Land, Labour and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: the Case of Kumbotso District 1903-1953

By

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A Thesis Submitted to the Post Graduate School,

Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, in Partial Fulfilment for

the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

History.

Ph. D. Thesis January 2008

Dedication

To

My teacher late Dr. Yusufu Bala Usman, my uncle late Mahmoud Muhammed Yakasai, my Step mother late Hajiya Zainabu Gwadabe (Abaichi) and my senior sister late Hajiya Ai Abdulkadir Wasai

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been written by me and is from the result of my own research. The thesis has not been presented to any University for a higher degree. All sources have been fully and duly acknowledged by footnotes and references.

Muhammadu Mustapha Gwadabe May 2007

Certification

This thesis has been read and approved as meeting the requirements of the Postgraduate School, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (History).

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Acknowledgement

All praise is to Allah, the one and only, the creator of all, and to His most beloved creature, Prophet Muhammadu (PBUH). As the case with any thesis, it is impossible to mention all those whose assistance was invaluable in bringing it to fruition. What is certain however is that the accomplishment of this thesis could not have been possible without the help, support and encouragement of a number of people.

I will like to start by thanking my first supervisor who was also my political mentor, late Dr. Yusufu Bala Usman, for the concern, consideration and fatherly advice. Dr. George Amale Kwanashie, who took over from him was not only patient and understanding but intellectually critical and helped to refocus the subject of study from what it originally was. Mention must also be made of Dr. Alkasum Abba who took the pains of reading through the first three drafts of this thesis even before he was made the second internal examiner. His comments provided great intellectual stimulus for the work.

I am also deeply indebted to Professor Murray D. Last, of University College London, (late) Professor Philip J. Shea of Bayero University Kano, Prof. Ibrahim Bello Kano of Department of Nigerian and European Languages, Bayero University, Kano and Dr. Ibrahim Jumare of Usman Dan Fodio University Sokoto; they all read parts of early drafts of the work and raised a number of issues that helped the progress of the work. I thank Professor Abdullahi Mahadi, Dr. Hamid Bobboyi, Dr. Enoch Oyedele, Dr Siddique Abubakar, Dr. Saidu Adamu, Dr. Sule Bello, Dr. Abdullahi El Okene, Prof. Muhammed Bello Yunusa, Dr. S. O. Idris, and Dr. Umar-Buratai for their concern and encouragement. The same goes to Dr. Mansur Ibrahim Muktar, Dr. Abdulkadir Adamu, Dr. Idris Jimada Shaba, Mashood S. G., Ms Hadiza Lantana Ampa, Dr. (Mrs) Doris Laraba Obieje, Ibrahim Sheikh Abdulkadir, Muhammed Auwalu Hamisu, Salisu Bala, Gambo Ibrahim Muktar, Aliyu M. Mafindi, Mansur Mahmoud Muhammed Yakasai and Ado Yahuza My brother Muhammed Hadi Gwadabe and my good friend Hafizu Ibrahim Ahmed were supportive and I am grateful.

My profound regard goes to Dr. Ahmed Modibbo Muhammed. Dr. Modibbo facilitated my employment with the department and encouraged me to start the Ph. D programme. In the same light also I will like to register my appreciation to the authorities of Ahmadu Bello University Zaria for

financing the studies. I thank Arewa House, Center for Documentation and Historical Research for making secretarial facilities available to me which assisted, not only the completion of the work, but also perfected my knowledge of the use of computer. I am deeply grateful to the Leventis Research Cooperation (London) on whose fellowship I travelled to and conducted my research in the libraries and Archives of the United Kingdom. It is in this respect that I also owe my gratitude to the Center for African Studies of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London; the staff of the Public Record Office, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Institute of Common Wealth Library and SOAS Library all in the United Kingdom. Here in Nigeria I acknowledge the assistance of staff of the Kano State History and Culture Bureau Archives, National Archive Kaduna, Kashim Ibrahim Library, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, the Northern History Research Scheme, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria and the Arewa House Archives and Library, Kaduna

Finally I must thank my wife Saratu Muhammed Bello and my four children (Hafizu, Fatima, Ahmadu and Aisha) for their support and patience. Indeed my thanks go to all those mentioned, as well as those whom I have failed to recognize. I am responsible for any error, factual or textual, found within the text.

ABSTRACT

This study is about the administration of land, labour and taxation in Kumbotso district of colonial Kano. Previous studies on colonial Kano have tended to lay much emphasis on the relationship between British colonial authorities and the emirate level administrative structures and officials. While there can be no doubt as to the importance of this level of relationship in the wider structure of colonial rule, the reality is that the effectiveness of that rule depended on the capacity of the system to control a society made up of widely dispersed small scale producers. It was in order to achieve this that the British established a system which decentralised important administrative functions to the district and village levels and required the physical location of District and Village heads in the respective Districts and Villages.

Looking at colonial administration especially at the district level, this study shows that the administration of land, labour and taxation at that level was the critical mechanism through which the goals of colonial administration were achieved in Kano emirate. The study also shows their control of district level administration in Kumbotso, deepened the control of the emirate ruling class over the subject population and led among other things to members of the ruling class and others close to them claiming control over land to the disadvantage of peasantry. The effect of this as well as the effects of the implementation of the labour and taxation policies of the colonial authorities on the peasantry is also brought out. In addition to the wide range of existing published and unpublished works, the study has relied heavily on available archival materials as well as extensive oral interviews conducted in the area.

PREFACE

The conquest of Kano by the British in 1903 was followed by the establishment, as part of the machinery of colonial rule of an administrative system called the Native Authority. This involved the establishment of administrative structures not only at the Emirate level but also at District and Village levels and it was through these that critical colonial policies were implemented. This thesis is a study of the establishment and operations of one of the district level administrations established in Kano Emirate. The study focuses on the administration of Land, Labour and Taxation from 1903 which is the date of conquest to 1953 which marked an important turning point in political developments of the region. By 1953 the struggle for Nigerian independence had taken shape and the system of native administration was being challenged and transformed to meet new political realities. The new experience was on political independence, political sovereignty; and more specifically in Kano it was about a challenge against the powers of the Native Authority.

Chapter one of the work discusses the background to the establishment of the Kano Native Authority. It shows that there was in existence a system of governance in Kano long before British conquest and colonisation. Among other things, the chapter examines the nature and structure of territorial administration as well as the nature and structure of the administration of land, labour and taxation in the Kano emirate before colonial conquest. It concludes that it was basically these structures that the British adapted and used in their administration of the Emirate after an initial period of disagreements between the colonial officials and the Emirate authorities.

Chapter two establishes that Kano Emirate, under the Sokoto Caliphate arrangement was going through a process of its own development when it was confronted and conquered by the forces of British Imperialism. Indeed the conquest was only possible through the support given by some natives, who played the roles of agents, and recruits of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF). In addition to discussing the process of the conquest, the chapter examines the important stages in the establishment and operations of British rule at the Emirate level.

Chapter three focuses on the evolution and administration of Kumbotso District, including some detailed consideration of development before colonial conquest. It shows that the availability of water in addition to the fertility of the soil supported the establishment of the settlement at Kumbotso. The significance of Kumbotso as a settlement is also shown to be in response to its role as a royal *Gandu* in the provision of daily needs in grains and vegetables to the royal house. This was in addition to a number of farms owned by some rich individuals living in the city. It is shown that the appointment of headmen of acknowledged position and strength of character to head the district was because of its close proximity to the city and the fact that numerous office holders, wealthy individuals and servants of the emir owned farms in the area. The chapter concludes that it was this political arrangement that paved the way for the District Officials in Kumbotso to be in direct control of the administration of the area during the period of colonisation.

Chapter four focuses on the administration of land in Kumbotso District in the period 1903-53. The chapter discusses among other things, colonial land policy, land administration and land use in the Kumbotso district during the

period under study. The chapter shows that while in principle colonial policy nationalised land, in practice the British gave all the support necessary to the Native Authority, who at the end turned most of the land in the District to their personal property (*Kasar Sarki*). Kumbotso District being one of the districts very close to the city became one of the most sort after places for land ownership by members of the ruling class. To make this feasible the authorities concerned stamped on the rights of especially the ordinary people for reasons of abuse of power. This, as shown in this chapter explains the general outlook on land ownership and control in Kumbotso till the present.

Chapter five on the other hand focuses on the administration of labour in Kumbotso District in the period of study. It shows that the Kano Native Authority by its position and relation with the colonial authority subjected the people of Kano to working to project the Imperialist interest with little or no pay at all and under strenuous conditions in road construction, the construction of railway lines and in the execution of colonial projects. In addition to all these, the Native Authority also subjected the people to working for them in their farms without pay.

Chapter six shows that taxation has been in Kano long before the British colonial conquest. It however argues that colonial taxation differs markedly with the pre-colonial one. Colonial taxation was meant to support and finance colonial administration and it involved harassment and intimidation of the subject population. The chapter shows that the administration of taxes during the period of colonial rule and all the humiliations involved in it was only possible and successful because of the support and corporation by the Native Authority officials. In the case of Kumbotso, the chapter emphasises the role played by the

District officials and shows the extent to which they went in ensuring that taxes were collected.

Chapter Seven is general conclusion to the study shows the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of the administration of land, labour and taxation in the colonial administration of districts; it also highlights the relevance of these three pillars as mechanism for establishing colonial control of the peasant producers. It also affirms that the way and manner in which the Native Authorities administered the subject population at the respective districts of Kano explains the attitude of the subject population against the Native Authority, especially from the 1950s.

Notes on Sources

This research is on the history of the Kano Native Authority and its roles in the administration of colonial Kano especially the administration of land, labour and taxation with Kumbotso District as a case study. The work is a product of a number of source materials, some of which are Primary, while others were Secondary, and Tertiary Source Material. The significance of the use of sources in historical reconstruction is such that it forms the bedrock of any historical work. Yet historians are not expected to be slaves of their sources of information. This research endeavour therefore subjected all the sources used to rigorous scrutiny and corroboration with a view to ascertaining their nature, adequacies and inadequacies.

Primary Sources

These are the sources that one can not go beyond. They are mostly information from people who played an active role in the execution of the events. During the course of this research I interviewed a number of people who either participated or witnessed some of the events. This type of information can be categorized under oral sources of information. Among some of my interviewees that fall within this group is Sarkin Makeran Kumbotso who I am meant to understand was about one hundred and four years old at the time I had the interview with him. He died in 1999. Others include Alhaji Gizo Maroki who happened to be an errand boy of Emir Abdullahi Bayero of Kano before he became Sarkin Kano. Late Hajiya Fadi Abubakar Yakasai, Mallam Lawan Dambazau, Alhaji Mudi Sipikin, Alhaji Magaji Danbatta, Saadu Sarkin Barikin Kumbotso, Alhaji Isa Tajo, Alhaji Lili Gabari, Sarkin Fadan Kano Alhaji Sule Gaya, and so many others rendered helpful assistance. Sarkin Makeran

Kumbotso was my greatest worry, he was no doubt a man of a lot of information, but his health condition was so bad that one could hardly hear his voice during the course of interview. Indeed he was so weak that he could only be interviewed for a limited time. He was one of the earliest settlers in Kumbotso who migrated from around the northern part of Kano. The difficulty with Gizo was attitudinal; he is such a person who did not want his voice to be recorded. Most of the interviews I had with him were therefore by way of note taking. Most of my information on the early history of Kumbotso and some of the developments during the colonial era were derived from him. I had a lot of group interviews with *Yaran* and *Mallaman Fada* in and around Kumbotso. It is important to note that this made up those groups of people directly involved with the execution of some of the directives ordered by the Native Authority officials. Though they opened up and spoke their minds on so many issues, it is still relevant to state here that a lot of the information derived from them were corroborated with other sources and or with other personalities before use.

Archival Document

I made use of the Archives in Nigeria and the UK. In Nigeria I used documents from the National Archives Kaduna, Kano State History and Culture Bureau Archives, and the Arewa House Archives. In the UK I used the Public Record Office (PRO) and the Rhodes House Library, Oxford. I could not lay my hand on any document on Kumbotso District from the Archives in the UK. Most of the archival documents are therefore from the National Archives Kaduna. And indeed even in the National Archives Kaduna I found that there is very little archival document on Kumbotso District. As recorded in one of the file no assessment was carried out on a

regular basis because of the proximity of Kumbotso to Kano City. Assessments and collection of taxes were left in the hand of the native rulers.

Secondary Source Material

This contains information derived from documents of primary status. In the case of our area of study (Kumbotso) two research studies by Polly Hill *Population, prosperity and Poverty: Rural Kano 1900-1970*, CUP, London, 1977 and Ibrahim Hamza's MA. Thesis *"[orayi: A History of Social and Economic Transformation in the 19th and 20th century Kano emirate* falls within this category. The two studies were not on Kumbotso District, but on a village within Kumbotso. Poly Hill's efforts relied so much on official views of the history from some gatekeepers, and the fact that it lacks details made the study less informative. Ibrahim Hamza's thesis was written for the award of a degree of Master of Arts History in the Department of History Usman [an-Fodio University, Sokoto. The work was a challenge to Polly Hill's views on [orayi. Though very informative on especially the nineteenth century history of the area his effort could not go beyond Polly Hill. It is however very relevant and a pioneering work on the history of the economic transformation of [orayi. His exhaustive use of oral sources made the work very rich.

It is important to state that of all the range of sources used, oral sources appeared to be more informative and thorough for this kind of study. This is especially if different category of people at different times and locations are approached on the same issue and in a friendly atmosphere.

List of Tables

Glossary

SN	Non English Word	English meaning (translation)
1	Aikin tilas	Forced labour
2	Albasa	Onion
3	Alkaki	Traditional Hausa cake made up of rice and honey. It has a North African or Arab origin
4	Alkalai (Sing: Alkali)	Judges (Court judge)
5	Alkama	Wheat
6	Almajirai (Sing: Almajiri)	Beggers (Begger)
7	Alkubus	Hausa traditional meal made of wheat. This meal has a Norther African or Arab origin
8	Attajirai (Sing: Attajiri)	Rich (rich merchants)
9	Auduga	Cotton
10	Ajami	Written Hausa using Arabic alphabets
11	Basasa Barori	Civil war Servants
12	Bayi	Slaves
13	Bori	Pre-Islamic form of worship in Hausaland
14	Burabusko	Traditional Hausa meal made of millet. It has a Kanuri origin from Borno
15	Cediya	Ficus Thonningh
16	Ci rani	Labour employed in Hausaland during the non rainy season or after farm work
17	Cucinawa	Free born of slave origin
18	Dagatai (Sing: Dagaci)	Village or Hamlet heads
19	Dankali	Sweet potatoes
20	Dawa	Guinea corn
21	Dinya	Vitex cenkowski
22	Dinkin Dindikolo	Leaves of Dinya tree (boiled one) Fried sweet potatoes
23	Dogari	Emirs body guards
25	Fadamomi (Sing: Fadama)	Flood plains (Marshy area)
26	Funkaso	Hausa meal made up of wheat. It has a North African or Arab origin
27	Gaisuwa Gamji	Salutations (Greetings)

28	Gandu (Pl. Gandaye)	Estate (Pl. Estates)
29	Gayauna (Kurga)	The farm of an individual member of a Gandu
30	Gayya	Community work (Cooperative)
31	Gero	Millet
32	Giginya Goriba	Daleb palm (Borasus Flabelifer)
33	Gurasa	Hausa traditional bread. It has an Arab or North African origin
35	Gyada	Groundnut
36	Hakimi	District head
37	Hurumi	Tax on unused/barren land/ boundary/ grave yard/ Jurisdiction
38	Hayewa (Habe)	Non Fulani population of the people of Kano or the original people of Kano who occupied the present old city of Kano close to the Dala hill
39	Jakadu	Emissary
40	Jangali	Tax on cattle
41	Jigawa	Sandy soil
42	Jizya	Tax on non Muslims
43	Kanawa	People of Kano
44	Kanya	African ebony
45	Kasar Kayan rafi	Land of Garden crops
46	Keso	Mat (an old one made of Dumpalm or Kaba)
47	Kara Karofi	Corn stalk Dye pit
48	Kharaj	Tax
49	Kuka	Baobab tree
50	Kurdin arziki	Tax on the rich
51	Kurdin kasa	Tax on land
52	Kurdin Sana'a Kofofi (Kofa)	Tax on occupation Gate keepers (Gate)
53	Limamai (Sing: Liman or Imam)	Person who leads in Muslim's prayer
54	Littafin yayanka nawa	Book of register that records the number of ones children (population census record book)
55	Mahauta (Sing: Mahauci) Maigari	Butchers (Butcher) King (head of a place or of a certain land)

	Maiwa	Millet
56	Makhon Ingila	The blind man of in England (Nick name of a one time leader of thieves) in Sallari village in Kumbotso district
57	Mangwaro	Mango
58	Mandako	Pounded cassava mixed with powdered groundnut cake
59	Masu unguwa Masu Sarauta Marke	Ward heads Ruling class
60	Mudu	Bowl used in measuring corn etc
61	Mukaddas	Deputy
62	Rafi Rimi	River Silk Cotton tree (Ceiba petandra)
63	Rogo	Cassava
64	Sarauta/sarautu/sarakuna	Throne
65	Sarakunan Noma	Head of farmers
66	Sarakunan Sana'a	Head of occupations
67	Sarkin makera	Head of Black Smith
68	Sabon gari	New layout, mostly settlement of non indigenes in Hausaland
69	Shanu	Cattle
70	Shariá	Muslim legal system
71	Talakawa	Peasantry (Subject population)
72	Taushe	Traditional soup used in eating dinner in Hausaland
73	Tasha	Motor park
74	Towon gero Tsamiya	Traditional Hausa meal made of millet Tamarind
75	Uban kasa	King
76	Unguwa	Wards
77	Ulama	Muslim clerics
78	Wake	Beans
79	Zakka	Poor right (certain percentage of produce or wealth sanctioned by Islamic legal system to be given out to the poor under the Shari'a legal system)

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CHAPTER ONE

Background to the Establishment of Kumbotso District of Kano Native Authority

1.1 Introduction

The Kano Native Authority was established to assist British imperialism secure its full control of the economy and society of that area. The economic relevance of Kano, not only within the Sokoto Caliphate but in the whole economy of the central Sudan was distinguished by a number of European explorers.[1] Robinson, who visited Kano in 1894, was so impressed that he called Kano the "Manchester of Central Africa."[2] This economic significance of Kano, but not limited to that alone, engrossed the attention of Britain and therefore led to the conquest in 1903 of not only Kano but the whole of the Caliphate. The purpose of the conquest was met after a system of administration was established and structures to support its function put in place. Amongst these structures were those of the districts and village administration. This chapter therefore examines the processes for the establishment of district administrative structures in Kano with specific reference to Kumbotso District.

1.2 Location of Kano

Noted as the most populous and prosperous of all the cities under the Sokoto Caliphate,[3] Kano is located between latitude 10°30′N and 13°N and between

[1] Barth, H. ***Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa***, Frank Cass, London, 1965, P. 77.

[2] Robinson, C. "Hausaland", In ***Journal of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society***, Vol. 12, P. 22, 1896.

[3] Mortimore, M. J. "***Population Distribution, Settlement and Soils in Kano Province, Northern Nigeria, 1931-1962***," In Cardwell, J. C. and Okonja, C. (ed.) ***The Population of Tropical Africa***, London, Longmans, 1968, P. 302; See also Fika, A. M. "***The political and Economic Re-orientation of Kano Emirate, Northern Nigeria, c. 1882-1940"***, PhD, thesis, SOAS, University of London, 1973.

longitude 7°40′ and 10°35′E. It was bounded by the emirates of Katsina and Zazzau to the South and Southwest. To the Southeast, Kasar Kano was bordered by Bauchi and with Hadejia and Katagum in the Southeast and Northeast respectively. The Emirates of Daura, Gumel, Kazaure and Damagaram[4] bordered Kano from the far north since 19th century.[5] As noted by Mahadi,[6] Kasar Kano, in spite of its uniform landscape had special features, both geographical and geological, which exercised varied influence resulting in uneven distribution of human and natural resources. To this effect settlements around the Northern and North-eastern region of Kano experienced the prevalence of dunes and sand ridges, an indication of the existence of dry climate. Rainfall in this region had been fluctuating as a result of which the region experienced a number of draughts, so severe especially in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth century.[7] The vegetation in the region generally consisted of a number of thorny plants, usually associated with the species of acacia.

The Central region, which covers all the areas within twenty-five miles radius from the Dala hill, is where our area of study falls. The climatic condition in this region was favourable with adequate supply of rainfall over a fairly long period of time. This not only supported cultivation of crops and other economic activities, but also encouraged the settlement of migrants in their large numbers and for over a very long period.[8] Due to the heavy rainfall in the region, the species of trees found were of the same nature with those in the Southern part of Kano. Of significance in

[4] Gumel and Damagaran were dependencies of Borno before the 19th century, meaning that before the 19th century Kano was bordered to the North by the empire of Borno.
[5] Mahadi, A. "***The State and the Economy: The Sarauta System and its Roles in shaping the Society and Economy of Kano with Particular Reference to the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries***," PhD Thesis, ABU Zaria, Vol. 1, 1982, P. 56-7.
[6] ***Ibid***. P. 58.
[7] ***Ibid*** P. 60.
[8] ***Ibid*** P. 67.

this region was the extent of human transformation of land.[9] The major soil type consist largely of brown and reddish-brown of both arid and semi arid regions with lithosols on ferruginous crust.[10] The closeness of this soil type to the granite rocks around the central region of Kasar Kano made it inherently richer in mineral contents and supported deep-rooted trees.[11]

To the South-eastern region, a line which stretches from Wudil, through the Southern boundary of Sumaila and Rimi to the Kano-Bauchi region boundary was found an area with more rainfall than the first two regions.[12] A substantial part of the region has been covered by forest. The forest was significant for the species of trees and the products obtained from them.[13] The soil available in this zone includes that of the brown and reddish-brown soils of arid and semi arid regions, with lithosols and ferruginous crusts and the ferruginous tropical soils of both the Northern and Southern parts.[14] The region was therefore quite suitable for the cultivation of different types of crops, including cotton, indigo and guinea corn. In spite of its favourable conditions a substantial part of this region remained sparsely populated.

The Western and South-Western region experienced favourable rainfall, fertile soil and a quite dense vegetation cover especially in the Western and South Western zone of the region. The region also contains several large tracts of forests

[9] Ferguson, D. E. "***Being a Description by Imam Imoru of the land, Economy and Society of his People,***" PhD Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1974, P. 144.
[10] Mortimore, M. J. "***Population Distribution, Settlement and Soils in Kano Province, Northern Nigeria, 1931-1962***," In Cardwell, J. C. and Okonja, C. (ed.) ***The Population of Tropical Africa***, ***Op. Cit.***
[11] Mahadi, ***Op. Cit***. P. 69.
[12] ***Ibid***. P. 78.
[13] These forests provide cooking wood for the large population of settlers of Kano, especially Kano city. Indeed much of it served as farms for the cultivation both food and cash crops.
[14] Mortimore, M. J. ***Op. Cit***. P. 300.

especially around Gwarzo and Falgore.[15] Due to the favourable nature of this region, more notably the availability of water, represented by a number of rivers that traversed the region, the region attracted large numbers of Fulani pastoralist. It is indeed ascertained that the earliest Fulani settlements in Kasar Kano were established in this region in places such as Jahun, Shanono, Kiru and Bebeji.[16] On a more general note, the growth and development of Kano to an important economic centre of its region as pointed out by Fika could be attributed to this favourable climatic condition.[17]

1.2.1 **Location of Kumbotso District Area**

Kumbotso District ([an Isa District)[18] was situated due south of Kano City. It was triangular in shape, or at best resembling the segment of a circle.[19] It was a small district of 84 square miles (53,760 acres).[20] Since 1911[21] the District was bounded on the Northwest by the main road from Kano to Yelwa, which separated the Sub-District from that of Tafida (See map attached P. 4-5). It bordered Kano City to the North and towards the Northeast was bordered by the main road from Kano to Gaya, separating the District from those of Tafida and Mundubawa. On the West it bordered the District of Madawakin Kano, with River Watari forming a natural boundary between the two Districts; the Southern part of the District was bordered by the Challawa River, another natural boundary dividing the District from Turaki and [an Iya until the boundary meets the main road from Kano to

[15] Mahadi ***Op. Cit.*** P. 90.
[16] Mahadi, A. ***Ibid***. P. 99.
[17] Fika, A. M. "***The political and Economic Re-orientation of Kano Emirate, Northern Nigeria, c. 1882-1940"***, Ph.D, thesis, SOAS, University of London, 1973.
[18] Kumbotso District was before 1916 called Dan Isa Fief and administrative area.
[19] ***NAK/SNP7/1035/1911 Par. 1-2.***
[20] ***NAK/ Kumbotso District Reassessment Notebook, 1932.***
[21] Kumbotso was by 1911 one of the 10 Sub-districts that made up the Kano city District under Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero.

Gaya.[22] The district was located in that part of Kano referred to as the Kano Closed Settled Zone. What was distinctive about this area is that it attracts a large population of migrant settlers. These migrants, as elsewhere indicated settled in this part of Kano because of its proximity with Kano city, in addition to fertile and available, if not free land for cultivation. Of great advantage is that most of these migrants specialised in one trade or the other. Thus within a very short period of time the Kano Closed Settled Zone transformed into an important economic source for the Kano main town by making available not only food for the teaming population in the city but also other industrial products like textiles and so on.[23] Such a historical experience supported the emergence and development of settlements and indeed necessitated the establishment of structures to maintain law and order.[24] As far as this specific quality is concern, the Kano Closed Settled Zone was very prominent.

1.3 Geography and Environment

As noted previously, the Kumbotso district area falls within the central region of the Kano central climatic zone. The District was flat, with few low hills found to the South and South east near the banks of the Challawa River.[25] With this exception the whole area levelled gradually, falling from the North to the South until it meets the Challawa River. The area was therefore generally located within the low lying areas of the central region of the Kano emirate. As clearly featured in the map, the area was traversed by a number of Rivers. The chief among them was the Chalawa to the south, bordering towns like Kusuba,

[22] ***NAK/ SNP7 Op Cit. par. 3.***
[23] Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit.***
[24] Mortimore, M. J. "***Population Distribution, Settlement and Soils in Kano Province, Northern Nigeria, 1931-1962***," In Cardwell, J. C. and Okonja, C. (ed.) ***The Population of Tropical Africa***, Op. Cit.
[25] SNP7/1035/1911 ***Op. Cit***. par 9.

Chalawa, Karbin, Sura, Runkusawa Kai, Panshekara, Yan [anko, Karinbu and Ringimawa (*Yan Gizo*). The Challawa River joins the Hadejia River and finally drains into Lake Chad.

The River, though in some places over 200 yards broad, dries in the dry season.[26] The stream flows through the centre of a wide waste of sand leaving large pools of water, many of which contain water throughout the dry season. Water can always be obtained at any time by digging deeply into the sand. River Watari, also one of the important rivers, is located towards the west bordering Kusuba, Chalawa, Maruan and Majema'a [anjerime. This River flows into the Challawa at the Southwest corner of the Sub-District. It contains water and plenty of fish throughout the year.[27]

River Tatsarike on the other hand rises in the District and runs south until it joins the Challawa. This and other smaller streams are prone to complete drying during the dry season. Owing to this, wells are found throughout the District, as well as in those Districts through which the rivers flow.[28] The valleys of these rivers attracted continuously the presence of nomadic Fulani and other people of diverse origins and occupations in large numbers to the end of the 19th century. In addition these valleys also played a significant role in agricultural production. Floodplains (*Fadamomi*) were intensively used for the cultivation of crops and vegetables such as sugarcane, wheat, onions, pepper, tomatoes and maize.[29]

The District was well wooded, and its woodland was under the care of forest headman (*Sarkin Dawa)* up to 1911. His main function was to collect taxes

[26] ***Op. Cit***. SNP7 1911 par. 5-6.
[27] ***Ibid.*** Par. 7.
[28] ***Ibid.*** Par. 8
[29] Ibid. see also Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit.***

in respect of tax paying trees to regulate the cutting down and planting of trees. Among the available trees in the area are [*orawa, Rimi, Kadanya, [inya, Tsamiya, Kuka* and *Marke* and other Acacia trees. *Durumi, Che]iya, Yaudi, Bori, Gamji* and *Kawori* were also to be seen throughout the District. There exist a fair number of *Giginya* and *Goriba* palm trees. Some number of Dabino (Date) was noted especially in areas around the border with Kano.[30] The fruits of these trees served as trading commodities between the people of Kumbotso and those of the Kano City,

Soil types varied across the District; areas to the North and Northwest experienced poor soil condition, which affect the fertility and productive capacity of the people. It was noted[31] to be of dry gravel supporting tuffs of coarse grass and low scattered bushes, and appears to be of no use except as pasturage for goats, cattle and royal horses. With the exception of these areas a greater part of the District contains a comparatively rich soil of a sandy loamy type and is almost entirely given over to cultivation of food items for the population in the City. It was particularly cultivated in the centre of the District where the population was thickest. The population as at 1911 was 27, 760 being an average of 6.5 persons per compound.[32] Almost the entire population was of *Hausawa*, with some few Fulani settlements of not more than three thousand (3000) in number. Population of Kumbotso District increased to 34,085 in 1931 with male totalling to 16509 and female totalling to 17,576.[33] Some twenty one years after (1952) the total

[30] ***Ibid***. Par. 11-15
[31] *Ibid*
[32] *Ibid*
[33] The Area Per Square mile of the district was 81 (12,212 (for Kano emirate), number of villages 37 (1,227 Kano emirate) as against 65 in 1911. The total population of the emirate by 1931 was 1,992, 263 with male population totaling to 139, 0166 while the female totaled to 557097. For detail refer to Census of Nigeria 1931 in Brooke, N. J. "Census of Northern Province," Published on behalf of the

population of the district (Kumbotso) increased to 52, 884 in which the female population still remain on the high side with 27,040 while the male numbered 25,844 only.[34] The population went further up when it totalled to 172, 144 during the 1963 National census,[35] indication over percent increase. In addition to growth in population, the increase in the population of Kumbotso was because it attracted new settlers, especially from among the migrant settlers of Nigerian origin.

Agriculture was the main economic stead. The sub-district was reported to be in high state of cultivation probably since the time of *Sarkin* Kano Dabo (1819-1845). The great proportion of the Soil was always in a state of cultivation or temporarily lying fallow with a very small proportion being left entirely waste. The soil appears to be fairly rich and further enriched by the number of cattle, sheep and goats grazing around the Sub-District. Among the crops dominantly grown were guinea corn (*Dawa*: *Kaura* and *Farfara*), millet (*Gero*) and maiwa. There also exists a certain amount of *Kayan Rafi* (irrigation produce). The most important amongst them were crops such as cassava (*Rogo*), sweet potatoes (*Dankali*), cotton (*Auduga*), groundnut (*Gyada*), g*urjiya* and beans (*Wake*). These produces were grown everywhere in the sub-district. Most of the irrigation crops, chiefly onions (*Albasa*) and wheat (*Alkama*), were grown in the villages of Yandanko, Karimbu, Tsamawa and Kabba. These important towns were located to the South of Kumbotso sub-district, along the banks of the Challawa River, and in Shekar Barde, Sharada, Gandu to the north and one or two other villages through

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Government of Nigeria by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, 4 Milbank, London S. W. I. Brooke was at one time the district officer Northern Province

[34] Population Census of Northern Region of Nigeria 1952, prepared in the regional census office Kaduna and published by the census supretendant (the government statistician) Lagos and printed by Gaskiya Corporations, Zaria, March 1953

[35] Population Census 1963, Northern region, Vol. 1. Federal Census Office, Lagos, 1965.

which the small river Salanta flows.[36] Cotton was also grown throughout the whole of the Sub-District. Soil of a rather light loamy kind seems to be that best suited for cotton production. By 1911, the cotton available was only sufficient enough to meet demand. Indeed agricultural and industrial production in Kumbotso was essentially directed at satisfying the needs of the ever-growing population of Kano city and not for export.[37]

The availability of cotton made weaving the only noted industry of importance during the early years of colonial administration[38] with about 1,291 employed. Dyeing ranked second with about 509 people employed, using over 327 dye pits.[39] It was noted that those engaged in these practices were also farmers. Other craft works were practiced during the dry season as subsidiary occupations. These industrial activities led to the development of some small markets to satisfy local needs. Most prominent amongst these markets was the one in the village of ***Kuyan ta Sidi*** to the Northwest. This market was normally held on Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays. There are in addition other small village markets at Unguwar Rimi, Kumbotso and Zawaciki Yamma.

