.J. (ed.) *loc.cit.* p.108.
[31]The singular word is *runji*. Examples of such settlements in our area of study are Tsibiri and Biye.

inherited by his successor to the throne lasted them for eleven years.[32]

The pattern of settlements in the Shika area up to 1928 was in form of *kauyuka* (villages) surrounded by *unguwanni* (hamlets) located in areas of permanent cultivation. The major villages were Makoye, Mahuta, Gungurfa, Tsibiri and Biye. The hamlets included Salanke, Guga, Bajimi, Kurku, Maje, Kundum, Fan-Hauya and Hayi among others. Except for Gungurfa, all the other major villages were walled to serve as fortification and security in times of war or siege. In such situations the population from all nearby hamlets flocked into the walled settlements for safety.[33] The walls also served as protection against wild animals such as hyenas and tigers that used to inhabit the area.[34]

The *Kauyuka* served as the major centres of political and economic activities on which the surrounding hamlets depended. The area experienced continuous threat by the slave raiders up to the end of the nineteenth century.[35] It is our suggestion, therefore, that the threats must have influenced the walling system (*ganuwa*) of the *garuruwa.* It is interesting to note, however, that evidence available to us have shown that most of the *kauyuka* in the area were either revived or established during the period of Shehu Usman Dan Fodiyo's Jihad that established the Sokoto Caliphate.

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[32]Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Green, .A.H.M. ***The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Traditions,*** Oxford University Press, 1966, London pp.223-4.
[33]Smith, M.F. ***Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Muslim Hausa,*** Faber and Faber, 1954, London, p.1-43.
[34]Interview with Salihu Muhammad Saliyo (MSS) age 100 years on January 22, 2008.
[35]Group interview with the Imam of Mahuta Malam Hasan Adamu (HAL) age 65 years, Halidu Muhammadu (HAM) age 61 years, Umaru Ali (UAL) age 75 years, Muhammadu Inuwa (MIN) age 60 years and Alhaji Isa (AIS) age 65 years on March 16, 2008. Halidu Muhammadu took me round to see the remains of the Mahuta wall and a gate west of the settlement.

1.6.1 Makoye

The first settlers of this town were, in essence, are not known. However, the person who is said to have repopulated the settlement, a scholar named Modibbo Jibir, met the walled area of the village deserted. Thus, he named it *Makoye,* a Fulfulde word meaning "we replaced them".[36] The desertion might have been caused by the frequent slave raids that were common characteristics of the period. Modibbo Jibir was said to have come from either Bazanga or Kokami in *Kasar* Katsina.[37] Makoye is surrounded by two streams, the Shika and the Bankama, which are seasonal rivers. It was for this reason that Modibbo Jibir constructed a reservoir close to the Shika river which was later turned into a well.[38] That well became the legendry Tarino well which has a lot of stories behind it. We shall subsequently attempt a reconstruction of the myth about the Tarino well. The town has both laterite and fadama soils and this allowed for the cultivation of crops like guinea corn, cotton, sugar cane, indigo etc.

There is the claim that there have been Fulani herdsmen around Zaria, especially in Fatika, right from the time of the *sarauta* period; certainly the chiefs of Fatika were recognized vassals of Zazzau, and one of them was rewarded by the grant of Unguwar Fatika within Birnin Zaria as fief.[39] However, Modibbo Jibir left *Kasar* Katsina after learning that Zaria had been taken by the army of Malam Musa, the first Emir of Zazzau. It is not clear whether Jibir arrived the area with his family, but it appears that he married a Gwari woman from a neighboring village, the old Salanke,

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[36]Manuscript written by Alhaji Sama'ila Maiwada, undated, p.1. This manuscript surfaced in 2003 when the Shika Development Association History Committee initiated an attempt to write the History of Shika.

[37]Group interview with Malam Hamza Mil-Goma (HMG) age about 70 years and Muhammadu Magarabi Mai-Zuma Danlami (MMM) age about 100 years on August 11, 2002. Also from Ibrahim Mai Tsibiri (MIMT) age 85 years interviewed on August 15 2002. Hamza Mil-Goma is a grandson of Modibbo Jibir, His parents relocated from Makoye to Mil-Goma around 1930.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Green, A.H.M., *op.cit* pp. 219-220.

immediately he settled at Makoye. In addition to being a scholar, the main occupation of Jibir was farming and pastoralism. Some pastoral Fulani came to join him and that was when he carved a large portion of the village for himself and asked them to settle on the other side.[40] When other settlers around the neighbouring villages observed that the Fulani had peacefully resided in the town they started moving in to live with them. It was at this time that the wards of Shambuwa and Hayin Malam Barde emerged.[41] The next settlers that joined Modibbo Jibir were farmers who took advantage of the rich and fertile land to engage in farming activities. Farmers from as far as Rimin Gado in *Kasar* Kano arrived the town around 1850.[42] The production of cotton attracted weavers, both men and women, to Makoye and they settled to practice their occupation. This led to the emergence of *karofi* or *marina* (dyeing centre) in Makoye. The *Karofi* was located very close to the Tarino well, probably for easy access to water needed for the dyeing activities.[43] The dyeing profession became very popular in Makoye that all the neighboring villages patronized them. The popularity and economic advantage of the profession made even the family members of Modibbo Jibir, who were basically identified with pastoralism, to join in the trade. The children of Modibbo Jibir himself, Abdulkarim and Malam Idi, also became dyers.[44]

The Tarino well, which waters most of the village folks used for their daily need, and also the dyers for mixing the dye materials and rinsing the dyed clothes, has a lot of tales on it. The people of Makoye who came after Modibbo Jibir developed a

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[40]HMG. This was during the Jihad of Sheikh Usman dan Fodiyo of the early 19th Century. Zazzau was taken by the jihadists in 1808. See *ibid* and Last, M.D. "A Solution....." op.cit.
[41]HMG Ibid.
[42]Interview with Alhaji Biso (ABS) age 75 years on September 15, 2002.
[43]Interview with Alhaji Abdu Biye (AAB) age 75 years on September 17, 2002.
[44]MIMT, op.cit.

myth which they attached so much importance to about the well. In the myth, there is a belief that the Tarino well had spiritual powers because its water never dries throughout the year. It is also said to be blessed by the jihadists. There is also the opinion that the *malamai* (intelligentsia), the *sarakuna* (aristocrats) and the *attajirai* (wealthy) used to visit Tarino from Zaria and elsewhere to have their wishes and desires fulfilled. The *talakawa* (commoners) are also said to have used the water of Tarino for ritual purposes. According to the myth, the Emirs of Zazzau from Hammada (1846) to Ibrahim (1924-1936) used to be given that water to drink before they were turbaned.[45]

Since Modibbo Jibir constructed that reservoir very close to a stream, there is every possibility that water could be available all year round. This is due to the fact that except for larger ones, i.e. Kubanni and Galma, all rivers and streams in Zaria and its environs are seasonal, flowing only during and in some cases few days after the rains.[46] But reservoirs across valleys filled with undissected younger alluvium have been successful in retaining water. Away from rivers and streams, wells are dug to the water table, which usually falls progressively throughout the dry season, the amount of depth depending on the location. Since the fetching of water from wells is principally for domestic use and probably of negligible importance, the fall is mainly due to sub-surface percolation of water through to the larger river valleys.[47] As wells sited away from drainage channels are likely to be of low yield, those close to the streams are very likely to have constant availability of water. Therefore, the accessibility of water all year round in the Tarino well does not mean it has any

[45]Interviews with Nuhu Sarkin Bariki (NSB) age 80 years on September 15, 2002, Ahmad Muhammad Lawal (AML) age 95 years on September 16, 2002, HMG op.cit., Jumare Nasarawan Buhari (JNB) age 90 on August 11, 2002, MIMT Ibid, and AAB op.cit.
[46]Thorp, M.B. "op.cit." pp. 13 – 15.
[47]*Ibid.*

spiritual power. It was only a well located near a stream in an area with younger alluvial soil.

Secondly, the issue of having been blessed by the jihadists might have been initiated due to a stop-over by the third Emir of Zazzau, Abdulkarim (1821-1834) at the place on his way to Sokoto.[48] It was usual that the Emirs of Zazzau, and those of other emirates, used to make dry season visit to the Caliph in Sokoto. It was during such visits that tributes from the various emirates were taken to the Sultan.[49] Makoye, by this period happened to be one of the collection centres of such tributes, so the Emirs used to stop in the area to collect the booty for onward submission to Sokoto.[50] This journey was made in the dry season so Abdulkarim stopped near a water source which happened to be the Tarino well. It is also a fact that Abdulkarim was a well learned person, good in Islamic jurisprudence, and has at one time met the Sokoto Jihad leader, Sheikh Usman ɗan Fodiyo.[51] Now these two credentials that Abdulkarim had, being learned and being acquainted with ɗan Fodiyo, are very potential reasons to concocting a story about his stop-over at the Tarino well that could very possibly make the people of the period, because of the nature of their superstition, to believe his use of the water has made the well to acquire certain spiritual powers. For Abdulkarim was a man associated with knowledge and piety.

For a very long time there had been no *sarki* in Makoye. It was the Imams that led both the religious and political affairs of the settlement.[52] Modibbo Jibir was a learned person, so just as the first to reopen the village, he was also the first Imam.

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[48]AML loc.cit.
[49]Hogben and Kirk-Green, ***op.cit.*** p. 227.
[50]AML op.cit.
[51]Ibid. Also in a group interview with the People of Biye particularly Alhaji Goma Abdulkadir Aliyu (AGA) age 75 years on August 17, 2008. Some people in Zaria and Environs still believed that Abdulkarim is a *waliyyi* (saint) and they do visit his grave at Sabon Birni near Giwa.
[52]JNB and HMG, op.cit.

His Islamic knowledge attracted the people of Gidan Zamfarawa, led by Malam Maigari, to the settlement.[53] This house later took the Imamship of the settlement up to the present day Shika. The *sarauta* system was only introduced in Makoye with the advent of British colonialism which reorganized the structure and function of the native authority system. That was when in 1905, for the first time in the history of Zazzau fief holders were moved out of Zaria city to live in their fiefs as District Heads. Makoye, then, fell under Giwa District headed by Madaki Yero. At this point, Malam Dikko, a man from Tofa in *Kasar* Kano was made the *Sarki*, with the title 'Makoye'.[54] Since then every other appointed *sarki* was called 'Makoye'.[55] By the early 20th century the village had a population of about 800 people that were mostly Fulani and Hausa.[56]

1.6.2 Mahuta

Mahuta is about three kilometres east of Makoye. The settlement derived its name from the Hausa word *hutu*, meaning 'to rest'. Mahuta therefore means 'a resting place'. Like Makoye the actual people who walled the village are not known. But it was two hunters from *Kasar* Katsina named Ibrahim and Barde, who met it deserted that revived the village between 1800 and 1804.[57] The two, who were brothers, used to hunt around the area, so made the abandoned village a camp in which they rested. They gathered the meat of their hunted games in the old huts, rested for some days and continued hunting. Ibrahim and Barde soon made their

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[53] Makoye Ibrahim Buwayi (MBI) age 90 years, September 16, 2002. Ibrahim Buwayi was one of the two surviving *sarakuna* of Makoye/Shika when this research started, the other one being Sama'ila Maiwada in whose reign Shika was established.
[54] Interviews with NSB AML and also Umaru Tudu Dan'Sai (UTD) age 80 years, interviewed on March 8 and 9, 2008.
[55] NAK/Zarprof 384/S.1 Giwa District Report.

[56] NAK/Zarprof. 384/ Giwa District Report 1905, p.96.
[57] Interviews with HAL, HAM, UAL and MIN op.cit.

resting place (*mahuta*) a home. Barde is said to have gone back to *Kasar* Katsina, where they came from, brought their families and invited some friends to join them at Mahuta. The most remembered among those whom he invited was a man called Abarshi. That man established the *Gidan Bambadawa* in Mahuta which is presently said to be over two hundred years old.[58] They also invited other people from elsewhere to the settlement and agriculture took the leading role among other occupations.

The settlement is located in a hilly area above a valley of marshy soil that almost surrounded the town. It was this fadama soil that allowed for the dry season cultivation of sugar cane and vegetables that Mahuta continued to be identified with. It is also rich in *azara* and *kuka* trees, and neighboring settlements like Makoye, Biye, Kurku and Guga depended on Mahuta for these two economic trees. *Azara* makers, therefore, added to the economic activities of the town. Historians have indeed used the concentration of the *kuka* tree in an area as indication of the antiquity of the settlement.[59]

The *sarauta* in Mahuta started immediately the population expanded when other people came to join Ibrahim and Barde. Ibrahim, the senior among the two brothers, became the first *sarki* and he reigned for a very long time before he was succeeded by Labaran. With the advent of colonialism the role of the *sarki* was increased to include collection of taxes and remitting them to the District Head in Giwa. The people of Mahuta contributed to both the forced and employed labour that the colonial regime used to establish Shika.[60]

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[58]Ibid.

[59]Jackson, G. op.cit. p. 63. See also Usman, Y.B. ***op.cit,*** p. 9.

[60]HAM and MIN in Ibid.

1.6.3 Gungurfa

This village was established by a scholar called Muhammadu Lawal son of Muhammadu Mustafa son of Malam Abubakar Dankwaire. The village derived its name from a stream called Gungurfa. This stream was named so due to its deep banks that one has to crawl in to fetch water.[61] The stream is a diversion of the Kubanni river which passes through Biye, runs behind the present A.B.U. Teaching Hospital, the place where the Magarabi ward of Gungurfa was once located and joins the Shika river in the north-west. What led to the establishment of this settlement was relocation from the first place settled by Malam Abubakar Dankwaire which was Kwaire itself. Dankwaire came from Katsina. He was a friend of the third Emir of Zazzau, Abdulkarim, who established the Katsinawa dynasty of the Zazzau ruling house.[62]

When Abdulkarim consolidated his stay in Zaria many of his admirers and friends from Katsina migrated to join him. While he invited some, others came on their own. Among those he invited was Malam Abubakar Dankwaire, though he did not migrate to Zaria until when Yamusa became the emir. That must have been after 1821.

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[61]AML, op.cit. Ahmad Muhammad Lawal was interviewed twice. First on September 15, 2002 and secondly on May 9, 2004 when he was presumably 101 years old.

[62]AML, op.cit. We are told of the impasse on who was to become the first Emir of Katsina when Umaru Dallaje, Umaru Dumyawa and Na Alhaji were awarded minor flags by Usman dan Fodiyo. Despite the fact that Ummaru Dallaje was the one later given the true jihad flag for Katsina, his role as the Emir was, in the words of Hogben and Kirk-Green, *op.cit* "no more than *primus inter pares*" (first among equals). According to our sources, Abdulkarim participated in the jihad that ousted the *sarauta* system of Katsina between 1807 and 1808. But antagonism set in between him and Umaru Dallaje due to his popularity within the learned Fulani and his cordial relationship with Na Alhaji who occupied the house of "Yandaka and camped at Dutsinma. Umaru Dallaje, therefore, reported to Sokoto that Abdulkarim had no allegiance for him. Shehu sent that Abdulkarim should report to Sokoto. When he reported the *Amirul Mu'miniyn* told him that he was aware of the situation in Katsina and understood that antagonism had set in between the *ulama*. He asked Abdulkarim not to worry but remain in Sokoto from where he would be sent to Zaria to assist Malam Musa who was in 1808 assigned with Zaria expedition. When the emirate system was established in Zazzau Abdulkarim was given the title of *Sa'i* (a title holder in charge of tithes).

Malam Abubakar settled near a stream called Kwaire very close to Gungurfa when he arrived at Zaria and that was how he got the nickname Dankwaire. But he was asked by Abdulkarim to move into Zaria city to assist him in his official duty of *Sa'i*. Malam Abubakar accepted the invitation but left in Kwaire all his cattle and slaves. He had only one son, Malam Mustafa, who on the other hand had two sons and five daughters. The eldest son, Malam Lawal, engaged in the study of the Qur'an, Islamic law and jurisprudence. After completing his education he sought for his father's consent to return to the *rugga* (the Fulani type of settlement) at Kwaire to be with his flocks and slaves. When he returned he observed that the rugga was closing up towards the stream due to increase in population of both the people and the flocks. He decided, therefore, to move the settlement to Gungurfa where there was a larger grazing area and also availability of water.

One of the primary reasons for the development and increase of population in Gungurfa was that Malam Lawal started a school there after settling down. Some of the students he met while studying in Zaria soon heard of his effort, and due to their knowledge of his piety and high standard of education they started trooping to take lessons from him. Some of his students included Malam Na' Iya and Malam Shuraihu, the father of one time Mutawallen Zazzau Ladan Dan Shuraihu, all of whom became very prominent scholars of Zazzau in the mid 20th century.[63] The settlement was expanded to some extent by students who acquired plots to build houses and land to start their own farms.

There were four wards in Gungurfa, Hayin Malam Lawal, Unguwar Umaru Maisukuni, Unguwar Ango and Sabon Gida established by Malam Amfani. Umaru, Ango and Amfani were Malam Lawal's senior slaves. Umaru was from one of the

[63]Ibid.

tribes of Bauchi, while the last two were of the Gwari tribe. He was in charge of Malam Lawal's animals, Ango supervised the farms and the slaves while Amfani was in charge of the security of the whole village. The crops mostly produced in this town were guinea corn, millet and beans. By the early 1900s the town had a population of over 650 people.[64]

1.6.4 Tsibiri

Tsibiri was among the prominent settlements in the Shika area. It is located south-west of the area on a vast and flat land. The settlement was founded by a Hausa slave of the Emir of Zazzau Abdulkarim called Umaru Allahe.[65] This slave came from a family of one of the *Habe* ruling houses that chose to remain in Zaria after they were removed from power by the jihadists. It is said that Malam Musa, the first emir, only allowed them to remain within the city after agreeing that each year they will give one of their sons to the Emir as a slave, instead of the usual *jizya* (a tax paid by non-Muslim to a Muslim ruler). Umaru Allahe was therefore 'collected' from that family since childhood, so he grew up a Muslim. During the reign of Abdulkarim he observed the bravery and hard work of Umaru so he asked him to pay *fansa* (redemption fee) to free himself.[66]

Ummaru Allahe first went to Kufena and started a farm, the product of which he intended to use in paying his fansa. His first yield was, however, very poor probably because of the rocky nature of the area. So he decided to move on. It is said that he went to the Emir and informed him of a seemingly fertile area he discovered

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[64]NAK/Zarprof. 384/SI Giwa District Report.

[65]Alhaji Bako Tsibiri (ABT) age 71 years on February 9, 2008. Alhaji Bako is a great grandson of Umaru Allahe, the man who traced the land in which Tsibiri was established.
[66]Ibid.

around one *tsibiri* (a stack of sand) on the way to Fatika. And he sought for the emir's permission to establish a home and a farm there. The emir, Abdulkarim, did not immediately grant Umaru's request until after he had sent some people to survey the area. When the emir's messengers reported back and confirmed the possible fertility of the area, Sambo, one of the sons of the emir, who also became the tenth Emir of Zazzau in 1897, was attached to Umaru to go and establish a *runji* (slave farm) around that stack of sand. Thus, the new settlement was named 'Tsibirin Sambo'.[67] Hence, Ummaru Allahe acquired some fortune, paid for his *fansa* and became free.

The soil fertility of the area attracted many other people apart from the over fifty slaves that were first brought by Sambo. With the population increase the settlement was walled and divided into two with the southern part vested on Umaru's control and the northern part given to Sambo's care. The items mostly produced in the settlement were guinea corn, millet and groundnut. There were economic trees such as *dorawa, tsamiya* and *gamji.*

At a point, before Sambo became the Emir of Zazzau, Tsibiri was raided and some of the people of the town were captured.[68] However, some of them ran away never to come back, including one of the sons of Umaru Allahe who was much later discovered to be at Zuru in Kebbi Emirate.[69] When Sambo became the Emir he offered Ummaru Allahe the office of *Galadima* but Umaru refused to accept it. A year after, Sambo appeased him to take the position of *Ma'aji* and he again rejected. He was said to have declared that his father warned him not to serve the Fulani as a palace official. Tsibiri became one of the two major marketing centres in the whole of

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[67]Ibid. Also AML in 2002 and 2004 op.cit. and Umaru Tudu Dan Sa'i (UTD) age 80 years on March 8, 2008.
[68] Our informant cannot say who raided the village or from where they came.
[69]This discovery was made only in the year 2002. That was over one hundred years since the incident happened. It was the great grandchildren of the man that traced his background from Zuru to Tsibiri.

the Shika area, next only to Biye and its market used to hold every Monday of the week. Its population also continued to increase that by 1928 there were about 1,300 people.[70]

1.6.5 Biye

The establishment of Biye followed that of Tsibiri, and that was how the settlement derived its name. Biye is a Hausa word meaning 'to follow'. A few years after the establishment of Tsibiri Emir Abdulkarim's courtiers were said to be impressed with its agricultural production and when they mentioned that to the Emir he was said to have replied that "wani garin ma na biye". Meaning, "Another town will be following". And he opened the Biye area as another *runji* which eventually evolved into a village bigger than all the other neighbouring ones around it.[71]

The quick growth in population made Emir Abdulkarim to build a *masallaci* (mosque) in Biye within a very short time. He was said to have supervised the construction of the *masallaci* from foundation to completion. In the process of laying the foundation of the mosque a disagreement ensured between him and the architect on the *qibla* (the direction of the Ka'aba in Saudi Arabia which Muslims face when performing prayers). Abdulkarim reportedly displayed his spiritual powers convincing all those present on the direction of the *qibla*.[72] That was one of the things that made people to conclude that Abdulkarim was a *waliyyi* (saint). The mosque in

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[70]NAK/Zarprof./Giwa District Report/1905.
[71]*Group interview in Biye with Alhaji Goma Abdulkadir (AGA) age 75 years, Alhaji Sule Adamu (ASA) age 65 years, Alhaji Garba Ibrahim (AGI) age 50 years, Sarkin Biye Malam Muhammad Tanimu Uba (SMT) age 45 years, Malam Ibrahim dan Muhammadu (IDM) age 80 years, Malam Aliyu Ibrahim (AIB) age 65 years and Malam Tukur Umaru (MTU) age 75 years on August 17, 2008.*
[72]AGA, ibid.

Biye is still standing and it is presently the oldest mosque in the whole of the Shika area.

It was also the population of Biye that made the Emir to appoint Dabo as the first *sarki* around the year 1837. Dabo was the *sarki* that reigned for the longest period of about fifty years and was succeeded by Salihu. Interestingly the elders of Biye have a near accurate chronology of the reign of their *sarakuna* from about 1837 to date[73] (see Appendix III). The main occupation in the village was farming, which was of course what initiated the establishment of the settlement. Seasonal farmers (*'yan ci rani*) used to come, from as far as *kasar* Kano, to Biye. Some of them eventually settled, acquired and owned farmlands in the village.[74] But with population increase other occupations such as weaving, dyeing, goat rearing, blacksmithing and butchery also became popular. Among the prominent dyers remembered was Tankare who was said to have died over sixty years ago. People like Alu, Malam Ladan, Maccido and Mazada were among the weavers that excelled between the last fifty and one hundred years.[75]

Biye became the largest market in the whole of the Shika area. This was probably because, apart from its agricultural products, the only major road that goes to Sokoto from Zaria, which was constructed very early in the colonial period, passed through the village.[76] Thus, it became a *zango* (stop over) for travelers. Items of trade included guinea corn, millet, beans and groundnuts which came from both the village and its neighboring settlements and were transported on donkeys. The availability of

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[73]My interview with the elders of Biye was helpful in tracing the chronology of the *sarakuna* as it appears in appendix III. Among those interviewed were the present *sarki* and two sons of different past *sarakuna* (ASA and AIB).
[74]MNG op.cit. His parents also came from Rimin Gado in Kano over a hundred years ago.
[75]IDM, op.cit.
[76] Our discussions with the elders of Mahuta established that some of them were conscripted around the 1920s to work on this road.

: food and economic trees such as *dorowa, kadanya,* and *tsamiya* also enriched th
ye market. *Mankadc* (Shea nuts butter) was one of the most important items o
dc. It was solely manufactured by women and in large quantity. This indicates tha
men also significantly contributed to the economic development of the area
erchants from as far as Maska, Maigana and Zangon Aya used to come to purchas
: *mankadc.*[77]

Though the village's market day was once a week held on Wednesdays, th
irket place started to fill up with traders as early as Tuesday evening. By abou
28 the population of Biye had reached over 800 people.[78] This indeed made Biy
ger than any other settlement north-west of Zaria. The village's prosperity onl
rted diminishing with the coming of colonialism when in the first instance a nev
id from Zaria to Sokoto, diverting Biye from the east, was constructed. Th
ablishment of Shika and its location on the new Sokoto road dealt the second an
al blow to Biye relegating it to the background.

1.7 Economic Activities

ir focus in this section will be on the economy of the area before the establishmen
Shika in 1928. Let us point out that economy is a system for the production an
tribution of goods and services. This makes it necessary for us to make it clea
m the onset, that the indigenous economy of Shika area was agricultural economy
riculture and pastoralism were the dominant aspects of the economy of th
tlements. However, dyeing and weaving were practiced by some people in the area
though women engaged in weaving, but the economic activity that the
dominantly practiced and dominated, which we shall discuss in this section, is th

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IB, IDM and ASA, op.cit.
AK/Zarprof. 384/SI Giwa District Report.

production of *fura* and *nono*. To understand the agricultural activity, however, a highlight on the land tenure is very significant.

1.7.1 Land Tenure

Land, as we have shown earlier in this chapter, is a necessary prerequisite for production and animals rearing in any society. The inhabitants of the area at this time believed that the whole land area in the region belonged to *Allah*. That as residents in the territory they have been bestowed with the powers of controlling the region by *Allah*.[79] That does not, however, mean that the aristocratic powers of the Emir and Chiefs, as lords of the land, and their provincial agents, the *Hakimai* and *Dagatai*, were not recognized. They had the feudal power of controlling, granting as well as withdrawing land rights to their subjects.

The aristocracy, therefore allocated each individual house hold (*gida*) its own farmland (*gandu*) which it puts into permanent cultivation. Moreover, as a result of the availability of land as compared to the number of inhabitants in the area, any household that wanted to acquire new land merely cultivated the land. Thus, land acquisition/ownership by the households largely depended on the first to cultivate a given land, while right of tenure was through inheritance.[80]

The land tenure regulations or the nature of land use in the area was, however, altered with imposition of colonial rule on the region. Logically, we assume that this must have taken place around 1902, the year that the whole of Zaria Emirate was

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[79] Interview with Alhaji Muhammadu Damina (MMD) the Magatakarda (Scribe to *Sarki*) of Shika age 73 years and Mu'azu Dandiga (MDG) age 60 years on January 21, 2008. Also with HAM of Mahuta, op.cit.
[80] Ibid.

regarded as been colonized.[81] It was around this period that land no longer remained acquired without a sort of official approval in one way or the other i.e. by renting or buying.

However, grazing activity i.e. pastoralism was the first major economic activity in the area and it was conducted throughout the periods of the year. That is during both the *damina* and the *rani* periods. Evidence has shown that among the people that have settled in this place up to 1928 were Fulani stockowners. J.T. Van Ray has classified cattle rearers in Zaria area into four. These are: Nomadic stockowners (*Bororo*), semi-nomadic stockowners, semi-settled stockowners and settled stockowners.[82] The contributions of these four groups of stockowners to the socio-economic life and appearance of the area, and largely Zaria area, vary. The settled and to a less extent also the semi-settled, constitute an integral part of this area, as all are incorporated in the social, economic and administrative framework that is centered on the area. This area is their sphere of life, here they build houses, clear fields, tend crops and animals, and introduce other changes into the local landscape. Here also they take their places in the social setting as determined by birth and achievement, gain wealth and prestige or lose it. But whatever the roles of the individual stockowners, the significance of the group as a whole is that it produces a surplus of meat, milk and eggs for sale. Every morning Fulani women go a long way to sell milk in the neighboring villages and sometimes to the city of Zaria.[83]

Of equal importance is that the livestock helped in maintaining the soil fertility of the farmlands. All animal droppings in the compounds were carefully collected

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[81]For details see Toure, K.T. "The Development of Nationalist Movement in Zaria province, 1902-1960" M.A. (History), A.B.U. 1991, Zaria.
[82]Ray, J.G.T. Van., in Mortimore, M.J. "Op. cit"
[83]Interview with Hajiya Salamatu Ja'e (HSJ) age 112 years on September 15, 2002.

and applied to the fields. Those who benefited the more from this were the Fulani farmers. Cattle were corralled on a spot for a few nights and then moved to an adjacent one which procedure is repeated until a considerable piece of land has been manured. The practitioners of this system claimed that in so doing they realize at least a doubling of crop yields.[84] It should be realized that the settled Fulani in Makoye are part of the larger Fulani that formed the only substantial group around Zaria that has reached a partial integration of cropping and cattle husbandry, and has the skills to mobilize cattle during drought periods without much difficulty.[85]

The people of Shika area happened to fall within the category of settled stockowners. This category refers to those who maintain an uninterrupted contact with their homesteads. With some exceptions the number of animals per household is low on the average, as compared to that of the nomadic stockholders. However, the greater portion of the small livestock population in the area, just like in the larger Zaria plains, is believed to be associated with the settled stockowners.

The explanations as to why at least 85 percent of all rural households in Zaria, including this area of study, have livestock[86] can be found in the following reasons: The value attached to mobile capital in an unstable situation whereby the livestock can be sold is understandable; the people like and use meat, milk and egg; livestock have significant roles in religious ceremonies and social life, like the Sallah periods, wedding and naming ceremonies, etc; and the use made of donkeys for riding and as beasts of burden also made them to keep livestock. The people of Shika area, whether settled Fulani or Hausa, considered livestock a highly valued property. But the

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[84]Ray, J.G.T. Van, "Op. cit".
[85]Ibid.

[86]Ibid, p.151. Also Federal Office of Statistics, 1963/75, ZA.

opportunities of the Fulani, who occupied the area from around 1800 to 1928, and the Hausa to acquire and keep livestock vary, and so do form of management. Two broad sub-divisions present themselves: the stockowners that tend their own animals and those who do not.

The first are farmers – both the settled Fulani and the Hausa – who have some animals which, if not kept within the compounds, graze and are corralled nearby. The settled Fulani were still faithful to their tradition in respect of cattle; almost all the big animals belonging to them are under their care. Often they group the livestock in a few herds which were taken out daily for grazing by the male children of the household, whether boys or men. Such practices are rare among their non-Fulani neighbours who focus upon such less exacting animals as goats, sheep, donkeys and fowls which are either kept inside the compound or, as is the case during dry season, are released to graze unattended to around the settlement.

Among the Fulani there is a widespread tendency to convert savings into livestock. Particularly high in the list of investment alternatives were cattle, the ownership of which can be a paying proposition. Cattle reflected wealth and also indicated status, wealth being one of the determinants of prestige. In relation to this fact, Makoye Dikko and Makoye Usman Jamo, the first and second *dagaci* of Makoye respectively, are said to have been the highest owners of cattle in their lifetimes. They possessed not less than 2,000 heads of cattle and accompanying flocks of sheep and goats between them.[87] Butchers from Zaria and Maska region of Katsina used to come and buy bulls on Biye market days and other occasions. It is obvious that the persons that deal with them most in this trade were Makoye Dikko and Usman Jamo

[87]HMG, AAB and UTD op.cit.

being among the members of the highest stockowners.[88] Dealers in poultry from the city and around the neighboring villages also had the area as one of their roving centres. Here they buy chicken and domestic fowls at a cheap price and take them to weekly markets where they make reasonable profits. A dealer may buy as many as twelve chickens for five shillings and sell them at between seven and eight shillings, depending on the patronage on a market day.[89]

1.7.2 Agriculture

Agriculture, which was as intensive as pastoralism, constituted the foundation of the economy of Shika area. Moreover, we have seen that Tsibiri and Biye owed their establishment and evolution to slave farms basically formed for agricultural purposes. We have also discussed the types of crops produced in the area and how industries such as weaving and dyeing flourished due to the availability of their required raw materials, i.e. cotton and indigo.

Agricultural production generally in Zaria plains by this period was organized in two basic forms: The family unit (*gandun gida*) or the patrilineal homestead and the large farms (*gandayen sarakuna, attajirai* and *mallamai*). The *gandun gida* is the commonest and starts from the homestead unit composed of the *maigida*, that is the most senior member of the family or *gida,* their servants and slaves. All these members of the *gida* worked together on the farm belonging to the *gida* known as the *gandun gida* under the supervision of the *maigida.*[90] The agricultural activity was retained in this manner even if some individual members of the *gida* took to other different agricultural engagements. The people of Shika area were, thus, engaged in the *gandun gida* form of production.

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[88]Ibid.
[89]AGA, op.cit.
[90]IDM, MSS, ABT, etc.

In addition, however, *gandayen sarakuna* and *mallamai* existed in Tsibiri, Biye and Gungurfa. These were farms populated with slaves who work throughout the year producing crops for their owners. Unlike the *gandun gida* form of production, the slaves were not usually allowed to take other agricultural engagements. However, there were cases in which senior slaves were allowed to acquire and own farms. It is important to note here that these various forms of agricultural production were subsequently significantly altered with the imposition of colonial rule on the settlements and the Zaria area in general. This change was brought about through various colonial proclamations such as those of slavery, etc.[91]

Farming activities in the area began during the *bazara,* the period when farmlands were cleared and prepared for cultivation. With the beginning of the rainy season (*faduwar damina*) sowing of staple crops began in earnest. Between the periods of sowing (*shuka*), and harvesting (*girbi*) a lot of farming activities took place. It is already mentioned, however, that farming activities were also carried out during the dry season as *noman rani* along the *fadamomi.* The main crops grown include grains (especially corn, millet and sorghum), indigo and cotton. There were also numerous irrigated crops like rice, yam, potato, and spices like pepper. Tree-crops such as shea nuts were also gathered. By 1928 the people of the area produced in excess of what they required in the settlements, it is therefore not surprising that they had begun trading with neighboring settlements such as Maska, Giwa, Samaru and even Zaria city as we have seen in the cases of cattle, goats and chicken and the patronage of Biye weekly market. They also traded in cotton and indigo. The donkey

[91]For more details on colonial slavery proclamations see Lugard, F. ***Political*** *... **op.cit.*** pp.217-225.

(*jaki*) was the main means of transportation while human porterage (*dako*) or (*alaro*) was also common.[92]

1.7.3 Dyeing and Weaving

Dyeing and weaving were also important economic activities in Makoye. Though the weaving industry was actually not very strong, because it was mostly managed by few men and women with interest in the activity and within the confines of their houses, the dyeing industry was relatively well established. Available evidence indicates that in this period of study, the household of Tankare was largely responsible for the dyeing industry in the area up to the 1920s. The locally constructed dyeing centre (*marina*) located by the western gate of Makoye is said to be under their care and control. This *marina* had about twelve (12) dyeing pits (*tukunyar baba*). Tankare, his elder brother, Muhammadu and the younger one called Ango were all professional dyers.[93]

The practice of dyeing textile materials itself dated back to remote antiquity. Indigo (*baba*) dye, for example has been known to man for more than 4,000 years.[94] Some historians believe it to be the oldest known dye, and it was the type practiced in the area by this period. Indigo, as the name implies, is indigenous to India. But it is also found in other parts of the world such as Africa and the Americas.[95] Our discussion on agriculture shows that indigo (*baba*), one of the major requirements for dyeing was produced in the area. The dye is extracted from the plant *indigofera*

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[92]Group interviews in Mahuta, March 16,, 2008 and Biye, August 17, 2008.
[93]ABS op.cit.
[94]Gofer, Z.V.I. ***Archaeological Chemistry,*** John Wiley & Sons, 198, London, pp.48.

