IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL POLICIES ON JAMA'ARE EMIRATE, 1900-1960

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Amina Bello Zailani, hereby declare that this study is the product of my own research work and that it has never been submitted in any previous application for the award of higher degrees. All sources of information in this study have been duly and specifically acknowledged by means of reference.

_____ _____

Amina Bello Zailani **Date**

CERTIFICATION

This M.A Thesis titled "**IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL POLICIES ON JAMA'ARE EMIRATE**, **1900-1960**" by Amina Bello Zailani, has been certified to have met part of the requirements governing the award of Masters of Arts (M.A) in Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and hereby approved.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Glory of the Almighty Allah.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the *Rahama* i.e. mercy of Almighty Allah through the opportunity He afforded me to achieve this monumental feat. Scholarship or acquisition of knowledge is such a wonderful and complex phenomenon that one person cannot share in its glory. Even the authorities on whom one bases his study there is no enough space to thank them. Nor is there enough space to thank those of your lecturers on whom one draws inspiration and acquire his training. Nor is there enough space to thank those of my family and friends who wished me well during the course of my research. The list is endless and can go on and on. I will like, to express my gratitude to them Professor Abdulkadir Adamu and Dr. Hannatu Alahira whose diligent efforts, patience, guidance and understanding has enabled me to write this thesis.

This accomplishment would not have been possible if not for the help I got from many people whose name I cannot put down all here due to lack of space. It is not possible to mention by name all those that contributed to the realization of this project and my dream but I will like them to know that they are deeply appreciated; every one of them. I will like to say a very big thank you to my lovely husband (Alhaji Wali), my family, my parents, my siblings and my class mates especially Haruna Suleimuri for the encouragement and for believing in me.

ABSTRACT

The British colonial policies on agriculture in Jama'are Emirate were all designed to benefit the colonialist in their bid to obtain raw materials for their factories back home. Because of this the focus of the colonialist had always been the production of cash crops with the neglect of food crop. This was to tell on the diet of the people as well as on the land. Colonialism has to do with the exploitation of not only the people but also the land and what was produced on it as the most important factor of production. This fact becomes clear through a look at the policies as well as the general activities of the colonialists in this area. Throughout the colonial period evidence abound as to the importance of the agricultural produce of this area. It is therefore the aim of this study to bring this issue out by focusing on the introduction and implementation of the colonial agricultural policies. Agriculture has always been and still is the major employer of labor in Nigeria despite the fact that it is being run by the peasants under peasant conditions. The coming of the British and the importance which they placed on this sector did nothing to change this fact and was even perpetuated by them. It is in a bid to investigate this development and explain why it is so that prompted this study. This arrangement served a specific capitalist interest of the relationship between the centre and the periphery. Colonial agricultural policies were designed to take care of the factories back at the metropole. The British in their bid to colonize Nigeria never took cognizance of the local needs of the people in terms of their economic, social, political, cultural and religious needs. What has proven to be of significance to the development of all human societies is, the internal factors harnessed as a result of the ingenuity and the needs of the people. Independence is an important ingredient in this endeavour. The advent of colonialism sought to control the resources of the people. They began to dictate to the people on all aspects particularly as they claimed that they had come to civilize the people in the so-called "civilizing mission". Under Frederick Lugard, the first British High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, the British venerated the socioeconomic and administrative model of the pre-colonial Islamic Sokoto Caliphate, especially its elaborate system of taxation and economic regulation and sought to preserve and extend it to other parts of Northern Nigeria. In addition, the British sought to organize, codify, document, and, where necessary, modify the fluid and malleable systems of land tenure, agricultural production, and revenue that existed in the protectorate. The establishment of British colonial administration brought the introduction of cash crops economy to Nigeria- as elsewhere in Africa. In line with the British colonial policy of providing raw materials for the industries of the metropolitan power, Nigeria witnessed the neglect of the indigenous economic system which made each family self-sufficient in food and other socio-economic needs.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Jama'are Emirate is an area whose main economic activity is agriculture in time past and in the present. The people of the area engage in the cultivation of crops such as F. *muuri*, H. *gero*- guinea corn, F. *gauri*, H. *dawa* –sorghum, F. *nebbe, wake*- beans, F. *biriji*, H. *gyada* -groundnut, F. *taamu*, *auduga*- cotton, F. *alkamari*, H. *alkama* –wheat and F. *durugo*, H. *kiwo* -animal husbandry. They also engaged both in rainy season and dry season farming. The colonialists had always focused their attention on the agricultural viability of their colony to the extent of even forcing the people to cultivate what they wanted, mostly commercial crops. They dictated everything, from the crops to be cultivated to the price of the crops. The colonialist did not work with anyone or anything that was against their vested interest and the policies and ordinances were all beneficial to them alone. Along the line though, some Africans who were the middle men and chiefs also benefited from the activities of the colonialist. The colonialist built roads, railways, schools, etc. these however, were part of the plan to maximize the exploitation of the people and the land. It is important to note that the land was exploited to its maximum to the point of depletion. This affected the development of the people, the economy and the land.

Agriculture has always been and still is the major employer of labour in Nigeria despite the fact that it is being managed by the peasants under poor conditions. The

coming of the British and the importance which they placed on this sector did nothing to change the condition of agriculture and in fact it was even perpetuated by them.

The colonial economy in most parts of Africa was structured to improve the economies of the colonizing or metropolitan powers. In the scheme of things, what mattered was how the colonial economy could benefit the colonizers. Very little, if any regard, was paid to the colonized indigenous population. When the African population was taken into consideration, it was mostly employed as a tool in achieving the main reason for colonization: the domination and exploitation of the local population by the colonizing power. This scenario was quite visible in the Nigerian economy as far as the production of cash crops and food crops were concerned.

It is important to note that agriculture formed the mainstay of Africa's economy in the pre-colonial past. In this enterprise, food production featured prominently for most of Nigeria, including the area that came to be known as the Jama'are Emirate in colonial Nigeria. A survey of the vegetation of the area would reveal a savannah, rich for cash and food crop production, hence, like most indigenous African societies; there was self-sufficiency in food supply. However, given the fact that one major reason why Britain colonized Nigeria was to ensure a cheap and steady supply of raw materials to British industries, the colonial administration in some cases discouraged the cultivation of food crops while encouraging cash crops production.[1]

[1] Usoro E. J., 1977, Colonial Economic Development Planning in Nigeria, 1919-1939: An Appraisal, *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies,* Vol. 19, p. 125.

The establishment of British colonial administration brought the introduction of cash crops economy to Nigeria- as elsewhere in Africa. In line with the British colonial policy of providing raw materials for the industries of the metropolitan power, Nigeria witnessed the down-play of the importance of the indigenous economic system which made each family self-sufficient in food and other socio-economic needs. Through a deliberate policy of discouraging food crop cultivation, most clans and communities were gradually rid of food supplies and thus introduced into acute hunger in favour of the cultivation of cash crops needed by British industries. Local colonial governments in the form of Native Authorities were used as agents of this destruction of the indigenous food crop economy and the vigorous pursuance of the new economic policy.[2]

The colonial government directing the Native Authorities in what they termed indirect rule, laid down policies that had to do with agricultural production, being the mainstay of the local economy and the primary concern of the colonialist. In the end the goals of the colonialist were achieved through various means ranging from forced labour, and pure exploitation.

This study is an overall and critical examination of the impact of British colonial agricultural policies on the economic development of Nigeria in general and Jama'are Emirate in particular. The people of Nigeria were mostly farmers and are still mostly farmers who produced for domestic and local consumption and for long distance trade in the pre-colonial era. With the imposition of colonialism the fortune of indigenous agriculture changed for the worse. The mainstay of Jama'are Emirate is agriculture which

[2] Shokpeka, S. A. and Odigwe A. Nwaokocha, 2009, British Colonial Economic Policy in Nigeria, the Example of Benin Province 1914–1954, in *Journal of Human Ecology*, Vol. 28 No. 1, p. 57.

was practiced under peasant condition even during the formative years of colonialism in Jama'are Emirate.

Colonialism as a system of exploitation in Nigeria started effectively in 1900 and continued in the post-colonial period as neo-colonialism. The sixty years of colonial rule, were devastating not only for agriculture but also to local industry. Nigeria's relationship with Europeans first started as equals but later resulted in serious exploitation of the people of Africa and Nigeria in particular. With the establishment of colonial rule the colonialists deviced a means to maximally benefit from unequal relationship. This was made possible with the use of superior military technology of the colonialist against the crude weapons and tools of the peoples of Nigeria. The people resisted and in many cases it was met with brutal suppression. Before the introduction of colonialism the people were peasant farmers and for the period that colonialism lasted little was done to change the situation. The policies that the colonialist enacted were meant to make use of what was available to meet the needs of the colonialist to perpetuate underdevelopment by expatriating the wealth and products of the colonies.

Agriculture has always been an important activity of the human race and it has always been the basis for not only measuring the level of civilization of all human communities but the existence of civilization itself. The significance of agriculture to man is evident not only in the food that it provide for man but also for the animals that he rears and even those that are not domestic animals. It shows the true essence of the activities of man in the society and on the environment. Man employs labour in the production of goods and services which takes place in the environment shaped by natural

forces. Production is therefore central to the issue at hand and this production is determined by the people and their social as well as economic realities and needs. The agricultural sector in Nigeria plays an important role in the overall development of the economy through its significant contributions to rural employment, food security, non-oil foreign exchange earnings, and provision of industrial raw materials for other sectors in the country and outside. Agriculture cut across a large area of the economic activities of man and this is in relation to crop cultivation and animal husbandry which man engages in and which form the backbone of the Nigerian economy before, during and after the colonial period particularly in Northern Nigeria.

Agricultural development was also influenced by society's socio-economic and political structures, including the rules governing land tenure, the revenue base of the state, divisions of labour, the development of markets and the society's incorporation into regional and international trading networks.[3] It is in consideration of this fact that the significance of Jama'are Emirate becomes apparent. Colonial agriculture is such that did not take the issue of cash crop production and tax collection on the produce lightly. As such, Jama'are Emirate provided the incentives for the colonialist. The people of Jama'are Emirate being Fulbe also engaged in cattle rearing or animal husbandry which provided the hides and skins for the leather industry in the area and for export abroad.

Groundnut became the major raw material to the colonialist and they encouraged its cultivation in this area because they made use of the oil extracted from the groundnut for their industries especially for the production of margarine, peanut butter, etc. The

[3] Paul T. Zeleza, 1993, *A Modern Economic History of Africa: The Nineteenth Century,* Vol. 1, Dakar: CODESRIA, p. 85.

imported goods, of which the population of the province consumes about £1,000,000 worth per annum, are paid for almost entirely by the revenue derived from agriculture and livestock.[4] This shows not only the incorporation of the area into the capitalist world system but also the change of orientation of the economy of the area and the colonial exploitation and expropriation of the wealth of the area.

Agriculture as we know is not only confined to crop production, but it also includes rearing of animals such as cattle, sheep and goats. This is carried out by the pastoralists who are mostly Fulbe and in the case of the Jama'are area they are almost exclusively Fulbe. They came to live in this area during the jihad period from *Dilara* in the Borno area under their leader (Ardo Saleh) who was made the Emir through the jihad.

One of the implications of the early industrialization of England was the obsessive drive to look for sources of raw materials and markets for their manufactured products. This was a revolution that had far-reaching effects not only on England but on the other parts of the world as well. As an economic phenomenon, colonialism involved devising means to control the economy of the colony through diverse policies. In this study we have looked at these policies as they affected the agricultural sector of the Nigerian economy. As we have seen agriculture have always been the biggest economic sector of the Nigerian economy before, during and after colonialism employing the majority of the Nigerian population and contributing a greater percentage to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Nigeria.

[4] A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, 1972, *Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, The Hausa emirates (Bauchi, Sokoto, Zaria, Kano),* Vol. 1, London: Frank Cass, p. 37.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Over the years some things have been written pertaining Jama'are Emirate but none have tried to touch on the economic aspect particularly during the colonial era. Most of the things that were written only treated the establishment of the emirate and in some instances it gave the genealogy of the Emirs of the Emirate. This study therefore sets out to fill the wide gap in relation to what we know and ought to know about the area of study. All that have been written on this area are all politically based and have completely ignored economic and by extension agriculture which constituted the backbone of the colonial state in the area. This concentration of attention to the political history tends to forget the fact that the colonialist emphasize on agricultural production for export in their "territories".[5]

Colonialism had to do with the exploitation of not only the people but also the land and what was being produced on it as the most important factor of production. This fact becomes clear through a look at the policies as well as the general activities of the colonialist in this area. Throughout the colonial period evidence abound as to the importance of the agricultural produce of this area. It is the aim of this study to examine the introduction and implementation of the colonial agricultural policies Jama'are Emirate.

With the unilateral British effort to alter the commercial status quo on the Niger came the "pacification" of territories on both sides of the river. But British colonial economic reengineering in Northern Nigeria did not end with the conquest; in many

[5] Akin Mabogunje, 1971, "The land and peoples of West Africa," in J. F. Ade Ajayi & Michael Crowder, *History of West Africa*, Vol. 1, London: Longman Group Ltd., p. 29.

senses the conquest marked the beginning. Through a deliberate policy of discouraging food crop cultivation, most clans and communities were gradually rid of food supplies and thus introduced into acute hunger in favour of the cultivation of cash crops needed by British industries. Native Authorities were used as agents of this destruction of the indigenous food crop economy and the vigorous pursuance of the new economic policy.

1.3 Statement of Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study is to explain British Colonial agricultural policies as it affected the economic development of Jama'are Emirate in the colonial period.

The study surveyed the historical development of Jama'are Emirate and examines the agricultural practices of the people in relation to the role the area played in the colonial general scheme of things.

To investigate the agricultural policies practiced in the area and how it contributed to the economic development of the area in the pre-colonial period.

To highlight the changes experienced in the agricultural sector in the area as a result of the colonial take-over and incorporation of the area into the world capitalist economy –albeit unceremoniously.

1.4 Justification and Significance of the Study

This work is significant in many respects: first it has opened a new line of inquiry into the activities of the colonialist in this area and it has also provided insight into the nature and impact of colonial agricultural policies in Jama'are Emirate that have led to

significant changes in the socio-economic and political life of the people of Jama'are Emirate.

The main thrust of this work is the examination of the British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria with particular reference to the Jama'are Emirate. Little has been written about the area and those things that have been written are mostly with particular reference to the political aspect, neglecting the economic aspect of which agriculture occupy a special place in the colonial scheme of things in the Northern Province. This work is an attempt to examine the economic aspect or problematic in details so as to bring out the significance of the area in relation to colonial agricultural economy in the larger Northern Provinces and to shed more light to the importance of the agricultural sector in sustaining the colonial state in this area. The work is an attempt at explaining the policies aimed at the development of export orientated agricultural production of raw materials in a society that was producing to meet its own internal requirements. This was done by imposing colonial policies on land, labor, production, transport and taxation. These colonial policies had the effect of forcing the peasants to engage in export cash crop production.

The introduction of these policies and the development of export cash crop production transformed the nature of the economy which had lasting effects on the economy and society of Jama'are Emirate. This aspect has not been treated by any researcher before and this work intends to do just that. Agriculture is the main economic activity of the people of the Emirate. The principal crops grown are millets, beans, groundnuts, cassava and cotton. Apart from the purely agricultural industry, the principal

occupations by which the people supplement their incomes are those connected with cotton-spinning, weaving and dyeing. And weaving is the most wide-spread industry and there was production in surplus as a result of European demand for the cloths, which is to say that the people were meeting not only the demand of the local markets but also the international market.

1.5 Literature Review

There are little or no works that dealt specifically on the British colonial agriculture in this area therefore we will have to make do with works that treated the same issue but with different area of study. The literature has provided us with the conceptual as well as the theoretical framework with which we can approach our own area of study and below we have reviewed some works, however, these works are on agriculture or the colonial economy in general or on other areas neighbouring Jama'are in Northern Nigeria as there is a dearth of works directly focused on Jama'are Emirate. With this we can also see the justification of this study.

The work that we are going to consider in the first instant is the work by Abdullkadir Adamu. This work: *British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria: A Study of Soba District c. 1902-1945* is very much similar to my work and has even provided me with the opening we needed to start our work. The work deals with British colonial agricultural policies as they affected northern Nigeria in the colonial era. The work is a treatment of Soba District in Kaduna and it is very informative and it provided the basis and guide for our work.

Abdulkadir Adamu's work focused strictly on the British agricultural policies in Northern Nigeria with particular reference to Soba District and the role they had played in changing the nature of indigenous economy and to some extent community of Soba District for example, the work explained how indigenous land nature, social relations of labour, indeed the whole gamut of indigenous production and its social relations were influenced and change under the impact of the colonial policies referred to above. Like other works before it, it seems to share the now widely accepted view that the role of *gandu* as basic unit of social production and reproduction in the pre-colonial society of Northern Nigeria was undermined by the British colonial economic policies which led to the dependency of the indigenous economic of this area to the world capitalist economic system then as now.[6]

Another work that is of significant importance is Abdulkadir Adamu's PhD thesis, *The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis c. 1902-1960.* This work also covers the colonial period and its focus is on Zaria metropolis. This work is significant in many respects, being that it covers the colonial period and that it deals with Zaria which has the same agricultural practice with Jama'are and which is located in the Sokoto Caliphate.

The work focused on food production and distribution which suffered some set-back during colonial period and this ended up affecting the economy of the area of study. The colonialist did not give food production much needed attention which in the end resulted to drought and famine in the Northern Provinces and many other parts of

[6] See Abubakar Adamu "British Colonial Agricultural policies in Northern Nigeria c. 1902-1945: A case study of Soba District" M.A. Thesis Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria.

Nigeria. The fact was that the soil was over used by the colonialist in the wrong way, making Nigerian peoples to produce for commercial purposes. The production of the cash crops was also to pay the tax imposed by the colonialist. This vicious circle of economic conundrum played a significant role in the underdevelopment not only the economy of Zaria but of the various communities in Nigeria, Jama'are inclusive.

Another work is that by Bappa Umar *Impact of British Colonial Rule on Agriculture in Gombe Division 1900-1945: A Study in Agricultural Underdevelopment,* this is also very decisive in its treatment of the colonial period in relation to its activities particularly in Gombe as a division it is important to note that Gombe Division share common geographical zone with my area of study and very instrumental in the development in my area of study. The main idea behind this work and the findings therein corresponds with the theoretical framework adopted in this work. It shows the underdevelopment in this area as a consequence of the British agricultural practices. There was a concerted effort on the part of the colonialists to subvert- which they eventually did- the independent economic development of this area.

Another work is by S. M. Aminu entitled, *The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority c. 1902-1945,* examined the role of the Native Authority as a collaborator of the colonial state in the establishment of colonial economy in Zaria province as the writer himself explained:

> "the object is to bring out the role and impact of this institution on the economy and societies of the area with particular reference to Zaria Native Authority System"

The focus of the study by Aminu is on Zaria city and its metropolitan districts. Although the above constitutes the general outline of the work, its substance lies in its examination of the colonial policies on land use, taxation, agriculture, infrastructure i.e. the railway, road and the local rulers mediation in their provision. This work relates to our work in terms of its subject matter. The fundamental difference between this work and the present study however is that of scope.

The next group of work will be reviewed for the purpose of our study not so much for their limitations or the gaps that exist in them, for our study to fill up, as for wealth of the relevant information they make available from which our work can draw extensively. The first is work of Sule Bello entitled; *State and Economy in Kano, 1894-1960: A Case Study of Colonial Domination,* Sule Bello chose as the central focus of his study the relationship between the colonial state and colonial economy within the lager framework of the history of establishment and consolidation of colonial domination in Kano, which he divided broadly into three phases: the decades just after the colonial conquest, when colonial state devoted most of its time to destroying the indigenous economy in Kano, the period devoted to the development and consolidation of the colonial economy, and thirdly the final entrenchment of dependency through the total control over the indigenous production and commerce of Kano society.[7] Kano being very close to our own area of study, the work of Sule Bello proves to be very useful to our purpose as a source of information. In fact at one point Jama'are was under the Kano Province before it was later moved to Bauchi Province.

[7] Sule Bello, "State and economy in Kano, c. 1860-1960: A study of Colonial Domination, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 1982.

The work of Mansur Mukthar entitled; *British Colonial Labour Policies and the Changing Roles of Labour in Kano Emirate, c. 1903-1960,* Ph.D. thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 1994, is relevant to the purpose of our study on account of its large store of information on the British Colonial labour policies which is the focus of its study, otherwise, its lacks of any definite theoretical/ideological perspective makes it very unreliable as a source of inspiration to new radical study such as the present one.[8]

Another significant work on the subject of agriculture in Northern Nigeria within the period is Michael Watts's, 1983, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine & Peasantry in Northern Nigeria,* Berkeley: University of California Press. This work is significant in that it discusses issues such as food crisis and famine which were direct consequence of colonial economic practices. The agricultural practice in Northern Nigeria at the period of introduction of colonialism was peasant based and the colonialist did nothing to change this status.

Jama'are Emirate is part of the Sokoto Caliphate as well as Hausaland. The system of agriculture in Jama'are is the same with that of Hausaland. However, while Hausaland is generally located in the Sahel and derived savannah, Jama'are is located within the Savannah region, this account for the difference in the climatic conditions of the two areas. The book is primarily written on the Hausaland of which Jama'are is at the edge, close to Kano.

[8] Mansur Ibrahim Mukhtar, "British Colonial Labour Policies and the changing Roles of Labour in Kano Emirate, c. 1903-1960", Ph.D. thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1994.

The book is rich in that it discusses not only the political system of Hausaland but also the social relations of production which has to do with the social organization of the society. Mode of production is another significant variable in the economic practices of any society. The book is an important read for anyone interested in understanding the colonial agricultural policies in Hausaland, the Sokoto Caliphate in general as well as the consequences of these policies on the economy and people of Hausaland.

The book also touched on Fulani pastoral economy. The Fulani are the major ethnic group who occupy Jama'are Emirate. Being settled Fulani they had to adopt farming, however, animal husbandry is another important economic activity in the Emirate. The settlement of the Fulani in this area was made possible as a result of the Sokoto Jihad[9] and the eventual establishment of the Jama'are Emirate. The cattle kept are source of revenue (*jangali*) for the Emirate and later colonialist and they are also sold for ceremonial expenses.

Unrelenting poverty is the salient human condition of post-colonial tropical Africa. Attainment of basic needs on a sustainable level remains an elusive goal – an unrewarding, frustrating quest for most of the subcontinent's burgeoning population. *Silent Violence* examines the roots and expansion of persistent poverty in northern Nigeria and concludes that the process is necessary but predictable. Although the case study focuses on the traditionally centralized, complex agro-pastoral societies in the Sokoto Caliphate of Hausaland and the Sahelian fringe, many findings apply generally to Africa.

[9] Michael Watts, 1983, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine & Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 206.

Watts's major concern is to document and interpret what happens to the peasants of drought- and famine-prone Hausaland under capitalism, with particular reference to the political economy of their changing food production and distribution systems, consumption patterns, food security, and responses to scarcity and famine. His theoretical position is that underdevelopment can be traced to capitalism's penetration of pre-capitalist peasant socioeconomic systems.

Watts chronicles the Hausaland experience from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. He argues that the failure of food systems and the development of recurrent famine represent "preeminently social" crises. These crises must not be attributed simplistically to technical failures, neo-Malthusian determinism, misguided state policies, outmoded structural features (e.g. tenurial arrangements), or a harsh and unpredictable climate. Instead, Watts argues that "famines were and are organically linked to the rupture of the balance between peasant subsistence and consumption precipitated by the development and intensification of commodity production."[10]

Watts informs us that the production of *Silent Violence* was greatly influenced not only by Marx's primary writings, but also by the theoretical and political works of several British social historians. His approach joins historical and ecological analysis within a Marxist theoretical "modes of production" framework.

For Watts, the book's important insights emerge from three broad themes. First is the varied and unique forms of production and capital accumulation that evolved in rural colonial Nigeria. Second, he is concerned with the impacts of commodity production on

[10] Ibid., p. xxii.

subsistence security. Third, he highlights the urgent need for an agricultural transformation in Nigeria in the 1980s and notes some of the policy implications that emerge from the data on the peasant experience of coping with food scarcity.

Daryll Forde & Richenda Scott, *The Native Economies of Nigeria*, is another important work that touched on the thesis of our research. These scholars have it that although the Colonial Empire offers an immense field for economic development little attention has been given to the study of Colonial economies, and perhaps least of all to that of the native economies. Professor Hancock's *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs* contained a masterly economic summary, but the time has come for more specialized studies, even if these, in the absence of adequate statistical data, must still be the nature of preliminary investigations.

That Nigeria should have been chosen for the first of these Nuffield College Studies is natural enough, since Nigeria is, numerically, the largest of the British dependencies, and her population of twenty-three millions includes ethnic group at almost every stage of economic, as of political, development. Her progress, measured in terms of import and export values, has been remarkable. But there have been remarkable vicissitudes also, both in production and price. As Miss Perham observes 'trade could halve and double itself again shortly afterwards with very disturbing effects upon the revenue' and also with very disturbing effects on the incomes of the people. Over-optimism and extravagance in one year would be followed in the next by drastic retrenchment both of staff and services. And then came the Second World War. Nigeria found herself the highway to the Middle East. Communications were revolutionized,

aero-drones sprang up like mushrooms, money was poured into the country, new industries were developed and many old ones revived.

Such is the rough background for this study by Professor Forde and Dr. Scott. Professor Forde has himself an intimate knowledge of Nigeria and it is no doubt for this reason that he lays so much stress on the importance of social factors in economic development. The economic activities of the people are still to a large extent organized within a social and psychological framework which, by our standards is primitive. To secure a satisfactory social adaptation new economic factors must be attached to existing social institutions, otherwise 'functionless, dis-possessed and therefore obstructive organizations will be left to impede the new developments'. The guilds of blacksmiths in south-eastern Nigeria are an example. Their members have become impoverished and socially degraded while the new classes of motor-mechanics or tinsmiths remain unorganized and devoid of the old standards of craftsmanship. Again, in the production of oil-palm products and cocoa, or in the establishment of wider markets for imported goods, there has been an intensification of faction and non-co-operative rivalry within the existing communities. One of the chief problems of development will be to secure progressively higher levels of group organization to which the existing loyalties can be transferred. This process can be furthered by measures such as the spread of adult education, the modification of land rights to suit the new economic conditions, and the reorganization of considerable areas with a view to promoting economic integration and a wider sense of community.

Professor Forde divides the native Nigerian economies into three classes: (1) the subsistence or home-consumption economy, (2) the internal exchange economy, and (3)

the external exchange economy, that is to say the exchange of goods and services between Nigeria and other territories. The subsistence economy still predominates and constitutes therefore the basis on which future plans of development must be built.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

1.6.1 Development

Development is a complex issue, with many different and sometimes contentious definitions. A basic perspective equates development with economic growth. The United Nations Development Programme uses a more detailed definition- according to them development is 'to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community.' Development has many meanings depending in the context it is being talked about.[11] Development involves changing people's attitudes positively. In this context, it is the positive transformation/change of people's ways of living, attitudes and behaviours as a result of their exposure/access to economic variables in the form of land and the means to make it productive without any form of alienation.

'Development' is a concept which is contested both theoretically and politically, and is inherently both complex and ambiguous.[13] The vision of the liberation of people and peoples, which animated development practice in the 1950s and 1960s, has thus been replaced by a vision of the liberalization of economies. The goal of structural

[11] Ssesanga Idrisa, 2009, "The Automation/Digitization of library services of Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU) to enhance access to knowledge for development effectiveness," being a paper presented to the 1st International Conference on African Digital Libraries and Archives (ICADLA-I), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
[13] Thomas, A., 2004, "The Study of Development," Paper prepared for DSA Annual Conference, 6 November, Church House, London.

transformation has been replaced with the goal of spatial integration. The dynamics of long-term transformations of economies and societies has slipped from view and attention was placed on short-term growth and re-establishing financial balances.[14]

In an attempt to give a working definition for this study we shall adopt Gunnar Myrdal definition of development:

> By development I mean the movement upward of the entire social system, and I believe this is the only logically tenable definition. This social system encloses, besides the so-called economic factors, all noneconomic factors, including all sorts of consumption provided collectively; educational and health facilities and levels, the distribution of power in society; and more generally economic, social, and political stratification;…[15]

The aim of development is to help people become more productive and to improve the quality of life for individuals, families, communities and countries as a whole. As people become more productive, a country is in a better position to trade with other countries, and more trade means more goods and services to continue improving living conditions. Development is a complex process, though. A country must concurrently pay attention to social, economic, political, cultural and environmental issues to ensure that development is sustainable and beneficial to all.