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[36] ***Ibid.*** par 22-25

[37] This view is also supported by Bello, S. see for detail ***Op. Cit.*** PP. 26

[38] ***Op. Cit.***

[39] Due to its economic interest, colonialism led to the decline in craft activities in which by 1953 most of the craft industries located around Kumbotso District declined and collapsed out of production. This was deliberately designed to boost the export of raw cotton from the colonies and the import of British European finished goods. The impact of this development therefore did not just led to a decline in the economy; it also led to the destruction of the social life of the people when it created a huge population of reserved unemployed labour in most of the Districts and villages of Kano. See Bashir, I. L. "***The politics of Industrialisation in Kano: Industries, Incentives and Indigenous entrepreneurs, 1950-1980"*** PhD, Boston University, 1983, P92 and also in Tahir, I. A. "***Scholars, Sufis, Saints and Capitalists in Kano 1904-1974: the Pattern of Bourgeios Revolution in an Islamic Society"***, PhD, University of Cambridge, 1975, Chapter, One

1.4 Nature and Structure of Emirate Administration to c. 1903

Kano has a very long history that stretched back to the 10th century AD.[40] This fact acknowledged that administrative activities in the area have a very long history.[41] As noted in most works on Kano,[42] the emirate was ruled by a confederation of clans, the majority of who had played prominent role in the Jihad in Kano. The leading titled-office holders resided at the capital, administering their fiefs through visiting or resident ***Jakadu***. Political structure within Kano was such that the emir remained the head of the hierarchical organization. He was indeed the spiritual and temporal or religious leader guided in his action by the revealed law (Shari'a) and the traditions of the classical Caliphate as interpreted by the Ulama of the Sokoto Caliphate.

Because of the important place occupied by the Shari'a legal system as a method of governance, the ruler had properly regulated functions. The whole administrative system[43] was such that the ruler was only expected to respect and enforce those principles that governed the social set up. On the other hand the emir had complete control of appointments to the offices of the state, though certain specific positions were reserved for some clans. The point is therefore clear that the system of governance was based on constitution, which must be observed as a check against the absolutism of the political head.

The emir was assisted by the Hakimai (District Heads) at emirate levels with a well-defined order of precedence. Each Hakimi had below him a hierarchy of

[40] Dokaji, A. ***Kano Ta Dabo Cigari***, NNPC, Zaria, 1978; See also ***Hausawa da Makwabtansu***, Vol. II, NNPC, Zaria, 1979; also in Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit.*** and Smith, M. G. ***Government in Kano, Op. Cit.***
[41] Smith, M. G. ***Government in Kano, Op. Cit.*** and also Mahadi, A. Ph. D. Thesis, ***Op. Cit.***
[42] Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit.*** P. 54; Ubah, C. N. ***Op. Cit.*** Ph.D. Ibadan 1973; Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit.*** 1982; Bello, S. ***Op. Cit.*** PhD 1982.
[43] Such things as in Marriage, Divorce, Inheritance, Trade, War and Peace, Taxation and so on were clearly contextualised and perfected in the Holy Book and the Sunnah of the Prophet. The ruler is only to implement them.

subordinates corresponding on a lower scale. Amongst the dignitaries that made up the 19th century Kano bureaucracy[44] in order of precedence were:

Table 1.1: **Nineteenth Century Political Offices in Kano by Order of Protocol**

1	Makama	Councillor (Hakimi) and King maker
2	Sarkin Bai	Councillor (Hakimi) and King maker
3	Madaki	Councillor (Hakimi) and King maker and also Commander of the cavalry and chief of defence of the emirate
4	Galadima	Councillor (Hakimi) and King maker
5	Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida	Councillor (Hakimi) and King maker
6	Sarkin Dawaki Maituts	Councillor (Hakimi) and King maker
7	Wambai	Councillor (Hakimi) and King maker
8	[an Iya	Councillor (Hakimi) and King maker
9	Ciroma	Councillor (Hakimi) and King maker
10	Turaki	Councillor (Hakimi)
11	Tafida	Councillor (Hakimi)
12	Sarkin Shanu	Councillor (Hakimi)
13	[an Buram	Councillor (Hakimi)
14	[an Isa	Councillor (Hakimi)
15	[an Lawan	Councillor (Hakimi)
16	Barde	Councillor (Hakimi)
17	[an Maje	Councillor (Hakimi)
18	[an Makwayo	Councillor (Hakimi)
19	[an kadai	Councillor (Hakimi)
20	Barde {erarriya	Councillor (Hakimi)
21	[an Amar	Councillor (Hakimi)
22	Maiunguwan Mudubawa	Councillor (Hakimi)
23	Maiunguwan Kutumbawa[45]	Councillor (Hakimi)

Each of the aforementioned controlled a territory, for example the area which became Kumbotso District was under [an Isa. [an Isa was amongst the oldest political offices together with [an Buram, [an Kududdufi, and [an Aksan.[46]

[44] Nineteenth century here is specifically referring to the tenure of Sarki Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1826), a period which saw the return of the institutions of monarchy after the jihad of 1807 which did away with it. For more on the political changes during the administration of Sarki Ibrahim Dabo refer to Ibrahim, O. F. ***Prince of the Times: Ado Bafero and the Transformation of Emiral Authority in Kano***, Africa World Press, Canada, 2001, P. 15.
[45] Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit.*** P. 62
[46] For details see Smith, A. ***A little New light, Selected Historical Writings of Abdullahi Smiths***, Abdullahi Smiths Center for Historical Research, Zaria, Nigeria, 87, P. 107

These political offices whose claim was based on descent lost their importance and were replaced by officials whose powers were derived from either religious sources, for example Sarkin Gazarzawa, Sakin Tsibiri and Sarkin Suri (priests of Tsumburbura);[47] or those whose powers were derived from their positions as warriors, Galadima, Madawaki and Barde. The offices of Galadima and Madawaki became very powerful from the time of Sarki Yaji. In the first half of the 15th century, however, the powers of the ***galadima*** came to overshadow even that of the Sarki himself. This started during the reign of Sarki Umaru, successor to Kanajeji, who left public affairs in the hands of Galadima Dana; and culminated in the reign of Abdullahi Burja]an (son of) Kanajeji whose galadima, Dauda, is remembered for his successful raids into the Southern country. Galadima Dauda acquired great wealth in slaves and other booty and is known in tradition as *Dauda }arfin Birni* (Dauda the city's strength).[48]

Following in status were the junior Dagatai with the most senior amongst them in charge of walled towns in the outlying districts of the emirate. They ranked thus:

Table 1.2: **Nineteenth Century District Officials in charge of Walled Towns**

1	Sarkin Jahun	Village Head (Dagaci) of Jahun
2	Sarkin Bebeji	Village Head (Dagaci) of Bebeji
3	Sarkin Fulanin Sankara	Village Head (Dagaci) of Sankara
4	Sarkin Shanono	Village Head (Dagaci) Shanono
5	Sarkin Kunci	Village Head (Dagaci) of Kunci
6	Sarkin [anbatta	Village Head (Dagaci) of [anbatta
7	Sarkin Rano	Village Head (Dagaci) of Rano
8	Sarkin Dutse	Village Head (Dagaci) of Dutse

[47] ***Ibid*** P. 108
[48] ***Ibid***. P. 108

9	Sarkin Gaya	Village Head (Dagaci) of Gaya
10	Sarkin Karaye	Village Head (Dagaci) of {araye
11	Sarkin Birrnin Kudu	Village Head (Dagaci) of Birnin Kudu
12	Sarkin Fulanin Ja'idanawa[49]	Village Head (Dagaci) of Ja'idanawa

The powers of some of them were such that it transcends their territories. For example, Sarkin Jahun had authority over all the Jafunawa Fulani in eastern and southern Kano.[50] Administratively therefore, these respective Dagatai also served as heads of the respective clans they came from.

The third rank order in the political administration of Kano was that of the positions of the slave functionaries, collectively called ***Cucinawa***. They include:

Table 1.3: **Slave Offices in the Nineteenth Century Kano**

1	Shamaki	Slave official in charge of the KingsPalace premises
2	[an Rimi	Slave official who served as an emissary between the King and other council members. He was the go between the emir and the Resident, during the colonial era, a role which earned him the position of a council member, but nearly tears the emirate apart.
3	Sallama	Slave official who kept messages or led a guest to see the King.
4	Kasheka	Slave official in charge of the forested part of the Kings residence.
5	Turakin Soro	Slave official in charge of Zaure (the gate before the apartment of the King)
6	Kilishi	Slave official in charge of the royal seat (the carpet used by the King to pray etc)
7	Sarkin Dogarai	Slave official in charge of the Kings body guards.
8	Jakada Garko	Slave official in charge of the Kings palace in Garko town. Garko was were Ciroma Yusufu, the rebel leader in the Kano Civil war, camped and plan

[49] Fika, ***Op. Cit***. P. 62

[50] Sarkin Sankara had extra-territorial right over his kinsfolk the Yerimawa Fulani dispersed largely in the northern and north eastern districts of the Kano emirate.

		for the eventual take over of Kano.
9	Galadiman Fanisau	Slave official in charge of Kings palace in Fanisau.[51]

A chain of subordinates also followed each of these three main categories of officialdom. To complement the political segment of the administrative set up a judicial arm was established, also headed by the emir as the highest authority. Through the Judicial Council, which was the highest court of appeal, cases were heard and treated by the emir. Appeal from the emirate ends at this court, though in theory one can appeal to the Caliph in Sokoto through the office of the Vizier who supervised the emirates administration on behalf of the Caliph.[52] According to the arrangement, the Vizier was to attend court sessions whenever on tour of the emirates so that those with an appeal could do so before him. It was also one of those mechanisms used by the Caliph to check tyrannical rulers in the Caliphate.[53] There is no record that shows any attempt at making an appeal to the Sultan in Kano emirate. In the emirate of Zazzau however, the vizier not only overruled decisions but had deposed two of the reigning kings (Sarki Abdullahi and Saki Abdulkadir) on the charges of misrule and insubordination.[54] Similar experience was also found in Katsina where Sarki Sadiku (1835-1844) was deposed by Caliph Aliyu Babba (1847-1859); and in Missau where Sarki Usman (1850-1864) was

[51] Fika ***Op. Cit.*** P. 61-67.

[52] The central figure of the new emirate system was the Sultan (***amir-al-muminin***), located at Sokoto, with authority over the entire Muslim community as supreme ruler. Within the political constituent units or cell were non-sovereign emirates subject to the discretionary powers of the Sultan who devolved powers to his representatives, the emirs, who had direct jurisdiction over their territorial domains. The emir was an official of the Caliph, therefore, vested with specific powers – most notably the performance of religious duties, tax collection and material improvement - whose appointment or dismissal was the sole prerogative of the Caliph. For detail see Watts, M. "Brittle Trade: A Political Economy of Food Supply in Kano," In Guyer, J. I. (ed.) ***Feeding African Cities: Studies in Regional Social History***, Manchester University, Press for the International African Institute, London, 1987, P. 60

[53] Ibrahim, O. F. ***Op. Cit***. P. 16

[54] Smith, M. G. ***Government in Zazzau, A Study of Government in the Hausa Chiefdom of Zaria in Northern Nigeria, 1800-1950***, London, Oxford University Press, 1960, P. 74.

deposed by Caliph Ahmadu Atiku 1859-1866).[55] This therefore, in the case of Kano, indicated that there was no court beyond the emirate Judicial Council court.

Amongst its other exclusive functions, the emirate Judicial Council also looks at matters relating to disputes over the boundaries of farms, estates, fiefs and towns. An Alkali court, on the other hand adjudicates at the lower levels. [56] The court dealt with capital punishment. Like all other segment of the administrative set up, the Alkali was also assisted by a team of assessors who were usually learned jurists in their own right and more often aspirants to the judgeship.

The Masu Unguwa (ward heads) served as the last stratum in the administrative system. Being very close to the people they served as a link between the emir and the ***Talakawa*** (commoner class), both in the villages and the capital city. ***Limaman gari*** also played some significant role in that respect, especially in settling disagreement between people within the communities or those cases agreed to be settled out of court. Looking closely therefore the emirate of Kano was, before the British conquest, administered based on a structured political set up represented by the Emir at the highest level, the ***Hakimai*** and ***Dagatai***, the ***Alḭalai*** and ***Masu Unguwa*** in addition to the religious (***Limamai***) leaders of the emirate. It was this structure (based on the teachings in the ***Holy Book*** and the ***Traditions of the Prophet*** [PBUH]) that controlled and administered social life. The administration of land, labour and taxation were under their control. Of significance was that administration of the people was based on a written document (***Sharia***), just like a constitution. This is indicating that the people have been used to receiving orders from the top and based on a written law.

[55] ***Ibid***. fn. 29, P. 62
[56] Fika, ***Op. Cit.*** P. 69.

1.4.1 **Nature and Structure of Territorial Administration in Pre-Conquest Kano**

With the success of 1804 Jihad, the state of Kano was brought under the Caliphal authority stationed in Sokoto. As discussed above an emir was appointed from amongst the clans that fought in the jihad in Kano.[57] Since then, Kano ceased to be a clearly independent power of her own right. Like other States within Hausaland, Kano became an emirate within the larger confederation of the Sokoto Caliphate administration.[58] The status of Kano was since then more of vassalage of Sokoto administered by the ***Amir - al - Mumin*** through the office of the Vizier. This however does not involve day-to-day activities of the emirate. It was more on issues pertaining to boundary disputes between Kano and its neighbours.[59]

A relation of vassalage between the emirate of Kano and Sokoto was more or less sanctioned by Muslim law and the traditions of Sokoto Caliphate. Therefore Kano remained under theocracy internally, but sent tribute and gifts to ***Amir-al-Mumin*** and other Sokoto officials, especially the Vizier. Though Sokoto did have some discretional powers to decide succession in Kano, such powers were based on some factors local to Kano emirate. For example the tradition of Kano has it that only from among the four major royal Fulani clans[60] of Kano that could an emir be selected. The choice was also based on the fact that the emirate of Kano was governed on a mono-dynastic set up, which gave no room for manoeuvre by the

[57] Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit.*** P. 337-411.
[58] The confederation was made up of 14 emirates with a territory that extended to as far as the present day Niger Republic. For details refer to Usman Y. B. "***The Overthrow of the Sarauta System and the Evolution of the Emirate of Katsina ….. ,"*** Ph. D., ABU, Zaria, 1974.
[59] Fika, ***Ibid.*** P. 54.
[60] The title clan leaders filled the positions of Madaki, Makama, Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta and Sarkin Bai.

Sultan.[61] The only attempt by Sokoto to impose its powers over Kano emirate leadership was after the death of Abdullahi b. Ibrahim (1855-1882), who died at Karofi. This did not only lead to a Civil War in Kano but threatened the corporate existence of the Caliphate as a whole.[62] As claimed by some historians of the Caliphate, the Civil War weakened the emirate's establishments and therefore led to its easy eventual conquest by the British in 1903.[63] At conquest it was not so difficult to put in place a system of administration as far as rule of law was concerned. What made it difficult, as discussed in chapter two, was the challenge it posed to the established ruling house.

1.5 Nature of Administration of Land, Labour and Taxation in Pre-Conquest Kano

The concern of this section is with the administration of land, labour and taxation on the eve the European (British) conquest of 1903; with emphasis on the period between 1804 when the Jihad forces conquered, transformed and established their dominance over the administration of the area through to the processes that unfolded and weakened the emirate for imperial conquest in 1903. Land was the major means of production. Production by this period of time was organized around households both in agriculture and industry. This was based on the labour of peasant families, slaves and an insignificant proportion of hired artisans in dyeing and **}odago** (agriculture wage labour).

1.5.1 Administration of Land in Pre-colonial Kano

Land has not been so common and so plentiful at all the times. It therefore does seem clear that the notion of pre-colonial Africa having communal tenure all through is faulty. Like history, tenure in land is dynamic and it changes with time

[61] This was unlike for example Zazzau which had tri-dynastic arrangement, and therefore one could be played against the other.
[62] Fika, A. M. ***Kano Civil War and the British Over-rule1882-1940***, Oxford Press, Ibadan, 1978.
[63] Ubah, C. N. Ph.D. ***Op. Cit.*** 1973.

and with situation.[64] Under a communal set up in which was obtained a system of administration controlled by a council of village elders, land was always readily available as and when needed. It had no owner; meaning that it had no scarcity value (in economic terms) as a factor of production. This is because rulers did not personally own all the lands of the emirate; free subjects could acquire and utilize any portion of land that was not in use. They could also expand their portions of land under cultivation to any limit within their cultivation strength if it did not entail encroaching on to a land cultivated by another person. Acquisition of land or expansion of acreage needed no formal approval of any authority (whether that of ***Mai Unguwa*** - ward head) or the Village Head (***Dagaci***) other than the family head.[65] Each community occupied and controlled a vaguely defined territory within which individuals and families simply cultivate whatever fields they required for their daily needs.[66] Production was organized around families, which were generally large and composite. Land and tools of production were held in common by members of such corporate bodies, such as the ***Gandu*** in Hausaland. Individual production of certain crops was often allowed but only on lands ***(Gayauna/Kurga)*** specifically allocated for such purpose. Right of ownership of land was transferred through inheritance, gift, loan, pledge or a debt settlement.[67] Individual families within such corporate units were given grain from the central

[64] For detail refer to Philips Anne ***Op. Cit***. P. 89-91. See also Mamdani, M. ***'Citizen and Subjects', Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism. Princeton Study in Culture/Power/History.*** Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996 P.180

[65] See for detail Ferguson, D. F. "***Nineteen Century Hausaland: Being a Description by Imam Imaru of the land, economy and society of his people***", Ph. D. University of California, Los Angeles, 1973 P. 59.

[66] Mahadi, A.. ***Op. Cit***. P. 447, See also Philips Anne ***Op. Cit***. P. 89-90.

[67] Bello S. ***"State and economy in Kano c. 1894-1960: A study of colonial domination",*** Ph.D. ABU, zaria, 1983, PP. 28.

pool. It is also from such that tribute and expenses associated with ceremonies and marriages were met.[68]

Explaining the above situation in relation to Kano Abdullahi Mahadi noted that the absence of the culture of private ownership of means of production and individualism was because "population density was quite low and therefore land was available for everyone in the community."[69] It can however be argued that the issue of low population density does not entirely capture the essence of what was happening at that very early period. It was rather because the dominant culture in that early period of the history of Kano did possess certain redistributive mechanisms that thwarted tendencies to reproduce inequalities in a cumulative fashion.[70] Logically therefore, this was what lessened the need for any force of legislation or even a customary control over land. Control over land was therefore minimal. Every member of the community farmed as much land as he could; the major concern of the leaders of that time was how to attract more people to settle in their domains.[71] Furthermore, convention strongly forbade the sale of land and rental was not practiced, although a holder was free to lend his land as he wished.[72]

The transition to a centrally controlled state system in the case of Kano was boosted during the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499 the twentieth king of Kano), but took its root from the second half of the fourteenth century during the reign of Sarki Yaji [an Tsamiya (1349-1385); and kept changing since

[68] Adamu, S. (et. al) "***Rural Economy and Society in Nigeria since 1900***." ***Seminar on Nigerian Economy and Society since the Berlin Conference,*** Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 185, P. 3
[69] Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit***
[70] Mamdani, M. ***Citizen and Subject'. Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism, Princeton study in culture/power /history***, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1996, P. 41.
[71] Mahdi, A***. Op. Cit***. P. 447.
[72] Philip Anne ***Op. Cit.*** P. 91.

then always advancing and taking a new outlook.[73] Sarki Yaji was the eleventh king of Kasar Kano during whose time Kano established its fame politically and extended its hold to as far as Santolo, Kura, Rano and took over Kwararrafa. The political status attained during this period made Kano known in especially the expanding Muslim World as a result of which a number of Muslim merchants visited and settled in Kano. Amongst the new visitors were the Wangarawa who came from Mali and brought with them not only commerce but the religion of Islam.[74] Leading personalities in the group were Abdulrahman Zaite, Yakubu, Mandawari (possibly the founder of the Mandawari ward), Famure, Balkasim, Kanaji, Dukure, Sheshe (possibly the founder of the Sheshe ward), Kebe (established the Kebe ward now called Rimin Kebe), Mutuku, Limamin Jibjin Yan-labu (possibly the founder of the Jujin Yan-labu ward), Gurdumus, Auta, Lawan, Limamin Ma]atai (possibly the founder of the Ma]atai ward) and a number of others totalling to about forty.[75] These achievements provided the ground on which Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa reorganised and consolidated the administration of Kano, for example he relocated and centralised the seat of power away from Dala Hill, established the ***Kurmi*** market to accommodate the new economic boom, opened the door of his capital to scholars and merchants from especially the North Africa and established additional settlements.[76]

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[73] Smith, M. G. Government in Kano, ***Op. Cit*** PP, 133.
[74] It is contested by some Ulama in Kano that the Wangarawa were not the first people to introduce Islam to Kano or the Hausaland. Interview with Sheikh Abubakar Bamaina, Gwaran, Jigawa State, 2003.
[75] Hausawa da Makwabtansu, Na Biyu, ***Op. Cit.*** P. 12-14
[76] Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa was more like a ***Mujaddadi*** (Reformer), a renewer and developer of Islamic society in Kano. Rumfa was the first Sarki who appears to have applied himself seriously to the problems of ruling a multireligious community in accordance with the Islamic law. It was for this purpose that he went as far as consulting a Jurist of International repute (Muhammad b. Abd al-Karim al-Maghili. Al-Magili not only entered into correspondence with Sarki Rumfa and wrote a reatise on the art of government, but actually settled in Kano and established a community of North African Muslims that eventually assimilated into the society of the Birni. Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa also converted the Kurmin Jakara into a market (Kasuwar Kurmi), built mosques and a seat of government, the process of which involved extending the territorial extent of the capital city to house the new

As a result of the above developments the desire for land increased and therefore made land, especially in the central region of Kano where Kumbotso District is found, very scarce. This was as a result of increase in émigré population in addition to the already existing dense population; but more specifically it was due to the desire to accumulate wealth explained by the establishment of a more centralized ***Sarauta*** classes.[77] Under this outlook control over land became a symbol of authority. Land, whether used or unused became strictly controlled by the ruling class represented by the Sarki and the heads of the various communities.[78] As political centralization continued, the control of the *Sarakuna* over the land area and the people became increasingly firm. Recognition of the powers of the *Sarki* over land became well entrenched and accepted.[79] In this bide land holding took a new outlook whereby it became a grant by the grace of the *Sarki* in whose powers the land could be revoked at will.[80]

By about the 18th century Kano in particular a political organisation basically monarchical in nature was put in place under which the *Sarki* and his officials became the legitimate owners of the whole land area. This therefore

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political offices created and indeed of a general reform on land to accommodate new comers. For details refer to Smith, A. ***Op. Cit.*** P. 109-111.

[77] Amongst the offices established was that of the ***Tara ta Kano***, who functioned as the King Makers, and that of "Babanni", who functioned as overseers of the wives of the Sarki. It is important to note that Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa had over one thousand wives, a greater number of which were concubines, recruited through ***Kame*** (forceful conscription). Therefore not only that the officers appointed were given land but the wives and their relatives. This explained the necessity to open up Kano during his reign to cover areas as far as Kofar Mata, Kofar Gyarta-wasa, Kofar Kawaye, Kofar Na'isa and Kofar Kansakal. For details refer to Labarun Hausawa Da Makwabtansu Book Two, NNPC, Gaskiya tafi Kwabo, 1979, P.21-22

[78] In the case of Kano control over land was clearly noted from the time of ***Sarkin*** Kano Dauda in about AD 1421-1438. This was at a time when the ***Sarki*** was faced with the problem of accommodating the large number of immigrants led by ***Dagaci*** from Borno. ***Sarki*** Dauda was reminded that since he owned everything, he could settle the immigrants anywhere in his domain. The ***Dagachi*** and his people were then provided with a land to settle in Dorayi. See ***Hausawa da Makwabtansu***, Book 2, ***Op. Cit***. P. 17-18, for details.

[79] *Land tenure in the Northern Province in the Past by G. J Lethem in (NAK/KANPROF./2/31 Lan 32 Rural land tenure.*

[80] Mahdi, A. ***Op. Cit***. P. 449.

conferred on them the authority to allocate land, and over the centuries immigrants into *Kasar* Kano were granted acres of land to make a living out of. It was through the use of these powers that the *Sarki* and his other officials were able to regulate acquisition, use and disposal of land in Kano. This authority also gave the *Sarki* the right to revoke land ownership from a beneficiary while found to being disloyal to the constituted authority (the *Sarki* or his officials), or for failure to pay tax or for anti-social behaviour such as habitual stealing. It was also part of his prerogative of the *Sarki* to evacuate people from any piece of land that he would want to convert into state farm or into an estate (*Gandu)*. An example of a forceful eviction well known in the history of the 18th century Kano was the case of the people of Gogel town. The people were ordered to vacate their settlement for the Emir's *Gandu* to be sited there. In return the people were resettled at a new place, which they named ***Garin Dole*** (literally meaning the town that was established through the use of force). It is established that such was the dominant culture in the 18th century Kano.[81] This was in recognition of the powers wielded by the *Sarki* and his officials. It was also in recognition and appreciation of these powers by the subject population.[82] The experience around Kumbotso in the 19th century supported the powers of the S*arki* over land. According to the recorded history of the area the whole land area of Kumbotso belonged to (*Kumbota)* the daughter of Sarkin Kano Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1845). Her father gave the land to her as a marriage gift.[83] This is possibly one of the reasons why most part of the land area around Kumbotso belongs to one royal family or the other.

[81] For detail refer to Mahadi, A. Ph.D. 1982, ***Op. Cit.***; See also Smith, M. G. Government in Kano, ***Op. Cit***.
[82] For detail see ***NAK, SNP, 71055/1912 Kano Province, [an Iya sub-district Assessment Report.***
[83] Excerpt from Maje Ahmed Gwangwazo, ***Op. Cit***.

Continued loyalty to the traditional institution therefore meant confident and total ownership and possession of land. It was basically this that the house heads enjoyed, which guaranteed them the right of tenure ship. But that was simply that, it does not mean the right of proprietorship over land, since no one has the right to alienate any piece of land allocated to him or inherited from his ancestors.[84] Thus it was obvious by this time that monetary transaction involving land was not in practice nor was it recognise by the State.[85] Yet people took to the possession of larger holdings, which resulted in more wives and a greater drain on the resources, followed by the eventual distribution of land through a wider inheritance.[86] Therefore the whole land of *Kasar* Kano by this period belongs to the *Sarki* who was the owner of the land (*Uban Kasa* or *Mai Kasa*). Of fundamental importance in the administration of land in Kano was the 19th century Jihad in Hausaland. One of the immediate effects of the Jihad was the implementation of a new land law especially regarding the issue of inheritance. Prior to the Jihad inheritance was customary under which the eldest son took control and provided leadership allowing all other members of the family a share out of the total land area inherited.[87] The eldest son was thus considered the most capable and therefore deserved all rights and responsibilities of the deceased heads. This also explained why women were excluded from the assumption of leadership of household and of the inheritance of land.[88]

New outlook developed with the Jihad, in the nature of the social and political organization of Hausaland. Inheritance now took the form of dividing the

[84] Palmer, ***Land tenure in Hausa States*** … P.452.
[85] Mahdi A. ***Op. Cit***. P. 457.
[86] Philip Anne***, Op. Cit***. P. 91.
[87] Mahdi, A. ***Op. Cit***. P. 453.
[88] ***Ibid*** P 458.

Gandu, at the death of the family head, to all members of the family based on criteria in which the male child takes double the share of the female. Thus women ceased seeing as property and gained the right to ownership, not only of land, but also of other properties, though still were not too free from male domination.[89] The other side of the development was that land as a result gained monetary value. This arose from a situation in which the beneficiaries out numbered the land area or the property left to them at the death of the house head.[90] The solution under this condition was the disposition of the land for some amount of money to be shared among the beneficiaries at the same rate of male doubling the female.[91]

The Jihad also led to an increase in the number of office holders, Princes, *Attajirai* and indeed in the number of migrant settlers in Kano.[92] These twin factors equally meant increase in the number of people and skills that wanted the use of land for cultivation and settlement. It also meant increase in acreage of the land area for the ruling class.[93] Social division within the population became obvious, which also meant increase in the number of people (mostly *Attajirai*) interested in large size agricultural land to use as estate. Most of the *Attajirai* were from among the Arab or the people of North African origin who settled in Kano attracted by the place of Kano in the trading network across the region (See ***Fig***. 4 and 5). Among

[89] This marked the first step in the liberation of women from the pre-Jihad cultures of Hausaland.
[90] For an example of this refer to Hamza, I., ***"[orayi: A History of Social and Economic Transformation in the 19th and 20th Century,***" M.A. History, UDU, Sokoto, 1994.
[91] The development of a capitalist economy, in which certain essentials in human lives started to be given money value in Kano, took its root from thence. Refer to Hamza ***Ibid***. for the [orayi experience in [orayi.
[92] ***Kasar*** Kano has a very long history of settling migrants giving them all sorts of hospitalities. For detail see Mahdi A***. Op. Cit***. P. 464-5.
[93] Land, an important factor of production in the emirate, according to the belief of the emirate society belonged to God. The Emir who represented the Caliph of Sokoto held its custodianship. The people, therefore, only held its right to tenure. Because of this nobody privately owned any piece of land, its value also could not be bought or even assessed, but the right of tenure was transferred through gifts pledging, lease, loan or sale. Rowling, C. W. ***KANPRF, NO. 767. Land tenure Report, 1949***

them were also the Tuaregs and a large number of Kanuri merchants.[94] As pointed out by Mahadi, they played a very important role in the violation of the established norms of the society by abating the seizure of land by the *Sarakuna* of the Emirate system.[95]

Local trade and industries, mainly rural based, were found on a large scale. Such industries include dyeing, weaving, salt prospecting and refining, butchery, carpentry, building, pottery, saddle making, and snuff making, leather works, mat making, smithing, tannery etc. These were largely integrated in agricultural production, with the latter providing the raw materials and obtaining its basic tools and other inputs from these activities.[96] Rural trading routes were found in most locations in the emirate that linked to the main town and thereby facilitating trade and continued movement and settlement of people.

It is important to note that a lot of these industries and services were based on households or in the hands of itinerant group of industrialists, such as the weavers, dyers, clothes beaters and so on. Most of these industries and trades were organized in guilds with a leader recognized by the suzerains, and who was contacted on all affairs associated with the occupation or any of its members.[97] It is equally relevant to stress the point that such a development explained the fact that the 19th century transformed the Kano society into a more liberal economic system.[98] This was in the sense in which it opened Kano not only to accept migrants

[94] Hogendorn, J. S. ***Nigerian Groundnut Exports, Origins and early Developments,*** ABU Press and OUP, Nigeria, 1978, PP. 7.
[95] Mahdi, A. ***Op. Cit***. P. 464-5
[96] Adamu, S. and Abdullahi, Y. ***Op. Cit***. 1985, P. 3.
[97] Mahdi Adamu, Y. B. Usman, Abdullahi Mahdi and Nadel, S. F. ***Op. Cit***.
[98] These developments made the establishment of colonial economy very easy. Kano economy continued to respond in line with the needs of the colonial economy that Kasar Kano became one of the leading colonial commercial Centres in the North in the supply and production of Groundnut. For detail

but also to institutionalise changes in the nature of the economy and social relations.[99] Perhaps it was during the course of this transformation that merchants from far and near, including some Arab merchants, settled and got hold of the Kano economy.[100] The basic feature was therefore that land took a more individualistic outlook thereby became a transferable economic commodity. Sale of land became an established means of transferring land and customary obligations.[101]

Both internal and external trade was encouraged and developed. In most cases an indigenous merchant class emerged trading in various types of goods all over West, Central and North Africa. Through this many merchants came to acquire substantial wealth and clout with the ruling aristocracies.[102] Such a favourable socio-economic position elevated the merchant class into the control of landed property especially in those areas closer to Kano City.[103] Thus on the whole, the society was controlled by the dominance of the political and ideological superstructure built around emir-ship and Islam. The ruling classes were supposed to be custodians of the faith and in this regard, were considered sacred. Although market relations (economic class) were important and very strong as shown hitherto, they however assumed no dominant position to challenge the hegemony of the superstructure (Aristocracy).[104]

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see Hogendorn. J. S. "***The Origin of Groundnut Trade in Northern Nigeria***." Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1966.

[99] Thus by the time of the conquest traces of the existence of a merchant class featured prominently in especially the central region of ***}asar*** Kano.

[100] [an-Asabe, A. U. "***Comparative Biographies of Selected Leaders of the Kano Commercial Establishment***, M.A. History, Bayero University, Kano, 1987.

[101] I am very grateful to Professor P. J. Shea for putting me through in understanding how capitalist tendencies evolved in Kano prior to colonial conquest. P. J. Shea was an economic historian who has done a lot of research on the 19th and 20th century Kano, especially the central region of Kano. He died in April 2006.