[95]Hodges, H. ***Artifacts,*** John Baker Publishers, 1965, London, pp.81-83.

tincontorium. This is one of the most common dyes used in antiquity.[96] Other materials needed for the dyeing process included, most importantly, the dyeing pits (*tukwanen baba*), the coloring agents such as mordant ash (*katsi*), the mordant water (*dagwalo*), wood ash (*toka*) and *shuni* (a dark blue coloring substance). Stout stick (*majuyi*), basket (*kwando*) and logs (*guma-gumai*) are also materials used in the dyeing process.

The production and sale of the dyed materials seem to be mainly handled on an individual basis. Traditionally, the dyers went from one village to another collecting material to be dyed. Some of them might also buy the locally hand woven clothes from either the women in the area or the market and dye them for resale. However, the dyers in Makoye were patronized due to their expertise.[97]

1.7.4 Production of *Fura* and *Nono*

Pastoralism, farming and dyeing, as economic activities carried out in Makoye during the period of study were dominated by the men folk. However, this does not mean that the women folk were not engaged in other form of trades. We have already mentioned how the women mainly dominated the production of *mankadɛ* in Biye and how they participated in the weaving industry Makoye. In addition to that, another trade which they did not only dominate but were the only practitioners was the production and marketing of foods, especially *fura* and *nono* (*fura da nono*).[98]

Fura and *nono* were produced in so many households, which made it more than the local requirement of the settlement. Thus their women carried it to the neighboring settlements and beyond especially on market days. Though we cannot lay our hands on any statistical evidence, the sales of *fura* and *nono* is said to have

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[96] *Ibid.*
[97] MIMT, op.cit.

[98] HSJ, op.cit.

contributed in the financial gains of the producers' households, which in return improved the economy of the area as a pastoral and agricultural societies.[99] In order for us to understand the nature and essence of the various economic activities discussed above, we need to examine the social relations of production that was dominant in the area by our period of study.

1.8 Society and Administration

There is no doubt that the Shika area was an open and busy area, in terms of agriculture and trade, before the establishment of Shika in 1928. It is also clear that the vegetation and geography of the area contributed much to the location of the settlements in the area. We can also surmise that due to the political conditions that obtained in Zazzau Emirate, like the persistent raid for slaves on weaker communities, the settlements were confined within walls which gave them some level of safety. The households within the walls were not so close to each other but scattered. And since due to the nature of the environment there was enough mud and grass, the huts and houses within the settlements were largely made of these materials.[100]

All available sources agree that the settlements within the Shika area remained at the location they were founded from c.1800 to 1928 despite the few threats by slave raiders as in the cases of Mahuta and Tsibiri. The new threat that faced the area came with colonialism in the early 1900s, and that was the forced labour imposed on them by the colonialists in connection with Zazzau aristocracy.[101] It is important to note here that the main reason behind the various colonial proclamations on forced labour and slavery was not more than to release potential labour and make it readily available

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[99]HSJ, MIMT and ABS
[100]Interview with Mallam Sale Saliyo (MSS) age 100 years on January 22, 2008.
[101]So many among those I interviewed experienced the forced labour, among them were ABT, HAM, and MMW.

for the colonial system. This made it possible for the replacement of slave labour with peasant forced labor. Lugard himself stated that the maintenance of roads and waterways was the only duty imposed upon the people by law, without remunerations, in colonial Nigeria.[102] It is not in our intention to discuss the issue of slavery though it is part of Northern Nigeria, by extension our area of study's social history.[103] But we should be reminded that when Lugard took over the administration of Northern Nigeria protectorate from the Royal Niger Company in December 1899, slavery and slave trade still existed in the territory. Lugard was desirous (or was it the colonial regime?) to bring an end to that state of affairs and he lost no time in devoting his attention to the issue.

Lugard had an earlier experience on slavery both from East and West Africa.[104] This, coupled with his discussion on the problem with some experts on the subject made his approach cautious and practical. Moreover, Lugard observed that under Northern Nigerian conditions a law simply abolishing slavery would not only be unenforceable, but would also lead to economic chaos and possibly rebellion. This is because the Northern Nigerian society largely, though not entirely, existed on a subsistence economy, and with land in abundance there was no excess supply of labour. The only way by which the ruling class could obtain labour was by compulsion. Consequently, slavery had been built into the region's economy and to bring it to an end precipitately would lead to a disruption of the economy. Moreover, the slaves who had by then lost their kith and kin as well as land would have been completely helpless and might have starved or resorted to robbery. In addition,

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[102]Lugard, F. ***Political ...op.cit.*** p. 246.

[103]This issue has been extensively treated in other works such as Perham, M., ***Lugard: The Years of Authority, 1898-1945***, Collins Ltd, 1960, London, Olusanya, G.O. "The Free Slaves' Homes – An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History", in ***JHSN Vol.III No.3***, 1966.

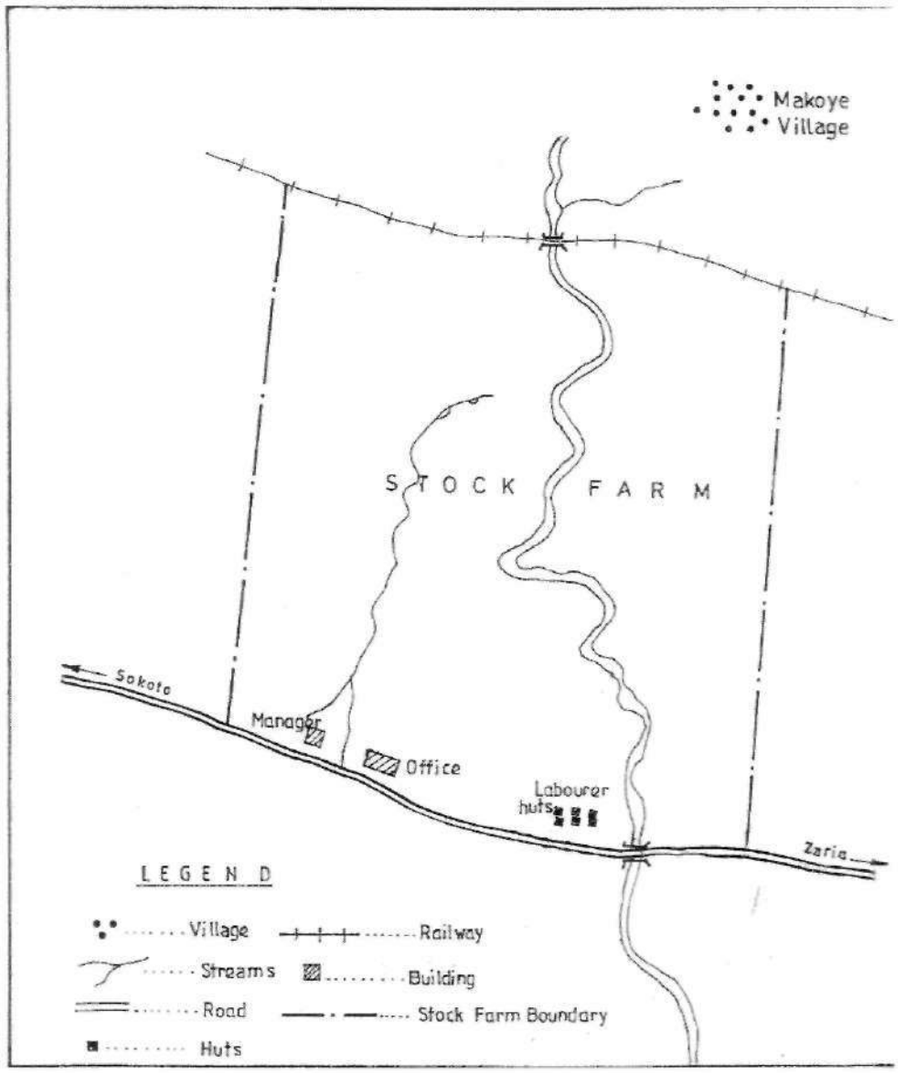
[104]Lugard, F.D., ***The Rise of Our East African Empire***, 1963, Vol. I.

Lugard realized that slaves were generally well treated in the African society. Some of the slaves often became trusted servants of the rulers while others attained to high positions in their states.[105]

For the above reasons, the slavery Proclamation of April 1, 1901 only recognized the legal status of slaves, prohibited their further enslavement and declared all children born after April 1, 1901, free.[106] By the 1920s, therefore, the colonial Government had achieved its aim of releasing potential labour that was readily available for the colonial system. It was therefore not surprising that during the early colonial period a lot of activities, such as railway construction, were carried out using the policy of forced labour. This shall be discussed in the next chapter.

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[105]Olusanya, G.O. "loc.cit", p. 523. See our discussion on Yahaya Gimba in chapter two (2.3). He was a slave who inherited a very large farm from his master.
[106]Ibid.



MAP II: MAKOYE VILLAGE SHOWING THE ZARIA-GUSAU RAILWAY LINE AND THE STOCK FARM IN 1928. (Source: NAK 2921 Vol. I, Shika Stock Farm, p. 54

It will be interesting to point out here that it was during the rail line construction that one of the wards in Makoye was established. That is Kamfanin Dan-Dabo. The name originated from the combination of two names, Kamfani (camp) and Dan-Dabo, a name of the person who was said to be the head-man of the railway labourers that were camped in the area. There were other head-men before him, over ten of them, who had camped on the border between Makoye and Bomo.

But when Dan-Dabo emerged as the head-man he moved the camp to Makoye. That was because he realized that the last camp was not conducive due to its bushy nature, so he sought for permission to relocate, and it was granted. One informant disclosed that the camp had up to about one thousand (1,000) able bodied men, so they occupied a very large area which developed into a ward that was named after Dan-Dabo.[107]

Let us, at this point, discuss the belief system of the inhabitants of Makoye. This is because the belief system itself played a very crucial role in the socio-political setting of the society. During the period of study just one belief system was dominant in Makoye and that was Islam. The Islamic belief system holds that the major means of seeking guidance and forgiveness is through the worshiping of Allah and obedience to the messages contained in the Glorious Qur'an and the Hadith (traditions or sayings) of the Prophet Muhammad (*Sallallahu Alaihi wa Sallam* -Peace and Blessing of Allah be upon Him). This belief system played a dominant role in the socio-political setting, especially the land tenure system in the Shika area. We have earlier discussed how the Emirs, a leadership system brought by the Islamic jihad movement, and the intelligentsia, another Islamic group, have influenced the emergence and evolution of settlements in the area.

In terms of political set up, the Shika area was organized on household basis. A household (*gida*) was headed by the *Maigida* (head of the household) and the *gida* basically consisted of all his relatives (*'yan 'uwa*). Thus, all farm harvests come after the control of *Maigida.* When he found it necessary he organized for the sale of agricultural surplus in the various markets within and around the area. Any amount generated was used in buying items that were generally in demand in the household.

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[107]ABS, op.cit.

Such items were mostly bought on market days when the surplus was also mostly sold out. The *Maigida* also settled disputes that arose within his household. Generally, after consulting his *'yan'uwa* on all important matters that affected the family or household, it was the *Maigida* that had the final say. The *Maigida* was usually the eldest surviving male member of a household and this certainly enhanced his authority.

The *Maigida* usually represented his household unit in village deliberations. He was a member of the village council of elders which consisted of other household heads (*masu gidaje*). That council of elders was not the sort that was formally constituted by appointments or even met at fixed regular intervals. The council was usually summoned when there were issues to discuss. Meetings of elders were usually chaired by *mai'unguwa* (ward head). The *mai'unguwa* was usually one of the elders appointed by the *dagaci* to head and coordinate the political activities of a ward.[108]

It is clear that the whole of the Shika area was, up to 1902, under the political influence of the Zazzau Emirate, thus the *sarakuna* of the settlements in the area were under the authority of the Emirate, answerable to the Emir in Zaria.[109] It seems, therefore, that the *sarakuna* of Mahuta, Tsibiri, Biye, the Liman of Makoye and the *masu unguwanni* of the settlements were responsible for collecting tributes mainly in the form of agricultural supplies from the inhabitants of the area for the Emirate. Such tributes from the Shika area went through the district head (hakimi) of Giwa (who held the title of Fagaci) to Zaria. M.G. Smith revealed that for collecting taxes or tributes, village heads throughout the Zazzau Emirate usually kept a portion of tributes due for their areas while they handed over the larger part to the Emirate

[108]Interview with UTD, HAL and JNB.

[109]NAK/Zarprof. C.8 238/1915 D.H. Giwa.

messengers, (*jakadu*). The *jakadu* also kept another portion of the tribute while their superiors, the *hakimai*, kept even more. The remainder went to the Emir who in turn forwarded some percentage of it to the caliphate headquarters in Sokoto.[110] In essence, on the eve of colonialism the surplus appropriated from the Shika area, as well as numerous other areas of the Emirate, was basically for the benefit of the ruling class starting with the locality from within up to the top of the hierarchy in Sokoto.

1.9 Conclusion

We have attempted in this chapter to discuss the early history of the Shika area before the establishment of Shika itself as a settlement. Among other things, we examined its geography, bringing out its significance in the history of the area. Subsequently, we discussed various aspects of the early history of the settlements within the area with specific focus on their emergence, evolution and socio-economic and political settings. As far as the economy was concerned we have shown that it was predominantly agricultural in which production was based on household units. Furthermore, we noted that the area was exposed to trade due to the periodic or weekly markets in Biye for example. However, by 1928 the year in which a colonial Stock Farm was established near the Shika River, the various *sarakuna* and *masu unguwanni* of the settlements in the area had already been subordinated to the authority of the *Hakimi* of the Giwa District known as Fagacin Zazzau by the British colonial regime. In the next chapter therefore, we shall discuss the establishment of the Government Stock farm in the Shika area in the period from 1928-1937.

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[110]Smith, M.G. *Government in Zazzau: 1800-1950,* O.A.U. Press, 1960, London, pp. 92-94.

CHAPTER TWO

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT STOCK FARM IN THE SHIKA AREA 1927-1937

2.1 Introduction

The Shika Government Stock Farm, been a unit of the British colonial government's Department of Agriculture, is part and parcel of the British colonial agricultural policies as well as other policies on land, labour and taxation. Other writers have earlier drawn attention to these policies and their impacts.[1] However, it is very critical for us here to briefly discuss what they hope to achieve for the purpose of grasping and comprehending the basis of the establishment of the Stock Farm. We shall also examine the payment of compensation of the appropriated land which was used for the establishment of the Stock Farm and its consequences on the people and the area. We shall subsequently discuss the establishment, growth and expansion of the Farm.

We choose to terminate this chapter in 1937 because by this date all the structures of the Stock Farm were in place. Many of the households within Makoye Mahuta and Gungurfa have been expropriated and relocated elsewhere in the process of enlarging the Farm. By 1937 the Stock Farm had also been operating in its full capacity to meet the colonial demand of British imperialism.

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[1]See Adamu, A. "British Agricultural Colonial Policies in Northern Nigeria C.1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District", M.A. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1992, pp.88-116.

2.2 British Colonization of Zaria

Various studies on Zaria in particular and Zazzau in general have discussed the British occupation of the area.[2] We are, however, reiterating the subject here to help us understand how our area of study, which is located within the Zaria plains, became incorporated to the colonial administration. Some of the studies examined the sources used in reconstructing the history of the British conquest of Zaria in particular and the Sokoto caliphate in general. This is for the reason of illuminating the fact about the causes of the conquest and its significance. In this attempt, there emerged a correction on the view that "the rulers of Zazzau did not put up any credible resistance to the (British) invading forces."[3]

It is made clear by Adeleye that the Niger Committee, appointed by the British government in 1898 to look into the problems of effective occupation of Nigeria, recommended that since the (Sokoto) caliphate could not be taken by a general coup-de-main, it should be done gradually, each emirate taken in turn.[4] Thus, without the knowledge of the people of the area the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was formally proclaimed by Colonel Fredrick D. Lugard on January 1900 at Lokoja. The conquest of the area, therefore, continued in earnest and two forces played dominant roles in the course of the British occupation of Zaria. The forces were the missionaries and the

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[2] Arnett, E.J. ***Gazetteer of Zaria Province***, London, 1920, Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Green, A. H. M. ***The Emirates of Northern Nigeria***, op.cit, Mortimore, M.J. (ed.) ***Zaria and its Regions***, Op.cit. Smith, M.G. ***Government in Zazzau***, op.cit, Adamu A., "Food economy in Colonial Nigeria...", op.cit, Aminu, S. M., "The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Zaria Native Authority C. 1902 - 1945", M.A. Thesis, ABU Zaria, 1991, Bonat, Z.A. "Colonial Phases of Underdevelopment in Zaria Province 1902-1945", M.A. Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 1985, Dhliwayo, A.V. "A History of Sabon Gari Zaria, 1911 – 1950...", op.cit, Toure, K.T. "The Development of Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province, 1902 -1960", M. A. Thesis, ABU Zaria, 1991, etc.

[3] The view is advanced by Bonat and the correction and the clear picture of administrative resistance is made by Amin, S.A., ibid, pp.52-58 and Toure, K.T., ibid, pp.102-120.

[4] Adeleye, R.A., ***Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Emirs***, London, 1971, p.205.

military.[5] The missionaries acted as intelligence officers to the British army and the military as effective occupiers.

The episode in which the Emir of Zazzau was advised by Dr. Miller of the Christian Missionary Service (CMS) that the Emir's security depended upon his welcoming of the British, and to have influenced the letter sent by the Emir requesting British protection[6] is a clear evidence on the role of the missionary as "diplomatic" intelligence officers. As a result, when Colonel Kemball of the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.) visited Zaria in 1900 and made pledges for peace and friendship, the Emir of Zazzau, Muhammad Lawal Kwasau (1897-1902) gave him a friendly welcome. However, Toure argues that after having started on a somehow cordial note, the relationship between the Emir and Kemball soon deteriorated when the former realized that the British posed some danger.[7]

The offensive started when Kemball encroached on some towns and villages within the jurisdiction of Zazzau emirate in the south. Kwasau immediately sent a protest to Lugard at Lokoja and also briefed the capital of the Caliphate at Sokoto about Kemball's threatening activities.[8] however, with the defeat of other emirates like Bida and Kontagora, the British advanced to Zaria. In the late part of 1901 they sent a company of the WAFF and established a garrison at Zaria.[9] With the arrival of the military, the British embarked on the process of consolidating a hold on Zaria. By March 1902 Zaria was colonized and announced as a province with Captain Abadie as Resident.[10] But Kwasau refused to give in to the invaders and did not accept the British as overloads. He waged an anti-British struggle which made the relationship

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[5] Ibid, p.243.
[6] Ibid, p.244.
[7] Toure-Kazah, T, ibid, pp. 102-105.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Orr, C.W., NAK, Zaria Annual Report for 1904.
[10] Arnett, E.J. Gazetteer of Zaria Province, Waterlow & Sons, 1920, London, p.14.

between Zazzau and the British very tense. As a result Captain Abadie charged Kwasau of subversion and in September 1902 the might of the British military force was employed in the overthrow of Kwasau.[11]The arrival of the garrison, the posting of the resident and the deposition of the Emir marked the beginning of the colonial administration in Zaria. All other areas within the province, by implication our area of study, became colonized and ready for the operation of the colonial economy.

With the advent of colonialism a new political structure was introduced for the whole Northern Nigeria. This political structure was based on the British policy of the so-called "Indirect Rule". So-called in the sense that several African scholars have exposed its essence and purpose,[12] this was basically to have an easy way of fully manipulating the colonized. In spite of the fact that the subject of "Indirect Rule" has already engaged the attention of many scholars we will find it necessary to state that the system was introduced in the Zaria province as soon as it was constituted by the British colonial regime in 1902.

At the head of this administrative machinery was the British Resident based in Zaria. The Resident was only answerable to the Lieutenant Governor of the Northern Protectorate who was by the second decade of the 20th century already permanently resident in Kaduna. An arm of the administration which was headed by the Emir of Zazzau was subordinated to the British Resident of the Zaria province. This arm was called the Native Administration.[13] It is interesting to note here that even before the residency of the Lieutenant Governor the Emir significantly assisted the British

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[11] Adeleye, R.A., ***op cit***, pp245-247.

[12]For example, while Lugard, F. ***op.cit*** is more concerned with the appearance of the system, Tukur, M.M. op.cit exposes its essence.

[13] Aminu, S.M. 1991, "The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Zaria Native Authority, c.1902-1945" M.A. Thesis, History, A.B.U. Zaria1991, pp. 13.

colonialists' regime to carry out a major district division of the Native Administration.[14]

The division of Zaria province into districts carried out in 1907 was mainly along "cultural line".[15] The province was in fact divided into 32 districts (*gundumomi*) each with its own District Head (*Hakimi*) as resident. With this major district division the Shika area was placed under Fagacin Zazzau, the District Head of Giwa. Among other roles, in principle, all the village heads or *sarakuna* in the Shika area were supposed to forward colonial taxes which they collected to the Fagaci.

Broadly speaking, after the conquest of the Northern part of Nigeria, the British colonial regime imposed taxes (*haraji*) on the various settlements that constituted the region. Indeed, there were quite a variety of these taxes and these included the land tax (*kudin kasa*) and cattle tax (*jangali*), among others. By 1904, the tax assessment of all parts of the Zaria province had already been completed. By this year, therefore, colonial tax had accordingly been strongly imposed on the province. However, the colonial officers noted that there were settlements in the province that had not started paying the various taxes even by 1913.[16] But by 1914 the copy of the colonial cashier's book in Giwa district, which covers the Shika area, was always neat and accurate, thus they found their Native Administrative agents to be performing "thoroughly satisfactory".[17] In 1921 the Giwa district contributed a land tax of £4,120 and a cattle tax of £1,885.40 totaling to £6,005.40 to the colonial regime controlled Native Administration.[18] By 1927 the Shika area was fully incorporated into the colonial system. Thus, as a result the Director of Agriculture,

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[14]Arnett, E.J. "The Zaria province" in Hogben and Kirk-Green (eds.) ***op.cit.*** p.7.
[15]NAK/Zarprof./2554.

[16]Ibid.
[17]NAK/Zarprof. / 238/1915 (Reports on Mallam Rufa'i) p.2.
[18]Ibid. p.6.

Zaria Province, instructed his assistant on the 7th November 1927 to write to the Resident on the proposal to open a Stock Farm near the Shika River and also to discuss the question of expropriation of land required as a cattle reserve and farmland for the project.[19] By 29th March 1928 therefore, the Stock Farm was established and employment of labourers from within the area had began.[20]

2.2.1 Colonial Economy

Various research works on the British conquest of the Nigerian area have been undertaken.[21] Some of the studies are especially concerned with the British motive for penetrating and conquering the area. An important issue for us to note here, however, is that soon after the conquest the British formulated several policies and proclamations which helped them to achieve their primary objective in colonial Northern Nigeria. Most, if not all, of these policies and proclamations, especially those on land as we shall discuss in this chapter, had far reaching consequences. Colonial tax, land and labour policies, which formed the backbone of the colonial economy, were important weapons for establishing colonial control and bringing the economy of all colonized peoples under effective foreign control. These policies are, therefore, part of the British control over the native administration and the peasantry.

Several reasons were advanced by the colonizers to justify the imposition of taxes in the colonies.[22]With regards to land, the colonial interests cannot be divorced from the interests of colonial merchant capital as represented by the numerous British firms. Especially because of the fact that our area of study and the whole region of

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[19]NAK/Agriculture Department/2921.Vol.1 (Shika Stock Farm).
[20]Ibid. p.16.
[21]A good example of such work is: Tukur, M.M. "Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighboring States 1897-1914: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Sources", Ph.D. A.B.U. Zaria, 1979.
[22] See Lugard, F.D. Dual Mandate ***The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa***, Frank Cass, London 1965, p.231.

occupation in general, were characterized by a long standing and developed commodity production.[23] On labour, Lugard maintained that the British were only borrowing from the aristocrats of the colonized.[24]

As early as 1902, for example, there was a land proclamation which categorized land in the protectorate of Nigeria largely into crown and public land.[25] This proclamation was, however, modified by an ordinance made in 1910.[26] Thus, with these ordinances land in colonial Northern Nigeria was largely regarded as a crown or imperial property. Significantly, the inhabitants of Shika area as a result of this could no longer exercise much control over their lands as was the case before the advent of the colonialists. Colonial land proclamations, therefore, facilitated the acquisition of some portion of Makoye, the area bordering Guga for railway constructions. The portion acquired stretched from southern Makoye for about two kilometers of the settlement (see map II on p.36). The railway line which goes to Gusau and Kaura Namoda passes through this area. In fact, a railway substation was located in Guga, one of the hamlets neighboring Makoye, and this station is popularly known in the whole of Zaria as *Tashar Guga* (see Map V on p.192). This sub-station became so popular in the years when the railway was functional. The decline of the railway in Nigeria, however, is a phenomenon that continues to be a subject of research for scholars.[27] The railway construction was carried out using forced labour. Generally around the Nigerian area the project was carried out hastily by the British

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[23] Bonat, Z.A. "Colonial Phases of Underdevelopment in Zaria Province 1902-1945", M.A. Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 1985, p.251.
[24] Lugard, F. ***Political Memoranda***, Frank Cass, 1970, London, pp.238-242.
[25] ***Ibid***, pp.348-349.
[26] Ibid, p.350.
[27] See for example, Omosini, M.O. "The Background to Railway Policy in Nigeria: 1877-1901" in Akinjogbin, A.I. and Osoba, S.O. (eds.) ***Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History***. University of Ife Press, 1980, Shettima, K.A. "The Working class and the Crisis in the Nigerian Railway Corporation." M.Sc. (Political Science) Thesis, A.B.U. 1987 and Jackel, F. ***The History of the Nigerian Railway***. Spectrum Books Ibadan 1997. Nasir, M.A., a colleague of mine is currently writing his M.A. thesis on the impact of the railway on Kaura Namoda region, 1929-1960.

colonial authority in order to facilitate the economic exploitation of the land.[28] The earliest railway line in Northern Nigeria was the Baro-Kano line. Although the construction of this rail line started in 1907, the first survey party of the project visited Zaria province in 1908. Yet, it was only in 1911 that the line reached Zaria.

Later, in 1927 the colonialists decided to extend the railway line to Gusau in Sokoto province.[29] Gusau is geographically located north-west of Zaria. Considering the location of the Shika area, therefore, it is not surprising that the extension of the railway line from Zaria to Gusau was to pass through the area.[30] The railway required vast land for successful operation, so one could think that there may be a problem in securing such land. However, under colonial dispensation, the problem of land acquisition by the state did not arise. This is because the state had nationalized the land, and had reserved for itself the exclusive right to any land needed for developmental purposes. Moreover, the railways were the principal developmental projects of the colonial state.[31]

The Railway Act specifically stated that the High Commissioner could acquire any land anywhere for the railway purpose.[32] This was how Salanke, a settlement south of Makoye had the major part of its land taken over by the railway project. Salanke was under the administration of Makoye, therefore, when the railway construction reached the area in 1927, Makoye Usman Jamo, the then *dagaci* of Makoye and an official of the Zaria Native Authority (N.A.), was vested with the

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[28]For a discussion on why the railway was hastily constructed in Nigeria see Olarewaju, S.A. "Infrastructure of Exploitation: Transport, Monetary Changes, Banking, etc." in Falola, T.A. (ed.) ***Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?*** Zed Books Ltd., 1987, London.

[29]See Nasir, M.A. "Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure: A Study on the Impact of the Railway in Kaura Namoda Region, 1929-1960", M.A. (History) Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 2011 for details.

[30]See Maps on pages 36 and 192.

[31]For more explanation on this see Lugard, F.D. ***The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa,*** Frank Cass, 1965, London.

[32]NAK/Secretary Northern Province (SNP) / 7/8, 4652/1907 Railway Proclamation NO.31 of 1904.

responsibility of recruiting the required labour force. This coincided with the period of his assumption of office, so it became his first official assignment.[33]

Since the beginning of colonialism, colonial policies such as the provision of basic colonial infrastructure like roads and railways, taxation system, land matters and colonial agriculture were carried out using the N.A. That was designed by the colonialist as a result of understanding the role of pre-colonial political institutions in Northern Nigeria.[34] It was argued elsewhere that the N.A. carried out those policies to the best of their ability, but they exploited the situation and made it the means through which some of them accumulated wealth with which they further consolidated themselves as rulers.[35]

Makoye and Mahuta settlements were expected to provide food to the railway workers who were mainly forced labourers. Households in the area prepared their local staples such as guinea corn and millet porridge for the railway workers. This they did without being paid. In fact the households provided free food to the railway work force because they were informed by colonial agents that the railway being constructed was specifically meant to enhance the prosperity and commercial strength of Zaria and the Northern Province.[36] The demand for land in Makoye by the colonial government in Nigeria for its activities did not stop with that acquired for the railways, as we shall discuss after looking at the British colonial policy on labour.

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[33]Interview with Makoye Ibrahim Buwayi (MBA) age 90 years on September 16, 2002. Buwayi is a son of Makoye Jamo. He was also a Sarki of Makoye but was removed in 1955.
[34]See Aminu, S.M. "The Colonial State and Colonial Economy ..." op.cit.
[35]Ibid. pp.126-140.
[36]Interviews with Makoye Ibrahim Buwayi (MBI) and Mallam Jumare Nasarawan Buhari (JNB) age 91 years on August 11, 2002.

2.2.2 The Introduction of Colonial Agricultural Policy

Lovejoy has cautioned that we must know how the British colonialists in Northern Nigeria understood our society, what they wanted from it and how they planned to get it if we are to fully comprehend their agricultural policy. He, therefore, posits that the British viewed the caliphal society as a region with vast economic, especially agricultural potentials to be tapped. But they presumed that economic activities in the caliphate on the eve of the conquest largely depended on the exploitation of slave labour.[37] European travelers like Paul Staudinger, Hugh Clapperton and Richard Lander who passed through Zaria territory gave the picture of the Sokoto Caliphate as a rich agricultural country. They gave accounts of extensive agricultural production and commercial transactions. The British, therefore, were after the agricultural resources of the region, because they saw it as a solution to one of their major economic problems. That is the supply of raw materials to their home industries.

The British had, however, acquired experience of colonial domination in places like India, Ireland and some parts of central Asia. As such, they were aware of the cost of administering a colony so they planned on making the protectorate to be able to finance itself. The colonial Treasury insisted on the employment of a few officers both civilian and military and the maintenance of peace and order. It also insisted that development was to be undertaken by private initiative or through the utilization of local resources.[38]

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[37]Lovejoy, P.E. "Plantations in the Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate" in ***Journal of African History***, Vol. 19, No. 3, Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 341-368. See also Curtin, P.D., ***The Image of Africa***, Wisconsin, 1964 and Watts, M. ***Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria***, University of California Press, 1983, Los Angeles.

[38]Adamu, A. op.cit and also Shenton, R.W. "Studies in the development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1981, Canada, p.57.

The evolution of British colonial Agricultural policies was, therefore, shaped by the lack of enough manpower on the ground. This situation forced them to incorporate the indigenous rulers into the colonial administration, i.e. the so-called Native Administration (N.A.). The British colonialists had their fear of mass insurrections and rebellion that might result from the probable introduction of white settlers to take part in agricultural production or to establish large plantations. This fear resulted from their experiences in Kenya and other colonies, especially India where in 1857 a mutiny occurred.[39] The British colonial regime in Nigeria was, therefore, forced to make use of the available local resources, both human and natural, to realize the objectives of British imperialism.

What further convinced the British that the local population could produce enough cash crops to satisfy their needs and also generate enough revenue to pay for the administration of the region was the heritage of Northern Nigeria. This heritage was the centuries of agricultural production, industrial production and participation in long distance commerce with North Africa. Most importantly, there was the existence of a highly developed system of administration which emerged out of the 19th century Jihad. The British, however, realized that the population could only be made to produce the desired products based on the introduction of certain policy measures especially with regards to land and labour. There were also other subsequent policies, like those on tax and transportation, which were added to strengthen the colonial efforts and to ensure that the developments in the agricultural sector and the economy generally follow the British designed pattern.[40] Moreover, it was the policy on land that was to give the British colonial administration the complete control of the land thereby making the indigenous population perceptibly helpless.

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[39]Shenton, "Ibid", p.57
[40]"Ibid"

2.2.3 The Colonial Land Policy

Land occupied a central and critical position in the economy of our area of study as in other areas. It was because of this that immediately after the colonial conquest one of the first issues addressed by the British became the control of land and its administration. In discussing the British colonial land policy in the area, however, we must take note of two salient points. The first is that British colonial interest in land was directly linked to the interest of merchant capital as represented by the colonial companies. The second point is that the area has a long history of commodity production based on peasant ownership of the means of production.

It is important to note that pre-colonial land policy in the area recognized individual ownership of land and its transfer. At that period the state had no right to alienate a person from making use of land on the condition that he paid land rate. The Emirs, District and Village Heads only took care of land for the community, but could not alienate anybody from it. In this light Lenninhan observed that:

> *Subject to the payment of rent on a year by year basis, the average person had considerable security of tenure within the bounds of local custom and bounded by the capacity of the Emir (and his representatives).*[41]

Lugard's administration had no plan or even a desire for establishing a free hold tenancy. But it was clear that it was determined to reverse the process and strengthen the control of land by the traditional rulers through legislation. Adamu rightly argues that British domination was with the intent of creating a class of big land holders and another class of landless peasantry.[42] The whole idea, however, was advanced so as to provide the labour force needed by the colonial regime and their

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[41]Lennihan, L.D., "Rights in Men and Rights in Land: Labour and Small Holder Agriculture in Northern Nigeria' in ***Slavery Abolition*** Vol.3 No.2 Frank Cass, 1982, London, pp.122

[42]Adamu, A. op.cit, p.93.

collaborators, the capitalist companies.[43] As the Emirates were conquered by the British, therefore, each Emir, whether reinstated or newly appointed, was given an appointment letter clearly stating that the British through the High Commissioner had assumed administrative and land control and right to levy taxes. Lugard had explained in his address to the Waziri of Sokoto that the Fulani had lost control of the Sokoto Caliphate through the same manner they had achieved it, by conquest. He therefore outlined the new conditions of British administration in which among other things he stated that:

> *The government will in future hold rights in land which the falani* (sic) *took by conquest from the people and if government requires land, it will take it for any purpose.*[44]

As a result, the British enacted two proclamations as early as 1902. These were the Crown Land Proclamation (No.16) and the Public Land Proclamation. The former vested on the High Commissioner and the administration control of all the land previously 'administered' by the Royal Niger Company. The latter, however, empowered the High Commissioner to take control of all lands not in actual occupation of persons holding title under the laws of the protectorate or customs. In addition he had control of lands belonging to rulers either conquered or deposed.[45] Since 1902, therefore, the right for the disposal of land passed from the hands of the Caliph and the Emirs to the High Commissioner and Resident colonial officers. The resultant effect of this action, as argued by Lennihan, was that the peasants were shoved off their farm lands and forced to look for jobs in the colonial agricultural

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[43]NAK, SNP, Colonial Annual Report No.409, 1907, p.164.

[44]Lugard, F. ***The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa***, Frank Cass, 1965, London, p.289.
[45]***Ibid.*** pp.124-130.

estates as wage labourers.[46] In addition, this policy was also to provide the colonial regime and the capitalist companies with abundant and cheap labour.