In order to present his argument Rodney gives his explanation of how he views development. "Development in human society is a many-sided process. At the level of

[14] Gore, C. (2000) 'The rise and fall of the Washington consensus as a paradigm for developing countries', *World Development*, Vol. 28 No. 5, 790.
[15] Gunnar Myrdal, 1974, "What Is Development?" in *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol. 8, No. 4, Association for Evolutionary Economics, p. 729.

the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being."[16]

Being that some of the categories are in regard to moral behavior the evaluation process is difficult. Rodney maintains the indisputable position of the achievement of any of these aspects of personal development is very much tied in with the state of the society as a whole. Rodney asserts that the term development is often used in an economic sense.

> The justification is that the type of economy is itself an index of other social features. What then is economic development? A society develops economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment.[17]

Rodney further asserts that taking a long-term view, it can be said that there has been constant economic development within human society since the origins of man, because man has multiplied enormously his capacity to win a living from nature.

In the final analysis, a common theme within most definitions is that 'development' encompasses 'change' in a variety of aspects of the human condition. Achieving human development is linked to a third perspective of development which views it as freeing people from obstacles that affect their ability to develop their own lives and communities. Development, therefore, is empowerment: it is about local people taking control of their own lives, expressing their own demands and finding their own solutions to their problems.[18] This was not possible during the colonial era in Jama'are Emirate and was in fact so because of the status of the people under colonialism as

[16] Rodney, W., 1982, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Enugu: Ikenga Publishers, p. 3.
[17] Ibid., p. 4.
[18] http://www.volunteeringoptions.org/VolunteeringDevelopment/WhatisDevelopment/tabid/78/Default.aspx

subject peoples. The policies of the British colonialist on agriculture, the main occupation of the people, was responsible for this state of affair. This study therefore, considers the activities of the colonialist as contributing to the lack of development in the Nigeria area in general and in Jama'are Emirate in particular.

1.6.2 Underdevelopment

Underdevelopment is a term often used to refer to economic underdevelopment, symptoms of which include lack of access to job opportunities, health care, drinkable water, food, education and housing.[19] Underdevelopment takes place when resources are not used to their full socio-economic potential, with the result that local or regional development is slower in most cases than it should be. Furthermore, it results from the complex interplay of internal and external factors that allow less developed countries only a lop-sided development progression. Underdeveloped nations are characterized by a wide disparity between their rich and poor populations, and an unhealthy balance of trade.[20] The most important thing to note is that the economic and social development of many developing countries has not been even.

Underdevelopment can only be understood in relation to development. It appeared as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution. It is in a sense defective capitalism- a form of organization itself characterized by its dynamism. Underdevelopment is almost- but not quite, a failure to be engaged in this dynamism, or this dynamism gone wrong.[21]

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[19] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Underdevelopment

[20] A. G. Frank, 2005, "The Development of Underdevelopment," Development: hoooola como estas, *Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences*.

[21] David Mayer-Foulkes, n.d, *Development and Underdevelopment: 1500-2000*.

According to Rodney one of the ideas behind underdevelopment is a comparative one. It is possible to compare the economic conditions at two different periods for the same country and determine whether or not it had developed'.[22]

A second and even more indispensable component of modern underdevelopment is that it expresses a particular relationship of exploitation: namely, the exploitation of one country by another. All of the countries named as ''underdeveloped'' in the world are exploited by others; and the underdevelopment with which the world is now preoccupied is a product of capitalist, imperialist, and colonialist exploitation. Africa and Asian societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalist powers. When that happened, exploitation increased and the export of surplus ensued, depriving the societies of the benefit of their natural resources and labour. That is an integral part of underdevelopment in the contemporary sense.[23]

In some quarters, it has often been thought wise to substitute the term "developing" for underdeveloped". One of the reasons for this is to avoid any unpleasantness which may be attached to the second term, which might be interpreted as moaning underdeveloped mentally, physically, morally, or in any other respect. Actually, if "underdevelopment" were related to anything other than comparing economies, then the most underdeveloped country in the world would be the U.S.A, which practices external oppression on a massive scale, while internally there is a blend of exploitation, brutality, and psychiatric disorder.[24]

[22] Rodney, W., 1982, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Enugu: Ikenga Publishers, p. 3.
[23] Ibid., p. 3.
[24] Ibid., p. 3.

Rodney's hypothesis lays claim to an understanding of underdevelopment. He points out that once development is understood one can best comprehend the concept of underdevelopment.

> Obviously, underdevelopment is not the absence of development, because all people have developed in one way or another and to a greater or lesser extent. Underdevelopment makes sense only as means of comparing levels of development. It is very much tied to the fact that human social development has been uneven and from a strictly economic view point some human groups have advanced further by producing more and becoming wealthier.[25]

As Rodney expounds on underdevelopment he maintains the necessity of comparative analysis in making an assessment of the underdevelopment of a country with economics as a determinist. Thus Rodney argues that if one is to maintain the realities of underdevelopment he must move from an economic analysis. Economic comparisons can be made by looking at statistical tables or indices of what goods and services are produced and used in the societies under discussion.

The theoretical framework for our analysis in this study is the Underdevelopment and Dependency Theory (UDT) this we believe will help us since the study at hand is a colonial phenomenon it will go a long way in bringing the dialectical relationship which colonialism has established in relation to contact between the centre and the periphery.

Within social science, two of the primary theories which attempt to explain development (or the lack of development) are modernization theory and dependency

[25] Ibid., p. 3.

theory. Modernization theory regards development as an issue intrinsic to third world countries themselves and states that underdevelopment will occur if third world countries are unable or unwilling to move from traditional socioeconomic structures to modern, western, structures of democracy, capitalism, and the rule of law. In contrast, dependency theory argues that third world underdevelopment is a result of the economic world order, is a direct result of first-world prosperity, and cannot be corrected without radical changes to the world order itself.

While contemporary dependency theory is largely Marxist in origin,[26] the groundwork for the concept of dependency extends at least as far back to Adam Smith who acknowledged that the imperialist economic practices of the European powers had denied colonized peoples the benefits of economic growth. Modern dependency theory has been constructed as a continuation of the above line of argument and as a critique of modernization theory.[27] Dependency theory has been advanced and largely argued by scholars within the third world itself rather than, as is the case with modernization theory, by academics in the first world.[29] Dependency theory focuses on international economic order rather than on the social structure of the third world. This may not completely be adequate but it serves the purpose of this study and the aim for which it was carried out. In dependency theory, no society can be viewed in isolation, and third world underdevelopment must be viewed in the context of economic integration with the first world.

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[26] Ibister, John, 2003, *Promises Not Kept*, 6th Ed., Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, p. 42.
[27] Sachs, Jeffrey, 1998, "International Economics: Unlocking the Mysteries of Globalization," Foreign Policy, No. 110, p. 100.
[29] Ibister, John, 2003, *Promises Not Kept*, op. cit., p. 42.

In the eyes of dependency theorists, the main failing of modernization theory is that it ignores the world order and external influences on the third world in favour of blaming third world underdevelopment on third world countries themselves. Indeed, dependency theory argues that it is the very integration of third world countries into the global economic order that is responsible for third world underdevelopment.[30]

In Dependency theory, underdevelopment is not merely a failure of third world countries to develop-as Modernization theorists would argue-but rather the result of "an active process of impoverishment".[31] Dependency theory rejects the modernizations argument that underdeveloped third world countries are mired in a traditional swamp of unproductive economic practices and argues that the third world has been severely disadvantaged by contact with the first world, from the colonial period onwards. Dependency theorists argue that economic contact-that is to say, trade-between the third and the first worlds constitutes an "unequal exchange".[32] An example of this inequality can be found in the resource-based economy of many third world countries. The basis of most underdeveloped third world economies is the extraction of raw materials for export to the first world.[33] This constitutes an unfair trade where the underdeveloped third world receives little benefit as the prices of raw material commodities have been falling over the long term while the prices of finished goods (imported by the third world from the first) have been rising.

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[30] Randall, Vicky & Robin Theobald, 1998, *Political Change and Underdevelopment*, 2nd Ed., London: Macmillan Press, 120.
[31] Ibister, John, 2003, *Promises*… op. cit., p. 42.
[32] Ibid., p. 43.
[33] Ibid., p. 43.

The debate among the liberal reformers (Prebisch), the Marxists (Andre Gunder Frank), and the world systems theorists (Wallerstein) was vigorous and intellectually quite challenging. There are still points of serious disagreements among the various strains of dependency theorists and it is a mistake to think that there is only one unified theory of dependency. Nonetheless, there are some core propositions which seem to underlie the analyses of most dependency theorists.[34] Dependency can be defined as an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences--political, economic, and cultural--on national development policies.[35]

Theotonio Dos Santos emphasizes the historical dimension of the dependency relationships in his definition:

> [Dependency is]...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics... a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected.[37]

There are three common features to these definitions which most dependency theorists share. First, dependency characterizes the international system as comprised of two sets of states, variously described as dominant/dependent, center/periphery or metropolitan/satellite. The dominant states are the advanced industrial nations in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The dependent states

[34] See Ferraro, Vincent, July 1996, *Dependency Theory: An Introduction*, South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College Press.
[35] Sunkel, Osvaldo, October 1969, "National Development Policy and External Dependence in Latin America," in *The Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 23.
[37] Dos Santos, Theotonio, 1971, "The Structure of Dependence," in K. T. Fann & Donald C. Hodges, (eds.), *Readings in U.S. Imperialism*, Boston: Porter Sargent Press, p. 226.

are those states of Latin America, Asia, and Africa which have low per capita GNPs and which rely heavily on the export of a single commodity for foreign exchange earnings of which Nigeria is a good example.

Second, both definitions have in common the assumption that external forces are of singular importance to the economic activities within the dependent states. These external forces include multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign assistance, communications, and any other means by which the advanced industrialized countries can represent their economic interests abroad.

Third, the definitions of dependency all indicate that the relations between dominant and dependent states are dynamic because the interactions between the two sets of states tend to not only reinforce but also intensify the unequal patterns. Moreover, dependency is a very deep-seated historical process, rooted in the internationalization of capitalism. Most dependency theorists regard international capitalism as the motive force behind dependency relationships. Andre Gunder Frank, one of the earliest dependency theorists, is quite clear on this point:

> ...historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole.[38]

[38] Frank, Andre Gunder, 1972, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in James D. Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank & Dale Johnson, (eds.), *Dependence and Underdevelopment,* Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, p. 3.

According to this view, the capitalist system has enforced a rigid international division of labour which is responsible for the underdevelopment of many areas of the world. The dependent states supply cheap minerals, agricultural commodities, and cheap labour, and also serve as the repositories of surplus capital, obsolescent technologies, and manufactured goods. These functions orient the economies of the dependent states toward the outside world: money, goods, and services do flow into dependent states, but the allocations of these resources are determined by the economic interests of the dominant states, and not by the economic interests of the dependent state. This division of labour is ultimately the explanation for poverty and there is little question but that capitalism regards the division of labour as a necessary condition for the efficient allocation of resources. The most explicit manifestation of this characteristic is in the doctrine of comparative advantage.[39]

Underdevelopment refers to a situation in which resources are being actively used in a way which benefits dominant states and not the poorer states in which the resources are found. The distinction between underdevelopment and undevelopment places the poorer countries of the world in a profoundly different historical context. These countries are not "behind" or "catching up" to the richer countries of the world. They are not poor because they lagged behind the scientific transformations or the enlightenment values of the European states. They are poor because they were coercively integrated into the European economic system only as producers of raw materials or to serve as repositories

[39] See Ferraro, Vincent, July 1996, *Dependency Theory*…op cit.

of cheap labour, and were denied the opportunity to market their resources in any way that competed with dominant states.[40]

This is true of the situation in Nigeria in general and Jama'are Emirate in particular as it relates to the colonial agricultural policies and the impact it had on the economic development of the Emirate and Nigeria. The use of the theoretical framework (UDT) reflects the unequal relationship between colonizing nation and the colonized. The imposition of colonialism in Nigeria served also as the death knell for agriculture and for development in general.

1.7 Scope of the Study

Jama'are is a town in northeastern Nigeria, about 93 miles (150 km.) north of Bauchi. It was one of the Emirates of Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th century, under the authority of the Fulani. It came to be under British colonialism from 1902-1960. During the period under consideration Jama'are Emirate was under Kano Province and was then later transferred to Bauchi Province. The area is populated by the Fulbe that migrated from Dilara alongside the Lake Chad basin. This is an area that is located in the savannah region which has been known to be good for agriculture. The savannah area has always been the historical centre of population concentration.[41] Hence its importance as a centre of population concentration became evident because of the fact that conditions in this

[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., p. 27.

area were most favorable for the development both of crop cultivation and animal husbandry.[42]

The period that we choose covers 1900-1960. This is the colonial period in Nigeria and Jama'are Emirate is a part of Nigeria. This period certainly overlap in such a way that this will afford us to go back to the pre-colonial era to examine the situation prior to the establishment of colonial rule. This period can be termed as revolutionary in the sense that within a short period the British affected a total reorientation and overhaul of the economy of Nigeria and of this area. This in our view is something worth investigating in order to bring to light the historical development in this as it affects agriculture during the colonial period.

The choice of Jama'are Emirate has to do with the fact that it is situated on a trade route between Borno and Kano which made it an important place for the British and other people that carry out their trade through this route. Jama'are therefore served as a resting place or station for the British on their way to Borno and Kano. As the British came in contact with this area they also came to find out the economic viability of the area in terms of agricultural produce; a major interest of the British colonialists at the time. The importance of trade or commerce to the British and to the development of industrialization is well known and it also determined the strategic importance of this area to the British in their colonial scheme of things particularly in agriculture. The prominence of agriculture in this area has to do with fact that there is a big river which serves as a source of irrigation for farming by the people.

[42] Ibid., p. 27.

1.8 Definition of Concepts

1.8.1 Agriculture

In relation to crop farming and livestock farming, the term "agriculture" may be defined as: "the art and science of growing plants and raising animals for food, other human needs, or economic gain".[43] Agriculture is the growing of both plants and animals for human needs.[44] Agriculture is the deliberate effort to modify a portion of Earth's surface through the cultivation of crops and the raising of livestock for sustenance or economic gain.[45] Agriculture is also the science, art, or practice of cultivating the soil, producing crops, and raising livestock and in varying degrees the preparation and marketing of the resulting products.[46] Agriculture can also be seen as the science or practice of farming, including cultivation of the soil for the growing of crops and the rearing of animals to provide food, wool, and other products.[47]

For these and many more we can see what makes agriculture both important and necessary for colonialism. The Jama'are area provided ample opportunities for the colonialist. It was an area that was good for various kinds of crops and because of the presence of the river and possibility of irrigation; the area was under cultivation all year round. We shall see also how they encouraged more irrigation in the area as part of the colonial policies introduced in Northern Nigeria. Irrigation had been the practice of Nigerian peoples living near rivers and even those far from it where they made use of

[43] Ben G. Bareja, (ed.), August 2011, http://www.cropsreview.com/what-is-agriculture.html
[44] Abellanosa, A.L. and H.M. Pava, 1987, *Introduction to Crop Science,* Central Mindanao University, Musuan, Bukidnon: Publications Office, p. 238.
[45] Rubenstein, J. M., 2003, *The Cultural Landscape: An Introduction to Human Geography*, 7th ed., Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc. p. 496.
[46] http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/agriculture
[47] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/agriculture

fadama to irrigate the land. Agriculture is in the final analysis an important economic activity and one that attracted and sustains the colonialist in Nigeria.

1.8.2 Colonialism

Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people by another. One of the difficulties in defining colonialism is that it is hard to distinguish it from imperialism. Frequently the two concepts are treated as synonyms. Like colonialism, imperialism also involves political and economic control over a dependent territory. The etymology of the two terms, however, provides some clues about how they differ. The term colony comes from the Latin word *colonus*, meaning farmer. This root reminds us that the practice of colonialism usually involved the transfer of population to a new territory, where the arrivals lived as permanent settlers while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin. Imperialism, on the other hand, comes from the Latin term *imperium*, meaning to command. Thus, the term imperialism draws attention to the way that one country exercises power over another, whether through settlement, sovereignty, or indirect mechanisms of control.[48]

Colonialism is not a modern phenomenon. World history is full of examples of one society gradually expanding by incorporating adjacent territory and settling its people on newly conquered territory. The ancient Greeks set up colonies as did the Romans, the Moors, and the Ottomans, to name just a few of the most famous examples. Colonialism, then, is not restricted to a specific time or place. Nevertheless, in the sixteenth century,

[48] Kohn, Margaret, "Colonialism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* Fall 2011 Edition, Edward N. Zalta, (ed.), forthcoming http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/colonialism/

colonialism changed decisively because of technological developments in navigation that began to connect more remote parts of the world. Fast sailing ships made it possible to reach distant ports and to sustain close ties between the center and colonies. Thus, the modern European colonial project emerged when it became possible to move large numbers of people across the ocean and to maintain political sovereignty in spite of geographical dispersion. This study uses the term colonialism to describe the process of European settlement and political control over the rest of the world, including the Americas, Australia, and parts of Africa and Asia.[49]

This study will use colonialism as a broad concept that refers to the project of European political domination from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries that ended with the national liberation movements of the 1960s.[50] Colonialism is the extension of a nation's sovereignty over territory by the establishment beyond its borders. It may be either settler colonies or administrative dependencies in which they ruled indigenous populations directly or displaced. Colonising nations normally dominate the resources of the colonial territory. They may also try to impose social, cultural and religious structures on the conquered areas.[51]

Colonialism as an economic system of exploitation through plunder and coercion has a very long history. Colonialism as such was inherently a violent process of subjugation, exploitation, extraction and extermination of the society. As an alien system

[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] http://www.blurtit.com/q164455.html

colonialism was a violent process so one would expect that in itself, the establishment of colonialism was violence personified.

1.8.3 Policy

Policy is a plan or course of action in directing affairs, as chosen by a government. It is also a definite course or method of action selected by a government, institution, or individual from among alternatives and in the light of given conditions to guide and usually determine present and future decisions. It can also be defined as an aggregation of people's hopes, aspirations and values which may be contained in official documents or merely taken as being the current stand on given problems. In practical terms, it consists of a course of actions and measures deliberately taken to direct the affairs of society towards the realisation of predetermined goals or objectives. "Stated most simply, policy is the sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the life of citizens".[52]

In his definition of what a policy is Bala Usman has this to say: "A policy is a planned course of action for the attainment of definite objective in a specific sphere of action."[53] In order to clarify the issue further he went ahead to define other concepts that are related to policy formulation and implementation. These concepts are strategy,

[52] Bala Usman, 2005, "Mr. President Are You Serious About NEEDS" an *Open Letter to President on NEEDS,* Zaria: CEDDERT.
[53] Ibid., p. 12.

programmes, objectives, goals, targets and so on.[54] There is need to have a correct, coherent, and consistent conception of what these concepts are.

The term policy usually implies some long-term purpose in a broad subject field (e.g. land tenure), not a series of ad-hoc judgments in unrelated fields. Sometimes, however, we conceive of policy not so much as actively purpose oriented but rather as a fairly cohesive set of responses to a problem that has arisen. In the sphere of government development activities, governments have policies, plans, programmes and projects, each of these in succession being a little more short-term, more specific in place and timing than the previous and each successively more executive rather than legislative.[55] In the light of these considerations we can provisionally define a policy as a set of decisions which are oriented towards a long-term purpose or to a particular problem. Such decisions by governments are often embodied in legislation and usually apply to a country as a whole rather than to one part of it. There is no right or wrong policy. But the foremost will be one that addresses the masses, and reflects their social values. Considering that public policy is an action taken by the government that ultimately affects the public, it has been recognized that even when an area of activity is left in private hands, the very act of it being left alone can be viewed as a deliberate policy of the authorities.

[54] Ibid., p. 12.
[55] www.fao.org/Wairdocs/ILRI/x5499E/x5499e03.htm

1.8.4 Agricultural Policy

Agricultural policy is a statement of action and a fundamental tool employed in achieving agricultural development.[56] Agricultural policy describes a set of laws relating to domestic agriculture and imports of foreign agricultural products.[57] Governments usually implement agricultural policies with the goal of achieving a specific outcome in the domestic agricultural product markets. Outcomes can involve, for example, a guaranteed supply level, price stability, product quality, product selection, land use or employment.[58] Agricultural policy focuses on the goals and methods of agricultural production. At the policy level, common goals of agriculture include:

a. Conservation,
b. Economic stability,
c. Environmental sustainability,
d. Food quality: Ensuring that the food supply is of a consistent and known quality,
e. Food safety: Ensuring that the food supply is free of contamination,
f. Food security: Ensuring that the food supply meets the population's needs,[59]
g. Poverty reduction.[60]

Agricultural policy of the colonial era type made use of the available land and labour to achieve the goal of maximum utilization of the resources of the colonized. The policies that were adopted ended up benefiting just the colonialist to the detriment of the colonized as well as the land.

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[56] Ayoola, G.B., 2001, *Essays On The Agricultural Economy: A Book Or Readings On Agricultural Development Policy And Administration In Nigeria,* TMA Publishers Ibadan p. 84.
[57] Iwuchukwu J .C. and Igbokwe E.M., 2012, Lessons from Agricultural Policies and Programmes in Nigeria, *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization,* Vol. 5, pp. 11-21.
[58] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agricultural_policy
[59] Trumbull, Mark, July 24, 2007, "Rising food prices curb aid to global poor", *The Christian Science Monitor*, Boston.
[60] Ibid.

The potential of agriculture for propelling Nigeria's economic development was recognized by the colonial government when policies were put in place to encourage output growth and to extract the surpluses there from.[61] The predominant theme of development in this period was the surplus extraction philosophy or policy whereby immense products were generated from the rural areas to satisfy the demand for raw materials in metropolitan Britain.[62] This early interest of the extraction policy was on forest resources and agricultural exports like cocoa, coffee, rubber, groundnut, oil palm etc.[63]

1.8.5 Colonial Policy

Colonial policy can be seen as the conscious effort by the colonialist to regulate all aspects of the life of the colonized for their benefit. With colonialism comes a system of how it would work for the colonialist and this is where the question of colonial policy come into play. The colonialist came to establish colonialism fully aware of the target that they set for themselves. In this vain they first sent people who engaged in the study of the so-called natives' economic and social life as well as the political organization. With the establishment of colonialism these studies proved very valuable. The basis of all their policies was these studies in the past or their observations on the spot.

One of the most important colonial policies was the policy of indirect rule, which called for governing the protectorate through the rulers as introduced by Fredrick Lugard.

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[61] Ayoola, G.B. (2001), *Essays on The Agricultural Economy 1: A Book of Readings on Agricultural*… op. cit.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

If the emirs accepted British authority, abandoned the slave trade, and cooperated with British officials in modernizing their administrations, the colonial power was willing to confirm them in office. The emirs retained their caliphate titles but were responsible to British district officers, who had final authority. The British High Commissioners could depose emirs and other officials if necessary. The principle of indirect rule administered by traditional rulers was applied throughout Nigeria, and colonial officers were instructed to interfere as little as possible with the existing order.[64]

1.9 Methodology

For a historical work of this nature to be original there is need for the use of oral sources. And for our area of study there is going to be extensive use of oral sources. The archival materials, published and unpublished works will also be used.

1.9.1 Primary Sources:

It is the most important source for historical reconstruction and there is no gainsaying that we will make extensive use of this category of source material. In this type of source the researcher should be able to gather information that will help in the proper understanding of the subject matter going back into the immediate past and will provide the basis or backbone of the research work.

The target group or people for the oral interview are people from the age of 70 years upward to 90 or even hundred. This group of people will able to furnish the

[64] Nnamdi Ihuegbu, Colonialism and Independence: Nigeria as a Case Study, http://www.southernct.edu/organizations/hcr/2002/nonfiction/colonialism.htm

researcher with enough primary data both of colonial period and the pre-colonial era of this area. This type of information is significant to this kind of work which touches on the colonial era.

1.9.2 Secondary Sources:

These are usually written sources relevant to subject of study as a result of research carried out. These written materials are in form of text books, theses and dissertations. There is shortage of this type of material dealing with the subject under study in this area. The method we intend to use in this study is the critical method and the best in an attempt to interpret and analyze these source materials, so as to achieve the basic objective of the work.

1.10 Conclusion

By providing the necessary background this chapter has lain the ground for a good thesis based on the study of the British agricultural policies as being introduced in Jama'are Emirate in particular and Nigeria in general. A study of this magnitude has never been undertaken by any individual, therefore the task we faced in the run-up to the conclusion of this thesis is nothing less than daunting. The literature review however, has gone a long way in charting a roadmap for us to explore the available source material relating to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LAND AND PEOPLE OF JAMA'ARE EMIRATE

2.1 Introduction

The focus of this study is on agriculture and how the colonialist exploited this aspect of the economy of the people of Jama'are Emirate. Therefore, the study will never be complete without an examination of the land and the people of Jama'are Emirate area. This is what we have done in this chapter. We examined the land of the Jama'are Emirate area in terms of the ecology, topography and fertility of the area. The location of Jama'are was defined based on the ecology and other the topography of the area. This was necessary in order to determine the types of crops that can be planted in the area as well as the type fauna in the area. These two things define the economic potential of the area and the attraction by the colonial government.

2.2 Location of Jama'are Emirate

Jama'are Emirate is located North of Bauchi on longitude 11 40^{o} north and latitude 9 56^{o} east Jama'are Emirate has five (5) districts; Guda, Maleme, Jeji, Galdimari and Hanafari. In other sources they are listed as follows; Jama'are, Dogon Jeji, Hanafari, Galdimari and Jurara,[1] which have a surface area of 358,628 square kilometers. Its population was estimated at 40,186 in 1963, but has a current projection of 150,000.[2] The area is covered by the present Jama'are Local Government Area of Bauchi State. Jama'are Emirate is situated west of the Jama'are River which was the most important

[1] Bauchi State, 2006, *A Historical Perspective*, pp. 81-82.
[2] Ibid., pp. 81-82.

geographical features. The area was divided into districts headed by a district head, appointed by the emir. The five district heads go with the titles of:

1. Hakimin Jama'are for Jama'are District
2. Jarman Jama'are for Dogon Jeji District
3. Marafan Jama'are for Hanafari District
4. Galadiman Jama'are for Galdimari District
5. Santurakin Jama'are for Jurara District.[3]

Jama'are Emirate except for some minor colonial administrative border adjustments has been in its present site and size since the 1840s. Like its neighbours, the people are of mixed ethnic groups of Fulbe (Fulani), Kanuri, Hausa and some ancient groups of Shira ethnicity but easily complete and achieved by assimilation rather than by war.[4]

The riverside location of the settlement gives it the advantage of growing a crossing point for goods and peoples linking the ancient Trans-Saharan Trade route. It is important to note that the road that links Chad, Cameroun, Maiduguri, Kano, Sokoto, Katsina, Kaduna and down to Lagos pass through Jama'are Emirate.[5]

Lying in the wooded savanna lands of the Hadejia-Jama'are River basin, the two major rivers of the basin are the Hadejia and the Jama'are, which meet in the Hadejia-Nguru Wetlands (HNWs) to form the Yobe. The Hadejia River rises from the Kano

[3] ibid., p. 81.
[4] ibid., p. 81.
[5] Alhaji Ahmadu Malle, Dan Iyan Jama'are, Retired farm official, farmer, aged 86, interview at his house, 10th September 2012.

highlands while the head-waters of the Jama'are River are in the Jos plateau.[6] The area is mainly inhabited by the Fulani, Hausa, peoples. Jama'are, also spelled Jamaari, especially by the colonialists, is a town and traditional emirate of Northern Nigeria. The town is situated along the Jama'are River, which is a tributary of the Katagum, and at the intersection of roads leading from Wudil, Azare, and Faggo. Traditionally founded in 1811 by Muhammadu Wabi I, a leader in the jihad led by Usman dan Fodio, the emirate was not officially recognized until 1835, when Sambolei, the chief of the Jama'are Fulani, was rewarded with it for his aid against the Hausa rebels of Katsina by Muhammad Bello, the *Sarkin Musulmi* ("commander of the faithful).[7]

With the advent of colonial domination and export trade, there was increased demand for commodities such as groundnuts, cotton and hides and skin, hence Jama'are became a marketing point for the selling and buying of these commodities and the buying and selling of food crops, vegetables and dairy products.[8] There were established purchasing and wholesale units by trading companies such as John Holt and the United Africa Company (UAC), etc. Trading activities increased between Jama'are and other big centres such as Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi, Jos, Yola and Maiduguri in Northern Nigeria.