[102] Adamu, S. and Abdullahi, Y. ***Op. Cit***. 1985, P. 3.

[103] Bello S. ***Op. Cit.***

[104] Samir Amin, ***Class and Nation: Historically and in the current crisis***, London, Heinemann, P46-70

Characteristically this acknowledged status of the political class explained the roles they played in taking over lands that they considered redundant or deserted.[105] Thus each emirate or administrative unit was parcelled out into estates, which were held by the principal chiefs as fiefs from the emir, in whose control was vested the ultimate title to the land. The fiefs belonging to any one chief were scattered over the emirate at great distances from one another, with the result that the fief-holder was usually an absentee landlord, who resided in the Capital. Kumbotso being located close to the City was parcelled in such a way that all the ruling houses and rich individuals were given land (*Gandu*), which they used for farming purposes. Other features of the Pre-British administration of land were the existence of large farms *(gandu)* attached to certain offices and of slave villages, which were included in the fiefs held by the principal chiefs.[106] This right to permanent tenure of lands enjoyed by the people was abused by the titled officials (*Masu Sarauta*) especially from the second half of the 19th century down to the end of the century. By 1890s, the *Masu Sarautu* of the emirates of Sokoto Caliphate were corrupt.[107] In Kano, the corruption was intensified by political strife within the aristocracy leading to, among other things, the increasing confiscation of landed and other properties of opponents and the rich by those in office.[108] This was, among other things, what explained the struggle for power, which translated itself into the Kano Civil war of the late 19th century (1893-5) and indeed the submission of Wambai Abbas to the British after the conquest of Kano in 1903.[109]

[105] Mahdi A. ***Op. Cit***. P. 458-9.
[106] Manasse, G. ***Op. Cit.***
[107] Chafe, K. S., "Beyond the British Factor: Some Consideration Relating to the Challenges on the Sokoto Caliphate Hegemony from within," Paper at the ***International Conference on the Sokoto Caliphate the Europeans, c. 1890-1909***, UDU, Sokoto, 1993.
[108] Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit***. for detail.
[109] Fika, A. M. ***Ibid.***

From this act perpetrated by the princes monetary value of land became certain and acknowledged by the State.[110] *Sarakunan Gari*, Princes and even the *Dagatai* were found in this act in most of the localities.[111] In the central region of Kano the commercialisation of land continued to increase. Thus by the end of the 19th century a substantial part of the land area had been acquired by the members of the ruling class, with at least a *Gandu* in every available village with an appointed village head.[112] Almost the whole of the land area of Kumbotso is said to have belonged to one official or the other.[113] The land around *Tudun Maliki* of the Kumbotso district belonged to one of the sons of Sarkin Kano Ibrahim Dabo known as Maliki;[114] the names of most of the villages in the Kumbotso district, i.e. *Naibawa, Sheka, Hotoro, Ja'en, Salanta, Limawa, [orayi* and so on indicate names of some prominent personalities either as members of the aristocracy, Ulama or the rich merchants. This further supports the above claim that there is the likelihood that the powerful group of people in the emirate appropriated land to themselves.[115]

1.5.2 **Administration of Labour in Pre-colonial Kano**

As noted earlier there has been in existence an established system of governance in Kano long before the c.15th century.[116] By about the nineteenth century and especially with the success of the Jihadist a Caliphate was established

[110] Mahdi A. ***Op. Cit***. P. 458-9.
[111] Interview with Tanko Yakasai ***Op. Cit.***
[112] It is found that during the period in question the emir's had at least a Gandu in almost all the territories controlled by a Dagaci. ***NAK SNP7, 5785/1912 Kano Province, Danburam District Assessment Report on,*** cited in Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit***. P.461.
[113] Mahadi, A. ***Ibid***. Other titled officials and their deputies also held large estates. Rich people (Attajirai) also owned large estates, according to Mahadi, the estates of the ***Attajirai*** were even larger than that of the ***Masu Sarauta***. Some of the estates of the Attajirai were so large that one needed a horse to cover its length and breadths in a day. See Tahir, I. ***Op. Cit***. P. 212 for detail
[114] Maliki was as at then a non-titled Prince.
[115] Discussion with Professor P. J. Shea. Prof. Shea is an expert on the economic history of Kano with specific interest on southern Kano part of, which Kumbotso belong.
116 Smith, M. G., ***Government in Kano 1350-1950,*** Boulder, Colorado: Worldview Press, 1997

with Kano as one of the pillar emirates.[117] This political outlook supported the existence of a system of administration under which the aristocracy played a dominant role of determining ownership and control of means of production. Such has not been the case right from the tenth century when traces for the establishment of the State of Kano started.[118] From about the fifteenth century political power was therefore monopolized and utilized by the aristocracy in the interest of the ruling class. This was consolidated with the Jihad in 1807. The aristocracy remained the political arm of the feudal class fraction in power. The fiscal policies of the aristocracy especially those related to land, labour and trade assured its political control over the organization of production and the continuous exploitation of the lower classes by the ruling class through various mechanisms. This includes the exaction of forced labour and numerous forms of taxes.

The forms of labour that generally existed comprised that of the peasantry (*Talakawa*),[119] slaves (*Bayi*) and servants (*Barori*). Peasant form of labour no doubt predominated and enjoyed direct access to the means of its production and reproduction. The ruling class on the other hand regulated labour and production of the lower classes (peasantry and slaves) through various means due to, as indicated earlier, the advantages of access, monopoly and utilization of political and economic power. The peasantry, slaves and craftsmen procured their basic means of existence through the utilization of their labour in agriculture, craft production and exchange. They used their labour power to produce use-values for consumption and petty

117 Others include Zazzau, Katsina, Bauchi, Gumel, Hadejia, Kazaure, Ilorin, etc

118 Dokaji, A., ***Kano Ta Dabo Cigari*** NNPC, 1958, 1978, Chapters I and ii, and also Labarum Hausawa da Makwabtansu, Vol. ii, NNPC, 1970, 1971, and 1979

119 The word ***Talka*** or ***Talakawa*** (Pl) can also mean all the commoner classes which include even the Attajirai (merchant class), especially those from non-royal background. This is in a way indicating that the class division was not sharp enough as under a capitalist society. For details see Tahir, I. and I. l. Bashir

commodities in order to satisfy other needs.[120] For communal labour transaction on the other hand, when occasionally footpaths to the source of water supply and neighbouring towns and villages required clearing the head chief's bell ringer summoned people to such activities. And if a well had to be sunk the same procedure was followed. Social sanction was the means of control; indeed it was strong enough to provide a formidable incentive, which ensured enthusiastic co-operation from all.[121]

Among the peasantry production was organized around household. Slave labour was less important except in rich peasant household. The labour power of the household was the main, and in most cases the only source of labour. The dominant labour in this case involved people that belonged to the same household.[122] It involved people who were biologically related and sharing common claims including access to means of production.[123] The peasant household usually contained several generations of people, biologically related to the household head living in one location or compound made up of several sections. These sections did contain sub-units of the household or families.[124] The peasantry also increased the productivity of their units through the utilization of mobilized voluntary labour called *Gayya*.

Gayya was a system of labour exchange developed by the peasantry, which put at the disposal of a particular household the labour power and services of

120 Muktar, I. M. **"British Colonial Labour Policies and the Changing Roles of Labour in Kano Emirate 1903-1960."** Ph. D. Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1994.

121 Jaekec, F. ***The History of the Nigerian Railway.*** Vol.2, Spectrum Books, Ibadan , 1997, P. 11.

122 Ferguson, D. E**. "Nineteen-Century History of Hausa land: Being a description by Imam Umaru of the land, economy and Society of his people."** Ph. D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973. And also in Smith, M. Baba of Karo.

123 Mahdi A. "***State and Economy, the Sarauta system and its roles in the shaping of the society and economy of Kano with particular reference to the eighteenth and Nineteenth century.***" Ph. D. thesis, Ahmadu Bello university, Zaria, 1982. P 484.

124 Ferguson, D. E. ***Op. Cit***.

members of several households in its neighbourhood for a specific duration.[125] There is a clear difference between *Gayya* and *Aikin tilas* that was enforced on feudal estates. Some of the principal differences were that *Gayya* was reciprocated and that people could decline the invitation politely if they would not be free to attend. Refusal did not attract any punishment as the case with *Aikin tilas*. *Gayya*, or the system of mobilized labour exchange between households for cultivation of peasant lands in order to increase productivity of peasant's households, can be explained by the need or necessity to overcome the restrictions imposed on productivity by the manual character of peasant agricultural technology.[126] It should also be seen as a mechanism that was employed by the peasant household in order to allow it to achieve higher levels of productivity that would otherwise have been impossible if it were to rely solely on the strength of its own labour power. This together with the maximum utilization of the labour power of its members assured greater agricultural output for the household, which provided economic security against food shortage or in times of famines or drought.[127] Indeed more philosophically, it provided the right avenue for 'surplus' creation and appropriation by a section of the peasantry that on the eve of the colonial conquest transformed into a class of the rich peasants.[128] This section of the population responded

125 Muktar, I. M., ***Op. Cit***. "***Labour in Colonial Kano*** … " Ph. D. 1994, P 53

126 With regard to communal labour transaction, farmers, particularly of the same age group, combined in friendly societies for mutual assistance. All would work together on one farm after another until everybody's farm was cleared. This practice was also followed in rendering bridal obligations on the farms of fathers-in-law. Wages were not paid and nobody expected more than an invitation to lunch taken by all who worked and at the expense of the member whose job was done on that particular occasion. See Jaekec F. ***Op. Cit***. P. 11 for detail.

127 Muktar, I. M. ***Ibid***. P. 54.

128 Alhassan Dantata and co were some of the products of this transformation.

positively to the British imperialist urge for the production of cash crop as middlemen, moneylenders and land-speculators.[129]

Therefore the labour at the disposal of a household corresponded to its economic status and position within the peasantry. The more the size of the land and labour force utilized by a peasant household, the greater its productivity or surplus generation and therefore, the higher its economic status.[130] Another means of additional labour at the disposal of the peasant household was labour provided on farms of in-laws by prospective bridegrooms and their friends. This form of labour was given 'free' as part of marriage investment.[131] The institution of slavery played a very important role as another form of labour during the pre-colonial era. It was no doubt of great antiquity in }*asar* Kano but did not acquire any great significance until the beginning of the millennium when the conflicts involved in the process of state formation escalated and began to produce prisoners of war.[132]

People became domestic slaves for various reasons. In some cases it happened when an individual (man or woman) submitted to another and rendered for him all wanted services in exchange for protection and other essentials of life. Sometimes the relationship between a slave and his master was one of conquest and capture in war, or it could be purely by purchase in a slave market.[133] Slaves were also acquired by inheritance, presentation and in exchange for sumptuous payments. A few of course went into slavery by being chronic debtors while others were

129 Dan Asabe…. ***Op. Cit,*** And also Hogendorn, J. S. "***The Origin of the Groundnut trade in Northern Nigeria***," Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis University of London, 1966. Also in a discussion with Dr. Muktar, M. I.

130 Muktar M. I. ***Op. Cit***. P. 54.

131 ***Ibid*** P. 56

132 Substantial number of the slaves acquired in the eighteen century were used in exchange for Cowries and other Military equipment from Nupe land as a well as luxury goods, especially from North Africa, some of the slaves were settled on the state and Masu Sarauta estates. Mahdi A., ***Op. Cit***. P. Ph.D., 1982, P. 476

133 Refer to Chapter two of this work. See also Hamza, I. ***Op. Cit***. P. 61-62. And also in Hill, P. ***Op. Cit***. P. 214-215.

enslaved because traditional political authorities called them social rebels just as people could be imprisoned for similar offences in more sophisticated societies. Thus as domestic slaves were variously acquired so also their utility was multi dimensional.[134] Right from about the 18th century the number of slave population in *Kasar* Kano increased considerably which continued up to the 19th century.[135] The explanation for this is that by the century in question the Kano aristocracy had grown in number due to the large number of wives and concubines giving birth to so many children to feed, which required the services of many slaves. This made the royal estates or *Gandaye* so large, in most cases containing hundreds or even thousands of acres.[136] Because of the large size of the estates and their numbers, royal household labour could not in any way provide the required labour power for cultivating them. It was this that provided the justification for the use of slaves and the mobilization of the other members of the lower classes for covee (*Aikin tilas*).[137]

Other form of labour was that provided by the servants (*Barori*). This category of labour force in pre-colonial Kano was made up mostly of domestic slaves for the rich and the *Masu Sarauta*. Some of these servants (*Barori)* were either the poor from the lower classes to whom such a patronage was a vehicle out of poverty, or were relations of slaves.[138] But the general character was such that slaves made up the main source of labour power of the royal *Gandu*. They were

134 Jaekec F. ***Op Cit***. P. 12

135 Muktar, I. M. ***Ibid*** P 69

136 The representatives of the Masu Sarauta mainly administered these Gandaye (agricultural estates). They consisted mainly of servants, who were independent of the local dagatai or even Sarakuna of Garuruwa in whose territories the agricultural estates were located. This was what made their status more than that of the Slaves and they were referred to as (clients). Their work included mobilization of the villagers (with the aid of the Dagatai and Sarakunan Sana'a) for work on the estates and the allocation of Gayauna (small farms) to their slaves involved, their contribution to agricultural production was relatively less than the last two groups. This was also the case with wage labour during the nineteen century. Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit***. Ph.D. 1982, P. 477

137 Muktar **Op. Cit**. P 81

138 ***Ibid*** P. 81

regarded, as property that could be treated and disposed of at will though within the confines set by emirate laws.[139] Unlike the Atlantic Slave, domestic slavery was by far more deep-rooted and humane than contemporary foreign observers appreciated. While in the New World the Negro slave was no person but property, here at home the domestic slave could himself own property, like any other person and even aspire to a considerable social and political status if he proves to be intelligent, and lucky.[140] Some slaves were particularly favoured by their masters who entrusted them with high positions in the state on the calculation that they would be less ambitious compared to those of freeborn.[141]

The mobilization and control of the labour of *Talakawa* in relation to agricultural production was effected through the various institutions of *Sarakuna noma* (Head farmer) and *Ma}era* (Head blacksmiths). The institutions of the various *Sarakunan Sana'a* (heads of occupational groups) predate the eighteenth century. In accord with all other political and economic institutions, they reached an important stage of development in the eighteenth century Kano, by being hierarchically organized in response to the changes going on within the socio-political and economic terrain. The mode of selection and appointment of the *Sarakuna Sana'a* was so much in relation to performance and productivity. On being appointed, they received an insignia of office from *Sarkin* Kano. Because of the nature of the functions they are expected to perform, every *Sarkin Sana'a* had his cabinet of officials that were found at all levels of government (central government, towns or settlements). As stressed by Mahadi, in some cases, the *Sarkin Sana'a* at the central level exercised power over other *Sarakunan Sana'a* at the other levels (lower). Such

139 ***Ibid*** P. 82

140 Smith, M. ***Baba of Karo Op. Ci***t

141 Jaekec, F. ***Op Cit***. P. 1

a division made mobilization and control of labour easy. Indeed it enhances the efficiency and professionalization of labour, which was also a clear representation of the level of development of the society prior to colonial conquest. The *Sarkin Sana'a's* intimate knowledge of each of his followers enabled him to select competent members for specialized jobs or mobilized all of them for work that required many hands.[142]

In the nineteenth century, the utilization of the labour of the *Talakawa* by the ruling class had considerably increased fundamentally because the number of the *Masu Sarauta*, princes, and other non-titled members of the ruling class increased tremendously and also because social differentiation in the society legitimised the claim of the ruling class to the labour and services of the *Talakawa*.[143] Therefore, the intense economic activities in which all or most members of the ruling class were engaged in (during this time) ensured the maximum utilization of the labour of *Talakawa*. The dense population of Kano provided ample labour for the ruling class that was why "the Kingship of Kano enjoyed the most.[144] One other factor that assisted the growth of economic activities was the preaching by the Jihadist about the necessity, on the part of every Muslim, to engage in useful economic pursuit. Therefore, the tempo of agricultural activities in the nineteenth century increased

142 The labours of the blacksmiths were utilized in two closely related ways. Firstly whenever the need arose for mass production of implements such as hoes, axes, Sickles and knives, the Sarkin Makera simply summoned the required number of Blacksmiths, sometimes including those of the countryside for the purpose. Secondly, the Blacksmiths were also made to give to the state certain numbers of hoes, which they had produced, for use on the numerous state farms of the ***Masu Saruta***. The ***Sarkin Makera*** of Kano organized the collection of the hoes through his officials at all levels. The handles for these implements were similarly produced by wood-carvers, then collected and forwarded to the appropriate quarters by ***Sarkin Masassaka*** (wood-carvers/Carpenters). The ***Sarakunan Noma*** were responsible for the mobilization of the labour force for utilization during the various phases of agricultural seasons. As the State farms and ***Gandaye Sarauta*** were spread to some parts of the state, there was no need for a central institution for mobilization of labour. The local Sarakunan Noma in whose areas the farms were located provided the collective labour force, which was more of Aikin Tilas than Gayya. The teeming population of the villages provided adequate supplement labour to those of the Slaves and the Barori (clients) for the ruling class. Mahdi, A. ***Op. Cit***. Ph. D. P. 475.

143 Ferguson, D. E. ***Op. Cit.***

144 Ferguson, D. E. ***Ibid***. P. 224

considerably.[145] Such a development enhanced the basis for social stratification of the society, and of the tendencies, which translated into the Jihad movements of the early nineteenth century. The use of labour reached its peak in the nineteenth century. Apart from their numbers, their significance was also evident in their hard work.

The increase in population, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century in addition to the development and institutionalisation of the culture of individualism and private property ownership, changed the outlook of labour relation to that of a rewarded labour and brought about the establishment of new urban centres.[146] By this time there were a number of people whose only means of livelihood was by working for others as labourers. Such people were employed in large numbers, especially by the well to do members of the society for the purpose of agricultural production. Amongst them were the ***Barori*** (servants), ***Almajirai*** (students) who worked for their teachers and as ***Yan {odago***. In essence the conquest of Kano, as a result of which a colonial economy was established, found in existence not only an established political set-up but also a favourable economic atmosphere for the development of capitalist ideals of labour relations.[147]

1.5.3 **Administration of Taxes in Pre-colonial Kano**

The taxation system of the pre-colonial era was complex and varied within the emirates and in non-Muslim areas.[148] In Hausaland in particular there has been a system of formal taxation based chiefly on the Islamic laws and principles of

145 Though the role of the state in this was important, it favored mainly the ruling class. In addition to the utilization of labour, the state promoted the interest of the ruling class in terms of access to land, capital and exemptions from payment of taxes on the crops they produced. Thus the labour provided by the ***Talakawa*** continued to be important in the nineteen century, if not more than in the eighteen century. This was particularly the case because the institution of Gayya increasingly came to be dominated by the ruling class. Mahdi, A., ***Op. Cit***. Ph. D., 1982, P. 497

146 Mahdi, A. ***Ibid***. See also Fika, A. M. and Bello, S. ***Op. Cit.***

147 Tahir, I. ***Op. Cit*** P. 308 and also in Mahadi, A. ***Ibid.*** P. 480

148 Bitiyong, B. S., ***"The Contradiction of Colonial civilization and Feudal oppression in Nigeria: The case of the Non-Islamic Areas of Zaria Emirate." Seminar on Nigerian Economy and society since the Berlin Conference.*** Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1985.

justice, which was the ***ideology*** of the state especially after the Jihad. It also played a significant role in the processes leading to state formation in most part of Hausaland.[149] In the case of Kano the first form of taxes was a land tax which was collected early in the 13th century during the reign of Sarki Naguji who ruled from 1194 - 1247 AD.[150] This land tax required one/eighth (⅛) (12½%) of crops on the farms.[151] By the middle of the 16th century there developed an organized fiscal system and towards the mid 18th century was reported the existence of land taxes, produce taxes and market levies.[152]

Taxation in Hausaland continued under the Caliphate even though it had been one of the strongest points of the Jihadist against the old administration.[153] The revenue realized from the taxes approved by Islam (***Kharaj, Zakka*** and ***Jizya***) maintained the administration. In Kano, the Kharaj or land tax (k*u]in Kasa*) was imposed on all lands that were not brought into cultivation for the first time by the Muslims, be they Fulani or Hausa. Such lands will include those taken over by the Muslims after the Jihad and those owners converted into Islam.[154] Other forms of taxes used in revenue generation in the Caliphate included wealth from the property of those without heirs; lost property whose owner could not be traced; poll tax on all non-Muslims for protection and the tithe levied on the commodities sold by the infidels.[155] There were also the *Ku]in Gado* (inheritance fine), which amount to 10% of the estate of the deceased man and *Ku]in Sarauta* (money given

[149] Ferguson D., ***Op. Cit***. P. 200.
[150] ***Hausawa da MakwabtansuOp. Cit***
[151] Palmer, H. R. ***Sudanese Memoirs***, Vol. 111, P. 101.
[152] Okedeji ***Op. Cit***. P. 93.
[153] Mahdi A. ***Op. Cit***.
[154] Sa'id H. L. ***"Revolution and Reaction: the Fulani Jihad in Kano and its aftermath, 1807-1919***." 1978 P. 178.
[155] Bello Umar, ***"The Political thought of Muhammadu Bello (1781-1837) as Revealed in his Arabic writings, more especially al-Ghayth al-Wabl fi sirat al-Imam al-Adl."*** Ph.D., London, 1983, p 92.

to the emir or a village chief) on assuming a title. Charges were also made on fishermen (*Ku]in rafi*) and so on.

The *Zakkat* (tithe in crops and animals) made up another important source of revenue to the state and was paid in cash and in kind depending on the circumstances for the payment. Being one of the five pillars of Islam, the *Zakkat* was paid by all Muslim farmers and livestock owners as well as by anyone on whom it was obligatory.[156] Muslims in possession of livestock paid the *Zakkat* as stipulated in the religion.[157] The non-Muslims paid the tithe (Jizya) collected during the wet season when there is good pasture and the herdsmen settled.[158] What was realized from *Zakkat* was usually distributed to the *Mallams* in the locality in which it was collected; meaning that what was realized was not remitted into the treasury of the emirates. The *Jizya* on the other hand was paid directly into the state treasury.

Kharaj made up the largest source of revenue. This was basically referring to land tax, which was considered to be the property of the State. Thus in return for the use of land by the farmers etc. a token amount is paid in cash or in kind annually. The collection was done by the delegated fief-supervisors, later to be known as *Dagatai* (village heads). Such an assignment was the most difficult and complex in the pre-colonial administrative system of most emirates. This was basically because of lack of proper organization of the village set up, in addition to the general low level of earning of the people and lack of the needed information on population figures.

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[156] Sa'id, H. L. ***Ibid***, P. 179.
[157] A 2 year old Cow was given for each thirty herds of Cattle. A year sheep or goat for forty heads of goats or sheep. The Zakkat on grain crops stipulates that one bundle of grain crop in each ten bundles of either Guinea corn, Millet, and so on, be given.
[158] ***Ibid***.

Taxes kept rising with the succession of new emirs, which was occasioned by increase in the number of the members of the aristocracy and their followers.[159] Barth found that in the Kano emirate in 1851 a land tax of 2,500 cowries (approximately 5s.) was levied per head of every family annually. There was also tax imposed on most of the crops derived from irrigation and on which the *Zakka* was not levied. The levy was called the plantation tax. It was a very lucrative tax in Kano and Zaria emirates, but less prominent in other emirates. The plantation tax varied with the value of each crop and was apparently fixed on the principle of *Zakka*. The crops on which the taxes were levied in Kano were rice, cassava, tobacco, wheat, indigo, onions, sugarcane, sweet potatoes, groundnuts and beans. In Zaria the application of this type of tax was limited to sugarcane, onions, cassava and tobacco. The plots were taxed regardless of the size at 2000 cowries equivalent to 4s for sugarcane, 1500 cowries equivalent to 2s 6d for onions and cassava and 700 cowries equivalent to 1s 6d for tobacco.[160] Not only were taxes levied on land and produce, but also on all specialized trades and crafts, particularly in the urban centres.

Annual taxes on occupational groups such as blacksmiths, weavers, leather makers, and dyers increased in rate during the 19th century. Of these taxes on industries, that on dyers was the most lucrative. According to Barth, an annual tax of 700 cowries (approximately 1s. 7d) was levied on every dyeing-pit in Kano. He estimated that there were more than 2,000 pots in Kano alone. By the close of the 19th century the levy per dye pot varied from 6d to 2s in Kano, Katsina and Zaria. In this category can be added royalties paid on various articles sold such as taxes

[159] Sean Stil Wel, ***Op. Cit***. specifically mentions that each succeeding ruler comes up with his set of slave and other officials and by implication those disbanded will have to remain untaxed. To meet up the financial needs of the state, tax burden would then have to be higher on the poor peasant farmers.
[160] Smith, M. G. ***Government in Kano 1350-1950***, Boulder Colorado, West view Press, 1997, P. 94.

paid by butchers, grain sellers, vendors of food and natron in addition to a license fee.[161]

Jangali was among other forms of taxes retained by the Jihadist. Though usually ten percent (10%), it had in some district been decreased to three percent (3%) and in others, a fixed number of cattle were paid in lieu of a percentage tax.[162] The tax was not only levied on the nomadic Fulani (*Bararo'en*) but also on village herds (settled Fulani).[163] By the end of the 19th century the term tithe or *Zakka* had almost lost its religious significance and was mainly used for taxes on crops and land. Hitherto it made up one of the most important source of revenue for the Caliphate. The decline in significance was basically because of the general transformations going on in the Caliphate, e.g. the reappearance of the Sarauta system of the Pre-Jihad days, whose impact weakened and challenged the established structures and therefore made it very easy for the Imperialist conquest after 1900.[164]

Tax collections in the emirate commenced at the end of the farming season, at which time the Emir summon all the officials for instructions on the collection of taxes and the amount to be charged. The Hakimai on the other hand summoned their representatives (*Jakadu*) and sent them to the heads of the towns of their respective fiefs for tax collection. Information extends beyond to the smaller towns and hamlets when the *Dagatai* (town chiefs) summoned their aids (*Masu Unguwanni*) and directed them to commence the collection. Such an unorganised, unsystematic method of assessment and collection only ends with a

[161] ***Ibid***. P. 94.
[162] A two-year-old cow was given for each 30 herds of cattle and a year old sheep or goat for 40 heads of goat or sheep.
[163] ***Ibid***. P. 95.
[164] For details on the situation in Kano refer to Fika, A. M. The Kano Civil War ***Op. Cit***

record full of fraud and corruption where the officials corruptly enriched themselves at the expense of the State and the taxpayers. The most common corrupt act among the collectors was the over assessment and therefore the collection of more than the amount. While out of personal interest some able-bodied men and women were exempted for personal reasons and in return collect *gaisuwa* (gratification).

After collection, the revenue was sent to fief-holders in the metropolis that in turn paid it into the central treasury of the emirate, which in those days was simply the Emir.[165] On his own the Emir arranged for the building of palaces and for the purchase of horses and weapons for the protection of the emirate against any likely attack. Taxes were also considered the personal property of the emir. It is found that the Emir had the authority to give out as gift an area to a prince or princes to collect its taxes as a wedding gift.[166]

Generally taxes in Kano were paid at a higher rate compared to other parts of the Caliphate to meet up the administrative demands and also because there were quite few non-Muslim population to pay the Jizya (tithe). This established the fact that the people of Kano had a rough experience on matters to do with taxation. It is also indicative that colonial administration found it 'quite easy' with the people and the local authority since the institution of taxation had been with them and the structure to make it effective highly established.[167] It was with this in mind that the British organized their taxation systems in Northern Nigeria.[168]

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[165] ***Ibid,*** and also in I. L Sa'id ***Op. Cit***. P. 180.

[166] Discussion with Dr. Mansur Ibrahim Muktar. A historian of the colonial history of Kano, he has written his M.A. and Ph. D. theses on colonial administration of Kano and taught history for many years in the Bayero University, Kano.

[167] This is not saying that the people accepted all the intimidation's involved, but that it became easy for the colonial government to go a head and introduce their policies on taxation since there existed an

1.6 Conclusion

Kano, as an administrative set up existed for centuries. Over these years a system of governance that brought together a vast territory under an authority based on the powers of the emir and his subordinate officials was established. Regulatory bodies were put in place through which law and order were monitored and rewarded or punished. It was while on such a course that the dynamics within the Socio-economic and political organization of the state of Kano developed its own contradictions that manifested in the general transformations of the 19th century Hausaland. This transformation not only terminated the existence of a state structure, but also initiated the processes for the establishment of a new and more advance political system under which all the states of Hausaland were brought together under a single administrative control. Under the ***Amir-al-mumin*** stationed in Sokoto, a federated system of administration was put in place with emirs and other chain of administrators taking charge of the administration of land, labour and taxation. Not long into their history, the Caliphate expanded and developed to a point beyond its hold. Yet by 1903 when the Caliphate administration was brought to an end a culture of Socio-economic and Political organization was institutionalised which made the implementation of colonial policies feasible.

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authority ready to execute it at all cost. However the people of Kano and other parts of Hausa land resisted in many ways. In Kano in Particular, it was basically the continued urge to resist that gave birth to a Political organization called NEPU whose strong base was Kano and whose ideas remained the most radical in the politics of Nigeria to date. For detail on the relevance of NEPU refer to Y. B Usman and George A. Kwanashie, ***Inside Nigerian history*** especially the discussions by, Yerima Balla, Tanko Yakasai and Mazi Ikoku. See also Abba, A. ***The Politics of Mallam Aminu Kano; The examples of NEPU; and A Abba, Ph.D thesis titled "The Significance of NEPU in the Independence Struggle of Nigeria",*** 2001. See also Gowers, W. F., ***Gazetteer of Kano Province,*** P. 50, Also in Lugard, ***Annual Report 1904*** and Okedeji ***Op. cit***.

[168] Orr, C. ***The making of Northern Nigeria*** (2 edition) London, Frank Cass, 1965, P. 156.

CHAPTER TWO

Colonial Conquest, Establishment and Development of Native Authority System to 1953

2.1 Introduction

Chapter one examined the Pre-colonial administrative set up of Kano. It shows that because of its favourable geographical location Kano developed an economy that was the most viable within its region. It was in an effort to regulate and sustain this that a system of administration was put in place. Under the authority of the emir and a number of his lieutenants, a system was put in place that regulates socio-economic and political life of the people. More than just that because of the dynamics in the social set up the administrative structure was transformed into a federated system of the Sokoto Caliphate under an ***Amir-al-mumin***. It was while at this level of political development that the emirate of Kano, in particular and the Sokoto Caliphate in general was confronted by the forces of imperialism. This chapter discusses this encounter and its consequences on the economy and society of the people of Kano.

2.2 British Conquest: Reasons for and Implication on Pre-Conquest Administrative Structures and practices

Britain was the colonial power that conquered the Nigerian area. The conquest was part of the British imperial design that took its root from the revolutions in industry and society of the principal European powers of that time.[169] The consequences of this development were enormous. Changes took place in the structure of the societies, systems of communication, population concentration and urbanization in especially some major cities among the most developed European countries. As a result men and women born and bred in the countryside came to live together in crowded cities, earning their income, no longer as families or groups or neighbours, but as units in the labour force of factories. This took its root with a renewed expansion in agriculture from as far

[169] Roberts, J. M., ***The Pelican History of the World.*** New York, Penguin Books, 1976, 1980. Service R**.,** ***The Russian Revolution 1900-1927***, Macmillan Press, Great Britain, 1986, 1991, and 1999. Gough, H. ***The terror in the French Revolution,*** Macmillan Press, 1996

back as the middle of the 15th century[170] in the case of England but became outstanding from about the 1850th when specialized labourers were employed to work in the factories in place of serfs.[171] The nature of working conditions also changed and became more specialized with the introduction of new skills.

As part of these transformations, fresh sources of raw materials were exploited; new markets opened and new methods of trade were devised. Capital increased in volume and fluidity; the currency was set on a Gold standard and a banking system developed.[172] Many old privileges and monopolies were swept away, and legislative impediments to enterprise were removed. The State came to play a less active role as against the individual and the voluntary association. Ideas of innovation and progress undermined traditional sanctions as "men began to look forward, rather than backward, while their thoughts on the nature and purpose of social life were transformed."[173] The changes were not therefore reduced to industry alone, but also social and intellectual life. Indeed it was not all a story of success.[174]

The revolution was first in the terrain of agriculture whose success transformed the European society capable enough to sustaining a continuing rise in population.[175] Added to this were the many inventions right from the 1760's, which set in motion a new system with new dimensions in production of goods and services. The technical improvements did not, however, arise at this period by accident; it was indeed a product of continued experiments with various techniques.[176] With these inventions the victory of machine-work over handwork was won, in which workers were

[170] By the 14th century the major economic activity, even in England, which was one of the most dveloped of the European countries, was in agriculture and commerce. For details refer to Roberts, J. M. ***Ibid.*** 1980, P. 526.