However, the transfer of Lugard and the appointment of Sir Percy Girouard as High Commissioner changed the focus of colonial policy on land in the Northern Provinces. This took place in 1907, at the time when the Labour Party won the election in Britain. The change of focus was important because the party was against dispossessing the peasants of their land. But this is tied down to what the British settlers in Kenya had experienced over the years. Thus, the administration of Girouard, who was also a liberal, was determined to keep land in the hands of the peasantry and prevent it from being taken over by the rich class of land holders, indigenous or expatriates. It was their conviction that the best way to achieve this was through the nationalization of all lands in Northern Nigeria. But A. Adamu draws our attention to note that in taking that measure the British colonial regime, even though led by the Labour Party, was not protecting the colonized peasantry from exploitation. Rather, they were making efforts to protect the interest of imperial Britain. That was because they felt that if peasants were dispossessed and turned into agricultural wage labourers it would demoralize them and dampen their spirits, which would mean low productivity.[47] Furthermore, taking the land from the peasantry would impoverish them, which meant that they would not be able to purchase British products. The British themselves realized and projected that impoverishing the peasantry, who were (and still are) the majority of the population would be injurious to the development of British commerce.[48] The administration of Girouard was, therefore, in essence pursuing a policy which they believed would provide the best atmosphere for

[46]Lennihan, L.D. op.cit, p.124.
[47]Adamu, A. op.cit, p.95.
[48]NAK cd 1502 "Report of the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee", 1910.

capitalist exploitation. Thus, a Land Committee was set up to investigate the nature of land holding in the societies of Northern Nigeria.[49] According to the colonial regime, the Lands Committee was appointed to:

> *...consider the evidence collected by Sir Percy Girouard, and any other evidence available as to the existing system of land tenure in Northern Nigeria, and report (i) on the system to which it was advisable to adopt and (ii) the legislative and administrative measures necessitated by its adoption.*[50]

The membership of the committee was drawn from persons sympathetic to the nationalization of the lands of Northern Nigeria. The Resident of Zaria province, C.W. Orr, submitted that land belonged to the community, not individuals. He claimed further that in Zaria province, individual rights in land did not exist and that the state ownership of land was "the very root of native ideas and customs."[51]

The Committee made its recommendations based on these submissions and it turned out clearly to be in the interest of the European trading firms and also a consolidation of the colonial domination from whose agents' submissions were heard. In 1910, therefore, the Land and Native Rights Proclamation were enacted. The legislation in theory placed all lands, whether occupied or unoccupied, under the control of the Governor of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, who was to hold and administer the land for the common use and benefits of the 'natives'.[52] The power of the Governor, Resident and District Officer was however to be exercised in accordance with the native law and custom as enshrined in the principle of indirect

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[49]Ibid.
[50]Lennihan, L.D. "op.cit." p.137.
[51]NAK "C.W. Orr Memoranda on Land Tenure in Zaria Province", in Reports of the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee, op.cit. p. 36.

[52]Adamu, A. op.cit.

rule.[53] In practice, therefore, land remained under the management of the Emir and his representatives, but was administered by the British at the top. In 1916 this proclamation became the Native Rights Ordinance as amended. Nor further law with regards to the control of land was enacted since that date.

These colonial land policies did not, however, affect individuals to a great extent in the Shika area. This was because of the delegation of the power on land to the *sarakunan garuruwa* through indirect rule. The *sarakunan garuruwa* were the representatives of the Emir who continued to administer land as they did in the pre-colonial period. The farmer still believed that he could loan out his land, rent or sell it. While the District, village and hamlet heads continued to play the same roles as trustees of community land, the most important factor to the rural farmer was not the British colonial land laws but the maintenance of good and cordial relationship with his local leader. This he did by properly discharging his obligations and obedience to the constituted authority. Through this process, many peasant farmers in the Shika area have been allocated land without any financial obligations.[54] Government control on land seemed to be manifest only when there was need for locating a project. One of such projects was the establishing of the Government Stock Farm in the area in 1928 which we shall discuss later in this chapter.

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[53]Lugard outlined the basic structure of indirect rule in his ***Political Memoranda***. These structures can be rendered as follows:

(a) Officially recognized emirs or chiefs were to 'be supported in every way and their authorities upheld'.

(b) A Government political agent in the field was to rule through the emirs or chiefs in the process of which he has 'to endeavour to educate them in the duties of the rulers, to seek their cooperation and to maintain their prestige'.

(c) Emirs or chiefs were not independent rulers but 'delegates of the Governor' or his representative in the field. British administration therefore 'reserved to itself the sole right to raise and control armed forces, to impose taxation... make laws, and to dispose of such lands as are, under Native Law and Customs vested in the paramount chief'.

[54]Interview with Malam Muhammadu Damina (MMD) op.cit, and Halidu Muhammad (HAM) op.cit.

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2.2.4 Colonial Labour Policy

Despite the British colonial regime's opposition to the continuation of slave labour, yet it exploited *aikin tilas* (forced labour) in the construction of colonial infrastructure. What destroyed the legal status of slavery and made it very difficult to acquire or dispose of slaves was the 1901 declaration. In addition, slave holding became more difficult and expensive due to the development of "paid labour" and greater possibilities of emancipation through manumission or escape. But it is also clear that the colonial labour policy was designed to create abundant and, therefore, cheap wage labour for the colonial administration and its collaborator capitalist companies.

To justify the use of forced labour, the British argued that it was 'native custom' for the ruling class to use the labour of the peasantry for building walls, clearing paths on the farms of the aristocrats and in the army.[55] Lugard, in addition, argued that they had removed the 'arbitrariness' of pre-colonial forced labour exaction by systematizing it and demanding specific number of days per year from the peasantry.[56] The Native Authority supplied labour for the colonial projects through the District, village and hamlet heads. The British authorities impressed it on the Emirs that the supply of labour for the colonial project was mandatory and must be adhered to. As a result, Emir of Zazzau Aliyu (1903-1920) in response to the orders of his superiors (the British) cautioned his chiefs that:

> *The District Chief who had been told to supply a certain number of men must look to it that the number was maintained. The Village Head, moreover, must see that his village produces as many labourers as the District Chief has asked for.*[57]

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[55]Lugard, F. ***Political Memoranda***, 1920, London, p.238-242.
[56]NAK/ Zarprof, 1303 Vol. II, Forced Labour.

[57] N.A.K. SNP 10/2. 597P/1914, Zaria Provincial Report for 1913.

Whenever labour was required for 'public works' such as roads and railways, therefore, the Native Administration made demands from the District Heads for the supply of men. The District Heads in turn gave quotas to their village heads of the number of men required from each village depending on their population. The village Heads with the assistance of their *masu unguwanni* mobilized members of the various households in their villages until the required number was obtained.[58] Labour was conscripted during both the rainy and the dry seasons as long as there was "public work" to be done. The resultant effect of this was, however, the suffering of the agricultural production of the individual households.

Conscripted men from the Shika area were engaged in the construction of Zaria – Maska road, Zaria-Birnin Gwari road, Kano and Kaura Namoda rail lines.[59] In 1945, for example, the N.A. requested from the Hakimi of Giwa 5 "able young men" each from Biye, Mahuta, Makoye Kurku and Salanke to make up a total of twenty five needed for the continuation of the construction of the Zaria – Maska road.[60] The mobilization of forced labour continued up to the eve of independence, which came in 1960, but not at the same rate of demand due to the decline in tin mining and the completion of railways construction. By 1928, however, wage labour had already been introduced and it was used in the establishment of the Government Stock Farm.

2.3 Land Appropriation and Compensation

We have shown how public land proclamations were enacted to empower the High Commissioner to take control of all lands not in actual occupation of persons holding titles under the customs of the protectorate. Thus, it was these same colonial

[58]Interviews with Mokoye Ibrahim Buwayi (MBA), op.cit. Alhaji Bako Tsibiri (ABT) op.cit., HAM op.cit and Muhammadu Inuwa (MIN) on March 16, 2008.
[59]Ibid.

[60] N.A.K./ZARPROF./ 1213/Vol. I/ Roads Development, 1945-55, pp.18

proclamations that "protected" the farm owners whose lands were appropriated and gave them the "right" to be compensated. This was because their land was occupied by persons holding titles under the customs of the protectorate. Firstly it was under the administration of the Emir of Zazzau, secondly it was under the fief of the Fagacin Zazzau, Hakimi (the District Head) of Giwa. As such, the High Commissioner had no power to take control of the land without compensating the individual farm owners.

However, the British colonialists deliberately refused to involve the native owners of the farms in the expropriated land area in the discussions about the values of their farms, the compensation or even the method of payment. A Committee was set up to discuss the issue of compensation. According to the Colonial Administration the Committee was to:

> *Inspect the proposed area of the Stock Farm as demarcated by the Agricultural office, make a survey and a plan of the area and discuss the value by acre of (i) land under active cultivation, (ii) fallow land and (iii) bush land.*[61]

The membership of the Committee was drawn from the caliber of people sympathetic to British colonialism. It comprised of only four people and all of them were colonial officers. It was chaired by the Resident Zaria Province and the other three members were the District Officer, the Assistant Director of Agriculture, Zaria office and the Superintendent of Agriculture, Samaru Agricultural Station.[62] It was not surprising, therefore, that the Committee did not consider the value of fallow land to be greater than that of bush land. Despite the fact that the term of reference indicated that fallow land is different from bush land, the deliberations of the committee members prove the skepticism of one that seeks to understand how

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[61]NAK/Ministry of Agriculture/2921 Vol.1/Shika Stock Farm, pp.4-5.
[62]Ibid. p.5. The members of the Committee were Mr. E.H.B. Laig, Mr. Whiteley, Capt. Hewitt, and Capt. Mackie. All of them were Britons and colonial officers whose salaries were paid by the colonial authorities.

imperialism works, i.e. maximization of profit. Captain Hewitt, the Assistant Director of Agriculture expressed the view that "land, as a matter of rule, is allowed to go fallow only when it was worn out, and that therefore it cannot be held to be valuable as land under active cultivation."[63] This view was supported by captain Mackie, the Superintendent of Agriculture and the Resident considered it "quite reasonable".[64] As a result, the committee agreed in its first meeting that compensation should be paid as follows:

(i)	Farm land per acre	-	£3
(ii)	Fallow and Bush land per acre	-	6d
(iii)	Returns to the N.A. for grazing rights	-	6d
(iv)	Buildings	-To be assessed by the N.A.	
(v)	Economic trees - To be assessed by the Department of Agriculture according to the trees annual production value.[65]		

It is clear, from the above "agreement" that fallow land was not given the consideration it deserved and which the committee's terms of reference also accorded to it. The committee failed to consider that it might frequently happen that farms were allowed to go fallow not only because of exhausted fertility but because of other causes like illness, lack of help through death of family members or other such cases. It should have considered that in cases of this nature it would be a great hardship on the owner to be offered compensation at a lower rate than that of a cultivated land. The Committee should have also considered that even lands that had exhausted their fertility and were thus allowed to go fallow for some two or three seasons can only be replaced by the expenditure of money and labour and only become farm lands by

[63]Ibid. p.6.
[64]Ibid.
[65]Ibid. p.5-7.

virtue of similar expenditure of money and labour just like the expropriated farm lands under active cultivation.

The issues raised above were only attended to with the intervention of the Native Administration as represented by the Waziri of Zazzau. He drew the attention of the colonial officers, in a meeting held at the Residency, on the cost of clearing old fallow land when it is brought under cultivation again. After much deliberation as to the definition of fallow land the Assistant Director of Agriculture was convinced by the Waziri that all lands not under active cultivation should be classed as fallow except bush land.[66]

In its second meeting, therefore, the Committee requested for the presence of Waziri and in a compromise nature accepted the payment of 30d per acre for fallow land. It initially regarded this amount as excessive but according to the Assistant Director of Agriculture, "in view of the necessity of getting the matter settled immediately and also in view of the helpful attitude adopted by the Resident and the native administration",[67] they accepted what was asked for the fallow lands.

However, the farm owners were not ready to accept what the British offered for the compensation of their farmlands. In fact even the categorization of the farms made by the Committee was not accepted by the people. According to the land owners, apart from farms, fallows and bush land there was also the unstumped land (*gayauna*). This is a roughly cleared farmland that has not yet been used for cultivation.[68] When the Director of Agriculture for the colony, Mr. Faulkner visited the Resident and was informed of the disagreement he suggested that he was ready to pay £47/6 per acre of all farm and fallow land and considered that £12/6 would be

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[66]Ibid. p.11.
[67]Ibid. p.12.
[68]Ibid. p.22.

reasonable for unstumped land.[69] The colonialists considered the views of the Waziri so valuable that he had to be engaged in the compensation assessment. The proposal of the Director of Agriculture was therefore referred to him. The Waziri, however, discovered that not all the farmlands have the same value even in the views of the farm owners. The values of the farms range from as low as £5 to a maximum of £6 per acre. The District Officer therefore wrote and suggested to the Resident that:

> *... In dealing with this question no hard and fast rules and classification can be adhered to. The rates already approved should be accepted as a guide only and each piece of land should be examined individually and assessed within the limits of the guide rates, regard being paid both to the amount of trouble expended on preparing the farm, and to its value in the native estimation.*[70]

In this correspondence the District Officer confidently declared that the Waziri can be depended on to see the matter is adjusted equitably both from the peasants' and Agricultural Department's stand points.[71] The Resident conveyed this suggestion to the Assistant Director of Agriculture Northern Provinces who agreed with the views therein.[72] Thus, in the final assessment each piece of land was dealt with on its merit. Economic trees and buildings were also assessed by the Waziri. However, only one economic tree, the *dorawa*, was recognized and compensated for,[73] The new format of compensation therefore became as follows:

1.	Good farm land	-	£47/6 per acre
2.	2nd class farm land	-	£30/ per acre
3.	Fallow land recently cultivated (last 2 years)	-	£12/6 per acre
4.	Old fallow land (3 or more years)	-	£6/6 per acre

[69]Ibid.
[70]Ibid. p.24.
[71]Ibid.
[72]Ibid. p.26.
[73]Ibid. p.30.

5. Returns to N.A. for grazing rights - £6/0 per acre

6. Buildings - Minimum 9S 6d

7. Economic tree - Minimum 2S

According to available sources, the first batch of farm owners that were compensated were fourteen in number. Also, the first batch of people that were compensated for buildings and economic trees were seventeen in number. Their names and the amount paid to them are shown in the two tables below.

Table I (Showing details of Compensation for farmers)
SHIKA STOCK FARM
Expropriation of Native Farms – 168.4 acres

Name of Farmer	Good Farm Land @ 47/6 per acre		2nd Class Farm land @ 30/- per acre		Fallow Land Recently cultivated in last 2 years @ 12/6 per acre		Old Fallow land 3 or more years @ 6/6 per acre		Total Amount		
	Acre	Amount	Acre	Amount	Acre	Amount	Acre	Amount	£	S	d
Garba	8.1	19.4.9	-	-	.5	0.6.3	2.0	0.13.0	20	4	-
Lawal	4.8	11.8.0	6.2	9.6.0	1.1	0.13.9	13.2	4.5.10	25	13	7
Yahaya	16.5	39.3.9	2.2	3.6.0	3.6	2.5.0	1.0	0.6.6	45	1	3
Jumare	-	-	2.2	3.6.0	2.2	1.7.6	-	-	4	13	6
Gide	8.9	21.2.9	2.0	3.0.0	2.7	1.13.9	18.6	6.1.0	31	17	6
Musa	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.2	3.19.4	3	19	4
Sulai	5.5	13.1.3	-	-	1.7	1.1.3	1.6	0.10.6	14	13	-
Jibrin	4.0	9.10.0	-	-	.5	0.6.3	12.5	4.1.3	13	17	6
Balla	.6	1.8.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	6
Alin Mahauta	1.6	3.16.0	4.0	6.0.0	-	-	-	-	9	16	-
Umaru	3.0	7.2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2	6
Chiroma	7.0	16.12.6	2.0	3.0.0	2.4	1.10.0	2.0	0.13.0	21	15	6
Tukur	-	-	2.8	4.4.0	-	-	1.5	0.9.9	4	13	9
Alin Barde	2.8	6.13.0	2.9	4.7.0	2.0	1.5.0	-	-	12	5	-
Total	62.8	£149.3.0	24.3	£36.9.0	16.9	£10.8.9	64.6	£21.0.2	£217	-	11

Source: NAK 2921 Vol.I /Ministry of Agriculture/Shika Stock Farm, p.31.

Table II

(Details for Valuation of Homesteads and Trees)

Name of Farmer	Homesteads Amount Due	Trees Amount Due	Total Amount Due
Garba	4.18.0	9.6.0.	12.4.0
Lawal	-	13.6.0	13.6.0
Yahaya	8.1.6	20.0.0	28.1.6
Jumare	-	5.8.0	5.8.0
Maigari	2.0.5	-	2.05
Gide	3.7.1	15.9.0	18.16.0
Sani	2.11.7	-	2.11.7
Bello	0.9.6	-	.9.6
Musa	-	2.2.0	2.2.0
Sulai	-	8.4.0	8.4.0
Jibrin	6.15.3	12.6.6	19.1.9
Alin Mahauta	4.6.6	5.9.0	9.15.6
Umaru	-	2.12.0	2.12.0
Chairman	7.6.9	2.6.0	9.12.9
Tukur	-	1.12.0	1.12.0
Alin Barde	5.0.0	10.10.0	15.10.0
Balla	-	0.2.0	0.2.0
TOTAL	£44.16.6	£107.3.0	£151.19.6

Source: NAK 2921 Vol. I/Ministry of Agriculture/Shika Stock Farm, p.32.

There is no doubt that these were not the only people compensated, but we were not able to recover archival information on the others. However, oral sources indicate that some families, like that of Makoye Dikko, whose farmlands were expropriated were compensated with a lot of money.[74] Of all these people that were compensated, the case of Yahaya Gimba was more popular with the elders of Shika. Oral sources have it that Gimba was paid one hundred pounds (£100.00),[75] but he was actually paid seventy three pounds and two shillings and nine pence (£73.2.9.).[76] Tables I and II above which show the details of compensation according to archival sources indicate

[74]Interview with Dalhatu Abubakar (DAB) age 85 years on 23rd Jan. 2008 and Umaru Tudu Dansa'i (UTD), op.cit.
[75]Interviews with MBI, Jumare Nasarawan Buhari (JNB) on 11th August 2005 and Salihu Muhammad Saliyo (MSS) on 22nd January 2008.
[76]NAK.2921/Vol.1.

that Yahaya Gimba was paid £45.1.3 for farm lands and £28.1.6 for buildings and economic trees.[77]

Using this money Yahaya Gimba acquired a land to the south of his displaced location, built a house and started a farm. Since then the place was named and called Hayin Gimba. Thus, Hayin Gimba became the first ward in which the first personal house was built in Shika. The compensation money paid to Gimba no doubt made him one of the richest men among the peasants. He was, in fact, the first among them to have bought green and white attire that makes a set of Hausa traditional wear called *kore da fari*.[78] This type of dress was esteemed in Hausaland by this period. The new 'wealth' also made Gimba to decide to marry an additional wife. Thus, he went for a girl from one of the aristocratic families of the area. Gimba was a slave of Baban Namajo, a resident of Makoye, before the abolishing of slavery in Northern Nigeria. However, he was said to be very obedient to his master and hard working in the farms. As a result of this Baban Namajo left in his will one of his large farms to Gimba after freeing him from slavery. It was that particular farm and the house which Gimba built on part of its land that were expropriated by the British and which fetched that "wealth" for him.

It is important to note that although the assessment and compilation of the names of those to be compensated started in November 1927, the warrant authorizing the necessary payments was only issued in July 1928.[79] Moreover, the money was not paid to the farmers or land owners directly by the British. It came through the Native

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[77]Ibid.

[78]MSS. Thus, wearing his esteemed green and white attire Gimba went to seek for a girl from one of the ruling houses around Shika area. But the girl was surprised that he could muster the guts of coming to ask for her hand in marriage despite his slave origin. It was reported that she bluffed him by remarking that how could she marry someone whom she could have sold to buy a rucksack of kola nuts.[78] Our informer added that a sack of kola nuts by this period was only nine pence (9d).

[79]NAK/2921 Vol.1, pp2-42.

Administration represented by the District Head of Giwa, Fagaci Ahmadu. The British may have probably made that decision for the conviction that the Native Administration was closer to the people. Going by the principles of indirect rule, however, it turned out to be that they opened a way for the District Head to exploit the peasants whose farms were expropriated. It is still fresh in the memory of some of our informants that most of the concerned recipients complained that they were not paid the exact amount for the compensation of their assessed lands, economic trees or even homesteads.[80] And they accused the Fagaci, who was said to be very notorious, for illegally cutting their money. In fact some of them, even with the intervention of the Waziri, still felt they were robbed. In the course of the assessment, one Ahmadu Baban Aruwa is said to have slapped one of the British officers and since then he was proudly praised "*Ahmadu mai fada da Nasara*" literally meaning (Ahmadu the one who fights with a white man). "The best way one can describe this issue of compensation", according to one of our informants, "is to say that some people were only given a chicken change".[81] This evidently shows nothing but the fact that most of the people were not satisfied with the way the Europeans and the Native Administration joined hands to deprive them of their main sources of livelihood, i.e. farm lands and grazing areas.

Looking at it from another perspective, the compensation money introduced new fashion and trade in the Shika area. Prior to this period no peasant owned a complete set of traditional wear of *babbar riga, 'yar ciki* and *wando*. But when they got money many of the peasants were not only able to buy a set but many sets. There were, among them, those who used to have only a wrapper for both domestic and public occasions. There were also some who used to borrow clothes from relations or

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[80] MSS and Umaru Tudu Dan-Sa'i (UTD) 8th March 2008.
[81] ibid.

close friends on special occasions like marriage ceremonies. The compensation, however, "empowered" them to fashionably clothe themselves.[82]

2.4 Establishment of the Government Stock farm

We shall focus on the establishment and growth of the Government Stock Farm, which came as a result of the British colonial agricultural policy as discussed above, to the extent that it helps us to understand the process that led to the emergence and growth of Shika as a settlement. In the first instance, it is worthy to note that colonial Zaria had always been a centre for administrative and educational activities. It was in relation to this that in 1922 the administrative headquarters of the Department of Agriculture of the Northern provinces was located in Samaru, Zaria.[83]

In 1924 when a Botanist was employed by the Department of Agriculture, Samaru became an Agricultural Research Station. A Chemist was employed three years later, in 1927, to carry out research on soils in Northern Nigeria. In the same year, a herd of cattle was brought by the colonial regime to Samaru and a year later, in 1928, research on cattle breeding and management began.[84]

Although the administrative headquarters of the Northern Nigeria Department of Agriculture was moved to Kaduna, Samaru remained the headquarters of the Research and Specialist Service Division of the Ministry of Agriculture. This research division was charged with the responsibility of conducting all researches relevant to the agricultural needs of colonial Northern Nigeria. Three other sub-stations were established to augment the Samaru headquarters and they were located

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[82]Ibid.
[83]Manzo, S.K. et.al. "The Academic Development of IAR and the Faculties of Agriculture..." in Mahadi, A. et.al. (eds.) *A History of Ahmadu Bello University 1962-1987*, A.B.U. Press Ltd., 1989, Zaria pp.169-219.
[84]"Ibid".

at Kano, Mokwa and Shika. The Shika sub-station was established in 1928 as a Government Stock Farm of the Department of Agriculture.[85]

It is important to note, at this point, that the one and only objective mentioned by the colonial regime for establishing the Shika Stock Farm was "the improvement of the cattle of Nigeria".[86] The questions we must pose, however, and subsequently attempt to answer are; improving the cattle of Nigeria at whose cost and for whose benefit?

The process of establishing the farm started officially when the Director of Agriculture of colonial Nigeria toured the Northern Provinces in early August, 1927. When he came to Zaria he suggested that the Assistant Director in-charge of the province, stationed at Samaru, should ask for a medical officer from the Tsetse Commission, which was located in Shehuri, of Bornu Province to come and inspect the proposed land and assist in the selection of a disease-free area for the project.[87] Back in his headquarters at Ibadan the Director of Agriculture wrote to the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services in Lagos requesting

> *...if an officer from Sherifuri* (sic) *can be allowed to inspect a site for a proposed stock farm near Shika, about 12 miles along the Zaria-Sokoto road and thus some three miles beyond our farm at Samaru. It is proposed to use the land in question for a stock farm and I wish to obtain expert opinion as to whether the place is free from tsetse, or, if it is not free, whether our idea that it could be made so by comparatively little clearing of banks of streams is correct.*[88]

As a result, Dr. Lester was sent from Shehuri to inspect the proposed site. The result of his examination of the area showed that there was a negligible presence of the tsetse but a proper and timely clearing of the banks of the streams during the dry

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[85]"Ibid".
[86]NAK 2914, Agricultural Department, Cattle Statistics, p.86.
[87]NAK 2921 Vol. II, Agricultural Department, Shika Stock Farm p.1.
[88]Ibid. p.2.

weather will make it safe for the Stock Farm project.[89] Thus, the Director wrote to the Government requesting for £100 Special Warrant which was granted for the clearing. The British were very cautious of making such a large scale agricultural investment that involved livestock in any area that is prone to diseases, especially those caused by the tsetse fly. This is because of their knowledge of the dangers of the tsetse fly and the financial losses its presence could cause to the agricultural colonial economy.[90]

After clearing the area of tsetse flies, the Assistant Director of Agriculture for the Northern Provinces, Captain Hewitt, who had his office at the Samaru Agricultural Station, wrote to the Resident of Zaria Province on the 7th of November 1927 that it has been proposed by the Department of Agriculture to open a stock farm near the Shika River. In this correspondence he indicated the need for them to discuss the question of expropriation of land required for the cattle reserve and farmland.[91] We have noted earlier in this chapter how the British colonial land policy operated. Thus, as the need for the Stock Farm project arose the Resident wrote on the 26th November 1927 to intimate the Secretary of the Northern Province in Kaduna of the

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[89]Ibid. p.5.

[90]Tsetse flies are bloodsucking flies of the genus *Glossina*. They are said to appear only in tropical Africa and are important vectors of African trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) in both humans and animals. These flies pass most of their times at rest in shaded places in forested areas. Their preferred sites are the lower woody parts of vegetation and many of them hide in holes in the trunks of trees and between roots. They search for food only for a very short period of the day. They also often stay very close to food sources and the most common risk areas are forest trails, near water collection points, in vegetation close to drinking and water collection sites along the banks of rivers, vegetation surrounding villages, sacred forest or forests on cemeteries, forest edge surrounding plantation and savanna habitats (*morsitans* group). These areas often form a boundary between two different habitats or vegetation types of which at least one is wooded. Such a combination offers the flies both safe and resting places and a good view of their feeding grounds. Among these risk areas, only one (sacred forest or forest on cemeteries) was not available in the proposed stock farm area. One important thing to note is that all tsetse flies, males as well as females, feed on blood, but the species differ in their preferences for the source of blood. Most tsetse flies feed preferentially on animals and only accidentally on humans. The most dangerous species are those that are flexible in their choice and feed on any blood source that is easily available, including humans. While searching for food they are attracted by large moving objects, by striking blue objects and by carbon dioxide. For more details see Green, C.H., "The use of Two-Coloured Screens for catching *Glossina Palpalis* Robineau-Desvoidy (Deptera: Glossinadae), ***Bulletin of Entomological Research, Vol.79,***Being very large, such as cattle are, and of course other livestock that were to be located in the Stock Farm, they are easy prey to the tsetse flies. Thus, the British had to clear and disinfect the proposed stock farm site before commencing the project.

[91] NAK, 2921 Vol. I, Agricultural Department, Shika Stock Farm, p.1.

intention to acquire an area approximately two square miles for the purpose of farm and paddock and in addition an adjoining area of approximately three square miles of grazing lands. The whole of the land acquired comprised of a block of five square miles with the Shika River, which was the source of water for many people within the settlements in the area running through in depth at the southern part of the block.

The colonial regime had clearly indicated, and without remorse, how 'necessary' it was for the Agricultural Department to expropriate the land even though there were eight households and a pastoral Fulani and his herd of 60 cattle within the proposed paddock area. Among the households were those belonging to Garba dan Labaran, Yahaya Gimba, Maigari uban Shehu, Gide mai shanu, Bellon Kado and Alin Mahuta.[92] Although the households have been in the site since the early 19th century, as we have shown in our discussion on the emergence and evolution of settlements in the area in chapter one, Gide and his herd had been in the neighbourhood for only about ten years prior to 1927.[93] However, Gide has always paid his *jangali* to the Village Head of Makoye, the village within which the eight households and the herd were located. In the proposed grazing area also were situated fourteen households in Tudun Salanke, five households in Makoye, six households in Mahuta and seven other households that formed one of the hamlets of Mahuta.[94]

We have earlier explained how the Emirs and their representatives were practically left with the management of the land but with superior control from the British colonialist at the top. Going by this arrangement, therefore, the Native Administration raised no objection when the Resident informed them of the British

[92] Interview with Malam Sale Saliyo (MSS) on the January 22, 2008 and MMD, op cit.
[93] NAK, 2921 Vol. I, op.cit.
[94] Ibid.

plan to expropriate land in the Shika area.[95] Our discussion on land appropriation and compensation indicated how the N.A. was involved in the matter.

After appropriating the land it was the intention of the Assistant Director of Agriculture to have the proposed land area professionally surveyed by the Surveyor General's office, Kaduna so that its map could be drawn. However, the Assistant Surveyor General in charge of Kaduna Office thought it otherwise. His obsession with mining, which was generating a lot of wealth for the British colonial regime through exploitation of both human and material resources of the Nigeria area, made him to remark that:

> *Since the question of Title Deeds of these two areas (Samaru and Shika) does not arise, I fail to see why you should think it necessary that the areas should be surveyed by the Government Survey Department... I could not feel justified in bringing a surveyor from the mines field who is engaged on surveys urgently required for the delivery of indefeasible titles.*[96]

Without any proper survey of the area, therefore, the Native Administration was ordered to make a public announcement for the recruitment of labourers from among the 'natives' of the District to clear the bushes of the proposed land area. Fagaci Rufa'i, the District Head of Giwa, therefore, assigned all his Village Heads of the district to order their town criers to make the announcement.[97] This time around, however, it was clear in the British ordered announcement that the labour was going to be paid for. That it was not a corvee or forced labour as in the constructions of the

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[95]Ibid, p. 5.

[96]Ibid, p. 14.

[97]Interview MSS and MDA, op cit.

railways and roads in the past.[98] That clarity attracted many healthy and able-bodied young men to the proposed site for recruitment.

The first officer-in-charge of the Shika Stock Farm was a British Superintendant of Agriculture called B.G. Owen, who was appointed on the 11th February 1928 by the Assistant Director of Agriculture from Samaru.[99] He was not the best suited for the job but was still assigned due to lack of staff. However, the Director of Agriculture at Ibadan was busy searching for a qualified veterinarian to be sent to take charge of the farm.[100] Meanwhile, as Mr. Owen recruited the labourers to clear the bushy land of the farm site, he also engaged in contracting the local blacksmiths from tsibiri, led by Bala Makeri, to manufacture the hoes and cutlasses that were used in clearing the bush. From the first day of the recruitment young men of between sixteen to twenty years were employed at six pence (6d) per day and those considered to be grown ups, (having the age of twenty years above) at 12 pence, which is equivalent to one shilling (1s) per day for their labour.[101] These young and agile men came from all the villages and hamlets within the Shika area and some from as far as Giwa, Kaya and Fatika.

A colonial rest house located near Makoye and along the Shika River was the first structure used as the office and the accommodation of the farm staff. Mr. Owen then started recruiting or employing working staff for the Stock Farm. The first three people recruited from among the indigenous staff were Dattiyo, Buwayi and Salihu. They were employed as labourers to work on cattle with a view to learning bullock

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[98] Ibid.

[99] NAK, 2921, Vol. I, op.cit, pp.50-55.

[100] Ibid.

[101] MSS and MDA, op cit.

work and eventually becoming farmers.[102] Their pay was 9 pence per day at the beginning. However, it was agreed that "if any showed signs of promise at the work they would be paid £18 per annum in due course".[103] All the three men were tailors before their new employment.[104]

Barely two months after Mr. Owen opened the Shika Stock Farm, employed some staff and started working he was relieved and replaced with another superintendent of Agriculture from Samaru. The new officer-in-charge of the Stock Farm this time around was Mr. R. B. Shorter, who did a great deal in shaping the operations and growth of the Stock Farm project. It was Mr. Shorter (popularly called *shafta* by the labourers) that completed the demarcation of the appropriated land area of the Stock Farm by using concrete boundary posts.[105] The first set of structural projects of the farm was also executed by Mr. Shorter. Those projects included a series of buildings that included one office block, three European staff houses that included servants quarters, eighty stockmen and labourers rooms made of mud and grass, three sheds each hosting between 20-25 cows, one shed for 30 working bulls, three milking sheds each hosting 6 cows at a time, four small grain stores, four Dutch barns, three calf rooms and a milk testing laboratory.[106]

The Department of Agriculture had, before the execution of these projects, estimated the first batch of items for the buildings at £1,500. All buildings were related to the number of cattle kept and the size of the farm. It has also estimated that little addition to the buildings may be needed for the first four or five years, "thereafter the buildings will need to be gradually increased between say the fifth and

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[102]NAK 2921 Vol. I. p.16.
[103]Ibid.
[104]Ibid.
[105]Ibid. p.19.
[106]NAK 3014 Vol. I, Shika Stock Farm Expenditure, p.13.

tenth year by about same amount, i.e. the eventual cost of buildings will be about £3,000."[107] Although the Department also considered it necessary to have expensive buildings for the Stock Farm, but preferred to execute the project by direct labour using local labour force. It was seen as uneconomical to employ a Public Works Department's engineer or foreman because the farm staff can erect such buildings "quite well"[108] and at no cost to European supervision and avoidance of delay. Although the farm buildings that were to shelter the cattle were technically temporary, they were considered not to have grass roofs. That was because the Department thought it financially unsound to take the risk of keeping valuable stock under an inflammable roof.[109] However, all these cautions about the building and the cattle only pointed towards one imperialist view; the maximization of profit by using very little capital.

The Stock Farm was estimated to work with a maximum number of 1,600 cattle. But the Agricultural Department agreed that these can not be purchased in the first financial year, so proposed an allocation as follows:

1st year	-	500 cattle
2nd year	-	900 cattle
3rd year	-	200 cattle
Total	-	1,600 cattle

However, the first set of cattle that were purchased and brought to the Stock Farm was 57.[110] They were of different categories and purposes. There were 14 young cows, 13 stock bulls and 30 working bulls, all together making a total of 57.

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[107]NAK 3013 Ministry of Agriculture, Shika Stock Farm Estimates – Notes, p.10.
[108]Ibid.
[109]Ibid.

[110]NAK 3014 Vol. I., op.cit, p. 13.