Jama'are Emirate is an agricultural area that produces millet, guinea corn, cotton and groundnut. The Jama'are River encourages irrigation and dry season farming which

[6] Chiroma, Muhammad J., et al., "Water Management Issues in the Hadejia-Jama'are-Komadugu-Yobe Basin: DFID-JWL and Stakeholders Experience in Information Sharing, Reaching Consensus and Physical Interventions," DIFD-Joint Wetlands Livelihoods Project (JWL), Nigeria.
[7] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/299708/Jamaare
[8] See Kirk-Greene, A. H. M., 1972, *Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, Vol. 1, The Hausa Emirates (Bauchi, Sokoto, Zaria, Kano)*, London: Frank Cass.

enables the production of vegetables and onions. Fishing also flourishes in addition to livestock rearing.

2.3 The Land and People of Jama'are Emirate

Jama'are people were said to have come from the east around the Chad area. They were staying in a plain called Dilara. Muhammad Wabi son of Ardo Saleh had participated in the Fulani war against Borno under the leadership of Gwani Mukhtar. It was said that Gwani Mukhtar the father of Muhammadu Manga had offered him a title of Madaki which he rejected; according to sources he did not want to be under him but preferred to lead his people.

While he was at Dawasa, he went to Usman dan Fodiyo and received a flag and was instructed to wage Jihad; he later moved with his followers and stayed in a place called Gijifta kuka near river Jama'are. He died at Jama'are shortly after a war with the Kare-kare near Potiskum. He was succeeded by his son, Sambolei who participated in a number of wars. His outstanding one being that of a battle called Yakin Gawa Kuke in quelling revolt against Sokoto from Katsina. It was after the war that he moved from Gijifta Kuta and founded the present Jama'are town around 1830. What constitute Jama'are emirate was carved out of Katagum emirate on the instruction of Caliph Muhammad Bello. It was Sambo's son Muhammadu Maudo popularly known as Maudo who built the Jama'are defence wall. Jama'are people are noted for military skill and have always been allying with Misau and Katagum against a foreign power.

The region being a buffer between Borno and the Sokoto Caliphate, the emirate in question was noted for military war-fare and peaceful co-existence with neighbouring emirates of Misau and Katagum. They traded with Borno, Kano and other parts of Hausaland. The items involved were mostly cattle, *gwado* and slaves from the emirates. Gunpowder, textile materials and kolanuts, natron were brought from Kano, Borno, Jos and other parts of Hausaland. Towards the end of 1894 and throughout 1895 trade between Borno and Hausaland took a great dimension. Katagum was by then Rabes foreign trade centre in western Borno.[9]

The history of Jama'are, as a settlement of predominantly Fulbe from Borno dates back to early 19th century under Ardo Saleh at Dilara, south west of Lake Chad in the present Chad Republic. The 19th century jihad movements in Hausaland and Borno coupled with the social and economic persecution of the people forced the Dilara people, under Ardo Saleh to migrate to the south west and establish a powerful stronghold. It was from there that Muhammad Wabi I also known as Hamma Wabi travelled to Sokoto to receive a flag of office from Shehu Usman dan Fodio in 1811. Later, the group moved further south west to the present site of Jama'are under the leadership of Sambo Lai, who had succeeded Muhammad Wabi I.[10]

The choice of the present site was dictated by the fact that the settlement of Gijib was easier to develop and the River Jama'are afforded them natural defence, adequate grazing ground for their livestock, arable land for farming and adequate water for

[9] Alhaji Chadi Hassan, Wakilin Hannafari, aged 72, Male, Farmer, 16th October 2012.
[10] "Sambolei," Encyclopædia Britannica, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011 Web. 21 Jan. 2011, available at, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/520428/Sambolei

consumption and fishing. This was to also serve the interest of the colonialist after they took over Nigeria. Agriculture became the principal occupation of the people and still is. As farmers the people of Jama'are produce millet, guinea corn, beans, cassava, rice, wheat, groundnut, cotton, onion and vegetables.

2.4 Geographical Features of Jama'are Emirate

Jama'are as a land known by that name came into existence as a result of the Jihad movement of Usman dan Fodio of the 19th Century. Jama'are Emirate is subjected to a principal dry season which last from October through April. The rainy season starts usually late May and ends in September; July, August and September are normally the wettest months. Like other parts of Northern the region experiences rainy and dry seasons. Rainfall for effective farming commences between May to June and terminates in September-October. The temperature is generally high throughout the emirate with a mean annual of about 30-35c. The general weather of the region may be divided into three periods based on temperatures relative humidity and rainfall. There is a cool and dry period commencing from November–February; followed by a hot period from March-May. There is also a hot and wet period which later runs into warm and wet season. The emirate experience abundance of sunshine except during the intermittent harmattan period occurring between December and February which reduces visibility and brightness.[11]

[11] Bauchi State, 2006, *A Historical Perspective*, pp. 81-82.

Jama'are Emirate falls within the high plains of Northern Nigeria where the vegetation is made up of short grasses and some stunted trees like acacia, the date palm and silk cotton and baobab. Jama'are is generally placed on the border of two (2) types of geological units with kaolin sands of the Chad formation. To the south are rocks of the quaternary age and to the north are continental sand dunes with grits and clays formation of the tertiary age. The soils are deeper and the sands have a low water holding capacity.[12]

Along the bed of the Jama'are River is deposited alluvium, made of loose surface deposits not yet hardened into rocks. The deposits existing in the form of silts, clays and sands spread around the course of the river. The river provided good and adequate drainage to the Jama'are Emirate and the major *fadamas* found around these water courses which also formed the basis of the large-scale dry season farming *noman rani* carried on in the Emirate.

The soil in the Emirate was very fertile which made it easier for the people to engage in both rainy season and dry season *fadama* farming and irrigation or *bayi* as in watering. Some of the crops cultivated during the raining season are millet, guinea corn, beans, cassava, cotton, wheat, groundnut and the crops grown during the dry season from the *fadamomi* or through the use of irrigation along the river bank which predates colonial domination were vegetables such as onion, tomatoes, rice, etc. According to *Dan Lawan* of Jama'are corn was usually planted in homes.[13]

[12] Bauchi State… op. cit., p. 81.
[13] Alhaji Chadi Aliyu, Dan Lawan of Jama'are Emirate, Male, Retired Teacher and Banker, Farmer, aged 62, 11th September 2012.

2.4.1 The Climate

The climate of the Jama'are Emirate is influenced by two (2) distinct air masses. The first from the north dry and continental in origin, that is the Saharan air mass. The second air mass from the Atlantic Ocean in the south is moist, cool and Equatorial Maritime in nature. Therefore the weather depends on the air mass which covers the area. The Jama'are area experiences dry season which lasts from October to April and the rain starts by late May and ends in September. July, August and September are the wettest months. The vegetation falls within the high plains of Northern Nigeria where it is made up of short grasses and some stunted trees like acacia, date palm, silk cotton and baobab. The Jama'are Emirate falls on the border of two geological units with Kaolin sands of the Chad formation to the south, and the continental sand dunes with grits and clay formation of tertiary age to the north. Along the beds of the Jama'are are deposits of alluvial soil and loam which are yet to harden into rocks. The deposits exist in form of silt, clay and sand sprayed across the coast of the river.[14]

The seasons in Jama'are Emirate can be divided into the following: (*Ndungu* F., *Damina* H., *Seeto* F., *Marka* H., *Yamde* F., *Kaka* H., *Dabbunde* F., *Bazara* H.)

i. ***Ndungu,* F.**: Rainfall is the major factor determining the pattern and nature of the activities of the people in the Emirate. The onset of the *Ndungu* in Jama'are Emirate is never certain because of the erratic nature of the weather as such there were constant fluctuations. However, in normal seasons, the *Ndungu* begins between late April or early May. By the middle of July, August and September the *Ndungu* becomes fully

[14] Bauchi State, 2006, *A Historical Perspective,* p. 82.

established leading to the disappearance of the Tropical Continental air mass and the predominance of the Maritime Equatorial air mass. In certain years when the rain was late in coming up to late May, this will affect the growth of most crops and therefore yields especially sorghum -*gauri*.

The following season fully commenced with the beginning of the early rains (*ruwan-shuka)*, that is, the initial heavy rain followed by no unusual intervening dry spell before the next fall of rain. Planting starts with the major staple grain & crop; sorghum -*dawa* and millet -*gero*, the farm plots having already been cleared and manured in the *dabbunde*. Farmers devote all their attention to the farm in order to avoid late planting or falling victim to short falls in rain due to the uncertainty in the duration of rain in any one season. This was usually the busiest and critical period in the farming season and food shortages were sometimes experienced.

ii. ***Seeto* F.:** This is the period when the rainy season becomes fully established. The period is usually characterized by heavy rains, lowering of temperatures and high humidity. It sometimes marked a period of respite from the strenuous work of the early *damina*, with the first weeding and early crops like millet already harvested. It was also the period when large herds of cattle return to their places which they left in dry season. The return of the herds sometimes leads to clashes or conflicts between agriculturalists and pastoralists whenever the herds stray into an individual's farm. The occurrence of

this was however minimized as much as possible by state through the maintenance of *labi nai*- cattle tracks.[15]

iii. ***Dabbunde*:** like the onset of the rains the duration of the *Dabbunde*, varied, sometimes it prolonged beyond expectation

The topography of the region is characterized by a flat land undulating plain and sand dunes with range of hills. The predominant type of soil in the emirate is the sandy soils of coarse texture with very high percolation rates; in the river flood plains, *Fadama*, loamy soils are found.

The major river system in the emirate is river Jama'are/Katagum which is one of the largest rivers in the country; originating from Dilimi in Jos Plateau, traversing Jama'are and Katagum emirates before finally discharging into the Lake Chad.[16] Jama'are area is endowed with valleys suitable for wet and dry seasons farming; the prominent ones being the *Fadamas* at *Tashena*, *Sandigalau*, *Jama'are*, *Tsumba*, *Walai*, *Maladumba*, *Gabirna* and *Gulka*. The area was prominent in wheat production; there was a great boost in irrigated farming even before the establishment of colonialism. With the establishment of colonialism irrigation was given new impetus. In years following the establishment of colonialism, the region was leading in the production of wheat in Kano and later Bauchi Provinces. Crops like maize, rice and vegetables were being produced in large quantities and sold locally to the neighboring villages and beyond for consumption and food processing factories.

[15] See Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria: A Study of Soba District c. 1902-1960, Zaria: an M.A. Dissertation in the Department of History, A.B.U.
[16] Bauchi State, 2006, *A Historical Perspective*, pp. 81-82.

2.4.2 The Vegetation

The vegetation pattern of the emirates can be classified into Sudan and Sahel Savanna. The most prominent species commonly found are shrub grass of Combretum (*Sabara*) *Gabaruwa* and Philiostigma (*Kargo*). There are a lot of forests though now dwindling due to the effect of desert encroachment, influx of immigrants and other human factor. Such forests include *Dajin Atafowa Gundumi, Buzuzu, Diya, Yanda, Kurba, Adima, Tawaila Lugada and Dugunde.* The forests contain different varieties of trees such as Mahogany (*Madachi*) Borassus Flasher Lifer (*Giginya*) Boabab (*Kuka*) etc. they have medicinal and economic values. Wild animals such as Giraffes, Lions, Bush Pigs and Ostriches to mention of few used to thrive there. The region has been known for live stock production which gave rise to animal markets at Hardawa, Gamawa, Jama'are and Azare that are still attended by customers from all corners of the country.

2.5 Settlement Pattern of Jama'are Emirate

Inter play of economic, political and geographical factors have attracted people to move into the region from the earliest time. The iron ore which was needed for the manufacture of weapons, implements and currency had immensely contributed towards the movement of people into the region. The area also has a very good drainage system. River Katagum/Jama'are and Kumadugu that traverses the emirate had attracted various groups such as Fulani nomads, hunters and fishermen. The emirate which was peaceful must have attracted a number of immigrants. It is interesting to note that the areas being occupied by Jama'are Emirate were formerly part of Shira Kingdom up to the Jihad

period. The other ethnic groups in the emirate are: the Fulani, Kanuri, Hausa. Most of the ethnic groups in the emirate have been assimilated into Hausa language and culture. The pattern of settlement in the Jama'are Emirate area follows the household system of the Fulbe being the dominant group after the Jihad.

2.6 Conclusion

The area that came to be known as Jama'are Emirate had undergone series of developments from the earliest times up to the advent of colonialism. Human activities and settlement began long before the coming of the British colonialists. This was what made the area attractive to the colonialist. With the Jihad and establishment of the emirate system of government in the area was made one of the major economic activities of the people. The people of the area were predominantly Fulbe who practiced pastoralism as well as farming crops for local consumption as well as for trading with their neighbours far and near.

CHAPTER THREE

PRE-COLONIAL AGRICULTURE IN JAMA'ARE EMIRATE

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we are going to look at the organization of agricultural production in Jama'are area and the policies of the emirate administration with regards to agriculture. These could be discussed side by side for better analysis and exposition. Agricultural production of the economy of Jama'are area in the 19th century. In view of this therefore, we are examining the basic issues that arose in the process of agricultural production. These were the issues of access to land, organization of production, the processes involved in production, distribution, exchange and appropriation of the produce. All these, were carefully, guided by the state, through policy, because of the importance of agriculture in the economy of the emirate.

Therefore, by the 19th century state policy with regards to agriculture and the economy generally was influenced by three factors. These were the role of Islam; the needs of the producers and the advantages offered by the environment. In the case of Islamic factor, this was because of the position of Islam as the state religion, which got ascendancy as a result of the jihad movement that swept through the whole of Hausaland in the early part of the 19th century. Its role in the state policy was boosted by the writings of the jihad scholars most especially Muhammad Bello and Abdullahi Danfodio as we shall discuss later in this chapter. We should however note that certain administrative practices and policies predated the 19th century and were guided by other much more basic factors than religious. These were the actual needs of the producers and the

advantages offered by the environment. The actual need of the producers ranged primarily from food, shelter and clothing. Therefore the relationships between the various groups in the society developed along these lines. In most cases the state only moved in to ensure a harmonious relationship or to give further encouragement along the direction it favoured the most. For instance the relationship between the cattle rearers and agriculturalists developed independent of the state, but the state aided it, by establishing cattle tracks to minimize the instances of clashes between the two groups.

The third factor, was the environmental influence, suitability or advantages, only those crops or occupations that are suitable or adaptable to the climate, soil and vegetation of the area were cultivated or practiced respectively. For instance, the soil of the Jama'are area was not suitable for the cultivation of date palms and as such it was not undertaken by the inhabitant. Therefore the three factors highlighted worked side by side in the emergence of a distance production pattern and a clear state policy. In some instances however, it is difficult to associate a single factor with the emergence of a particular practice or policy. However, agricultural practice was mainly determined by the needs of the people and their environment.

3.2 Land Tenure

Land tenure comprises the customary and legal rights that individuals or groups have to land, and the resulting social relationships.[1] Land tenure systems, are defined by the legal and customary relations among parties directly using the land or appropriating its products. Agrarian systems refer to the broader institutional framework within which agricultural and related rural activities take place.[2] In addition to land tenure, agrarian systems include credit, marketing, agro-processing, irrigation, technical assistance and other socio-economic and political institutions and public policies most relevant for the rural population. Land tenure systems constitute the core of agrarian structures as they most clearly crystallize rural power relations. They strongly influence the complementary social institutions that comprise agrarian structures.[3]

Divergent historical paths have led to land tenure systems that are to some extent unique in each locality, country and region. During the last half-century, land tenure systems and agrarian structures in nearly all of them have been modified significantly by processes linked to economic modernization, globalization, demographic and political changes, as well as by purposeful "land reforms" of one kind or another. Economic and political factors were always closely intertwined.[4]

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[1] Kirk, M., 1999, *Land tenure, technological chance and resource use in African agrarian systems.* Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang Verlag; Lane, C., and R. Moorehead, 1995. New directions in rangeland resource tenure and policy. In: *Living with uncertainty: New directions in pastoral development in Africa,* (ed.) I. Scoones, London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

[2] FAO-Tech 5, 1995, Overall Socio-Political and Economic Environment for Food Security at National, Regional and Global Levels, WFS 96/Tech/5, Rome, November.

[3] See Solon L. Barraclough, June 1999, "Land Reform in Developing Countries: The Role of the State and Other Actors," UNRISD, Geneva: Discussion Paper No. 101.

[4] Ibid.

Customary communal land tenure systems continue to have an important role in regulating access to land and its benefits in much of Sub-Saharan Africa. They also still retain a significant but subordinate role in a few marginal areas of Asia and the Americas. In these systems, land is considered to be the common property of the clan, ethnic group or other community occupying the territory, although actual cultivation is usually undertaken by individuals and their immediate families. Outsiders can be granted certain access rights or be excluded, but this implies the consent of the community. Usufruct rights to individuals are allocated by community authorities on the basis of needs and other criteria, while all members of the community, even if they have moved away, retain hereditary land rights. These customary land systems have persisted in many regions in spite of having been formally superseded by colonial and post-colonial legal codes vesting ultimate land ownership with the state or private entities.

Land in Jama'are Emirate was communally owned but individual ownership was also available especially among the title holders and those who have a large family. Land tenure is concerned with the basic arrangements through which people engaged in agricultural production gained access to land. This is because tenure arrangement determined the ability of individuals to gain access to productive opportunities in land and determines the nature and dimension and future security of such opportunities. In addition it determined the pattern of income distribution and appropriation in the society.[5]

[5] Udo, R. K., 1967, "British policy and the development of export crops in Nigeria," *The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2.

Land tenure system of the Jama'are area by the late nineteenth century was closely related to the pattern of authority in the area. Land utilization and ownership was guided and controlled by the state represented by fief holders and the *sarakunan garuruwa* and the *dagatai* of the Jama'are area, who were themselves representatives of the emir (who held the land in trust of the people).[6] Therefore nobody was supposed to be alienated from land as long as he paid the land tithe *kudin qasa*.[7] This does not however made the people to be sub-tenants of the fief- holders and *dagatai* of the area, as the latter could not initiate taxation on their own or fix the amount to be paid without instruction from the emir.

At the community level, the land was owned collectively in the form of house hold *gandu*. In this form of tenure no individual can alienate the land from the other members of the *gandu*. The *maigida* managed the family's plots on behalf of its members. Rights to use land were usually acquired from the village heads or *dagatai*. However, these rights were transferred to others through inheritance, gifts, loans, pledge, sales or mortgage.

Although there is no evidence showing strict laws guiding new requisitions of land, individuals or households wishing to expand their holdings had first to contact the village heads for approval,[8] which was usually granted so long as it was not already occupied by others. This was done in order to avoid conflicts over land especially the rich *fadamas* that abound in the area.

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[6] See Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria: A Study of Soba District c. 1902-1960, Zaria: an M.A. Dissertation in the Department of History, A.B.U.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

The Caliphal policy encouraged allocation of farm plot to all who needed land for cultivation. Infect Caliph Muhammad Bello was emphatic on it and included it in his guide lines to emirs and rulers of garrison towns. He therefore advised the emirs to assign plots to individuals who were in need.[9]

The *lamlambe* (F) *masu-sarauta* (H) and the wealthy members of the society established large farm lands worked by slaves, paid labourers and *gayya* among these were the emir of Jama'are's farm close to the river whose yield were stored in a large *rumbu* for their consumption, sometimes its last throughout the dry season.[10] According to *Dan-iyan* Jama'are, Alhaji Ahmadu Malle when they were children there were at least six large *rumbus* in their house and many other houses too had *rumbus* where they stored the seasons' harvest.[11] Likewise pastoralism flourished, because the emirate administrative policies on pasture were well defined and not restrictive like the colonialists.

One important practice pertaining to agricultural production and land tenure in the Jama'are Emirate is the practice of cultivating maize in the home area instead of in the forest. This is done in because of the introduction of cash crop cultivation with the establishment of colonial domination in the area. Crops such as wheat, cotton, groundnut etc. were the ones reserved for large farms. We are going to see how this affected land tenure and how it impacted on the area and its people in our subsequent chapter.

[9] Ibid.
[10] Alhaji Ahmadu Malle, Dan Iyan Jama'are, Retired farm official, farmer, aged 86, interview at his house, 10th September 2012.
[11] Ibid.

3.3 Agricultural Production

Agriculture in Northern Nigeria occupied the major source of livelihood. A significant percentage of the population of the north is predominantly agriculturalists. This is also the case with the Jama'are area. Agriculture constitutes the major source of living. The people also engaged in other forms of activities such as trading and commerce, because as seen in the chapter before the people were engaged in certain manufacturing and commercial activities, but what should be understood is that almost 90 percent of the population in Jama'are were practicing agriculture and it has been attested to that even as this was the case those in the commercial and manufacturing sector agriculture is practiced alongside their commercial and trading activities.

Agriculture was the mainstay of the economy and was mainly undertaken in the *damina* and rani with the presence of the river for irrigation, with the cultivation of crops such as millet (pennisetum), guinea corn (sorghum sp), other important food crops cultivated were rice, beans, groundnut, and vegetables like *alaiyaho* (spinash) *yakuwa* (red sowel), onions, okro etc. in addition fruit trees and sugarcane were grown in the *fadamomi* of Jama'are.[12]

The pattern of the cultivation of these crops was influenced by the irregularity of the rainfall in the area[13] as such the legumes and tubers were often intercropped together with staple, cereals in order to provide stability to food production. The early crops mostly groundnut, millet served to end the food shortage usually experienced in the first

[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

half of the rainy seasons; that is the *marka.* However, these crops did not only help in ensuring a stable supply of food but also had some agronomic advantage s to the soil and livestock of the area. The long duration of the cultivation of the *karkara* had, some influence in reducing the fertility of the soil through the lost of certain nutrients that were used up by crops. Therefore the cultivation of such leguminous crops like groundnut, beans which are nitrogenious and helped conserve the nitrogen properties in the soil. This greatly helped in preserving the fertility of the *karkara*. The leaves and stalks of these crops together with those of cereals provided *harawa* (feed) from which large stock of animals were fed. In complementary way some of the manure used to fertilize the soil was got from these livestocks.[14]

The major industrial crops grown were cotton, groundnut. These were widely cultivated in the area as high clay content of the soil made it excellent for the production of these crops. Their cultivation was part of the wealth of the area and supplied not only its textile and dyeing industries but also constituted the major articles of long distance trade. The variety of groundnut grown in Jama'are made the place very attractive for the colonialist because it was being transported in large quantity whereby a place called *zango kanti* was the place that all the groundnuts are kept in tonnes ready for exportation and people from several places will come and buy, also cotton were grown in trees and was therefore exploited (plucked) for several years.[15]

[14] Alhaji Chadi Aliyu, Dan Lawan of Jama'are Emirate, Male, Retired Teacher and Banker, Farmer, aged 62, 11th September 2012.
[15] Ibid.

Sugarcane (*rake*), was another important crop that was grown in the *fadamomi* of the Jama'are plains, the sugarcane plant was usually planted in the *bazara* or towards the end of *kaka.* The head of the harvested sugarcane crop were cut, tied in bundle and placed in water until it begins to sprout after which it was planted. Much of the *rake* grown was either chewed raw or processed into *mazarkwaila* (brown sugar). It is also used to prepare to prepare drinks like *alawa* and *kunun zaqi* or make sweet meats like *alawa* and *nakiya*.[16]

The basic unit of agricultural production was the house hold (gida or gandu) which was patrilineal and headed by the eldest male member the *maigida*. The *gandu* was made up of the wives, children and relatives of the *maigida* and in some cases attached slaves. The size and composition of the households usually depended on the status and wealth of the *maigida*. The *gandu* in the nineteenth century Jama'are area formed an ideal pattern of domestic organization for the production and consumption of food. The various members of a *gandu* were binded together by certain responsibility which they all endeavoured to fulfill in order for the *gandu* to function effectively. "The *maigida* as the head was responsible for paying the taxes of all the taxables members of the *gandu* and the provision of all necessary farm equipments, seeds and manure especially cow-dung from herdsmen, while the subordinate male members work on the *gandu* for all days of the week except Fridays from morning to evening, but they were given their own personal plots to cultivate whatever they liked."[17]

[16] Ibid.
[17] See Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria: A Study of Soba District c. 1902-1960, Zaria: an M.A. Dissertation in the Department of History, A.B.U.

A very important source of labour for the Jama'are area outside the *gandu* unit was through the organization of *gayya* (invitation). It was a voluntary assemblage of people to render assistance to a fellow farmer during peak periods of farming activity. This implied the idea of mutual help among members of the community and referred to agricultural production, but could be called for communal works and had no connection with *kami* (carvee). However *gayya* had often been misused by some members of the ruling class especially the *lagatai* and *masu unguwanni* to disguise forced labour. This was mere so because as the Hausa say (*ba'a kin gayyar sarki*) that is (a commoner cannot refuse an invitation of the king). *gayya* was usually called to help a farmer to either plant, weed or harvest crops in order to avoid failure and really helped in stabilizing the food supply of many peasant households. It was also called to help a household whose bread winner was sick and could therefore not work on farm.[18]

Kodago hired labour was also used in the production process of Jama'are area. It was used in almost all the stages of farming, but most especially during *saran shuka, noma* (weeding) and *huda* (harrowing). However, not many individuals afforded the money to hire labourers in 19th century Jama'are. The *dankodago* could be paid either in cash or kind; the amount depended on the type of work, its quantity and the time it took the hired person to complete. In some cases the person who hired the labour was responsible for this lunch, on the other days the labourer worked for him. Abdullahi bn Fodio advised that labourers should be paid their wages in full and warned against the enslavement of free citizens or making them work by force as it was forbidden by the

[18] Adamu, Abdulkadir, 2001, The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis C. 1902-1960, Ph.D. Thesis, Zaria: A.B.U.

shariah.[19] The emirate and indeed caliphal administration recognized the legality of hiring labour for work, in fact caliph Muhammad Bello paid great attention to gainful employment. In his work he drew attention of the people to gainful activities rather than idleness or begging. In the *tanbih-al-ikhwan* the caliph cited verses from the Qur'an and *Ahadith*- prophetic traditions, which showed that the most honourable and dignified member of the society was he who satisfied his personal livelihood requirements from gainful employment.[20]

Pre-colonial agricultural production suffices it to discuss the average yield usually realized by farmers at the end of the harvest. This would enable us to understand better the productivity of the land and the people of Jama'are area before the imposition of British colonial domination. However, it is important to note here that, there was a major difference in land productivity depending on the number of people that worked it and the level of manuring done in the land. As such, families that had more hands tended to have higher yields than those with lesser members. This was because larger households *shi'e* (F) *gidaje* (H) most of their farm work (sowing and weeding for example) in good time and in the appropriate period than the smaller *gidaje.* Also families that employed *gayya* or slave labour usually had the highest harvest for same reasons. In addition, a farm that served as a *rumode* (F) *mashekari* (H) for the pastoralists- *makiyaya* usually doubled the yield realized from it in normal seasons.[21]

[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.

The relatively high yield of land could be attributed to the fact that farm lands were allowed to follow after about three to five years of continuous cultivation; which enabled it to regain its fertility. In addition arrangements were made with pastoralists to spend the *rani* (dry season) on the farm lands to provide green manure. It was noted that farms where Fulani established a *rumode (F) mashekari* (H) used to double its yields. However, the establishment of a *mashekari* could turn into a disadvantage for the lazy farmers. This was because farmers that served as *mashekari* produced far more weeds than a relatively worn out farm and therefore required more weeding than usual.[22]

3.4 Pastoralism

The people of Jama'are District are mostly Fulbe who have long before the coming of the Europeans abandoned full-time nomadism for a semi-nomadic lifestyle. M. O. Awogbade has defined semi-nomadic "as groups maintaining a permanent base where the aged and other members of the family can remain throughout the year and to which other members of the family can return after dry season migration".[23] Pastoralism on the other hand as related to nomadism according to M. K. Aliyu means "the keeping of flocks and herds of domesticated animals," he went on to say that "pastoralists are people that depend for their means of livelihood on herds of cattle like goats, sheep and camels."[24] He said that most of them are called nomads because they move from one

[22] Ibid.
[23] Awogbade, M. O., 1983, *Fulani Pastoralism: Jos Case Study*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University, p. v.
[24] Aliyu, M. K., June, 2001, "Climatic Changes and Pastoralists in West African Sahel and Savannah," in *The Journal of Zaria Historical Research*, (ZAHIR), Vol. 1, No. 1, Zaria: History Department, Ahmadu Bello University, p. 79.

place to another in search of pasture for their animals.[25] They as he said in the Sahel and Savannah regions just like in the Jama'are area which is located in the Savannah region of Nigeria. As for the people of the Jama'are District cattle, goats and sheep are what they herd. As he said this area is prone to environmental or climatic stress leading to disasters. The most common problem as we have seen during the colonial period is drought, and quoting E. Berner he concluded that –that is lack of enough or total absence of rain.[26]

Elaborating more on the subject of pastoralists Aliyu has it that they are found spread across the savannah and Sahel regions of West Africa. The most characteristic pastoralists are the Fulbe, the Shuwa and the Kanembu people in Nigeria.[27] The pastoralist's main concern is to find suitable grazing ground and is thus nomadic. They follow the grass; they may be here today and gone tomorrow. But as we have seen the people of Jama'are area have long adopted a semi-nomadic lifestyle since the establishment of the Emirate during the Jihad of Usman dan Fodio. Just like in areas like Adamawa and Muri, the Fulbe of Jama'are were able to graze their animals without much encumbrances. They lived in this area on a more permanent basis not going too far to graze their flock. The suitability of the area was such that is has very good climate and a river with water for the animals.