[171] In England in particular most households were employed and paid as free labourers and probably a third or so of the peasants as well. One other marked feature of the new outlook was that the bonds of servitude became increasingly weaker while money economy continued to wax stronger penetrating slowly into the countryside See ***Ibid***. P. 490. See also Marx, K. ***Genesis of Capital***, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985.

[172] Italians invented much of modern accountancy as well as new credit devices for the financing of International trade. Limited liability appears at Florence in 1484, a year after the first modern Bank at Genoa. See Roberts, ***Op. Cit***.., P. 492.

[173] Roberts, ***Ibid.***

[174] The French *Jacquerie* of 1358 led to over thirty thousand deaths and the English peasant revolt of 1381 was so widespread that they successfully occupied and captured London. The roots of the rebellions centred on the way in which landlords had increased their demands under the spur of necessity and in the new demands for royal tax collectors. Combined with famine, plague and war they made an always-miserable existence intolerable***. Ibid.***

[175] ***Ibid,.*** P. 527.

[176] Dan Nabudare, ***The Political Economy of Imperialism,*** Zed Press Ltd. London, 1980, P. 53

driven by machinery from one position after another. One of the most noticed consequences was the growth in production, for example:

> "in 1785 the exports of British cotton manufactures were worth about £1 million while in 1830 they had risen to £30 million. The population employed in the industry rose from 350,000 in 1788 to 800,000 in 1806, in spite of the labour saving machinery. In value terms the raw cotton imports rose from £11 million in 1784 to £283 million in 1832. The number of power looms rose from 2,400 tones in 1813 to 55, 000 tones in 1829, 85,000 tones in 1833 and 223,000 tones in 1850. The number of handloom weavers fell from about 250,000 to just 100,000 by the early and mid 19th century."[177]

Changes in the textile industry were striking.[178] Production increased tremendously as a result. For example production which was only 75,000 tons in 1738 increased to 490,000 tons in 1817. While £101 million of wool was worked on in 1801, over £180 million were realised in 1835. Similar progress was also noted in other related industries of different European countries.[179] In other words any rise in wages relative to population was counteracted by the reserve army of labour and by each addition of capital in-put. The relevance of all these therefore was not in what actually happened in industry in Europe, but how the consequences of what happened sandwiched and brought together continents outside Europe into a relationship of subservience, domination and exploitation.[180] Therefore the development in industry in Europe especially its mechanization played both positive and negative roles. At one point it led to the growth in production and advancement in the art of the use of machines in the production process. At another point it played the role of stripping a large number of the active population of their means of livelihood.[181] In addition, the economy experienced tendencies towards decline in profit because of the failure of demand to

[177] ***Ibid.,*** P. 52.
[178] ***Ibid***., P. 53
[179] Kay, Geoffrey, ***Op. Cit***. P. 35
[180] Rodney, W. ***How Europe Underdeveloped Africa***, Bogle Ouverture, Publications, London, 1972; *Ibid* .,Kay, Geoffery, Op. Cit., P. 89
[181] Marx, K***. Op. Cit***., Genesis of Capital.

meet up with production and supply, especially as large number of the population could not afford the price.[182]

2.2.1 **Rationale for the Conquest of Kano**

The rationale for the British conquest was to avert the crisis of finance capital, which translated itself into the tendency for profit to fall and manifested in a struggle between monopolies and European states for sphere's of influence outside Europe. The purpose of this struggle was to pave the way for cheap sources of raw materials, monopolistic market, and profitable investment outlet, which led to the creation, and monopolization of foreign territories in the form of colonies.[183]

As a result, throughout the nineteenth century Britain waged repeated wars outside Europe.[184] The whole process culminated in 1884 at the Berlin Conference in Germany,[185] when the world was divided among the capitalist countries of Western Europe.[186] As far as Africa is concerned this was immediately followed by its penetration, which resulted in the scramble for territory during the late 1880's. The British declared a protectorate over the Niger Delta, and later expanded inwards to Igbo land, Benin and into Yoruba land in 1886.[187] Since then the world continued to witness massive increase in its export of capital to the protectorates especially in Africa and Asia to support the capitalist logic of expansion and domination for exploitation.[188]

British interest on Nigeria took a new dimension with the development of industrialization.

As made clear in the report by the African Association founded to explore the interior of Africa, the

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[182] Kay, G. ***Op. Cit***., P. 105-124

[183] It had to do so in order to provide solution to its internal contradiction and to keep the capitalist system going. For detail refer to Nabudere, D. ***Political Economy of Imperialism***, ***Op. Cit***., Part three.

[184] In the 1830s, for instance, the British fought in New Zealand and Cape Town. British forces invaded Iran and China. The Burmese were attacked and huge forces had to be deployed in desperate battles to suppress the revolt of the Bengal Sepoys and to re-conquer much of Northern India. See for detail Falola, T. in Marshall, P. J. ***The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British***, Cambridge University Press,, UK. 1996, P. 380

[185] The scramble was the meeting points of several interrelated developments, both internal and external. This set the parameters within which colonial policy in the newly acquired possession would evolve. See Mamdani, M. '***Citizen and Subject', Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism. Princeton Study in culture/power/history***, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1996, P. 37, ***Op. Cit.,*** 1996, P 37, For detail

[186] See Roberts, J. M., ***The Pelican History of the World, Op. Cit***., Hinjari, W. L. ***"The Continuing Scramble for Africa" Seminar on Nigerian Economy and Society Since the Berlin Conference, 1884-1885*****,** FASS, ABU Zaria, 1985.

[187] Anene, J. C. ***Southern Nigeria in Transition 1885-1906***, C.U.P., 1966

[188] Gromyko, A. ***The Overseas Expansion of Capital, past and Present.*** Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985.

intention was to establish a common ground with the people of the hinterland for commercial purposes, which the "mutual wants" and the "different productions" of the other continents have happily established. It was with a view to achieving this specific mission that Major Houghton, the third explorer was sent to ascertain the course and if possible the rise and termination of the River Niger.[189] Nigeria therefore became strategic in providing an inlet into the other parts of West Africa. Though most of these explorers hardly returned, reports of their findings established the existence of resources,[190] both human and natural,[191] quite relevant to the needs of the industrialized societies. In particular the report by Houghton revealed the prospects of trade to the tune of over eight hundred percent (800%) profit.[192] This justified the intensification of European activities and finally the conquest of the Nigerian area by the British.

2.2.2 **The British Conquest of Kano**

The conquest of Kano, like most other parts of the Caliphate, was by the use of military force.[193] This was after the expeditions against Bida, Kontagora, Bauchi, Gombe, Zaria and Yola.[194] The use of force in these areas was because of the nature of the aristocracy, which was highly institutionalized. Ubah's point of view is that the military factor was because the administrative system in Kano, basically Islamic in character, was deeply rooted with a very long history.[195] In fact he added that Kano's position on this matter was irritating and caused serious concern to the colonial administration so that the colonial office had to resort to the use of military might. In Okedeji's views, the use of force was in respect of a report by a committee (the Niger Committee) set up by the British Government in 1898 to look into the

[189] Crowder, M. ***West Africa Under Colonial Rule***, Hutchinson, London 1970, P. 24
[190] The abundance of palm oil along the West Coast was one of the attracting factors. Palm oil was important as a lubricant for industrial machinery, for making candles, soap, which had become all the more necessary for a nation notoriously averse to washing because of the dirt produced by industry.
[191] Travellers' accounts of especially Heinrich Barth highlights a lot on population density, the environment and so on. In a way such was the common outlook of the reports, for the simple reason of the desire behind the travels. See Barth, H. Vol. 1-3 ***Op. Cit***., for details.
[192] Crowder, M***. Op. Cit.,*** p. 24, 25 and 26.
[193] Robert Heussler, ***The British in Northern Nigeria***, Oxford, 1968, P. 19.
[194] In spite of the conquest, allegiance to Sokoto continued through the annual payment of tribute. This was openly acknowledged by Lugard, which to him clearly showed the commitment of the emirates to the Caliphate for its continuity. See ***C. O. 446/25, No.597, Lugard to C. O. 21-11-1902***.
[195] Ubah, C. N., also supports this in ***Op. Cit***., P. 64.

problems of effective occupation of Northern Nigeria.[196] The report recognized the power of the Caliphate and its emirates especially the emirate of Kano.[197] The readiness of Kano to fight has also acknowledged by most historians. Ubah noted the increasing fortifications of the Kano's defences by Emir Alu after the fall of Kontagora, Yola, Bauchi and Zaria[198] as one of the measures taken to avert any external assault. This was what the 'Niger committee' capitalized on and suggested a '*not general coup de main*' strategy of conquest, but a gradual and 'piecemeal policy of occupation'.[199]

In the British Imperialist conquest of the Caliphate, Kano appeared to be the main target. This was primarily because of its economic significance[200] and indeed its military position in the emirate.[201] Lugard's only explanation for the conquest was that, at a point, Kano gave ***Magaji Ian Yamusa*** *a* warm reception when he arrived at the emirate after he killed Captain Malony.[202] Captain Malony was the Resident Nassarawa province. According to Lugard by this act Kano had consistently shown enmity to the British and therefore deserved to be punished. This is however a mere excuse. As Adeleye put it, this phenomenon of killing a British colonial officer did not start and end with Kano. In October 1900, David Carnegie was killed in the village of Tawari in Kotonkarfi District. Lugard only considered a punitive expedition on that particular village with the purpose of restoring the

[196] Afeadia P. A. ***Sudanic Africa***, Vol. 5, 1994, P. 185-223
[197] Afeadia P. A. ***"The Hidden Hand of Over rule: Political Agents and the Establishment of British Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria, 1886-1914."*** Ph.D. Thesis, York University, North York, Ontario, 1996.
[198] Ubah, ***Op Cit..,*** P. 65.
[199] Okedeji, F. ***Op Cit.***, P. 47.
[200] Barth was quoted in 1953 calling on the British Merchants to establish their presence in Kano. See Backwell ***Op Cit.,*** P. 1, for detail.
[201] ***See Abdullahi Mahadi, The military and the economic nerve of the Sokoto Caliphate: an examination of the position of emirate of Kano within the Caliphate,*** Paper presented to the second International Conference on History of Kano, 1985.
[202] Adeleye, R. E***. Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906, the Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies,*** Longman, London, 1977, P267.

prestige of the British.[203] The same thing happened in 1902 when Christian Missionary Society (CMS) members, Reverend Bako and Samuel Obeiya were manhandled and the former died in the process. At the end Lugard only sent an expedition to Abuja where the act took place, and not to the whole of Nassarawa Province. And after the expedition, which wrecked vengeance on Abuja no open resentment was bothered about on the town.[204] A statement credited to Lugard two years before the killing of Malony provides an alternative explanation for British conquest of Kano and of the Caliphate in general. In this statement Lugard stressed that: "I hope before another year (1902) to be in direct touch with the great emporium of Kano and to have the trade route there to the Niger clear of brigands so that the whole of the trade may come straight to the Niger."[205] The same justification is found in a statement made by the British Secretary of State where he said that: "We shall get to the Hausa Country via Lagos long before the French".[206]

It is a fact that the French were by this period approaching the 'Nigerian' borders from the North. In addition these statements proved that the desire to conquer Kano had been in the British plan for a very long time. Thus greater part of the reports available in the colonial records, especially Lugards early accounts, was nothing but exaggerations of reality to justify the imperialist intentions.[207] Indeed the purpose was certainly not far from the need to facilitate trade and the search for raw materials.[208]

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[203] ***Ibid.,*** P265-267
[204] ***Ibid.,***
[205] Fika, M. A. ***Op Cit.,.*** P.146
[206] Hargreaves, J. D. ***"The European Partition of West Africa***", In A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, ***History of West Africa,*** Vol. ii, Longman, London, 1977, P. 409.
[207] Yakubu, Alhaji M. ***"An Aristocracy in Political Crisis: Zamanin Siyasa in the Nigerian Emirates 1939-1967",*** Ph. D., Oxford University, Oxford, 1995.
[208] Okedeji maintained that Kano was naturally a focal point of Lugard's attention in the northern emirates since its market was by far the most important in the Caliphate. See Okedeji ***Op Cit***., P. 52.

On the militaristic nature of the conquest, Lugard's defence was that it had to be so to avoid any failure, which could affect the prestige of the protectorate government.[209] Indeed Lugard opted for the use of military force because of information that reached his office.[210] According to the information Kano rebuilt its walls and made purchases of large quantities of arms from North Africa. Kano was also said to have accused Zaria of submitting to the European and supplying them with horses, to be used in the conquest of Kano and other parts of the Sokoto Caliphate.[211] It is therefore not surprising that Kano was threatened with a 2.95 gun.[212] In addition a company of mounted infantry also guarded Kano after the conquest.[213] Morland's estimation of the force defending the town was put at 800 horsemen and 3000 footmen.

During the course of the conquest of Kano troops were sent from all parts of the West African region, as reserves or reinforcements to Northern Nigeria. Troop movements connected with the expedition against Kano began in Zaria. By January 1903, mobilization was completed and the hostile gathering of nearly 800 troops

[209] Lugard put it that the adoption of a peaceful means would jeopardize the essential British interests in the territory. So conscious of the blame he would incur if the expedition failed, Lugard took more than usual care to see that the preparations in troops, arms and provisions were such as would ensure success. See Okedeji, F. ***Ibid,.***

[210] ***Ibid.***

[211] Fika, A.M***. Op. Cit.,*** P.147-148 Tukur M. M. stated that the vizier of Kano influenced the emir not to attempt to strengthen and fortify the city wall, the idea of rebuilding the wall was suggested by Sarkin Garko. The vizier also urged the emir not to entertain the idea of resisting the British. This might explain the state of confusion by the emir of Kano and his decision to migrate. For detail on this refer to Tukur M.M, Ph. D***. Op Cit***., P53, 54, and 57. See also Bello, S***. Op. Cit***., P75.

[212] There were only 8 such guns for the whole of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. It was therefore clear what Kano represented to the British. See Ubah, C. N. ***"The army of conquest and occupation of the Sokoto Caliphate 1897-1906". International Conference on the Caliphate and the Europeans. Op. Cit***., P. 4.

[213] The importance of mounted infantry to the British conquest and occupation can hardly be stressed although this has not been articulated in the available literature. Lugard recognized the need for a mounted unit early enough, and its provision was part of his original proposal for the establishment of the WAFF. The idea behind the establishment of a mounted infantry was that it would give more mobility in dealing with or pursuing any mounted force which might be produced in the Muslim Provinces.

started its long march to Kano.[214] Under the command of General Kemball, the then Inspector General of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) and the field commandant Colonel Morland, an offensive was launched on Kano Emirate with twenty six officers, thirteen non commissioned officers, two Doctors, eight hundred African rank and files. A number of weapons were used which included 475mm Guns and five Magazine Guns.[215] It also included the use of the heaviest artillery unit, yet it took several hours of shelling before a breach could be effected on the heavily built walls. Morland reported that the colonial troops found it particularly impossible to scale or batter down the walls and gates until when Colonel Dyer succeeded in making an opening at a gate half a mile further to the west. This possibly explains why Colonel Dyer suffered injury during the course of the conquest of Kano. It also explains why mounted infantry played the most important role in the war against Kano, of guarding the flanks of the British troops as the city was being assaulted. Indeed when eventually entry was effected the mounted infantry inflicted terrible casualties[216] on the defenders who were already in flight. Thus Kemball remarked that: "the vigour of the mounted infantry pursuit turned the defeat into a rout and the pursuit continued until the enemy was dispersed in all direction."[217]

Kano was occupied on the 3rd of February 1903.[218] After the fall of Kano the mounted infantry played a decisive role in the efforts to deal with emir Alu who was

[214] Ubah, C. N. ***Op. Cit***., P. 66.
[215] Tukur, M. M. ***Op. Cit***., P.57
[216] The casualties on the side of the Emirate were reported by Colonel Morland to be 300 killed including the Sarkin Shanu who died defending the palace. Others like the Sarkin Kunchi, Jahun, Aujara and Gaya fled the battlefield west ward. For details see Bello, S.***Op. Cit***., P84.
[217] "Kemball to Lugard, 9th April 1903", In Asiegbu, J. U. J. ***Nigeria and its British invaders 1851-1920,*** Enugu, 1986, P. 204
[218] Fika, A. M***. Op. Cit***., 1978, Smith, M. G. ***Government in Kano Op Cit., 1997***, Dokaji ***Op. Cit***t., Okedeji ***Op Cit,.*** P. 57.

thought to be returning from Sokoto with a large body of troops to retake his City.[219] It is uniquely emphasised that Emir Alu of Kano left for Sokoto while Kano was about to be attacked. One of the excuse was that he left for Sokoto four weeks before the attack to pay homage (salute) to the new installed Caliph, Attahiru. It is also found (especially in colonial reports) that Emir Alu wanted just to avoid witnessing what could befell Kano.[220]

Messages of appreciation were sent to Lugard from the British society, especially from among the merchant class who saw in that action a positive extension of their own interests. A representative of the merchant class by name Sir Alfred Jones (Chairman, Elder Depster lines), congratulated Frederick Lugard for having done what he called "a great deal in opening up central Africa for trade." The Secretary of State also congratulated Lugard for having performed wonders by accomplishing the military occupation of the important Hausa states within a very short time[221]. The relevance of Kano to imperialism is clearly articulated here.

Many factors contributed to the success over the Kano forces. In a statement credited to the messenger of Lugard (Suleman) the success by the British was attributed to the failure of the Caliphate forces to resolve on the line of action to take.[222] He added that, as at the time of the British conquest there was no strong leadership to organize a powerful force to challenge it. Rather, the leaders were busy debating on what decision to take.[223] Mukhtar however disagrees with the

[219] The highlight of the hunt for Aliyu and his men was the so-called battle of Kotorkwashi in which Lt. Wright, commanding a mounted infantry detachment made up of Lt. Wells and 45 rank and file, engaged a party of Kano people killing 65 horsemen, 11 of which were principal officers.
[220] ***NAK/Preovincial Gazettee Vol. Ii, Op. Cit., P. 26***
[221] Okedeji ***Op Cit***., P.57
[222] This was possibly because of the conspiracy of the merchant class. Ubah, C. N. has made a very interesting study of the whole development dealing with the conquest of Kano. For detail see Ubah ***Op. Cit.*** International Conference … UDU Sokoto. 1993.
[223] Johnson, The Fulani empire of Sokoto, ***Op. Cit***., P. 242-243.

position that the only option taken by the Kano people was that of a flight.[224] The issues of lack of training, marksmanship and fire discipline, (handling of arms and accurate shooting) were also raised even though neglected by most existing accounts on the British conquest of the Caliphate.[225]

Immediately after the defeat of Kano the old age rivalry within the ruling family commenced.[226] This further entrenched British control and success over the Kano community. It is the submission here that it was against the above development that Wambai Abbas, a senior member of the rival lineage *(Yusufawa),* submitted to Lugard through a messenger and accepted Lugard's terms so that his lineage would not be out place.[227] Lugard quickly sent his words of good intention through an African political agent, Kiari (***Kyari***), requesting Wambai Abbas to come along with his followers and to make sure that they disarmed and conducted themselves well.[228] This marked the beginning of the establishment of the Colonial State in Kano (Kumbotso inclusive), which became necessary because Imperialism needed a loyal structure to lean on for the effective and successful control and exploitation of the conquered territory.[229] No encounter took place around the territory of Kumbotso during the course of the conquest. Information from around Kumbotso highlighted that the colonial army of conquest passed through Kumbotso

[224] He drew attention to the massive acceptance of the ***Sufi*** order of the ***Tijjaniyya*** at that period of time as an option. The teachings in the order encourage members to shun all worldly things and resort to the search for Allah. See for detail M. I. Mukhtar MA. Thesis ***Op. Cit***., P. 72 and 222-223

[225] The view therefore argued that were the defenders of the Caliphate trained on near equal stand with the British the story could have been different. See Ubah, C. N. International Conference… ***Op. Cit***.,

[226] Smith, M.G. ***Op. Cit***., P. 398, Fika 1978, ***Op Cit.***

[227] Bello S. ***Op Cit***., for detail. According to Christelow, ***Op Cit.,*** P. 7, Abbas was rather recruited by the British.

[228] Ubah. C. N. ***Op. Cit***., 1973, P. 69.

[229] Bello S. ***Op. Cit***.,

territory enroute to Kano. It added that most of the people of Kumbotso fled into the City, long before the arrival of the British, to avoid attack.[230]

The occupation of Kano and all its surrounding villages including Kumbotso, made it possible for Lugard to impose what terms he wished without having to negotiate with anybody.[231] This at the same time meant that obedience to the Caliph was to be replaced by obedience to the colonial regime represented by the Resident and District officers.[232] In his own words Lugard remarked quickly that:

> "The British Government would in future [*from 1903*] be the suzerain of the country…exercising the right to appoint not only the emirs but the chief officers of state. [*Though*] rights of succession, nomination, or election customary in the country, would not as a rule be interfered with, but the High Commissioner would retain the right to veto, and the king or chief would lose his place for misconduct."

Proclamations that followed signalled the setting up of a new form and method of administration in the emirate. From its outlook, the new approach marked the loss of powers by the emir particularly on matters of law and order where the power of the emir to judge cases was stripped. The Resident was in return bestowed with the powers to supervise the running of the Emir's and the Alkali's courts. More so the power of the emir to collect taxes was put under control. On the other hand the colonial government became responsible for the collection of such taxes as the High Commissioner might see fit to pay for the cost of the administration.

[230] Alhaji Muhammadu Sani Na-ayya, Shara]a, 85 yrs, 27/12/2003

[231] Sokoto {the seat of the Caliphate} was equally not taken into account in all this, which meant that the very existence of the colonial regime was inconsistent with the preservation of the Caliphate as a political unit and the position of the Caliph was made ineffective.

[232] Ubah C. N. ***Op. Cit,.*** P. 71, and also in M. I. Mukhtar, MA. ***Op. Cit***.,

As a clear mark of their loss of powers the chiefs were warned that they had no right to their positions unless they rendered their proper services to the state.[233] The powers of the emirs and chiefs were further weakened when it was emphatically stated that: "… neither the emir nor any chief would be allowed to have recourse to armed force, and the Dogari would be abolished." This meant that if the emir wanted to enforce his authority over the subject population, like in the past, he would have to refer to the Resident, for in the British Government alone was to be vested the task of policing the territory. These and so many other laws made up the proposal in Lugards political memorandum that contained the detail of how the colonies should be governed.[234] Amongst some of the major policies read to a sections of the Kano aristocracy by Lugard includes:

1. Every Emir and the principal officers of state will be appointed by the High Commissioner.
2. All land and mineral rights were vested in the British Crown.
3. The coinage of the British will be accepted as Legal tender.
4. Taxation was to be levied and collected on behalf of the colonial state. Traders were not to be taxed by the Native Authority but only the colonial government.
5. Capturing and transactions in slaves were forbidden. Domestic slavery was left to continue.[235]

2.2.3 **Appointment of the first Emir of Kano under the British rule**

The setting up of the Kano Native Authority began with the appointment and acceptance of emir Abbas, then Wambai, to serve the British by signing the following Oath, that:

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[233] Lugard, ***Political Memoranda***, ***Op. Cit***., P. 191

[234] Mahdi, A. ***Op. Cit***., Smith, M. G. ***Op. Cit***., Dokaji, A., ***Op. Cit***., Ubah, C. N., ***Op. Cit***., Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit***.,

[235] Lugard, F. "Protectorate of Northern Nigeria 1906-1913, Annual Reports" ***Published E. P. Microfilm Ltd***, London, 1974. Available at Kashim Ibrahim Library (KIL) Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, P. 93.

> "I swear, in the name of Allah and of Muhammadu his prophet, to serve well and truly, **His Majesty King Edward VII**, and his representative, the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, to obey the laws of the protectorate and the lawful commands of the High Commissioner and of the Resident."[236]

As a result he was given a staff of office of the first class status with a formal letter of appointment. This established the supremacy of the British over and above that of the Emir or the Caliph in general. The supremacy of the British was further shown when the Union Jack was hoisted in the city of Kano, close to the Emir's palace, and an office was built to house the colonial officials. Thus the British victory over the Caliphate threatened the whole political setup, reducing the administrative establishment to appendages of the foreign power, politically, socially and economically. It began by reducing the Emir to a mere colonial servant who must take orders from a European official in the day to day administration.[237]

2.3 Establishment and Stages in the Evolution of the Kano Native Authority to 1953

The experience before the conquest was such that administrative power was highly centralized in the town with powers of control centred in the Capital City represented by the Emir and the respective fief-holders resident in the Capital. Among the prominent emirate officials of the time were Sarkin Bai responsible for [*anbatta* and *Kunci; Galadima for Fagolawa, Babura, Garki and Garin Go]iya; Madaki for Dawakin Tofa, Bici, [anzabuwa* and *Bagwai; Wambai* for *Gauro, Sankara, Ringim* and *Da~i; Barden Kano* for *Miga, Jahun and Aujara; Sarkin Dawaki Maituta* for *Goga, Kashe and Yelwa, Turaki Manya for Gera, Kura, Kiru* and *Bebeji; Makama* for *Wudil, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakargida* for *Birnin Kudu, Buji, Gwaram, Fagam; and the Sarakunan Gaya, Dutse, Rano* and *Karaye,* and *also the*

[236] Flora Shaw, ***Tropical Dependency***, 1964 P. 457-458
[237] A. M. Fika, ***Op. Cit***, Smith, M. G***., Op. Cit***..

Ciroma for Kano City (Kumbotso inclusive).[238] At the village levels were the village heads (*Sarakunan Gari*) and the *Jakadu* representing the respective fief holders. The *Jakadu* (sing. *Jakada*) were the messengers of fief holders who lived permanently in the city, and administered their respective fiefs through the *Jakadu*.[239] The *Jakadu* then reported to the fief holders in the City who, then, were responsible to the Emir. Administrative powers of control were therefore centred on the Emir, indeed around the palace in the city. The Emir was the highest court of appeal; he was responsible for the adjudication of all cases in the emirate. This was in addition to the emir maintaining his sovereign control of the land (*Kasar Sarki*). The position of the Emir under this arrangement was that of *'Uban Kasa'* (Father of the land). He served as the final authority and his court had the final say on all matters. This state of political affairs in the case of Kano had a very long history that had developed since about the 10th century, indeed not long after the establishment of the Bagauda dynasty. It started with the introduction and institutionalisation of a number of political and administrative titles, prominent among which were the titles of [*an-Buram, [an-Isa, [an-Baba, [an-Kududufi* and [*an-Akasam*,[240] whose responsibilities were to serve the emir in all capacities. It is here clear that the authority of the Emir was well established and institutionalised as at the time of the conquest that we could suggest that it would be very difficult for an outright submission of the Emir to foreign rule. Thus uptil the end of 1908 there was no effective central administration structured and controlled with checks and balances.[241]

2.3.1 **Kano under Resident Cargill**

[238] Bello, S. ***Op. Cit***. P18. See also Map of some major fiefs in the 19th century Kano, as in Appendix A1.
[239] Tukur, M. M.***Op. Cit.*** P.337
[240] Dokaji, A ,.***Op. Cit***. P.13.
[241] C. N. Ubah, Ph.D., 1973 ***Op. Cit*** P. 122

Processes towards setting up a colonial type administrative structure in Kano commenced with the appointment of Dr. F. Cargill to serve as the first Resident Kano in 1903.[242] His duties were spelt out clearly in Lugard's Memorandum among which was to supervise the governance of the emirate by the local rulers. One other important organ of administration at district levels was the offices of District officers and Assistant District officers. The Northern Protectorate as a whole was faced with insufficient number of political officers sent for such a purpose. As noted by Hill,[243] 52 political officers were saddled with the responsibility of administering the Protectorate, at all levels. Such a number was insignificant considering the population and territorial extent of the Protectorate that at the end of 1903 the Colonial Office considered increasing them to 16 per province. Yet Kano Province remained understaffed with only 12 political officers in 1907 and a total of 17 in 1909. Sir Piercy Girouard once remarked that Kano Province required at least 40 political officers for an effective administration of the area. This explains why Kano remained under native assessment for up to 1910-11 with no tax assessment report of the period earlier than 1910-11. Indeed this gave Cargill an upper hand in the administration of Kano to the extent that the Colonial Office reprimanded him in 1907 for spending too much time on tour.[244] Cargill's tenure, which lasted to 1908, marked an important period in the setting up of colonial administration in Kano. This started when Emir Abbas appointed into positions of prominence his sons and relatives to fill in the vacuum created as a result of the flight by some of the emirate

[242] This was after the division of the Caliphate into a provincial and divisional administrative arrangement. See Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit***. Ph. D. P. 162.

[243] Hill, P. ***Population, prosperity and poverty; Rural Kano 1900 and 1970,*** Cambridge University press, London, 1977, 24.

[244] ***Ibid***. P. 26

officials after the 1903 encounter.[245] What put the British off the arrangement was the attempt to bring back the old set up that support absentee rulers (fief-holders), tax gatherers *(Jakadu)* and disconnected areas of jurisdiction or what Lugard referred to as the three evils.[246] The 1904 land revenue ordinance which directed the Emir's to pay over ¼ of their revenue to the Government was indeed the first blow on the local administrative set up. On the other hand the 1906 native revenue proclamation that authorized the Resident to assess the taxability of the people (of the emirate), appoint District and village Heads to collect taxes and punish evasion and exertion sent the message down to Emir Abbas that his powers were open to real challenge.[247] Indeed the district chiefs assigned with responsibility of over-seeing tax collection in their respective districts left the work to their underlings and slave *Jakadu*. The tax season of 1906/07 was better controlled as the district chiefs were forced to settle in their territories of jurisdiction for the collection. Such however did not go well with Emir Abbas as he could not resist the temptation that such among his district officers have regained their independence from his authority.[248] This act signalled to Resident Cargill the need to check the perceived excesses of the Emir as against his growing political influence and powers. This was however part of the process for the establishment of a central administration, that is of trying to set up a structure that would agree to a separation of powers, a process which was not as easy as had been thought by the colonial authorities.[249]

To begin the process and to check the perceived powers of the Emir, Resident Cargill introduced further changes in the general outlook and

[245] M. I. Mukhtar, ***"The Impact of British Colonial Domination on the Social and Economic Structures of the Society of Kano 1903-1950"*** , MA Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1983
[246] Lugard, F. ***Political Memoranda, Op. Cit***. 180-182.
[247] Perham, M, Native Administration in Nigeria, ***Op. Cit***. 52
[248] Fika, ***Op. Cit***. P. 196
[249] Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit***. p. 175-1176

administration of the Emirate since the problem was noted to be that of the entire system of authority. The British on the other hand wanted to make authority territorial, so that every member would be subordinated to the same official. It was simply an attempt to put in place a single institution responsible for both tax administration and collection.[250]

This began with the execution of some colonial policy programs on territorial reorganization to help in the assessment and collection of taxes.[251] Tax was the first most important revenue base of the administration; it was therefore used to serve as a justification by Resident Cargill. Emir Abbas as earlier mentioned saw it as a trick against his powers, because reorganization meant loosing out his powers of control to other people, some of whom were his relatives and indeed heirs apparent. Therefore the attempt, according to Emir Abbas, was no less than to decentralize his authority and possibly bring to an end his administration.[252] The political and administrative outlook by this time (1903) was such that beside territorial chiefs such as that of Rano, Gaya and Dutse and Karaye, the bulk of the territory under Kano was parcelled out in scattered bits and pieces among fief holders resident in the Capital City.[253] The task of reorganisation was therefore one of the first attempts at decentralising the administration, taking it away from the Centre, and devolving the powers by way of allowing political entities at the District and Village levels to run their affairs and only report back where and when

[250] Alkali, I. A. ***Op. Cit***. P. 236-7

[251] The desire was not just for Tax collection but also to find out the available raw materials in these areas.

[252] At the beginning Abbas was very much willing to work with the British, but such attempt by Cargil made him take a more rebellious attitude.

[253] See Map as in the Appendix A.

necessary. Simply put, denying Emir Abbas the right to monopolise the leadership control to his children, which was his main concern.[254]

Resident Cargill went ahead with his program and divided the Kano territory into groups of villages (*Gunduma*) with the exception of the Kano City and assigned each to the control of a District Head. The method of distribution was such that the most important chiefs were placed in districts further from the Capital. The respective district heads were in addition given the executive authority to collect taxes and to maintain law and order.[255] Next in the reorganization was the devolution of power. At the onset a slave official *([an rimi Allah bar Sarki)* replaced Prince Abdullahi Bayero from his position as the vizier *(Waziri),* and therefore a senior council member. Added to this was that the powers of the Waziri were strengthened, a development that extinguished the powers of existing slave officials. And when two senior district representative chiefs, *Madaki* and *Galadima*, were brought in to form a council with delegation of powers a new dimension emerged in the administration of Kano. Functions were assigned to all the supporting offices, with the Vizier (Waziri) concerned with the legal matters, the Madaki with district affairs, the *Galadima* with Kano and local affairs, while the *Ma'aji* was concerned with the treasury.