Most of these cattle were bought from the Katsina area, especially between Kankia and Bindawa.[111]

The British colonial regime had practically approved a large sum of money for the Agricultural Department to establish the Shika Stock Farm. The farm's capital expenditure for the first year alone stood at £5,300, while the recurrent expenditure for the same year reached £3,223.[112] But this is not surprising, because the imperial regime had also projected an estimate of the revenue it could generate through the Stock Farm. The Assistant Director of Agriculture for the Northern Province wrote that:

> *There will be practically no revenue for some years; but after a few years, starting at a small figure when we can afford to begin to sell fairly good surplus cows as well as bulls, it should rise to £1,000. Thereafter it would still rise gradually as the value of good stock comes to be appreciated, until the revenue fully covers the recurrent purely farming expenses for labour and equipment.*[113]

The projection of the Ministry of Agriculture was more or less accurate. There was no any significant revenue for the first two years. In fact it was only the dairy section that started yielding revenue. The milk which the few available cows started producing was prepared in the laboratory and sold to the staff in Shika and Samaru Agricultural office. Even this was in a small quantity. It was only by the end of July 1929 that a large herd of cattle was bought and brought to the Stock Farm. Two hundred of those cattle came from Vom of the Jos Plateau area and one hundred from the Wudil cattle market of Kano region.[114] By this time, one Mr. A.W. Anderson had taken over as the new officer in-charge of the Stock Farm. Mr. Anderson was also a superintendent of Agriculture but his appointment was quite

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[111]NAK 2921 Vol. I, op.cit, pp. 44-45.
[112]NAK 3014 Vol. I, op.cit, pp. 14-15.
[113]NAK 3013 Vol. I, op.cit, p. 12.
[114]NAK 2921 Vol. I, op.cit. pp. 50-55.

different from those of his predecessors. Since the decision to establish the Stock Farm was made, the Director of Agriculture wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government, Nigerian Secretariat, Lagos, in a memo No.09901/322 of 1st November 1927 from Ibadan requesting for an "experienced candidate" to be employed as the officer in-charge of the Stock Farm.[115] It was due to the non-availability of this "experienced candidate" that officers from the Agricultural Department Samaru such as Owen and Shorter were assigned to take charge of the Stock Farm.

When Mr. Anderson took over in May 1929 the first thing he did was to request for additional working bullocks for the farm. That was because with the working facilities and erected structures on the farm, he found that the bullocks were "totally inadequate."[116] It was as a result of his request that the earlier mentioned large herd of cattle was bought and brought to the Shika Stock Farm.

The new officer-in-charge did not stop at that. He subsequently arranged for an official trip to Sokoto to buy the type of cattle called the 'Sokoto Duns'. On this journey, which he made between 27th April and 25th May 1930 he was received in Sokoto by the Superintendent of Agriculture of Kworre Agricultural office, the representative of Sultan of Sokoto and an interpreter.[117] He left Zaria with a voucher for £400, cashed it at the treasury in Sokoto and was able to purchase 3 bulls, 34 cows and heifers, and 5 calves which made up a total of 42 cattle.[118] Moreover, between 2nd January and 3rd February 1931 the Director of Agriculture arranged for Mr. Anderson to travel to Bornu to buy some other breed of cattle named the 'Shuwa cattle'. During this official trip he succeeded in buying 106 cattle, out of which only six were bulls. Out of this number 76 were bought at Dikwa, 16 at Maiduguri and the

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[115]NAK 2921 Vol. II, op.cit. pp. 24-25.
[116]NAK 2922 Vol. I, Ministry of Agriculture, Working Bullocks – Shika, p. 78.

[117]NAK 2921 Vol. I, op.cit, pp. 77-78.
[118]Ibid, pp. 79-80.

last 14 at Mafa. The Shehu of Dikwa provided the herdsmen that trudged the herd from Dikwa to Kano where they were then railed to Zaria.[119]

The farm started operating with only one unit, Administration, under which all the works were organized and conducted. There were also only seven permanent staff which included three senior officers including the officer-in-charge, four overseers, one clerk who was also the store keeper, and one artisan.[120] However, with the arrival of those large herds of cattle in addition to the facilities and the structures on ground, the farm had grown to the level of an appropriate stock farm by British standard. By March 1931 the operational structure of the farm was divided into three units.[121] These were Administration, Breeding and Estate. The Administration unit coordinated all the operations of the farm, the breeding unit was responsible for the stock, the laboratory and milk production (dairy) while the Estate unit concentrated on building, maintenance and carpentry works which were vital in the farm.[122] Thus, by January 1930 the Shika Stock Farm went into full scale animal farming and science known as animal husbandry.[123]

It seems that the British by our period of study belong to the second school of thought about animal husbandry,[124] which explains how little space animals can be

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[119]NAK 2922, Vol. I, op.cit, pp.70-71.
[120]NAK 3014, op.cit. pp. 13-15.
[121] Ibid.
[122]Ibid. p. 102.
[123] Animal husbandry, which represents the agricultural practice of breeding and raising livestock, has been practiced for thousands of years since the first domestication of animals. The practice improves the ability of the animals to convert feed to meat, milk or fiber more efficiently and improve the quality of all these final products. There are many different schools of thought in the scientific practice of animal husbandry. Some of them conceded the necessity of animals for food and a variety of products but feel that goals in raising stock should always be focused on the humane caring of animals. Other specialists in animal husbandry specifically took to just how little space animals can be stored in, modifications that can be made to produce more docile animals and genetic alteration or drug injections that make the animals financially more valuable. See Hall, S and Clutton, B.J., ***Two Hundred Years of British Farm Livestock***, Natural History Museum Publication, 1988, London, p. 13.

[124] See Hall, S. and Clutton, B.J., ***ibid.***

stored in, modifications that can be made to produce more docile animals and genetic alteration or drug injections that make the animals financially more valuable.[125]

Cattle are considered to have been the first animals domesticated by men for agricultural purposes. They were tamed to provide milk, meat and hides and for draft purposes.[126] Perhaps that is the basis of the Colonial British idea of starting with the cows in the Shika Stock Farm before any other animals. The two aspects of animal husbandry that the Shika Stock Farm first engaged in were breeding and dairy. The farm crossbred the various types of cattle found in northern Nigeria like the Sokoto duns and the Shuwa heifers to selectively produce purebred cattle that possess distinctive identity in colour, size, conformation and functions. In addition, such breeds have the prepotency to pass these traits to their progeny.[127]

By 1934 the Shika Stock Farm had started producing working bulls for other European or British farm centres throughout the Northern Provinces. The evidence of the first set of working bulls purposely produced for farm centers is documented in a letter written by the superintendent of Agriculture from Shika to the Assistant Director of Agriculture, Zaria.[128] British colonial farm centers located in Maigana, Gusau, Sokoto, Kano, Bauchi and Mokwa all benefitted from the working bulls produced in Shika. The bulls were mainly used for agricultural activities such as harrowing. But they were also used for other purposes such as draft. From their responses, it is evident that the agricultural officers in the various farm centers have

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[125] This conclusion is depicted from the four objectives they categorically outlined on the scheme, thus:
- Progressive genetic improvement for milk production in important breed of cows by following scientific method.
- Production and distribution of superior pedigreed bulls for use in farms.
- Preservation of indigenous germ plasma and

Production of upgraded crossbred animals suitable for specified breeding tracts.[125]

[126] Hall, S., ***op.cit.*** p. 27.

[127] NAK 2922, Vol. I, ibid. p. 81.

[128] NAK 2914 Farm Centres, p. 295.

appreciated the performance of those working bulls sent to their farms.[129] There is no doubt that the introduction of those bulls has contributed to increase in production, thereby maximizing profit. The profit obviously went to the British colonial revenue. This answers our earlier posed question that, at whose benefit would the cattle of Nigeria be improved?

2.5 Growth and Expansion of the Stock Farm

From the establishment of the Shika Stock Farm in 1928 up to the period when it started producing working bulls in 1934, animal feed was solely purchased from both the colonial farm centres and the local farmers.[130] The animals did not only feed on grains but they were also carefully grazed and given other concentrates as well. However, a new plan was initiated in 1935 in which the Stock Farm opened its own farm for cultivating the grains needed to feed the animals.[131] This, in essence, means the appropriation of more land and recruitment of labourers. Although the idea of starting the Stock Farm's own farm was first debated in 1935, the approval and take off of the farm came up in 1937.[132] Our earlier discussions on land and labour policies have clearly shown that the British colonial regime have already prepared for themselves available labour force to be exploited at the required time. Such labour force was exploited in the construction of roads, railways, mining sites and farm centres. The proposed farm unit of the Shika Stock Farm added to the number of areas in which the Northern Nigeria labour force was exploited. In line with the essence of imperialism, therefore, the British colonialists sought to expand the activities of the Stock Farm to include the production of grains and other crops used

[129]Ibid.

[130]NAK 2921 Vol. I, pp. 156,231,245,257 and 310.
[131]NAK/ Zarprof. 1491 Agricultural Department Annual Report 1925-1943, pp.178.
[132]Ibid. p. 216.

in feeding the animals. The major crops cultivated were guinea corn, millet and maize.

We must not forget that the Shika Stock Farm, as a colonial infrastructure, had kept a very close relationship with the provincial Agricultural Department in Zaria city which was under the Native Administration. Adamu had thrown some light on the functions and organization of the department. The Head of the provincial Agricultural Department was the *Mardanni*, a title initially given only to princes and other persons associated with royalty.[133] This was because of the significance of farming in the economy of the Zazzau Emirate and the role it was playing in the colonial economy. The First *Mardannin* Zazzau was a prince called Umar who held the title up to 1932. He was succeeded by another member of the royal family, Haliru Ladan, who was promoted to the rank of *Makaman* Zazzau in 1938. Malam Bello, the father in-law of the then Emir Ja'afaru, was appointed in the same year as the new *Mardanni*. However, the title of *Mardanni* was changed towards the end of the 1940s to *Wakilin Gona* (farm representative).[134]

The point we are driving at here is that it was at the time of *Mardannin* Zazzau Haliru Ladan that the cultivation unit of the Shika Stock Farm started operating. Thus, the Native administration through the office of *Mardanni* had contributed, in collaboration with the *Fagacin* Zazzau, the District Head of Giwa to the take off of the cultivation unit. Their contribution was mainly in the form of propaganda to attract labourers to the farm.[135] The office of the *Mardanni* was very influential in implementing the British colonial agricultural policies. They communicated directly

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[133]Adamu, A., op.cit, p. 132-134.

[134]"Ibid".

[135]Interviews with MSS and Alhaji Baƙo Tsibiri (ABT) 9th February 2008, op.cit.

with district heads throughout the Emirate in matters relating to agricultural production.[136]

With the Stock Farm producing its own crops for animal feed the work in the Farm became expanded that more officers had to be brought in. It was at this period that indigenous agricultural officers like Malam Muhammad Salim Aboki, Mr. Aduba, and Saja were posted to Shika.[137] Muhammad Salim Aboki was transferred from Sokoto where he was working as an agricultural and ranch officer.[138] These officers, and others that joined them later such as Ahmadu Ganga, were the first set of people that ran the operations of the cultivation unit of the Shika Stock Farm. Considering the fact that these officers moved in with their families, and a lot more labourers were employed, a pattern of migration began to take place thereby leading to populating the area. This is a phenomenon that we shall look at, among other things, in the next chapter.

Typical of colonial economy, the Shika Stock Farm soon became the largest producer and marketer of cows and pigs throughout Zaria Province. This implies that the local producers and marketers had been outwitted by the British colonialists thereby ruining the local economy and rendering the colonized to colonial labour and exploitation. For, among the labourers of the Stock Farm were also some Fulani men who used to have no trade but rearing cattle. Moreover, there were no major cattle trading between buyers and sellers, as it used to be, in the area. Even the women that used to sell milk in the local markets were affected because the newly introduced *madaran gidan gona* (farm house milk) became more popular than the locally

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[136]Adamu, A., *op.cit.*

[137]NAK/Ministry of Agriculture/2921 Vol.III. Also in interviews with Alhaji Abdu Biye (AAB) 17th September 2005, MBI on September 16, 2002 and NSB on September 15, 2002.

[138]Ibid.

produced milk.[139] By 1940 the British started taking the statistics of animals sold by the Stock Farm and slaughtered within the Zaria Province[140]

Table III: Animals Bought From Shika Stock Farm and slaughtered in Zaria Province February-June, 1945

S/No	District	February		March		April		May		June	
		Cattle	Pigs	Cattle	Pigs	Cattle	Pigs	Cattle	Pigs	Cattle	Pigs
1	Cikun	12	-	21	-	28	-	-	-	-	-
2	Giwa	74	-	45	-	57	-	-	-	65	-
3	Igabi	92	-	32	-	76	-	-	-	-	-
4	Ikara	40	-	41	-	31	-	-	-	45	-
5	Kachia	13	-	13	-	13	-	-	-	18	-
6	Kagarko	15	-	18	-	23	-	-	-	12	-
7	Kajuru	15	-	20	-	23	-	-	-	15	-
8	Kataf	60	-	57	-	70	-	-	-	63	-
9	Kauru	16	-	40	-	20	-	-	-	18	-
10	Kubau	73	-	65	-	73	-	-	-	65	-
11	Lere	125	-	130	-	111	-	-	-	115	-
12	Makarfi	130	-	147	-	-	-	-	-	118	-
13	Soba	85	-	70	-	80	-	-	-	70	-
14	Zaria and Environs	314	-	182	-	336	-	-	-	267	-
15	Zangon Aya	22	-	28	-	31	-	-	-	25	-
16	Kaduna	363	18	352	15	400	14	-	-	306	20
17	S/Gari	322	5	269	5	261	-	-	-	267	3
18	Military	212	-	224	-	-	-	-	-	131	-
Total		1983	23	1754	20	1633	14			1600	23

Source: NAK/ZARPROF. Vol. I No. 508/270, 1945, pp 537, 540, 544 and 607.

[139] MSS and MDA, op cit
[140] See Tables III-VII. NAK/ZARPROF. Vol. I No. 508/270, pp 537, 540, 544, 607 and 633

Table IV: Animals Bought From Shika Stock Farm and slaughtered in Zaria Province April, 1949

S/No.	District	Cattle	Pigs
1	Cikun	10	-
2	Giwa	123	-
3	Igabi	60	-
4	Ikara	240	-
5	Kachia	18	-
6	Kagarko	158	-
7	Kajuru	21	-
8	Kataf	119	-
9	Kauru	36	-
10	Kubau	242	-
11	Lere	125	-
12	Makarfi	161	-
13	Soba	90	-
14	Zaria and Environs	307	-
15	Zangon Aya	56	-
16	Kaduna	-	-
17	S/Gari	536	1
18	Military	-	-
Total		2302	1

Source: NAK/ZARPROF. Vol. I No. 508/270, 1949, pp. 633.

2.6 Conclusion

The British colonial policies certainly did not start in the 1920s. They started in the early years of the century with the imposition of colonial domination on the area named by the colonialists as Northern Nigeria. That was the era of 'New Imperialism' which Lenin called the "Highest Stage of Capitalism."[141] Rivalry and competition for the acquisition of colonies became intense among the world capitalist powers. This was borne out of the capitalist crises of over production and the emergence of national monopolies competing among themselves for the control of raw materials for their industries and world market for their products. The home governments fully supported the monopolies in their struggle for supremacy which

[141]Lenin, V.I. ***Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism,*** Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1975. See also his 'The socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination' in ***Lenin Selected Works***, Moscow, 1968.

definitely led to the imposition of customs barriers to discourage one another. Britain, France, Germany and Italy were forced, as home governments, to look outside Europe in collaboration with the imperialist monopolies, for cheaper sources of industrial raw materials for their industries and regular markets for the products of these industries. It was in this process that the British conquered the area of Northern Nigeria. The policies gradually introduced by the British colonial regime in the area were, therefore, designed to achieve these objectives. Moreover, the policies aimed first at creating the foundation of the colonial economy and secondly, intensifying colonial exploitation of the agricultural potentialities and resources of the area.[142]

In this chapter, therefore, we have discussed the evolution of British colonial agricultural policies which is closely linked with the policies on land and labour. In our discussion we have shown that the basis of these policies was to create a concrete foundation for the development of colonial economy that clearly supported the era of imperialism. We argued that these policies, especially those which concerned land, were what gave the British colonial regime the complete control of the land thereby making the indigenous population virtually helpless. Among other things, we showed that the compensation given to majority of the people whose farmlands and housing units were appropriated for the establishment of the Stock Farm was grossly inadequate. Moreover, these people were not relocated as would have been the case in the colonialists' metropolis. We also examined the establishment of the Shika Stock Farm which had abundant and excessive labour, prepared by the agricultural policies, waiting for it. This took its root from the British colonial experience on the cost of administering a colony and utilization of any colony's local resources.

[142]See Adamu, A. op.cit for details.

We highlighted how the establishment of the Government Stock Farm began to shape the history of the area whereby land, which included some households, was appropriated for the purpose. With the growth and expansion of the Stock Farm came the changing pattern of local agricultural production in the area. Hitherto the local farmers traded their surplus produce between themselves and the neighbouring communities. But they were made to sell to the Stock Farm for animal feed. However, by 1937 the Stock Farm appropriated more land and opened a cultivation unit for the production of grains needed for animals feed. This, to a large extent, also impacted on the local economy because a number of local farmers were employed in the new farm thereby making them to have less time to concentrate on their personal or family farms. Typical of colonial economy, by 1945 the Stock Farm became the largest producer and marketer of cows and pigs in Zaria province. This means that the local traders who were very influential before this time were either phased out or relegated to the background. On the basis of this conclusion, the next chapter shall therefore examine the resultant impact of the establishment of the Shika Stock Farm on the area of study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPACT OF THE GOVERNMENT STOCK FARM UP TO 1945

3.1 Introduction

From the moment the Shika Stock Farm was established in 1928 it was clear that it would have some impact on the whole area. Its establishment created conditions, such as that of resettlement and labour migration, which stimulated the emergence of Shika as a settlement and the abandonment of Makoye, whose larger part was overtaken by the Farm. Hence, our focus in this chapter will be on these conditions and how they have affected the growth and development of the new settlement called Shika. It is hoped that this focus will enable us to situate and understand the place of the Government Stock Farm in the history of Shika area.

We chose to terminate the chapter by the year 1945 due to two major reasons. The first being that by that year the basic colonial economic nature of Shika based on agricultural labour had already been completed. Secondly, the year 1945 marked the end of the Second World War, and consequently, the beginning of general economic recovery which, as we hope to show in the next chapter, paved the way for rapid and significant changes in Shika society. It is also important to note here that our examination in this chapter is based primarily on oral sources and colonial records.

Towards the end of the 1930s, the global economic depression was still noticeable[1] and its impact affected Northern Nigeria. Moreover, this development was aggravated by the Second World War which broke out in 1939. The War ended in 1945 and it had its own adverse effect on the region. It is with this prevailing political and economic environment of the Northern Provinces in mind that we shall

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[1] For more details on the depression see Galbraith, J.K., ***The Great Crash 1929***, Penguin Books, 1955, London and Nabudare, D., ***The Political Economy of Imperialism***, Zed Books, 1977, London, p.135-136. See also Shenton, R., "Studies in the Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria", Ph.D. Thesis, 1981, University of Toronto, Canada, p.194.

now examine the impact of the Government Stock Farm on the Shika area by the period. To do this effectively we shall analyze the impact under socio-economic and political developments that respectively took place in the area.

3.2 The Economy

The economy of Shika, and to some extent that of the Shika area, was intrinsically linked to that of the Government Stock Farm since its establishment in 1928. That is to say that by this period the economy has been linked to imperial colonial economy. The Stock Farm was centred on animal reproduction, which was connected with colonial agricultural production. These were the two major sources of employment of labour. Indeed a large number of the inhabitants of Shika by this period, and those of the neighbouring settlements and beyond, were employed in the colonial system.[2]

Despite the fact that the Stock Farm has its own farmland on which it cultivated the crops needed to feed the animals, it did not cultivate enough to meet its needs. As a result, the Stock Farm had to buy more corn and beans from local farmers. This incidence, therefore, affected the nature of agricultural production in Shika area and made farmers to produce more than they required for consumption and local trade. We have discussed in chapter one how the people of Shika area, especially Tsibiri and Biye, have been producing more than enough for subsistence and they developed trading relations on agricultural products with other people. But the government Stock Farm encouraged them to produce even more for the financial benefit. In connection with this, the colonialists recruited and appointed retailers

[2]Interviews with Salihu Muhammad Saliyo (MSS) 22nd January 2008, Muhammadu Inuwa (MIN) 16th March 2008, Halidu Muhammadu (HAM) and Malam Hasan Adamu (HAL) on 16th March 2008.

(middlemen) through whom they buy the crops from the local farmers.[3] In a way, the colonialist entrenched a commercial monopoly over the area.

In addition, several construction activities were undertaken in the colonial Stock Farm during this period. Constructions in the Stock Farm and the settlement during this period, 1928-1945, were the highest particularly because it was the period of economic boom in the Northern Provinces.[4] The construction works included the building of offices in the Stock Farm, more houses in the staff quarters of the Farm, roads and the school. The labour needed for those construction works were recruited from the settlements in the Shika area, Zaria and Maska region. The building materials used vary greatly in quality. For instance, buildings that housed Europeans attracted imported materials such as red clay, corrugated roofing sheets and tiles.[5] On the other hand, local materials were used in buildings which have less significance to the colonialists including the school. Thus, mud, grass and timber were used in those buildings.[6]

In general, Shika started attracting more interest groups towards 1945. By this period there was the emergence of productive interest groups which included leather workers, traders, barbers, tailors, dyers, carpenters, butchers, porters (*'yan alaro*), etc.[7] Thus, while essential services were provided by traders, barber and tailors, etc. the production of bags, ropes, mats and other leather goods also developed in Shika. The materials used for the production of these items were largely derived locally.[8]

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[3]Interview with Malam Zailani Abdullahi (MZA), retired clerk of the Stock Farm who worked in the store department, age 80 years on March 16, 2008.
[4]Oyedele, E.O. "Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria… op.cit", pp. 177-343.
[5] NAK, 2921, op.cit
[6] MSS, MIN, HAM and HAL, op.cit.
[7]Interviews with Iliya 'Yan Kusa (IYK) 22nd January 2008 who was a carpenter, and Sa'idu Abdullahi (SASD) 26th January 2008 a bicycle repairer and Muhammadu Maidawa Wanzami (MMW) 16th March 2008 a barber.
[8]Interview with IYK, ibid and as indicated in NAK SNP 17/1 10222 Vol.1, p. 87.

The Shika market became the focal point of trade. Though the stalls were constructed by the traders as a makeshift, using timber, tree branches and thatch, they were taxed by the colonialists through the Native Administration. For instance, a stall used for the sale of textile/cloth attracted a monthly toll of 1s/2d while that of meat was 0s/8d.[9] The colonialists also imposed a number of taxes and levies on other traders and artisans in the belief that "the surest test for the soundness of measures for the improvement of an uncivilized people is that they should be self supporting".[10] These taxes included the income tax and slaughter fees. The taxes were graded, for instance, those that earned an income of £100 per annum were taxed £1, while those that earned £80 were taxed 8s 0d per annum.[11]

An official, in the person of Sarkin Makoye, was assigned to collect these taxes. The taxation phenomenon in the Shika area started since the colonialist reorganized the Native Authority System in 1905. But with the emergence of Shika as a settlement it was intensified to take the above explained form. The task of collecting these taxes in their new form, therefore, went to Makoye Usmanu Jamo, who was by 1945 in charge of the local administration of both Makoye and Shika as the Sarki.[12]

However, it was not only the traders and the artisans that were taxed. Since the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement were employees of the Stock Farm, either as labourers employed on daily paid basis or as staff on full-time appointment, they were also taxed at the end of every month. While the staff on full-time

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[9]NAK SNP 432/1945.
[10]Perham, M. (ed.) ***Mining Commerce and Finance in Nigeria, 1946-48***, Faber and Faber, London. See also Ekundare, R.O. ***An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860-1960***, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1973, p. 65.
[11]NAK SNP 19 1070/1945.
[12]Ibid.

appointment had their taxes removed by the pay roll,[13] the labourers paid to the Makoye who used to come to the pay point in the Farm every month with his *magatakarda* (secretary) and a Native Authority Police escort. Thus, every labourer that collected his pay was instructed by the pay master to pay his tax to Makoye.[14] All the revenue accrued from Shika went to the Native Authority coffers.[15] Since almost all the inhabitants of Shika were employed in one way or the other, a lot of revenue was generated. But it is important to mention here that like in all colonial settings, the inhabitants of Shika were out rightly against the various exploitative and oppressive taxes.

With regards to agricultural (food) production, despite the fact that so many individuals, including the senior staff of the Stock Farm, had their own farms in which they produced crops, other neighbouring settlements also supplied food to Shika. Agricultural (food) production, therefore, remained the dominant activity vis-à-vis commerce and wage employment in Shika. The dominant food crops cultivated for the consumption of Shika inhabitants, especially crops which the labourers were more interested in included beans, maize, species of yam like *rizga* and *gwaza* or *makani* and species of sweet potatoes. Other items cultivated were okra or ladies' finger, pepper, spinach and fruits like mango, guava, pawpaw, etc.[16]

It is important to note, at this point, that export crops (cotton and groundnuts) production was intensified in Shika since the period of great depression.[17] The inhabitants of this area, as we mentioned in chapter one, used to produce these items for their local consumption and trade. However, from 1942 new and foreign varieties

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[13]Interview with Salihu Muhammad Saliyo (MSS) 22nd January 2008.

[14]Interviews with Malam Muhammadu Damina (MMD) op.cit. and MMW.
[15]Ibid.
[16]Ibid.
[17]Interview with MZA op.cit.

of especially cotton such as the 'American Allen' were introduced to increase production. The British colonial regime in association with its trading firms like the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) attracted farmers from Shika area into export crops production by supply of seedlings and grant of loans.[18] This strategy made many farmers to shift from the production of food crops to that of export crops. The resultant effect of this was that food production was significantly reduced by 1945.

Also important is the fact that the tools used in the agricultural production in the Shika area by 1945 were to a large extent the one's used since the eighteenth century. In addition to that, the *gandu* system, which we explained in chapter one, largely remained the primary unit of production in the society. Furthermore, as in the previous century, Shika farmers still reared cattle, sheep and goats for manure and other purposes. These animals were also highly priced in Shika.[19] Zaria and Funtua traders and brokers (*dillalai*) came to Shika with both imported and locally produced goods like clothes, shoes, enamels, bags, bracelets, salt, etc. to sell. In return, they bought among other things food items from Shika farmers.[20]

Generally, agricultural production in Shika area expanded because of the demand of products by the Stock Farm and the export crops buyers. The expansion of agricultural practice consequently brought about the expansion of blacksmithing in the area. Thus blacksmith's from the neighbouring settlements moved to Shika. Prominent among those who migrated were Bala Makeri, not the one we mentioned in chapter two, and Yusuf Makeri. Bala Makeri moved from Tsibiri in 1943 while Yusuf

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[18]Ibid.
[19]Group interview in the house of Late Sarkin Shika Alhaji Abdul Salim Aboki on January 22, 2008.
[20]Ibid.

moved from Biye in the same year.[21] These blacksmiths continued to acquire their raw materials largely through the same means as they used to, and that was through local iron traders in Zaria. However, due to increasing demand they tended to employ the services of apprentices who were not members of their families. Thus, each blacksmith in Shika produced over 500 hoe blades yearly.[22] By this period it was common to pay the blacksmiths with bundles of grains for services such as making of hoes and cutlasses or repairs of old ones. However, it was the use of colonial currency, which had become the means of exchange and value that facilitated transactions between the blacksmiths and their customers.[23]

Between 1928 and 1945 other professionals also featured prominently in the economy of Shika. These professionals included barbers, traders and scholars. The most prominent barber in Shika was Muhammadu Maidawa Wanzami who moved from Hayi to Shika in the 1940s. The District Head of Giwa turbaned him as the *Magajin Askan Shika*. Others in this occupation were Mairiga Wanzami and Tanko Wanzami. They performed several functions that included day to day hair cut for male adults and young boys, uvula surgery (*cire hakin wuya* or *belu*), circumcision of young boys and orthopaedics relating to fracture and dislocation. All of these services usually attracted a token fee, but and as a culture the fee is not often specified.[24]

The resident traders did not feature very early in Shika. They only came about when the market was established in the 1930s. Some of them were people from Makoye and Mahuta who raised their capital from the agricultural products they sold

[21]Interview with Bala Makeri Shika (BMK) age 87 on March 22, 2008, and MSS op.cit.

[22]BMK
[23]Ibid.
[24]MMW, op.cit.

to the Stock Farm.[25] It was with such little capital that they commenced business to neighbouring communities like Hunkuyi, Funtua, Sabon gari etc. They largely used cash to purchase items such as clothes, salt, shoes, needles, thread, kola nuts, etc. which they sold. The activities of these traders gradually gave rise to the activities of Shika market which increased its days from once a week (on Saturdays) to twice a week by 1945. It operated on Saturdays and Tuesdays.[26]

Finally, the scholars that settled in Shika by this period were led by Muhammad Lawal, the father of Malam Ahmad Muhammad Lawal, who established Gungurfa, the *tsangaya* settlement referred to in chapter one. Malam Ahmad Muhammad Lawal was popularly known as Ahmadu Hayin Malam. The malamai imparted knowledge to both the adult and the young. Some of them had *almajirai* that studied the Qur'an and most of the young ones taught were the sons of the Muslim workers of the Stock Farm and other residents of the settlement. Before the death of Malam Muhammad Gungurfa he was said to have Islamized one of the indigenous senior officers of the Stock Farm in the person of Malam Garba Dahiru who was a *bamaguje* (pagan) from Katsina area. He also married to him his grand-daughter, the daughter of Ahmadu Hayin Malam.[27] It was with the influence of Garba Dahiru that a mosque was built for the first time in Shika in the early 1930s. The mosque was built close to the fence of the Stock Farm near the main road by the Muslim community of the Stock Farm but with the major contribution coming from Garba Dahiru.

The Muslim of the Stock Farm led by Malam Garba wanted and asked Malam Muhammad to be the Imam of the mosque, but he declined and assigned one of his

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[25]Group interview January 22, 2008

[26]Interview with Jumare Nasarawan Buhari (JNB) 11th August 2005op.cit.
[27]Ahmadu Muhammad Lawal 2 (AML) 9th May 20062.

students, Malam Bello of Gidan Zamfarawa to be the Imam for conducting the five daily prayers.[28] By the mid 1930s when the population of Shika was increasing the Muslim community decided to commence the weekly Juma'at prayers in Shika. They consulted Malam Muhammad and asked him to be the Imam. Malam Muhammad, therefore wrote to the Emir of Zazzau Ibrahim (1924-1936) asking for permission to start the weekly Juma'at prayers in Shika. The Emir gave consent on the condition that Malam Muhammad shall be the Imam. This condition became the reason why the Friday prayers did not commence until about four months after the Emir's approval. That was when Malam Muhammad went to Zaria and thanked the Emir for the approval given and also informed him that he had already assigned Malam Bello, his student and companion, as the Imam for the five daily prayers. And since he, Malam Bello, was also capable of leading the Friday prayers there was no need of appointing another Imam. The Emir consented to Malam Muhammad's suggestion and Malam Bello of Gidan Zamfarawa was confirmed by the Emir's court as the Imam Juma'at of Shika. Thus, Friday prayers started in Shika on the second Friday of the month of Rabi'u Awwal in either 1934 or 1935.[29]

Other scholars also helped in the slaughter of livestock and provided other services for fees not easily determinable. Such services included leading in wedding prayers, naming ceremony prayers, prayers for burying the dead and so on. However, they also exploited the labour of their students in various ways, for example on their farms, in securing firewood, in construction and so on.

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[28]Ibid.
[29]Ibid. Also in interview with Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika (AAF) age 86 years on September 11, 2002.

3.3 Foundation of Shika

Shika was founded as a result of the choice of the persons whose lands were appropriated to establish the Shika Stock Farm, to resettle themselves. The name Shika was adopted from the river, Shika, which runs through the area.[30]

The British colonial authorities considered the Shika Stock Farm as a significant venture that would increase the production of livestock and eventually boost the colonial economy. It was for this purpose that they went to the extent of appropriating the Farms and houses of the people of Makoye and neighbouring settlements of Mahuta and Salanke just to achieve their aim of establishing the Farm. However, the colonizers did not resettle, in true sense of the word, any of the victims of the displacement. They were only fragmentarily compensated and left to resettle on their own – as we shall discuss in this section.

One of the most significant impacts of the establishment of the government Stock Farm in the Shika area is the foundation of Shika, the site around which the staff quarters of the Farm were built, as a settlement. It is important at this point to note that emergence of settlements, or even their evolution cannot be attributed to a single factor but various factors or combination of factors which include geographical,[31] economic, political, social (religious/rituals) and military factors. These have interacted in different ways and degrees to promote not only emergence and evolution of settlements but including urbanization.[32]

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[30]MSS, 22nd January 2008 and group interview. See our discussion on hydrology in page 7.

[31] Andah, B.W., ***African Development in Cultural Perspective***, Ibadan University Press, Ibadan, 1982, p.15. It is a known fact that some early towns and states, like those of the Hausa, developed in the most fertile agricultural lands. Such geographical factor also played important role in founding cities. Settlements have grown in the savannah areas of Northern Nigeria as a result of farming activities and even fishing by the river in case of numerous river side towns.

[32]Okpoko, A.I., "The Early Urban Centres and States of West Africa", in ***West Africa Journal of Archaeology*, (WAJA) vol.17**, 1987, p. 260.

Shika as a settlement, however, has its origin from the Stock Farm, an economic venture of the British imperialists in addition to other factors. At the "payment" of compensation some of the victims of displacement moved across the rail line east to Salanke and other neighbouring hamlets to start another life and some moved west across the main road that goes to Sokoto from Zaria to clear the bush lands, make houses and farms to start another dwelling too.[33] This area, which is just opposite of the Stock Farm on the way to Tsibiri, was first inhabited by Yahya, popularly known as Gimba, who got the highest compensation.

Across the road facing Gimba's new house was the Stock Farm within which the Farm's staff quarters were built. The first European staff that lived in the quarters was Mr. R.B. Shorter. He was followed by A.W. Anderson, J.D. Brown and others. However, on the other hand, the first indigenous staff that lived there were people like Malam Tanimu Katsina, son of Emir of Katsina Muhammadu Dikko (1906-1944), Abdul Ganga (the father of Ahmadu Ganga), Mr. Aduba and Sergeant Ajuji. There were also Garba Dahiru, Dan Balange and Abdussalim Aboki who later became the Sarkin Shika.[34] Among the junior staff that first resided in the quarters was Atiku, the cows' herder.[35] Other junior staff, like Dattiyo, Buwayi and Salihu were all from Makoye, which was the next door neighbour to the Farm, so they did not stay in the quarters. [36]

By the time the Stock Farm started operating, around 1928-1930, there was no school for the children of the staff. But their school-age children trekked up to Giwa (which was a distance of about fifteen kilometers) and back on school days to attend

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[33]Interviews with Malam Sibu Salanke (SLK) age, 70 years on 22nd September, 2002, MBI, HMG and JNB ibid.
[34]Interview with ABS, AML and MSS, op.cit.
[35]ABS. Alhaji Biso's father, who was then the Sarki of Makoye, was the one who recommended Atiku to Mr. Shorter. Atiku used to supervise the cattle's of one of his friend in Madobi, one of the hamlets of Tsibiri.
[36]MSS, op.cit.

classes.[37] There was also no market around the Stock Farm, because even Makoye depended on the weekly markets in Biye and Tsibiri.[38] There was also no medical facility except for the first aid box kept in the office of Mr. Shorter, the officer-in-charge.[39] However, when Mr. Anderson took over as the officer-in-charge he came along with his wife who happened to be a nurse. Thus, she attended to the sick among the workers and the villagers.[40]

It is important, at this point, to discuss what the British did to increase their influence in the evolution of Shika as a settlement. The British appointed a caretaker among the indigenous people for the staff quarters of the Farm. He was assigned the responsibility of taking care of the place with regards to house keeping and gardening. The Native Authority, represented by the District Head of Giwa, Fagaci Ahmadu, was the channel through which the appointment was made and this responsibility went to Malam Ibrahim of the old Giwa town. He was later called Ibrahim Sarkin Bariki (the king of the barracks) because of that appointment. The African population, in their own way considered the European built quarters as barracks. Ibrahim Sarkin Bariki supervised the planting of first set of trees that were planted in the quarters.[41]

Sarkin Bariki gradually became powerful and he was assigned the duty of supervising the bush lands in and around the Stock Farm. He was also given the power to allocate farm lands and plots to the indigeneous workers of the Stock Farm who wished to start farms or build houses.[42] However, the first type of dwellings that emerged around the Stock Farm was grass huts with thatched roofs made by some labourers of the Farm. These were labourers that came from distant places like Zaria

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[37]Ibid and interview with Alhaji Bello Shika (ABS) on 26th January 2008.
[38]Ibid.
[39]MSS *op.cit.*
[40]ABS and MSS.
[41]Nuhu Dan Sarkin Bariki (NSB) age 80 years on September 15, 2002.
[42]Interviews with Makoye Ibrahim Buwayi (MBI) 16th September 2005and MSS.

city, Hunkuyi, Soba, Maigana and even the Maska area of Katsina for daily paid labour. Such labourers used to work for a week or two then went back to their families for a few days and return to the Stock Farm again. As a way of solving their accommodation problems, this class of daily paid labourers deviced the means of erecting huts in which they 'rested' in the night only to wake up early in the morning to do the labour of five or six pence (5d/6d) a day.[43]

The British, however, did not allow them to erect the huts without planning and control. Firstly, they were allowed to build only across the main road that divided the Stock Farm and the bush land on the west. Secondly, they were to build in a row, not randomly.[44] At this point the indigeneous senior staff of the Stock Farm, especially those from the Northern Provinces, voiced out the feeling that they were not comfortable with the European type of houses (two bedroom flats) given to them in the staff quarters. As such, they indicated their preference for having plots to build the traditional type of houses they were used to.[45] As a result of this, in 1933 Mr. Brown approved for Sergent Ajuji a plot across the road on which he built the first personal house by a staff of the Stock Farm. Sergent Ajuji's house was followed by that of Malam Garba, Mr. Aduba and Alhaji Abdussalim Aboki.[46] Though the houses of Garba and Aboki are still occupied by their families, the house of Sergent Ajuji is presently occupied by the Imam of Shika. Meanwhile, among those displaced from Makoye, Jibir Maitunku had joined Gimba to also acquire a land and build a house at a place much closer to the main road than that of Gimba which was in *hayi* (across).[47]

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[43]Ibid.
[44]NAK 2921 vol. III. Also in interview with MSS, ibid.