The baobab tree is important in the production of milk which is found prominently in villages. The powder in the fruit are utilized (among other uses) by the

[25] Ibid., p. 80.
[26] Ibid., p. 80.
[27] Ibid., p. 80, See also Forde, Daryll, *The Native Economies of Nigeria*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd., p. 199.

Fulani women in preparing sour milk *kosam* (F) *nono* (H). It is used as an additive to milk. The powdered leaves of the baobab tree are used in preparing *bokko* (F) *kuka* (H) soup, while its bark is used in making ropes. The milk prepared by Fulani women is sold to the people in the towns. The sale of butter went along with the sale of milk. Men in the towns, villages also entrusted their livestock to the care of the Fulani herdsmen. Pastoralism formed an integral aspect of the economy of Jama'are Emirate. The major pastoral activity was cattle rearing, complemented with the rearing of goats, sheep and breeding of horses. The organization of the pastoralists was in units of settlements, several related families came together to form one unit called *ruga*. *Ruga* was the basis of the family of the pastoral society.

Livestock served as a source of food and raw materials such as meat, milk, butter, hides, skins and generally as a source of wealth, and even their waste matter served as manure for ensuring continuity in fertility on cultivated fields, which were owned mostly by the agrarian Hausa population. This often spelt out harmonious and reciprocal bonds, between the agrarian Hausa populace, and the pastoralist Fulani. Another economic linkage to the pastoralist industry is to the various traditional industries, and other businesses. This refers especially to the tanning and leather work industries and meat business. These industries and businesses were interwoven and intertwined. The pastoralists provided livestock which were the sources of raw materials for the tanning and leather work industries, and also supplied livestock to the butchers through whom the meat trade flourished.

The pattern of movement of the pastoralists was determined by the amount of a rainfall and pastures. In the *damina* the pastoralist were found in almost all parts of Jama'are area as the rain leads to the growth of grass in the *daji* and *saura* in abundance for the cattle to graze. In the dry season however when much of the grass cover the cornstalk on the *karkara* were exhausted, the pastoralists began to move southwards to the river valleys where the *dausayi* helped in maintaining the grass cover. From our research on the field, it seemed that the pastoral economy was linked to other sectors of the economy. The livestock kept by the pastoralists served as a source of food and raw materials demanded by all sectors of the population. While the pastoralists obtained a large percent of their life requirements like cereal, spices, cloths and implements from the farmers and artisans, which they purchased through the sake of their dairy products and some livestocks. It was through this exchange that the *sarakunan pawa* who were mostly livestock brokers came to occupy an important position in the markets of the area and the emirate at large. They became very crucial in the supply of meat and raw hides.[28]

Pastoralism was further integrated into other sectors of the economy by its dependence on land. As such a complex set of relationship developed between farmers and pastoralists. These relationship were basically in the procurement of nutritious fodder for the livestock of the pastoralist on the one hand and the manuring of the farm plots of the agriculturalists (especially farm plots located further away from the settlements). As much of the land of the Jama'are area was under permanent cultivation by the end of the 19th century. The emirate administration made it a point of duty to demarcate between

[28] A.G. Adebayo, *The Production & Export of Hides and Skins in Colonial Northern Nigeria,* 1900-1945.

areas of cultivation and grazing areas *makiyaya* and cattle paths.[29] However these demarcations did not completely eliminate the occurrence of conflicts between these groups over the use of land, but the conflicts was further influenced by the socio-political situation in the areas involved.

In Commerce, the major manufacturing activities undertaken in the Jama'are area were smithing, textiles, leather works, *rini* (dyeing), *sassaka* (wood carving), mat-making and pottery.18 As part of the emirate policy, markets were established and maintained in most of the settlements of the Jama'are area, the market convene on every Saturday of the week, this was arranged in such a way that the neighbouring towns did not hold their markets on the same day. Generally commercial transactions involved exchange which was facilitated by the use of the cowrie currency.

The pattern of the commercial activities in the Jama'are area can be categorized into two, namely; the exchanges carried locally within and between and between the various settlements of the area and secondly the trading activities between Jama'are and other regions. The various settlements of the area were linked together by major roads and foot paths which also served as trade routes for merchants and petty traders. Also the larger settlements were more specialized in manufacturing than their neighbouring villages and hamlets; as such the pattern of exchange between them was that while the towns supplied clothes, implement and spices to the rural areas the settlements in the hamlets supplied mainly raw materials, food and semi-processed goods like *zare* and *abawa* which weavers used in cloth making. The internal trade was carried out by the *yan*

[29] Adamu, Abdulkadir, 2001, The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis C. 1902-1960, Ph.D. Thesis, Zaria: A.B.U.

koli , selling all sorts of petty products, while the *dillalai* were engaged in small scale, whole sale and retail trade and mediate between exchanges. Supervisors were attached to markets to ensure good conduct of traders and buyers and to stop malpractices. Apart from raw materials which was mostly purchased by brokers from Kano, Maiduguri, etc.

3.6 Taxation

With the establishment of the emirate government after the jihad, activities of the Fulbe in the Jama'are area on Islamic law became the basis of the running of the emirate. The activities of the emirate were now being influenced by Islamic principles of justice which became the ideology of the state.[30] Taxation became one of the sources of revenue collected by the officials of the emirate government to be kept in the *bayt-al-mal*[31] (treasury).

Abdulkadir citing Bello Omar outlined the sources of revenue as identified by Caliph Muhammed Bello for the *bayt-al-mal* which numbered up to seven, namely: (1) one-fifth of the booty gotten from fighting jihad; (2) *fay* – that is conquered land, which was not divided into fiefs and therefore belonged to all Muslims; (3) *kharaji* or land tax, on this, the Caliph emphasized the observance of justice and discouraged extortion like it used to happen before the establishment of the Caliphate, (4) wealth from the property of those without heirs; (5) lost property whose owner could not be traced; (6) *jizya* – poll tax imposed on non-Muslims for protection and (7) the tenth levied on commodities sold by

[30] Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria: A Study of Soba District c. 1902-1960, Zaria: an M.A. Dissertation in the Department of History, A.B.U., p. 62.
[31] Ibid., p. 63.

infidels in the Islamic state.[32] There were several forms of taxation in the Emirate ranging from cattle tax to tax on farm produce.

Our sources claimed that the taxes collected by the state kept on rising with the successions of new emirs, which was occasioned by increase in the number of members of the aristocracy and their followers. Another reason could be that of inflation and decline in the value of the cowry currency or increase in wealth accruing to tax payers. Tax collection in the emirate generally started at the end of the farming seasons, at which time the emir summons all his officials for instruction on the collection of taxes and the amount to be charged, the *Hakimai* in their turn being resident in the capital summoned their own representatives – the *jakadu* and send them to the herds of the towns of their respective fiefs for tax collection. The town chiefs summoned their own assistants the *masu-gora* to commence the collection of taxes. It was in the process of tax collection that officials involved devised ways through which they corruptly enriched themselves at the expense of the state and the tax payers. In certain instances they charged above the amount demanded and in others, they (tax collectors) corruptly exempted able-bodied men from paying taxes in consideration of *gaisuwa* (bribe) paid to them. 16. The members of the ruling class were exempted from paying tax. One probable justification we can harzard for this was probably in recognition of their service to state. However by the end of the19th century this was no longer justified as the ruling class had increased in number and not only officials of the state were exempted but their descendants who were not state functionaries were also exempted.

[32] Ibid., p. 63.

In general, therefore, we see that the areas forms of taxes were highly numerous; the burden of taxation per individual was limited in the sense that they were mostly levies on economic activities and basis of their assessment was largely the households rather than single individuals. In addition the medium of payment of these taxes was not restricted. That is, taxes were both paid in kind and in cash depending on the tax. Finally, the sources available suggests that the pre-colonial policy on taxation was designed to increase the availability of raw materials and the expansion of manufacturing as evidenced by the exemption of cotton (a very important raw materials) from taxation.

3.7 Conclusion

Agriculture has always been the mainstay of the economy of the people of the Nigerian area and as for the people of Jama'are District with their migration to the and the establishment of the emirate government they also made agriculture an important economic activity supported by the nature of the area. Being a state that was built on Islamic principles the religion became the regulator not only of the political affairs but also economic activities. The taxation of the people based on their earnings on all levels conforms to the Islamic religious practices. Islam regulates taxation, land tenure, agricultural production, pastoralism and commerce.

When we look at the whole of pre colonial policies pertaining to agriculture and related sectors of the economy, we see that policies were all targeted towards the advancement of the economy and society of Jama'are area and Sokoto caliphate in general, in fact one of the major reasons that led to the jihad movement and the ideal of

the movement was the socio-economic development of the area. As such clear and well conceived policies were introduced, especially with regards to access to land, production of food and industrial crops, manufacturing and commerce. We also observed that the taxation policy was designed to aid the development of the economy and was only necessary in order to finance the running of the state. These policies also gave guidelines in the pursuit of economic activities especially agriculture. These guidelines extended relations between individuals and social groups in the state. The overall outcome was that by the late 19th century, the various sectors of the economy had developed strong linkages, which made them highly integrated, interdependent and complimentary to one another, it also provided the basis for which the area was able to engage in commercial transaction with its neighbours on a largely equal basis.

CHAPTER FOUR

BRITISH COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL POLICIES FROM 1900-1938

4.1 Introduction

The early years of this century witnessed the imposition of British colonial domination on the Jama'are area and Northern Nigeria in general. This was the era of the 'New Imperialism' which Lenin called the '*Highest Stage of Capitalism'*.[1] It was a period of intense rivalry and competition amongst the capitalist powers of the world for the acquisition of colonies. This was borne out of the capitalist crisis of over production and the emergence of national monopolies competition amongst themselves for the control of markets of the world and raw materials for their industries. These monopolies were fully supported by their home governments in their struggle for supremacy, hence the imposition of customs barriers by these governments to discourage one another. These imperialist monopolies and their governments (Britain, France, Italy, and Germany for example) were therefore forced to look outside Europe for cheaper sources of industrial raw materials for their industries and regular markets for the products of these industries. It was in search of these that the British embarked on the conquest of northern Nigeria. As such, the policies subsequently introduced by the colonial British administration in northern Nigeria were designed to achieve these objectives.

This chapter is therefore an examination of the early agricultural policies of the colonial administration in Northern Nigeria with particular reference to Jama'are emirate.

[1] See Adamu, Abdulkadir, 2001, The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis c. 1902-1960, Ph.D Thesis, Zaria: A.B.U.

As such we shall look at how British colonial policies on land, labour, taxation and agricultural production applied to our area of study. However before these policies were introduced the British had to first over throw the administration of the area and reorganized it to serve the imperial interests of Britain.

4.2 British Colonial Conquest of Jama'are Emirate

During the 1900 the British forces started to conquer the Northern part of Nigeria, taking Sokoto in 1903 and by the year 1906, the British took control over the whole Nigeria and were divided into the Colony, Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The British came to Africa in order to ensure an efficient and unchallenged exploitation of the Nigeria's resources in order to benefit the British Finance industry. And in order to achieve those goals the British employed the following colonial policies:

1. A metropolitan state in Nigeria supplies a military machine to keep the law and order, has a bureaucratic device to manage areas which it has control and provides infrastructures in transportation and communication.

2. Weaken the social and political structure of Nigeria prior to colonialism and change it with new beliefs and values that are regarded superior to the local values.

3. Combined and separate the Nigerians for the British own purposes of domination and exploitation.[2]

British are more inclined to give a portion of the authority to groups such as the Fulani, which are more receptive to the ideologies of the British Imperialism. The British Empire colonized Nigeria, as well as, other parts of the world for the main purpose of exploiting its rich resources and raw materials and import it to the Western Industrial Development. Britain retained its predominant influence in the economy of its colonies and one of them is Nigeria, the British used its military power, strategic alliance and cooperation with indigenous rulers.[3]

Lugard's success in northern Nigeria has been attributed to his policy of indirect rule, which called for governing the protectorate through the rulers who had been defeated. If the emirs accepted British authority, abandoned the slave trade, and cooperated with British officials in modernizing their administrations, the colonial power was willing to confirm them in office. The emirs retained their caliphate titles but were responsible to British district officers, who had final authority. The British high commissioners could depose emirs and other officials if necessary. Lugard reduced sharply the number of titled fief holders in the emirates, weakening the rulers' patronage. Under indirect rule, caliphate officials were transformed into salaried district heads and became, in effect, agents of the British authorities, responsible for peacekeeping and tax

[2] Onimode, B., 1983, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria*, Lagos: Macmillan.

[3] http://ivythesis.typepad.com/term_paper_topics/2009/07/british-colonialism-in-nigeria.html#ixzz1LUCRYeuU

collection. The old chain of command merely was capped with a new overlord, the British high commissioners.

The protectorate required only a limited number of colonial officers scattered throughout the territory as overseers. Depending on local conditions, they exercised discretion in advising the emirs and local officials, but all orders from the high commissioners were transmitted through the emir. Although the high commissioners possessed unlimited executive and legislative powers in the protectorate, most of the activities of government were undertaken by the emirs and their local administrations, subject to British approval. A dual system of law functioned. The sharia (Islamic law) court continued to deal with matters affecting the personal status of Muslims, including land disputes, divorce, debt, and slave emancipation. As a consequence of indirect rule, Hausa-Fulani domination was confirmed and in some instances imposed on diverse ethnic groups, some of them non-Muslim, in the so-called middle belt.

In the North Frederick Lugard, the first High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, was instrumental in subjugating the Fulani emirs. Some were deposed, some defeated in battle, and others collaborated. By 1903 the conquest of the emirates was complete. The mud-walled city of Kano was captured in February, and after a vigorous skirmish at *Kotorkwashi,* the sultan's capital, Sokoto, fell the next month. All the territories were now under British control, and the search for an identity began, first as Northern and Southern Nigeria, then with eventual amalgamation.

Zaria offered no opposition to peaceful occupation, but the murder of Captain Malony, Resident at Keffi, precipitated hostilities with Kano. The fall of this great city

and that of Sokoto in March, 1903, was followed by the submission of the minor Emirates, and convinced those which had already submitted that their belief that the British would be exterminated by these powerful Emirs was vain. When this had been accomplished, and the forces of disorder had been broken, the British Administration was faced with the insistent urgency of creating a new organisation and of developing a native policy without delay. The system evolved will be described in a later paragraph. The necessity of securing means wherewith to carry on the Administration was no less insistent than the re-organisation of the Native Administration. There was no revenue to be obtained from spirits, which were wholly prohibited, while the cost of the large force necessary for the control of the country absorbed the greater part of the wholly inadequate grant from the Imperial Government.[4]

The Jama'are Fulani chief Haman Wabi who came from Dilara near Lake Chad and received a flag from Shehu in 1812, after a series of contests with Laminu of Kanem, afterwards Shehu Laminu, was gradually driven south and was killed by the *Kare-Kare* at Lafia Lele near Potiskum in 1824. His brother Sambolei succeeded, and, on the request of *Sarkin Musulmi* Bello, he and his people were permitted by Dankawa Emir of Katagum to settle in Jama'are.[5]

Some sources indicate that the Europeans had been to Katagum and Misau emirates as far back as 1824 and 1902, but the real occupation did not occur until December, 1903. These were close neighboughs of Jama'are Emirate. The three emirates

[4] http://www.onwar.com/aced/data/sierra/sokotocaliphate1903.htm
[5] Backwell, H. F., 1969, *The Occupation of Hausaland, 1900-1904: Being a Translation of Arabic letters found in the House of the Wazir of Sokoto, Bohari, in 1903*, London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd, p. 5.

were occupied in the same year without any form of resistance. The conquest and occupation of Jama'are Emirate by the British is closely related to the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate itself as the central authority. Once Sokoto was occupied all form of resistance from Jama'are Emirate was destroyed. The British force under General Kemball and Colonel Morland left Kano for Sokoto through Shagari where they were joined by a force under Captain Merrick, which had occupied Argungu from Illo in 1902. They advanced on Sokoto which was occupied on March 15th 1903 after a slight resistance. With the fall of Sokoto, the whole of the Emirates acknowledging the suzerainty of the Sultan came under British colonial rule.[6]

This was the deciding factor in the conquest of Jama'are Emirate by the British colonial forces. The occupation of the neighbouring emirates of northeastern Nigeria was also very fundamental since Jama'are Emirate was the smallest in the area. The little mounted army was no match to the British force.[7] However, though Jama'are Emirate was no match to the British forces it presented some form of resistance to the British. Jama'are Emirate worked with Kano Emirate to resist the occupation of the area by the British and we can see this in two separate letters from *Sarki* Muhammadu Wabi to *Sarkin* Kano Aliyu:

> "… I inform you that Sarkin Azare has said to us that Allah has been kind to us in the matter of the Christians, for they have returned to the east by way of Yaiyu. The Sarkin Yaiyu fled, and they settled down in Yaiyu and have made his relation chief of the country. They have declared Yaiyu to be part of Borno and the river to be the boundary. …

[6] Ibid., p. 11.
[7] Alhaji Ahmadu Malle, Dan Iyan Jama'are, Retired farm official, farmer, aged 86, interview at his house, 10th September 2012.

> about Ahmadu Sarkin Borno, he and all his people have fled to the west and we have not heard news of their return home. The Waziri of Azare returned home on Friday."[8]
>
> "… the Sarkin Azare has sent to us concerning the Christians and the people of Borno. They have reached Katagum and halted at a town called Gurmari and some of them halted at Bursari. Their aim is to go to Missau and some of them to Katagum or Azare. The Sarkin Azare has now collected his people and the Waziri, and they have gone out and are now in a town in our country called Dogon Jeji. He is waiting there till he hears further news to return to his home."[9]

The significance of these letters lies on the fact that at Jama'are Emirate no serious battle took place due to the fact that it was surrounded by many other emirates whose fall to the British was well known to the Emirate as it was up to date on the activities of the British. The most effective form of resistance put up by the people being fleeing from the capital by the Sarki and most principal officers to other areas in the not yet to be occupied emirates.[10]

It was during the reign of Muhammadu Wabi, Sarkin Dilara, the 5th Emir of Jama'are, 1885-1918 that the British occupied the Jama'are Emirate. The title Sarkin Dilara is due to their origin at Dilara near Lake Chad, from which place Haman Wabi, son of Ardo Sali obtained a flag from Shehu in 1812.[11] Haman Wabi was driven from Borno by Shehu Laminu and allowed to settle at Jama'are in 1824 by Dankawa, 3rd Emir of Katagum (1816-1846).[12] The incident referred to in this letter was subsequent to

[8] Backwell, H. F., 1969, *The Occupation of Hausaland, 1900-1904: Being a Translation of Arabic letters found in the House of the Wazir of Sokoto, Bohari, in 1903*, London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd, pp. 68-69.
[9] Ibid., p. 69.
[10] Ibid., p. 69.
[11] Ibid., p. 75.
[12] Ibid., p. 75.

Colonel Morland's expedition to Borno which reached Gujba on March 11th, 1902. Yaiyu now in the Chinade district of Katagum Emirate is to the east of River Missau, which was then established as the boundary. Gurmari is south-east of Katagum. Bursari is a small Bedde town east of Katagum near the Geidam border.[13] The presence of the British in these areas is related to the eventual occupation of Jama'are Emirate. Dogon Jeji is a colony from Dutsi (Kano) in Jama'are Emirate.[14]

4.3 Administrative Re-Organization

The fact that the British coming to Africa and Nigeria in particular were purely for the economic benefits cannot be overemphasized. From Marxist to non-Marxist scholars all agreed that economic factors played the most significant role in the establishment of colonialism. When they came the only viable economic venture was agriculture and they did everything to control both the system of production and distribution. All these however would not be possible if the British were not in control of the political machinery of an area. This therefore led to the conquest of Jama'are Emirate by the British.

At all times central to the British colonial policies was the aim of maximally exploiting the natural and human resources of Nigeria for the purpose of securing profitable trade for Britain.[15] It was perhaps this motive that influenced the British colonial administration to place the exploitation of cash crops such as oil palm, cocoa, cotton, groundnut and rubber, topmost priority in her economic development programme

[13] Ibid., p. 75.
[14] Ibid., p. 75.
[15] See Hopkins, A. G., 1973, *An Economic History of West Africa*, London: Longman.

in Nigeria.[16] This, the colonial administration hoped to achieve not by radically destroying the existing indigenous production methods, but, through the modification of such.[17] The growth of the agricultural industry in Nigeria during the colonial period must be grasped within the framework of the primacy of the economic motivation of imperialism.

The modifications were to be effected through various ways. First, the colonial government tried to make available to the local farmers the kinds of seedlings known to increase the yield. Secondly, the colonial government sought to also improve the quality of the cash crops produced by the people.[18]

With the unilateral British effort to alter the commercial status quo on the Niger, came the "pacification" of territories on both sides of the river. But British colonial economic reengineering in Northern Nigeria did not end with the conquest; in many senses the conquest marked the beginning. Under Frederick Lugard, the first British high commissioner of Northern Nigeria, the British venerated the socioeconomic and administrative model of the pre-colonial Islamic Sokoto Caliphate, especially its elaborate system of taxation and economic regulation and sought to preserve and extend it to other parts of Northern Nigeria. In addition, the British sought to organize, codify, document, and, where necessary, modify the fluid and malleable systems of land tenure, agricultural production, and revenue that existed in the protectorate. These spheres and practices attracted profound British intervention.

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[16] See Crowder, M., 1968, *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, London: Hutchinson and co.
[17] See Usoro, E. J., 1974, *The Nigerian Oil Palm Industry,* Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
[18] Aghalino, S. O., January 2000, British Colonial Policies and the Oil Palm Industry in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria, 1900-1960, *African Study Monographs,* Vol. 21, No. 1, p. 23.

According to David Killingray effective colonial government rested on two basic pillars: firstly, the maintenance of law and order to uphold the authority of the administration; and secondly, the collection of adequate revenue with which to finance the running of the colony. Whichever way colonies were gained he continued, whether in "a fit of absence of mind" or by calculated conquest and by whatever principles and methods they were governed (directly or indirectly), these two essential features predominated.[19]

Exploitation is presented in this dominant narrative as a given, and the possibility of its absence, if only temporary, is discounted. Economic exploitation presupposes and requires a consistent production of surpluses and profits that can be appropriated without harming the production capacity on which the regime of exploitation itself depends. As Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri argue, imperial conquerors, as producers and exploiters of surplus value, were not interested in eroding the productive capacity or disrupting the social organization of their subjects, since these elements were crucial to colonial capitalist accumulation.[20] It is true that this commitment to the preservation of the existing forces of production and the social cohesion of subject communities was rarely tested during years of economic boom. But, as has been demonstrated with regard to various colonial contexts, colonial intentions and calculations rarely survived the unforeseen turbulence of colonial and world markets and the survival strategies of the colonized.

[19] David Killingray, 1986, "The Maintenance of Law and Order in British Colonial Africa," in *African Affairs,* Vol. 85, No. 340, London: Oxford University Press, p. 1.
[20] Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri, 2000, *Empire,* New York: Harvard University Press.

It was after the occupation that certain policies were introduced which were to have far-reaching effects on the pre-existing political system and it's modus operandi. The type of system introduced by the British into the emirate just like in other parts of Northern Nigeria was indirect rule or Lugardian system i.e. a system of administering people through their traditional institution.

In order to assert their position Lugard visited Katagum in 1904 and reiterated his earlier policy statement. Later series of reforms were introduced. Among the early reforms was the creation of Katagum province comprising Katagum, Jama'are, Gumel, Hadeja, Machina, Nguru and Gogoran and the headquarters at Katagum. In 1904 Dambam and Misau were added from Borno and Bauchi provinces respectively.[21]

The seventh garrison of the West African Frontier Force was stationed in Katagum for security reason. It was in 1905 that the provincial status was terminated and Katagum reduced to a Division under Kano province comprising Katagum, Misau and Jama'are. In order to have effective control over the emirates the British transferred the capital to a more central position from Katagum to Azare in 1916.[22]

The concern of the British was to have effective control over the emirates so as to meet their economic objective. To achieve this, they reorganized certain villages and made some adjustments in the emirates. It was in the process of such re-organisations that Hardawa, Jabdo, Jarkasa, Gwaram, Dunkurmi and Zadawa were transferred from

[21] Temple, O. & Temple, C. L., 1965, *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Northern Nigeria*, London.
[22] Lugard, F. D., 1965b (1922), "Lugard's Political Testimony," in A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, (ed.), *The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria: Selected Documents, 1900-1947*, London: Oxford University Press.

Katagum to Misau in 1913. In the same year Akuyam was transferred to Misau emirate from Bauchi. The explanation for adding these areas to Misau is that Misau was a small emirate and it relied on taxes from Fulata Borno residing in the eastern emirates; when the British took over they stopped that practice. In order to compensate Misau such adjustments became imperative to the British.

In 1926, Katagum Division was transferred from Kano to Bauchi province when Jos and Pankshin were also transferred from Bauchi to Plateau province. Katagum Division retained its status under Bauchi province with Misau and Jama'are. They were administered by one Divisional Officer (D.O) who used to inspect the emirates from time to time.

The three emirates continued to share a number of things such as Veterinary Services, Police Services, Health and Medical Services, Educational Services, Works Services, etc. all with headquarters at Azare, while Agricultural headquarters was at Misau. It was reported that people from Samaru used to go to Misau for agricultural practicals.[23]

Administratively Katagum N. A. was noted as a model throughout the country. Its staff members have earned her an enviable reputation in Northern Nigeria. Administrative Staff from different places used to come to Katagum N.A. to study the

[23] Alhaji Ahmadu Malle, Dan Iyan Jama'are, Retired farm official, farmer, aged 86, interview at his house, 10th September 2012.

system. In 1962, a Minister from Gambia was sent to Katagum N.A. Treasury specifically to study the functioning of the Treasury Unit of the N.A.[24]

Economically the emirates were noted for the production of cash crops. Katagum Division was leading in the production of ground-nuts, in the Northern region by contributing eleven percent (11%) of the national production. In 1936 Katagum and Misau received 600 bags of American cotton seed each which was distributed in the emirates as part of colonial measure towards crops production. Cotton was also produced throughout the emirate. As a result of this cotton and groundnuts markets were established in the emirates.[25]

It was in realization of the economic potentiality of the region that the colonial government gave certificate of occupancy to foreign firms for trading purposes in groundnuts, etc. In 1935 Messrs Ambrosin Limited one of the foreign Firms purchased three, (3) thousand, six hundred hides and Nineteen thousand, five hundred skins.[26]

Among the social amenities introduced by the colonial government was that of Modern General Hospital built in Azare in 1930. It was one of the early Hospitals in the Northern region. Dispensaries and Schools were built throughout the emirates. It is interesting to note that the Misau elementary School was the first in Bauchi Province built in 1919.[27]

[24] Ibid.
[25] Alhaji Chadi Aliyu, Dan Lawan of Jama'are Emirate, Male, Retired Teacher and Banker, Farmer, aged 62, 11th September 2012.
[26] Ibid.
[27] NAK/BAUPROF/1217/1947 Jama'ari Elementary School Katagum Division 1936-1947

4.4 Historical Trend of Colonial Agricultural Development Interventions in Nigeria

The period of the colonial administration in Nigeria, 1861-1960, was recorded to have been characterized by rather ad hoc attention to agricultural development. Most of the extension focus during this era was for interventions in export commodity development and dissemination of imported technologies. During the era, considerable emphasis was placed on research and extension services. The first notable activity of the era was the establishment of a botanical research station in Lagos by Sir Claude McDonald in 1893. This was followed by the acquisition of 10.4 km2 of land in 1899 by the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) for experimental work at Moor Plantation in lbadan. In 1912, a Department of Agriculture was established in each of the then Southern and Northern regions of Nigeria, but the activities of the Departments were virtually suspended between 1913 and 1921 as a result of the First World War and its aftermath.