The *Waziri* functioned as a senior member of the council and was *'Primus inter pares*' rather than Prime Minister. On legal matters he functioned as the chief legal adviser. Outside the council the Waziri with a staff of *Mallams* supervised the returns of the judicial council and the district courts. This involved looking through

[254] Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit***. P.
[255] Emir Abbas felt quite uncomfortable with these developments. At last he succeeded in controlling the situation by influencing the appointment of most of his loyalist among those to take charge of most of the newly created districts.

the minutes of meetings, and the routine checking of fees and fines and the entering of cases. The *Madaki's* office performed the two functions of district administration and revenue. At district levels he represented the Emir in all such matters. He undertook tours in the districts on behalf o f the Emir and occasionally accompanied the Resident or District Officer. The *Madaki* had no power to punish a District or Village Head, this being emphatically the Emir's prerogative. In addition he also prepared taxes from the data submitted to his office. The office of the *Galadima* on the other hand functioned to look after the following departments through an appointed head. Among the departments were prisons, sanitary, police, building, markets, city wards, Sabon Gari, education, medical, public works, veterinary, surveying and printing, water and electric light. The Ma'aji was the last of the four who was only made a member of the emir's council in 1931, and functioned as the custodian of the finances of the emirate. In his routine duties he controlled the machinery for the disbursement of monies and the receipt of the revenue of the emirate. All requisitions to incur expenditure had to pass through his scrutiny.[256]

Similar changes were made at district levels. Right from the days of the conquest, there existed a number of territorial chiefs under the suzerainty of Kano. Such were for example, Gaya, Dutse, Kano, Karaye and [anbatta. In return for their assistance in war and tribute their position and control over their own lands was practically guaranteed by the ruler of Kano. More districts were created which decentralised the system of administration and freed the districts from the control of the central administration. This was after 1908, a period which marked the end of the fief districts in Kano. District headmen as a result assumed the new role of sub-accountants to the treasurer and were responsible for the supervision of all

[256] M. I. Mukhtar***, Op. Cit***. P85

departmental works in their districts, and for the proper disbursement of money.[257] In addition every district had an Arabic Mallam attached to serve as clerk. This indeed increased the number of the administrative staff over and above that of the former system.

Just as there existed District units under the administration of Kano; there also exist some number of villages, sub-villages and hamlets under the Districts administration. Administrative units ranged from large walled towns to a collection of few huts.[258] This administrative outlook had to change in response to the needs of the time. In its place a new structure was created carrying with it a more defined function. The object according to the British was to develop a "responsible" Village Headman. And as the Villages grew in population the desire developed for the recognition of hamlet headmen within a village, which meant the continuation of another link between the Emir and the peasant.[259]

The laid down regulations stipulated that village Headmen must be selected from among the actual village people and that they should have some claims by heredity or otherwise to the rank and above all that they should be approved of by the Village Elders. The Village Headmen were the local executives responsible for the collection of taxes and for law and order and the suppression of crime under the direction of the district chiefs who were supposed to respect their authority and work through them. At the same time practical necessity often involved the District Head in taking orders into his own hands, where the village Head turned out weak or ineffective.[260] The relevance of the village administration was such that they

[257] HCB Kano/1931/628 ***Ibid.*** Par. 13.
[258] HCB Kano ***Ibid***. Par. 20.
[259] ***Ibid*** Par. 21.
[260] HCB Kano ***Ibid.*** Par. 23.

represented that arm of political control directly linked with the peasantry. No doubt the burden of all their activities went to the peasantry. Indeed it is on record that illicit taxes were collected and other forms of exaction were introduced to sustain the structure.[261] Various atrocities were met on them in the name of upholding law and order, and or maintaining peace.

Generally not much was achieved by these changes in terms of checking the powers of the Emir. This was because, in the case of Emir Abbas, he succeeded in influencing most of the appointments made by assigning the responsibilities to his trusted kith and kin.[262] This further entrenched Emir Abbas's position in the colonial administrative system to determine and influence the day to day activities of the new political setup and to continue to dictate to the Resident. The 1906 revenue proclamation act designed to control the administration of tax couldn't make much impact as it was crippled by lack of adequate European manpower. This failure on the part of the colonial administration fashioned Emir Abbas in a better position to comfortably control colonial policies in tax assessment and collection. Resident Cargill who seemed to be a supporter of a direct rule system of administration found Emir Abbas's attitude irritating and indeed a challenge to His Majesty's constituted authority. Lugard had since sensed this from the manner the Emirs accepted the British over lordship. He responded that: "such an allegiance may have been no more than a pragmatic acceptance of the inevitable." It was also one of his convictions that victory in war does not mean automatic acceptance of British

[261] Bello, S. ***Op Cit***. P. 103.

[262] For example most of those appointed were either from among his slaves or relatives. Out of the total number of the appointees 16 shared the same background with him, 3 were given to his slave officials, another 3 to his political loyalist and the rest to the clan leaders who were customarily associated to the administration. Fika, Published, 1978, ***Op Cit***. P.116

rule.[263] Respective emirs therefore continued to express their resentment at British interference in the control of their emirates in one form or another.[264] Responding to the situation, Cargill went ahead without the consent of the provincial office and assigned to the respective District and Village Heads the task of the collection and assessment of taxes. Hitherto, the assessment and collection was under the care of the Emir through his non-resident District Heads and the *Jakadu.* This new arrangement therefore reduced Emir Abbas's political and territorial claim.

Continuing with his programs, Cargill as earlier mentioned demoted Abdullahi Bayero from the position of Waziri to that of Ciroma and assigned him to take charge of the newly created home district. Abdulkadir, the younger son was removed on the ground of being very young age, and later sent to school to further his education. In place of Bayero as earlier mentioned, Emir Abbas's most loyal slave ([an Rimi *Allah bar Sarki*) was appointed to serve as the Waziri.[265] It needs to be noted that the post of Waziri under the Caliphate had been a scholarly position that attracts people from among the Jurists or learned persons.[266] It is important to note that *Allah bar sarki* was a key official in implementing emir Abbas's strategy

[263] H. R. Palmer who was in charge of tax assessment in rural Kano in 1907, claimed that 'any act of friendship to us is blacklisted-in the case of Sarki by dismissal from his post, in the other cases by thieves being sent to plunder their houses or if simply Talakawa by simply ill treating and taking away their goods. For detail refer to ***Palmer, H. R. to Festing, A. 5 September 1907, SNP, 15/3/377***

[264] In Katsina the resentment was shown during Lugards tour of the conquered areas in 1904. Lugard had to depose the then emir on the ground that he had persistently given the administration headache. In Bauchi and Gombe the Emirs refused to take public oath of allegiance to the British when Lugard visited in 1904, See Lugard, ***"Collected works***" quoted in Okedeji ***Op. Cit***. P. 59. It is my opinion that the response of emir Abbas was also along the same line. As noted by M. I. Mukhtar, other members of the community also responded in their different ways depending on their understanding. He reiterated that the predominance of Sufi order in Kano was one other way of showing displeasure with the British conquest and domination. For much detail on this refer to M. I. Mukhtar, ***Op. Cit***. 1983, P. 72 and 222-223.

[265] Kwaru, I. A. ***Op. Cit***. P.7.

[266] V. J. Parry, and M. A. Cook, ***A history of the Ottoman Empire***, Oxford, London, 1957. P. 20, quoted in }waru, I. A., "***Waziri Allah bar Sarki 1865-1917: A neglected Personality in the Political History of Kano"***, M. A. Dissertation, UDUS, 1991, P.30. See also Lovejoy (et al) ***Op. Cit***. P. 7.

of passive resistance.[267] *Allah bar Sarki*, a senior slave official was by this appointment 'promoted' to the position of chief adviser and general intermediary between the British and the Native Authority.[268] While it appeared very clear that the effort was all out to frustrate Emir Abbas and to weaken the aristocracy, which Temple's notes also attested,[269] Resident Cargill, in his defence argued that the position had equally never been for the son of the Emir. He added that *Allah bar Sarki* was granted his freedom before his appointment and that the appointment was based on merit.[270] Resident Cargill was also of the opinion that there was no way a son could serve as a competent adviser to his father. According to Fika, the removal of Bayero had more to do with his over bearing attitude to some of the junior colonial officers which Cargill believed, if allowed, would ruin the essence of the British conquest.[271] Resident Cargill also suspended the powers of the Emir's judicial court leaving the Alkali as the final court of appeal in the native judicial arrangement. In addition subordinate courts were created in all the districts and with an Alkali to take charge of them all.

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[267] Lovejoy, ***Ibid.*** P. 14

[268] In M. G. Smith's opinion Resident Cargill only pressed emir Abass to replace his senior son with somebody from the post of a vizier which he said was inappropriate for the son of an emir. Abass in return appointed one of his most loyal slaves to the post for reason best known to him. See Smith ***Op Cit***. P.424

[269] Temple (et al) ***Op. Cit***. 1993, P. 10

[270] According to }waru (***Op Cit***.) *Allah bar Sarki* was not caught as a result of any war between Kano and Ningi, but as a result of what they refer to as ***Sumame***. He added that quite unlike what some other sources have said *Allah bar Sarki* did not belong to the Warja people known to be pagans. Kwaru stressed that Allah bar Sarki could be from among those few families who as a result of some disagreement with the established authorities took refuge in some of the non-Muslim areas. See Ferguson D. F., ***"Nineteen Century Hausaland; Being a description by Imam Imoru of the land, economy and Society of his People***", Unpublished, Ph. D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973, P. 229-230. This is attested from the name of *Allah bar Sarki* which in all sense appeared to be Islamic (Muhammadu). It is important to note that Kwaru is from among the family of Allah bar Sarki, meaning that his defence could have been for a purpose as there is not in existence any source on the history of Kano that disagrees with the slave status of Allah bar Sarki. See ***Op. Cit***. C. N. Ubah, Ph.D. ***Op. Cit***. 1973, A. M. Fika, ***Op. Cit***. Ph.D, 1974, Bello, S.***Op. Cit***.Ph.D., 1983, M. I. Mukhtar, ***Op. Cit***. MA. 1983 and so on.

[271] Fika, A. M. Published 1978, ***Op Cit***. P122

In response to Resident Cargill's reorganisations colonial officials were attacked,[272] under the instigation by the ruling elites, in areas as far as South-eastern and Western Kano,[273] so much so that the government had to deploy forces to bring the situation under control.[274] On his own emir Abbas removed a number of Hakimai for having relationship with the British. Palmer added that emir Abbas succeeded in pocketing all the Barrack staff for the purpose of getting up to date information of any other plan or programme from the Residency.[275] Acting Resident was reported to have gone to the extent of deporting one of the emir's slaves for being a party to the emir's intrigues against the British.[276] Isa Alkali Abba however argued that the violent response against Cargill reforms was peculiar to Kano. In the case of Gombe no such response took place, possibly due to the absence of a strong political culture as at the time of colonial conquest of the area.[277] In spite of all that this must have caused, the fact remained clear that the powers of the traditional institution were real; only that it was decentralised. This submission is on the ground that it was the Native Authority (NA), subject to the Residents control and supervision, which had in its hands the actual governance of the people. But that it was through the NA that administrative orders and other instructions of the protectorate government were to be communicated to the people.

2.3.2 **Kano under Resident C. L. Temple**

[272] Polly, Hill, Population Prosperity.. ***Op. Cit***. P. 36-42. See also Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit***. 172-173.

[273] Western Kano has very long history of revolt against of revolt against constituted authority that goes back to the days of the Jihad. Among the villages in Western Kano that protested and attacked colonial personnel were Bagwai, Yanoko, Danzabuwa, Dunbulum and Getso. For detail see Mahadi, A. ***Op Cit***.

[274] It is the belief here that the removal of Cargill from office has very much to do with these developments in addition to his ill health. See Fika, A. M. ***Op Cit***. 1973, P. 106-7, 225-226.

[275] For details on the misgivings between the Kano palace and the British officials especially Palmer refer to Lovejoy (et al) ***OP. Cit***. P 13-14.

[276] The slave is called *Maifunfa* who acted as a go between in the Residency. Festing's findings suspected him of being a spy. For detail refer to Festing A. Kano Report No 35, 1907

[277] Alkali, I. A. ***Op. Cit***. P. 240

This marked the second stage in the processes leading to the setting up of the Native Administration system in Kano. The task was indeed given to Resident Charles Lindsay Temple[278] who quickly replaced Resident Cargill's reforms especially those to do with appointment. Temple found support and encouragement from Governor Girouard[279] and Major Alder Burdon, the secretary to the colonial government of Northern Nigeria. Burdon at a point questioned the legality of, and wisdom of most of the measures taken by Cargill.[280] According to C. N. Ubah, after the departure of Cargill, the colonial office considered it expedient to find someone that could prevent the undermining of the emir's powers and bring to an end a situation that might have been embarrassing to the British. Captain Orr was first nominated, but for his ill health.[281] The appointment of Temple is therefore agreed by some historians to have been with a view to safe guarding the interests of the ruling class.[282] A foremost advocate of Indirect Rule, Temple held the belief that: "[What] is needed is to shore up the authority of the Fulani emirs, advising them behind the scene rather than dictating to them."[283] It was at this point that the British colonial officials were reminded that it had been the British position since the Satiru revolt that special attention be devoted by way of insuring political parity, to cultivate increasing loyalty of the emirs.[284] Lugard issued this out to the British officials. By this, Provincial and Divisional officers were forbidden from giving

[278] Charles L. Temple (b. 1871) was Resident in Bauchi, Sokoto and Kano at various times between 1902 and1913. He was Chief Secretary of Northern Nigeria from 1910-13 and Lieutenant Governor from 1914-17. He died in 1929. For detail refer to Lovejoy (et al) C. L. Temple Notes on the History of Kano" In ***Sudanic Africa, A Journal of Historical Sources, Vol.4, 1993, Special issue on Kano,*** P. 8.
[279] Ubah, C. N. ***Op. Cit***. P.122.
[280] Burdon had once opposed military operation against Sokoto and Kano in 1903. He was no doubt a staunch supporter of the Fulani. See Fika, Published 1978, ***Op Cit***. P.124-125.
[281] Ubah. C. N. ***Op Cit***. P. 123.
[282] This position found support in Christelow, ***Op Cit***. P. 7. Ubah added that Temple was in principle committed to Lugard's theory of indirect rule and in favour of retaining Abbas in office. See Heussler, ***Op Cit.*** P.59-60.
[283] Ubah, C. N. ***Op. Cit***. 1985, 50-69, and also P. 123 and in Heussler, ***Ibid*** P. 59-60.
[284] Lugard, ***Political Memoranda, 'memo. No. 5: position of the chiefs***', P. 191-192.

orders or commands to the emirs. Lugard added that colonial policies must ensure that: "the prestige and influence of the chiefs are upheld by letting the peasantry see that Government itself treats them as an integral part of the machinery of administration."[285]

Therefore the appointments of successive Governors (Percy Girouard[286] 1906-1909 and Hesketh Bell 1909-1912) after Lugard, were guided by the attempt to actualize this specific goal of working in collaboration to achieve the colonial aim of naked exploitation and domination of the colonized people. Thus during one of his visits to Kano, Girouard reaffirmed that the colonial authority would not, he warned, tolerate disloyalty or disaffection toward the emirs.[287] It was in this respect that Temple derived his additional courage and commitment. The commitment during this period was not even to rule through the native emirs but ruling on native lines.[288] This established that the power of administration of the colonies at the grass root was with the traditional institutions.

Resident Temple started with the reorganization of the central emirate executive with a view to reorienting it to believe that for the system to work the Emir deserves particular respect. On the other hand the Emir was made to understand that his council members and other heads of the respective districts and village units, while truly under his control should relate with him fairly. It was in this respect that all the native officials were barred from having direct contacts with any of the European officials without the consent of the emir. Resident Temple

[285] ***Ibid***
[286] Girouard in particular was a believer in the beneficial effect of strong paternalistic European rule in Africa which would allow African societies to develop in their own way rather than in attempts to mould them in imitation of European societies.
[287] ***SNP 6/5, No. 44/1909, Report No. 39 for March 1909.***
[288] ***Ibid***

reverted the appointment of ***Allah bar Sarki*** to his slave position of [***an Rimi***.[289] This decision was in line with Burdon's position, which stressed the inappropriateness of what Cargill did as having no basis in the established tradition. The position of the Waziri went to the former Judge (Gi]a]o).[290] Certainly Gi]a]o played an important role not only in formulating Emir Abbas's legal policies but also in seeing them through effectively.[291] *Allah bar Sarki* was removed because of his sudden acquisition of powers and arrogance to the emir and other members of the council.[292] A loyal person, Ma'aji Auta a scholar and an experienced administrator of the Bait-al-mal (the emirate treasury), was appointed the second confidential adviser to the emir. Also in the council of advisers were a group of Ulama, or Islamic religious scholars. This made the council more conscientious in its adherence to justice than it had been when dominated by the slave officials.[293] The Emir's powers on judicial matters were also resuscitated. To go by this new arrangement the *Waziri* was given responsibility on all matters relating to the Judiciary at the central and district levels and in return to report to the emir.[294] In addition Abbas was assured that provided he did all that he could possibly do the colonial administration would give him all support and assistance. This restored

[289] The level of frustration of Emir Abbas is clearly shown considering the statement he made when the governor visited Kano, Emir Abbas met him at a point nine miles from the city. Shortly afterwards he (Abbas) asked him "whether it was he (Abbas) or the Waziri (***Allah bar Sarki***) whom he recognizes as the Emir of Kano." The first indication that Waziri had fallen from power, to the people, was that he came back on foot, not on horseback. Another version recorded maintained that no punishment was meted on ***Allah bar Sarki*** after his removal because he was found wearing his slave short knickers (Bantai or Warki) which was noted when he was stripped naked.

[290] The wisdom of choosing Gidado seems to be confirmed by his long tenure in office, see Dokaji ***Op Cit.*** 1978, P. 90.

[291] Christelow ***Op Cit***. P. 12.

[292] He was moving about with Praise Singers, in particular one of his Praise Singer by name **Soko** (clown) composed a specific song in which he insulted the Emir and justified the ***waziriship*** of **Allah bar Sarki**. The song run as such: "*Mamman Fadar Turawa, Mamman Fadar Jajaye, Wacce Maka nadin Bature ne, A cikinsu Wa Mahadi ya nada. (This literally means Mamman, he who owns and control the seat of power of the Europeans (colonialist), whosoever challenged that your post of the Waziri is European, ask to find, who among all the NA officials was turbaned by the Mahadi.* See ***Mss. Afr. S. 230, Par. 46-47,*** Rhodes House, Oxford, for detail.

[293] Christelow, ***Op. Cit***. P. 12.

[294] ***Ibid*** Par. 51-55

sanity in the system and succeeded in winning the support of Emir Abbas to colonial rule. According to Temple, his efforts were meant to bring back Indirect Rule into its proper context.[295] He therefore drew the attention of the emir's officials that the presence of a European administration should not be understood as putting an end to the allegiance, which they owed the emir, nor should it affect their established patterns of relations. With his powers restored Emir Abbas reciprocated by co-operating in the new district scheme. Good will and understanding continued between the British and the 'native rulers' in Kano.[296] The message was made clear to the emir that the power of administration at the local level lay in him and that the district and the village heads remained his representatives in their respective localities.

In 1909 Girouard was appointed Governor of East Africa (Kenya) and in his place Hesketh Bell was seconded. Bell had served in the British colonial office at Uganda and was said to belong to the most orthodox Colonial Officials. His greatest credit, as a colonial officer, was that: "…he was content to follow policies which show themselves to be successful."[297] His appointment at this time was therefore geared toward enhancing the urge for establishing a favourable atmosphere that would support and recognize the powers of the traditional institution. Under such circumstances therefore he followed the advice given to him by the Resident on matters that concerned native administration. Like Temple his concern was to make

[295]According to Temple the principles of Indirect Rule should be to guide and not to create. See Kirk-Greene, ***Op Cit.*** P.53-54.

[296] Temple, at the end arrested the centrifugal tendencies which had tended to destroy the emir-ship and with it much of the traditions of administration in Kano. His tenure led to the inauguration of a new phase in the administration of Kano and put in motion certain trends which, were not again arrested. At the end his own method came to be accepted as guidelines for the future administrators of Kano and other emirates. The main teaching in his model was that nothing should be allowed to stand between the British on the one hand and the loyalty and power of the emir on the other. C. N. Ubah, ***Op Cit***. P130

[297] Okedeji***, Op. Cit***. P72.

sure the system carried along with it the traditional practice. Such a combination of like-minds made colonial policies comfortably worked out with little or no disagreement. It was after this that Governor Bell came out with his priority list in which emphasis was on proper accounting of the revenues collected. This marked the establishment of the Native Treasury (*Beit-el-mal*), and of the processes for the amalgamation of the two protectorates. The former also paved the way for the creation of a system just like the civil service in which all the Native Authority officials were listed and paid salaries at the end of the month for a stated scheduled. The payment of the salaries was made in the following order:

District Heads [related to Emir]
1. Galadima £200
2. Wambai £240
3. Ciroma £1000
4. Turaki Manya £550

District Heads [not related to Emir]
1. Madawaki £1000
2. Makama £800
3. Sarkin Dawaki mai Tuta £420
4. Barden Kano £160
5. Sarkin Bai £260

District Heads [formally subject to Hakimai]
1. Sarkin Rano £300
2. Sarkin Dutse £380
3. Sarkin Gaya £250
4. Sarkin Karaye £600[298]

Salaries were also introduced at village levels from about the1916. This was after the departmentalization of rural administration based on the new territorial demarcations. Amongst the departments were the prisons, Sanitary, Police, Buildings, Markets, City wards, Sabon Gari, Education, Medical, Works, Veterinary, Survey and Printing, Water and Light and, Roads.[299] Each of the department was managed by a chain of

[298] Smith, M. G. ***Op. Cit***.
[299] For details on the functions of the departments refer to Smith, M. G. ***Op. Cit***. P. 466.

bureaucracy, a number of which were headed by Europeans.[300] Administrative structure at both emirate, district and village levels took this outlook and made up the means through which administration was carried. To this effect village units were reconstituted and reduced to 500 homogeneous units from 4000, to make administrative control easier. The territory of each new village unit was demarcated in such a way that it would contain about 4500 people, possibly for the purpose of tax collection.[301] This was made workable from about 1916. In about 1921 a significant change that increased the number of the units to 1200 was made with an average population per salaried Village Headman of 1600. The salaries paid per annum amounted to £24,000. Salaries were paid to the Village Head through his District Head. This arrangement led to serious problems in which so many reports showed that the payment was not always on time. By the 1930's Village Heads were made to draw their salaries directly from the treasury and were paid quarterly instead of monthly.[302]

The emirate continued to enjoy relative 'peace and order', which provided the needed atmosphere for British rule. This started from about 1910 and set the ground for the introduction of some agencies with the responsibility for carrying out colonial policies. Thus the establishment of technical Departments like those of Forestry, Public Works, Health and Agriculture**.**[303] It is interesting to note that most of the founding members belonged to the aristocratic class either as children of slaves or from among the direct descendants.[304] Among them includes Makaman Kano Bello (Education, Middle school headmaster), Alhaji Dan Shazali (Survey

[300] Amongst the ones under the control of European personnel's were Education, Medical, Works, veterinary, Survey and Printing, Water and Light, and Roads. Refer to ***Ibid*** P. 467 or details
[301] M. I. Mukhtar, ***Op. Cit***. 1983, P. 88, 94 and 95
[302] ***NAK/438/Annual Report on Kano Province, 1930***, P. 6.
[303] ***Op. Cit***. P. 92-93
[304] This information is from an interview with Sarkin Fadan Kano Alhaji Sule Gaya. He was born in 1925 and has been all his life working around the palace.

Department), Abdulmalik (son of Gaya district head, Agriculture), Mallam Rabiu (Veterinary), Police (Galadiman Kano Abdulkadir, Kabiru Bayero, Ado Bayero, Sani Gwarzo, Mahe Bashir Wali), PWD (Mudi Kazaure, Shehu Kazaure, Shehu Mai Mota, and Sule Yakasai), Health (Hakimin Ungogo, Mallam Abba Wamba) and so on. Others include more lately people like Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule who was from a slave background, yet a very important member of the Kano Native Authority. Native Administration thus began to act without fear, indeed the District and Village Headmen no longer carry favour with palace favourites nor did they have to organize contributions to meet up their expenses. Emir's council became more conscious of its position as advisers to the emir.

Primarily this opened up Kano society to respond to the needs of the colonial economy when infrastructures meant to facilitate the movement of goods and forces were put in place. Such an administrative outlook broadened the political ground and extended the role and functions of the native rulers to participate in actualizing colonial policies. By 1914 and after, especially with the completion of the construction of rail lines that linked the societies and economies of the Nigerian area, there developed traces of the establishment of a common 'national economy', which added another dimension to the powers of the 'native rulers'. It was while in this course that the World was faced by a period of conflict (First World War 1914-1918), which badly affected the British economy. The aftermath of the War was followed by some reorganisations in the administrative set up. This transferred the control of the departments to the native administration, which therefore strengthened the position of the emirs above that of the departmental personnel.

In Kano, the war led to a serious decline in the number of European colonial personnel. Emir Abbas as a result consolidated his control and became more autocratic.[305] It was at this period that the Kano Native Authority came into full operation. This was on the understanding that it was at this period that both the British and the 'native rulers' reached some level of understanding on nearly all issues. The British recognized and accepted the powers of the emir over and above his subordinates, while in his own case the emir reciprocated by agreeing to the devolution of powers, and especially the creation of the institution of Native Treasury which came into effect from 1909. In addition a councillor system was constituted. Known and called the Judicial and Executive Council, it consisted of the Emir, Waziri, Ma'aji, Alkali, Imam and four other Mallams. This council acted as the Supreme Court of appeal for all cases arising within Kano emirate. Though given the powers as a committee, Emir Abbas and his slave officials usurped most of it and with that handled most of the executive decisions alone.[306] Quite against the design by Cargill, Emir Abbas succeeded in retaining his slave officials especially where his senior officials proved uncooperative.[307] To each district therefore a representative ***(Mu}addas)*** was appointed in the city and matters relating to his particular district were communicated to the emir through him (slave official-}*ofa*). No doubt this put the slaves in a more informed position than any other person in the administration. In addition to that the slaves virtually usurped the role of even the Waziri, making him remain so only in name.[308]

2.4 Further Consolidation of British Control over Kano 1919-1953

[305] The period witnessed a number of dismissals of all those Emir Abbas was suspicious of, though it started since about 1910, the fact remained that it started at a period when Emir Abbas's powers was assured to him by Resident Temple. For more on this see M. I. Mukhtar, ***Op. Cit***. P. 235-236. See also Fika, A. M***. Op. Cit***. P. 230-237.
[306] Ubah C. N. ***Ibid***. P.133.
[307] The basic fact is that Abbas succeeded in controlling the slaves under full control that they ceased to be of concern to the British. See Ubah C. N***. Ibid***. P. 135
[308] Ubah C. N. ***Ibid***. P.135.

Before the death of Abbas in 1919[309] the British had succeeded in setting the processes toward establishing its hold over the emirate system. The tenure of Emir Usman (1919-1926) provided the needed atmosphere and basis for the consolidation of British control of Kano.[310] This was because of his old age and frequent illness which gave the British a conducive and enabling environment. After the death of Emir Abbas, the British had the option of supporting Ciroma Abdullahi who was younger and more dynamic. This was in addition to his closeness to the deceased on matters of administration and of the fact that he was his first child. Instead the British opted for Wambai Usman 'very old and conservative'. To make sure Usman succeeded, the British changed the composition of the electoral council to his favour and gave the office of the Waziri a very important consideration. The tenure of Usman (1919-1926) brought in a period of embezzlement, tax defaulting and a general increase in crime.[311] Hanger's on and slaves took over the control of the Native Administration and the emir's favourites usurped official duties. This was also the case in the judicial sector with frequent cases of injustice which innocent people were subjected to. Generally the reign was characterised by a break down of law and order, which also affected the system of indirect rule. It is the belief here that the British decision to support Usman's candidature was deliberate considering the socioeconomic and political condition of British society of the Inter War years, which could not sustain any challenge or confrontation from the colonies.

A quick study of the economy and society of Britain in the inter war years reveals that it was to their advantage to sustain a weak leadership at the level of the colonies. This was because of the decline in supremacy of the British society and

[309] According to one source the Emir was hit to death by one of the British political officer. For detail see Ubah C. N. ***Ibid*** P137-141
[310] Ubah, C. N. ***Ibid*** P.135.
[311] Fika. A***. Op. Cit***. P. 230-237, C. N. Ubah ***Op. Cit,P. 135*** etc.

economy in the World and the success within the Socialist bloc.[312] To the British this therefore meant that there had to be a full and total control of the colonies. It was in response to these that the British supported a weak leadership in the colonies. Thus when the electoral council could not come up with an acceptable candidate at the end of their deliberations, Resident Gowers (the then acting lieutenant governor of the protectorate and the substantive senior Resident of Kano) selected Wambai Usman on his on.[313] No wonder the British got a field day and venture into a number of reorganizations among which included the removal of palace slave officials from their positions (*Kofofi*-PL, *Kofa*-Sing,). It also constituted a new council with the Waziri as the senior member. Others included the *Madaki,* and the Sarkin Bai. This committee of noblemen was given the function of advisers in the emir's council. Initially the slave officials usurped this position because of the peculiarity of the administration of Emir Usman.

The period of emir Usman witnessed significant developments in the field of the economy. Available colonial records show that this started long before the tenure of Emir Usman, but reached its maturity during his reign.[314] Agriculture remained the main stead of the economic activity with the peasantry providing the bulk of the out put. The concern generally was on cash crop production which indeed characterised economic activity through the 1920s. This did not however commence immediately until with the construction of the railway which assisted in

[312] The country's national debt grew to an alarming state. Britain went from being an international creditor to a debtor. The country's volume of industrial production dropped and the competitive capacity of British goods on the world market fell. These economic difficulties led to increased tension in the political life of the country. The British proletariat joined in the political struggle with huge demands that called for an improvement in their conditions of service.[312] Specifically the British working class requested for the nationalization of the main sectors of production and for the implementation of democratic reforms. Mass demonstrations continued especially in the period 1917-1918.

[313] ***S.N.P. 10/7, no. 318p/191, Report no. 57, 30 June 1919***.

[314] Kano Report, quoted in Hogendorn J. S. ***The Origin of the Groundnut Trading in Northern Nigeria,*** 1966, P.129

diverting the trading activity away from the route across the Sahara[315] and marked the end of the concern over the trade in potash, domestic clothes and hides and skin. This was after the initiative which saw the establishment of branches of the Niger Company in Kano and other northern centres, and therefore marked the outright exploitation of raw material resources from the area. The new found demand in cash crop provided the Kano economy and society with an alternative to expanding their labour on trading and food production. According Sir Charles Orr, this started with the opening of the Jos plateau tin mines which attracted a number of ***Kanawa*** between 1906-1911 due to the daily good wages amounting to six pence (6d). Cotton production was another economic activity that attracted a lot of the ***Kanawa.*** Cotton production was not introduced to the Kano people by the British. The production of cotton has a very long history that explains the growth of textile industry in the area. British merchants encouraged its production especially in the period 1900-1913. Among the major centres of cotton production were the towns of Kura, some 22 miles south of the metropolis, Garko, some 15 miles to the south-east, and Dawaki ta Kudu some 15 miles south of Kano. Much of the cotton used in the textile industry in Kano city was produced from the land area around the Kumbotso District.[316] This was in addition to providing all the needed food items of the city. As noted earlier, Kumbotso and its respective villages provided the farms for the ruling class and other rich city dwellers.

The Kano economy was transformed from the mid 1920s with groundnut production taking the lead. The origin of this development went beyond the completion of the railway line that linked the hinterland with the coastal region.