[45]NAK 2921 Vol. I. Also in interview with AML, op.cit.
[46]Ibid.
[47]ABS, op.cit.

Thus, with those houses and huts Shika evolved from a bush land hosting the government Stock Farm to a new settlement gradually attracting more people as we shall discuss below.

3.4 Migration and Settlement, 1930-1945

It is important to point out here that in the case of the Northern Provinces in the period of study the major push and pull factors were ecological factors and colonization. This was demonstrated by the influence British colonial policies, especially on land and labour, had on people. This is closely related to the social transformation the rural areas underwent as a result of their integration into the international capitalist system forcing the peasant to produce the so called cash crops for export and to pay extortionate taxes.[48] One of the ecological factors is drought. The people that lived in the sahel and savanna areas with periodic droughts which led to famine during the colonial period were somtimes compelled to migrate and become wage-earning labourers in either the urban centres or colonial labour – providing rural areas like Shika. This migration became necessary in order that the people may meet their obligation of paying taxes. Thus, by the period 1928-1945 the Shika area had become a receiving centre of some of these immigrants.

There is no doubt that census data are very significant for our understanding of the growth process in Shika especially as it relates to the issue of population. However it is important to point out the fact that there is the dearth of data on this and the little available estimates are seemingly unreliable. Moreover, they do not contain vital information on income distribution, age and sex ratio of the population, etc., before 1945. It is also important to stress that with regards to the official population

[48] Amin, S. (ed.), ***Modern Migration in West Africa***, Oxford University Press, 1974, London, p.85-.91.

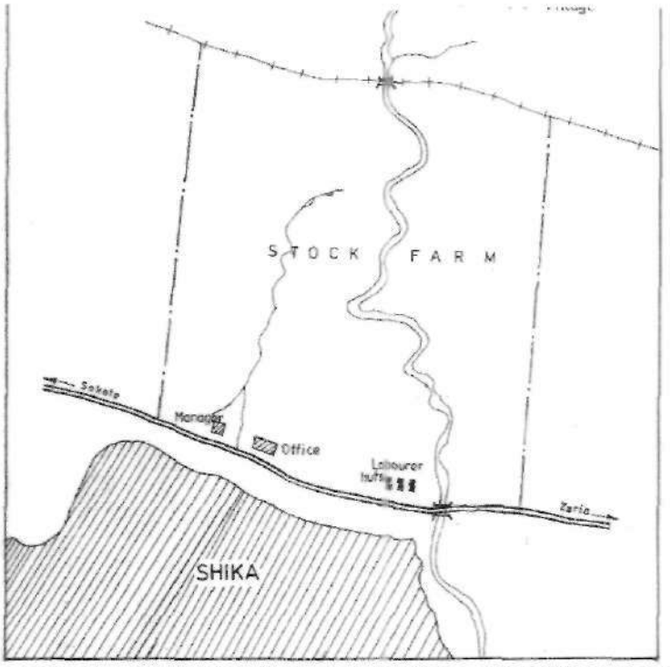
estimate for Shika and the other settlements in the area the British colonialists themselves recorded that:

> *R.B. Shorter had assisted the Giwa District Officer to obtain very close but not exact census figures of Shika and its neighbouring villages last year (1930). The new figure shows that the numbers for 1929 were under estimated. Unfortunately even in the last year's census the men, women and children were not separately registered.*[49]

It is against this background that we must mention here that our informants claim that migration into the Shika area significantly accompanied the establishment of the Stock Farm in 1928 and that by the 1930s Shika as a settlement already had close to a thousand residents.[50] But according to colonial records, by 1929 both Makoye and Shika, which existed side by side, had a total of only 700 residents.[51] Indeed the estimates of our informants seem more acceptable than the official colonial estimates. This is because available accounts from different sources indicate that colonized peoples, in order to lessen the colonial exploitation of their wealth, usually understated their population. In addition some of the inhabitants of a given settlement often disappeared from their homes during head counts in order to avoid taxation, forced labour, etc.[52]

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[49]NAK SNP Vol. I, 1931.
[50]Interviews with AML, Malam Nuhu Gungurfa (MNG) September 16, 2005, JNB op.cit. and Malam Dalhatu Abubakar (DAB) on January 23, 2008.
[51] NAK SNP Vol. I, 1931, p.41.
[52]Oyedele, E. op.cit., p.60.



MAP III Showing the location of Shika from the Stock Farm (Source: NAK 2921 Vol. I, Shika Stock Farm, p. 54)

Although colonial population estimates are generally not reliable because some households do not truly disclose their population for fear of taxation. However, these estimates are still quite useful because they give us an idea about the changes taking place as far as demography is concerned. It is therefore necessary to cite these official estimates as they are. For example, an analysis of the population figures of Makoye and Shika given for the years 1929, 1930 and 1931, unreliable as they are, reveal that population growth in the area was graphically developing. The increase in population is analysed in the figure below.

TABLE VIII: Census Estimate of Shika 1929-1931

S/No	Year	Census Estimate	% Increase
1	1929	700	
2	1930	940	40
3	1931	1370	97

Source: NAK SNP VOL. I, 1931, p. 49.

The population for 1929, as earlier noted, was 700 while a year later, in 1930; it rose by about forty percent (40%) which is a figure of 940.[53] And a year later, in 1931, the population increased to 1370.[54] An interesting thing to note here is that in the period of only two years the population has increased by almost a hundred per cent. The population of Shika also increased further particularly from the 1940s even though we do not have any statistics of this growth.[55]

It should be pointed out here that most of the settlers in Shika during this period were products of individual migrations[56] from within Zaria province, especially the rural areas. In fact the only group migration into Shika at this point in time involved the settlement of the Dakarkari and the people of Fallomi (Fort Lamy) in the 1940s.[57] The Dakarkari in Shika migrated from their Zuru homestead in group in search of agricultural land but ended up working as wage labourers in the Stock Farm, Shika.[58] However, the people of Fort Lamy were the Shuwa Arab who left the Chad/German-Cameroun border in order to escape the terror of the Second World War fought in their region between British and German troops. In addition, the

[53]NAK SNP Vol. I, 1931, p. 49.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Interviews with AML, MNG, JNB and Malam Dalhatu Abubakar (DAB) 23rd January 2008.
[56]By Individual migrations we mean migration that does not transcend the level of a household.
[57]Interviews with Muhammadu Maidawa Wanzami, (MMW) age 80 years on March 16, 2008. Also MSS and MBI.
[58]Ibid. See also Adamu, M.A. "Hausa Government in Decline: Yawuri in the 19th Century", M.A. (History) Thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1968.

economic hardship of the period also made them to seek for jobs elsewhere. Some of them traveled to as far as Shika in search of livelihood.[59]

Migration settlement in Shika was a product of several factors. Firstly, we have earlier made mention of how colonialism influenced the pattern of migration in the Northern Provinces. To strengthen this point, Robert Shenton has correctly argued that the imposition of British colonialism subordinated the peasantry in Northern Nigeria to the interest of the world capitalist market.[60] The imposition of various taxes, tolls and the restructuring of the land tenure system, as discussed earlier, created a lot of strains and stresses in the rural societies. It is therefore not surprising that some of our informants maintained that they were prompted to migrate due to poor returns they realized from the sales of their farm products.[61] Secondly, famine which was quite common in this period was another factor that prompted these migrations as in the case of the Dakarkari. In addition to the Dakarkari, those migrants from Maska district of Katsina, those from Kwatarkwashi region of Gusau and even areas like Hunkuyi and Ikara districts of Zaria province experienced severe famine that forced them to move to Shika. The severity of these famines between 1930 and 1940 forced them to emigrate for survival.[62]

As we have discussed the push factors, it is also important to discuss the pull factors that attracted the immigrants to Shika. Interestingly, those factors also varied. Firstly and most significantly is the daily paid labour in the Stock Farm. This was a colonial programme that attracted skilled and unskilled labourers to the settlement.

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[59] Fort Lamy is known to the Hausa people as Fallomi. The name originated from the event in which Captain Lamy, who was a French colonial official was killed in Chad and subsequently buried at a site where the French established a military fort (garrison) and the future capital of Chad. In order to immortalize Captain Lamy, the French named the new capital as Fort Lamy, which became known as Forlamy to the Kanuri and Fallomi to the Hausa.

[60] Shenton, R., "Studies in the Development of Capitalism... op.cit" p. 194.

[61] Interviews with Iliya 'Yan Kusa (IYK), Malam Abdu Kano, (MAK) and Alhaji Muhammadu Gali (AMG) on January 21, 2008.

[62] Ibid.

Secondly, in our discussion on the establishment and growth of the Shika Stock Farm in the previous chapter we noted the dangers of tsetse flies to the Stock Farm. Thus the British realized that attracting independent farmers into the area would go a long way in solving the tsetse flies problem. They therefore removed the restriction under the forestry ordinance and regulations on the area and announced incentives of free farmland to farmers who wished to settle in the area.[63] This attracted farmers like the Dakarkari into the area and their activities of bush clearing for farm land helped in ridding the area of tsetse flies and also increased food production.[64] Malam Abdul Kano, who emigrated from one of the famine stricken areas mentioned above, reported that he moved to Shika to settle as a result of the policy of being given free farmland.[65]

The major outcome of the policy was that two new wards sprand up apart from Hayin Gimba in the 1940s. These new wards were (and still are) Bakin Kasuwa and Unguwar Tsamiya. The founders of these new wards easily acquired portions of land where they settled from the colonialists through Sarkin Bariki.[66] It is however important to state here that most of the migrants to Shika during this period were mainly labourers. We have mentioned in the last chapter the decision of the colonialists to start farming activities in Shika so as to produce the grains needed by the animals in the Stock Farm. This new project also attracted many more labourers into Shika.

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[63]NAK 331B Shika Tsetse flies Campaign 1953-1954
[64]NAK 1784 Mixed Farming (Policy) 1934-35.
NAK 2526 Agric Education Zaria Province 1939-1948.
NAK 331B Shika Tsetse flies Campaign 1953-1954
[65]NAK, op.cit.
[66]Ibid.

3.5 Residential and Spatial Developments, 1930-1945

The Stock Farm had significant impact on Makoye right from 1928 when it was established. For instance, we have mentioned how five square miles of land was appropriated from the settlements of Tudun Salanke, Mahuta and Makoye. This land on which the Stock Farm was built was mainly from Makoye. It therefore made Makoye the immediate neighbouring settlement to the Shika Stock Farm. Thus, up to this period of residential development in the new settlement called Shika, Makoye still existed. The side by side existence of the two units halted any residential expansion of Makoye. Any new housing unit was then erected at the side of the Stock Farm, Shika. As a result of this, Shika was able to spatially expand westwards across the main road from the Stock Farm.

It is notable that people involved in individual labour migration into Shika and sporadically built their houses using mud and grass. The households in the 1940s were linked to each other predominantly by narrow and irregular footpaths. These sorts of footpaths also connected the households to the focal points in Shika like the market place and the Stock Farm. They also connected Shika to Makoye. The market place was first located west of the Stock Farm quarters across the main road. That was adjacent to the house of Malam Abdul Salim Aboki where the Shika Police Station is presently located. The market, according to our sources, was started by only two people, a butcher called Kaura and a woman who sold fried groundnuts, cooked sweet potatoes and cassava to the labourers. Kaura, the butcher, was said to have come from Dandaku, a village of Sha'iskawa in Kano area. He sold both raw and roasted meat on the spot where the market sprang. The old woman, whose name

was Maiwuya, was from nearby Mahuta.[67] Soon, the place started attracting petty traders who frequented it on Saturdays when the labourers, who happened to form a majority in the settlement, were less busy in the Farm. That was how the place became a weekly market in which the provisional requirements of the people in Shika were sold.[68]

3.6 Social Infrastructure

As a result of population growth in Shika the British decided to establish a school in the settlement. However, this coincided with the time the colonial administration wanted to improve on teacher education in Northern Nigeria. Colonial education policy in Northern Nigeria had already received some attention by a number of scholars.[69] Most of these scholars largely blamed the failure of colonial education to take root in the Northern Provincess on Islam, the religion of the overwhelming people of the area.[70] In addition, the scholars go to the extent of lavishly praising the colonial education policy, contending that it was the attendant result of "indirect rule" that "aimed at preserving indigenous institutions and the political life of the people"[71] as they claim. However, the arguments of such scholars are not only misleading but also not historical because they fail to delineate the mendacity of the educational objectives of the British colonial regime.

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[67]Nuhu dan Sarkin Bariki (NSB) op.cit, Jumare Nasarawan Buhari (JNB) op.cit and Alhaji Bello Shika (ABS) age 78 years on January 26, 2008.
[68]Ibid.
[69]See for Example S.F. Graham, ***Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900-1919,*** Ibadan University Press, 1966; Williams, D.H. ***A Short Survey of Education in Northern Nigeria,*** Kaduna, 1959; Hubbard, J.F. "Education under Colonial Rule: A History of Katsina College 1921-1942", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973; Gbadamosi, G.O. "The Establishment of Western Education Among Muslims", ***J.H.S.N.*** vol. IV No.1 December, 1967; Usman, M. "The Development of Teacher Education in Northern Nigeria 1910-1960" M.A. Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria 1991; Tibenderana, P.K., "British Educational Policy in Northern Nigeria: The Case of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates 1905-1935" Seminar Paper, University of Ibadan, 1973, etc.
[70]Tibenderana, P.K. op.cit.
[71]Tibenderana, P.K. ***Sokoto Province Under British Rule-1903-1939,*** A.B.U. Press Zaria, 1988 p.108.

Mohammed Usman has rightly argued that the significance of Islam as a factor that determined the introduction and development of colonial education in Northern Nigeria has been seriously exaggerated.[72] He emphasizes that "if they had been given freedom to utilize the resources they had, the Northern Provincess would have progressed more educationally than they did in the period."[73] But the colonial education policy would not permit that because it was fearful of any form of literary education which was held responsible for the creation of 'nationalistic demagogues' in India, Egypt and Lagos. Thus, the British colonial regime was pre-occupied with not how to educate northern Nigerians but to prevent them from any influence of literary education. In pursuance of this Hans Vischer was appointed to take charge of establishing government schools in the Northern Provincess. Vischer came up with the aims of developing the national and racial characteristics of the natives on such lines that would:

> *enable them to use their own moral and physical forces to the best advantage; to widen their mental horizon without destroying their respect for race and their parents; to supply men for employment under government; to supply men that will be able to carry on the Native Administration in the spirit of the government; to import sufficient knowledge of Western ideas to enable the natives to meet the influx of traders, etc. from the coast with the advent of the railway, on equal terms; to avoid creating a "Babu class" and avoid encouraging the idea readily formed by the African that it is more honourable to sit in the office than to earn a living by manual labour by introducing at the earliest opportunity technical instruction side-by-side with purely clerical training.*[74]

Thus, as clearly brought out in the last aim, government schools were to concentrate on the 'preservation' of the vocational status quo. The Northern Nigeria Colonial authority under Hisketh Bell supported Vischer's proposals and submitted

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[72]Usman, M. "The Development of Teacher Education…op.cit" p.122-125.
[73]Ibid, p.126.
[74]Graham, SF. "Government and Mission Education…" op.cit, pp.122-125.

them to the colonial office for approval in March 1910. They were subsequently approved by the colonial secretary in August of the same year. Given the foregoing, therefore, we can assert that the aims outlined by Vischer and supported by the British Colonial regime came to form the core of the educational policy which determined education in the Northern Provinces up to 1945.[75]

It was for the improvement of this policy that in 1937 the colonial regime established more schools throughout the Northern Provinces.[76] Three schools were established in Zaria province that year, two in Giwa District and one in Makarfi District. According to our sources, the one in Makarfi was located at Kudan with Malam Tabari Kaura as the Headmaster. The two schools in Giwa District were however located at Kaya and Shika. While the Kaya school had Malam Ahmadu Fatika as the Headmaster, that of Shika was headed by Malam Muhammadu Kaufun, who later trained and became a Judge in the 1950s.[77]

The establishment of the school no doubt was an additional spatial expansion for Shika. We have earlier mention that before this period, the children of the Farm workers and the villagers of Makoye, Tsibiri and Mahuta used to go all the way to Giwa to attend school. But with the new school in Shika all those children, including new ones from Biye were registered. By this period also a lot of the daily paid labourers had their families in Shika, so some of them also registered their children in the school.[78] The registration of pupils in the new school was, however, not without its own problems. Not all the people in the area were ready to register their school age children due to one reason or the other. The District Head had to be fully involved by the Europeans to convince the people register their children in the school. The people

[75]Tibenderana, P.K. ***Sokoto Province***..., op.cit, p.105.
[76]NAK 4/12/DDM 883, Ministry of Education.
[77]Interview with Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika (AAF) Sarkin Fadan Zazzau (age 86 years) on September 11, 2002.
[78]MSS, HAM, op.cit.

were said to be adamant in sending their children to school basically because of farm work. Thus, some of them went to the extent of consulting soothsayers and performing rituals to either keep their children away from being registered or to have them removed from the school if they were already registered.[79]

It was also by 1937 that a clinic was built for the first time in Shika.[80] It was a three room building located directly opposite the Primary School across the main road by the south. In the early years of building the Clinic the sick had to be either threatened or forced to attend it. But the sooner they realized its efficiency the quicker they changed their resisting attitude.[81] This building is presently a Police Station near the house of late Sarkin Shika Muhammad Salim Aboki.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter our examination has focused on the impact of the government Stock Farm on Shika area in the period 1928 to 1945. To facilitate our understanding of this theme, we discussed the socio-economic developments. In this regard we showed how the people displaced for the purpose of establishing the Stock Farm resettled themselves across the road from the Farm. They were later met by labour migrants who came to work in the colonial Stock Farm either as clerks on full employment or labourers working on a daily paid basis. In addition, we showed that this labour migration led to the evolution of Shika as a settlement and also resulted in the residential and spatial developments of the settlement. We also showed that the economic activities of the area were significantly geared towards meeting the needs of the Stock Farm, thus the colonial objective. By this period, therefore, the economy of

[79] Alhaji Bako Tsibiri (ABT) 9th February 2008, op.cit.
[80] Group interview in Shika, January, 22, 2008.
[81] Ibid.

the Shika area was fully entrenched into the colonial economy to meet the objectives of British imperialism. As far as political developments were concerned we showed that Shika was initially separated from all other settlements in the area. But to meet the colonial demands of taxation it was later merged with Makoye under the representative of the Native Authority.

CHAPTER FOUR

SHIKA ECONOMY AND SOCIETY 1945-1960

4.1 Introduction

We have examined the colonial economy in chapter two and discussed how the British colonialists intended to operate in the colonized area. The policy they adopted was the production of agricultural commodities through the organization of land and labour using peasant farmers. This position was brought out clearly in the speech of Governor Hugh Clifford during the opening session of the Legal Council in Nigeria in 1920. In his view;

> *The indigenous peasantry is preferable because the European enterprises are less favoured, having to bear the burden of equipment and bush cutting, to invest important capital which remains unproductive for several years, and finally to recruit the labour force essential to their work from the scattered population.*[1]

In this chapter we shall discuss Shika's economy and society from 1945 to the end of the colonial period in Nigeria. The main focus of the chapter shall be the nature of the economic activities in relation to the colonial economy in the area and how it deviated from the pre-colonial economy. We shall look at animal keeping in the Stock Farm, farming and animal husbandry, manufacture, trade and Islamic scholarship.

The chapter shall also examine the factors that were responsible for Shika's growth between 1945 and 1960 which eventually led to its development into a heterogeneous settlement. The chapter shall discuss migration and population growth, administration, law and order, and decolonization activities in Shika. To understand the basis of the changes that took place in Shika in this period we need to briefly

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[1] Suret-Canal, J. ***French Colonialism in Tropical Africa***, C. Hurst & Co. 1971, London, p.185.

examine the general environment under which these transformations unfolded. The post Second World War economic boom in colonial Nigeria led to, among other things, the improvement of communication facilities and the establishment of a wide range of secondary manufacturing industries which were based on import substitution strategy.[2]

However, the point to note here is that the establishment of light industries and the improvement of communication facilities among other projects executed by the colonialists in the post-Second World War era stimulated the spectacular growth of quite a number of cities, towns and other settlements in the Northern Provinces.[3] Our choice of 1945 as the beginning of the period of study is informed by the termination of the Second World War which ushered in new economic demands by the colonialist. We chose to end the chapter at 1960, however, due to the fact that decolonization activities heightened, which eventually led Nigeria to gain its political independence in this year.

4.2 Shika's Economy

Shika's economy experienced significant changes in the period 1945-1960. A major feature of the economy was the diversification of occupation as a result of increased immigration into the settlement. It would appear that the influx of people changed the earlier known occupational bases from predominantly agricultural economy for Makoye, and colonial employment/farm labour economy for Shika to include services oriented jobs. It was in this period that '*yanhaya* (bicycles hire

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[2]See Kilby, P. ***Industrialisation in an Open Economy: Nigeria 1945-1960***, Cambridge University Press, 1969 for more details.

[3]Oyedele, E.O. 'Colonial Urbanisation...' op.cit, pp. 417-503. This study shows that the remarkable growth experienced in Kaduna, for example, cannot be divorced from the colonial projects executed in the region during the era.

operators) emerged in Shika.[4] Due to the diversification, the settlement began to experience high cost of living as compared to the 1930s and the early 1940s.[5] At the same time the colonial regime introduced new levies on the inhabitants of Shika. In 1950, for example, taxable adults were compelled to contribute on monthly basis 3d per head to the Giwa District Council Fund.[6] The Stock Farm staff and the labourers on employment therein were also not spared by the new levies that were deducted from their salaries.[7] The inhabitants of Shika were already experiencing economic strains in this period, and these new levies significantly worsened their plight.[8]

As a result of the expansion of the Stock Farm and the building projects executed, more labourers gained employment. There were also significant changes in farming and animal husbandry, manufacture, trade and Islamic scholarship. These changes shall be discussed below.

4.2.1 The Stock Farm

Since the establishment of the Stock Farm the colonial state continued to exploit the peasantry in Shika area by way of using the available the cheap labour. While the colonialist continue to make profits through the revenue they generated from the sales of the Stock Farm products, Nigerians in the settlement continued to depend on wage labour. In the first place the increasing number of building projects executed within the Stock Farm brought about the influx of more labourers and artisans. The buildings constructed in 1950 included a piggery and three rooms for

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[4]Interview with Sa'idu Abdullahi (Better known as Sarkin haya Dan'amarya- SASD) on January 26, 2008. Sai'du Abdullahi had been in the bicycle hiring business since his twenties. He started from Samaru then moved to Shika. As of the time of this interview he was 75 years old.
[5]NAK/ZARPROF 6653 vol. V Zaria Province Annual Report 1957.
[6]NAK/ZARPROF Tax 4 Incidence of Taxation. Also SASD, ABS and UTD.
[7]NAK/ZARPROF Tax 5 Direct Taxation of Traders and Salaried Taxation.
[8]SASD, ABS and UTD, op.cit.

the section, ten rooms in the dairy section and three rooms in the bulls' section.[9] In addition, in 1956 three more sections were established and buildings were erected to accommodate them.[10] These were the breeder section, the veterinary section and the newly grown bulls section. Materials used for these buildings included laterite rocks, cement and sand.[11] The roofing is however made of timber and zinc sheets. It is interesting to note that the building projects embarked by the colonialists stimulated and improved the blacksmithing sector. This shall be dealt with in our discussion on manufacture. With these new buildings the structures accommodating the animals in the Stock Farm were numbered A to G. By this time E and F buildings were named *tagwayen garke* (the twin herds) by the workers. The buildings were used thus:

A Building	-	Workshop
B Building	-	Dairy
C Building	-	Fully Matured Bulls
D Building	-	Heifers/Breeder section
E Building	-	Young Heifers Section
F Building	-	Young Bulls
G Building	-	New Bulls [12]

4.2.2 Farming and Animal Husbandry

The vent for surplus theorists argue that the colonial economy was propelled by free market forces and insisted that it was the demand for raw materials in the world market and as well as the provision of incentive goods that were responsible for

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[9]NAK/MIN. OF AGRIC 208E Pig Production 1949-1956. Also in Maiwada, A.S. op.cit. pp.23-25.
[10]Ibid. Also in NAK 2921 vol. II Min. of Agriculture, Shika Stock Farm.

[11]Manuscript written by Alhaji Sama'ila Maiwada, undated, op.cit.
[12]NAK, 292/Vol. II Min. of Agriculture, Shika Stock Farm. Also in the Manuscript of Alhaji Sama'ila Maiwada, interview with MMD and my field work research.

the growth of the colonial economy.[13] These views, however, are questionable because in the Shika area, as was the case in other Nigerian areas, the N.A. was crucial to the expansion of the colonial economy. This was especially in the area of export crops production like cotton and groundnut. By this period cotton had a very large colonial farm established for it in Shika. Apart from this farm individuals also went into cotton production especially for the reason of getting money to pay their taxes.[14] The N.A. through the office of the *Wakilin Gona* used to distribute cotton seed to farmers. Apart from cotton, the people of Shika area also went into groundnut production by this period. This was however not up to the level of cotton production. But it was evident that some farmers had high yields and were able to use the income derived to pay their taxes.[15]

Individual agricultural practice also significantly increased in this period. This is not unconnected with the increase in people that came to settle as a result of colonial employment or otherwise. Petty traders, artisans etc. embarked on farming by employing casual labourers in addition to household labour on the farms.[16] The casual labourers employed for such farming activities were paid about one pound (£1) for over two acres of farmland.[17]

Animal husbandry continue to be practiced by individual households but not as intensive as it used to be in the pre-colonial period. Few individuals continued to keep domestic animals and the large production was, of course, dominated by the Stock Farm. The Stock Farm also tried to encourage individuals to purchase and keep

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[13] On this theory see Myint, H., 'The classical Theory of International Trade and the Underdeveloped Countries', in ***Economic Journal 68***, June 1958, Caves, R.E. and Johnson, H. (eds.) ***Readings in International Economics***, Homewood III, 1968, Escher, C.K. and Liedholm, C. (eds.) ***Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy***, Michigan State University Press, 1970, etc.
[14] Intervews with Mallam Muhammadu Damina (MMD) and Iliya 'Yan Kusa (IYK) 21st January, 2008.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] Alhaji Baƙo Tsibiri (ABT), February 9, 2008 and Umaru Tudu Ɗan-Sa'i (UTD) March 8, 2008.
[17] Ibid.

the cows it produced but because of the relatively high price, which ranged between five and eight pounds (£5-£8) per cow, this campaign did not yield favourable result.[18] A group of butchers, however, used to buy a cow every week for slaughter and sale on the weekly market day which was Saturday.[19]

4.2.3 Manufacture

Manufacturing, as it relates to industrial production in Shika area, was greatly affected by colonialism. The number of craftsmen continued to decline through colonial labour mobilization.[20] The weaving and dyeing industry, for example, began to experience serious problem because of the import of foreign materials. Moreover, the major raw material used in this industry, which was cotton, went to the industries in Metropolitan Britain. In addition, professionals who relied on this industry found it very difficult to pay their taxes. Some of them therefore opted for wage labour.[21]

By this period, however, Shika blacksmiths were gradually discarding the use of locally mined iron-ore (*tama*) for the production of iron implements. They increasingly used imported European scrap metal in their production process.[22] These imported scrap metal was usually acquired from those who traded in it located mainly in the Sabon Gari market. The building projects embarked by the colonialists during this period stimulated and improved the blacksmithing sector. Implements such as hoes, diggers, shovels, pans, etc. used in the construction site were made by the local blacksmiths.[23]

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[18] NAK, 1407, 2921 Vol. I, Shika Stock Farm, 1953-1956, pp.89- 91.
[19] Ibid and ABT, ABS and UTD. This group was led by Ado Mamman, the Head of Butchers.
[20] NAK, Min. of Agriculture, 1222/2301, Development of Native Industries, 1940-1954, pp. 97-106.
[21] Ibid and ABS and UTD, op.cit.
[22] ABT, ABS and UTD.

[23] Ibid.

4.2.4 Trade

The trading sector in Shika also experienced significant changes in this period. The production of cotton and groundnut, largely meant for export, was accompanied by more importation of consumer goods. They included European cotton materials, salt, soap, cigarette, kerosene, bicycles and other metal wares. In addition, as a result of the increasing integration of the peoples of Nigeria, as indicated in our discussion on migration and settlement, products like *garri,* palm oil, crayfish, etc became common items of trade in Shika market before 1960.[24] Trade in foodstuff became an attractive business in Shika, thus many traders in the settlement took to this business. The prominent among traders in food stuff were Dan Zubairu (popularly known as Dandaudu) and Hajiya Ladi Wakiliya.[25] These traders went into trading with a little capital saved over the years and some of the women among them given the capital by their husbands who were workers at the Stock Farm.[26]

Other items such as sugar, matches, pomade, etc were also increasingly traded. These were either purchased at Biye weekly market or from the well placed traders based in Sabon Gari main market. At this time, handcarts (*amalanke*) and lorries were the dominant means of transportation.[27] The colonial regime, however, collected toll in all the three weekly markets of the area. These were Biye, Shika and Tsibiri markets. The tolls were paid through *Sarkin Kasuwa* (Head of the market) appointed by the Village Heads.[28] But the implication of the tolls was that there was a decline in the production of local goods such as clothing materials which yielded low profit in comparison to imported goods.

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[24]Ibid
[25]Ibid and MMD
[26]Ibid.
[27]Ibid and UTD

[28] NAK, Zarprof.

4.2.5 Muslim Scholarship

The *malamai* were discussed in chapter three but we are compelled to mention them here again because a new economic activity emerged from them. A large number of the dwellers in Shika by this period needed one spiritual help or the other. Thus the *malamai* got jobs of praying for success and good luck, divination, the preparation and selling of charms, etc.[29] Some scholars also helped in the slaughter of livestock and provided other services for fees not easily quantifiable or fixed. Such services included leading in wedding prayers, naming ceremony prayers, prayers for burying the dead and so on. Elementary Qur'anic education was compulsory for all children of Muslim homes, the *malamai* were therefore entrusted with the teaching of young ones in Shika and they charged a little fee for that. However, they also exploited the labour of their students in various ways, for example on their farms, in securing firewood, in construction and so on.[30]

4.3 Migration and Population Growth

Group migrations played a crucial role in the growth of Shika during this period. Available evidence indicates that one of the groups that migrated into Shika were the Second World War veterans (the demobilized soldiers).[31] Although we cannot precisely state the number of the veteran soldiers involved in this movement, our informants are clear that the ex-soldiers were among those that the British colonial regime demobilized and resettled following the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945. Indeed, after the end of the war many of these people were

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[29] UTD 8th March 2008.
[30] Ibid.
[31] NAK 80/134 Post-War Development and Policy: Settlement of Ex-soldiers 19242-1945. Also in *group interview with MMD and MDG, January 21, 2008.*

awarded their gratuities and pensions and other disability allowances. On the average, most of them received about £10.[32]

Considerable numbers of these ex-servicemen were employed in the Stock Farm. This was part of the British plan to engage the ex-soldiers in a meaningful employment after they have been demobilized.[33] Interestingly, since most, if not all of them, were fairly financially stable at this point in time, and in the face of the limited number of houses in the settlement, some of them decided to build their houses in Shika. They, therefore, started acquiring plots in the settlement. To do this successfully, the colonial ex-servicemen approached earlier occupants who had been previously apportioned most of the land as farmlands. As we have shown in the previous chapter, most of the earlier inhabitants of Shika were farmers who acquired plots of land through Ibrahim Sarkin Bariki. However, since the merger of Shika and Makoye under the leadership of Makoye Jamo in 1939, land allocation was transferred to Makoye Jamo. For this reason, and in line with customary procedure, the earlier settlers had to invite the Sarki to consent to the land transfers they made to the ex-service men.[34] In essence, one can say that land acquisition in Shika by this period was very easy.

Another group migration that had influence on population growth by this period was that of the *karuwai* (prostitutes/courtesans).[35] Several studies on Hausa communities or communities in which the Hausa people have significant population have shown that the *karuwai* are a noticeable component of those communities.[36]

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[32]Ibid.
[33]Interview wiyh Mallam Muhammadu Damina (MMD) 21st January 2008 and MDG, op. cit.
[34]Ibid.
[35]AML, September 15, 2002, MBI, September 16, 2002, AAB, September 17, 2002and Group interview with MMD and Mu'azu Dandiga (MDG) age 60 years on January 21, 2008.
[36]See Adamu, M. ***Hausa Factor in West African History***, A.B.U. Press, Zaria, 1978 and I.A. Mahuta, "Urbanization in Maska Region...." op.cit for examples. Adamu proposed that Hausa travelers who could not control their loneliness encouraged the development of communities of Hausa prostitutes in the settlements along trading routes.

Like in other cases, the traditions in Shika were silent on the issue of the *karuwai*. However, our discussion with the elders on the *kirari* (praise singing) of Shika brought up the matter. It is treated in some details in the section of chapter five that discusses social developments. It is also clear, from available sources, that individual migrations into Shika also took place before 1960.