From the late 1930s to the mid-1940s, there were significant intensification and expansion of research activities, and extension and training programmes of the Agricultural Departments. Facilities for training of junior staff in agriculture as well as scholarships for students of agriculture at Yaba Higher College were put in place. In the area of research, attention was devoted largely to the possibilities of evolving permanent systems of agriculture that were capable of replacing rotational bush-fallowing systems prevalent in the country at that time. The prospects for mixed farming in the North were a major focus of development. During this period, the West African Institute for Oil Palm

Research (WAIFOR) now Nigeria Institute for Oil Palm Research (NIFOR) in Benin was established and research on cocoa was intensified at Moor Plantation Ibadan, *Owena* near Ondo and at *Onigambari* near lbadan.

The livestock sub-sector took a slightly different path from that of the crop sector in its evolution and development in Nigeria. Livestock production in Nigeria was dominated by nomadic pastoralists long before the advent of the British Colonial administration. The immediate interest of the colonial government in livestock was with the health and hygiene of cattle. Thus, the Nigerian Veterinary Department was established in 1914 with its head quarters in Zaria. In 1924, a small veterinary laboratory was established in Vom for the production of rinderpest serum. Increased field services raised the demands on the laboratory hence the production of vaccines and other biological products was added to the functions of the laboratory. The recognition of the advantages of Vom as the centre for veterinary research and for vaccine production, coupled with the major emphasis on the health aspects of livestock production, led to the transfer of the head quarters of the Nigerian Veterinary Department from Zaria to Vom which later transformed into the National Veterinary Research Institute (NVRI).

The serious nature of trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) or what was referred to as *Nagana* disease among the local people was of great concern to the Colonial Administration in the West African Territories and the need to control this disease led to the establishment in 1947 of a West African Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research (WAITR) now National Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research (NITR) in Kaduna. A main laboratory was established in Vom on the Jos Plateau, an ideal location since the

tsetse fly vector was absent in that area. Prior to 1951, the Nigerian Veterinary Department had its headquarters, laboratories and a school in Vom, with field offices in each Region. With the coming of regional governments, the Nigerian Veterinary Department was split into separate regional departments.[28]

Agricultural research in Nigeria began nearly a century ago.[29] Early research on Nigerian agriculture was applied, and not policy-oriented. With it the British colonial government developed an implicit science and technology policy to support and guarantee the production and supply of export crops, such as cocoa, palm produce, groundnuts, rubber, and cotton. Agricultural research stations such as Moor Plantation, Ibadan, Umudike, Umuahia, and Samaru, Zaria were set up in the 1920s partly as a tool to further support the supply of export crops. University-based research in the agricultural sciences came on stream in 1948, when the first Nigerian university was established.

Since then, there have been several changes in the structure of agricultural research. During the colonial period, two forms of organizational structure for agricultural research emerged. The first structural form is that whereby departments, which subsequently or later became ministries, started as research institutions/centers/units, while the second research structure administered research in a regional frame.[30] After independence, a new research structure emerged. This latter led to

[28] Omotayo, Akinwumi Moses, "The Nigerian Farmer and the Elusive Crown," University OF Agriculture Abeokuta Nigeria 30th Inaugural Lecture 2010, Department of Agricultural Extension and Rural Development, University of Agriculture Abeokuta.
[29] Shaib B, Aliyu A. and Balesh J. S., 1997, *Nigeria: National Agricultural Research Strategy Plan 1996–2010*, Department of Agricultural Sciences, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, p. 271.
[30] See Olayide, S.O., 1965, "Economics of Interstate Marketing of Farm Products, A special Analysis of Transportation Cost" *Bulletin of Rural Economics and Sociology,* Vol. 4 No. 2.

the establishment of research councils and hence research institutes. Four agricultural research institutes were established in 1964 and an additional 14 in 1975.[31]

4.5 British Colonial Policy on Land

The control of land and its administration was one of the first issues addressed by the British after the colonial conquest of the caliphate. This was because of the central position occupied by land in the economy of the region. However in examining the evolution of colonial land policy in northern Nigeria we must take note of two issues, the first point to note is that British colonial interests in land was directly linked to the interests of merchant capital as represented by the colonial companies. Secondly, the region had a long history of commodity production based in peasant ownership of the means of production. The colonial land policy in northern Nigeria was aimed at advancing British colonial interests through the incorporation of the region and its economy into the world capitalist system.

Pre-colonial land policy recognized individual ownership of land and its transfer. Thus one source observed that:

> 'subject to the payment of rental on a year by-year basis, the average person had considerable security of tenure within the bounds of custom and bounded by the capacity of emirs(and his representative to dispossess'.[32]

[31] Adedipe, N. O., 1993, "Agricultural research organization in Nigeria," In B. Shaib, N. O. Adedipe, A. O. Odegbaro and A. Aliyu, (eds.), *Towards strengthening the Nigeria agricultural research system,* NASRP, Ibadan, Nigeria, p. 218.

[32] See Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria: A Study of Soba District c. 1902-1960, Zaria: an M.A. Dissertation in the Department of History, A.B.U.

The administration of Lugard was not in form of establishing of free hold tenancy. Hence they were determined through legislation to reverse this process and strengthen the control of land by the traditional rulers. This was with the intent of creating a class of big land holders and a landless peasantry. This was in order to provide the labour force needed by the colonial government and companies.[33] As such as each emirate was subdued by the British, the emir whether newly appointed or reinstated was given a letter of appointment clearly stating that the British through the High Commissioner had assumed administrative control and right to levy taxes and control land just like the Fulani before them. In his address to the Waziri and elders of Sokoto, Lugard explained that, the 'Fulani' had lost control, through the same manner they had achieved it, by conquest. He therefore outlined the new conditions of British domination, in which among other things he stated that:

> "the government will in future hold rights in land which the Fulani took by conquest from the people and if government requires land, it will take it for any purpose"[34]

As such as early as 1902 it enacted two proclamation, the crown land proclamation (No 16) which vested on the high commissioner and the administration control of all land previously 'administered' by the Royal Niger Company. While the public lands proclamation 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 land passed from the hands belonging to rulers

[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.

either conquered or deposed.[35] Henceforth the right to the disposal of land passed from the hands of the caliph and the emirate to the High Commissioner and resident colonial officers. The British authorities in particular Lugard by taking over the control of land from the caliph and his representatives wanted to create a large class of landless peasantry. As argued by Leninhan[36] the land would then be re allocated to businessmen 'indigenous' or expatriate to develop big agricultural estates as was done in Kenya. The uprooted peasantry would then be forced to look for job on these estates as agricultural wage labourers. In addition this policy was also to provide the colonial state and companies with abundant and cheap labour.

However, the transfer of Lugard and the appointment of Sir Percy Girourd to succeed him as High Commissioner changed the focus of colonial policy on land in Northern Nigeria. This took place at the labour party won the national election in Britain. This was important, because the party was against dispossessing the peasants of their lands, because of the experience of what British settlers did in Kenya. As such, the administration of Girourd (himself 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 expatriate. The best way to achieve this in their conviction was through the nationalization of all lands in northern Nigeria. We shall however note that, the British colonial administration was not trying to protect the peasantry from exploitation, rather they were making efforts to protect the interests of imperial Britain, because they felt that if peasants were dispossessed and turned into agricultural wage labourers it would

[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

demoralize them and damper their spirits, would impoverish them which meant that they would not be able to purchase British commerce.[37]

The administration of Girourd in essence therefore, was pursuing a policy which they believe would provide the best atmosphere for capitalist exploitation. Hence a lands committee was set up to investigate the nature of land holding in the societies of northern Nigeria.[38] Thus according to the colonial administration the lands committee was appointed:

> "to consider the evidence collected by Sir Percy Girourd, 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) as to the legislative and administrative measures necessitated by its adoption.[39]

The membership of the committee was drawn from persons sympathetic to the nationalization of the lands of northern Nigeria. As such out of the eight witnesses who made submissions to the committee, two were from the trading firms and the other four were colonial officials. It was based on these submissions that the committee made its recommendations, which was clearly in the interest of the European trading firms and consolidation of colonial domination from whose agents' submission, were heard. Therefore in 1910 the land and native rights proclamation was 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

[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.

land for common use and benefit of the 'natives'.[40] The power of the Governor, Resident and District Officers was however to be exercised in accordance with native law and custom as enshrined in the principles of indirect rule. In practice therefore land remained under the management of the emir and his representatives, with the administration at the top. In 1916 this proclamation became the native rights ordinance as amended. From this date no further law was enacted with regards to the control of land.

In the case of Jama'are emirate it seemed these colonial policies concerning land did not affect individuals to a great extent as the power over land was delegated to the *sarakunan garuruwa* through indirect rule, who continued to administer land as 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. As such to the rural farmer, the most important factor was not the colonial land laws but rather maintaining good relations with his local leader by discharging his obligations properly and on time in accordance with obedience to constituted authority.[41] Government control over land seemed to be asserted only when there was need for sitting a project. These projects included the sitting of the eighty-four acre agricultural experimentation farm, the construction of rest houses at *zango kanti*, added to these were the sitting of District prison, court, school and dispensary, which were supervised by the native authority.

[40] Ibid.
[41] Alhaji Ahmadu Malle, Dan Iyan Jama'are, Retired farm official, farmer, aged 86, interview at his house, 10th September 2012.

One of the major implications of the colonial land policy was that it prevented the emergence of a new land holding class which was not directly under the influence and control of native administration. This was due to the alienation of non-Northern Nigeria's which retarded the development of a large landless peasantry. This helped in retaining the traditional socio-economic and political structure which was important to the principles of indirect rule. This was because radical changes in land tenure would have under ruined the authority of traditional rulers, as it was assumed non-indigenous wealthy land holders would not cooperate with local authorities.

At least up to the middle of the colonial period land remained under the control of the community leaders. From the 1930s however, there was a shift in monetization of the economy. This was principally caused by colonial taxation, the great depression and the expansion in the area under cultivation which tends to reduce the availability of land. Added to these was the large scale rural indebtedness in the Jama'are Emirate aggravated by the activities of money lenders.[42]

At the beginning of the 20th century when Britain made a colony and protectorate of Nigeria, there was a multiplicity of land tenure systems in the country. The land tenure system obtained in northern Nigeria is that where the colonial administration had placed all lands under the control and subject to the disposition of the Governor. This was on the basis that the Maliki Law operated by the Fulani over much of Hausaland in the 19th century confers on the colonial conquerors rights to the land of the conquered. Without the consent of the Governor, no title to occupation and use of land was valid. An

[42] Ibid.

Ordinance of 1910[43] directed that the Governor shall hold and administer the land for the use and common benefit of the native peoples. Any native or native community lawfully using and occupying land in accordance with native law and custom enjoys a right of occupancy protected by the Ordinance and no rent is paid in respect of such rights. In the case of all other persons, no title is valid which has not been conferred by the Governor, who is empowered to grant rights of occupancy for definite or indefinite terms, to impose conditions and to charge a rent. The Ordinance lays down maxima of 1,200 acres for agricultural grants and 12,500 acres for grazing purposes.

4.6 The Evolution of British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria

When the British finally penetrated Northern Nigeria, the exploitation of the agricultural potentials of the area was paramount in her imperial motives.

The need therefore, to devise means of achieving that was also very much developed. Lugard sought to create a land tenure system in which ownership was vested in chiefs, a supposed continuity with the pre-colonial past that would enable an agricultural aristocracy —and agricultural wage labor —to emerge. His successor, Sir Percy Girouard, reversed Lugard's land tenure reform, articulating and codifying a land tenure system vesting control in the state and only supervision in African rulers. This system took hold and engendered the emergence of an export-oriented agricultural peasantry in the former territories of the Sokoto Caliphate.[44]

[43] Government of Nigeria, (GoN) 1953, *The Nigeria Handbook*, Lagos: Government Printer, p. 105.
[44] Abubakar, Sa'ad, 1980, "The Established Caliphate: Sokoto, the Emirates and their Neighbours," in Obaro Ikime, *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books, p. 307.

In the revenue domain, Lugard's Native Revenue Proclamation of 1906, which imposed a variety of taxes and levies by invoking the discourse of continuity with antiquity, helped codify a system of colonial revenue for Northern Nigeria. Subsequent modifications of that system preserved the core principles and types of exaction that inhered in the original legislation.[45] Agricultural production was similarly reengineered where possible. The British Cotton Growers' Association set out to promote cotton cultivation, and the increasing demand for butter substitutes in Europe transformed groundnut cultivation in Northern Nigeria into an export-oriented agricultural system, with the colonial government using a mixture of incentives and coercive measures to promote their cultivation.[46]

Although founded largely on ecological and ethnographic data collected on the Sokoto Caliphate, the British applied these economic reforms to the entire Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, disregarding the history and cultural divergence of the significant population of non-caliphate peoples in the protectorate. The outcomes of the economic reforms differed markedly from district to district, and the degree to which they were implemented varied from province to province. But the British never gave up their effort to create a local agricultural economy suitable for colonial economic objectives.

Nigerian agricultural policy was part of the so-called Nigerian Land Policy of the nineteenth century in which the British wanted agriculture carried on in the traditional

[45] See Lugard, F. D., 1923, *Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, London.
[46] Ijere, M. O., Apr., 1974, "Colonial Policy in Nigerian Agriculture and Its Implementation Agricultural History," Vol. 48, No. 2, *Agricultural History Society*, p. 300.

forms of African land tenure without mechanization or plantations.[47] Sir Hugh Clifford, the British Governor of Nigeria at the time, asserted that the reason for this was the economic and social upheavals connected with plantation agriculture that had occurred in East Africa. He saw more advantage in peasant production, despite its relative inefficiency, than in plantations, and argued that in an economic crisis the African producer would remain on his land, feeding himself and his family, selling what he could for money, when bankrupt planters were fleeing to their homes in Europe, leaving their plantations derelict.[48]

In British Africa, the emphasis was to expand cash crop production using existing modes of agricultural organization. To quote from a memo from one British governor in 1925:

> Our first objective is to induce the native in producing something more than the crop of local food stuffs that he requires for the sustenance of himself and his family.[49]

There was initial evidence of wide scale resistance to the growth of a number of cash crops. The worst case was cotton, which depleted soils and directly competed with food production. Colonial regimes used a variety of mechanisms including minimum acreage laws (in cotton's case) and poll taxes. Serious research in agriculture was undertaken rather late in the colonial process. In Britain the effort was more localized. Centrally allocated funds under the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund amounted

[47] Buchanan, K. M. and Pugh, J. C., 1958, *Land and People in Nigeria,* London: University of London Press, p. 98.
[48] Hancock, W. K., 1943, *Argument for Empire,* New York: Penguin Special, p. 193, cited in Battern, T. R., 1959, *Problems of African Development*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 146.
[49] Cameron, D., 1925, "Draft of Institutions to District Officers" 18 May, C.O. 691, No. 82.

to only 6.5% of the total allocation of 24 million pounds between 1940 and 1960.[50] Overall much of the increase in agricultural output came from expansion of acreage rather than from large increases in productivity or from major changes in technology. In the case of Nigerian peasant agriculture:

> Beyond offering farmers for their potential surplus production, the foreigner did next to nothing to alter the technological backwardness of the economy... All that he did was to dangle sufficiently attractive prices before the producer's noses to persuade them to convert potential into actual surpluses by increasing their inputs.[51]

In this case surplus labor was available from males since women cultivated most food crops and additional acreage was put under cultivation.[52]

The economic system was highly regulated and the colonial policy was aimed at protecting British interests (both of the government establishments and their sponsored trading firms). This policy was perhaps best reflected in agriculture – where all activities were directed at subsistence farming and the only commercial production was meant basically for export. No genuine effort was made towards developing the technical and managerial capacity of the local farmers beyond that of being mere producers of primary products or raw materials. This implied that little or no research work was encouraged – which could have provided the platform for the local farmers to improve their technical

[50] Yudelman, Montague, 1975, "Imperialism and the Transfer of Agricultural Techniques" in Duignan and Gann (eds.), Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, Volume 4, *The Economics of Colonialism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[51] Helleiner, Gerald, 1966, *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria*, Homewood, IL: Irwin, p. 12.
[52] Howard Stein, 2001, "Economic Development and the Anatomy of Crisis in Africa: From Colonialism through Structural Adjustment," Paper presented at a seminar at the Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen, on the 5th of March 2001, Occasional Paper, Centre of African Studies University of Copenhagen.

knowledge and develop better farm management practices and administration in their business.[53]

4.7 Colonial Labor Policy and Agricultural Development

Labour can be defined as the aggregate of all human physical and mental effort used in creation of goods and services. Labour is a primary factor of production. The size of a nation's labour force is determined by the size of its adult population, and the extent to which the adults are either working or are prepared to offer their labour for wages. In the colonial period being a capitalist system labour was one of the most important variable in the means of exploitation of the people and the land. The colonialist demanded from the people maximum labour in the bid to produce for the factories in the so-called mother country. This labour was demanded from everybody and even those who were not able to labour for the colonial state was forced pay certain amount of money to cover for that labour.

Colonial labour was never commensurate with the amount of hours put in by the individual. Labour is the creator of value in the economic system of any given country. Labour is also an important factor of production. Labour in this sense is the one that involves exaction of power on the production of value in form of industrial goods, farm produce and services. Human resources in the form of labour constitute a significant factor in agricultural production.

[53] Joe Duke II, August 2010, "The Impact of Colonialism on the Development of Management in Nigeria," in *International Journal of Business and Management*, Vol. 5, No. 8, www.ccsenet.org/ijbm

The British colonial administration was opposed to the continuation of slave labour. However the British utilized forced labour *aikin tilas* in the construction of colonial infrastructure. Colonial labour policy was designed to create abundant and therefore cheap wage labour force for the colonial administration and its companies. The 1901 declaration, destroyed the legal status of slavery and made it difficult to acquire or dispose of slaves. Furthermore, slave holding became more difficult and expensive due to the development of 'fue labourers' and greater possibilities of emancipation through manumission or escape.

However 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 farms of the aristocrats and in the army.[54] Lugard argued however that they had removed the 'arbitrariness' of pre-colonial specific number of days from the peasantry pre year.[55] Labour was supplied by the Native Authority through the District, village and hamlet heads for colonial projects. The British authorities impressed it on the Emir that the supply of labour for the colonial project was mandatory and must be adhered to. This is to say labour was conscripted during both the dry and the wet season, so long as there was public work to be done. This had some impact on agricultural production.

The labourers from Jama'are Emirate were sent to engage in construction of the Kano rail lines and the Bauchi light railway. It seemed that the mobilization of forced labour continued throughout the period covered by this study. However, the number

[54] See Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria: A Study of Soba District c. 1902-1960, Zaria: an M.A. Dissertation in the Department of History, A.B.U.
[55] Ibid.

mobilized declined with the completion of rail construction and the decline of tin mining. Forced labour continued to be mobilized for repairs to building and maintenance of roads and culverts.[56]

Colonialism being an economic system related to production and distribution has labour as the primary medium through which this could be achieved. The British colonialist therefore, did not leave any stone unturned to make sure that they maximize the exploitation of the labour of the colonized. They did what they could to regulate labour to their benefit in the colonies. Labour was demanded and forced not only in physical terms even in monetary terms. This was done through making the people pay money for the labour that they were supposed to do but could not as a result of one reason or the other.[57] This shows that the colonial policy on labour just like all colonial policies took care of many things and was thorough. It made sure that everybody labored for the colonial state for the betterment of the so-called mother country.

It was only when it comes to extraction of labour that the colonialist do not separate the indigenes from what they call the "alien resident". Everyone was expected by the colonialist to contributed to the running of the colonial state, no distinction, after all they were all subjects to be controlled however the "master" deemed fit. Until the enactment the Forced Labour Ordinance, 1933, the employment of forced or compulsory labour was governed by administrative instructions.[58] This was to say that the colonialist arbitrarily as the need arise forced the people to work for them. In essence, the Forced

[56] NAK/BAUPROF/315/1935 Labor and Industrial Conditions 1933-1935.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

Labour Ordinance or not, all labour demanded by the colonialist was forced. One need only look at the way they took over the land to realize this simple fact.

With the Ordinance, forced labour was now regulated to included things like "minor communal services" and "urgent calamities" as some of the things that were considered in the Ordinance. These concepts were not defined by the colonialist; it was therefore, an open avenue for more exploitation. The hypocrisy of the colonialist knew no bounds as they even went to the extent of disallowing the chiefs to benefit from the labour of their people. The chiefs before the coming of colonialism used to enjoy certain personal services from their people, but this was now conflicting with the interest of the colonialist and they therefore issued administrative order to stop that. They did so by making sure that Native Courts did not punish such persons who refused to participate.[59]

The focus of the colonialist and of course imperialist was for the exploitation of the labour of a specific section of the population of the colonies; the proportion of resident adult able bodied males.[60] This was typical imperialism and it should remind us of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade era. It would appear also that the colonial policy on labour was related to that of transport as one can see in the colonial records. This was because transportation was also labour intensive as any other sector of the colonial economy. This became obvious in many respects. The colonialists talk about local roads and paths. This was all in the bid to expatriate the products and wealth being produced by the colonies for the benefit of the so-called "mother-country". For this purpose the policy on this reads:

[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.

> "It is proposed that the local roads and paths, for the maintenance and cleaning of which labour may be exacted, shall include only roads and paths within a town or village and those leading to the nearest water supplies and to neiboughring farms belonging to the inhabitants and such inter-village foot paths and bridle paths as exist solely for the benefit of the native community."[61]

It was enacted in this manner because the next village or town too will do the same thing to their area. And it was done to give some sense of belonging to the people as well as also a medium of division.

Another practice of the colonialist in terms of labour and remuneration was that people who work within their village for the colonialist were not paid. The evidence to this was a letter to the Resident, Bauchi Province from the District Officer, Katagum Division where he wrote:-

> "the question of payment does not arise as all persons were employed solely within the limits of the land occupied by their villages."[62]

With regards to grass hopper invasion the District Officer, Katagum Division demanded the Governor's sanction should be obtained in advance in case of hopper invasion and the paragraph reads thus:-

> "Might I suggest that next year as soon as the first band of hoppers appears in any part of the Province the Governor's sanction for forced labour be obtained for all Native Authorities? Such sanction to remain in force throughout the hopper season, it is most unlikely that only one particular area will be affected, and a good deal of delay and correspondence would thus be avoided."[63]

[61] Ibid.
[62] NAK/BAUPROF/315 Vol. II/1938 Labor Department Function 1938
[63] Ibid.

This suggestion was granted and the District Officer was informed that Governor's powers should be delegated. This shows that there were things that were done on behalf of the Governor which receives his approval without necessarily consulting him. The statistics he gave was thus:-

> "457 hopper bands were destroyed in 1936 with 15 men per band." He continued by saying that he estimated that about "6,855 men were employed and that of this number about 5,000 worked for one day and the remainder from two to three days."[64]

This was a seasonal occurrence therefore every year the number kept on increasing.

The issue of regulation of labour in the colonies does not arise until 1933 with the enactment of the Forced Labour Ordinance. The conditions under which labour was employed were not reasonable, the need to for the review of the conditions governing the employment of labour became necessary in 1936 because of the defects and inadequacies of the inspection of labour conditions were also replete with defects and inadequacies.[65]

There was no provision of adequate housing, sanitary arrangements and hospital facilities for employed labour even not to talk of forced labour and the so-called unskilled labour who were more in number in the colonies, made up of the so-called natives. There was no due observance of the laws and regulations relating to labour contracts. There was however, the Labour Ordinance, 1929,[66] which was enacted to regulate labour in the colonies which was only concerned with the maximization of revenue. With the absence

[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.

of these regulations and means of inspection it was observed by the colonial authorities in 1936 that there was a labour problem in Nigeria as observed by the Governor at the time in the person of B. H. Bourdillon.[67]

4.8 Colonial Transport Policy and Agricultural Development

Under transport, when colonialism started there were no motor vehicle to take colonial officials to wherever they wanted. The question of access to many parts of Nigeria was a problem. Because of that the British forcefully recruit people as carriers. There was mention of voluntary carriers, but no one in their rightful minds would volunteer to carry a very heavy load on his head over a distance of sometimes up to 100 miles beyond his home.[68] The normal daily journey of persons engaged in carriers labour was seventeen miles a day with full load and the maximum weight of the load including food was fixed at 65 pounds.[69] In every gang carriers ranged from 194 to 206 and a headman or headmen may be employed for each gang.[70] This was the pattern during the Trans-Saharan trade as well. The caravans' headmen were known as *Madugu*. The caravans used to have among their loads agricultural products to be sold in the various markets along the Trans-Saharan trade routes. The prices of such products were also determined by the distance covered by the caravans in their journeys.

As a rule one headman (*madugu*) will be engaged for each unit of twenty carriers, but that the proportion will depend on the circumstances of the case. It was therefore the

[67] Ibid.
[68] NAK/BAUPROF/315/ Labour and Industrial Conditions, 1933-1935.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

duty of the officer in charge of a convoy to remain with the convoy and keep it together, and prevent straggling. He should personally supervise the passage of any difficult point in the roads (e.g. a bridge, defile etc.), in order to prevent crowding and jostling, and he should remain till the last of the convoy has passed, in order to see that the men do not leave their duties. If camp is near to such an obstacle or village, it will always be made on the further side of it.[71]

This shows that the colonized were but subjects with no freedom. This was the most important form of transport before the introduction of motor vehicle and even with the introduction of train and motor vehicle it was not to all parts of Nigeria that the train was established. For instance there were no train tracks passing through Jama'are, therefore it was these gangs of carriers that were ferrying things for the colonialist in the district. In this situation therefore was no any talk of freedom or some semblance of it.

Roads and paths construction were also among the important policies of the colonialist on transportation. The importance of roads and paths to the colonial state cannot be overemphasized. Before the passing of the Forced Labour Ordinance, 1933, the refusal to work for the colonial state was severely punished. This of course was not a guarantee that after the introduction of the Ordinance the practice was stopped. A case in question though not related to Jama'are District was that that took place in Obubra Division of Ogoja Province on certain occasion when Administrative and Medical

[71] Ibid.

Officers occupied in essential touring were unable to obtain voluntary carriers.[72] This was also a form of resistance to colonial rule.

The exact statistics of the people that were prosecuted are not available. The statistics that was made available showed that forty seven persons were prosecuted in the Native Courts for refusal to render carrier labour, thirteen being fined 2/- (2 shillings), eighteen 5/- (5 shillings) and one 1£ (1 pounds), while six men received six strokes and nine were discharged.[73] This was in the case of Ogoja Province but even in the Kano Province and later Bauchi Province where Jama'are District belong respectively the same situation was also obtainable. In terms of the exaction of labour for transport purposes and farming the same rule applied to all provinces in Nigeria. The goal was for maximum exploitation in order to show the people they were subjects.

With the passing of the Ordinance the colonial authorities claimed that the prosecution of those who refuse to render carrier services ceased. This did not mean that the forced conscription of people for carrier work ceased. It was claimed that arrangement has been made for the employment in 1933 of a permanent gang of professional carriers. It was however, said by the colonialist that the use of forced carrier labour will therefore only be necessitated in the most exceptional cases.[74] This policy showed that the use of forced carrier labour persisted. It was only with the introduction of motor transport that carrier labour was stopped but even then it was within provinces or district or divisions that had adequate and good road network.

[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

The use of the term voluntary labour seems to obscure the true nature of the carrier transport system in the colony before the enactment of the Forced Labour Ordinance, 1933. Another term that was confusing and related to the colonial policy on transport was what was known as compulsory paid labour. People were made to labour by force but this move was backed by law. Though they were paid it was obvious that they were being under-paid because in the first place they were compelled against their will to work. There was also no way that the pay would be commensurate with the hours and labour put in. most of these labour were termed as unskilled which will also determine their pay. These types of labour were usually demanded to repair tracks and roads and paths.

In the Bauchi Province carrier through what the Divisional Officer Katagum called voluntary labour. This goes to show that carrier labour was also present in the Bauchi Province. There was also an organized system for the maintenance of roads by paid voluntary labour. However, what should interest us the amount of money that was paid to these people or labourers. This area was also prone to grasshoppers attack and a great deal of labour was required to curtail them. In this case however, it was the people themselves fearing that they will lose their harvest that work to destroy the hoppers.[75]

This was in case of an invasion of locusts or threat of invasion by locusts. This would usually destroy a whole farm and sometimes the whole harvest of the district, when this happen the inhabitants risk food shortage and consequent starvation.