[315] The trade across the Sahara was already doomed with the increasing attacks by the Tuaregs which plundered the Caravan travelling to and from Kano. See Fika, A. M. Ph.D., ***Op. Cit***. P. 317

[316] Interview with Alhaji Isa Tajo

With the rail line the total quantity of groundnuts exported throughout the Protectorate increased by over one hundred percent (100%), i.e., from 1,179 tones to 2,518 tones in 1911 and 1912 respectively.[317] In the later part of the 20th century Groundnut from Kano alone increased to about 675,000 making about 50% of the national output annually.[318] Thus by 1913 available colonial records showed the increasing penetration and settlement of interest groups and European companies, specifically the Niger Company and John Holt of Liverpool. Arab traders (mostly Lebanese) and others followed later, counting to about 18 in the period 1912-13.[319] As noted earlier ownership of land was not immediately transformed by the colonial authorities. This made land remain within its pre-colonial outlook until after the establishment of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, which marked the processes towards incorporating the whole society into the imperialist hold. The 1910 ordinance of the Land and Native Rights proclamation set the process on when it nationalised all the lands in the protectorate. It also gave the Governor power over all lands whether used or unused, subject only to the native law and custom. To remain in full control of the land and to encourage peasant attachment to it the British gave the inhabitants the right to use the land for productive purposes (cash crop production), and not to sell it. In essence this meant that there was no freehold or personal ownership of land as such. Freed slaves were also given land free. It was this, in addition to other factors, which explained the boom in groundnut production between 1911-1930s. It was also this gesture, which gave land freely to especially the freed slaves that provided justification for taxes charged on acreage rather than the customary tax collected on compounds. On the other hand it was the urge for

[317] Modibbo, A. M., ***"European Trading Companies and the Underdevelopment of Northern Nigeria, 1855-1939: The case of the RNC/UAC".*** Ph.D. ABU, 1985, P. 228.
[318] Tahir, I. A. ***Op. Cit.*** P. 52
[319] ***Op Cit***. P. 130, 231, 233.

cash crop that translated itself into new labour laws for the purposes of mass production and road construction.

By about the commencement of his tenure (emir Usman) therefore, Kano society experienced a boom in its economy and in the amount of money in circulation among the people. This showed the emergence of new classes of rich men and women, people in control of 'real cash'. This was indeed a fact as the period witnessed the increasing penetration into the Kano economy by especially the peasantry under the pressure of colonial taxation and the monetisation of the economy. Emir Usman died in 1926 and was succeeded by *Ciroma* Abdullahi Bayero. Information from the provincial office maintained that his appointment was explained by his excellent performance as a district head in the collection of taxes, his uprightness and his ability to implement colonial projects.[320] Yet the authority had to compel Bayero to accept some basic conditions before they could support his candidature. Among the conditions given to him was that 'the traditional system of administration through household slaves is now dead and should on no account be revived in any shape or form.[321] His attention was also drawn to the fact that public business should no longer be left at the mercy of some few palace functionaries. In keeping with this the emir set free all the palace slaves. In addition he settled all their financial entitlements.[322] *Ciroma* Bayero accepted the conditions to allow the

[320] This supports our position that the British succeeded in tricking the Kano establishment. Abdullahi Bayero noticed that the only option was to submit to the wishes of the White man if he is truly interested on the throne. Thus he went a head and championed Imperial policies to their satisfaction.

[321] ***SNP17/8, No. K.105 Vol. 111, Provincial Annual Report 1926.***

[322] Ubah, C. N. ***Op Cit***. P. 143. Emir Bayero's magnanimity goes beyond what could be seen and judged from the intellectual arena. It has to be seen within a certain force ordinarily hidden, but very much existing, in the context of his position as a Sufi. His submission to the British after the death of Emir Usman could be seen in this context also and not just as a sign of total submission and commitment to the white man. A close discussion with a Sufi Scholar of the Tijjaniyya order, Sheikh Uba Safiyanu Dorayi revealed that Emir Bayero's submission saved Islam and the Sharia in Kano. This was primarily in the way the Sufi brotherhood gained an established hold on Kano. Sufi brotherhood according to him remained one of the only single way through which closeness to God is entrenched

departments to carry the responsibility of running the state. His tenure marked the period in which mutual cooperation or collaboration was achieved.[323] The emir administered the state through his councillors with the *Waziri* playing the role of senior adviser on all issues especially those on legal matters.

2.5 Administration of Colonies at Higher levels

Native Administrative structure was not reduced to the administration at the lower levels. Authority extended to Provincial, Regional and to what appeared as Nigeria after the amalgamation of 1914. Thus the administrative set up was such that political control was exercised from the lower to the higher levels. At Provincial level the Resident was in charge, assisted by the District Officers and other Departmental Officers of the Native Authority. The Regional Authority based in Kaduna was under the authority of the Lieutenant Governor and later the High Commissioner with direct responsibility for colonial administration in the Northern Provinces. Under the system of Indirect Rule as applied in Northern Nigeria, there existed an executive authority administered through executive machinery at the upper level represented by the Governor General in Lagos down to the Resident, District Officer and Assistant District Officer. These officers functioned at their respective levels to maintain law and order, collection of taxes, construction of roads or recruitment of labour for public works.[324]

At the highest level was the Chief Commissioner and his departmental heads, who decided and control the overall policy and initiated, under their control,

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through the love of His prophet, Muhammadu (peace be upon him). He concluded that the submission by Sarki Abdullahi Bayero to the British was part of *Tauhid* (submission to the Almighty God). Notwithstanding, as a result of his submission the administrative structure took up on a sound footing.

[323] A. M. Fika, ***Op. Cit***. P. 352

[324] Kwanashei, G. A. "***The Development of one-North Phenomenon in Northern Nigeria 1900-1965***," Ph. D. Thesis, ABU, Zaria, 1992, P. 17. For detail on the development of the Native Administration system in the North and its place in the British administrative structure refer to Fika, A. M. The Kano Civil War ***Op. Cit***.; Tukur, M. M. ***Op. Cit.***; and Perham, M. Lugard.. ***Op. Cit***.

such projects as railway construction which could not be undertaken by any individual Native Administration. The administrative structure was therefore simply that of self-contained entities, as opposed to a highly centralised one, with the Lieutenant Governors entirely responsible to the Governor General in Lagos. To manage each of the offices as bureaucratic set up, subordinate offices were also provided as that of the Private Secretary, a Secretariat, and other departmental offices like Political, Medical, Public Works, Forestry, Agriculture, Education, Police, Prisons and Mines.[325] A number of these departments were on the other hand controlled by the Chief Commissioner through the central departments of for example the Railway, Military, Audit, Post and Telecommunication, Judicial and Legal, Survey and Treasury. Of importance to note is that although the Governor General had overall powers of control in relation to the policies pertaining to Native Administration, the actual control of the Native Administrations remained with the Chief Commissioner (High Commissioner) and their political officers.

The above arrangement succeeded in establishing an amalgamated political set up with a more nationally coordinated administrative outlook, but not united, which formed the basis for the innovations under the Clifford era.[326] The concern was therefore to open up and introduce the regions to a more rational administrative control whose main goal was the attainment of certain objectives. For example the economy had to open up to accept not just African non-natives but also Europeans.[327] The new outlook was therefore such which was goal oriented in which administrative control was transferred away from the offices of the local administrators to the office of the Chief Commissioner, assisted by Secretary for the

[325] Kwanashei *Ibid.* P. 17
[326] Kwanashei ***Ibid***. P. 21
[327] ***Ibid.*** P. 22

Northern Provinces. On the other hand the departmental offices were to serve as the machineries through which routeing activities are carried across the administrative divide.[328] Hence the control of land, labour and taxation became more professionalised and centrally coordinated to serve colonial interest. In a way the Clifford era set up the processes for the establishment of a more centrally controlled secretariat from Lagos. This effort further secularized the non-political departmental offices and smoothened the processes for a united Nigeria achieved after 1953.

2.6 **Conclusion**

The chapter discussed the processes that led to the establishment of British colonial administration as it relates to Kano emirate. It has shown that the society and economy of Kano was dynamic even before the contact with the Europeans. However the conquest changed the general outlook of the social set up and introduced a new system of administration under which the administration of land, labour and taxation was redefined to cater for the Imperialist interest. A system of administration was put in place whose purpose was to have full control of production especially peasant production, which was the main stead of the economy. The conclusion in this chapter is that it was in an attempt to achieve this final goal of setting an effective administrative structure, for the purposes of enhancing the proper control and exploitation of the economy that districts were created and processes for their administration were established.

[328] See for details Elias, T. O. ***Nigeria: The Development of its Laws and Constitution***, London, 1967; and ***Ibid***. P. 21-28

CHAPTER THREE

Evolution of Kumbotso District 1916 - 1953

3.1 Introduction

Colonial conquest was not as objectless and non-rational as Schumpeter would want us to believe.[329] As made clear in the preceding chapter Imperialism was a well organised and systematized system that involved not only conquest but the establishment of a workable structure for the purposes of ensuring effective exploitation of the economy and people of the area concern. Thus with the conquest of Kano emirate by the British forces in 1903 effort was made at establishing a system of administration in which the local authority was given the mandate to administer giving due respect to colonial authorities. Specifically therefore, this chapter examines issues relating to the administration of districts in Kano with special reference to Kumbotso ([*an Isa*) District. In more precise terms, the chapter deals with issues on the creation, development and administration of Kumbotso District 1916-1953. The aim is to document the British system of administration for the purposes of colonial domination at district levels. It shows that 1953 was indeed an important period that marked the terminal period for the administration of districts through the system of Indirect Rule.

[329] Schumpeter view Imperialism as an atarvism, meaning that it was an aggressive expansionism which has no objective beyond itself. In other words Imperialism cannot be explained in terms of any concrete interests, economic or otherwise. For detail on his position refer to his essay 'Zur Soziologie der Imperialismus' translated by Heinz Nordon and edited by Paul Sweezy, with the title, ***Imperialism and Social Classes***, Harvard University Press, 1951. A summary of the main ideas on Schumpeter's position can be found in Ake, C. ***A Political Economy of Africa***, Longmans, Ibadan, 1981, 1982, P. 22.

3.2 Territorial Administration and the Creation of Districts by Kano Native Authority

After the conquest of Kano in 1903, the British were faced with two basic exertions. First they were confronted with great confusion over the territorial arrangements. The territorial arrangement was not organised in any order, whether of geography or economy. For example in Kura district of Kano, it came to the notice of the British that a certain town referred to as Ciromawa contained around 309 compounds. These compounds paid their taxes to different *Sarakunan Gari*.[330] The same was experienced in all the emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and other independent states.[331] For example in the case of Gumel emirate its territoriality extended across to as far as the Niger Republic.[332] The same was the situation in the Kumbotso District in which was found that most of the farm owners were resident of Kano City. Indeed over eleven villages of [an Isa fief District (Kumbotso) close to Kano paid ***Hurumi*** to the City. As a result the payment of taxes was always with confusion as to where to pay to.[333] Secondly, the British were faced with the problem of meeting the expenses of administration.[334] Government's attempt to back out from financing the colonial administration was first made in 1905-06. Thereafter the imperial Government continued to reduce its expenditure and directed the colonies to think of other options for the finances. Lugard's submission to the Secretary of State offered suggestions of a way out. Principally, Lugard requested for the introduction of a means of generating revenue from within. The British found this suggestion quite impossible without effecting some reorganization in the district administrative system.[335] This marked the beginning of the processes that led to the creation of the British District administrative system in the emirates. The philosophy was therefore to initiate an alternative means through which the administrative machinery could sustain itself by getting down to the peasantry.

[330] Out of the 309 compounds, 179 paid their taxes to the headman at Kadawa, 30 at Ringimawa, 21 at Garin Babba and 16 at Garin Mallam. In Garin Mallam out of the 454 compounds only 303 paid their taxes to the chief of the town. 23 paid to the chief of Kampawa, 28 to Ringimawa and 104 to Jobawa. The same was what obtained in Bebeji too.

[331] Tukur, M. M. ***Op. Cit***. P.339-342.

[332] Waziri, D. ***"The establishment of British over rule in Gumel: A study of political administration 1903-1939"*** M. A. BUK, 1999.

[333] SNP/7 ***Op. Cit***. Information here raised so many issues of confusion of especially the ***Gandu*** settlements where you find the owners, mostly from among the royalty, did not reside there, but rather the slaves. For detail refer to Par. 54-58.

[334] Smith M. G. ***Government in Kano 1350-1950***. West View Press, USA, 1997, P. 413.

[335] According to Tukur, the British viewpoint was that, what was on ground was in no 'sense a system on which to base anything like an elaborate scheme of taxation'. See Tukur, M. M. ***Op. Cit.*** P.342 for detail.

The development of district administration started when Cargill divided Bayero's former fief district into the newly consolidated administrative district of Dutse, Gaya and Jahun with each as a district headquarter. {araye district was carved out from the Sarkin Dawaki Maituta fief district. This reduced the total number of the districts to 14.[336] At the final stage, Cargill directed all the appointed fief district heads to relocate to their permanent base (places of abode). This made the territorial chiefs responsible for the assessment and collection of taxes in their respective areas of control. It also marked the beginning of the establishment of the District administrative system. In the case of the Kumbotso District, these developments saw its transformation from [an Isa fief-district, to a sub-district under the Ciroma fief-district, controlled by [an Isa Mamman Mai Ruwa. This was after Resident Cargill abolished the arrangement that was based on slave fief districts. Further development saw the regrouping into a single large Home District[337] of ten smaller fief districts nearest to Kano City, Kumbotso inclusive.[338]

3.3 Creation of Districts

As noted earlier the system of administration in the Emirate of Kano prior to 1903, as in other emirates within the Caliphate, was organised along the line of political patronage and clientele.[339] Thus what was prevalent then was a system in which the ruling family always endeavoured to increase the number of its clients among the *Talakawa* by treating them fairly well whenever in office.[340] Status and wealth accrued to those who could attract dependents or followers, strangers were therefore welcomed because they enhanced the prestige and often the labour force of the household, kin group or community; this possibly explained the frequent migrations during those early periods. The ruler therefore played the role of an adviser and consultant, but not a dictator. The administrative power of such ruler consisted mainly in the right to allocate land, but it was a right

[336] They include Danbatta, Dawakin Tofa, Dutse, Fogolawa, Gaya, Gwaram, Gwarzo, Home District, Jahun, Karaye, Kura, Rano, Ringim and Wudil. See Ubah, C. N. ***Op. Cit***. Ph. D. P. 200.
[337] They include Ja'idanawa, [an Buran, Dan Iya, [an Amar, [an Mokoyo, [an Iya, Barde Kerarriya, Mai Mindibawa, [an Kande, Tafida, [an Tube and [an Isa (Kumbotso). See Bello S. ***Op. Ci***t., Pp.18.
[338]This arrangement were all not supported by Emir Abbas that immediately after the removal of resident Cargill, Abbas reversed some of them or turned them to his advantage. For detail see Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit.*** P. 190-196
[339] Tibenderana P. K. ***Administration of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungun Emirate under British Rule, 1900-1946,*** Ph.D, University of Ibadan, 1974. P.340
[340] ***Ibid.*** P.340

exercised through a double consultation: with (sometimes) counsellors, but primarily in consultation with the wider community, for the ruler was 'the custodian' of the land, not its proprietor.[341]

Predominantly the smallest unit of administration was the compound. A collection of compounds made up the ward, with a ward head playing the role of a leader. The ward in turn formed the basis of territorial administration. The village was the next administrative stratum comprising a number of wards and group of villages under the political and economic control of a village head. In addition to its political position, the village also played some economic role, that is, when considered as a fief with a fief holder. This description highlights the nature of social and political relationships in Kano on the eve of the British conquest. What the British therefore met on the eve of the conquest were emirs and big territorial chiefs, including the former garrison commanders' resident in the capitals of the emirate from where each controlled a number of villages, located in different parts of a given Emirate. Amongst the territories were those under the administration of Alkali, Barde, Ciroma, [an Iya, [an Rimi, Madaki, Turaki, Sarkin Rano, Sarkin Gabas, Shamaki, Sallama, Sarkin Dawaki Maituta and Galadima.[342]

The argument by the colonial authority was that the system in operation in Kano was so porous to allow for 'transparency and accountability', thus the need for reorganization of the administrative machinery. To begin with Governor Lugard therefore directed his administrative staff to catalogue the forms and units of local taxation and territorial administration with a view to sorting, simplifying, and reforming them for effective administration of the Districts. This was against the practice (as noted above) in which the Hakimai who administer scattered towns and communities in the form of fiefs delivered taxes to the emirate. This indicates that any attempt at reforming the taxation system most equally involve a reorganization of the whole territorial administration. Moreover, for administrative efficiency, indirect rule required that the boundaries and internal organizations of these districts must coincide closely with the traditional units of appropriate size and compactness. To effect these changes Residents and Divisional Officers were directed to investigate and record details of fief administration and allocation within the emirates under their control in order to devise a new structure of compact territorial districts, administered by local chiefs directly

[341] ***Ibid*** P. 45
[342] Fika, A. M. "The Political and Economic Re-orientation of Kano Emirate, Northern Nigeria, c. 1882-1940", Ph.D. University of London, 1973, P. 426

under the Resident ***Hakimai***.[343] The aim of the British, according to acting Resident Goldsmith of Sokoto, was to have a system that would be more realistic and self accounting in its control of rural areas that would "simplify administrative supervision" of local rulers by the British.[344]

It is worth noting therefore that the idea behind the territorial reorganization was not Cargill's own design as some writers claimed.[345] It was, to our understanding, part of the general design to make indirect rule succeed. According to Lugard it was part of a design to do away with the *Jakadu* and the slaves[346] from holding public roles in administration and tax collection. This idea found support in what F. Cargill said about the position of the fief holders. According to him, the fief holders might turn out to be of more real use when given directives than the 'slaves' and the ***Jakadu.*** This was because fief holders are men of refinement and understanding, and could hardly get involve in such abuses as the ***Jakadu*** and the slaves."[347] Also according to Lugard, the *Jakadu* were an added political and economic burden to the administration, since with the compact territorial arrangement the respective territorial chiefs in each district would be responsible for tax collection and the administration of their districts.[348] As finally summed up the idea was to create 'responsible' village headmen whom the British would trust for the administration of taxes in those respective villages.

It is however important to note that the ***Jakadu*** were part of the political culture of these societies. Indeed as discussed earlier at a point in the history of the emirate administration the emirs relied on them for the administration of the village units.[349] The British on the other hand were bent on doing away with them, primarily because of their motive, which had more to do with reducing costs and appropriating any form of gain possible. Tukur was very critical of the British position on the *Jakadu*.[350] It is clear from his study that the British had another important motive for wanting to do away with the *Jakadu*, one of which was that they needed to have those from among the

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[343] ***Ibid***. 410.

[344] ***Ibid.***

[345] Fika, A. M. "***The Political and Economic Re-orientation of Kano emirate……***" Ph. D., University of London, 1973 and Ubah C. N. ***"Administration of Kano Emirate under the British: 1900-1930"***, Ph. D., University of Ibadan, 1973.

[346] Lugard's objection to slave executives was that by virtue of their status they enjoyed immunity from public complaints and protest that they could exploit their public functions at will without much fear of punishment.

[347] Tukur, M. M. ***Op. Cit***. P. 410.

[348] ***Ibid*** P.411.

[349] *NAK/1932/628/Annual Report Kano Province 1931. Par.20.*

[350] Tukur M. M. ***Op. Cit***. P.398

privileged ones to serve as their agents and spies.[351] The best way to do this was to create a class of redundant people from among those who were in the business of governance. The ***Jakadu*** and the ***{ofofi*** became the main targets, and a lot of them were recruited and did serve as spies for the European officials.[352]

The option as designed by British imperialism was therefore to take the form of making all the inhabitants of a town or village to pay British imposed taxes through a single chief of that town. Indeed all the towns and villages in a given locality were to pay this tax through a single major chief who was to reside in that locality rather than in the emirate capital or in another part of the emirate. This attempt, according to Tukur entailed the sub-ordination of some chiefs to other chiefs with whom they had been equal in status. It also entailed a large scale 'withdrawal' of recognition not only from the ***Jakadu*** but also from some chiefs.[353] Indeed this also meant the processes for the establishment of the bases for disagreement, division and conflict among the aristocratic class and their servants.

The first test of this new reorganization in Kano commenced in Gaya. The choice of Gaya could have been for historic reasons.[354] In the case of Kano, Resident Cargill turned his attention to the task of re-working out the district arrangement to his taste. The method he applied was simply that of regrouping around a principal town a sufficient number of smaller towns that could yield enough to the amount collected hitherto by the fief holder. Having attained such a fair knowledge of the population estimate and having convinced emir Abbas to send the district heads to their respective towns, a form of tax referred to as General Tax was introduced. Emir Abbas accepted this complex arrangement because it provided him the opportunity to appoint his loyalists to positions of

[351] There is a sense in this looking at the fact that the people sent from Europe and given the responsibility of political and economic control lacked any knowledge of the area concerned. Refer to chapter one for details.

[352] [an Rimi is said to be a good example. It is said that it was the excellent role he played as an informant of the Resident that earned him the position of the Waziri of Kano. For detail see Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit.*** 1973, M. G. Smith, ***Op. Cit.*** 1997 and also P. A. Afeadie ***"The hidden hand of over rule: political agents and the establishment of British Colonial rule in Northern Nigeria, 1886-1914."*** Ph. D. York University, 1996.

[353] This effort was seriously resisted in most of the Kingdoms and Emirates to the extent that the effort could not succeed as planned. In Borno it was shifted until 1904; in Sokoto 1905 and even then it was only in Zamfara. It was only in 1906 that the whole of Sokoto practiced it that was after the Satiru revolt. In Zaria it was until 1912, in Adamawa 1907, in Bauchi 1908, in Gwambe 1908. In the emirates of Kano and Katsina until 1915.

[354] Gaya is said to be one of the oldest towns, indeed older than Kano itself. For detail see Dokaji ***OP. Cit***. And ***Hausawa da Makwabtansu Vol. ii. Op Cit.***

influence. Short of that, it was rather an effort full of contradictions with the established culture and tradition of the people of Kano.

Notwithstanding, by the beginning of 1908 Abbas had already accepted Cargill's proposals for the apportionment of Kano into districts, and had instructed all the *Hakimai* to disperse to their respective rural headquarters.[355] By then Cargill and Abbas had evidently discussed the allocation of districts among his *Hakimai* at considerable length, as the resulting distribution indicates. Excluding Kano and the densely populated regions around it, the emirate was exhaustively partitioned into districts and Sub-districts of varying population and extent. An attempt was made to equalize the population of the Sub-districts; but in the absence of an accurate census, such adjustments rested on estimates.[356]

As laid down by Cargill, outside the Home Area around the city, each major district contained a number of sub-districts under Resident District heads that were each individually responsible for a district to their common superior. The total number of the districts changed in 1915 to 15, from its 1907 total of 14, when Bichi was made a district.[357] Of the fifteen (15) districts eight (8) were under the administrative control of the Sullu~awa clan, one (1) each under the Jo~awa, Yolawa and Danbazawa while the local Fulani chiefs' controlled four (4) districts. The local Fulani chiefs were those chiefs who preceded the Jihad and were retained after the Jihad in their respective districts. The table below contain the distribution of the districts by 1915, and by clan.

District Re-organization 1907-1915 Table 3.1:

Sullu~awa	Jo~awa	Yolawa	Danbazawa	Local Fulani
Bichi	Wudil	D/Tofa	Danbatta	Dutse
Fagolawa				Gaya
Gwaram				Karaye
Gwarzo				Rano
H. Dist.				
Jahun				
Kura				
Ringim				

As shown in the table, the clan of emir Abbas (Sullu~awa) took the lion share of the total district created as at 1907-1915. The dominance of

[355] ***Ibid***, P367
[356] Smith, M. G. ***Op. Cit***. P. 414.
[357] Ubah C. N. ***"Administration of Kano Emirate under the British 1900-1930"***, PhD, university of Ibadan, 1973, P. 198-199

Sullu~awa clan continued to feature that by 1916 the total number of districts under their control increased to 14 when the total number of the districts increased to 24. That was the same period when Kano City (Home District) was divided into ten sub-districts most of which were put under the control of the Sullu~awa clan.[358] Below is a list of the Kano city districts and their district heads:

Table 3.2: **Kano City Districts Heads and their District**

S/N	Districts Heads	District
1	[an Iya	Dawakin Kudu
2	[an Isa	Kumbotso
3	Mai Unguwan Mundubawa	Gezawa
4	Barde Kerarriya	Zakirai
5	[an Amar	Gabasawa
6	Ja'idanawa	Minjibir
7	Tafida	Kunya
8	[an Makwayo	Ungogo
9	Ma'aji Badamasi	Kano city

As a result of these developments a system of administration was put in place sanctioned by the Native Revenue Proclamation of 1906, which was introduced to bring about some changes beyond the 1904 ordinance. This proclamation laid down the limits of the taxes to be paid and placed them under the supervision of British administrators. In this respect taxes were made to include non-farm goods. The Emirs, District and Village heads were by this arrangement reduced to a group of onlookers, with nothing but the power to collect taxes from their subjects only to hand it over to the European overlords.

What indeed worsened the position of these rulers much was the fact that the British passed the above bill without consultation. Instead these new district officials were left with the tedious task of tax collection, in the course of which they made use of harassment and intimidation. As contained in the bill the British Officials announced the amount to be collected to the rural administrators through the emir. The rural administrators on the other hand divided the said amount round the village to meet the total sum. The village heads were, by this responsibility, expected to know the average income of all the individual taxpayers in their villages

[358] C. N. Ubah, ***Op. Cit***. P. 182 (Foot note 1).

and to tax them accordingly. This in a way gave them a lot of power, which they used and misused. Indeed a number of them were trapped into making errors and therefore punished. For example in 1908 some *Hakimai* from among those who had moved out to the new districts during the past two years were discovered to have withheld or understated their tax receipts. Without formal trial by the provisional staff, Abbas, whether on his own initiative or at the request of the British, placed some of these suspected or proven defaulters under arrest in the City Gaol on charges of embezzling emirate tax.[359] In Kano, where the much larger population and tax revenues assured higher average returns to district chiefs, dismissals for embezzlement proceeded routinely as part of the annual tax collection. In 1910 [an Iya Ibrahim (a nephew of Abbas), the Sarkin Dutse (a Bajellu~e) and the [an Isa Mamman Mai Ruwa (a brother of Abbas') were dismissed for embezzlement. Another of Abbas kinsmen [an Lawan Mamman Unkulu' was dismissed and disgraced for providing "a gang of bandits" with political protection and cover.[360]

Thus to each of the 24 Districts[361] was sent a resident District head. Indeed each of the districts was demarcated in such a way to consist of a sufficiently large size for taxation and other purposes.[362] Also in this respect, district capitals were selected mostly based on the size of the town and its history. Other parameters included some acres of land both useful and less useful to cater for the upkeep of the people. As a measure to support the zeal for decentralization, an Alkali was attached to each district head to administer justice.[363] The judicial system, since then, was designed to be 'independent', 'efficient' and greatly expanded native judiciary. Under this outlook the judiciary was fragmented into numbers presided over by "qualified and formally appointed judges

[359] Smith, M. G. ***Op Cit***. P 424.

[360] Smith, M. G. ***Op. Cit***. P.436

[361] Ubah, C. N. ***Op. Cit***. P. 198-199

[362] See ***Appendix Titled Evolution of Districts and Distribution of Headships 1907-1932***

[363] This also meant the construction of a Court and provision of other necessary components to sustain it. It also meant growth in population and in urbanization.

(***Alkalai***) in order to furnish proper Muslim tribunals for adjudication in rural areas."[364] According to the British, the desire was meant to achieve some administrative and social developments. Yet what appeared obvious was that these developments marked the phasing out of the Shari'ah (Muslim Penal code) and the beginning of the establishment of the English type of Penal code.[365] This therefore turned to mark a new beginning in the history and the lives of the people of Kano. It equally served as one of the premises on which the process for the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria was made real after 1914.

Establishment of District Administration 3.4

Two sets of administrative practices were experienced in Kano emirate between 1904 and 1908. The first three years saw the administrative system referred to as the fief district system. The distinction was clear, the significant of which was that the latter gave traditional chiefs the 'full control' of their respective areas of concern and the termination of the use of the *Jakada* system. This marked the end of the traditional arrangement and the beginning of the provisional structure of territorial districts under resident District heads. It is of relevance to note that while by 1908 these changes were put into effect little or nothing affected the powers of the emir. Indeed the then Emir (Abbas) was able to use his position to manipulate most of the appointments to the extent that he succeeded in securing most of the posts for his kinsmen (Sullu~awa).[366]

The year 1909 marked another important development in the history of Native Administration in Kano. Resident Featherhead Cargill, the architect of these administrative reorganizations was sent home for medical reasons and replaced by C. L. Temple. As substantiated in chapter two, in addition to the change in personality, this development opened up a new phase in the administrative development and in the consolidation of British hegemony over the emirate

[364] As pointed out by M. G. Smith ***Op. Cit***. P. 410, by 1906-07 every district in Katsina emirate had its local Alkali court, as did in Kano.
[365] Refer to Naniya, T. M. for details

[366] Refer to P. 94 for details.

administration. As earlier argued, Resident C. L. Temple's presence strengthened the relationship between the British and the Native Authority.[367]

The efforts of Temple started with a scheme to establish more districts, possibly with a view to opening up for Abbas to fix in more of his loyalists and to break into smaller units those districts he suspected of being too big by detaching the larger sub-districts. And finally, the scheme constituted all of them under the emir. By 1915 C. L. Temple had succeeded in taking hold of the whole setup and the full loyalty of the emir, especially after reverting most of Resident F. Cargill's reforms that went contrary to the wishes of emir Abbas. As clearly shown in chapter two, Temple's subtle approach was very much premeditated by the desire to see that such changes become real. During this course, Ciroma's hold over the ten (10) home Sub-districts came to an end. As a result three of the key northern Sub-districts were given out to Madaki's territory. The remaining sub-districts returned under the control of the emir. Additional restructuring were made in 1916 when all of the surviving sub-districts became full-fledged Districts bringing the number to 24. Among these sub-districts was Kumbotso, which was under the office of [an Isa. This was after the experiment, which gave Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero control of the ten (10) Home Districts in 1914, was abandoned. This marked the emergence of Kumbotso as a District. It also meant the appointment of a District Head, a Court, Village Heads and other subordinate District and Village officials to administer the area. From thence, substantive District heads continued to be sent with the power to administer the area and to maintain the existence of peace and tranquillity, especially in the collection of taxes.

[367] Refer to P. 68 for details.

3.5 The Establishment and Stages in the Evolution of the Kumbotso District Administration

The evolution of districts system of administration and indeed the establishment of Kumbotso District can best be understood within the context of its history. It is therefore relevant to begin this discussion with a study of the history of origin and development of Kumbotso. Though emphasis is made on the Kumbotso main town, especially in the discussion of the settlement pattern, the purpose is to set the position clear that the development of the area went through a number of processes. And that the choice of Kumbotso to serve as the District headquarters was not for nothing; it was rather because of its history. It is in this respect that a discussion of the tradition of origin of Kumbotso becomes relevant.

3.5.1 Tradition of Origin of Kumbotso town

Two traditions explained the origin of Kumbotso. The first tradition traced the history of Kumbotso to a certain Fulani couple (*Kumbo*) and her husband (*Botso*). According to the tradition this couple lived in an area close to a source of water (well, valley, Pond) called ***Rasha*** (and also called [***an Dorina***). It was in reference to this source of water that the earliest inhabitants of the nearby settlements used to say, whenever in need of water that "we are going to the well of *Kumbo da Botso* (Kumbo and Botso) to get some water." It was, according to this tradition, the corruption of these two words that resulted in the name 'Kumbotso.'[368] The second version of the tradition claims that the area was hitherto known and called [*an dorina*, a name for a mighty python (D*orinar ruwa*) that lived and occupied the valley or source of water around the settlement. The name was only

[368] Interview with Alhaji Gizo Maroki, Kofar mata, according to A. M. Fika, Kumbotso was the eldest daughter of Emir Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1946) of Kano, Ph. D. ***Op. Cit***. foot note on P. 176, for details. According to Maje Gwangwazo, Kumbotso was initially known as [an dorina, a name derived from an animal possibly Mummy water that lived in the river around the settlement. The name of the town was changed to Kumbotso after madaki Umaru married the daughter of Sarkin Kano Dabo (Kumbota) as a result of which [***an dorina*** was given to him as a gift from by Sarkin Kano Dabo.

changed to Kumbotso after the area was given out as marriage gift to one of the daughters of Sarkin Kano Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1845) by name Kumbota. The tradition of Kano was such that all emirs' children were attached to certain landed area (*Gandu*) as their personal territory. The inhabitants, according to oral source were Fulani who migrated and settled in the area from Bebeji, a village to the South that borders Zazzau (Zaria) emirate.[369]

Notions of the role of Fulani in the foundation of kingdoms, empires etc have been a very common phenomenon in the history of Hausa land.[370] Efforts to go beyond this have been made by historians who studied the early histories of these societies with an in-depth and critical examination of all the possibilities for settlement formation.[371] In the case of Kumbotso it is our contention that the Fulani migrants might not necessarily have been the founders of the Kumbotso settlement.[372] Most probably, the settlement was among those areas of Kano settled by migrants long before the 15th century because of its fertility and the availability of food and other resources, which characterized the areas within the Kano close settled zone.[373] The inhabitants of this area were therefore noted to be very industrious and enterprising so much so that the greater part of the products that made Kano an important economic nerve of its region comes from this area. As made clear by P. J. Shea, the famous Kano textile industry referenced by Barth was predominantly an affair of the people around the Kano Close Settled Zone.[374] The 1911 Assessment reports by Acting Resident N. M. Gepp noted the existence of about 509 Dyers, 372 Dye pits, 46 Cloth beaters, 1291

[369] Excerpt from Alhaji Maje Ahmed Gwangwazo on the history of origin of Kumbotso. A copy is in my possession.