In summary, group migrations played a very important role in the growth of Shika. It crucially served as an attraction for subsequent individual migrations into Shika during this period. It should be noted here that individual migrations into Shika by this time largely occured in order to provide trading and other crucial services for those involved in the various group migrations into the settlement. The individual migrants were essentially self-employed. These included people like Ali Dankudugwaila, and Dandaudu Dan Zubairu who were petty traders.[37] They traded in what the Hausa people call *atey* (a sort of basket used to carry various items of trade, e.g. kola nuts, cigarettes, etc). Others in this category included food settlers, tailors, carpenters and *burkutu* (local beer) sellers. A striking feature of these self employed individuals, particularly the tailors and the carpenters, was that they usually had apprentices learning from them. The apprentices usually paid specific amount of money to their masters for the purpose of being trained.[38]

One significant feature of group and individual migrations into Shika was the increase in ethnic heterogeneity of the settlement as compared with earlier periods. It is a fact that some of the immigrants came from more distant parts of Nigeria like Makurdi, Mokwa, Ogbomosho etc. It was the ethnic composition of the Stock Farm

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[37]Interview with Umaru Tudu Dan-Sa'i (UTD) March 8-9, 2008. Dankudugwaila was called so because of his short structure.
[38]Ibid and Malam Abdu Kano (MAK), January 22, 2008, who was also one of the apprentices to a carpenter.

staff, the clinic staff and the resettled soldiers in Shika that influenced the ethnic pattern of subsequent individual migrations.

The increase in Shika's population from 1945 to 1960 graphically reveals the rapid growth that characterized this period. In the previous chapter we showed that by 1931 the population of Shika was 1,370. But by 1952 census figures show that the population of the settlement increased to 2,880[39]. This represents almost twice the 1931 figure. By 1963 the population of Shika had risen to 4,210[40] from official records, which almost doubled that of the 1952 figure (representing about three-fold increase over that of 1931). By 1960, therefore, Shika was comprised of several groups such as the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Nupe, Shuwa, Gbagi, Idoma, Tiv, Dakarkari, Ibo, Yoruba, Ijaw, Ibibio, etc. Since some of these ethnic groups had their separate unions in Sabon Gari Zaria during this period, it is not surprising that some of the inhabitants of Shika also belonged to those various ethnic unions. Notable among the unions that the Shika inhabitants joined were the Ibo Charity Union, Igosun Progressive Union (for the Yorubas), etc.[41] It must be made clear, however, that those ethnic unions had their branch headquarters only in Sabon Gari Zaria. Thus, the Shika members had to go there to attend meetings.[42]

The various migrations that influenced the population growth of Shika during this period were both from rural and urban areas. What is worthy of note is the fact that immigration from urban areas into Shika was mainly prompted by official factors. On the other hand, the presence of job opportunities drew many from rural areas to

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[39]See ***Population Census of the Northern Region of Nigeria 1952, Bulletin No.4, Zaria Province***, Gaskiya Corporation, 1952. We must mention here that the 1952 census figure for Shika and other parts of Nigeria are also contentious on the basis of the nature of the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized.

[40]See ***Population Census of Nigeria 1963: Northern Nigeria Vol. I***, Federal Census Office, Lagos.

[41]Umaru Tudu Dan-Sa'i (UTD) March 9, 2008 and MDD, January 21, 2008.

[42] NAK, Zarprof, 4387, Ibo Federal Union, 1944, NAK, Zarprof, 3418, Ibo Charity Union, 1946, NAK, Zarprof, 3417, Yoruba Union, 1948.

Shika. The major job opportunity, however, was the paid labour in the Stock Farm which by this period has opened its own farms for producing the grains needed to feed the animals. Some of the labourers were eventually offered permanent employment in the new farms.[43] The availability of land for both farming and housing purposes also attracted settlers. Thus, the new immigrant traders, carpenters and craftsmen also began to acquire plots in Shika.[44]

The houses built by the new immigrants in Shika during this period consisted mainly of local materials (mud and grass). Though the colonialists planned that the settlement should have the pattern of streets, as we mentioned earlier, the plan was not strictly implemented. The houses, therefore, were haphazardly scattered around the southern section of the settlement. Most of the houses were owner occupied, though few of them had provision for tenants. However, those with provision for tenants were not purposely built for rent. What happened was that when a house was too large for the owner to occupy he rented the extra rooms to tenants. There were few cases also in which a whole house was rented to just one person, not a room to an individual, and the person stayed with his family. Since the late 1950s such a house cost the tenants in Shika 2s 6d or even less monthly.[45]

Several writers have argued that the colonial regime deliberately refused to encourage the establishment of schools and churches in Northern Nigeria until the closing decades of colonial rule.[46] This was the case in Shika. The first church in Shika was the Apostolic Church of Christ, which came into existence just before independence. Our informants are of the view that it was established between 1958

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[43]Interview with Alhaji Bello Shika (ABL) aged 78 years on the January 26, 2008. Alhaji Bello was one of those that came as a labourer from Zaria but got a permanent employment in 1958.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Group interview with Iliya "Yankusa (IYK), Salihu Muhammad Saliyo (MSS), Abdu Kano (MAK) and Muhammadu Gali (MMG) on January 22, 2008. IYK had rented such a house from 1952-1955.
[46]See Tukur, M.M. op.cit., for example, who made a detailed discussion on colonial educational and other policies.

and 1960. It was in fact established by some Nigerians: a group of Ijebu Yorubas engaged in cloth trading who were called by the Hausas *Akwarkwasa*.[47] *Akwarkwasa* means "everybody should pick". This derived from the mode of trade conducted by these cloth traders. They used to sell on loan to the salaried workers and other wage earners in Shika. Thus, when they came around people rushed to pick the items, because it was on loan, although some of them used to be bad debtors.[48] In essence, these Yoruba traders rented a house on the main road, about 300 metres from the Shika main mosque.[49]It was here that they started their choir services and when they eventually bought the house they turned it into a church, with the pastor's apartment upstairs at the extreme southern end of the building.[50]

4.4 Administration

It is necessary to reiterate here that the British colonialists did not intend to administer the Stock Farm and Makoye with the same machinery. When the Stock Farm started, its administration excluded its neighbouring settlements, including the closest, which was Makoye. The settlements were placed under the Native Administration. To integrate Makoye or any other neighboring settlement into the Stock Farm administration would necessitate more expenditure (in terms of the provision of social services) on the part of the Stock Farm administration. This was certainly inimical to colonial interests because of the fact that the main characteristics of British colonial politico-economic activity was the concept of getting excessive benefits with less cost in any project it has undertaken. Although the colonialist needed these neighbouring settlements for the production of food and export crops,

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[47] MMD, op cit.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Field work observation.
[50] MMD, op. cit.

they would not make them part of the Stock Farm administrative system in order to save or reduce the cost of administration.

However, it would appear that the attempt to keep Makoye outside the Stock Farm administrative system was not easily possible by 1945. Available evidence indicates that consequent on the expansion of population in the Zaria area, the British colonialists carried out some major district reorganizations in Zaria Province. This was a continuous process that prevailed up to 1945.[51] The migrations and settlements that resulted in the evolution of Shika was part of population expansion in Zaria Province. The point we are trying to make here is that the administrative linkage between Makoye and the Stock Farm seemed to have developed largely out of the general administrative reorganizations that were carried out between the 1930s and the 1940s in the Zaria province.

Let us refer back to our earlier discussions in which we mentioned in chapter one the fact that there had been no *sarki* in Makoye for a very long time. It was the *Imams* that ran both the religious and the political affairs of the settlement. We mentioned that it was until the coming of colonialism which reorganized the structure and function of the Native Authority System in 1905 that introduced the *sarauta* system in Makoye. For the first time in the history of Zazzau fief holders were moved out of Zaria city to live in their fiefs as District Heads.[52] Thus, Makoye fell under the leadership of Madaki Yero who happened to be the District Head of Giwa. Madaki Yero then appointed a *Wakili* (representative) at Makoye in the person of one Yunusa. He was named a *wakili* because he did not really operate like a *Sarki* and he actually

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[51]NAK/ *Zarprof.* 2572 and *Zarprof* 2574.
[52]NAK/ Zarprof. 108. See also Hogben and Kirk-Green, *The Emirates...op.cit*, pp. 219-225.

did not remain on this position for any period longer than few months or at most a year.[53]

Yunusa, in fact, disappeared and nobody knows what became of him. What actually happened was that Yunusa took the advantage of his position and mercilessly exploited the people of Makoye through various tyrannical ways that included forced labour. He was, therefore, accused of attempting to disperse the settlement because members of some of the households of Makoye started migrating out of the place. Thus, the District Head, Madaki Yero, issued a warrant for his arrest and when it came to his notice he jumped ship.[54]

Following that incident, Muhammadu Dikko, the father of Alhaji Kani and Alhaji Dogara Kado was appointed as the first Sarki of Makoye.[55] That was about 1906 and he was said to have ruled for nineteen (19) years before he was removed. His tenure was so smooth and peaceful. It was during his reign that Fagaci Ahmadu was appointed as the new District Head of Giwa after the transfer of Madaki Yero in 1918.[56] The incident in 1925 that led to his removal was the discovery of a dead body of a woman around the place now called Mil-Goma. The corpse was found near the house of one man called Manomi, the border of Bomo and Makoye.[57] It was discovered by the hunting team of Manu the hunter (*maharbi*), father of Alu, and they reported it to the ward head of the area, who was Manomi himself. Manomi was said to have reported the matter to the *Sarki*, but they all decided to keep mute due to reasons best known only to them. However, such a secret could not remain for long,

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[53]I nterviews with Alhaji Bello Shika on January26, 2008, JNB and MBI.

[54]Ibid.
[55]Ibid. and UTD.
[56]NAK Zarprof 238/C.8 D.H. Giwa. Malam Rufa'i was first appointed as Ma'aji on the 23rd September 1916 by the Emir of Zazzau Alu Dan Sidi. He was promoted to the office of Fagaci and District Head of Giwa on December 1, 1918 at the age of 39 years. His approximate salary per annum was £500.
[57]AAB, ABS and UTD.

so the news got to the Resident who in turn sent over the District Officer (D.O.) to investigate the matter.[58]

The D.O. came with a team that included the District Head (Fagaci Ahmadu), Madaucin Zazzau and Sarkin Biye. Sarkin Makoye and Sarkin Bomo were then summoned. It was established that the corpse was within Makoye land. Thus, for the failure of Makoye Dikko to take the necessary action on the matter he was accused by the D.O. of negligence of duty. Two weeks after the investigation Makoye Dikko was removed from Office,[59] though he was by no means to be the last Sarki of Makoye or Shika that was to be removed.

In that same year, 1925, Usman Jamo was appointed as the new Sarki of Makoye. Usman Jamo, a very rich man with a lot of cattle, was said to have migrated to Makoye from Tofa in Kano area.[60] He was married to Manomi's daughter, Larba, so when he became the Sarki he drew Manomi, who was already one of the ward heads, very close to him. It was during the tenure of Makoye Jamo that the Stock Farm was established.[61] This had a significant impact on Makoye.

The emergence and evolution of Shika as a settlement made the Native Authority, as represented by the District Head, to assign Makoye Jamo with the responsibility of overseeing Shika in addition to Makoye. This system continued up to 1938, the 13th year of Jamo's tenure, when Shika expanded in both population and space. Thus, Shika was separated from Makoye and a *Sarki* was appointed for the settlement with the name of *Sabon Gari*.[62] The person that this responsibility went to was Malam Idi, so he was called Sabon Gari Idi.[63] However, the separation of Shika

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[58]Ibid.
[59]AAB.
[60]Ibid and UTD.
[61]Manuscript (undated) written by Alhaji Sama'ila Maiwada. op.cit. pp 15-16.
[62]Ibid and UTD.
[63]Ibid.

from Makoye was a short time affair because the Native Authority reversed the decision just a year after it was made. Thus, Sabon Gari Idi was removed in 1939 and Shika was again merged with Makoye under the leadership of Usman Jamo. This was basically done to make tax collection easier for the Native Authority.[64]

Jamo spent another thirteen (13) years as the Sarki of both settlements, Makoye and Shika. His tenure was also peaceful if not for the accusation that he occupied a house and a farm that belonged to the family of Bakoshi. This house was lent to him against the wish of Goggon Daji, one of the senior daughters of the household of Bakoshi, who feared that it may slip out of their hands. Alas, that was exactly what happened.[65] Jamo died in 1952 after spending 26 years in power and he was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Buwayi.[66]

The administrative linkage between Makoye and the Stock Farm, therefore came up in 1939 when the administration of Shika was merged with that of Makoye under Sarkin Makoye Usman Jamo. At this point both the workers of the farm (clerks and labourers), the inhabitants of Shika and Makoye paid their taxes to Makoye Usman.[67] The most important implication of this administrative change, however, is the fact that these settlements (Makoye and Shika) were neglected in terms of social services while their resources were used in developing the Stock Farm. It was also in 1939 that for the first time a western education trained scribe (*Magatakarda*) was appointed in the administration of Makoye and Shika.[68] This new office went to

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[64]Ibid.

[65]AB. Alhaji Biso related that the family of Bakoshi used to allow Jamo to keep his cows in one of their farms for the purpose of manure. At a point he asked them to allow him plant cassava on the farm. But when he was allowed he continuously planted guinea corn instead. When he died the family of Bakoshi went to claim their property but Jamo's family claimed that it was theirs. Thus, the family of Bakoshi lost both the house and the farm.

[66]Manuscript, op.cit, ABS and UTD.

[67]NAK/ Zarprof 28801.

[68]Manuscript, op.cit. pp 36 – 37.

Sama'ila Maiwada (who was to become the 5th Sarki of Makoye) who had just graduated from Zaria Middle School at the age of 21 years. He started working with a salary of about £18.0 per annum.[69] Before the appointment of Sama'ila Maiwada as *magatakarda* the work was done by an Arabic and *Ajami* (Hausa language written in Arabic letters) literate person called Malam Dogo who did all the writings in *ajami*. But he was relieved because he could not write in *boko* (Hausa language written in Roman letters).[70]

On the whole, due to the spatial and demographic growth which Shika experienced some people emerged, on the basis of their being earliest occupants of some sections of the settlement, as representatives or linkmen between other inhabitants within their respective units and Sarkin Shika. Such people were Garba Biye, Audu Ganga etc. However, these sectional representatives did not officially acquire the recognition as *masu unguwanni*.[71]

Major administrative changes took place in Shika during the period 1945-1960. We have mentioned that Sabon Gari Idi was relieved barely a year (1938-1939) after he had been assigned to take care of the administration of Shika as the new *sarki* of the new settlement. That appointment was done by the Giwa District Administration under Fagaci Rufa'i, the District head. The District Administration then merged Shika and Makoye again with Usman Jamo as the *sarki*. Jamo continued to rule for thirteen more years, until 1952 when he eventually died. Thus, with his first thirteen years, 1925-1938 and the second thirteen years, 1939-1952, Jamo ruled Makoye and Shika for twenty six (26) years. It was during his second tenure that Fagaci Rufa'i, the District Head was transferred to Kachia where he died in 1942.[72]

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[69]Ibid.
[70]Ibid. p.37.
[71]AB.
[72] Interview with AML, September 16, 2002.

Fagaci Rufa'i was succeeded by Fagaci Muhammadu as the District Head of Giwa. It was at the very early days of his District Headship that old Giwa was abandoned to the present Giwa,[73] which was closer to the main road that goes to Sokoto. Many reasons have been given for the abandonment of the old Giwa,[74] but since it is not part of our scope we will leave it for other researchers to deal with. After the death of Makoye Usman Jamo, Fagaci Muhammadu appointed his son, Ibrahim Buwayi Usman, to succeed him as the new and fourth Makoye. This appointment was done with the approval of the Emir of Zazzau Malam Ja'afaru dan Isiyaku (1937-1959).[75] It was also at this same time that Buwayi's brother, Mahmud Usman Jamo, was also appointed as the *sarki* of Mahuta (one of the hamlets of Makoye).[76]

Makoye Buwayi, however, did not last long in office, because he led Makoye and Shika for only three years and followed the path of Makoye Dikko. He was removed from office.[77] The reason for his removal was that he was charged and convicted of embezzling tax money and sentenced to two years in prison. However, sources have it that Makoye Buwayi was cunningly framed by a conspiracy between his scribe, Sama'ila Maiwada and the District Head, Fagaci Muhammadu.[78] Makoye

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[73] Ibid, ABS and UTD, op. cit.

[74] UTD said that Fagaci Muhammadu found it impossible le to stay in the house vacated by Fagaci Rufa'i because he always sees the ghost of Rufa'i appearing in the *zaure*. Sometimes he sees the ghost seated in the *zaure* (entrance room to a house) and sometimes he sees the ghost praying in the *zaure*. So when he complained to the Emir in Zaria he was ordered to relocate the whole village to the present site.

[75] Ibid and ABS, op. cit.

[76] Ibid

[77] Ibid, Maiwada, A.S. (Undated Manuscript) and MSS, January 22, 2008.

[78] UTD. In our attempt to authenticate this story and establish its truth or otherwise we faced a lot of difficulties. In fact nobody among the elders was ready to cooperate with us on this matter but one, Malam Sale Saliyo. Even Malam Sale did not tell us the story, because like the others he holds the belief that "*Tonon asiri ba kyau.*" Meaning that, "The exposure of one's wrong is not a good thing". However, he agrees that Tudu Dan Sa'i knows a lot and he could say whatever he wants to because he has nothing to lose. In our Notes on Sources we mentioned that Tudu is the most senior and eldest praise singer in Shika. He also told us that there is nothing he will hide to us as long as he knows it or knows something about it. He said to us at different occasions that: "I was a pimp for most of the

Buwayi had no western education, so he could not read or write in English. The duo of the District Head and Shika scribe therefore seized the opportunity of this deficiency for their own self advantage. In 1954 after the collection of tax for the year Makoye Buwayi proceeded to the District Headquarters, Giwa, to remit the money in the District Head's office. He was supposed to have gone with his scribe, but Sama'ila Maiwada, for a reason best known to him, did not go with Buwayi.[79] It was a procedure that whenever any Village Head submitted his village tax he was given a receipt and a cash book to sign as evidence that he has formally remitted the money. However, neither the receipt nor the cash books were given to Buwayi in Giwa. Few weeks later he was summoned by the Native Authority to submit the tax collected at Shika. When he went to Giwa he could not defend himself because he had no receipt to prove the payment and his signature was not in the cash book. Buwayi, therefore was forced to make another payment by the Native Authority.[80] Money was very difficult to get at that time, however, Buwayi had some cows which he inherited from his father, Makoye Usman, so he sold most of them to pay the money demanded from him in order to escape the wrath of the Native Authority.

Again, in 1955 Buwayi was led into making the same mistake of not signing the cash book. He was also accused again of not remitting that year's tax to the Native Authority.[81] When he was confronted by Fagaci Muhammadu he lost his temper and became very angry. Fagaci then said to him "you refused to pay the money and you are angry with us. You either pay the money or you will be jailed".

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influential men in this town". "I was the group leader of all the courtesans in this town". "We use to take harlots to Giwa whenever a government official was to visit the district headquarters. At times we spend two days partying". "I was the one who used to take them to a soothsayer to tell them their fortune". But it is very important to mention that Tudu, in a remorse and compassionate mood, told us that "Now I have repented and I have been asking Allah for forgiveness about all the bad things I did. You know it was the youth exuberance that overwhelmed us at that time".

[79]Ibid.
[80]Ibid.
[81]NAK/ZARPROF. Loss of Tax Money by District and Village Heads.

Buwayi angrily answered that "Damn the chieftaincy. I will not pay and let me be jailed". He was then taken to Zaria, convicted and jailed for two years.[82]

With the unceremonious exit of Makoye Ibrahim Buwayi in 1955, Sama'ila Maiwada Barau, the son of Barau Dauda Muhammadu was appointed as the next and fifth Makoye.[83] But by this time Shika was already overshadowing Makoye, thus even the title 'Makoye' was changed to 'Sabon Gari', meaning 'New Town', referring to the new settlement, Shika. Sabon Gari Sama'ila was to rule Shika for twenty one years.[84]

It was also in this period that Shika was once again separated from Makoye during the late years of Ibrahim Buwayi's three-year reign. Due to the incident of tax loss which we discussed earlier, Sama'ila Maiwada, the scribe of Makoye, was assigned to take care of Shika while Buwayi was restricted to Makoye alone.[85] However, when Buwayi was eventually removed, the two settlements were merged again under the leadership of Sama'ila Maiwada in 1955.[86] It should be noted that both the separation and the merger of the two settlements were for the purpose of maximizing state revenue collected through taxation. The taxes were paid by both the self employed common man and the labourers employed in the farm. Thus, the colonialists were able to exploit the merger of the two settlements to the maximum ability in the collection of tax.

4.5 Law and Order

It is important to note that the significance of the police in effective surveillance of colonial territory under imperialism is very strong. Aminu, S.A made

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[82]Ibid.
[83]Ibid and Maiwada, A.S. Mss
[84]Maiwada, A.S. ibid, p. 38.

[85]Ibid, p.17, ABS and AAB, September 17, 2002.
[86]Ibid.

this clear by quoting a report of the Working Committee on Police and Prison which emphasizes that "... police and prisons have become indispensable organs of government in any civilized community... their role in the mainstream of any society is indistinctively important."[87] Though the police were organized to ensure law and order and placed under the Emirs as symbol of authority, we have to understand that they were basically instruments of oppression and exploitation of the masses and the colonized area. They were used for such purpose by the colonialist and later the Emirs to intimidate political opponents.

The Colonial Administration had established the Native Authority Police in all the Emirates of Northern Nigeria to serve as an institution. This was done through the employment of men on regular duty who would sufficiently receive instructions. The N.A. police were empowered to make arrests without warrants. They were also empowered to take action against individuals on the basis of what the colonial officials and their Emirate allies considered 'credible' information received.[88] It was in pursuit of the maintenance of law and order that in 1950 the N.A. directed the Giwa District Head, Fagaci Muhammadu Dogara to make accommodation available in Shika for the use of security men to be deployed.[89] Fagaci Muhammadu in return vested the task of finding accommodation for the security agents on Makoye Usman who immediately complied by providing two rooms near the market place.[90] However, it was the Emirate police (*dogarai*) that were first brought to Shika. But they did not stay for more than three months and they were replaced with the N.A.

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[87]Aminu, S.M. 1991, "The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Zaria Native Authority, c.1902-1945" M.A. Thesis, History, A.B.U. Zaria1991, pp. 84-85.
[88]Ibid.
[89]NAK/ZARPROF 14A Zaria da Kewaye: Assessment Methods.
[90]Maiwada, A.S. op.cit. p.21.

police.[91] Although the N.A. police were involved in controlling social vices in Shika, they were more important in the collection of taxes and other levies.

Courts and prisons were also very important structures of the colonial regime. They were clearly associated with the police in terms of their functions. As institutions of colonial domination, they were established in all districts, especially provincial headquarters, for the purpose of effective colonial control of the colonized. It was through these structures that the colonial regime sought to enforce discipline and subservience of the colonized people of Shika area. However, Shika was not a district headquarter by our period of study but an area under Giwa District. Thus, the Native and Alkali courts in Giwa treated all cases from the Shika area and those imprisoned were sent to Zaria central prison.[92] The native courts consisted of the Hakimi of Giwa and the Dagatai of Biye, Shika and Tsibiri with the Hakimi of Giwa, as president. This court administered only the native laws and customs but under close supervision by the political officers, i.e. the Resident and the D.O. The judicial powers of the native court were largely restricted to cases which involved land disputes and quarrels between indigenes.[93] The Alkali courts also operated under close supervision from the Resident who had powers to order a re-hearing of cases which were already treated and could order retrial. It is important to note that the Alkali courts, which were basically Islamic, were allowed to function because Lugard had sanctioned the application of "modified" Muslim laws in both Muslim and non-Muslim districts of Northern Nigeria provided that the judge did not directly oppose the teachings of the Qur'an.[94]

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[91] Ibid.

[92] Interviews with Mallam Muhammadu Damina (MMD) 23rd and Mallam Dalhatu Abubakar (DAB) January 23, 2008.
[93] MSS January 22, 2008 and DAB January 23, 2008
[94] Lugard, F. ***Political Memoranda***, op.cit, p. 92.

The courts executed the decree, orders and warrants of the supreme provincial courts. They did this with full instructions as to what was required of them.[95] Accused persons were called to the courts through summons, warrants and arrests by police constables. The summons and warrants were issued in the name of the King by the court judges who were appointed by the Resident and accountable to him.[96] Most of the people arrested or charged to court in Shika area by this period were victims of either colonial tax regime or political antagonism.[97]

4.6 Shika During Decolonization

Politically, the period 1945 to 1960 was one of militant nationalism in colonial Nigeria. Thus, we shall discuss the role played by Shika in this period.[98]The inhabitants of Shika had very high political consciousness in the period after the Second World War. This situation could be explained by two factors. First Shikawas a society that had some significant number of ex-service men in its population. In 1946 the colonial authorities resettled twenty six demobilized soldiers in Shika and in the following year another set of thirty four was resettled.[99] By 1950 about fourty ex-serving men came to settle in Shika on their own.[100] The second reason is that the heterogeneous nature of the settlement has exposed the people to national political

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[95] Ibid., p. 90.
[96] Ibid., p. 90-92.
[97] MSS and DAB, op.cit.
[98] Scholars on Nigerian political history have squarely addressed this issue. Prominent among them are Coleman, J.S. ***Nigeria: Background to Nationalism***, Berkeley Press, California, 1971, Dudley, B.J. ***Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria***, Frankass, London, 1968, Ananaba, W. ***The Trade Union Movement in Nigeria***, Ethiop Press, Benin, 1969, Iweriebor, E.G. ***Radical Politic in Nigeria, 1945-1950: The Significance of the Zikist Movement***, A.B.U. Press, Zaria, 1990, Usman, Y.B. 'The Formation of the Nigerian Economy and Polity' in Mahadi, A. et al (eds.) ***The State of the Nation and the Way Forward***, Arewa House Kaduna, 1995 etc.
[99] NAK /ZARPROP. 110/ 145 Vol.1, Ex-Service Men's Resettlement Scheme, 1946, pp.98 and 123.
[100] Interviews with Mallam Dalhatu Abubakar (DAB) January 23, 2008 and Sa'idu Abdullahi (SASD) January 26, 2008.

discourse through tribal unions.[101] Obviously, most if not all of the ex-servicemen in Shika participated in the Second World War. It has been reported that when the ex-servicemen were being recruited into the army they were promised a lot of incentive by the colonialists. For example, they were told that once the war was over they would be resettled properly back home in Nigeria and that their standard of living would improve.[102] However, the colonialists fulfilled only a few of those promises.

The ex-servicemen, therefore, became greatly disgruntled and embittered. Hence, they embarked on activities aimed at bringing British colonial rule in Nigeria to an end. The ex-servicemen that settled in Shika by this period were not left out of these activities. With their war experiences, they particularly contributed in breaking the myth of the superiority of the white-man which earned the Europeans the praise in Hausaland "Bature-zaki". (White-man is a lion). The ex-servicemen also exposed the hypocrisy of the colonialists. For example, they argued that they were used in fighting for freedom and democracy for the British while the same (freedom and democracy) was denied to them in Nigeria.[103] Thus, the activities of the ex-servicemen in Shika and elsewhere in Nigeria helped the exploited and alienated common citizens and workers in Shika to understand British colonialism better and accordingly to intensify their agitation against the colonial government.

On the part of the tribal unions they derived their political orientation from members who were also trade unionists. Since the 1945 general strike, imperialism has been exposed to several threats in Nigeria. This proved to be an era of organized

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[101] NAK, Zarprof, 4387, Ibo Federal Union, 1944, NAK. Zarprof, 3418, Ibo Charity Union, 1946, NAK, Zarprof, 3417, Yoruba Union, 1948.

[102]MMD, op. cit. Magatakarda had several ex-service men as neighbours but all of them have departed by the time of this research. So he informed us of some of the things he heard from them.

[103]For more details on the activities of ex-servicemen in Nigeria see Olusanya, G.O. "The Role of Ex-servicemen in Nigerian Politics", in the ***Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.6 No.2***, 1968. See also Olusanya, G.O. ***The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria, 1939-1953***, pp.218-240, Evans, Ibadan, 1973.

unionism and expression of workers' grievances. In fact it was an era that marked the emergence of militant nationalism. The period saw the active demand and implementation of improved working conditions of government employees. This was the period when the Railway Workers Union (RWU) in collaboration with other trade unions especially the Trade Union Congress (TUC), the Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT), the Union of Road Transport Workers (URTW) etc. produced nationalists who actively participated in the struggle for Nigerian independence.[104] Sabon Gari, as an urban centre, had one of the features of colonial urban centres, which was the emergence of voluntary ethnic associations. These associations came to play an important role in the socio-economic lives of the dwellers and also became crucial bases for political mobilization against colonialism especially after the Second World War. Such unions were first formed in Lagos since the 1920s with the Naze Family Meeting, the Ngwai Clan Union, the Owerri Division Union, the Calabar Improvement League and the Igbirra Progressive Union.[105] In Sabon Gari there was the evidence of the formation of associations such as the Anambra Area Society,[106] the Ibo Federal Union,[107]the Ibo Charity Union,[108] the Yoruba Union,[109] and the Calabar Community of Zaria.[110] Thus, the inhabitants of Shika, like Mr. Agwajile, Mr. Adugba, Sergent Ajuji, Mr. Ndubusi Davies, etc. who frequented the tribal/town unions meetings in Sabon Gari have been enlightened about the struggle for the

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[104]For more details on trade unions see Ananaba, W. ***The Trade Union Movement in Nigeria***, Ethiopia, Benin City, 1969, Oyemakinde, W. "Michael Imodu and the Emergence of Militant Trade Unionism in Nigeria, 1940-42", in ***Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria Vol.VII***, No.3 December 1974, pp.541-561, Ajayi, J.F.A. "The Nineteenth Century Origin of Nigerian Nationalism", in ***Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria Vol. II*** No.1, December, 1961, pp.196-210, etc.

[105] Nnoli, O.N., ***Ethnic Politics in Nigeria***, Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1980, Enugu. Pp. 164-165.

[106] NAK, Zarprof, 3536, Anambra Area Society, 1939

[107] NAK, Zarprof, 4387, Ibo Fedral Union, 1944.

[108] NAK, Zarprof, 3418, Ibo Charity Union, 1946.

[109] NAK, Zarprof, 3417, Yoruba Union, 1948.

[110] NAK, Zarprof, 3603, Calabar Community of Zaria.

achievement of independence.[111] It is important, therefore, to note that the nationalist activities helped to increase the political consciousness of the people of Shika.

More political parties were evidently formed in Nigeria after the Second World War. This also led to the intensification of nationalist activities and Zaria became one of the major centres of nationalists' struggles, which certainly affected the people of Shika. Some of them were in fact active members of those political parties.[112] It was through this active membership that they supported and participated in the struggle for the achievement of Nigerian independence.[113]

The *Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa* (JMA), for example, was founded in Zaria on October 3, 1948 with Barau Dikko as the first President. It was some of the radical elements in the JMA, like Malam Aminu Kano, that met on August 8, 1950 at Kano and inaugurated the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), the first nationalist political party with origin in Northern Nigeria.[114] As a result of NEPU's major objective to champion the interest of the *talakawa* (commoners), it is not surprising that it started to hold rallies earlier in Shika as it has done in other heterogeneous settlements of predominantly exploited masses. That was unlike the NPC which held rallies only when elections were fast approaching.[115] NEPU was introduced to the people of Shika as early as 1951 by Sambon Barka, a radical politician from Maska district of Katsina Province. He was said to have liberated some peasants who were on forced labour in the farm of Giwa District Head at Marabar Yakawada when he lectured them on social, political and economic

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[111] NAK, ibid and interviews with Iliya Yankusa (IYK), January 22, 2008, Dalhatu Abubakar (DAB) January 23, 2008, Sa'idu Abdullahi (Sarkin Haya Dan'amarya) (SASD) January 26, 2008, Alhaji Bako Tsibiri (ABT) February 9, 2008 and Umaru Tudu Dan Sa'i (UTD) March 8, 2008.

[112] Ibid.

[113]. The *Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa* (JMA), for example, was founded in Zaria on October 3, 1948 with Barau Dikko as the first President. See Paden, J.N. ***Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria***, Hudahuda Press, Zaria, 1986, pp. 139-140.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Interviews with DAB and SASD, op. cit.

freedom. The leading members of NEPU in Shika were Malam Dalhatu Abubakar, Sa'idu Abdullahi (Sarkin haya Dan'amarya) and Bako Tsibiri. There is evidence that NEPU capitalized on its earlier presence in Shika to inform the people that NPC was a party of the rich people and the autocrats and that it was supported by the Native Authority and to a large extent the colonial regime which were both instrumental to their suffering.[116]

Malam Dalhatu Abubakar revealed that they joined the party because of the contemporary situation in which they found themselves. He was emphatic that due to the general exploitative and oppressive activities of the Native Authority in collaboration with the colonial regime, the peasant class opted to side with NEPU which they considered as instrument of emancipation. In relation to oppression he cited the example of the regular visits by the District Head from Giwa to Shika. Whenever he came around he lodged in any house that suited his interest whether the owner of the house consented or not. In addition, it was the same owner of the house that will feed him (the District Head) and his horse.[117] Another issue was the fact that the ruling class favoured only those that supported the NPC by taxing them lightly, while on the other hand they exorbitantly taxed those who do not belong to their camp. In many instances, while they taxed their favourites 10s, the opponents were taxed as much as between 20s and 50s.[118]

Thus, the NEPU, through Sambon Barka and others like Shehu Mahiru of Zaria city and Ango Soba, taught the people of Shika the meaning of freedom and independence. To exhibit this newly found knowledge and means of expression, some peasants staged a peaceful demonstration in 1958 to protest the delay by the Native

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[116]Ibid

[117]DAB and ABT, op. cit.
[118]Ibid

Authority in the payment of their wages after working for the government to construct fences round some plots at Hayin Gada. They blocked Fagaci Muhammadu on his way to Zaria and demanded for immediate payment of their labour wages. The District Head, Fagaci Muhammadu, was dumb-founded and he stood in silence for several minutes. Then he sighed and asked them to be patient, promising them that the wages will immediately be paid. And they were subsequently paid accordingly.[119]

It is clear, therefore, that by the time NPC came to Shika it was already at the disadvantaged position. Moreover, to compound their problem of being in an unfavourable position in a settlement that was getting increasingly heterogeneous, the NPC came along with its rather parochial form of politics. Although the second objective of the party was 'Peace, stability and progress in the North for the benefit of all and sundry',[120] it was clearly disregarded by the Shika NPC members. Such members consequently used derogatory words like *kafirai* (unbelievers) and *arna* (pagans) to describe the non-Muslims, non-Hausa, and non-Fulani people of the settlement. It was obvious that the residents of Shika described in that manner detested the use of such words.[121] This, therefore, contributed to the failure of NPC to muster majority support in Shika.

The leading members of the NPC in Shika were the rich men like Alhaji Dogara Dikko (*Kado Ja ka fi balas*) and Alhaji Rufa'i dan Dauda. These were influential people who were also very close to the Shika ruling class and the Native Authority. The radical attitude of NEPU members had never appealed to this group and as such the oppression and exploitation continued. NEPU members were beaten and imprisoned for such trivial offences, if they could be considered as offences at all,

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[119]Ibid.

[120]S Appendix V of Yahaya, A.D. ***The Native Authority System...*** op.cit, p. 239.