[75] NAK/BAUPROF/344 Vol. 1/ Land Tenure, Instructions Regarding, 1939-1949.

Road means any road whether public or private and includes any street, square, open space, court, alley, lane, bridge, footway, trace, path, passage, or highway whether a thoroughfare or not.[76]

4.9 Colonial Tax Policy and Agricultural Development

Taxation is one of the defining characteristics of colonialism. The colonialists made use of this policy wherever they went and the reduction of the cost of running the "Colonial State" was one the reasons advanced for the 1914 Amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates. Whatever the colonialist did was to maximize the exploitation of the people so that the so-called mother country did not have to pay for the running of the "Colonial State". The view that near absolutist colonial governments were engaged in relentless revenue extraction, particularly in colonial Africa, stands in a firm tradition of scholarship represented by historians such as Crawford Young and Mahmood Mamdani who have described the colonial state in terms of its hegemonic power structure. Fiscal policy fulfills an important role in their argumentation scheme because it constitutes one of the main channels of resource extraction and the supreme channel to display authority and legitimacy. For Mamdani the organization of taxation along the lines of British indirect rule (which he calls decentralized despotism) corrupted local authority structures because it left local chiefs with unchecked powers of revenue collection: District level autonomy at times reached the level of a fetish. The result was a pervasive revenue hunger all along the chain of command, from the central to the local state, leading to efforts to tax or impose fees on anything that moved.

[76] Ibid.

Taxes are placed in the centre of the extractive institutions hypothesis when AJR replicated Young's quote of a French government official in Africa, who described his duty as follows: the European commandant is not posted in a region, is not paid to observe nature, to carry out ethnographic, botanical, geologic or linguistic studies. He has a mission of administration, to impose regulations, to limit individual liberties for the benefit of all, to collect taxes.

The imposition of colonial rule at the beginning of the 20th century by the British in Nigeria produced far-reaching economic consequences that stimulated several changes in the normal day to day practices of the people of Jama'are Emirate in many respects. This was as a result of not only the establishment of colonialism itself as a system but also the nature of the colonial policies that were introduced by the British. The policies included imposition of systematic and universal taxation; compulsory use of a standard coin and currency. Others were the establishment of new urban centres of trade and administration and recruitment of forced labour. The above combined to disrupt the socio-economic arrangement in Jama'are District. It made peasant farming materially unrewarding for many farmers.[77]

The British were self-seeking in the introduction of colonial policies. For instance, the taxation and coin currency policy were aimed at providing enough manpower for cash crop production which was to provide raw materials for British factories.[78] Therefore, the main concern of the colonial administration was the maximum

[77] Ibid.
[78] NAK/BAUPROF/1271/1938 Taxes, Economic Aspect of Collection 1937-1939.

exploitation of the agricultural and mineral resources of the colonize areas. The people of Jama'are Emirate just like all Nigerian peoples had to readjust to the commercialized environment. They had to structure the pattern of their economic activities in such a way as to earn enough of the new currency. The acquisition of the new coins could among other things enable them meet their new obligatory tax commitments. The need for cash compelled people to enter into agricultural labour and focus on cash crop production.

This meant that they had to engage in the cultivation of cash crops such as cotton, groundnuts, wheat, etc at the expense of food crops. The British across Nigeria encouraged the production of cash crops such as groundnuts, cotton, rubber, cocoa, oil palm, palm kernel among others. Another significant way of earning cash was to move out of the rural area to the urban centres. The urban centres such as Kano and Bauchi provided opportunities for wage employment. The people migrated to urban areas to be employed in the railways, mines and administrative offices. Others, however, engaged themselves in the commercial activities of many kinds. This affected agricultural production as the mainstay of the economy in the Jama'are Emirate area. The impact of this action was both positive and negative in the sense that the people of the area were engaging in the cash crop production on a large scale for sale to the Europeans and the Lebanese.

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policies that were introduced by the British. The policies included imposition of systematic and universal taxation; compulsory use of a standard coin and currency. Others were the establishment of new urban centres of trade and administration, and recruitment of forced labour.[79] The above combined to disrupt the socio-economic arrangement in Jama'are Emirate. It made peasant farming materially unrewarding for many farmers.

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[79] NAE, OP 45/21 ONPROF 7/8/2, Railway Construction Recruitment of Labour and arrangements for Control thereof.

employment. The people migrated to urban areas to be employed in the railways, mines and administrative offices. Others, however, engaged themselves in commercial activities of many kinds. This affected agricultural production as the mainstay of the economy in the Jama'are Emirate.

The nature of the colonial tax was one that was not at all favourable to the people of Nigeria or any other places that experienced colonialism. The nature was so brutal that the people had to engage in many commercial activities hitherto not known to them in order to fulfill the *obligation* of paying those various taxes imposed by the colonialists.[80]

A variety of methods were employed by the colonial powers to force colonial subjects to become wage-laborers. These included forced labor and varieties of methods to create a property- less class. But creating a landless, property- less class was not always preferred by colonial governments. Maintaining 'reserves' of some kind was beneficial to capital, for a number of reasons. If labour was seasonal, workers could return home in the off-season and live off the subsistence base. In this way, wages did not have to be high enough to support workers and their families year-round, and profits could be higher. Even without seasonal labor, maintaining a subsistence base could supplement wages, which again would not have to be high enough to reproduce labour-power. The problem was that if the subsistence base was capable of supporting the population, colonial subjects would not be compelled to offer their labor-power for sale.

Colonial governments thus required alternative means for compelling the population to work for wages. The historical record is clear that one very important

[80] See Frankema, E. H. P., 2009, "Raising Revenue in the British Empire, 1870-1940: How extractive were colonial taxes?" Working Paper presented at the XVth World Economic History Congress, August 3-7.

method for accomplishing this was to impose a tax and require that the tax obligation be settled in colonial currency. This method had the benefit of not only forcing people to work for wages, but also of creating a value for the colonial currency and monetizing the colony. In addition, this method could be used to force the population to produce cash crops for sale. What the population had to do to obtain the currency was entirely at the discretion of the colonial government, since it was the sole source of the colonial currency. This method was widespread and important enough to be called "a secret of colonial capitalist primitive accumulation". This practice is extremely well documented, yet it has hardly ever been mentioned as an important method of primitive accumulation.[81]

A number of methods were utilized to compel Africans to provide labor and cash crops. Among these were work requirements, pressure for 'volunteers', land policy squeezing Africans into 'reserves' destroying the subsistence economy, and 'contracts' with penal sanctions.[82] But the most successful method turned out to be direct taxation.

Direct taxation was used throughout Africa to compel Africans to produce cash crops instead of subsistence crops and to force Africans to work as wage laborers on European farms and mines:

> In those parts of Africa where land was still in African hands, colonial governments forced Africans to produce cash crops no matter how low the prices were. The favourite technique was taxation. Money taxes were

[81] Mathew Forstater, Taxation: A Secret of Colonial Capitalist (So-Called) Primitive Accumulation, Working Paper No. 25, University of Missouri – Kansas City, pp. 6-7.

[82] Fieldhouse, David K., 1971, "The Economic Exploitation of Africa: Some British and French Comparisons," in P. Gifford and W. R. Louis (eds.), *France and Britain in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule,* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, pp. 620-621.

> introduced on numerous items—cattle, land, houses, and the people themselves. Money to pay taxes was got by growing cash crops or working on European farms or in their mines.[83]

The requirement that taxes be paid in colonial currency rather than in-kind was essential to producing the desired outcome, as well as to monetize the African communities, another part of colonial capitalist primitive accumulation and helping to create markets for the sale of European goods:

> African economies were monetised by imposing taxes and insisting on payments of taxes with European currency. The experience with paying taxes was not new to Africa. What was new was the requirement that the taxes be paid in European currency. Compulsory payment of taxes in European currency was a critical measure in the monetization of African economies as well as the spread of wage labor.[84]

Colonial governors and other administrators were well aware of this 'secret' of colonial capitalist primitive accumulation, although they often justified the taxation on other grounds, some ideological and others demonstrating the multiple purposes of taxation from the colonial point of view. "One Governor, Sir Perry Girouard, is reported to say: 'We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of seeking work'".[85] First Governor General of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, Sir Frederick Lugard's Political Memoranda and Political Testimonies are filled with evidence regarding direct taxation:

[83] Rodney, W., 1972, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, p. 165.
[84] Ake, Claude, 1981, *A Political Economy in Africa,* London: Longman, pp. 333-334.
[85] Buell, Raymond Leslie, 1928, *The Native Problem in Africa,* Vol. 1, New York: Macmillan, p. 331.

> "Experience seems to point to the conclusion that in a country so fertile as this, direct taxation is a moral benefit to the people by stimulating industry and production".[86]

Lugard's belief that "Direct taxation may be said to be the corollary of the abolition, however, gradual, of forced labour and domestic slavery",[87] acknowledges the role of direct taxation in forcing Africans to become wage-laborers.

Lugard was also clear that the "tax must be collected in cash wherever possible…The tax thus promotes the circulation of currency with its attendant benefits to trade".[88]

Lugard and other colonial administrators cited a number of other justifications for direct taxation:

> Even though the collection of the small tribute from primitive tribes may at first seem to give more trouble than it is worth, it is in my view of great importance as an acknowledgement of British Suzerainty…It is, moreover, a matter of justice that all should pay their share alike, whether civilized or uncivilized, and those who pay are quick to resent the immunity of others. Finally, and in my judgment the most cogent reason, lies in the fact that the contact with officials, which the assessment and collection necessitates, brings these tribes into touch with civilizing influences, and promotes confidence and appreciation of the aims of Government, with the security it affords from slave raids and extortion."[89]

[86] Lugard, F. D., 1965a [1906, 1918], "Lugard's Political Memoranda: Taxation, Memo No. 5" in A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, (ed.), *The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria: Selected Documents, 1900-1947,* London: Oxford University Press, p. 118.
[87] Ibid., p. 118.
[88] Ibid., p. 132.
[89] Ibid., pp. 129-130.

The tax affords a means to creating and enforcing native authority, of curbing lawlessness, and assisting in tribal evolution, and hence it becomes a moral benefit, and is justified by the immunity from slave-raids which the people now enjoy."[90]

Taxation was also justified on grounds that it assisted in 'civilizing' African peoples:

> "For the native," Ponty stated in 1911, "taxation, far from being the sign of a humiliating servitude, is seen rather as proof that he is beginning to rise on the ladder of humanity, that he has entered upon the path of civilization. To ask him to contribute to our common expenses is, so to speak, to elevate him in the social hierarchy".[91]

Colonial tax policies were also introduced in the name of the 'dignity' of, and the obligation to, work, where contact with Europeans again was emphasized:

> From this need for native labor, the theory of the dignity of labor has developed; this dignity has been chiefly noticeable in connection with labor in the alienated areas. The theory has also developed that it is preferable for the native to have direct contact with the white race so that his advance in civilization should be more rapid than if he remained in his tribal area attending to his own affairs. This is the "inter-penetration" theory in contrast to the "reserve" or "separation" theory.[92]

All of these functions of direct taxation may be seen in some sense as part of colonial capitalist primitive accumulation, whether as assisting in promoting marketization or serving ideological functions in the reproduction of the colonial capitalist mode.

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[90] ibid., p. 173.
[91] Conklin, Alice L., 1997, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930,* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, p. 144.
[92] Dilley, Marjorie Ruth, 1937, *British Policy in Kenya,* New York: Barnes and Noble, p. 214.

Several points concerning the role of direct taxation in colonial capitalist primitive accumulation need to be made. First, direct taxation means that the tax cannot be, e.g., an income tax. An income tax cannot assure that a population that possesses the means of production to produce their own subsistence will enter wage labor or grow cash crops. If they simply continue to engage in subsistence production, they can avoid the cash economy and thus escape the income tax and any need for colonial currency. The tax must therefore be a direct tax, such as the poll tax, hut tax, head tax, wife tax, and land tax.

Second, although taxation was often imposed in the name of securing revenue for the colonial coffers, and the tax was justified in the name of Africans bearing some of the financial burden of running the colonial state, in fact the colonial government did not need the colonial currency held by Africans. What they needed was for the African population to need the currency, and that was the purpose of the direct tax. The colonial government and European settlers must ultimately be the source of the currency, so they did not need it from the Africans. It was a means of compelling the African to sell goods and services, especially labor services for the currency. Despite the claims by the colonial officials that the taxes were a revenue source, there is indication that they understood the working of the system well. For example, often the tax was called a "labor tax" or "prestation." Under this system, one was relieved of their tax obligation if one could

show that one had worked for some stated length of time for Europeans in the previous year.[93] It is clear in this case that the purpose of the tax was not to produce revenue.

Another important element in assuring the smooth functioning of the direct tax system was keeping wages low, which had the additional benefit of keeping costs down for private employers. If wages were too high relative to the tax burden, Africans would only work enough to pay off their tax obligation and the labor supply would remain limited.

Where taxation was high, wages were very low. It would not do to pay the Natives too much for they would not work a day more than it was absolutely necessary to get tax money. So employers pay the minimum in order to exploit their labourers as long as possible.[94]

Direct taxation was used to force Africans to work as wage laborers, to compel them to grow cash crops, to stimulate labor migration and control labor supply, and to monetize the African economies. Part of this latter was to further incorporate African economies into the larger emerging global capitalist system as purchasers of European goods. If Africans were working as wage laborers or growing cash crops instead of producing their own subsistence, they would be forced to purchase their means of subsistence, and that increasingly meant purchasing European goods, providing European capital with additional markets. It thus also promoted, in various ways, marketization and

[93] See Christopher, A. J., 1984, *Colonial Africa*, London: Croom Helm, pp. 56-57., Crowder Michael, 1968, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, p. 185., Davidson, Basil, 1974, *Africa in History*, new revised edition, New York: Collier, pp. 256-257., Dilley, Marjorie Ruth, 1937, *British Policy in Kenya*, New York: Barnes and Noble, p. 214., Wieschoff, H. A., 1944, *Colonial Policies in Africa*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 37.
[94] Padmore, George, 1936, *How Britain Rules Africa*, New York: Negro Universities Press, p. 67.

commoditization. We have also seen that taxation was related to a variety of ideological aspects related to the reproduction of colonial relations of production. Direct taxation was thus an important 'secret of colonial capitalist primitive accumulation.' It appears to have been one of the most powerful policies in terms of both its wide variety of functions, its universality in the African colonial context, and its success in achieving its intended effects. Of course, taxation was not the sole determinant of primitive accumulation. But it has certainly been under-recognized in the literature on primitive accumulation. The history of direct taxation in colonial capitalism also has some wider theoretical implications. It shows, for example, "that 'monetization' did not spring forth from barter; nor did it require 'trust'—as most stories about the origins of money claim".[95] In the colonial capitalist context, money was clearly a "creature of the state".[96]

4.9.1 Tax of *Nomajidde*

One policy of the colonialist on agriculture that has proven to be of great disadvantage not only to the people in terms of economic development but also to social relations was the *Nomajidde* tax. Tax of *Nomajidde* can be defined thus: person residing in one tax area and farming in another. The implication of this practice of distinguishing peoples in this category has no doubt contributed to the incessant conflict of the settler-indigene type in Nigeria and particular in the "Kasashen Bauchi", because this practice laid credence to the British doctrine of separate living of the colonized. This helped them to perpetuate the divide and rule tactics of colonialism.

[95] Wray, L. Randall, 1998, *Understanding Modern Money*, Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar, p. 61.
[96] See Mathew Forstater, "Taxation: A Secret of Colonial Capitalist (So-Called) Primitive Accumulation," Working Paper No. 25, University of Missouri – Kansas City.

The *Nomajidde* tax at one point was becoming a problem in terms of its collection which led to the Residents in the Northern Provinces considering dropping it. Commenting on the issue the Secretary, Northern Provinces said:

> "His Honour while acknowledging that this form of payment of tax gives rise to an altogether disproportionate amount of trouble for the small sums collected, and while agreeing with the principle that it is much the best procedure for a farmer to pay where he lives, nevertheless considers that circumstances may vary so greatly in different places, and may so vary in the future with agricultural and land tenure developments, that it would be a mistake to lay down any hard and fast rule definitely preventing the payment of tax by a farmer in the area in which he may farm though residing elsewhere. Residents are of course at liberty to arrange this matter as suits the circumstances of their provinces, and in cooperation among themselves, but no ruling will be issued from this office prohibiting the levying of tax in the manner in question."[97]

From the foregoing we can still see the stand of the colonialist when it comes to the collection of tax it also shows that the main aim of the British colonialist was for the economic gain they could get out of the colonies.

4.10 Foreign Companies and Agricultural Production

The British took care of everything pertaining agriculture, from land to the labour to the resources, nothing was left to chance, the aim was maximization of output in all forms, to cater for the imperial needs of the British Empire. G. S. Agaldo in his discourse about the impact of colonial agricultural policies on Nigeria's agriculture gives a vivid description of the situation tracing it from the main motive and genesis of the crisis that

[97] NAK/276/1945 Taxation of Persons Residing in One Tax Area and Farming in Another (Nomajidde Tax) 1926-1945

was to engulf the agricultural sector in Nigeria.[98] There was a complete re-direction of the Nigerian agricultural sector to serve the interest of the British especially from subsistence or one that focused on food crops to one that have to do with cash crop.[99]

Agricultural development policies in Nigeria spanned a considerable period, dating back to the colonial era, 1861-1960. Over these many years significant policy issues and priorities occurred which created challenges and opportunities for agricultural development efforts in later years and the outcome of these efforts. The colonial administration and management of agriculture and the entire economy laid the foundations for the agricultural production conditions by 1960.[100]

The intervention in the economic life of Nigeria was basically to facilitate a flow of raw materials to the metropolis. It was also not a wholesale interest in all forms of agricultural products. Attention was focused mainly on the so called cash crops which in Nigeria included cocoa, palm oil, palm kernel, groundnut and cotton. Food commodities such as roots and tubers, cereals or legumes did not attract any attention. Furthermore, the reason for infrastructural development, particularly the construction of roads, railways and the sea ports was to facilitate evacuation of raw materials for export to Europe. There was little value-added such that agro-industrial enterprises were very few and consequently, little employment opportunities existed for the "natives", who in any case

[98] See Agaldo, G. S., Dec., 2000, "A Survey of the Impact of Colonial Agricultural Policies on Nigeria's Agriculture," in *Journal of Economics and Financial Issues,* Vol. 2, No. 1.
[99] See Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria, C. 1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District, M.A. Thesis, Zaria: Department of History, A.B.U., Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1994, "The Major Trends in Nigerian Agriculture: Towards the 21st Century," Paper Presented at the 38th Annual Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Held in Zaria.
[100] Akande, O., July, 2003, "Nigeria macro report: A report to the Afrint project," Nigeria Institute for Social and Economic Research, (NISER).

lacked the required skills. Again, research and extension services were directed more rigidly at the export commodities, just to ensure that the right quality of raw materials was achieved in the production process.[101]

In this study, we have outline the foreign trade sector of the Nigerian colonial economy in which the contest between expatriate and indigenous interests took place. By the end of the First World War, exports consisted of tin and forest products, such as palm oil and kernels, cocoa and groundnuts, while imports comprised miscellaneous European merchandise. As regards the key actors in the external trade sector, these were the British colonial government, expatriate and indigenous firms of various sizes, and Nigerian producers. Ordinarily, the government was supposed to be a neutral referee – "the Great White Umpire"[102] that operated a laissez-faire economic policy - but its policies often favoured the expatriate firms (with which it shared common interests) at the expense of indigenous firms and producers.

The trading community was made up of firms of different nationalities organized in a pyramidal structure.[103] At the apex were a few expatriates, mainly British, firms which later formed combines. Below those were the smaller expatriate firms and the Levantines-Syrians, Lebanese and Greek. The broad base of the pyramid was constituted by a large number of African traders who were the middlemen between African producers and the expatriate firms.

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[101] Ibid.
[102] Hopkins, A. G., 1975, *An Economic History of West Africa*, London: Longman, p. 189.
[103] Harneit-Sievers, A., 1996, African Business, 'Economic Nationalism,' and British Colonial Policy: Southern Nigeria, 1935-1954, *African Economic History*, Vol. 24, pp. 25-26.

The African share of the trade steadily declined from the 1880s and by the 1920s, expatriate firms were in an unassailable commanding position in the colonial economy. The adverse trade trends from this period to the depression of the 1930s made these firms to resort to amalgamations, 'pooling' and market-sharing which culminated in the cartelisation of Nigerian trade in expatriate hands.[104] By 1929, a series of amalgamations had produced the United Africa Company (UAC) as the dominant firm in Nigeria's external trade and further amalgamations gave the resultant Unilever combine control of 80 per cent of total Nigerian trade.

This state of affairs compounded the woes of African producers and traders who were offered prices dictated by the combines. The latter had justified their generally low prices on the grounds of falling world market prices, overhead costs, including warehousing and local establishment costs, transport freights and government tariffs.[105] African middlemen traders and producers rejected this explanation arguing that low produce prices were unremunerative and constituted a disincentive to production. They also accused the expatriate firms of being more concerned with protecting their profit margins. This was the context in which militant indigenous traders and producers rejected what increasingly appeared to be an "unequal exchange".[106]

[104] Ofonagoro, W. I., 1979, *Trade and Imperialism in Southern Nigeria*, 1881-1929, New York, pp. 307-71.
[105] See Olukoju, A., 1995, Anatomy of Business-Government Relations: Fiscal Policy and Mercantile Pressure Group Activity in Nigeria, 1916-1933, *African Studies Review*, Vol. 38, No. 1.
[106] Njoku, O. N. 1987, "Trading with the Metropolis: An Unequal Exchange," In T. Falola, (ed.), *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?* Zeb, pp. 124-41.

4.11 Conclusion

The colonialist came to Africa with their mind set on one thing; i.e. to extend the market for their surplus product that their factories have been producing. This occurred as a result of the Industrial Revolution in Europe due to specialization. This was an important development during the Industrial Revolution. This created rivalry in Europe that in order to avert any serious catastrophe the Europeans invited themselves to Berlin to partition the African continent. Germany through their Chancellor organized the conference and it was during the meeting that the Europeans divided up Africa for themselves with each country claiming a chunk of the cake "the so-called Dark Continent". Otto von Bismarck declared that Germany also needs a "place in the sun".

With this development came the era of active colonialism that also led to series of clashes between the European powers. It was during this period that Jama'are Emirate was conquered together with the Sokoto Caliphate.

CHAPTER FIVE

BRITISH COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL POLICIES 1939-1960

5.1 Introduction

Planning is a conscious effort by a state to achieve a number of development objectives at a future date. The British government was of course aware of the need for development. Yet for many years, the Nigerian colonial state did not believe in or pursue the concept of planning as a formal exercise. The dominant thought on planning at this time was influenced by Keynesian economics, which advocated state intervention to rationalize resource allocation. Changes in economic thought in Britain were dispersed to its colonies. Other significant sources of inspiration for colonial planning included the rise of Britain's Labour Government, with its interest in a welfare state, as well as the cold war, which instigated a search for an antisocialist approach to development.

The idea that there must be a plan to guide economic behavior and governmental activities stimulated an enduring policy of planning in the last years of colonial rule. The reason for planning was limited to achieving a minimum economic growth in such a way that the objectives of colonial rule were maintained and people's aspirations for change were cleverly controlled to prevent violence and widespread resistance to colonial rule. The theory was to implement planning strategies in the context of a free market regulated primarily by the interests of the state. The colonial state rejected socialist planning, with its centralized and mandatory guidelines. The colonial plans operated within the ideology of a capitalist mixed economy, characterized by the recognition of the political subordination of the colony to an imperial power, the existence of a "static traditional"

and modern sectors, and the dualities of private and public investments and of indigenous and foreign enterprises. In such a mixed economy, the state believed that planning would bring rapid social and economic development, correct the structural inadequacies in the economy, and modernize the "static traditional" sector. To the colonial state, development was the progression of Nigeria from a lower, undesirable "traditional" condition to a higher, better, "modern" one similar to industrialized societies in Europe.

The conception of development was based on the prevailing view that the "primitive" society must seek to break the barriers imposed by tradition, expand the market, and increase both the levels of investments and the real per capita income. For a country with a low per capita income (like Nigeria), formal planning must achieve a "big push" or a "critical minimum effort" to propel growth beyond the vicious cycle of poverty.

5.2 British Colonial Policy on Irrigation in Jama'are Emirate

The chief function of an irrigation engineer is the control of water. Generally, the purpose of control is to render possible the cultivation on lands which previously were waterless, or waterlogged, or subject to excessive flooding.[1] The question may be asked, "was there any real necessity for irrigation work in Nigeria, apart from cattle dams which were of obvious and immediate utility?" The answer is that although in many parts the available farm lands and food crops were sufficient for the needs of the population, yet the population was increasing so rapidly that resulted in shortage of food moreover food production was neglected because of production of cash crops. The colonialist believed

[1] NAK/1190/1953 Irrigation in the Northern Provinces 1937-1953.

that it would be folly to wait for that emergency to arise before remedial measures were initiated, and one remedial measure which to an increasing extent is being adopted in tropical countries is irrigation.

The British colonialists in their bid to have and sustain an all-year-round farming made use of irrigation.[2] This was one of the techniques of farming that the people of Jama'are have been using even before the advent of colonial domination.[3] On the subject of irrigation as a policy to be pursued by the British colonialist the Director of Geological Survey commented as follows:

> "In the first place, it seems necessary to consider and decide the object with which any contemplated irrigation projects should be carried out. In general the main purposes are (a) to provide reserve supplies of water for times of drought; (b) to ensure and increase the production of crops. Another object which might well receive consideration in Nigeria would be irrigation in areas where large herds of stock are pastured to secure both the domestic water supplies for the stockmen and their families, to improve the stock carrying capacities of the pasture grounds and possibly the storing of excess fodder against the periods of shortage."[4]

He continued:

> "2. In considering the question of irrigation in general, these objects should be kept in view and means of carrying them out investigated. In Nigeria, except for the cultivation of particular crops, irrigation is hardly necessary throughout the whole year. It is, however, required during the long hot dry season when rainfall is at a minimum and the high temperature and dry winds cause excessive evaporation of surface water."[5]

[2] ibid.
[3] Alhaji Madaki Sabon Kafi, Sarkin Noma, aged 80, 02-10-2011.
[4] op. cit.
[5] Ibid.

He added:

> "3. The sources of water available for irrigation are:- (a) Underground supplies. (b) River storage i.e. the impounding of flood water. (c) Rain storage derived from the annual normal rainfall conserved in narrow valleys. Of these the first is not likely to become of great importance in the Northern Provinces, except perhaps for small local schemes, in close proximity to large rivers, as the level of the water in the wells is normally too deep. Along the main rivers irrigation for market gardens is already practiced and this might easily be extended. In other areas where the level of underground water is known to be reasonably near the surface, something could be accomplished provided other factors were favourable. The River and rain storage are the usual methods of irrigation and become, when the necessary data are available, engineering problems."[6]

The Director of Geological Survey went further to enumerate some of the factors that may or may not be suitable for irrigation. He said that before even a small irrigation project can be considered much data needs to be collected amongst which the most important appears to him to be a soil survey to decide how much land is of the type suitable for and likely to be improved by irrigation, and if it is in a position likely to be suitable for irrigation. An area, he observed, for instance, fringing a valley emerging from rocky hills, ideal as a site for impounding rainfall, might not have a sufficient depth of soil over the underlying rocks, or the soil might not be of a type likely to benefit by irrigating.[7]

[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

Similarly, he added, there may be areas quite suitable for irrigation unfavourably situated or the suitability of whose situations can only be decided by survey. He suggested, therefore, that the first investigation to be undertaken should be a soil survey to determine and limit the areas suitable from an agricultural point of view for irrigation, and that topographical maps on a scale suitable for the use of an irrigation engineer be prepared of those areas.[8]

It appears from the foregoing that the British colonialists had from the very beginning set their mind on the issue of improving the output of farm produce to feed their factories back home, the only way they could be able to achieve that was to maximize the labour and resources available, and to improve those resources to meet their target. In order to make the scheme a success it was suggested that an engineer be employed who would devote his entire time in investigating areas suitable for irrigation in the Northern Provinces so as to co-ordinate the information obtained from various sources.[9]

In November 1929 a Departmental Instructions was issued and later supplemented by subsequent Technical Instructions provided for the establishment of river level gauges on convenient places on bridges to determine run off, flow of streams and evaporation of rivers. This shows that the colonialists had always had their eyes on the agricultural sector of the economy of the colonies.