[370] This effort is not in any disagreement with the notion of the settlement of Fulani in Hausaland and the consequent foundation of settlements. Available records have shown that Fulani settlement in the areas of Kano has a very long history. The most available date for their settlement was the second half of the 15th century.

[371] Y. B. Usman, ***The Transformation of Kaatsina c. 1796-1903: The over throw of the Sarauta System andn the establishment and evolution of the emirate***, Ph.D, ABU, Zaria, 1974, Chapter 2. See also ***Selected Writings of Abdullahi Smith in Alittle new light,*** Abdullahi Smith Centre for historical research, Hanwa Zaria, Printed by Gaskiya Corporation Limited, Zaria, 1987

[372] The view in Mahdi A. ***Op. Cit***. is that the Fulani settlement in the area was during the reign of Ibrahim Dabo when one of his daughters Kumbota was allocated the whole land of Kumbotso to herself. Same information is noted in Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit***. ; see foot note 1 above and also in Dawakin Tofa District note Book, History and Genealogy.

[373] Mahdi ***Op. Cit***. P. 68. See also, Adamu, M. U. "Confluences and Influences: The Emergence of Kano as a City-State," ***Paper Presented at the Kano Millenium Conference***, Kano, april 1999.

[374] Shea, P. J. "Approaching the Study of Production in Rural Kano." ***International Conference on the History of Kano,*** 1981. See also his ***"The Development of an export Oriented-Dyed Cloth Industry in the 19th Century Kano Emirate."*** University of Wisconsin, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 1975.

Weavers, 206 Tailors, 96 Bakers, 72 Butchers and so on, all indicating the economic relevance of the District.[375] Most of these professional occupations, however, were practiced outside the Kumbotso town; the dominant occupation in Kumbotso town was agriculture and pastoralism.[376]

By its location Kumbotso falls within what Abdullahi Mahadi refers to as the Central region of Kano.[377] This area as he emphasised was an abode for immigrants from various parts of the Sudan, occasioned by natural disaster or dynastic disputes.[378] Records have equally shown that virtually all the immigrants mentioned in the various traditions settled in the central region of Kano before proceeding to their final destination.[379] Evidence available[380] shows that this development in the form of growth in population and cultures (including the development of the technology of land use), which began to take shape in the middle of the 18th century, reached an advanced stage in the 19th century.[381] However it was not the growth in population and mass encroachment on land alone that was the most noted effect, as was suggested by Mahadi, but the fact that most of these migrants carried along with them certain skills, which enhanced their mastery of the natural environment. My attention was drawn to this fact during the course of an interview with the head of the blacksmiths' community (*Sarkin Makera*) of Kumbotso. According to his narration, he was brought to Kumbotso when he was young, and that black smithing had been the occupation of his parents' right from their original settlement

[375] SNP/7 ***Op. Cit***. Dan Isa Sub-district statistics, list of traders.
[376] Available record on the district did not indicate the practice of any professional economic activity in the kumbotso main town beside agriculture and pastoralism. For detail refer to SNP7/1035/1911
[377] Kumbotso also falls within the area referred to as the Kano closed settle zone by Mortimore. The zone as clearly pointed by Polly Hill is an irregularly shaped eclipse extending some sixty miles from Kano City to the southeast and only some 30 to 40 miles in other directions.
[378] The earliest known migrants were occasioned by the recurrence of droughts in the various parts of central Sudan. According to Mahadi, A. the regions from which people are believed to have immigrated in to Kasar Kano in this early period were those which had always been susceptible to ravages of droughts.See Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit***. P. 64 and 65.
[379] The extent of transformation of land in this region by the end of the 19th century was probably more complete here than anywhere in central Sudan. For detail see Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit***.
[380] Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit***. P. 67
[381] According to Imam Umaru, land in the central region was well laid out see Ferguson**,** D. F., ***Op Cit***. p.144.

somewhere around Bichi to the North of Kano.[382] It was therefore the possession of the necessary skills and not just the growth in population that enhanced the development of this area.

The development of Kumbotso was further exacerbated by its closeness to and the significance of Kano in the economic history of the region, which raised the demand for such products as tools, raw materials, fuel and articles of trade for re-export to both other parts of Kano and beyond. As made clear by Barth, Kano was an important trading centre and an entrepot, concerned with external trade.[383] With regard to this therefore Kano City was forced to depend on the other regions around Kano for its requirements of food and forest products. This therefore not only stimulated trade between the central region and other parts of Kasar Kano and the proliferation of new settlements, it also encouraged the division of labour in the economic pursuit. Indeed it explains the economic relationship between Kano City and these surrounding villages whose importance was greatly stressed by Polly Hill.[384] As highlighted by most informants, the area (Kumbotso), due to its fertility and proximity, provided the necessary farmland for people in the city. In particular the ruling class owned and controlled most of the land in the area, which they used in providing settlements for their slaves as farms for food and vegetables.[385] Hamza examined this specific role in the case of [orayi, a famous settlement located in this

[382] Interview with Sarkin Makera Kumbotso 2000

[383] See ***Appendix D and D1*** for detail on the trade routes the traverse Kano. Up to the 20th century

[384] Hill, P. ***Population Prosperity and Poverty: Rural Kano 1900 and 1970.*** CUP, London, 1977, P.1.

[385] This made it very much easier for the State during the 60th and 70th, to turn most of the lands in the former Kumbotso District into some State Educational Institutions or an industrial center. As pointed in a discussion with Philip Shea this was because the state doesn't have to pay anything as compensation, or at most very meager amount, since greater part of the land in the area belongs to the ruling class and with conquest all the land became directly under the control of the British. This also tally's with what Lugard emphasized after his successful conquest of the Caliphate in 1903.

district, where he stressed that [orayi was a well noted settlement for royal slaves.[386] As also made clear by Isa Tajo[387] the ruling class was by tradition not supposed to go to the market for any of their needs, the villages surrounding the City, therefore, made available the farms and gardens of the ruling class for the sustenance of their families and their animals.[388] This is substantiated by the presence of a number of royal *Gandaye* (*Beci, Nassarawa, [orayi, Albasa and Fanisau*) within this vicinity. Gandun Albasa provided all the vegetable needs of the aristocracy, while [orayi and others provided the grain. Adjoining the villages of Kashin and Sara (*Sura*) there existed a *Gandu* village of about 42 acres, called Rinjin Kashin belonging to the Chiroma (Abdullahi Bayero) of Kano. There existed in addition several other smaller *Gandu* farms in various villages in the sub-district belonging to the royalty at Emirate, District and Village levels.[389]

> Thus the main pull factor in the emergence and development of Kumbotso town should be seen from the point of view of the fertility of the area, in addition to the skills of the people, which attracted people and settlements long before the 15th century. The legend of origin of the town also laid some claim to this when it acknowledged that Kumbotso was founded by a Fulani woman who was wandering around with her cattle in the company of her husband, in search of water.[390] The tradition added that the Fulani woman was living with her husband and their flock of cattle in a nearby location called Beci.[391] It was from this location, while grazing that one of the cattle used to

[386] Hamza, I., ***"Dorayi: A History of Social and Economic Transformation in the 19th and 20th century Kano emirate***", M. A. UDUS, 1994.
[387] Interview with ***Alhaji Isa Tajo***, Kano City, 2000.
[388] The District was famous for its market gardening. The value of these gardens is recognized locally; for it is not uncommon for a man on being asked his trade to reply, "market gardening." For details refer to NAK/Kumbotso District Reassessment1932, Par 6.
[389] SNP7 ***Op. Cit***. Par. 57-58
[390] Their first settlement was located close to a certain tree called **Tsamiya** (Tamarind), where they dug a well for their animals to drink water after grazing everyday.
[391] ***Beci*** is said to be originally a ***Gandun Sarki***. It is therefore likely that this woman is either from a royalty or that the discovery of the new settlement has given her powers of control over and above that of other co-settlers to have turned the former settlement into her ***Gandu***. According to Mahadi, A. her name is Kumbota and She is one of the Daughters of Sarkin Kano Ibrahim Dabo 1819-1846.

sneak to a nearby area (Kumbotso) to drink water.[392] One day the person rearing the cattle followed this particular cow into the bush without the knowledge of the cow. Into the bush, the cow dipped its mouth and after sometime left. Thereafter the cattle rearer found out that the area was a big valley containing a lot of fresh water, possibly the River Dorina (*Kogin Dorina, [an Dorina*). Such an effort led to the movement of the Fulani woman and her cattle to this location, which happens to be the present day Kumbotso.

This therefore confirms the assertion that availability of water and the search for it were the main pull factors that attracted people into the area. Migrant communities continued to clear the surrounding bush to erect houses around the area and in other neighbouring areas.[393] The result of all these was the development of a settlement of smaller units of *Unguwoyi* and *Kauyuka* surrounding the source of water. Significantly therefore this meant the existence of smaller towns made up of clusters of settlements in and around the respective cultivable lands surrounding the Kano City (*Birni*). It was in this course that settlements emerged and develop over time in the whole of the area presently referred to as the Kano Close Settled Zone.[394]

3.5.2 **Pattern of Settlement in Kumbotso Town**

This section discusses the pattern of settlement specifically in Kumbotso town. The town is found in an area known in history to have possessed a particular soil type good for the cultivation of variety of crops, for example, guinea corn, cotton and indigo.[395] This soil type consists largely of brown and reddish-brown.

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[392] The belief by the person taking charge of the cattle was that that particular ox doesn't drink water. The situation was quite disturbing that he reported the case to the woman (Kumbo). One day the cattle rearer remains vigilant on the movement of the Ox that he saw the Ox entered a nearby bush. On closer examination he found that the area possess an abundant and fresh water. Such legendary explanation is quite common in Hausaland with the same explanation on the origin of the people of Garko. It is also found in the stories of origin of the Kingdoms around the Western Borno. See for detail Gwadabe, M. M., ***"History of Gumel from the earliest times to 1903"***, MA. History, BUK, 1991

[393] ***Mallam Abdu, Sarkin Makeran Kumbotso, January 2000, and also Alhaji Gizo Maroki, Kofar Mata Kano.***

[394] Refer to Mahadi, A. ***Op. Cit.*** for details.

[395] Ferguson, D. F. ***Nineteen century Hausaland: Being a Description by Imam Umaru of the land, economy and society of his people***, Ph D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1973, P.144.

As was made clear by Mahadi, this soil type contains a large proportion of silt or clay with small organic matter adequately spread in it, and with the addition of heavy application of manure, enables farmers in the region to practice intensive cultivation for generations.[396] Such made up the basic factors that supported the establishment of a community of farmers, and with the growth in population and a ready market in the city, enabled the continued proliferation of settlements, which in the 18th and the 19th centuries evolved into established political groups.[397]

On the other hand the district as a whole was situated around the geographical zone in which was found in 'abundance' mineral resources like salt, exploited in the Challawa river bend and in the nearby town of Tsakuwa in Dawakin Kudu District.[398] These factors and others continued to influence relationships between the respective communities in Kano City and those of the surrounding villages and provided the basis for consolidation of authority. Indeed by the time of the conquest, and after, some marked developments were noticed in these areas which resulted in the establishment of fief district under [an Isa.[399] Kumbotso was first made a Sub-district under the Chiroma District with resident Hakimai and Dagatai exercising authority over especially the assessment and collection of taxes.

What is prominent in the historical documentation of Hausaland was the neglect of the towns located at the periphery of the main cities.[400] This is in addition

[396] Mahdi, A. ***State and Economy, the Sarauta system and its roles in shaping the society and economy of Kano with particular reference to the eighteenth and nineteenth century.*** Ph.D. Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1982, p. 68. See also Barth H. ***Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa.*** Vol. iii, Frank Cass, 1965, P512. In his description he concluded that the area was one of the most fertile in the world.
[397] For detail on the evolution of settlements in this region refer to Mahadi, A. ***Ibid***
[398] The knowledge of Salt mining in this area has a very long history, possibly as old as the State of Kano itself. For detail see Mahadi A., ***Ibid.***
[399] Ubah, C. N. ***Op. Cit.*** P. 181
[400] ***NAK/ Kumbotso District Reassessment Notebook, 1932***

to the general scarcity of information on the pre-colonial period.[401] Urban centres or those centres of greater economic or political activities are therefore adequately covered. Our area of study presents such a problematic due to its location closer to the city of Kano. The 1911 assessment report argued in this direction when it portrayed Kumbotso as having no history. The report further explained that the lack of history was attributed to the nearness of Kumbotso to the capital city, meaning that the history of Kumbotso was subsumed by that of Kano.[402] The historian of this part of Kano is therefore forced to grapple with the scarcity of information especially in the reconstruction of the early history of the area. It is however the conviction here that a comprehensive understanding of the evolution of the district system and the creation of Kumbotso district begins with an understanding of how Kumbotso main town and some of its surrounding towns developed as settlements and indeed as political entities.

> Specifically the village and ward communities that made up Kumbotso were known to have consisted of farmers and Pastoralists. This tells much of the society and the family structure. It also explains the general set up of the town in the earliest period of its establishment, which was quite sparse on matters of population and land use. The houses were of a Hamlet setting, made up of cornstalks. The people lived in farmstead houses surrounded by cultivable land, dispersed from each other. The means of communication was quite simple, so were also the roads, mostly in the form of bush paths signifying how the means of transportation looked like, primarily donkeys and oxen, a factor that affected the long-distance movement of bulky staple foods.[403] Record however shows the

[401] Usman, Y. B. ***The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883, The emergence and overthrow of the Sarauta system and the establishment of the emirate***, Ahmadu Bello University press, 1981, p. 36

[402] SNP/7 ***Op. Cit***. Par. 85.

[403] Watts, M. ***"Brittle Trade: A Political Economy of Food Supply in Kano,"*** In Guyer, J. I. (ed.) ***Feeding African Cities, Studies in Regional Social History.*** International African Library, Manchester University Press for the International African Institute, London, 1987, P. 55.

existence of a number of trade routes that traversed most of the towns and villages indicating the existence of economic activities beyond the existing communities.[404]

Other noted occupational groups, beside farmers and pastoralist were the butchers. The 1932 reassessment report noted that cattle were found in the small markets held at Kumbotso and its surrounding villages of Chalawa, Panshekara, Mariri and Unguwar Rimi.[405] The chief butcher was noted for slaughtering cows occasionally in addition to the regular slaughter of sheep and goats. By rough estimates he could earn close to £16 or more in a year. There were a host of some smaller ones who could not afford to slaughter cattle. This category earned about £8 to £12 a year by slaughtering goats and sheep. The income of butchers was in 1932 assessed to be about £10.[406] Black smithing was another important occupation also in response to the closeness to the city where the practice of smelting of iron had a very long history.[407] As clearly stated in the case of [orayi, a neighbouring village on the road to Kumbotso, this trade was mostly for the slaves and other commoner classes. The chiefs among them were respected members of the community and earned a good living by the manufacture and repair of farming implements. A proportion of their earnings were represented by payments in kind. In all, the more important members of the trade earned about £15 a year working at all seasons. According to the 1911 Assessment the less popular smiths earned from £8 to £11 and made up the greater part of the population. Dyeing and cloth beating made up another category of important occupations in the area. Though none of these was practiced in the Kumbotso main town, but villages under Kumbotso like Unguwar Rimi, Yansango, [angwauro and Limawa, were noted for weaving, dyeing and or cloth beating. And indeed it provided a large chunk of money to the inhabitants. For example the dyers of Unguwar Rimi and Na'ibawa units made an average of £10 to £12 a year. Those who did not work the year round earned from £5 to £6.[408] Nearly half of the men engaged in this trade lived in Unguwar Rimi village which made up the centre of the dyeing industry of Na'ibawa, Limawa, and Unguwar Rimi units containing about 460 dye pits out of the total of 565. The men of this trade worked in pairs and made a very huge profit. In Unguwar Rimi in particular, two men shared as much as £50 a year. The beaters who were scattered over the

[404] ***Kumbotso District Assessment Notebook, 1932***.
[405] See map in Chapter One, P. 4-5
[406] ***NAK/Kumbotso District Reassessment Notebook, 1932***.
[407] ***HCB Kano Collection of interviews on Kazaure project*** available at the HCB Archive. A team from the research unit of HCB conducted the interviews in 1989.
[408] NAK/Kumbotso ***Op. Cit.***

remaining units did not work full time even outside the farming season and did not earn more than £5 or so.

Kumbotso was so many things to the Kumbotso district. It was the capital of the District (town) and as well it was a village (that was in its original setting). Settlement pattern in Kumbotso was based on occupational groupings as such the respective *Unguwoyi* represented some specific specialization. The ***Lajawa*** who lived to the Northeast of Kumbotso town were mostly farmers. They migrated from a nearby village (*Laja*) and established a new settlement named after their former settlement, which is presently abandoned. The village was abandoned in response to the expansion of Kano, which subsumed a number of smaller villages around the Kano Close Settled Zone.[409] As a result of its abandonment, two settlements were established, one in Kano around Sallari, just after Naibawa and the other inside Kumbotso town. These two separately located settlements still bears the name ***Lajawa***, To the South west of Kumbotso town is a settlement called ***Kan-Tudu***. ***Kan-Tudu*** is presently a ward within the Kumbotso main settlement, but originally a settlement of itself. Traders who specialized in the sale of grains, and animal slaughter (butchers) dominated this settlement. Grains like guinea corn (Dawa), cassava (Rogo), animals and some few commodities from the neighbouring villages of Kura and Kwankwaso made up the major trading objects. The profit of this trade is very hard to assess. Traders attended three or four small markets a week and retailed guinea-corn, millet, beans, rice and sylvan produce in small quantities. Greater percentage of food supply from Kumbotso to the city comes from this area. Loaded on their donkeys, goods were supplied to the city markets in large quantity. This was specifically because the local markets offered very little opportunity for the sale of produce in bulk. The markets were often small and operated only in the evenings suggesting that it was mainly attended after the day's work and that it functioned to satisfy the needs of the immediate environment. In the specific case of Kumbotso, such an outlook changed in the course of the development of the town. A market developed during the colonial period very close to one of the town gates (***Kofar Gari***), in the present location of the central Juma'at Mosque of Kumbotso. Specifically the market started as stalls for the drying and sale of hide and skin in 1925. The authority to erect the stalls was given and in addition to Kumbotso,

[409] Other areas equally affected were Hotoro, Shara]a, Na'ibawa, [orayi and indeed all the villages that surrounds Kano city from the four directions were in one way or the other affected.

such stalls were also erected in the towns of Chalawa, Mariri and Unguwar Rimi.[410] Generally therefore farmers relied on Kano City markets for their goods.[411] Rich merchants in Kumbotso were generally found to be in possession of a number of donkeys and cattle, which they used in transporting their goods to the city. A system also developed by about the 1930's of giving out donkeys on hire in return for a number of sacks (**M*angala***) of manure from the city.[412]

Rinjin Fulani is another settlement of historical significance.[413] The settlement is located around the eastern corner of the prominent Kumbotso valley (*River Dorina, [an Dorina or Kogin Dorina*). It was a slave settlement.[414] Record also shows that rich men of different occupational groupings owned slaves. Thus ownership of slaves was noted amongst the farming class as well as the pastoralist and butchers (*Mahauta*). Prominent among the slave owners, beside the aristocracy, was Garba Na-Nana. Na-Nana owned a large number of slaves most of who were bought from the market in Kano. Information from a member of the slave families disclosed that most of the slaves in this settlement (***rinji***) were not captured during the course of any war. In his specific case my informant narrated that it was his grand father who was enslaved.[415] His Grand father hailed from Kukawa in the present day Borno State of Nigeria. Kukawa used to be the capital city of the Empire of Borno in the 19th century after the forces of the Jihadists led by Bin Abdur, Goni Muktar and Buba Yero relentlessly made challenging attacks and ransacked Ngazargamu.[416] Ngazargamu had been the seat of power under the Seifawa dynasty of Borno. These attacks ravaged the central authority and

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[410] ***Provincial Administration/8452/ Kumbotso District office-Instructions and Inspection Notes 1925.***

[411] ***NAK/Kumbotso district re-assessment of 1932, Par. 66***

[412] Interview with ***Sarkin Barikin Kumbotso Mallam Saadu*** 2002, Mallam Saadu is from a slave family whose parents regained their freedom before the coming of the Europeans.

[413] Interview with ***Mallam Saadu Sarkin Bariki***, Kumbotso 20-04-2002

[414] Mallam Saadu Sarkin Bariki Kumbotso ***Ibid.***

[415] The father was born with his twin brother Usaini. One day the mother was attending a ceremony in a nearby village. She left the house for the ceremony without knowing that the twin sons were following her from behind. At a distance she turned back and saw the two following her. Quickly she ordered them to go back, but Hassan continued following her which she did not noticed until at the venue of the ceremony. The incidence of his theft occurred after Hassan felt a sleep and the mother drop him under a tree to attend to some of the activities. Not long after an unknown person stole and carried him away for enslavement. It was in this respect that Hassan found himself being enslaved. At his old age, Hassan went back to Kukawa to meet his relatives. He met his twin brother and a junior sister. He however could not stay there because of his long stay in Kumbotso and the immediate family he left at Kumbotso. He has since died.

[416] Brenner, L. ***The Shehu's of Kukawa. A history of the Al-Kanemi Dynasty of Bornu.*** Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1973, P. 31-47.

forced a change of leadership that marked the demise of the Seifawa dynasty for the El-kanemi dynasty.[417]

Detail information narrates that he was stolen at a very young age and brought to Kano.[418] Garba Na-Nana bought him so that he could assist in looking after his cattle. Na–Nana is said to have possessed a large number of cattle in a village very close to Kumbotso town, known as Wangara. Hassan remain in Wangara with some other slaves taking charge of the cattle for eight years before he was first brought into the Kumbotso main town.[419] Wangara is the name of an historically important group of scholars and long distance traders. It is not made clear, from information at hand, whether there is any link between the occupant of this town and the Wangara group.

Garba Na-Nana is said to have been very rich. His riches cut across many economic endeavours. He owned a large track of land in Kumbotso town, one of the largest, according oral information. This was possibly the reason for his keeping slaves. Slaves therefore worked in the farm as part of their services to the slave owner. The relationships were such that they remained under him and were treated as domestic servants. After working for some years and the attainment of adulthood, marriage was arranged for the slaves.[420] Hassan was set free through the effort of his son, who after working an extra labour was able to save to pay for their freedom. Hassan was among the contingents of Alu that fought in the Kano civil war (***Basasa***).[421] Mention was surely made of an encounter between the ***Tukurawa*** and the ***Yusufawa*** of the *Basasa* around Unguwar Rimi in the Kumbotso area.[422] According to an excerpt written by a local historian Mallam Ahmed Maje Gwangwazo, Kumbotso and its close by neighbours (Dawakin Kudu, Tsakuwa, Unguwar Rimi and Tamburawa, fought on the side of emir Tukur during the Kano Civil War (Basasa). On the other hand villages on

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[417] ***Ibid***.

[418] Slaves could be sourced through other means as War, Criminals (adultery and theft) caught in the act and could not settle the fine obligation on them. Parents could also dispose of their child to meet up certain economic or social need. Cases of parents disposing their female children to settle daury of a male child was noted in the collection of interviews by Lovejoy. See for detail ***Lovejoy Collection Tapes Transcription 1975-76, Tape No. 10 and 11***. The tapes are availble at the Northern History Research Scheme, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

[419] Other functions performed by the slaves includes looking after the grains in the farm and after harvest, scare away the birds and run all errands, collect herbs and leaves for the sick and nursing of babies or the younger ones in general. A slave was expected to be most humble, stay close to his master's convenience in case of any trouble. Slaves were also charmed in order not to run away.

[420] Similar experience was recorded by Lovejoy in the collection of his interviews. See Lovejoy ***Op. Cit***. Tape 10

[421] ***Saadu Sarkin Bariki*** 20/04/2000

[422] Dokaji, A. ***Kano Ta Dabo Cigari,*** NNPC, Zaria, Nigeria.

the out skirt of Kumbotso, for example Mariri, Zara and villages within that vicinity, fought on the side of Alu (rebels).[423] Garba Na-Nana did not just fight in the civil war but in many other battles in defence of Kano. It is here relevant to suggest that Garba Na-Nana could have been from among the influential Fulani that supported Alu in return for more economic benefits. He was later made the village head of Gaida. Gaida was located to the Northwest along the railway line that cut across Kumbotso District. It bordered Kuyan [an Inna to the Northwest, Shemeyu and Tudun Mazadu (Turanchi) to the North, Ja'en, Garso, and Gajiyawa to the Southeast, Runkusawa Kai to the South and Zawa (Zawaciki) Gabas to the Southwest. Information around Kumbotso town attributed his appointment to his riches, he was such a person that was so helpful (kind) to his people (*Talakawa*) that one source testified that he used his money to settle the taxes of all those who could not pay from his village administrative area during the colonial era.[424] Incidents of non-payment of taxes has been recorded and punished by the colonial authority.[425] According to oral information from Kumbotso for example incidents of non-payment of taxes were attributed mostly to the presence of a large slave population living in the royal *gandaye* (Sing. ***Gandu***); this was in addition to other factors like lack of accountability.[426]

Other important slave owners include the Galadima, Hazo and some butchers.[427] The mention of "Galadima" presupposes a person with political control. We could not get much about his personality, indeed his real name proved very difficult to recall, as all the informants could not remember. He is however said to have owned a lot of slaves and landed property second only to Garba. His source of riches could be traced to his political position. Galadima in Kano used to be a very important royal title, which presupposes that he was from the ruling house. In the present day usage, the Galadima of Kano ranks second in command to the Emir. Not much is available on the slave possessions of Hazo and the butchers (***Mahauta***). It is however indicative that there were some other personalities with significant number of slaves and land ownership in Kumbotso. The major activities of the slaves relate to the type of economic practices of the area. They were mostly found engaged in laborious jobs e.g. on the farms or with animal grazing. The slaves also engaged in other economic activities such as cutting of trees to provide firewood for the population in the city. They

[423] Excerpt from Maje Ahmed Gwangwazo Op. Ci***t.***
[424] Interview with ***Saadu Sarkin Bariki, Op. Cit***.
[425] ***NAK/925/Kunbotso District Tax Revision of 1932-35***, P. 79.
[426] Interview with Sarkin Bariki, ***Op. Cit.***; SNP7. ***Op. Cit***. Par 57-58.
[427] Saadu ***Op Cit***.

also engaged in the construction and repair of houses and the maintenance of rural road networks.[428] Such multi economic roles assisted the slaves with an occupation after they regained their freedom. The experience in Kumbotso was such that most of them took to house building (*Gini*), carpentry (*Kafinta*) and so on as their economic activities.[429] According to Mallam Saadu Sarkin Bariki, whose grandfather was a slave, it was the occupation of *Gini* that drew him closer to palace of Kumbotso and earned him his present political position.[430] Most of the slaves in Kumbotso, especially in the royal *Gandaye* remained within the *Gandu* even after being granted freedom. No statistics of such is available, but information around Kumbotso agrees that a lot more moved and commenced a new life in the city while some remained in Kumbotso engaged in rendering services that attracted payment from individuals and they continue to earn a living through that.[431]

Around the Western part (*Kwalwa*) of the Kumbotso main town lived a community of farmers. The district is generally characterized with farming as the major occupation of the people, with about 93% of the total land area under cultivation. By far the most important agricultural feature in the district is the irrigated land. In these farms were produced onions, tomatoes, wheat, pepper, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, bananas, red sorrel and egg plant.[432] The farms lie on the banks of the Chalawa River and Salanta, Watari, Zara and Tatsawarki streams.[433] There is very little to say about the non-irrigated "*rafi*" land save that it produced valuable crops of wheat and potatoes during the dry season and different crops of guinea corn during the rains.

The inhabitants of *Kwalwa* were predominantly vegetable producers while the women engaged in the production of groundnut oil and cake, an indication that groundnut was also one of the agricultural commodities that was produced for industrial and not domestic needs alone. Continued migration into the area led to the increasing growth in population and in the need for additional settlements. This is likely to have been a 19th century development looking at the growing number of Fulani among the migrant settlers. Indeed migration continued due to the existence of fertile and available farming land, in which Kumbotso fared better than its neighbour (Ungogo). It was in this

[428] Lovejoy Collections ***Op. Cit***.
[429] ***Group Interview*** with members of slave parenthood in Kumbotso, 10/4/2002. The group requested that their identity should not be disclosed.
[430] ***Ibid***
[431] ***Ibid***
[432] SNP/7. ***Op. Cit***. Par 22.
[433] NAK/Kumbotso ***Op. Cit***. Par. 41

course that settlements were established in Tsamawa, Chedawa, Gidan Kaya, Kaba, and Galadanci in addition to Kumbotso.

Tsamawa made up one of the earliest settlements in Kumbotso. It is yet difficult to ascertain where they came from. Tradition holds that they were among the indigenous population who settled in the area before the Fulani.[434] Proximity to the source of available water enhanced their development of the necessary skills in land use. They lived as farmers. Basically therefore they grew grains and some beans, cassava and groundnuts. With the growing need of groundnuts in response to colonialism the settlers quickly responded and transformed themselves as groundnut producers. Groundnut production was initially for the use of the women. The women were engaged in the production of groundnut oil and cake in their respective homes for local consumption and in the colonial period for the markets in the city.

Gidan Kaya had mostly long distance traders. Information from around Kumbotso stressed that they made up those Hausa traders possibly of the *Agalawa* and *Torankawa* group, who undertook trading activities as far as to Gonja. This settlement was more of a resting-place or station (*Zango*) for traders' en-route to their respective areas of trading activity. Perhaps this was what Lovejoy meant when he said that most of the long distance traders in Kano and Katsina lived in the countryside. Specifically he made mention of the *Agalawa*, and *Torankawa* to have been the major traders and added that they didn't patronize the towns as stopping places. Instead they resided in the countryside so that their animals could graze, and also they avoided selling their goods before they reached their final destination. Avoiding the town also meant staying away from the urban toll-collectors.[435] It is therefore right to assume that the inhabitants of Gidan Kaya were from among the people of *Agalawa* and or *Torankawa*.[436] In any way they are very likely to have been from among the long distance traders who established permanent settlements in the area in respect of the 19th and 20th century developments that transformed the economies of the region.

[434] Interview with ***Saadu Sarkin Barikin*** Kumbotso.
[435] Late Professor P. J. Shea, stressed that the settlement by traders in the villages outside the Kano main town was to avoid payment of taxes in the city or unnecessarily disposing of their goods before they reach the final destination of their journey. It can also mean, in the case of exporters, buying the goods from the producers and not from brokers in the city.
[436] Lovejoy ***Op. Cit***.

Among the major activities of these groups was the importation of especially corn to feed the ever-growing population of Kano City. Palmer made it known that importation was from as far as the regions of the Gwari of Western Zaria which suggests the existence of organised trading links with societies far and near, and indeed a regional outlook of the economy in the areas concerned.[437] Known and called as *Yan Kwarami*, the business encompasses people of varying backgrounds and identity, which increasingly made Kano a cosmopolitan city. Goods, mostly grain were imported from as far as Missau and Katagum, from around the east and Zamfara, Damagaram and Katsina in the North, which clearly shows that grain, was not a marginal commodity in Kano's distributive circuits.[438]

Gidan Kaya was known for the existence of *Turaku* everywhere used as parking lots for goods brought home in return or about to be carried out for export. "*Turaku*" represents a pile of timber (*Azara*) affixed in front of a house in a rectangular form to ease the difficulty of bending down to off load goods.[439] Availability of water and better farming conditions enhanced population growth and the development of settlements nearby and explains the establishment of this particular settlement. It was therefore made up of people from distant locations, but mostly from around Kano and its environs.[440] As a result of this economic outlook of the settlers, they are noted to have been the best to do; exposed and quite well travelled. As big time traders, they occupied an important position in the business transactions of Kano that A. M. Fika acknowledged as the most important trading centre of its region.[441] Evidence shows that all the trade routes that enter Kano especially from the South passed through Kumbotso. For example, the Karai-Kabo-Kano trade routes, Bebeji-Madobi-Gora-Keffi Kano trade routes, Rano-Bunkure-[an Hassan-Kano Trade Route and [an Maliki-Tsakuwa-Dawaki Kano trade routes. These routes remained very functional up to the mid 20th century. According to Fika, these trade routes did not just stop at Kano and its environs, it extended

[437] Palmer, NAKSNP7/1907, Quoted in Watts, M. ***Op. Cit***. P. 63.
[438] Shea, P. J. ***Op. Cit***. 1975, P. 66-67.
[439] Group interview, ***Op. Cit***. Kumbotso.
[440] ***Ibid.***
[441] On going research on Kura and some towns within the Kano close settled zones revealed that the greater number of people engaged in currency exchange business in WAPA, in Kano, originate from these areas, and the root of their riches goes back to the trading activity of the long distance type. For more information contact Professor Philip Shea, Department of history, BUK Kano.

to areas as far as Lagos and Salaga to the far south and to as far as Chad-Wadai; Zinder-Agades-Ghat-Ghadamis in the far north.[442]

Another important settlement was Kaba. The inhabitants of this area hailed from Kebbi, possibly from among the contingents of Sultan Shehu Attahiru after the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903, on the course of the historic flight to the east. It is important to note that the followers of Sultan Attahiru did not pass through Kano City during the course of their migration to the east. However, if our assumptions are correct then this migration must have been a very recent one. Fishing was the dominant activity of the people, a development very much explained by their hitherto skills and the availability of a river in the present area. The construction of the Challawa Dam and the continued encroachment of the city in addition to the growth of industries within the larger vicinity have displaced most of them and transformed them into wage labourers.