[121]Interview with Mallam Dalhatu Abubakar (DAB) on January 23, 2008.

like passing by the District Head while riding on a bicycle.[122] The relationship between the NPC and the aristocracy was so manifest that a NEPU member with the slightest connection to the ruling class could be pardoned of an accusation. This was demonstrated when Baƙo Tsibiri and twelve others were arrested in 1959 and charged for not paying their taxes. But when the District Head found out that they were from Tsibiri village he released them. They had that privilege for merely being from Tsibiri, the village which the tenth Emir of Zazzau, Sambo (1879-1888) contributed in establishing during his youth.[123]

In addition, when NEPU members were arraign before the *alkali* (court judge) they did not get formal proceedings or investigative hearing. The *alkali* always decided the number of days or months a person may spend in prison without giving him the chance to defend himself.[124] All these forms of injustices were happening in the presence of the colonialists and to a large extent with their knowledge. Thus, when NEPU came with the idea of emancipation, decolonization and freedom, the oppressed people of Shika expediently supported it. As a result, Shika was instrumental in the victory of NEPU during the 1955-58 Zaria Town council election. The party won 41 seats out of the total of 55, leaving the NPC with remaining 14.[125] In the 1956 House of Assembly elections NEPU captured 3 constituencies out of a total of 8 for the entire province. It triumphed in Zaria town, Kaduna and Zaria north constituencies.[126] Shika was part of Zaria north constituency where Ango Soba picked the NEPU ticket and won the seat. In the 1959 federal elections, regarded as the first direct election in Nigeria, NEPU still won in Zaria, Kaduna and Zaria

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[122]Ibid and SASD January 26, 2008. One Malam Danladi mai kiran sallah was imprisoned for such "offence".
[123]ABT February 9, 2008.
[124]Ibid.
[125]For more details on this see Kazah-Toure "The Development of the Nationalist…." op. cit, pp. 453-454.
[126]NAK/P.O. 2nd Collection AGNN No. 109 Election Results (956-1957)

north.[127] Generally, other political parties like the Action Group (AG) and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBE) were also not popular in Shika largely because of their ethnic and parochial form of politics. Hence, by 1960 when the major aim of the nationalists (which was independence) was achieved and Nigeria was decolonized, NEPU was still the dominant political party in Shika.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter examined how the policies gradually introduced by the British colonial regime in the area of study were designed to achieve the objectives of colonialism. The policies aimed first at creating the foundation of the colonial economy in the area and secondly, intensifying colonial exploitation of the agricultural potentialities and resources of the area. The rate at which export crop production was promoted affected the trade in local markets in Shika. It also affected all pre-colonial economic activities and eventually led to their decline. It is clearly evident that the colonial tax policies discouraged people from participating in those activities. The weaving and dyeing industries, for example, totally declined because their products were no longer of significant value. Traders also paid more attention to imported goods and among the indigenous manufacturing industries only blacksmithing prospered. Even that was for the fact that it supported the colonial infrastructures in the Stock Farm.

The chapter also examined how Shika developed as a heterogeneous settlement in this period. The pattern of migration that aided the population growth of the settlement indicates that migrants from various parts of Nigeria and beyond moved to Shika for the opportunities offered by the Stock Farm. We showed for

[127]Toure, K.T. "The Development of Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province, 1902 –1960", M. A. Thesis, ABU Zaria, 1991, p. 454.

instance that the migration of soldiers and prostitutes provided trading and other related opportunities which inspired artisans to settle in the study area.

We also showed that the nature and structure of the society have experienced significant changes with the Zazzau Emirate Council playing significant role through the District Head of Giwa, Ahmadu Rufa'i and later Muhammadu. We have shown that taxation by this period was extremely important that an administrator can be punished for neglecting to accountably enforce and guard it. This was the situation in the case of Makoye Buwayi. Most imperatively, we have shown how the new settlement gradually but continuously overshadowed Makoye village.

Also important is the decolonization activities that demonstrated the participation of Shika in the struggle for the achievement of Nigerian independence by 1960. We showed how the people of Shika joined the new political parties that competed for electoral offices and assumed the leadership role in the newly independent state. The peasants' identification of the radical NEPU and supporting its course was however not without its price.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXPANSION IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD, 1960-1980

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the major socio-political and economic developments that took place in Shika from 1960 to 1980. It enables us to see the changes that took place in the settlement since independence, as compared to other periods, resulting in the expansion of the settlement. However, to enhance our understanding of Shika in this period we shall discuss the increase in migration which occurred as a result of new economic activities. The establishment of a tobacco farm and the conversion of the Stock Farm to National Animal Production and Research Institute (NAPRI) were the most significant among the new economic activities. Residential and social developments shall also be examined. Politics and administration went through changes that had to do with the expansion of the society. We shall discuss these changes in the chapter and examine their relationship with the economy of the period. We have decided to terminate the chapter and the study in 1980 because by this period most of the major features of the settlement had taken shape.

5.2 Migration

Let us make it clear right at this point that the inaccuracies and the official cancellation of the 1973 census in Nigeria rob us of a possible workable data on the growth of Shika during this period. As a result, we have to undertake a population projection in order to get a picture of the demographic growth in Shika particularly during the second decade of the period (1970-1980). It is important, however, to also mention that official records put the average annual growth of settlements in post

colonial Nigeria at 5 per cent.[1] At this rate, therefore, and especially taking into account the earlier stated 1963 census figure of 4,210 the population of Shika is estimated to be 9,683 using the exponential of natural logarithm population projection model:

$$b = \frac{Pn - Po}{n}$$

b = constant (exponent)

Where Pn = Population of 1980

Po = Population of 1963

n = (time) 17 years[2]

Individual migrations and intra-agricultural institutions movements constituted the major forms of migration in this period. The migrants were also of different socio-cultural background found in various parts of Nigeria. Thus, this period, which obviously experienced a yet unparallel population increase in any two decades in the history of Shika, more than any previous one account for the heterogeneous nature of the population.

The individual migrations into Shika were largely from the rural areas. These immigrants moved to Shika due to the socio-economic changes prevalent at this time. For instance, with the increase in elementary education in the immediate post independence period, those that received this education were no longer interested to stay and continue the usual family farming activities in their localities, thus they emigrated. Many also migrated with the aim of changing occupation and thereby improving their social status.

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[1]Richard, E.S. and White, R.A. (eds.) ***African Cities in Crisis: Managing Rapid Urban Growth***, Westview Press, London, 1989, p.69. See also Stockwell, E.G. The Studies in Population: The Method of Demography (condensed edition) Academic Press Inc. Bowling Green, Ohio, 1976, pp. 123-127.

[2]Stockwell, E.G. Ibid. I was introduced to this literature by Dr. I.J. Musa of Geography Department, A.B.U. Zaria. He also guided me on how to use the population projection logarithm.

In addition, certain projects executed within Shika by the government influenced immigration. These projects included the building of the clinic, the relocation of the whole of Makoye to establish a tobacco farm and the conversion of the Stock Farm to National Animal Production and Research Institute (NAPRI). The construction works done in the course of these developments attracted considerable number of skilled and semi skilled labourers, masons, carpenters, painters etc. to Shika. Some of them arrived from as far as Kaduna, but most of them arrived from Zaria.[3] Besides, such completed projects like the clinic and the ones done within NAPRI, brought new settlers: nurses, clerks, messengers, etc.[4] The nurses rented rooms in Shika and some of the newly employed clerks of NAPRI resided in the institute's quarters.[5]

As a result of the rise in population during this period, the value of land and consequently house rent rose significantly. This development was also partly influenced by the growth of Samaru, which was housing the main campus of the Ahmadu Bello University. Indeed land and rent were cheaper in Shika than Samaru, thus, some university staff and labourers who increasingly found it difficult to pay rent, acquire a house or contend with the unhealthy disputes associated with these in Samaru decided to move to Shika.[6] In essence, these developments resulted in an unprecedented influx of job seekers; self employed artisans, university workers, etc. which resulted to the expansion of the society.

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[3] Interviews with MMW, ibid and Malam Zailani Abdullahi (MZA) both on March 3, 2008. Malam Zailani started working with the Stock Farm since 1942 and retired in 1987 to become a full-time farmer.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid and Alhaji Gambo Abdullahi, popularly called Gambon Sulu, (GSA). Alhaji Gambo worked in the University main campus in Samaru up to his retirement in 1983 but always resided in Shika.

5.3 Expansion of Society

We mentioned in chapter four while examining population growth that one of the group migrations experienced was that of the *karuwai* (prostitutes). This was instrumental to recreational activities in Shika by this period and the main force behind that migration was the Stock Farm labour force. This situation was further promoted in this period by the tobacco farm labourers.[7] These two groups started by inviting their individual prostitutes to Shika at weekends. The prostitutes on the other hand invited their friends in large number to settle in Shika.[8] Towards the end of the 1960s there were well over fifteen houses accommodating prostitutes in Shika, the most popular of which was that of Dandaudu Mai-Awo.[9] In fact, some informants mentioned that there were over three hundred (300) harlots in Shika by this period.[10]

With reference to Mahdi Adamu's empirical study in which he established that "a curious component of the Hausa community at Cape Coast was the *karuwai*,"[11] one will not hesitate to say the same thing about Shika of the 1960s. Here they were organized enough even to have a recognized head of their guild, the *Magajiya*. For a very long time it was Magajiya Zulai (nicknamed Farin Sule) that was holding this position.[12] She was said to have come from Kano,[13] though this might be false as prostitutes rarely tell the correct names of their town for fear of being traced by their

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[7] The establishment of the Tobacco farm is treated in section 5.5.1 below.
[8] Interviews with Makoye Ibrahim Buwayi (MBI) op.cit. Ahmadu Muhammad Lawal (AML1) op.cit, Alhaji Abdu Biye (AAB) op.cit. Salihu Muhammad Saliyo (MSS) op.cit. Umaru Tudu Dansa'i (UTD) op.cit and Muhammad Maidawa Wanzami (MMW) op.cit.

[9] MBI, Ibid.

[10] UTD and AAB Ibid.

[11] Adamu, M. ***The Hausa Factor in West Africa***, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1978, Zaria, pp.170-172.

[12] AAB and UTD, ibid.

[13] UTD Ibid.

relatives.[14] Other popular prostitutes that were remembered are Kanden Wushishi, 'Yar Gangadama, Hawwa Agusta and Binta Bugu.[15] Some of the *karuwai* were also food sellers to the labourers and the unmarried among the residents,[16] their share in the catering services of Shika, therefore, was greater than that of the housewives. This earned the settlement the praise singing that:

> *Shika, Shafta, Kamfani garin gaskiya.*
> *Dan karamin gari da suna ukku,*
> *Dan karamin gari da babban Magana.*
> *Garin da mai mata ya ci a mara,*
> *Gwauro da kwarto suka ci a kwano da murfi.*[17]

Meaning:

> Shika, Shafta, Company, the village of truth.
> The triple named village.
> The village with interesting issues.
> The village in which a married man lives in distress,
> while a wifeless and gigolos are honoured.

A recreational activity closely connected to the *karuwai* was the *bori* (spirit possession cult). Although the housewives might not like the *karuwai* for their trade and their share in the catering business, some of them easily welcomed the *bori* concerts which the *karuwai* organized from time to time. It is not a surprise that traditions in Shika are silent on this issue. This silence may be attributed to the transformation the settlement experienced since the emergence of the *Jama'atu Izalatul Bidi'a wa Iqamatus Sunnah* (Movement Against Negative Innovations and for Orthodoxy: shortened *Izala*) movement at the tail end of this period. If not for our discussions with the elders on the *kirari* (praise singing) of the settlement the matter

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[14] Adamu, M. ***op.cit.***
[15] UTD Ibid.

[16] Group interview on January 22, 2008 in which Muhammadu Gali (MMG) participated.

[17] MBI, AML and UTD. For a complete praise singing of Shika see Appendix V.

may not have been disclosed.[18] Whenever those regular public *bori* concerts were organized by the *karuwai* male gamblers and drunkards would be found loitering. The *bori* in Shika was interestingly coordinated, hosted and led by Dandaudu Danzubairu, the racketeer of the prostitution business.[19] Prominent among the practitioners in the *bori* cult were Dandaudu himself, Aniya Mai-Kudubarau (who was praised *Musulunci yai gabas kin yamma* – meaning "while Islam is in the east you are far away in the west"), and Hanne Hoda 'yar Shu'aibu.[20] The *bori* activities used to take place in an area called Gunki. This is around the *tsamiya* (tamarind) tree that stands on the Shika main road just before the Stock Farm.[21]

Another recreational activity connected with the *bori* and the prostitution business was *caca* (gambling). By the beginning of this period gambling had already become very popular in Shika. This was due to the fact that among the labourers who arrived from the city centres at different times since the Stock Farm was established were a host of gamblers and pleasure seekers.[22] Popular among them was Alin Malabu, who was also the leader among the racketeers of this business.[23] The small-time or petty gamblers practiced it at *Gindin Tsamiya* (this place is still known and called 'yan caca – 'The Gamblers'), while the big-time or professionals were known to have practiced it at the house of Alin Malabu. This place was a frightening

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[18]Particularly our interview with Alhaji Abdu Biye. He even questioned that "Do you see this as a record that should be included in history?"

[19]AAB, MBA, AML and UTD.

[20]UTD

[21]MBI

[22]MBA and UTD

[23] UTD

dungeon to gamblers that even Audu Yaro Makarfi decried in his most popular song on gambling where he says:

"*Da in kwan Zauren gidan Alin Malabu ai gwanda in kwan a caji ofis.*"[24]

Meaning that, "I would rather spend the light in a police cell than in the guest room of Alin Malabu." The *caca* side of the social life of Shika also has its contribution to the praise singing of the settlement. It is said about Shika:

"Garin da mutum ya ci sa akai mishi gyara da dan-akuya".[25]

Meaning that "The village in which a gambler wins a cow and a bonus of a he-goat was added to him".

However, gambling as a way of life since the advent of colonialism was not peculiar to Shika. It was a menace that ruined many traders in not only colonial Nigeria but other West African colonies like Upper Volta (present Gambia), Ivory Coast (present Cote D'Ivoire), Togo and Ghana.[26] In a like manner, gambling ruined many among the labourers and other workers of the stock and tobacco farms who would work hard but the moment they made any money it would be wasted on gambling, *burkutu* (locally brewed beer) and the *karuwai*.[27]

5.4 Infrastructure and Residential Expansion

The increase in population due to the migrations discussed above caused a rapid increase in the demand for houses in Shika. As a result, a lot of people separately embarked on the construction of houses in the settlement. Thus, in the

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[24]Abdu Yaro Makarfi was a popular social musician in Hausaland of the 20th century. He usually performed in beer parlous and gambling centres. He was said to have married one of the influential women in Shika and even inherited her house after her death.
[25]UTD

[26]Adamu, M. *op.cit* pp.158-159.

[27]MBA, AAB and UTD.

early 1960s the houses constructed in Shika were mostly the compound type, i.e. with many rooms. Such houses contained at least ten to fifteen tenants.[28] These houses were also haphazardly scattered around the settlement as in the previous period.[29]

An informant revealed that early in the 1960's the Native Authority apparently reckoned that the indiscriminate building of houses in Shika was against good planning. Thus the authority made a survey and landscaped the area west of the settlement where plots and streets were carved out. Some houses were demolished in the process and the owners of such houses were compensated.[30] However, those whose houses were demolished were demanded to pay five shillings (5c) each to be allocated a plot in the same area which was landscaped. While some of them paid for the plots, others did not. But just few years after these plots have been carved out the indiscriminate building continued such that the streets were no longer clear.[31] Thus, by the end of this period only two streets were visibly clear. These were Aboki road, the one that leads from the main road opposite the Central Mosque to the Secondary School in Hayin Madaki, and Ganga road, starting from the main road at Bakin Kasuwa and pass through to Unguwar Katsinawa to the border of Tsibiri District. Moreover, up to the end of the period of this study Ganga road was not tarred. The types of materials used by this period were mainly mud bricks and corrugated iron sheets. However, some few people had begun to use cement and paints in finishing their mud-brick-built houses.

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[28] Interviews with MMD, MDG, IYK and AAK.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Iliya 'Yan Kusa (IYK) op.cit.

[31] Ibid.

Early in 1976 the people of Shika decided to form an association with the major objective of influencing the infrastructural development of the settlement.[32] The association was named Shika Development Association (SDA) and interestingly it comprised of men and women from various ethnic groups found in the settlement.[33] The first assignment embarked upon by this Association was to liaise with Ahmadu Bello University and National Animal Production and Research Institute to pressurize government to install electricity in Shika. The Association did not only act as pressure group on this matter but also contributed some money for the electrification project.[34] This objective was achieved early in 1977 when the settlement was connected with the Samaru power line. However, this achievement was largely influenced by Muhammad Daku, the then Director of works, A.B.U. Zaria and at the same time the Chairman of former Kaduna State Rural Electrification Board.[35]

5.5 Economic Changes

It is important, however, to categorically mention that the main event which influenced residential developments by this period was connected to the prevailing economic changes. The first project carried out was the relocation of the whole of Makoye village, which existed side by side with Shika. This resulted from the

[32]Earliest records of the meetings conducted by members of the association show that financial contributions by members of the association were first collected on March 23, 1976. A total of 23 people contributed the sum of ₦150.00. Between that day and the 28th another set of eight people contributed the sum of ₦69.000. Between March 30th and April 1st another set of 14 people contributed the sum of ₦93.00. Between April 17th and May 8th a set of 36 people contributed the sum of ₦306.00, and between that day and May 27th another set of 24 people contributed the sum of ₦340.00. This was a contribution based on the ability of the individual. It ranges from minimum of ₦2.00 which came from one Dangoma Tela to a maximum of ₦100.00 which came from one Abubakar S. Aboki.

[33]Interview with Alhaji Shehu Shika (SIS) and Muhammadu Gali (MMG) on January 22, 2008. Alhaji Shehu was the first Chairman while Gali was the first Financial Secretary of the Association and I also obtained some of the documents on the financial records of the Association from him.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Interview with SIS on January 26, 2008.

Northern Regional Government's plan to acquire enough land to establish a tobacco farm.[36] As discussed in Chapter Two, the British imperialist's agricultural policies, which started from 1910, were designed to increase the production of cash crops such as cotton, groundnut, tobacco, etc. in Nigeria. This was in order to satisfy the raw materials requirements of British industries.[37] In addition, there was the need to generate enough revenue for the running of the colonial administration. Thus, in Zaria province, tobacco was given serious attention with first experiments carried out at Samaru in 1934 where Tobacco Leap Organization from the south (precisely Ibadan) used to pay occasional visits. The Nigerian Tobacco Company (NTC), which had a branch in Zaria, promoted the cultivation of the tobacco crop by distributing seeds to farmers through the colonial Agricultural Department at Maigana and by establishing a farm of about six acres in the same area. It was estimated that by 1944 about a hundred acres of land was devoted to tobacco production in Soba District, within which Maigana was located.[38] This, to a large extent, contributed in the sustenance of the colonial economy.

5.5.1 Establishment of Tobacco Farm, Compensation and Emigration

Nigerian economy continued to be operated along the line of colonial economy, i.e. cash crop production.[39] Thus, to expand tobacco production for the purpose of revenue generation the Northern Nigeria government decided to establish yet another tobacco farm but this time around in Shika area. The Zaria N.A. therefore, wrote to Sarkin Shika, Alhaji Sama'ila Maiwada, through the Giwa District

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[36] Maiwada, A.S. Manuscript...op.cit.
[37] For more details on this see Adamu, A. "British Colonial Agricultural..." op.cit.

[38] Ibid, pp.166-167.

[39] Olajide, S.O. Economic Survey...loc.cit.

Head who happened to be the Dangaladiman Zazzau, Alhaji Abubakar Aminu, on November 19, 1964 that he should assemble all the people of Makoye on the 23rd for an address by the District Officer (D.O.).[40] The people were assembled on the said date and the D.O, in company of the Forest Officer, the Tobacco Officer and the District Head, came to inform them that they would be relocated to an area in Shika, because the government has decided to use the whole land area of their village as a tobacco farm. However, they were to be compensated for their farms, houses and economic trees.[41] The whole of Makoye was ultimately turned into a tobacco farm of about 4sq miles.[42] The people were relocated, compensated and allocated plots west of the main road that divided the Shika settlement and the Stock Farm.

However, most of the households displaced from Makoye refused to accept the new area allocated to them by the Native Authority, thus they used the money gotten from the compensation to buy plots and build houses at the areas they wanted within Shika,[43] while some left for other places. This, therefore, influenced the residential development of the settlement. Hence, Makoye, the sister settlement which had existed side by side with Shika, ceased to exist.

Complaints about compensation by this period were not different from the ones voiced out during the colonial period. We had discussed in Chapter Three how the people of Makoye were not commensurably compensated when a part of their land, including some households, were expropriated in the course of establishing the Government Stock Farm. The situation happened to be the same when the whole village was expropriated to establish the tobacco farm. The villagers were paid

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[40] Maiwada, A.S. Manuscript... op.cit. p.26.

[41] Ibid.

[42] NAK, 4206, Vols. III – V, MOA, Tobacco/General.
[43] Maiwada, A.S. Manuscript... op.cit. , p.26.

between ten and twenty pounds (£10 – 20) depending on what they lost.[44] However, the highest payment made was that of £20 and among those who received such an amount was a man called Jere. He happened to be among those who refused to collect the plots given to them by the N.A. In fact, he left the area for another place.[45] It is important to note here that some of the households went to court on the matter and sued the N.A. representatives whom they accused of dubiously slashing the actual amount of the compensation approved by the authority. However, their complaints were either dismissed or left to linger in the court.[46]

5.5.2 The Establishment of National Animal Production Research Institute (NAPRI)

A related development of residential expansion is connected to the Government Stock Farm. Since 1954 the Stock Farm became the research base of the Animal and Pasture section of the Agricultural Research Division of the Northern Nigerian Ministry of Agriculture.[47] It continued to be a research sub-station handling all researches on animal production. However, in 1975 it became, by an act of law an autonomous research institute named the National Animal Production Research Institute (NAPRI). The emergence of NAPRI has a very close historical connection with the development of the Institute of Agricultural Research (IAR) Samaru and the establishment of Extension and Research Liaison Section (E.R.L.S.).

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[44]Interview with Malam Dalhatu Abubakar (DAB), age 85 years on January 28, 2008. Unlike in the 1928 case, we were not able to come across any official document on the 1964 compensation. The manuscript of Alhaji Sama'ila Maiwada, who happens to be the *Sarkin* Shika by this period, did not also provide any detail on this matter though it was mentioned therein.

[45] DAB ibid.
[46] Ibid.

[47]Ibid

In 1962 the Samaru Research and Specialist Service Division of the Ministry of Agriculture was transferred to the newly established Ahmadu Bello University.[48] This transfer resulted in the renaming of the division as Institute of Agricultural Research and Special Services, Ahmadu Bello University. When in 1963 it was realized that there was a big gap between the Research Institute and the farmers in terms of know-how, the Ministry of Agriculture established in Samaru a section called Extension and Research Liaison Section (E.R.L.S.).[49] This section was to serve as a link between the agriculturally based government ministries and parastatal and the I.A.R. Following the dissolution of the Northern Region Ministry of Agriculture because of the creation of states in 1967, the ERLS was merged with I.A.R. with the mandate to serve all the Northern states.[50] This continued until 1975 when the A.E.R.L.S. was granted autonomous status and thereafter became the Agricultural and Extension Research Liaison Service (A.E.R.L.S.). This was the same time that the Federal Government established the NAPRI and also affiliated it to A.B.U. but with headquarters in Shika.[51] As a result of this, the Animal Husbandry and Pasture Research Section of the I.A.R. was formally transferred to NAPRI Shika in 1976. Thus, more staff of the I.A.R. moved to Shika. With all these developments within the government owned establishment, however, no significant infrastructural development within the mass residential area in Shika was recorded.

Despite the achievement of independence the economy of Nigeria continued along the inherited colonial pattern. The post independence government maintained the structures of economic subservience to the imperialists' country but less or no

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[48]S.K. Manzo, et.al, "The Academic Development of the I.A.R..." op.cit, pp. 169-219.
[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid.

attention was given to peasant agriculture. In addition to this, the new national government appropriated the remaining land of the people of Makoye to expand tobacco production.

Shika's economy by this period, therefore, was centred on NAPRI, the tobacco farm and the production of other cash crops like cotton and sugar cane. In fact these comprised a large wage earning population of the settlement which in turn attracted other commercial concerns and services. Increasing numbers of the people of the settlement were indeed employed by the NAPRI and the tobacco farm. In addition, others were employed by the cotton and the sugar cane farms. There were also few contractors, like Alhaji Baba Danbazariye, involved in most of the construction of infrastructures in N.A.P.R.I. who had some of the people of Shika in their employment.[52] Also important is that an increasing number of self employed individuals like carpenters, clock/wrist-watch repairers, electricians, shoe shiners, bricklayers, motor mechanics, etc. operated in Shika by this period.[53] In fact the economy of the settlement became more diversified during this era.

Food production within Shika got increasingly limited due to the concentration of farmers on cash crop production. This is evident in the volume of food crops brought into Shika by the residents and other traders on market days. Due to this factor and also because of the growth in the population of those engaged in the informal sector, trading expanded and developed into a major absorber of labour in Shika. Thus, while most of the food crops were produced by the neighbouring villages, the traders basically brought in most of the goods consumed in the settlement.[54]

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[52]Interview with Alhaji Bello Shika (ABS) on January 26, 2008.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid and UTD.

It was also early in this period that the increasing trading activities forced the administration under Sabon Gari Sama'ila Maiwada to relocate Shika market from Hayin Gada to its present location along the main road.[55] The increase in trading activities coupled with residential development accelerated the expansion of wards in Shika. The Shika market therefore became the focal point of the economy. It was here that most of the self employed individuals like tailors, blacksmiths, artisans, food stuff sellers, etc carried out their business. The self employed individuals were also taxed along with other groups. For, instance, by 1980, those who occupied stalls made by government were taxed ₦8 per month while those who occupied stalls erected by individuals were taxed ₦6.[56]

Another major development in the Shika economy in this period was the establishment of cotton market (*fulotin auduga*).[57] The cotton market developed as a result of increasing government campaigns to farmers on the production of this cash crop. The market was located adjacent to the new Shika market and farmers from all over the Shika area brought their cotton produce. It was patronized by traders, contractors and private companies like the Kaduna Textile Limited, etc.[58] However, farmers and traders who brought goods to the market were taxed. For example, every bag of cotton brought to the market attracted a tax of one naira (₦1).[59] Hence, by 1980 this became an important source of revenue to the local administration. In addition to cotton, sugar cane was also produced and sold in large quantity in Shika and its surrounding villages by this period. The *fadama* area between Shika and

[55]Ibid and NSB op.cit.

[56]MMG.

[57]Interview with ABS and MMG

[58] Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

Mahuta became largely sugar cane producing farms. Traders from as far as Kaduna and Funtua used to patronize Shika for purchase of Sugar cane which was transported on lorries and buses.[60]

5.5.3 Food Supply and Rising Cost of Living

It is evident that by 1966 inflation became a major feature of the Nigerian economy. The two reasons for this were, firstly, the political crisis in the country led to a restriction in trading activities between the Northern Region and the Eastern Region of Nigeria. Secondly, the mounting insecurity that followed the 1966 coup d'état made many Ibo traders who had began to dominate the commercial life in the north to move back home.[61] Hence, this development affected the economy of Shika. Although residents in Shika from the Western and Eastern Regions were not maltreated in anyway, some of them left for their home regions. These included people like Mr. Agoajile, the then time-keeper of the Stock Farm.[62] There began to be a decline in supply of food items brought from the Eastern Region by this period. Such food items included palm oil, gari and rice. Other consumer goods like enamel wares, building materials, etc. also became scarce as a result of which prices rose significantly. For example, a bottle of palm oil which by December 1965 cost 1s.1d rose to 2s.5d by July 1966, and rice which by December 1965 cost about 2s per measure rose to over 3s per measure by the middle of 1966.[63]

As a result of the scarcity of these commodities and the attendant rise in their prices many of the inhabitants of Shika were compelled to change their taste for local

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[60]Interview with MMD and MDG.

[61]New Nigeria Newspaper (NNN), October 10, 1966.

[62] Interview with Muhammad Damina (MMD), op.cit.
[63] Ibid, and Mu'azu Dandiga (MDG) op.cit.

staples (i.e. guinea corn, millet and maize) and manufactures (i.e. shoes, belts, pomade, etc). Although these local crops were grown by the inhabitants, but mainly by the neighbouring villages, their prices also began to rise due to increased demand. However, that was not a local problem. We should consider that the need to feed soldiers and decline in supply of other food stuff due to the war may have combined to cause the rise in price. For example, a bag of sorghum which cost £3 by late 1965 throughout Giwa District rose to £4 by mid 1966, and a bag of millet which also cost £3 in 1965 rose to the same price as sorghum.[64]

The people of Shika, as those of other parts of the country, were seriously affected by the rising inflation which began with the Nigerian civil war and continued into the oil boom era. Significantly they suffered economic hardship which was further compounded when the Zaria local administration increased community tax. Due to this economic hardship many inhabitants of Shika became indebted. Our informants revealed that in the late 1960s many residents of the study area were summoned and tried before the Alkali court for tax default.[65] However, some well-to-do individuals who had been racketeering in loan business, usually with high interest (*bashi da ruwa*), were fully exploiting the situation to perpetuate their trade. It is interesting to note that such loan barons mainly deal with salaried workers, but often with some few labourers who had an apparent source of income.[66]

However, it is important to point out here that the Nigerian government took some cosmetic actions aimed at solving the problem of inflation through the establishment

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[64]Interview with MMW and UTD.

[65]Ibid.

[66] Tudu mentioned that Magajiya Zulai, Mama Aljumma and Malam Tanimu were the established loan racketeers in Shika. He also mentioned that some prominent and influential people of the settlement who would not like to be seen collecting those loans usually sneak to the racketeers in the night to sign the loan register.

of the Price Control Board (PCB) in 1970. The Board, among other things, fixed the prices of imported commodities. For example, the price of a tin of milk and a bottle of soft drink was fixed at 9d each.[67] To complement the effort of the PCB in 1971 the Zaria local administration, which also administered Shika, pegged the price of foodstuff sold in the area.[68] This was how the government at national and local level tried to check the growing inflation in the country in general.

However, at the end of the war in 1970 trading links between Northern Nigeria and the South-eastern part was restored. With this development the prices of food items brought from the South-eastern part of the country began to drop. For example the cost of a bag of gari dropped from £10 to £7 in the same year.[69] Consequently, the cost of a bag of guinea corn dropped from over £4 to £3. We must mention here, however, that the post civil war reduction in prices of commodities was short lived in Shika like in other parts of the country. Our informants revealed that the oil boom and its effects on the Nigerian economy especially from 1974 made the traders flout the prices fixed by the PCB and the Zaria local administration.[70]

5.6 Politics and Administration

Major political developments which unfolded during this period were mainly centred on leadership and administration. Administratively, Shika became consolidated since 1964 when the whole of Makoye was appropriated and the people moved to Shika and elsewhere. The *Sarki*, Alhaji Sama'ila Maiwada was left to

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[67]NNN July 21, 1980.

[68]Interview with MMD and MDG.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Ibid and MMG

concentrate on administering Shika under the supervision of Giwa District Head.[71] Maiwada is said to be the busiest of all other *sarakuna* of Shika concerning tax collection.[72] However, this commendable job on the part of colonialists and the neo-colonial Native Authority gave him a bad reputation from the mass peasantry.[73] Sama'ila Maiwada continued to rule Shika up to 1976. Thus, he spent 21 years in office.

It was towards the end of the reign of Emir of Zazzau Muhammadu Aminu (1959-1975) that Sama'ila Maiwada began to have problems with some of the influential people of Shika.[74] Series of petitions against him were written to the Zazzau Emirate Council but due to his relationship with the Emir, those petitions were not entertained.[75] However, when Shehu Idris (1975 – Date) became the Emir of Zazzau the petitioners renewed their efforts by writing another petition to the Emir and also copying the Governor's office in Kaduna.[76] Early in 1976 the state Government sent the commissioner for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Alhaji Sama'ila Ahmed, who was also the title holder of Dallatun Zazzau (thus a senior member of the Zazzau Emirate Council), to Shika to investigate the matter. Before the arrival of this mission the petitioners had rallied the support of the general

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[71]Ibid. See the chart of *sarakuna* of Shika, 1928-1980 in page 163 below.

[72]Interview with MMW

[73]Interviews with UTD, MMW, DAB, SASD and IYK.

[74]Among them was Alhaji Dogara Kado who was from the family of Makoye Dikko (1906 – 1925). It is speculated that they wanted the sarki to connive with them on a certain deal but he, believing that he had consolidated power, refused to cooperate. Thus, Alhaji Dogara explained that, "Are we not the ones backing you up? Okay you will be dealt with". They, therefore, filed series of petitions against him. The petitions contained several implicating allegations according to Umaru Tudu.

[75]Sama'ila Maiwada is said to have trained one of the Emir's Son's (who later became the Dangaladiman Zazzau) throughout his school days. As such any petition the people of Shika wrote, which had to go through the District Head, was blocked right at that level.

[76]UTD. He emphasized that the new educational trend in which people's levels of awareness and enlightenment have risen also encourage the pursuance of the petition.

public in Shika. As a result, when the investigators came they gathered enough of information from the general public to implicate Maiwada.

Just three days after conducting the investigation, Sama'ila Maiwada's removal letter was sent to Shika on a Friday during the *Juma'a* prayer. The Chief Imam of the settlement, Malam Nuhu Abdullahi of the famous Gidan Zamfarawa, was instructed to take over leadership pending the appointment and turbaning of a new *Sarki* of Shika.

Many people competed to fill the vacant office of the *Sarki* after the removal of Sama'ila Maiwada. However, the people's favourite turned out to be Alhaji Abdus Salimi Aboki. It is interesting to note that he had no initial interest in the matter, but the majority of the people of Shika who had special respect for him due to his philanthropy and personality, proposed and supported his candidature.[77] When he attempted rejecting the proposal one of the elders called Bawan Sarki Agwangwama cautioned him that "*Dan Sarki ya rike gida goma ya fiye mishi ana biyanshi albashin fam goma*".[78] Meaning that: "It is better for a prince to rule ten households than to be earning ten pounds under somebody". These words were not unconnected with the fact that Alhaji Aboki is related to the Katsinawa ruling house of Zazzau and he was also married to the senior sister of the then Sarkin Ruwa, Mahmuda.[79] Thus, he agreed to accept the people's proposal and was therefore appointed and turbaned as the next *Sarkin* Shika in 1976. Alhaji Aboki is said to have been among the *sarakuna* that loved their people. He was never accused of intimidation, exploitation or any

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[77]Group interview with IYK, SMS, ABK and MDG on January 22, 2008.

[78]IYK

[79]UTD

form of wickedness. However, he ruled Shika for only three years, suffice it to say that just a year to the end of our period of study he died after a protracted illness.[80]

Alhaji Mustafa Danbaito, who was a nephew to Alhaji Aboki and also raised and trained by him, became the next *Sarki* of Shika in 1979. Danbaito was the resident cotton officer in Shika since his transfer from Sokoto up to the time of his appointment.[81] Our scope would not allow us to go into the larger part of Danbaito's period in power, but we must mention that he was said to have had a heyday in his period and that a lot of infrastructural developments took place in his period.[82]

Administratively, Shika remained under Giwa District up to 1979 when three additional Districts were carved out by the Zaria Emirate Council. These were Fatika, Tsibiri and Shika.[83] The creation of Shika District, however, did not come without its problems. The majority of the people that clamoured for the creation of the District were from Shika, and they were led by Yusuf Ahmad Danbalange of Shika.[84] But when the District was announced the headquarters was said to be Tsibiri with Suleiman Jisambo as the District Head.[85] This move infuriated the people of Shika and they complained vehemently to the Emirate Council using the argument that there was a political motive in locating the Shika District headquarters at Tsibiri. Thus, the Emirate Council decided to create both Shika District with headquarters at Shika and

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[80]IYK and UTD

[81]Interview with *Sarkin* Shika Alhaji Abdulkarim Aboki on March 20, 2008.