[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

In general large scale irrigation projects may be divided into two main classes:-

(a) Areas which are being and have been regularly cultivated for many years and where it is considered that irrigation to supplement rainfall will make possible a higher degree of production.

In such areas no new crops need be introduced and after the area has been selected by the Agricultural experts in consultation with the Engineers all that is required is for the Engineers to work out and establish a suitable irrigation system.

(b) Areas which are at present uncultivated or only very sparsely cultivated. In these cases the agronomic and colonization problems are at least as important and possibly more important than those of an Engineering nature. Investigation into reasons for sparsity of population etc.: may show the necessity for Medical, Entomological and Veterinary investigation in addition to the Agricultural and Engineering problems.[10]

However, in both cases of course it would be necessary to determine that the benefits to be obtained would justify the expenditure by showing a reasonable yield on the capital outlay.[11] We can see therefore that at all times the colonialists were after gains.

The importance of irrigation to the colonialist could be seen from the concern showed by the colonial government to the subject in several of their correspondences

[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

particular issues bordering of gauging of rivers for proper planning. One such comment was made by C. J. Rae, Irrigation and Drainage Engineer, Sierra Leone:-

> "Throughout the whole country (Nigeria) there is a serious lack of essential hydraulic data, on which all irrigation or drainage design work must depend for the economical and effective execution of any schemes. It is most important that the earliest possible steps be taken to rectify this by the establishment of gauging station in main and important tributary rivers, and for the regular reading of these gauges and the correlation of these readings."[12]

One area that has no problem in terms of irrigation and conserving of water was the Jama'are Emirate area. The District Officer, Katagum Division pointed out in the following statement:

> "As regards river levels the Provincial Engineer has, I believe, collected data at Zigau where the Kano Eastern road will cross the Jamaari river and there are probably in existence records collected at Kari. It would be a simple matter to arrange a gauge and the reading thereof at Jamaari but elsewhere I think special staff would be required as the season at which useful readings could be taken coincides with the busiest time of year for District and Village staff when they are constantly on tour."[13]

This shows that the Jama'are River has proven to be of great significance in terms of supporting irrigation in large scale. With the shortage of British staff as early as 1920s there were schools that established to train irrigation officers in the Northern Provinces situated at Sokoto.[14] Other areas that were identified as being of significance to irrigation

[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

in Bauchi Province are the *Wandi* and *Dot* valleys at Dass, points along the Gongola from *Zungur* to *Dindima* and the area of the Jamaari River north of *Dasina*.[15]

While all these was going on, the Resident during one of his inspection tours observed that the people were engaged in farming of onion in very large scale and other vegetables along the major rivers of the Bauchi Province. In his inspection notes he has this to say:

> "I was surprised to see the extent of the irrigated onion farms on the river bank. I have never seen anything like it before. I suppose most of the produce finds its way to Kano markets. I would like the Agricultural Officer to see these farms if he has not already done so. It might be possible to extend or improve the irrigation in this area. It certainly appears to be capable of considerable development."[16]

The Jama'are Emirate area has been one of the areas from which onion in large quantity was produced during the colonial period and even before that period. On the Katagum river, a very successful irrigation scheme, for producing market garden produce, had already been firmly established by peasant farmers, using the beam-weight principle, and the possibility of broadening the hand irrigated system by means of pumps would be considered according to H. Howard Wilkinson, the Bauchi Province Resident.[17]

In all these though the colonialist made sure it was the people who paid for the cost of the installation of the irrigation facilities. The stand of the colonial government

[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

was that if the scheme is successful it should be paid for by the farmers who will also have to meet maintenance costs.[18]

On the subject of dry season irrigation two districts along the Jama'are river were of great importance, they were *Galadima* and *Dasina* Districts.[19] On this issue of dry season farming the colonial also showed interest in it because it was now affecting the food supplies of the Northern Provinces:

> "In His Honour's view there is no more urgent need in the Northern Provinces than that of increasing local food supplies in quantity as well in variety in order to alleviate local food shortages and to improve the dietary of the people. The urgent need for oil seeds for export and the increasing price being offered for them make it more than ever urgent to safeguard local food supplies and His Honour can imagine no more effective means of ensuring these supplies and of providing the peasantry with profitable dry-season occupation than by the development of large and small scale irrigation schemes. Progress is however almost completely held up for lack of staff."[20]

The shortage of European staff led to the training of local Agricultural Mallams (*mallaman gona*) and these were trained particularly on how to use cattle water-lifts. In other areas where there were no rivers the colonialist and of course even before the beginning of colonialism the people were using *tapkis* for cattle lifts and also help in mixed farming. The issue is significantly about water conservation. The following is a breakdown of the amount that was expended to achieve just that:

[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

The schemes put forward for each Division are:-

(a) Bauchi Division:

Wells: 1. Kwala
2. Sherifuri
3. Zala
4. Kuljanga
5. Zalanga

Estimated cost (£250 each) - £1.250

Tanks: 1. Beli Shuti
2. Beli Balewa
3. Zangen Manuwa
4. Unguwan Jauru Audu
5. Jankaji
6. Miya

Estimated cost (£150 each) - £ 900

Dams: 1. Bauchi
2. Nabardo

Estimated cost (£300 each) - £ 600

Windmills: 1. Nabardo
2. Alkaleri

Estimated cost (£500 each) - £ 1000

Total estimated cost for Bauchi Division £3,750

(b) Katagum Division:

Dams/Tanks: 1. Jabdo (Hardawa-Cinade Road)
2. Buskuri (Azare-Bulkachuwa Road)
3. Near Giyade

Estimated cost (approx. £150 each) - £ 500

Windmills: 1. Dambam
2. Jalam
3. Daguada

Estimated cost (£500 each) - £1,500

Pumps: Two, man- or beast-operated pumps at a cost of £250 for each pump and £250 for each well.

Total - £1, 000

Total Estimated cost for Katagum Division - £3,000

(a) Gombe Division:

Dams: 1. Kumo

Estimated cost £300 - £ 300

Tanks: Seven tanks – to repair tanks built at one time by slave labour and which have now been allowed to fall into a state of disrepair. These tanks are all in the Wawa bush country.

Estimated cost (£100 each) - £ 700

Windmills: 1. Ako
2. Bajoga

Estimated cost (£500 each) - £1,000

Wells: 5 wells at £250 each - £1,250

Total Estimated cost for Gombe Division £3,250

Total Estimated cost of all above schemes - £10,000[21]

[21] Ibid.

We have seen earlier that the people of Nigeria were the ones to borne the cost of the providing for these infrastructures. Irrigation as we are going to see is not a panacea for all evils which affect farmers in a tropical country like Nigeria. Nor is it always a sign of prosperity. But to an increasing extent irrigation is recognized as a necessity for any tropical country which has a rainfall badly distributed throughout the year, coupled with a rapidly growing population.

5.3 Introduction of the Colonial Mixed-Farming Scheme in Jama'are Emirate

Mixed agriculture is an integrated crop/livestock system; it combines the rotational grass fallow system of crop production with animal husbandry. Its frequency varies in different parts of the country. Where crops predominate, the farmer keeps only a few animals. In areas with livestock dominated systems, crop production is a minor activity.

The colonialist had always aimed for the maximization of the means of production in the colonies. In order to achieve that they resolved from the very beginning to introduce policies and pursued it to its logical conclusion. They had always encouraged mixed farming in the colonies and this was because of the benefit derivable from it in the form of making variety of products available for their factories.[22]

As we have seen the colonialist had long started the move to improve crop production in Northern Provinces and all over the colony of Nigeria through the introduction of not only research centres but also experimental farms. As observed by

[22] See Schultz, T. W., 1964, *Transforming Traditional Agriculture,* New York: Yale University Press.

Abdulkadir "the first experimental work was begun at Samaru on sorghum which indicated that yields could be raised by fifty to one hundred and twenty percent through systematic and intensive manuring".[23] By 1930 the programme passed from the experimental stage and was therefore recommended to peasants as an improvement over the existing system. In the following year, a general expansion programme in mixed-farming was discussed with the representatives of all the Native Authorities were instructed to provide funds and administer the schemes through farm centres and units. The Jama'are area was not to be left out in this experiment as in the area even vegetables such as onion and the rest were experimented with. As we have seen on the section on irrigation the Jama'are area with the presence of the river was also able to support mixed farming. This was also possible because of the fact that the people were also Fulbe whose main economic activity is pastoralism.

5.4 Colonial Policy on Marketing of Agricultural Produce in Jama'are Emirate

Market price and trade policies directly affect the prices and amounts of commodities produced or inputs required. Such policies normally have both domestic and international trade effects. Having the importance of the agriculture sector to the country's development in mind, government needs to establish appropriate policies that stimulate price stability. Right from the imposition of colonial domination the British were interested in developing the production of raw materials for export to Britain.

[23] See Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria: A Study of Soba District c. 1902-1960, Zaria: an M.A. Dissertation in the Department of History, A.B.U.

Therefore it was designed that the crop produced were to be purchased by British firms operating in Nigeria who would then export to Britain.[24]

However the colonial government realized that in order to fully realize its objectives; of making peasants to produce export crops in large scale to be bought cheaply by the European firms, it had to intervene in the marketing of the export crops. Otherwise the colonial merchant firms would never be able to purchase the produce in appreciable quantities. Therefore the colonial government established gazetted markets for the sale of export cash crops supervised by the agents of the Native Authority.[25] In line of the marketing of the produce a market was established at Jama'are town where buying and selling take place known as

5.5 Expansion of Export Cash Crop Production in Jama'are Emirate

As stated in earlier the colonial agricultural policies introduced by the British were designed to increase cash crop production in Nigeria and Jama'are District in particular. This was in order to satisfy the raw material requirements of the colonial British industries in the face of stiff competition with other European nations with similar colonial needs. The need to maximize the utilization of the land and labour of the colonized became more paramount on the part of the different colonial powers. In addition to meeting the demands of imperial industries was the need to generate enough

[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.

revenue for the running of the colonial administration in Northern Nigeria.[26] More fertile land was now being allocated for cash crop production.

As more fertile land was allocated to cash crop production, the level of food production dwindled, necessitating the importation of food staples to supplement decreased local production.[27] The national economic statistics in the 1960s show that export crop rose while food crop production stagnated.[28] The colonial emphasis on cash crops, and the allocation of more land and agricultural inputs for its development, also had the effect of perpetuating the dependence of colonized societies on Britain and Europe for imported food stuff. The Regional Development Cooperation established in 1949 to formulate and executes schemes of agricultural and industrial development mostly financed projects aimed at boosting the production of cash crops. A look at the Regional Development Cooperation investment on "major" agricultural schemes, indicate that all expenditures made were on cash crops.[29]

From the foregoing colonial investment agriculture, food crops were not considered worth investing in. Funds were allocated to only cash crops, and food crops were allowed to develop on their own. The continuing fall in food crop production and subsequent food imports witnessed in Nigeria since the 1960s attests to the negative implication of British cash crop and land policies. The current food crisis facing Nigeria

[26] Ibid.
[27] Okere, L. C., 1983, *The Anthropology of Food in Rural Igboland Nigeria: Socioeconomic and Cultural Aspects of Food and Food Habit in Rural Igboland,* Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, p. 138.
[28] Ibid., p. 139.
[29] Agatha, I. Nnazor, 1993, The Institutional Factors that Influence Women's Agricultural Productivity: The Case of Igbo Women of South-Eastern Nigeria, M.A thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Vancouver, Canada, The University of British Columbia, pp. 100-101, 156.

and other African countries owes their origin to the colonial cash crop policy and the subsequent neglect of food crop. The emphasis on cash crops ensured that more farm resources were devoted to the production of cash crops.[30]

5.6 Cash Crop Production and Sales in Jama'are: The Example of Groundnut

In the Bauchi Province area it appeared from the available records that Jama'are played an important role in the groundnut production and trade. The figures showed that Jama'are produced more groundnut than any other part of the province. This is available in the colonial records of several years.[31] In fact by the year 1941 Jama'are was to become the only buying station in Katagum Division. By this period (1940-41) the United Africa Company Limited had bought 1,4/2 tons of groundnuts (November 848, December 624), of which 1,202 tons (November 58, December 1,144) had been evacuated to Kano and Ringim.[32] Buying started at the beginning of November, the price being then £3.11.6d 2 ton. By the end of the month (December, 1940) the price was reduced to £2.16.6d., but on the 5th of December it returned to £3.11.6d. On the 1st of January 1941 the price rose to £3.19.0d.[33] The table below gives us a summary of the situation:

[30] Ibid., p. 101.
[31] See NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943.
[32] Ibid., p. 46.
[33] Ibid., p. 46.

Total tonnage purchased

	1939-40	**1940-41**	**1941-42**	**1942-43**
Gombe	3311	2400	1531	183
Dadin Kowa	1592	2560	1372	249
Nafada	-	476	-	-
Jama'are	1228	3187	1439	1949
Dambam	890	-	-	-
Azare	548	-	-	-
Bauchi	20	32	191	-
Darazo	201	312	24	76
Total	**7790**	**8967**	**4557**	**2456**

Source: NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943.

The colonial state has always given great attention to statistics of production and consumption. This was in line with the major reason behind the establishment of colonialism; economic exploitation and profit maximization. It was in line with this objective that several correspondences was initiated between the Secretary, Northern Province acting on the directive of the Chief Commissioner, Northern Province wrote to the Resident, Bauchi Province of which Jama'are Native Authority was a part of, to forward a report by the 25th of each month on the groundnut position in Bauchi Province.[34]

> Particulars on which information is required are the local price, crop estimates, amounts evacuated, any other particulars which the Resident consider will be of value in connection with the general position in the Northern Provinces.[35]

In the various reports that were made available we can conclude that Jama'are occupied an important position in the production and sale of groundnut in Bauchi

[34] Ibid., p. 1.
[35] Ibid., p. 1.

Province. We will outline the position of Jama'are in terms of the production as well as the sale of this important cash crop: groundnut.

The major companies and individuals engaged in the purchase of the crop includes: United Africa Company Ltd., UAC, John Holt & Co., Mr. M.A. Burgren, an Arab. The request for the monthly report was made on the 1st February, 1940 and by 8th January, 1941 comprehensive report had started emanating from the purchases made by the United Africa Company at Jama'are in the Bauchi Province. Jama'are had even before this period as shown by the colonial records and the interviews conducted. There was also extensive trade in groundnut oil in the area.[36]

There were two buying clerks at Jama'are –one a buyer for Messrs. U.A.C. and one Arab buyer –Mr. M. A. Burgren.[37] It is important to note that this was not the only people involved in the purchase of this important crop. The ones mentioned here are interested in the evacuation of the crop as export to other countries. During our interviews we were made to understand that the Arabs were also responsible for introducing the production of wheat in commercial quantities for export in Jama'are.[38] This crop also occupied an important position in Jama'are even at present.[27] as explained to us by our informant the wheat crop require little labour and that most of their

[36] Ibid., p. 48.
[37] Ibid., p. 59.
[38] Alhaji Chadi Aliyu, Dan Lawan of Jama'are Emirate, Male, Retired Teacher and Banker, Farmer, aged 62, 11th September 2012.
[27] Ibid.

production take place through the use of irrigation farming, a method made possible because of the presence of River Jama'are.[39]

On 20th February, 1940, the District Officer, Katagum Division reported to the Resident, Bauchi Province the groundnut purchased at the United Africa Company's canteens at Azare and Jamaari as follows:

Azare:	Current price.	£4.13.4 a ton
	Amount purchased to date.	540 tons
	Amount evacuated to date	106 tons
Jamaari:	Current price.	4.11.6 a ton
	Amount purchased to date	1202 tons
	Amount evacuated to date	1181 tons.[40]

It was also reported that Azare and Jamaari are evacuating by camel to Mallam Maduri and Ringim however, at Azare some difficulties has been experienced at getting sufficient camels.[41]

By 11th March price and the amount evacuated had changed:

Azare:	Current price	4.13.4
	Amount purchased to date	542 tons
	Amount evacuated to date	462 tons
Dambam:	Current price	4.13.4
	Amount purchased to date	890 tons
	Amount evacuated to date	68 tons

[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., p. 2.
[41] Ibid., p. 2.

Jamaari:	Current price	4.11.6
	Amount purchased to date	1228 tons
	Amount evacuated to date	1186 tons.[42]

At Azare reported the D.O at Katagum only two, and at Jamaari twenty-six tons have been purchased since the middle of February. That only five tons have been evacuated from Jamaari since the 14th of February, 1940.[43]

In their bid to get the correct picture of groundnut crop and market the colonial government designed a form in which to report was to comply to:

a. The report should be in two parts relating to respectively to,
   i. Groundnuts which will be evacuated by rail

      And

   ii. Groundnuts which will be evacuated by river
b. Each part should be subdivided into provinces, and provinces, if necessary, divided into areas (Bornu and Sokoto Provinces would appear in both parts);
c. Every groundnut producing province should appear in each report:
d. Under each province there should be a table showing the total tonnage actually bought month by month and the estimated tonnage remaining to be bought; at the end of the report there should be a tabulated summary divided into two parts in (a) above:
e. In the case of Kano Province the actual and estimated tonnage to be railed in transit from French territory should also be shown separately.
f. While a system of buying according to quotas remains in force, development of quota position should be treated separately from the remainder of the report.[44]

[42] Ibid., p. 13.
[43] Ibid., p. 13.
[44] Ibid., p. 18.

This directive also shows how important this crop was to the colonial state and their representatives. It was in line with this directive that in the Month of March 1940 the following report was made:

Bauchi Province -23rd April, 1940

i. Groundnuts evacuated by rail

Evacuation to railhead has been by lorry and camel

		total amount purchased to 28th February	**Amount purchased during March**	**Estimated tonnage to be bought**	**Current March price**
Bauchi Diviision	Bauchi Darazo	20 201	- -	- -	£4.13.4 £4.13.4
Katagum Division	Azare Dambam Jamaari	542 890 1,228	- - -	- - -	£4.13.4 £4.13.4 £4.11.6

Bauchi Province

ii. Groundnuts evacuated by river

Gombe Division	Gombe	3,017	294	-	£5.12.6
	Dadin Kowa	1,439	40	-	£5.12.6

SUMMARY

Bauchi Province

i. Groundnuts evacuated by rail	2,881	-	-	-
ii. Groundnuts evacuated by river	4,456	334	-	-

Source: NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 22.

By 22nd April, 1940 the D.O Katagum Division has this report to present:

> The United Africa Company clerk at Jamaari has declined to give information of purchases without authority from Kano and no reply from the latter has been received.[45]

Bauchi Province -21st May, 1940

i. Groundnuts evacuated by rail

Evacuation to railhead has been by lorry and camel

		total amount purchased to 31st March	**Amount purchased during April**	**Estimated tonnage to be bought**	**Current March price**
Bauchi Diviision	Bauchi Darazo	20 201	- -	- -	£4.13.4 £4.13.4
Katagum Division	Azare Dambam Jamaari	542 890 1,228	6 (in March) - -	- - -	£4.13.4 £4.13.4 £4.11.6

i. Groundnuts evacuated by river

Gombe Division	Gombe	3,311	-	-	£5.12.6
	Dadin Kowa	1,479	113	-	£5.12.6

SUMMARY

Bauchi Province

i. Groundnuts evacuated by rail	2,881	6 (in March)	-	-
ii. Groundnuts evacuated by river	4,790	113	-	-

NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 28

[45] Ibid., p. 24.

Bauchi Province -15th June, 1940

i. Groundnuts evacuated by rail

Evacuation to railhead has been by lorry and camel

		total amount purchased to 30th April	**Amount purchased during May**	**Estimated tonnage to be bought**	**Current March price**
Bauchi Diviision	Bauchi Darazo	20 201	- -	- -	£4.13.4 £4.13.4
Katagum Division	Azare Dambam Jamaari	548 890 1,228	- - -	- - -	£4.13.4 £4.13.4 £4.4.6

i. Groundnuts evacuated by river

Gombe Division	Gombe	3,311	-	-	£5.12.6
	Dadin Kowa	1,479	21½	-	£5.12.6

SUMMARY

Bauchi Province

i. Groundnuts evacuated by rail	2,887	-	-	-
ii. Groundnuts evacuated by river	5,903	21½	-	-

NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 31

During the seasons in review it was reported that rainfall was sufficient which help to improve the yield.[46] The price of groundnuts at Jama'are as at November, 1940 was reported to be £3.11.6 a ton.[47]

[46] Ibid., p. 37.
[47] Ibid., p. 42.

Groundnut report for the quarter ended December 31st, 1940 is as follows:

i. **For evacuation by rail**. Evacuation to railhead is by lorry.

Railhead.		Total amount purchased October-December.	Current price.
Bauchi Division			
Bauchi	Jos	20 tons	£4.13.6
Darazo	Jos	300 tons	£4. -. –
Katagum Division			
Jamaari	Kano	1,472 tons lowest	£2.16.6
		highest	£3.11.6

ii. **For evacuation by river.** Evacuation to riverport by lorry

River Port.		Total amount purchased October-December.	Current Price.
Gombe Division.			
Gombe	Dadin Kowa	1,126 tons	£4.17.6
Dadin Kowa	Dadin Kowa	1,263 tons	£4.17.6
Nafada	Dadin Kowa	300 tons	(approx.) £3.9.6

SUMMARY

i.	Groundnuts for evacuation by rail …	1.792 tons (approx.)
ii.	Groundnuts for evacuation by river	2,689 tons (approx.)

2. The small tonnage purchased in Bauchi Division is explained by the evacuation of large quantities of groundnuts direct to Jos for sale to firms there, and the extensive trade in groundnut oil.[48]

According to the Resident, Bauchi Province, H. H. Wilkinson, "there is no reliable information on which to base an estimate of the tonnage remaining to be bought but it must be substantial".[49] The figures for the March, 1941 are also as follows:

a.	Stock on 1.1.41	…	270 tons
b.	Purchases from 1.1.41 to 31.3.41		1365 tons
			1635 tons
c.	Amount evacuated to railhead	…	1635 tons
d.	Stock on 31.3.41	…	-

[48] Ibid., p. 48.
[49] Ibid., p. 49.

The price on 1st January 1941 was £3.19.0d but was reduced during the month to 3.10.0d at which figure it remained till 31st March 1941.[50] The report presented on 14th May, 1941 from Katagum Division featured only Jama'are and it is as follows:

i. For evacuation by rail. (Evacuation to railhead by lorry.)

Railhead.		Total amount purchased during quarter	Current Price
Jamaari	Kano	1365	£3.19.0 (1st Jan) £3.10.0 (during Jan. onwards)

These reports, however, were not the true representation of the groundnut situation in the area as attested to by the Agricultural Officer in his letter to the Ag. Resident Bauchi Province:

> … previous correspondence on this subject, it appears that the total tonnage of Groundnuts purchased at Jamaari during the past season is given as 2837 tons. This figure is much lower than what was reported to me verbally by the Clerks in charge of the buying station at Jamaari on 15th March, 1941. As you know there were two buying Clerks at Jamaari –one a buyer for Messrs. U.A.C. and one Arab buyer. The total figure of purchases as given to me was 3200 tons. Presumably some purchases were made after 15th March, 1941, the date on which I visited Jamaari.[51]

Though the reason for the difference was because the figures of the Arab buyer Mr. Burgren was not included in the colonial report[52] it also attest to the issue being discussed in this study; that of exploitation, many reasons can be advanced for this misrepresentation of figures in order to avoid heavy taxation on the part of the colonial to both buyer and seller. There were other Arab buyers also at Jama'are. Mr. Burgren

[50] Ibid., p. 56.
[51] Ibid., p. 58.
[52] Ibid., p. 59.

gained such prominence in Jama'are that he even built a house in Jama'are and was residing there.[53]

Summary of amounts purchased and remaining to be purchased:-

Province	**To be evacuated by rail**		**To be evacuated by river**	
	Bought	**Remaining**	**Bought**	**Remaining**
Adamawa	-	-	6,064	200
Bauchi	1,389	-	2,747	-
Benue	3	-	354	30
Bornu	1,100	no information	700	no information
Kano	59,503	2,700	-	-
Katsina	4,116	-	-	-
Niger	-	-	602	-
Sokoto	7,183	no information	171	no information
Zaria	6,528	150	-	-
Total	**79,822**		**10,638**	

Source: NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 59.

The return for the December quarter at Jama'are is as follows:-

Station	Jamaari			
Buyers	United Africa Company, and M. Burgren			
Purchases	U.A.C.	806 tons	Burgren	213 tons
Evacuated	U.A.C.	481 tons	Burgren	-
Balance	U.A.C.	325 tons	Burgren	213 tons
Prices	1/11/41	£3.7.6		
	18/11/41	£3.17.6		
	3/12/41	£4.7.6		
	13/12/41	£4.12.6		
	Average for quarter £4.4.0			
Purchases to end 1940	1,471 tons.[54]			

[53] Alhaji Ahmadu Malle, Dan Iyan Jama'are, Retired farm official, farmer, aged 86, interview at his house, 10th September 2012.
[54] NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 72.

From the discussion so far it is important to note that 600 bags equals to 50 tons.

The

Province	**To be evacuated by rail**		**To be evacuated by river**		**Average price per ton**
	Bought	**Remaining**	**Bought**	**Remaining**	
Bauchi:					
Gombe	-	-	800	Not known	£4.17.6
Dadin Kowa	-	-	549	Not known	-do-
Nafada	-	-	-	-	£2.12.6
Bauchi	56	½	-	-	-
Azare	-	-	-	-	-
Jamaari	1019	538	-	-	£4.4.0 for the quarter.
	1075	**538½**	**1349**	**-**	**-**

Source: NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 74.

Groundnut reports: The return for the March quarter is as follows

Station	Jamaari
Buyers	UAC and M. Burgren
Stocks 1/1/42	538 tons
Purchases	420 tons
Evacuations	958 tons
Stock 31/3/42	-
Prices	£4.12.6 throughout quarter.
	Average for quarter £4.12.6

Total purchases for 1941-42 season 1439 tons

Total purchases for 1940-41 season 3187 tons

Buying ceased 28th February 1942.[55]

[55] Ibid., p. 76.

Province	To be evacuated by rail		To be evacuated by river		Average price per ton
	Bought (tons)	**Remaining**	**Bought (tons)**	**Remaining**	
Bauchi:					
Gombe	-	-	800	Not known	£4.17.6.d
Dadin Kowa	-	-	549	-do-	-do-
Jamaari	1019	538	-	-	4.12.6d
Bauchi (native buyers)	56	15½	-	-	-
Darazo		-	9½	8	-
-	**540½**	**15½**	**1564½**	**8**	**-**

Source: NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 79.

Groundnut report: November, 1942

Buying station	Firm	Tonnage purchased up to 15.12.42	Tonnage purchased same period in 1941	Remarks
Jamaari	U.A.C.	1246	595	651 increase
Jamaari	Burgren's Store	255	Not stated	-

NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 83.

Groundnut report: November, 1942

Buying station	Firm	Tonnage purchased up to 31/12/42	Tonnage purchased same period in 1941	Remarks
Jamaari	U.A.C.	127	230	103 decrease
Jamaari	Burgren's Store	25	Not stated	-

NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 85.

Groundnut report: December, 1942

Buying station	Firm	Tonnage purchased up to 31/12/42	Tonnage purchased same period in 1941	Remarks
Jamaari	U.A.C.	1373	825	548 increase
Jamaari	Burgren	280	Not stated	?

NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 85.

Groundnut report: December, 1942

To be evacuated by rail			**To be evacuated by river**	
	Bought (tons during qr.)	**Remaining to be (tons) bought**	**Bought during quarter (tons)**	**Remaining to be bought (tons)**
Province				
Gombe	-	-	94	Not known
Dadin Kowa	-	-	124	Not known
Jamaari	1653	Not known	-	-
Bauchi	-	-	-	-
Darazo	73	Not known	-	-

NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 86.

Groundnut report: November, 1942

Buying station	Firm	Tonnage purchased up to 15/1/43	Tonnage purchased same period in 1941	Remarks
Jamaari	U.A.C.	1544	992	552 increase
Jamaari	Burgren	311	Not stated	

NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 87.

Groundnut report: 23 January, 1943

Station	**Purchased to 31.12.41 tons**	**Purchased to 31.12.42 tons**	**Increase**	**Decrease**
Gombe	77	94	-	683
Dadin Kowa	549	124	-	425
Jamaari UAC	825	1373	548	-
Jamaari	213	280	67	-
Burgren	14	73	59	-
Darazo	56 (native	Nil	-	-
Bauchi	buyers)			
			674	**1108**

Net decrease 434 tons

NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 88.

Groundnut report: 2nd February, 1943

Buying station	Firm	Tonnage purchased up to 31/1/43	Tonnage purchased same period in 1941	Remarks
Jamaari	U.A.C.	1585	1057	528 increase
Jamaari	Burgren's Store	320	Not stated	-

NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 89.

Groundnut report: 17th February, 1943

Buying station	Firm	Tonnage purchased up to 15/2/43	Tonnage purchased same period in 1941-42	Remarks
Jamaari	U.A.C.	1615	1127	488 increase
Jamaari	Burgren	325	Not known	-

NAK/BAUPROF/311/1705-2262/Groundnut- Reports on, 1940-1943, p. 91.

It was in view of the importance of groundnut production and trade that the colonial state set out rules to guide the production and especially marketing of the product.[56] This is contained in the Native Authority (Groundnut Marketing) Rules: Jama'are Native Authority. The rules contained things such as: approved buying points, authorized places of purchase, licensing of scales, pricing, and penalties.[57] In this rules "approved buying point" means a market or other place declared by the Native Authority in accordance with the provisions of rule 3 to be an approved buying point.[58]

> "the Native Authority with the approval of the Minister of Trade and Industry may declare any place to be an approved buying point for the purpose of buying groundnuts for export or for re-sale and may cancel or vary any such declaration:

[56] See NAK/BAUPROF/NL5502-B7- Native Authority Rules: Groundnut Marketing: Jama'are Native Authority, 06-03-1957.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

Provided that no such declaration or approval shall extend to a place within ten miles of a gazette buying station.[59]

> (2) Every such declaration, cancellation and variation shall be made known in the manner customary in the area of the Native Authority and shall, in addition, be notified in the Regional Gazette."[60]

And to make sure that the people did not escape their control the rules also made sure that for every sale and re-sale the colonial state must be in the know. To this end the following rules were set out:

"No person shall buy or sell groundnuts for export or for re-sale for export except:-

(a) Over a scale; and

(b) either-

(i) at premises occupied by him under a certificate of occupancy granted under the provisions of the Land and Native Rights Ordinance; or

(ii) at an approved buying point."

The colonial practice of making the people produce what the will benefit the colonialist has contributed immensely in the impoverishment of the land as well as in affecting the economic practice of the Jama'are. The colonialist determined what to produce and how to produce within the peasant economy of Jama'are.

[59] Ibid., p. 3.
[60] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

5.7 Conclusion

Colonial economic policy constantly responded to the international market, domestic demands, and changes in the attitude of the British government toward its overseas territories. Although the British pursued a mercantilist philosophy at an early stage, their shift to the "principle of individual self-sufficiency" guided actions in the first three decades of the twentieth century. As long as there was public order, law and order, sound administration, and production available for export, the government had carried out its principal duties.

Although its overall impact was limited, the move toward more state intervention began in 1929 with the Colonial Development Act. The outbreak of World War II forced the British government to rethink many of its policies and begin the reform process. One result was the Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CDWA) of 1940, which aimed at using external funds to develop the resources of the colonies and improve the welfare of their citizens.

CHAPTER SIX

IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL POLICIES ON JAMA'ARE

6.1 Introduction

The imposition of colonialism on Africa altered its history forever. African modes of thought, patterns of cultural development, and ways of life were forever impacted by the change in political structure brought about by colonialism. The colonial agricultural policies were introduced to achieve certain imperial objectives. The most important of which was the development of export cash crop production which was realized. However, the achievement of the colonial agricultural policy objectives had repercussions on other aspects of the economy and society of Jama'are Emirate, especially as it relates to land ownership and usage, the social organization of production, rural well-being, food availability and the local industries of Jama'are Emirate. The impact and nature of the colonial agricultural policies on Jama'are Emirate area showed considerable variations.

The capitalist expansion transformed Jama'are peasant farmers to suppliers of raw material, labour and dependants on the capitalist controlled markets and agencies. It also created class divisions in the local communities, similar to those of other capitalist societies. Further, the colonial era created a new dimension in production relation among the different social groups in Jama'are Emirate. The economy was monetized in such a manner that the peasants were made to accept a new exchange relationship. The impact of such policies on the economy and society of Jama'are Emirate cannot be overemphasized.

The aim of colonialism is to exploit the physical, human, and economic resources of an area to benefit the colonizing nation. European powers pursued this goal by encouraging the development of a commodity based trading system, a cash crop agriculture system, and by building a trade network linking the total economic output of a region to the demands of the colonizing state.[1] The economic goals of colonialism were simple: to provide maximum economic benefit to the colonizing power at the lowest possible price.

6.2 Impact of the Colonial Agricultural Policies on Land Use in Jama'are Emirate

The immediate impact of the colonial agricultural policies was felt on land use in Jama'are Emirate. This was because the expansion achieved in the production of cash crops in the Emirate was mostly achieved through increasing the acreage under cultivation.[2] This involved the utilization of reserved land and in some instances confiscation of peasant land by the ruling class for establishing mixed-farms.[3] This according to our informant, was made possible by the high demand placed on the area of crops such as cotton, wheat, groundnut etc.[4] He further explained that while the average farmers devoted between two to three acres of his land to cotton cultivation, the larger farmers comprised largely of the Emirate, village and ward heads devoted an average of

[1] Settles, Joshua Dwayne, 1996, "The Impact of Colonialism on African Economic Development," University of Tennessee Honors Thesis Projects, http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_chanhonoproj/182
[2] Alhaji Ahmadu Malle, Dan Iyan Jama'are, Retired farm official, farmer, aged 86, interview at his house, 10th September 2012.
[3] Alhaji Muhammad Chadi Guntu, Male, Farmer, aged 70, Interview at his house, 15th October 2012.
[4] Alhaji Chadi Aliyu, Dan Lawan of Jama'are Emirate, op. cit.

between 15 to 30 acres.[5] This shows the extent of the expropriation of peasant lands by the ruling class through their position in the Jama'are Native Authority hierarchy.

The alienation of land from the peasantry was further enhanced by the mixed-farming programme introduced by the British Colonial Department of Agriculture with the intent of increasing cotton and wheat cultivation.[6] One of the conditions laid down for the farmers to participate in the mixed farming scheme was ownership or access to a vast land of initially not less than five acres which was later raised to twenty acres.[7]

In addition to the cornering of land by few class of people in Jama'are Emirate, the colonial agricultural policies especially taxation had the effect of increasing commercialization of land.[8] Colonial taxation as was extortionist in nature and always increasing, the tax payers in our area were always anxious about how to pay their taxes.[9] In addition the time of British tax collection which did not always necessarily coincide with the time of the harvest of groundnut and wheat.[10] Most of the time caught the peasant when they were least prepared. The result was that, increasingly affected farmers began to pledge their farms for money in order to pay the colonial taxes.[11] The peasant increasingly began to enter into money transactions in matters relating to land:

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[5] Ibid.
[6] See Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria: A Study of Soba District c. 1902-1960, Zaria: an M.A. Dissertation in the Department of History, A.B.U. for details in his study of Soba in Zaria Emirate, p. 78.
[7] Ibid., p. 98.
[8] Frankema, E. H. P., 2010a, "The Colonial Roots of Land Inequality: Geography, Factor Endowments or Institutions?" *Economic History Review,* Vol. 63, No. 2, pp. 418-451.
[9] Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria… op cit., p. 90.
[10] Alhaji Chadi Aliyu, Dan Lawan of Jama'are Emirate, Male, Retired Teacher and Banker, Farmer, aged 62, 11th September 2012.
[11] Ibid.

> However, with the consolidation of colonial domination, its taxation policy and cash crop production, loan of land came to be undertaken in monetary values, rather than in kind. Our research on the field showed that despite the discouragement of the colonial government of the sale of land or its mortgage, the practice increased by 1930's and 40's because of the increasing difficulties farming house-holds encounter in maintaining themselves.[12]

Agriculture is one of the oldest trades in the world and as for the people of Nigeria during the advent of colonialist the mode of their agricultural practice was what is known as peasant agriculture. The implements in terms of the inputs were crude and one that was not improved by the colonialists though the British had longed industrialize and their farming have been mechanized years before they decided to colonize the world and Nigeria.[13] By the end of colonial rule the state of agricultural practice in Jama'are Emirate was still peasant based.

With specific reference to Nigeria, the most fundamental structural adjustment in the capitalist transformation of agriculture and food production in the country was initiated by the Colonial State. This was an adjustment which redirected the logic of Nigeria's agricultural economy into serving the interests of global capitalist economy.[14] The colonial capitalist penetration and expansion seriously eroded the traditional social relationship to agricultural production by the Nigerian people.

[12] Adamu, Abdulkadir, 1992, British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria:… op cit., p. 67.
[13] Usoro E. J., 1977, Colonial Economic Development Planning in Nigeria, 1919-1939: An Appraisal, *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, Vol. 19, p. 125.
[14] Udo, R. K., 1967, British policy and the development of export crops in Nigeria, *The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2.

When they came to Africa it was with the intention of exploitation of the resources of the so-called periphery. This "philosophy" has contributed a lot in the degradation of the land that agriculture was no longer carried out except with the use of fertilizer which also further affected the yield in the long-run. Before the advent of colonialism the people of Nigeria particularly those in the Kasashen Bauchi and the Jos plateau used to farm across their borders which led to the introduction of the *Nomajidde* tax to carter for such practice. But with the coming of colonialism they began to make distinctions that were not there before.[15] The people used to farm anywhere they deemed fit. This was banned. No doubt therefore that this led to serious implication on land use in Jama'are. This was a piece of land that had been cultivated by people that used to come over a long distance without any hindrance but who were denied that right because of the artificial borders created by the colonialist to divide the people.

With the advent of colonialism the colonialist introduced many policies to carter for each sector of the economy and life of the people. Nothing was left to chance as far as colonial policies were concerned.[16] This became apparent with the takeover of the land by the colonialist especially in the North where all lands were placed under government. The government was now holding the land in trust for the people.

The imposition of colonialism in Jama'are affected land use in such a way that farming activities were also affected. This was an area where during the years before the advent of colonialism the people had free access to land depending on the ability of that

[15] NAK/BAUPROF/276/1945 Taxation of Persons Residing in One Tax Area and Farming in Another (Nomajidde Tax) 1926-1945.
[16] Shokpeka, S. A. and Odigwe A. Nwaokocha, 2009, British Colonial Economic Policy in Nigeria, the Example of Benin Province 1914–1954, in *Journal of Human Ecology*, Vol. 28 No. 1, pp. 57-66.

person to maintain such land in a productive manner. Land was granted on demand by the individual even if he is a stranger as long as he was willing to cultivate the land.[17] But with the imposition of colonial rule all these changed and the people had to pass through stringent policies in order to obtain land for farming.[18] This was to affect the economy and society of Jama'are Emirate.

6.3 Impact of the Policies on Farmers

The consequences of the British colonial agricultural policies on farmers could be seen in the quality of their life. The most wide spread result of the colonial agricultural policies was the general poverty and indebtedness among the rural populace of Jama'are Emirate. When we look at the immediate result of the colonial policies, that is expansion in cash crop production, we found that as peasants increase their cultivation of cash crops (groundnut in particular) the price of the crop did not rise commensurate to the increase in production.[19] In the few cases that price rose, the benefit did not go to the producers because of the crushing colonial taxes that always consumed most of the peasant's cash earnings.

Therefore, the British colonial agricultural policies directly or indirectly led to the impoverishment of the peasantry. This was made possible through expansion in groundnut production, despite the uncertainty about the price, the crop would fetch in any season. The proceeds from the production of this crop were siphoned by colonial state

[17] Alhaji Chadi Aliyu, Dan Lawan of Jama'are Emirate, Male, Retired Teacher and Banker, Farmer, aged 62, 11th September 2012.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Alhaji Ahmadu Malle, Dan Iyan Jama'are, Retired farm official, farmer, aged 86, interview at his house, 10th September 2012.

through taxation. The peasants more and more became under the grip of the village money lenders.[20]

The colonial policy on taxation and method of tax collection as we noted earlier was extortionist and humiliating respectively. Tax defaulters were brutalized and jailed. This had the impact of forcing many people to migrate to other district where they thought conditions were better. According to our informant, whole families moved to other neighbouring emirates to avoid paying tax. The major reason was either to avoid paying colonial taxes or to escape colonial forced labour mobilization.[21]

The attitude of the British administration over the plight of the peasants' tax payers further made some families to migrate. We found that even in seasons when the crop yields were bad, colonial authorities went ahead to collect their taxes as if nothing had happened. For instance in 1930, the colonial sources confirmed that despite the locust visitation of that year, the revision of the 1930/31 tax was unduly delayed, which made many peasants to miss the tax relief designed by the colonial state to reduce the impact of the locust menace.[22]

All the colonial agricultural policies introduced by the British in Nigeria and in Jama'are District have proved to be not beneficial to the people of Nigeria in general and Jama'are in particular. Each of the colonial agricultural policies that one picks it is full of dire consequences for the people of Jama'are Emirate particularly on farmer's well-being.

[20] Alhaji Muhammad Chadi Guntu, Male, Farmer, aged 70, Interview at his house, 15th October 2012.
[21] Forrest, Tom, 1981, "Agricultural Policies in Nigeria 1900-1978," in *Rural Development in Tropical Africa,* pp. 222-258.
[22] Mathew Forstater, "Taxation: A Secret of Colonial Capitalist (So-Called) Primitive Accumulation," Working Paper No. 25, University of Missouri–Kansas City.

The majority of the people of the Jama'are area are farmers so the implications were many.

In order to sell their products, the peasants were compelled to use the new currency. There was an added effect in that the British required that the peasants paid taxes for the maintenance of the colonial territory. Tax default was visited with sanctions. Therefore, to enable them pay the tax the peasants were obliged to produce and sell specific commodities which the British trading companies could accept in cash payment. The commodities in this case were nonfood but industrial raw materials which included groundnuts, ginger, palm oil and kernel, cocoa, and later on, rubber and cotton These raw materials were sold at prices determined by the British buyers and the goods produced by the British companies were, in turn, sent to Nigeria and sold at prices that were also determined by the British.[23]

The British effort to incorporate the entire colonial society into a unit led to the building of ports, railways, roads and telecommunications services. These were meant to ensure that all sectors of the ethnic groups that had some materials to produce were reached. The colonial policy towards agricultural development in the country was total dependence on the peasants for the production of raw materials. In the North, West and Eastern regions of Nigeria where the chief class existed, the chiefs were collaborators in making the peasants produce the raw materials.[24] The ruling class became allies in the exploitation of peasant labour thus furthering the colonial policy of the development of peasant agriculture for the maintenance of the colonial territory and for the furthering of

[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

the economic policy of the British colonial regime and the overall interest of British industries. With the concessions given to the trading firm, the United African Company (UAC), to establish plantation firms in the colony, oil palm, rubber and cocoa plantations became part of the agrarian policy.[25]

Perhaps the key issue to hold in the colonial administration with particular reference to the agricultural sector was that it was the mainstay of the colonial economy but the emphasis was on export and not on food production. The present food crisis in Nigeria could, therefore, be traced partly to the advent of British colonialism which changed the focus and objective of production away from food. Prior to this period, there was enough food for the Nigerian people. But the incentive created by the demand for raw materials made the local population to be inadvertently complacent about food production. What was lacking was food surplus for accumulation and export.[26] Following the emphasis on cash crop production by the colonial agricultural policy, land hitherto used for food cultivation was diverted to cash crop production.

This shifted the attention and expertise of farmers from food crop to cash crop production. The Nigerian economic landscape became dominated by the groundnut pyramids in Northern Nigeria; cocoa warehouses in the West and the palm produce stores of the Eastern region. These features were detrimental to the production of adequate quantities of rice, maize and cassava for consumption by the people.[27]

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[25] Ibid.

[26] See Ekpo, A. H., 1986, "Food Dependency and the Nigerian Economy: An Ex-post Analysis, 1960-1980," *The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies,* Vol. 28, No. 2.

[27] See Yayock, J. V., 1986, "Fertilizer Use and Agriculture in Nigeria," Paper presented at the National Conference on Fertilizer and Nigerian Economy, Port Harcourt.

There are quite a number of the legacies from colonialism. While there are general legacies making it somewhat impossible to see some specific cases one can still see some areas where local impact can be discerned. Let us discuss a few of the important ones:

1) A lack of the infrastructure and the infrastructure created did little to encourage internal exchange or development.[28]

2) Little investment in the local population in terms of health and education leaving the independent government that were to take over from the colonialist with huge social expenditure requirements.[29]

3) A wide antipathy for local commerce limiting business opportunities among the indigenous population. In some cases extensive laws were passed prohibiting economic activities of the local population. Entry of commercial groups of external origins was encouraged including groups such as Lebanese and South Asians.[30]

4) Little investment in agriculture; relying on small scale producers using little or no new technology and therefore doing little to alter the structure of pre-colonial agriculture. At the same time small scale producers were increasingly

[28] N.H.R.S, File No. 311, 1985 "The Colonial Economy and Society of Nigeria 1900-1960", paper presented at the seminar on the Nigerian economy and society since the Berlin conference 1984-1985, A.B.U., Zaria, 11th-15th November.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

incorporated into world agricultural markets which subjected them to the vicissitudes of global prices.[31]

5) Extensive state control of commerce including agricultural marketing boards due to the pressure on colonial states to be financially self-sufficient.[32]

6) Virtually no attempt to create manufacturing or industry. Instead the emphasis was on enclave forms of investment like mining which had few linkages to the surrounding economy.[33]

6.4 Impact of Colonial Agricultural Policies on Food Production in Jama'are Emirate

The colonial agricultural policies in Nigeria did not favour food production.[34] This fact has been discussed extensively in elsewhere in this thesis. However, it is important to stress further the implication of such an action of the colonialist on the future development of food production in Jama'are District as it affects the people of the area and even beyond.

The significance of food production cannot be overemphasized since the availability of food contributes a lot in the maximization of the labour towards productive enterprise. This is an important variable in the success of Europe as a continent that has industrialized. People in Europe through the help of their government and as a result of

[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Smith J., Barau, A. D., Goldman, A. and Mareck, J. H., 1994, "The role of technology in agricultural intensification: the evolution of maize production in the Northern Guinea Savannah of Nigeria," *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* 42/3, pp. 537-555.

maturity of capitalism were able to produce food in large quantity that they could devote their energy to other endeavours because they have been able to literarily conquer hunger.[35]

This was an opportunity denied the people of Nigeria and other African nations as they subjected these countries were dominated through colonialism and the emphasis of the British colonialist was on cash crop production. In the Jama'are District people were made to produce crops such as groundnut and wheat and cotton at the expense of food crops. Rice was another important crop that was farmed in the Jama'are area in the various *fadamamomi* in the area. This crop, however, served two purposes; for export and local consumption.[36]

The Jama'are Emirate area favoured the cultivation of many food and cash crops all year round. With the advent of colonialism the people were no longer in control of what to produce and with the establishment of colonial domination even the price of the produce they had control over it. This was a significant and a revolutionary development in the socio-economic life of the people of Jama'are Emirate. The colonialist made use of not only force to make the people produce what they needed for their factories but also strategic policies were enacted bordering on taxation and currency to make the succumb to the will of the British colonialist.[37]

[35] Miguel, A. Altieri and Parviz Koohafkan, 2009, *Farms: Climate Change, Smallholders and Traditional Farming Communities Third World Network*, Penang, Malaysia, p. 72.
[36] Mustapha, A. R. and Kate Meagher, 2000, "Agrarian Production, Public Policy and the State in Kano Region, 1900-2000", Crewkerne, Somerset: Drylands Research Working Paper 35.
[37] Mathew Forstater, "Taxation: A Secret of Colonial Capitalist… op cit.

In this arrangement food production suffered a mortal blow that affected land and labour of the people and new focus in terms of economic imperatives. Europe was still rapidly developing and therefore needed the raw materials that Africa had to offer. Prior to partition, the British had to contend with the varying moods of Nigerian governments that, although dependent on international trade, still exercised significant control over their economic development. These societies could produce what goods they desired, some for export and some for internal consumption. Colonialism forced these societies to produce solely for the export market, thereby keeping prices low for their British consumers. One good that stands out in the annals of colonial history is cotton. "The notion that West Africa could be a source for raw cotton was one that arose early and persisted late."[38] The insistence of European powers on the production certain goods was done to the exclusion of the practicality of the crop or the impact on the local economy. In Tanganyika for example, "the colonial authorities shifted labor from food production and attempted to create a surplus of a labor intensive, nonfood cash crop, cotton." The colonial authorities also promoted the minor crops of peanuts and sesame while reducing dietary staples such as millet and sorghum. This led to inadequacy of the food reserves and subsequently, chronic malnutrition and famine.[39] It has been argued that European industrialization drove the colonial economies to produce commodities useful in an industrial economy. In fact, the demand for products in Europe was often not a factor in the trade of African commodities: "if ivory and rubber prices rose, the reasons for this are

[38] Peter Wickins, *An Economic History of Africa*; Thomas Bimberg & Stephen Resnick, *Colonial Deyelopment' An Econometric Study.*
[39] Marilyn Little, *Colonial Policy and Subsistence in Tanganyika, 1925 -1945*.

only partly rising European demand."[40] This shows that the imposition of economic policy was often arbitrary and unrelated to any real need. Colonialism in Nigeria was not just about economic subjugation, but about the ability to wrest control of the local economy from the rulers. Improving the production methods or strengthening the economy was not important.

6.5 Impact on Local Industries

To say that the British colonial policies had an adverse effect on the local industries is to be stating the obvious. European colonization of Africa, by creating export-dependent economies in the colonies, dealt a devastating blow on many indigenous manufacturing industries. However, as we stated earlier in the introductory part of this thesis, we have to be cautious in making sweeping generalizations. One reason why some indigenous industries like textile and leather work suffered severely under colonialism was that local manufacturers were starved of essential raw materials which were rather exported to feed the industries in the colonial metropole.[44] In such cases, policies were formulated that denied local manufacturers the opportunity to buy raw materials. In the case of textile, for instance, the British Cotton Growing Association whose headquarters was at Zaria was directly in charge of cotton export. And cotton could only be bought through licensed buying agents. The process of obtaining such licenses for buying cotton for local use was deliberately made all but impossible. It was reported that in the 1940s, 80% of the cotton crop in Chafe District, a major cotton

[40] Barrie Ratcliffe, *The Economics of the Partition of Africa.*
[44] Simon E. Majuk, Patience O. ERIM, Rev. Joseph O. AJOR, Spring 2010, Bakor Women in Pottery Production in Colonial Southeastern Nigeria, Uluslararası Sosyal Ara tırmalar Dergisi, *The Journal of International Social Research*, Vol. 3/11.

producing centre, went to the export market. This was despite the fact that local cotton producers offered to pay nine pence per pound weight as against six pence per pound weight paid by exporters.[45]

It was similarly reported that the famous leather industry in Sokoto was dying out as a result of increased exportation of skins.[46] In contrast to textile and leather works, pot makers still had uninterrupted access to clay and this partly explains why production was not hampered. One of the ways that colonial economic policies smothered local industries was the flooding of Nigerian markets with imported, usually, but not always, higher quality alternatives. Indigenous textile and leather industries in Northern Nigeria were destroyed partly as a result of this.[47] One of the ways through which colonialism disrupted traditional economic activities was the imposition of direct taxation. This forced the people to abandon traditional economic pursuits in search of wage labour or production for export in order to earn the needed cash with which to pay tax.[48]

[45] Majuk, S.E., 1988, Islam and Colonialism in Northern Nigeria: A Study in the use of Religion for Political Domination in Sokoto and its Environs, 1900-1960, M.A. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, p. 118.
[46] National Archives, Kaduna, Sokprof 105/1920 "Annual Report and Returns on Sokoto Province for 1919".
[47] op. cit., p. 118.
[48] Sharwood-Smith, Sir Bryan, 1948, *Sokoto Survey,* Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation for SNP, p. 40.

6.6 Conclusion

The most pervasive perception of the influence of European colonialism in Nigeria, as elsewhere in Africa, is that in performing its historic role of incorporating colonized economies into the western dominated capitalist system, the colonial state stifled indigenous manufactures through the importation of cheaper alternatives to domestic products.[49]

From early stage colonial powers wanted to minimize any financial drain from their coffers. The need for self-sufficiency and a pattern of parsimonious expenditures was widespread throughout British Africa with the exception of settler colonies. The constant pressure to raise revenues led to highly interventionist state structures aimed at regulating economic activity to extract taxes. The state attempted to direct trade to magnetized controlled markets by organizing official business areas, licensing wholesale and retail commerce, outlawing barter, restricting itinerant traders, regulating agriculture through by-laws and state marketing boards and encouraging cooperatives, to control peasant marketing. These measures impeded the development of indigenous entrepreneurs while leaving a legacy of intervention, which was inherited, by post-colonial states. The colonial period also left a structurally weak economy with little manufacturing and a heavy reliance on cash crop and mineral exports.[50]

[49] Rodney, W., 1982, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Enugu: Ikenga Publishers, p. 190.
[50] Howard Stein, 2001, "Economic Development and the Anatomy of Crisis in Africa: From Colonialism through Structural Adjustment," This paper was presented at a seminar at the Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen, OCCASIONAL PAPER, Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen.

As the effects of the Berlin Conference which establish the "rules" of the partition game became clear, those areas of Africa which had previously been developing significant trade and economies of their own were brought under the control of European economic policies. To the British, French, and Germans, the primary colonizing nations, the individual needs of their colonial subjects were not important. Instead the desire to "vertically integrate" the colonies of Europe by controlling production from start to finish became the overriding goal of colonial agents.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Colonialism and agriculture go hand in hand for the simple fact that it was for the exploitation of the raw materials of the people that the British engaged in imperialism. This is also evident not only in the definition of colonialism as a concept but on the British colonial agricultural policies enacted and implemented in Jama'are District. They did this in order to satisfy their factories and to make up for the lost market or shrinking market at home. This therefore made Nigeria to become one of the areas where they dumped the excess products of their factories. They did this by first by making Nigeria a colony. The processes that they followed in doing this were both brutal as well as detrimental to the so-called native peoples. It was a matter of survival for the British colonialist.

For this fact alone it was enough for them to employ many means coming from a background that believe in the statement that says: the ends justify the means. Nigerian agriculture is still at the first level of a 4-stage agricultural transformation ladder, where attempts are just beginning to be made to nurture and grow it so that it begins to create new wealth at a rate that would support direct and indirect taxation. As such the policy authorities should support the implementation of mainly those research recommendations that would supply it with the necessary resources to give millions of small farmers access, provide and maintain basic infrastructures, and dispose of farm produce.

The truth of the matter is that with colonialism there is no conclusion. This is because we are still living with its impact, it can only get worst. The common argument one hears these days is that colonialism have ended for such a long time that we should stop blaming it for the lack of development that the African continent is faced with. It is indeed given that colonialism had ended for a very long time now but the truth is that it laid such a solid foundation that to destroy it one needs very strong effort. So far no attempt was made toward that direction. Colonialism has played a very significant role in shaping the agricultural sector of the Nigerian economy. This is because it was built on the exploitation of the agricultural produce of the colonized. And this had one of the most profound impact especially on the soil and subsequently on the economy in general and people of Nigeria.

The colonial economy in most of Africa was structured to improve the economies of the colonizing or metropolitan powers. In the scheme of things, what mattered was how the colonial economy could benefit the colonizers. Very little, if any regard, was paid to the colonized indigenous population. When the African population was taken into consideration, it was mostly employed as a tool in achieving the main reason for colonization: the domination and exploitation of the local population by the colonizing power. This scenario was quite visible in the Nigerian economy as far as the production of cash crops and food crops were concerned.

It is important to note that agriculture formed the mainstay of Africans in the pre-colonial past. In this enterprise, food production featured prominently for most of Nigeria, including the area that came to be known as Jama'are Emirate. A survey of the

vegetation of the area has revealed that it was a savannah, rich for both cash and food crop production, hence, like most traditional African societies, there was self-sufficiency in food supply. However, given the fact that one major reason why Britain colonized Nigeria was to ensure a cheap and steady supply of raw materials to British industries, the colonial administration completely discouraged the cultivation of food crops while encouraging cash crops production.

In the colonial period, Britain maintained a firm control over and dominated the Nigerian market principally due to the effect of the favorable colonial policies of the colonial government in Nigeria. All the colonial policies promulgated by the colonialist were in favour of the British. It has been demonstrated that the policy of Britain and the colonial government in Nigeria hardened in favour of protectionism.

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