[82]IYK and UTD.
[83]ASS and MMD.

[84]Ibid.

[85]Ibid. Alhaji Shehu Shika emphasized that Yusuf Ahmad Danbalange was the force behind the movement for the creation of Shika District. But the District headquarters was said to have been taken to Tsibiri because of the historic origin of the town and the relevance of that history to the contemporary Zazzau ruling family.

Tsibiri District with headquarters at Tsibiri. Sarkin Ruwa Abdul Jalil was therefore appointed as the *Hakimi* of the new Shika District, while Jisambo was posted to Tsibiri.[86]

Broadly speaking, the Shika District comprised (and still comprise) Shika Biye, Mahuta, Gungurfa, Nasarawan Buhari, Guga, Kurku, Salanke, Jama'a Guga Sabuwa and Sabon Fegin Biye.[87] All the leaders of these villages were promoted to *sarakuna* by the District Head. However, the *sarakuna* of Jama'a and Sabon Fegin Biye were non-salaried.[88] In addition, the *sarakuna* of these villages constituted the membership of the District Council. Consequently they advise the Hakimi as well as carry out his orders. With this development more wards were carved out within Shika and ward heads (*masu unguwanni*) were appointed. The wards in Shika by this date were Unguwar Sarki, Unguwar Maje, Unguwar Tsamiya, Hayin Madaki, Hayin Gimba, Bakin Kasuwa, Unguwar Sa'i, Tudun Wadan Ja'e, Tudun Wadan Dayyabu and NAPRI.[89]

The *Sarkin* Shika also has a village council. This council by 1980 comprised of title holders like *Dangaladima, Jarmai, Madauci, Wali, Fagaci, Sa'i, Danmadami* and *Wambai.* Other important title holders by this period were *Sarkin Kasuwa* (Chief of the Traders), *Sarkin Fawa* (Chief of butchers) *Sarkin Makera* (Chief of black smith) *Magajin Aska* (Head of barbers), etc.[90] It was therefore, around all these officials that the politics and administration of Shika revolved by the end of our period of study.

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[86]ASS

[87]MMD

[88]Ibid.

[89]Group interview with MSS, IYK, MAK, MMG, MMD and MDG on January 21 and 22, 2008. NAPRI is also considered a ward and has its representative in the Administrative Council of *Sarkin* Shika.

[90]Ibid. and MMW on March 16, 2008.

5.7 Emergence of the Izala Muslim Group

An episode that requires mentioning in this period is the emergence of a non-sectarian Islamic group which challenged and to a large extent checked the earlier discussed recreational social activities in Shika. This was the *Izala* movement. This group had Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi as its patron. It should be stressed that Sheikh Gumi had been intellectually fighting negative innovations all his life.[91] It is his teaching, which he also cited from Sheikh Usman dan Fodiyo, that "before Islam arrived in this part of the country, traditional forms of worship, including *bori*, used to be the most powerfully organized religion... In later times even after Islam had become established an individual would consult the spirits... I need to remind them that in Islam one does not consult spirits, but prays to God for assistance... Only prayers and one's personal efforts could really solve one's difficulties."[92] Thus, his students and other followers nurtured his ideas into this group. The movement was launched in Jos on February 8, 1978 and within weeks it had registered members in virtually every part of Nigeria, especially the Northern States.

It was in that same year the movement was launched that it was brought to Shika by Alhaji Ibrahim Maisango. The first activity of the movement in Shika, as elsewhere, was to separate from the mosque of other Muslim sects that do not identify with them. Thus when they separated, the members of the Izala moved to the house of Maisango for their worshiping activities.[93] It was not until 1981 that they built

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[91] Gumi, S.A. and Tsiga, I.A. ***Where I Stand,*** Spectrum Books Ltd., Ibadan 1992, pp.136-138.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Interview with Alhaji Ibrahim Maisango (AIM) on 13th December 2008.

their own mosque.[94] Thus, beside the first main mosque in Shika there was now another main mosque used by the *Izala* group.

However, unlike in other places there was cordial relationship between this group and Muslims of other sects like the *Tijjaniyya* and the *Qadiriyya*. But their weekly sermons and occasional lectures were detested by some of the *karuwai* and *bori* practitioners who began to relocate to other places.[95]

5.8 Political Party Activity

The lifting of ban on party politics by the military regime under General Olusegun Obasanjo in 1978 ushered in the civilian government of the Second Republic in Nigerian political history. The newly registered political parties, especially National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and People's Redemption Party (PRP) revived the NPC – NEPU antagonistic relationship in Shika as in other places. However, we must stress that before the formation of the PRP the former NEPU members, by implication the followers of Malam Aminu Kano, first joined the NPN because Malam Aminu Kano was also a founding member of that party.[96] But as his ideologies could not be reconciled with those of the leaders of the NPN, Malam left the party and, just four days after formed the PRP. Thus PRP was launched on October 21, 1978 when the party held its inaugural rally at Murtala Square in Kaduna.[97]

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[94]Ibid.

[95]Ibid. Also with UTD.

[96]Interview with Gambo Abdullahi, also known as Gambon Sulu (GSA), age 55 years on March 8, 2008 in Abdullahi Smith Theatre II Office, A.B.U. Zaria.

[97]Ibid.

It is important to note that the old and the young from Shika, who shared the NEPU ideals, attended the Kaduna rally. In fact our informer, a widely traveled man, has revealed that he had never witness such a large crowd as that of the PRP inaugural rally. With the formation of the PRP, a majority of the people in Shika also left the NPN to join the radical party.[98] Shika by this period exploited and benefited, in no small measure from its proximity to A.B.U. There were radical academics that had sympathy for the PRP who used to attend political rallies and give lectures in Shika. Such academics were Haruna Adamu and Yusufu Bala Usman.[99] The Shika branch of the PRP was so structured that it organized rallies in the neighbouring villages and other parts of the Giwa Districts like Kaya, Fatika, Danmahawayi, etc. Interestingly, there was an occasion when Balarabe Musa, who was to become the PRP gubernatorial candidate and later the governor of Kaduna State under the banner of the PRP, borrowed money from the Shika branch of the party to attend a meeting at Kano.[100] Balarabe Musa came from Kaya village of Giwa District, thus shared the same District with Shika before the two became separate Districts. Hence during the 1979 elections the majority of voters in the area voted for the PRP.

Our informants revealed that Shika was instrumental to the abolishing of *jangali* (cattle tax) and *haraji* (land tax) by the PRP governments of former Kaduna and Kano States. Though the idea was already entrenched in the manifesto of the PRP, it was the Shika branch that, in her congratulatory visit to Balarabe Musa when he was voted as the Governor of Kaduna State, submitted a request for abolishing *jangali* and *haraji*. This visit was made only eight days before Balarabe Musa was

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[98]Ibid.

[99]Ibid and SASD

[100]CSA, *ibid.*

sworn into office.[101] We have discussed in chapters one and two how these exploitative means of generating revenue (*jangali* and *haraji*) by both the *sarakuna* and the colonial regime have worsen the life of the general masses of our study area and Nigeria in general. Thus, the removal of *jangali* and *haraji* made the PRP popular in the area.[102]

5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter we examined the developments that took place in post independence Shika. We have demonstrated that the settlement experienced rapid population growth which influenced residential expansion, political and administrative growth, and economic changes. The situation after independence made the economy to continue on the colonial line, i.e. neo-colonial economy. We have shown that with the creation of a district, more wards sprang and ward heads were appointed for administrative exigencies. Consequently, a Village Council comprising of title holders around whom the politics and administration of Shika revolved was established. We have also reiterated that Shika remained politically relevant in the second republic's election process. However, despite the various infrastructural developments in Shika during the period of study, there were poor roads, erratic electricity, no tap water, no post office, etc. up to the end of our period of study.

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[101] Ibid and SASD

[102] Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In this study, we have attempted to analyse the establishment and growth of Shika and environs. The focus of the study is on the period 1928-1980, but among other things, the outline of the process from the foundation of some of the settlements in the area since the 1840s is traced. This study has demonstrated that the immigrants to Shika were from near and distant places with diverse cultural and religious backgrounds. They lived together in a harmonious relationship. They had tolerance and respect for each other despite their different backgrounds. In other colonial established settlements, the colonialists introduced a system of segregation along racial, ethnic, religious and class lines. Good examples of such places are the Sabongari, Tudun Wada and Government Residential Area (GRA) as found in Zaria and Kano. However, probably due to the nature of Shika, being a colonial agricultural station which may not be considered as urban settlement, such division or segregation was not introduced therein.

Consequently, Shika evolved, especially from the 1950s, to be an increasingly heterogeneous society. The increased concentration of labourers for the Stock Farm, including some resettled Second World War veterans significantly contributed to this new development. In fact the concentration of labourers and the staff of the colonial Stock Farm (who were of diverse ethnic groups) influenced the ethnic pattern of migration into the settlement. This study also indicates that individual migration played a very significant role and it was rapid during the post-colonial era. Economic considerations were the major factors which influenced the migrants to settle in Shika throughout the period and this also provided the impetus for the growth of unplanned residential buildings.

By 1960 the integration of the various ethnic groups in Shika had reached a high level. Many of the non-Hausa speaking people had been assimilated and had accepted the Hausa culture, especially the language and the mode of dressing. The non-Hausa were assimilated because of the freedom and the privileges they enjoyed. This is because they had easy access to land ownership especially before the 1970s. Subsequently, the Northern state government, North Central State government and the Kaduna State government awarded their children with scholarship facilities. The high level of integration of the people of various origins and backgrounds made it necessary for them to form an association, the S.D.A., for the pursuit of meaningful development of not only Shika but also its neighbouring villages. The efforts of this association and those of many other individuals made it possible for Shika to become a district.

This district has been endowed with abundant natural resources as disclosed by this thesis. One of the most significant of these resources is the soil, which is accompanied by the vegetation. These two allow for agricultural exploits which the people of Shika still utilize to produce crops like maize, millet, guinea corn, sugar cane and vegetables like tomatoes, pepper, etc. The rural farmers in Shika continue to produce agricultural goods even though they have been, or are being denied basic infrastructural facilities such as good road, tap water, health services, electricity, etc.

Although the colonial period remains the genesis of such neglect of most of the settlements in the Nigerian area, the political class, including the military, since independence, also did not help matters due to the colonial legacy. These were people who had dearth of capital before attaining power, and this plight was typical among Nigerians under colonial conditions. Thus, the plight profoundly affected their attitude to the use of state power and the state treasury when they came to power. The

result was the attempt to solve their dearth of private capital by broadening their accumulative base through maximal exploitation of the public fund of the state which was previously unavailable to them. They were, therefore, able to diversify their activities into dubious and fraudulent forms of primitive accumulation at public expenses. Since the oil boom, which we referred to in chapter five, the forms of primitive accumulation included the fraudulent award of contracts, inflation of contract values and the outright looting of the treasury by its very custodians. Thus, infrastructural development in many settlements like Shika remains apparently minimal.

From another perspective, the political class did not also exploit the colonial legacy on the Stock Farm. At the peak of the operation of the Stock Farm in the colonial period it had more market than local cattle producers, it produced more milk than local milk producers and the milk was better packaged. It came in clean bottles. Moreover, the colonialist tried to encourage the local farmers to buy the cattle raised in the Farm. That was done in series of campaigns trough radio and film shows. The venture was very significant to the colonialist because of the revenue it generated, so it was prudently maintained. However, after independence the Nigerian political class displayed none-challant attitude to the facility. There was little or near absence of proper monitoring to maintain the revenue generation and the standard set by the British. However, this could have resulted from the oil boom syndrome that is said to have caused a neglect of the agricultural sector.

Furthermore, we demonstrated that central to the emergence and evolution of Shika and the growth experienced therein from 1928 to 1980 was the transformation of its political life. This came through the changes that took place in the nature and pattern of the composition of the settlement and the changes in the beliefs and

ideology associated with this. Specifically, this historical process started with a political system centred on the *liman* of Makoye. However, with the changing complexity of the settlement and the emergence of Shika (i.e. its population expansion, diversification of economic activities, etc) necessary and constant political adaptations were effected for the enhancement of the survival of the society. Thus, by 1980 Shika had evolved to become a district, having more complex administrative machinery headed by a *Hakimi* who worked alongside other appointed officials.

Finally, Shika emerged first as an agricultural station housing the colonial authority's Stock Farm, whose economy was purposely geared towards serving the need of colonialism. However, increased population caused by migrations subsequently facilitated a change in the nature of the economy of Shika from an agricultural economy to a colonial and subsequently neo-colonial service oriented economy especially when a tobacco farm was established in addition to the Stock Farm. It is clear, therefore, that the emergence of Shika enriched others and impoverished others. While Mahuta and Biye villages were relegated to the background and Makoye was relocated, thus removed from the map, Shika expanded and became the district headquarter. As a result of these major changes in the society and economy, specifically from 1965, there was a high and persistent rising cost of living in the settlement. Poverty was therefore significantly entrenched as a consequence. One may not be wrong to conclude that only the permanent and pensionable workers residing in Shika were sure of their income, although the salaries and pensions were not commensurate with the prevailing harsh economic conditions. This condition of poverty, however, is a reflection of most Nigerian settlements and is not unconnected with the colonial and neo-colonial economies which have altered the agricultural economy of the colonized. At this point we suggest that a further research

on the economic history of Shika should be undertaken so as to come up with the activities of the Stock Farm in relation to the economy of Shika and Northern Nigeria in general.

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G. ORAL INFORMANTS

Below is brief information on some of our most crucial informants.

1. Alhaji Biso (AB) 15th September 2005. Alhaji Biso, a local farmer aged 80 years was interviewed in his house in Hayin Mallam at Shika. He was born in Makoye and his parents were among those displaced by the establishment of Agricultural Research Station which formed the nucleus of Shika. He relocated to Hayin Mallam with them.
2. Nuhu Dan Sarkin Bariki (NSB) 15th September 2005. The interview was held at his house in Shika. His father, Mallam Ibrahim, was the first caretaker of the first staff quarters (popularly called Bariki) built by the Europeans in Shika, thus the name Dan Sarkin Bariki. Born in 1925, he was employed in his youthful days to plant the trees around the staff quarters and worked in the Stock Farm till his retirement in 1985. His father moved from Giwa to Shika to take the new job offered him by the District Head, Fagaci Rufa'i, in 1929. He remained in Shika since then.
3. Ahmadu Muhammad Lawal (AML) 16th September 2005 and 9th May 2006. The first interview was held in the company of some officials of the Shika Development Association at his house in Hayin Mallam, Shika. Aged 101 years by the second interview, 9th May 2006, he was the eldest Islamic scholar in the whole of Shika area. His grandfather, Muhammad Lawal Dankwaire, founded Gungurfa village in the 1840s. The early Imams of Shika were also trained by his parents.
4. Mallam Nuhu Gungurfa (MNG) 16th September 2005. The interview was held in his house at Hayin Mallam in Shika. He was born 90 years ago in

Makoye. His father was the Imam of Makoye when he was very young appointment as the Imam was done by Makoye Jamo. Mallam Nuhu, an Islamic scholar, was also among those displaced to Shika.

5. Hamza Mil-Goma (HMG) 11th August 2005. The first interview with him was held in a group. Subsequent interviews were however held at his house in Mil-Goma, a village ten miles from Zaria before Shika. He was a local farmer born over 80 years ago. His grandfather Jibir was the one who revived Makoye as a settlement in the early 1800 when it was formerly abandoned. He relocated from Makoye to Mil-Goma, a village between Shika and Bomo, when the colonialists took over the land.

6. Jumare Nasarawan Buhari (JNB) 11th August 2005. The interview was held in his house at Shika. Aged 91 years he was born in Makoye. His great grandfather came with the jihadists from Sokoto to Zaria. The large number of his family's slaves made it necessary for them to settle at the outskirt of Zaria, thus Makoye became their new found home. His great grandfather established Unguwar Yusi in Makoye and his Mallam grandfather, Dikko, became one of the Sarakuna of Makoye. Jumare is now the ward head of Nasarawan Buhari in Shika.

7. Alhaji Buharin Nasarawa (ABN) 21st August 2005: The interview was held in his sitting room at his house in Gama, Kwanar Tudun Wada, Kano. Aged 70 years, Alhaji Buhari is a business man dealing in grains and other agricultural products. Born in Shika but left in his forties to pursue his business activities and finally settled in Kano. He once sought for the Sarauta of Makoye but later moved for the creation of Nasarawa Buhari a ward that evolved from Unguwar Na'ta'ala in Shika. When they succeeded in the creation of Nasarawan Buhari he forfeited the *sarauta* to his elder brother, Alhaji Jumare. Both of them were the grand children of Makoye Dikko.

8. Hajiya Binta Gude (HBG) 21st August 2005: The interview was held in Alhaji Buhari's house at Kano. Hajiya Binta, 75 years old, is a senior sister to Alhaji Buharin Nasarawa. She grew up in Shika and only moved to Kano in the last ten or so years.

9. Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika (AAF) 11th September 2005: Born in Fatika in 1916, Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika (now 89 years old) went to Giwa Primary

School and Katsina Middle School. He taught in Makarfi, Zaria and Kaya as a primary school teacher. He was made the Chief of Fatika in the 1940s. He continued his teaching job after undergoing an intensive course in Katsina, but this time around as a Middle School teacher. He was appointed Senior Visiting Teacher of the Zaria Native Authority (N.A.) School in 1952. After attending course in London in 1954 he was appointed a Council Member of the Zaria Native Authority. He took charge of the Police, Education and Veterinary. He contested and won the seat for the Northern House of Assembly under the flag of the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.). His constituency comprised of Giwa District (within which Shika, our area of study, was) Birnin Gwari District, Rigachikun District and Chukun District. Since then he held many political appointments such as the Northern Parliamentary Secretary of Finance, Regional Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Social Welfare and Cooperatives Minister of Health and Minister of Information all during the First Republic, under the leadership of Sir Ahmadu Bello the Premier of Northern Nigeria. Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika also served in the Second Republic as the Chairman of the Federal Police Service Commission under President Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari. However, he died on February 12, 2008 before the completion of this work.

10. Ibrahim Mai-Tsibiri (IMT) 15th September 2005: The interview was held in his house inside the *zaure* (entrance hall) at Tsibiri a village near Shika. Mallam Ibrahim was born in Doka, near Makoye. His grandfather Ibrahim Hazo built the first house in Doka after relocating from Hayin Gada. Doka was also part of the land later taken by the Government of the Northern Region, as a result of which Mallam Ibrahim moved to Tsibiri. A local farmer of about 85 years old Mallam Ibrahim has been in Tsibiri since 1967.

11. Hajiya Salamatu Ja'e (HSJ) 15th September 2005: The interview was held in her room at her son's house in Shika. Hajiya Salamatu, 112 years old, migrated with her family from Kano to Shika. They were pastoralists who used to visit the area but finally settled in the 1920s. She was among the very few remaining people that witnessed the establishment of the Agricultural Research Station in 1928. She also died in 2006.

12. Makoye Ibrahim Buwayi (MBI) 16th September 2005: The interview was held in his house in Shika. He was one of the *dagatai* of Makoye/Shika. He inherited the *Sarauta* from his father, Jamo Usman during whose reign Shika was established. Ibrahim Buwayi was removed as the *dagaci* due to a tax offence in 1955.

13. Alhaji Abdu Biye (AAB) 17th September 2005: The interview was held in his house inside the *Zaure* at Biye. Alhaji Abdu, about 80 years of age, is a Fulani man whose family was among those that migrated from Katsina in the late 19th century to stay in Shika area. He went into farming and he became a big time farmer since 1980.

14. Mallam Muhammadu Damina (MMD) 21st January 2008: The interview was held in the courtroom of the *dagaci* of Shika. Muhammadu Damina, 73 year old, is the *Magatakarda* (scribe) to the *dagaci*. He was brought to Shika by his father, an employee of the Government Farm, when he was only two years old. He has also worked with the Shika Stock Farm and is now retired from the employment of the Division of Agricultural Colleges (DAC), A.B.U. since 1996.

15. Salihu Muhammad Saliyo (MSS) 22nd January 2008: The interview was held in the palace of the *dagaci* of Shika. It was a group interview. Mallam Sale was among the first labourers that cleared the bush for the building of the Agricultural Research Station in 1928. He traveled to many places in West Africa but stayed in Sierra Leon for over 20 years, hence the name Sale Saliyo. Now over 100 years old he had since retired to family and religious life.

16. Iliya 'Yan Kusa (IYK) 22nd January 2008: He participated in the above mentioned group interview. Mallam Iliya, 70 year old, came to Shika as a seasonal worker from Kano and finally settled in1949. He started working as an assistant to tractor driver but later changed to carpentry section in the Agricultural Research Station. He is now retired into farming.

17. Mallam Muhammadu Gali (MMG) 22nd January 2008: He also participated in the above group interview. Muhammadu Gali, 60 years old, is the first treasurer of the Shika Development Association formed in 1976. He worked in the Agricultural farm as a clerk. He is presently a businessman and a landlord in Shika.

18. Mallam Dalhatu Abubakar (DAB) 23rd January 2008: The interview was held in the palace of the *dagaci* of Shika. Dalhatu Abubakar was among the last set of people to relocate from Makoye to Shika. He joined the Northern Elements' Progressive Union (NEPU) as a partisan in 1957 and was among those oppressed due to their political inclinations. At 85 years old, Dalhatu is the Ladani (prayer caller) of the Shika old mosque. He also died (March 28, 2009) before the completion of this work.

19. Sa'idu Abdullahi (SASD) 26th January 2008: The interview was held as a group interview in the courtroom of the *dagacin* Shika. Popularly known as Sarkin Haya Dan'Amarya, because of his long time business of bicycle hiring service, Sa'idu was also a partisan politician belonging to the NEPU. Although he was very close to the local leaders in Shika, who were fully NPC members, his commitment to NEPU was so great. Now 75 years old he has also retired into farming.

20. Alhaji Bako Tsibiri (ABT) 9th February 2008: The interview was held in his house at Shika. He left Tsibiri to settle in Shika in 1972. Alhaji Bako was the NEPU Secretary of Giwa District during the 2nd Republic so he was very popular in the whole of the Shika area. He started business as a kola trader but presently sells timber (*azara)* in Shika. Alhaji Bako is a great grandson of Umaru Allahe, the person who is said to have located the land in which Tsibiri was established in the late 19th century.

21. Umaru Tudu Dan-Sa'i (UTD) 8th March 2008: The first interview was held in one of the stalls in the market of Shika and the subsequent ones in a hut near his house. I interviewed Tudu several times because, as the most senior and eldest praise singer in the settlement, he always had information on some people or things to give. Tudu's grandparents were among the Fulani migrants from Katsina who first settled at Gungurfa then moved to Hayin Gada, Shika. He knew when Makoye was in existence. In fact he knew the history of most, if not all the families in Shika. Because of his profession, he was also very close to the local leaders, the merchants and the senior civil servants in Shika. At over 80 years of age, Tudu still practices praise singing.

22. Alhaji Gambo Abdullahi (GSA) 8th March 2008: The interview was held in my office at the Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria. Popularly known

as Gambon Sulu, he was born in Shika in 1953. He was among the new breed of politicians in the Second Republic who actively participated in the political activities of Shika under the People's Redemption Party (PRP) led by Mallam Aminu Kano. Alhaji Gambo, 55 year old, has in his possession a lot of documents belonging to the PRP Shika chapter and he was always ready to provide them and other information to me.

23. Mallam Zailani Abdullahi (MZA) 16th March 2008: The interview was held on the *dakali* outside his house in Shika. Born 80 years ago, in 1928, Mallam Zailani was registered in Shika Primary School in 1940. He started working in the Shika Agricultural Research Station immediately after his primary school education first in the field and then as an Assistant Store Officer. He retired as a Tractor Supervisor and is now engaged in private agricultural practice.

24. Mallam Hasan Adamu (HAL) 16th March 2008: The interview was held in a hall at Mahuta. It was a group interview. Mallam Hasan is the present *Liman* of Mahuta and 65 years old. He was born in Mahuta but had his Islamic education in Zaria. He is also a practicing farmer.

25. Halidu Muhammadu (HAM) 16th March 2008: He participated in the above mentioned group interview. Halidu Muhammad 61 years old worked on the farm of Shika Agricultural Research Station and is now retired. He was born in Mahuta and still lives there.

26. Muhammadu Inuwa (MIN) 16th March 2008: He also participated in the above mentioned group interview. Muhammadu Inuwa, over 60 years old, was among those conscripted for forced Labour by the Zaria Native Authority. He laboured in the construction of the road that went to Kidandam from Kufena. He was born and raised in Mahuta and he also worked as a labourer in the Shika farm. He is now retired and is managing his own farm.

27. Muhammadu Maidawa Wanzami (MMW) 16th March 2008: The interview was held in front of his house near the Shika market. He was one of the oldest *wanzamai* (barbers) in the town. Maidawa Wanzami, over 80 years old, had also worked in the Shika farm as a labourer. He had stayed in Hayin Gada but has moved into the main Shika town about 50

years ago. He participated in the forced labour in which the construction of the rail line from Zaria to Jos was conducted in 1924.

28. Alhaji Abdulkarim Aboki (AAA) 20th March 2008: The interview was held in his house. Alhaji Abdulkarim Aboki, 58 years old, is the present *dagaci* of Shika. His father, Alhaji Aboki, was also one of the *dagatai* of Shika. Abdulkarim was appointed the *dagaci* in 1995 after the death of Muhammadu Mustafa Danbaito, the then *dagaci* of Shika. Though his parents came from Zaria city, he was born in Shika and grew up there.

29. Alhaji Goma Abdulkadir Aliyu (AGA) 17th August 2008: The interview was held in the *zaure* of his house in Biye. It was a group interview that had six of the eldest people of Biye town. Alhaji Goma, 75 years old, is a big time farmer and also a contractor with Ahmadu Bello University. He was also an agent of the University Farm and the Animal Division of the Agricultural Research Station in the 1960s. He was engaged in the purchase of corn and maize used in feeding the animals. He is presently engaged in private farming activities.

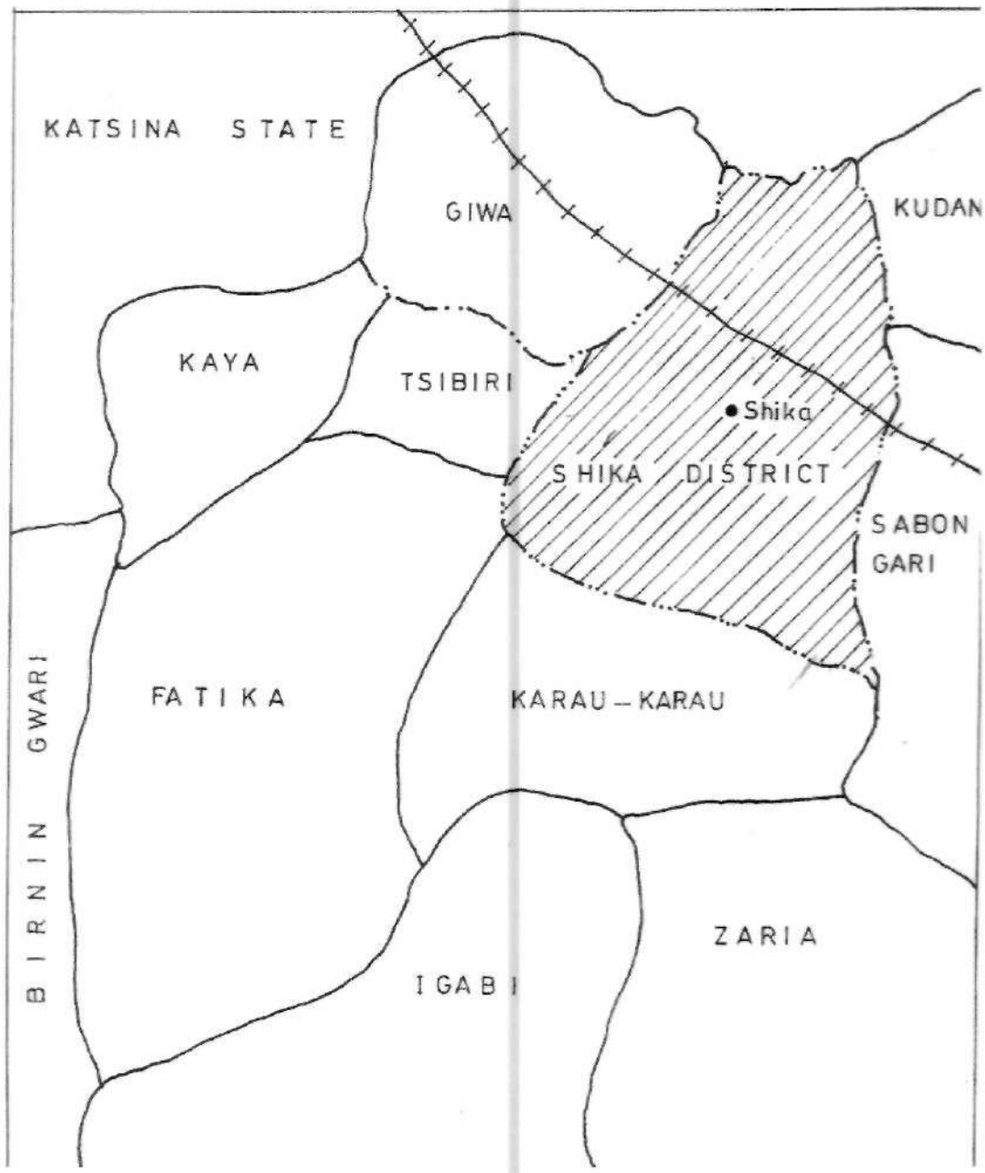
30. Mallam Ibrahim Dan Muhammadu (IDM) 17th August 2008: He participated in the above mentioned group interview. Dan Muhammadu, over 80 years old, has been a practicing farmer since his youth and has remained in Biye throughout his life. He was among those conscripted to labour on the road constructed from Zaria to Sokoto by the colonialist in the 1940s.

31. Alhaji Sulaiman Adamu (ASA) 17th August 2008: He also participated in the above mentioned group interview. His grandfather, Suleiman (from whom he got his name) migrated from Sokoto in the late 19th century to settle in Biye, and he served as the *dagaci* of Biye c.1919-1955. Alhaji Sulaiman is a farmer and has also lived in Biye all his life.

32. Mallam Tukur Umaru (MTU) 17th August 2008: He also participated in the above mentioned group interview. Mallam Tukur 75 years old is the *Sarkin Tarihi* (Official in charge of oral traditions) of Biye. His family was among the first settlers in Biye when it was established in the 19th century.

33. Mallam Muhammadu Uba (MMU): He also participated in the above mentioned group interview. Muhammadu Uba 45 years old is the present

dagaci of Biye. It was through him that we were able to bring together the elderly men and he also contributed in some of the information collected during the interview. He became the *dagaci* in 2006, thus has been in office for only two years as at the date of the interview.



MAP IV SHIKA DISTRICT AND ITS NEIGHBOURS (Source: Document of the campaign for Creation of Shika Local Government by Shika Development Association – SDA, 1999)



MAP V SHIKA AND ITS VILLAGES (Source: Document of the campaign for Creation of Shika Local Government by Shika Development Association – SDA, 1999)

APPENDIX I

VILLAGE UNITS IN SHIKA BY 1980

1. Anguwar Katsinawa
2. Anguwar Nasarawa
3. Bijimi
4. Biye
5. Danmahawayi
6. Dorayi
7. Ganuwa
8. Guga
9. Guga Sabuwa
10. Gungurfa
11. Hayin Gada
12. Hayin Malam
13. Hayin Shehu
14. Jabawa
15. Jama'a
16. Jangefe
17. Karfe
18. Kurinya
19. Madobi
20. Mahuta
21. Maje
22. Nasarawar Buhari
23. Pammadu

24. Panhauya

25. Rafin Gora

26. Rafin Yashi

27. Sabon Fegin Biye

28. Salanke

29. Shika

30. Tabobi

31. Tawatsu

32. Tsangamawa

33. 'Yar Sarki

APPENDIX II

THE DAGATAI (VILLALE HEADS) OF SHIKA FROM THE MAKOYE ERA

1.	Madaki Yero	-	As the Hakimi of Kasar Giwa, he directly oversees Makoye because he had no representative there.
2.	Yunusa	- 1905-1906	-Appointed as *wakili* (representative) by Madaki Yero.
3.	Muhammadu Dikko	- 1906-1925	-19 years.
4.	Usman Jamo	- 1925-1938	-13 years. Shika was established in his period and in 1938 separated from Makoye.
5.	Sabon Gari Idi	- 1938-1939	-1 year.
6.	Usman Jamo	- 1939-1952	-13 years. Shika was merged back with Makoye, so he spent a total of 26 years.
7.	Ibrahim Buwayi	- 1952-1955	-3 years.
8.	Isma'ila Maiwada Barau	- 1955-1976	-21 years.
9.	Muhammadu Salim Aboki	- 1976-1979	-3 years.
10.	Muhammadu Mustafa Danbaito	-1979-1995	-16 years.
11.	Abdulkarim Salim Aboki	-1995-Date	

APPENDIX III

THE SARAKUNA OF BIYE SINCE 1835

1.	Sarki Dabo	-	1835-1883	-50 years
2.	Sarki Salihu	-	1883-1889	-6 years
3.	Sarki Umaru	-	1889-1919	-30 years
4.	Sarki Balarabe Sulaiman	-	1919-1955	-36 years
5.	Sarki Abdu	-	1955-1959	-4 years
6.	Sarki Alu	-	1959-1968	-9 years
7.	Sarki Muhammadu Tanimu	-	1968-12003	-35years
8.	Sarki Iro Ibrahim	-	2003-2006	-3years
9.	Sarki Muhammadu Uba	-	2006-Date	

APPENDIX IV

TITLES AND FIEFS OF SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE SARKIN SHIKA COUNCIL

TITLE	FIEF
1. Agwangwama	-
2. Dangaladima	Hayin Gimba
3. Dan-Iya	-
4. Danmadami	Tudun Wadan Ja'e
5. Danmasani	-
6. Fagaci	Hayin Madaki
7. Garkuwa	-
8. Jarmai	Bakin Kasuwa
9. Madauci	Unguwar Sarki
10. Magatakarda	-
11. Makama	-
12. Marafa	-
13. Sa'i	Unguwar Sa'i
14. San-Turaki	-
15. Sarkin Yaki	-
16. Tafida	-
17. Wali	Unguwar Maje
18. Wambai	TudunWadan Dayyabu

APPENDIX V

SHIKA'S PRAISE SINGING

Hausa Version:

Shika, Shafta, Kamfani garin gaskiya.

Dan karamin gari da suna ukku.

Dan karamin gari da babbar Magana.

Garin da mai mata ya ci a mara,

Gwauro da kwarto suka ci a kwano da murfi.

"Garin da mutum ya ci sa a kai mishi gyara da dan-akuya".

Garin "na so in fada maka", amma ba za a fada maka ba sai ka fito a bayan kanta.

Garin da za ka je neman bashi a hana ka,

Amma matarka in ta je sai ta samo.

Garin "na ci arzikin matata har na samu nawa".

English Translation:

Shika, Shafta, Company, the village of truth.

The triple named village.

The village with interesting issues.

The village in which a married man lives in distress,

while a wifeless and gigolos are honoured.

The village in which a gambler wins a cow,

and a bonus of a he-goat was added to him.

The village of "I had wanted to warn you".

But one will not be warned until arrested and released by the police.

The village in which one will be refused a loan, but it is given to his wife.

The village of "I have benefitted from my wife's influence".