Galadanci was a Fulani settlement. According to Maje Gwangwazo, the Fulani settlers of Galadanci hailed from Gwamma, a location yet unknown and that no explanation is made of its whereabouts by the author.[443] The settlement came into limelight during the reign of Sarkin Kano Dabo in 1830. The inhabitants lived as farmers and pastorals. Politically, Galadanci made up the seat of the Dagacin Kumbotso, possibly representing the post Jihad arrangement. This equally suggests that the settlement was established after the Jihad.

At a more district level the major village settlements that made up Kumbotso district included to the east Riga-fada, Umara, Wailari, Mai-kalwa, (Na'ibawa) [angwauro, Yan-sango, Limawa, Unguwar Rimi, Yan Shana, Kureken Sani, Farawa and Mariri. To the South was an open land that bordered Kura and Madobi. Around the western side were the villages of Geidama, Kirimbo, Zawaciki, Panshekara, Runkusawa, Chalawa, Kuyan-tasidi, Kuyan-ta-inna, Gaida, Chiranci, Gwazaye, [anjerima and [anbare. Some part of Geidama also bordered the North; others were Yan-kusa, Beci, [an-Maliki, Gurungawa, Shekar-Barde, Ja'oji, and Shekar Madaki (*Gandu*). Beci, Riga-Fada and Unguwar Rimi were among the oldest villages in Kumbotso town. Mariri was a walled town of repute. Information from a group interview around Kumbotso maintained that the administrative seat was initially slated for Mariri before it was changed to Kumbotso on the

[442] See Map titled "Nineteenth Century Trade Routees to and from Kano" In H. A. S. Johnston, 1967, App. 3; also quoted in Fika, A. M.***Op. Cit.*** PhD. 1973, P. 427

[443] Gwangwazo ***Op. Cit***

consideration that Mariri was located at the extreme end. Kumbotso was taken as a replacement for administrative convenience, especially because of its location at the centre and the existence of an already established ruling house.[444]

The conquest of Kano in 1903 led to the mass migration of most of the people in the surrounding villages around the Kano Close Settled Zone into the main city.[445] Kumbotso was by this time a very small town of less than one thousand people by population.[446] Politically Kumbotso was by this period part of the Home district (1903-1908), under a respective *Jakada* (messenger) named Narkida. It was from 1908 that a sub-district status was granted to Kumbotso when the Home district was divided into ten sub-districts under Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero. Continued intensification of colonial policies with regard to the production of raw materials, labour conscription, land and taxation and the construction of a rural road network and other social infrastructures led to the development and growth of new settlements in and around the Kumbotso environs. Primarily this was with reference to the construction of the water and the electricity works (1929-1931), two giant colonial projects executed by the Kano Native Authority.[447] The development of the present day Panshekara town is attributed to that. Indeed within Panshekara it led to the development of settlements like Wakitawa (*Hayin-gada*) when the first and second water works was constructed. The third and the fourth moved them to a different settlement closer to Yan-danko, one of the oldest settlements in the area. This settlement was abandoned because of the spread of an infectious disease that nearly wiped out the population of the workers. In view of this development a new

[444] See Map, Chapter One, P. 4-5

[445] An informant told Ibrahim Hamza that when the news of the British forces reached Dorayi, a settlement within the terrain of Kumbotso district, the inhabitants vacated the settlement into the walled city. See Hamza ***Op Cit***. P49

[446] Polly Hill, ***Op. Cit***. P. 87.

[447] Mallam Ali Mamser collection, being a collection of oral information on the history and development of Panshekara town Kumbotso.

settlement was proposed close to where the Panshekara primary school is located presently. It was while in this settlement that the fifth and the sixth wells were constructed.[448] Known and called as Kanfani, this settlement is now made up of a large population of non-indigenes who worked for the company and later acquired plots of land in the area. Such a conglomeration of people hastened the growth of the town and in addition to growing social activity, especially after the construction of the road network that linked Challawa with the city, a growing number of city dwellers continued to establish settlements in and around the vicinity.[449]

The economic significance of this transformation can not be underestimated. Beside the growth in population due to increasing movement of people, such a development also assisted the movement of goods and people in the form of a rural-urban drift. Urban cultures and social outlooks became institutionalized especially in the later part of the 20th century. Such areas became the hideouts of alcoholics and prostitutes during the colonial era as such practices were not condoned in the city. Important personalities used such areas as hideouts for practices outlawed in the city.[450] Deviant attitudes and a growing number of thieves were evident in the area that a certain district head by name Turaki Maje had to devote much of his time in mercilessly dealing with thieves.[451]

District Officials in Kumbotso 3.6

Very little is known about local administration in those localities very close to the emirate Capital. Oral information narrates that Kumbotso was by the 19th century not under any territorial

[448] Aliyu Mamser collections, ***OP. Cit.***
[449] Group Interview in Kumbotso with community leaders (involving ward heads, Religious leaders and some respected leders) of Panshekara, 2000
[450] I am previlleged to be informed by Professor Murrey D. Last of this, though he made no mention of names. He was however very emphatic that some influential persons within the ruling family engaged in some dubious activities in such areas to avoid some legislations in the city. Professor Murrey Last is a Professor Emiratus of history with speciality on the history of the Sokoto Caliphate and indeed of colonial Northern Nigeria, specifically Kano emirate.
[451] Interview with Saadu Sarkin Bariki. ***Op. Cit.***

head, whether in the form of *Hakimi* or something else. According to Mallam Audu Makeri (*Sarkin Makera* of Kumbotso):

> "What we had were Jakadu. I can remember one of them called *Narkida Bawan* Sarki, his main work was tax collection and tax was then paid in Cowry. *Keso Guda* was the equivalence of the amount collected. *Keso Guda* was equal to *Jaka Guda* (a *Keso* was a package of shells wrapped in a mat)."

As clearly pointed out administration at this time was more or less reduced to tax collection, this is possibly the reason why it remained not quite paramount for the fief holder to reside in the area under his control. It was indeed of no need for him to stay all through the year while his major assignment was the collection of tax, which was done in a particular period of the year. It was also in respect of the lack of complexity of the society whereby there was quite an insignificant need for any institution, beside the family, for the maintenance of law and order. The elders in the society were therefore responsible for the administration of law and order. This also explains why rural Kano remained rural for quite some time in spite of the level of development of the *birni*. This system of administration continued, as in other areas of Kano until Resident Cargil's reorganization scheme, which "did away" with the ***Jakada*** system.

District and Assistant District Officer 3.7

Information available in colonial files and from around Kumbotso indicated that due to shortage of colonial officers in the province there was hardly any District Officer sent to Kumbotso. The same was the experience in some parts of Zaria province. Kauru District, for example was not toured for inspection from 1938 until 1954.[452] It was the same experience in the case of Kazaure emirate that Resident Niven had to complain on the neglect of the area. The only colonial officer in Kazaure emirate, according to Resident Niven was an A.D.O. who sometimes did not know what he was meant to be doing there.[453] As noted by Hill the population of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was by 1903 between the ranges of 15,000,000 to 20,000,000, yet only three political officers were sent for every 1,000,000 inhabitants. This was in spite of the fact that most a time's officers sent were found to be either on leave or absent. In the case of Kano province there were only three political officers in 1903. These officers were responsible for the collection of taxes

[452] NAK, SNP 548/1922, P. 47; and also in Hill, P. ***Op. Cit*** P. 37.
[453] Rex Niven, ***Nigeria, Kaleisdoscope, memoires of a colonial servant***, C. Hurst and Co., London, 1982, P. 198

and the maintenance of peace and order over such a large area. As made clear by Fika in a long list of Residents and Acting Residents of Kano, hardly any colonial officer stayed for six months at a stretch without travelling out on holiday, sick excuse or transfer to another location.[454] Such inconsistency and or a shortage in colonial personnel led to continued pressure for more officers, which were only answered in 1905. In the case of Kano, in 1907 the number of political officers increased to 12 with only 6 or 7 on the job at the same time. The number rose in 1909 to 17, at a time when Kano needed about 40 political officers.[455] Girouard argued that with such a very small number of colonial officers there was no possibility of reviewing the native assessment of taxation. This indeed explained the pressure upon which local authorities were forced to work to collect taxes, which at the same time explained what the peasants went through to make sure they pay their taxes. It was also for this reason that Kano remained under native assessment of taxation until 1911, meaning that there was no any assessment report of an earlier date, and no possibility of judging how the tiny staff in the several emirates were principally occupied.[456] Thus the 10 political officers on duty in Kano had to spend all their times on tour round the province. It was a Herculean task that officers had to spend most of the time on horseback. New introductions were made in 1911 in the system of administration in which the office of District Officers and Assistant District Officers were introduced to assist the Resident. Also the former political department was changed to Provincial Administration. Yet this remained on paper only, as there was no political officer sent in person.[457] This continued through to 1912 and indeed up to 1921, because the 1921 annual report also raised similar objection and request for additional political officers to at least 3 or 4, permanently stationed outside Kano. This proposal did not get the needed support on the claim that it would temper with the emirate arrangement. It was not until 1950 that some young political officers were appointed one of which was John Smith.[458] John Smith was in 1951 instructed to investigate rural population movements in Kano emirate. It was only on this occasion that Kumbotso was visited and the context was even on a different subject matter. Mr. Smiths visit was to find out about land pressure and its effect on the people. Not much was realized as a result of this effort due primarily to the absence of

[454] See a list of Residents and assistant residents that served in Kano in the period 1903-1935 in Kano; In NAK/KANPROF/5/1952/2568. Vol. 2, Gazetteer of Kano Province 1953-54; and also in A. M. Fika, ***"The Political and Economic Re-orientation of Kano Emirate, Northern Nigeria, c. 1882-1940,"*** PhD. University of London, 1973, P. 423-424

[455] Hill, P. ***Op. Cit***. P. 26-27.

[456] ***Ibid***

[457] Hill, P**.** ***Ibid***.

[458] ***Ibid.***

basic data, as noted by Hill.[459] The most important revelation was that Kumbotso and indeed Ungogo, the two districts on the Kano border, were not included in any touring area. At best Senior District officers only visited them in the evenings on a casual outing (hunting of animals and birds) and or on sightseeing.[460] Kumbotso continued to be ruled together with some near by areas outside the Kano main town in the ten (10) Home Districts with Ma'aji Sadi in charge since 1903 and under Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero1907-08; and as a sub-district from 1908 under [an Isa Muhammad Mai Ruwa 1908-1910. [an Isa Muhammad was noted to have started the construction of the first district head's house in Kumbotso. This was in 1908, and it was built of cornstalks and *Zana*, representing a rural setting.[461]

The district reorganization of 1916, which made Kumbotso a District of itself, marked the beginning of the appointment of a District Head in the area. By his appointment, he was to serve as the accounting officer representing the interest of colonial authority in the area. He was, from the day of his appointment to enjoy an amount as remuneration or salary, unlike the arrangement hitherto under which the total sum was divided into a certain division and he takes his share from the source. His duties were clearly spelt out, documented and supervised. Among his duties was the assessment and collection of taxes, maintenance of law and order, and the recruitment of forced labour, control of land, propaganda in support of colonial Government projects, ceremonial functions, and supervision of Native Authority staff.[462] To execute these functions effectively meant the District Head must relocate and settle permanently in his district or village area with his people. Therefore this made the District Head more relevant in the lives of his people and of his territory that demanded his presence in the district all the time. It is equally relevant to note that much to do with his duties was the provision of adequate control for the execution of colonial projects in tax collection and in the implementation of colonial economic programs. For example in organizing people for the construction of roads, railway lines (where necessary), production of some kind of cash crops, and in rendering other services needed by the colonial authority. When looked critically therefore the reorganizations were specifically for the purposes of institutionalising imperial control over the societies and people of the emirate.

[459] Hill, P. ***Op. Cit*** P. 27
[460] Interview with ***Alhaji Isa Tajo***, 2000.
[461] Interview with ***Mallam Saadu Sarkin Barikin*** Kumbotso, 2002
[462] For details refer to Tukur, M. M. ***Op. Cit.***

A new set of social relations developed to respond to the above urge, which necessarily transformed the socio-political setting. Family ties (Kinship) gave way to the control under some established institutions (i.e. the District and Village Heads and other subordinate officials) whose responsibilities were the maintenance of law and order. Just like in the socio-cultural setting, the economic set-up was also transformed with established sites representing the market and an accepted medium of exchange. In view of these developments the nature of the settlements were transformed to tally with the development of a community based structure. A community of settlements representing a ***Birni*** developed and replaced the homestead type of settlement around the cultivable lands. ***Unguwoyi*** developed surrounded by villages undergoing similar transformations that afforded the appointment of village and or ward heads and the setting up of some institutions to respond to the upkeep of law and order. A central Mosque initially located in an open space under a tree, in front of the Kumbotso district head's palace was provided, which cemented the initial distance between the people. Establishment of a central mosque meant the appointment of an Imam and his assistant. The frequent meetings to pray the five daily prayers created the additional basis for the development of a community of people and therefore the need for the establishment of an Islamic school, a rural road network and so on. To assist in the maintenance of law and order a local force of *Yan gadi* comprising of mostly members of the Kumbotso community was composed, with a small prison to house defaulters located very close to the Alkali's Court. Much of the cases in the court were theft of animals, marriage disputes, and inheritance cases.[463]

Appointment into district offices did not change from the past experience. For example, the emir always tried to ensure that his sons were not left out in the scheme of things. Evidence from oral interview in Kumbotso argued that it makes no sense for the emir to ignore his children since they are by tradition supposed to succeed him.[464] The history of political appointment in Kano has demonstrated this long before the conquest, and indeed after.[465] Available records from the archives show that by 1932 four of the twenty-six districts were directly controlled by the emir's sons. Instances have shown that even where the appointee appeared quite young or inexperienced; efforts

[463] Group Interview at Kumbotso. See also the Kano Native Authority Sharia files, deposited at the Kano Native Authority court cases, in Kano N. A. Library.
[464] Interview with Alhaji Gizo Maroki, Alhaji Isa Tajo and Mallam Saadu sarkin Bairiki
[465] Ubah, C. N. ***Op. Cit***. P. 190

were made to impose him and to station him close by for guidance.[466] As argued somewhere, this could have been an additional reason for the appointment of mostly the children of the emir's in Kumbotso District.[467] The same was the experience on matters of dismissal. The emir possessed the powers to depose subordinate officials subject to the Resident's approval. On the other hand, the son's of the emir were always on the upper hand they were hardly dismissed. Though the Resident did have the powers of veto, but never was such powers used against the wish of any reigning emir from 1909.

In Kumbotso the appointment of political Heads started with [an Isa Mai Ruwa (1908-1910), the son of *Sarkin* Kano Abdullahi Maje Karofi. He was deposed on charges of embezzlement. He was succeeded by [an Isa Muhammed Bello Na'ta-Alah who reigned for three years before his transfer to Dawakin Kudu. His brother [an Isa Usaini (1913-1917) succeeded him,[468] and then [an Isa Umaru (1917-28), the son of Sarki Usman was posted as his successor. It was during his reign that a car first visited Kumbotso. The *Kasuwar Garin Kumbotso* was first built during his reign, specifically in 1928.[469] The construction of the Kano/Kumbotso road (45 KLM) in 1928 was a turning point in the administration of Kumbotso,[470] this is because it further extended and localised the prosperous economy of Kano into Kumbotso and the neighbouring districts. In addition to the fact that as a district head quarter Kumbotso deserves these social amenities, [an Isa Umaru was an added factor to these developments.[471] The result was the establishment of a new form of economic relationship between the ***Birni*** and Kumbotso on the one hand and with other districts of the Kano Close Settled Zone. Villages around the Kumbotso district became trading stations and resting places

[466] This applied to the specific case of the appointment of Ciroma Sunusi as district head of Bichi. Bichi is said to be a very big district that demands an experienced and old aged administrator. In order to sanction any opposition the then emir of Kano, Abdullahi Bayero, insisted on the appointment with the understanding that he would give him initial help and guidance.

[467] ***Op. Cit***. P. 191

[468] [an Isa Usaini was the first District Head of Kumbotso.It was while he was the Sub-district Head 1913-1917) that Kumbotso was made a District. He remained the District Head until 1917 when he was transferred to Dawakin Kudu

[469] Confidential document in my possession collected from ***Mallam Bashari***, one of the aids of the present district head of Kumbotso.

[470] ***NAK/KANPROF/256/1928 Provincial Annual Report 1928***, P. 23.

[471] Being one of the direct son's of the reigning emir it is very possible that he could influence some developments. In addition his tenure in office also marked the period of massive expansion of colonial economy into villages, especially from the completion of the construction of the railway lines. For detail refer to Hogendorn, J. C. The Origin of the Groundnut trading in Northern Nigeria, ***Op. Cit***

for trader's en-route to Kano main market.[472] In this regard also new settlements sprang along the road and movement of both men and goods became easier.[473] Other road networks constructed include the Dawanau to Dawaki ta Yamma, Ungogo to Fanisau and a proposal for Mallam Jatau Bridge to Sarina. Noted for his good reputation, ability and integrity, [an Isa Umaru was transferred on promotion to take charge of the difficult District of Taura, which he succeeded in effecting serious material improvement in its administration. His transfer was truly in recognition of his hard work beside his close relationship with the Emir. His appointment to look after Taura District was as a result of the failure of [an Maje, considered to be incompetent in the performance of his duties. To fill the vacant seat at Kumbotso, [an Buran Haruna was appointed in 1928 and removed in 1932. He was removed in April 1932 without compassionate allowance for inefficiency and irregularities discovered by Mr. Leslie in connection with tax.[474] Turaki Hashim, another close relation of the Emir was appointed. Before his appointment he was the district head in charge of Minjibir.[475] Looking at the territorial extent of Kumbotso compared to Minjibir, the appointment of [an Buram Turaki Hashimu was a promotion for his commitment to district administration.

Turaki Hashim (1932-1939) then as [an Buram, one of the sons of Emir Abbas and therefore a brother of Abdullahi Bayero was appointed on a salary of £400 and noted as one of the most prominent rulers sent to Kumbotso District. He was at that period a very young, educated and energetic person. His career as a civil servant started in the Native Administration Survey Department (NA Survey School) and as a scribe (assistant warder) in the native administration hospital.[476] He was 25 years old at the time of his appointment and was of good appearance and personality. The 1932 reassessment report acknowledged him for his thoughtfulness and interest in the statistics collected for the assessment. The father of the present Galadiman Kano (Tijjani Hashim), he was the one who built the present Kumbotso District Head's house to its modern form. Oral information narrated that the house was initially made up of cornstalk (*Dangar Kara*), like most other village houses. It was during his time also that the Panshekara market was constructed. It was considered essential to appoint him to Kumbotso District, one of the most difficult of the Home

[472] Because of its closeness to the main town, consequent to these developments, Kumbotso (with Ungogo) is recently made one of the eights municipal local governments of the Kano main town.
[473] Interview with ***Alhaji Gizo Maroki***, 2000.
[474] NAK/SNP8452 Kumbotso District office – Instructions; 2. Inspection Notes
[475] ***NAK/KAN. PROF. /Provincial Annual report 1928***, P. 5.
[476] ***NAK/Kumbotso District Re-assessment Notebook***.

Districts, because experience has shown that person of less prestigious background have little chance.[477]

[an Maje Ahmadu who reigned in the period 1939-1941 succeeded [an Buran Hashimu. He was a graduate of Katsina Training College and taught English in the Middle School, Kano. He was from the family of Emir Aliyu, and a direct son of late Madaki Mahmudu. Dan Maje Ahmadu was part of the entourage that accompanied the Emir to England in 1934 and also to Mecca for the annual pilgrimage, when he served as the personal Secretary to the Emir.[478] Information from within Kumbotso maintained that he was a very hardworking person who hates hypocrites and unproductive people. Hot tempered as he was but he hardly fights and he easily forgives and forgets. He was for this character praised as "*Magaji baban Gambo, fada gareka baka san raini*".[479] He was said to be very strict with not only tax defaulters, but those village heads in whose villages there exist tax default. These positive attributes of [an Maje can be traced to his heritage of administrative ability and the advantage of a modern education. It was after his first year in office that Haraji changed to ***Kudin Garma***. ***Kudin Garma*** meant that only those who could work in the farm pay the tax. This exempted the old and the young from taxation but gave the district head additional power to define who is old and young, which made open those tendencies for all forms of corruption and maltreatment of especially the peasant population.[480] Other taxes paid include ***Kudin Sana'a*** and ***Kudin Arziki***. His tenure was quite short after which he was succeeded by Madaki Shehu who left in 1943 to Babura District and replaced by Barde Ismaila. Barde Ismaila (1943-1948) a Bayole was removed because of suspected mischief in 1948. In fact Barde has a bad record in his last place of assignment, Jahun. His appointment to Kumbotso District was to serve his period of demotion. Information regarding his demotion was sent to the Secretariat at Kaduna and a circular to that effect was sent back with a strong word of warning. The circular warned that Barde must behave himself or else be dismissed. This decision was accepted by the emir and documented in the records for future guidance. Barde is found to be unserious with his work.[481] He was however dethroned by the emir for disobedience to the constituted authority. Though noted to have performed below expectations one of

[477] ***OP. Cit.***. NAK/SNP/8452
[478] Kano province annual report 1939/32098, P. 2-3
[479] Literally translated as "The Successor, Oh father of Gambo you quarell only because you dislike to be looked down upon.
[480] ***Group Interview with elders in Kumbotso town***, 2002.
[481] NAK/SNP/8452 ***Op. Cit.***

the greatest events that changed the lives of the people of Kumbotso took place during his tenure. This was the completion of Kumbotso Primary School, said to be in 1943. Barde Habibu followed next in 1948, he was the son of Liman Umaru and grandson of Liman Zara. He managed the affairs of Kumbotso for six years until 1954 when he was transferred to Gwaram District.

It was during his time that the reform which established the District and Village councils came into effect in Kumbotso. The philosophy behind the reform was the general recognition of the desire for change even by the colonial authority, which characterised the aftermath of the Second World War era.[482] Considering the general atmosphere since 1946, what predominated was the demand for structural changes against the dominance of the NA.[483] It was indeed part of the processes marking the termination of British rule in Nigeria or Africa at large that was spearheaded by the Socialist Movements in Britain.[484] Specifically, these reforms were in effect part of the recommendations in Lord Harley's report on the condition of British colonies in Africa.[485] The report established that sustained economic and social progress in the colonies was dependent on a firm political substructure. Obviously this became a welcomed position amongst the colonial officials and therefore served as a working paper essentially to put in place political structures intended to open up opportunities for indigenous participation in the central government and to make local government more democratic and efficient. The support of the Colonial Office was made clear when Sharwood-Smiths,[486] a proponent of a new political order, was made the Lieutenant Governor to replace Thompson, noted for conservatism. To make this transformation more practicable "Indirect Rule" as

[482] Within the official circles of the Colonial Office lord harley led a group that openly supported a reform of the old order. This added weight to the already existing views of Lord Lugard and his biographer (Dame mergery perham), though their position was essentially proposing the need to develop the NA system to represent an African brand of post British political authority.

[483] Both Richard (1946) and Macpherson (1951) constitutions supported the desire for a new outlook in the administration of the colonies. But the fact that Macpherson succeeded Richard as the Governor in 1947, and indeed his views supported the establishment of an "efficient and democratic local\government" indicated the general support on the part of the colonial office for a change from the old system. This justified the claim that the Macpherson constitution was a break with the past in the Nigeria's political evolution. For detail see Yahaya, A. D. ***The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria 1950-70, A Study in Political Relations with Particular Reference to Zaria Native Authority***, Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, ABU Press, 1980, P. 34

[484] ***Ibid***. P. 21

[485] Lord Harley was very influential in Colonial Office in the 1940s that he was mandated by the Secrretary of state for the Colonies to write a report on the condition of British Colonies in Africa.His submission formed the basis of the changes in British colonial policy in Africa of the 1950s. For detail see Yahaya, ***Ibid***. P. 22

[486] Sharwood-Smith, according to Yahaya, was the most qualified serving officer for the task of directing Northern Nigeria on the path of constitutional reforms than any other officer. This was because of his closeness to the educated elites inaddtion to his greater influence over the emirs. See ***Ibid***. P. 22

a system of governance was first jettisoned and efforts to train and expand public services were made.[487] More specifically the period in question marked the termination of "Indirect Rule" as a system of governing the colonies.

It was in response to these reform moves that the idea to establish a council to assist in the administration of district came into being.[488] Report on the activities of the council in Kumbotso District shows that its performance was adequate, though lacked maturity in the way it performed its duties. This appeared very clear in the way records were kept, though they were prompt in keeping minutes and attendance of meetings. The lack of clear procedure or approach to the conduct of discussions was also of serious concern, to a point that members were not educated enough of their responsibilities.[489] There is no record of work completed even in the books slated for that. Information available in the colonial official documents noted that the main impediment to their function was that they were working on an income quite small for the burden of work before them. It was however on record that they executed the building of a dam at the cost of £150.00 from a total sum of £250.00 annual income. They were also credited for building three council chambers, repaired some number of wells, erected market stalls, built slaughter slabs, Burial ground (***Hurumi***) and cattle track. They were indeed noted for waging an anti thieves campaign, though only one arrest was recorded.[490]

Same structure was also put in place in the villages as part of the administrative reform. Called the Village Council, it was equally burdened with the task of assisting in the administration of the Kumbotso District at village levels. Not much was achieved at this level possibly due to lack of understanding of the assignment or the deliberate attempt by the authorities at the village levels not to allow any administrative body to stand parallel to them. Records on their activities shows that minutes of meetings were not kept, indeed no any record to that effect is found indicating that nothing like that took place. It invariably also meant that the scheme was a total failure; this is

[487] See ***Ibid*** Table 1, P. 23
[488] Though democratic in outlook, membership was by appointment rather than elction.
[489] Instead for the meeting to be conducted like that of an assembly of law makers, it was rather conducted as an interview of question and answer sessions. Members were rather asked questions by the District Head to find out if they have any suggestions to give. In most cases the answer is negative or at best they want a well etc. For detail refer to NAK/KANPROF/ Inspection of District council Works, 1952/5305/S.30
[490] NAK/KANPROF/ Inspection of District council Works, 1952/5305/S.30

however found to be an exaggeration. A lot was achieved but only that the record was in Ajami (Arabic-Hausa) and therefore of little meaning to the colonial officer who reported on the case.[491]

The relevance of setting such a council at District and Village levels was in trying to initiate the process of making developmental issues public and not a prerogative of the Emir, District or Village Head. This was considering the general tendencies in the political developments in the country, in particular the pressure for independence and the desire to have in place a friendly administrative set up.[492] Part of the problems encountered, especially in Kumbotso District, was the refusal by the NA set up to acknowledge, accept and accommodate changes. Nevertheless, the intervention really worked and made the tenure of Barde Habibu more productive and full of activities. The greatest challenge came about during the reign of his successor, [an Buran Umaru Faruku (1954).

He was known to be very arrogant and dictatorial, indeed a tyrant of the first order. No any commoner passes by his house with shoes on his legs or on his donkey. In the villages far away, his cruelty was manifested by the activities of *Yaran Sarki* during the course of tax collection. Not only that they were fed from the granaries of the *Talakawa*; in some cases they slept with their wives.[493] Information around Kumbotso noted that his attitude to the common people annoyed Emir Sunusi Abdullahi Bayero that he dismissed him out of office.[494] Such a decision was necessary, though painful to the institution, because the emir was just newly appointed and considering the controversy over his appointment, the most appropriate action was to dismiss him so as to convince the colonial office of his competence. It was also with the intent to prove to the colonial office that the emirate system can check itself.

As a result of his removal, Faruku went near mad that he was moving around with a sword hopping to attack whosoever is sent to replace him. Indeed members of the community in Kumbotso main town continued to be subjected to his different forms of cruelty that even the village heads were

[491] ***Ibid.***
[492] Yahaya, ***Op. Cit***. P.24
[493] Interview with Muktari Soja, Mariri
[494] The period was generally noted for a number of dismissals and all forms of punishment by even the Lieutenant Governor himself. This began with the shaking of the Adamawa NA in 1952, in the process of which the Lamido was deposed. Same took place in Borno in 1953 and investigated widespread cases of maladministration and corruption which led to the termination of the appointment of the waziri. This continued in 1954 where three first class emirs from Argungun, bauchi and Dikwa were deposed. For detail see Yahaya, ***Ibid***. P. 24

not spared. It was on record that a lot of the inhabitants escaped into the bush and finally to other destination for failing to pay tax. He remained in Kumbotso even though removed from office, insisting that he was still the District Head until when Emir Sunusi Abdullahi Bayero tricked him by sending a call notice to review the case. On reaching Kano Faruku was detained and his family and belongings were later packed and moved to Kano.[495] The tenure of Faruku was a big blow to the attempt at a reform in the administration of Kumbotso District and its Villages. Indeed the failure to make this reform effective within that period of time further delayed the speed in the development of political awareness in Kumbotso District; and made the NA to continue to hold tight their control of the administration of the district.

3.8 Conclusion

The settlement at Kumbotso was made possible by the presence of available water which according to the 1911 Resident assessment report was signified by the existence of streams of varying size that run through it and joined the Challawa River. The significance of Kumbotso also as a *Gandu* for the provision of the daily needs in grains and vegetables to the royal house played another important role in the growth of the settlement. Indeed it was because of this significant position that the status of a headquarter of the administrative set up was given to Kumbotso and not to Mariri, which was then more developed and indeed walled. The close proximity to the city, and the fact that numerous office holders, wealthy citizens and servants of the Emir owned farms in the area, made Kumbotso a district that demands a Headman of acknowledged position and strength of character. Thus explained the reason why only full-fledged royal person was, and indeed, is to date posted to serve as District head. This factor also explains why the Emir pays greater attention to the area on matters of administration.[496] In addition the proximity made

[495] According to an informant, Faruku was power drunk and thought that his authority was untouched. On the other hand the general challenge against the NA system was threatening with a number of depositions. It was therefore a saving grace for Emir Abdullahi Bayero that he acted sweptly and removed him. Interview with Saadu sarkin bariki Kumbotso, 2002, Kumbotso town.

[496] On the other hand this adage also informs the fact that proximity to the emirate capital has exposed the District administration of this area that it could easily be monitored, and therefore be dealt with.

it easier for the 'slaves' or servants of the ruling classes or of a certain rich persons to remain in one of these villages while relating, on a day to day basis, with his master in the city.[497] The creation of district administration as related above was in response to the desire to satisfy the colonial policy of searching for a way of upsetting the financial burden of the colonies. It not only provided that but also helped in the consolidation of colonial hold over the society and economy of Kano by way of transforming the economic and political relations.

A very important development in the evolution of Kumbotso occurred with the completion of the electric and Water works sites. This was after the granting of the status of district headship to Kumbotso, consisting of a large number of villages. These developments opened up Kumbotso to the wider community in Kano as a result of which new settlements emerged and older ones expanded to address the pressure generated by new comers into the district. Developments around the district continued in response to the continued growth of Kano, whose growing population spread and opened up new settlements. The fact that much of the land area in Kumbotso belongs to the Government explained the existence of so many State educational and other institutions in the area. The same excuse explained the growth and development of most of the towns around Na'ibawa, Sharada, Sheka, Panshekara, Chalawa, Zawaciki and so on, all in Kumbotso District. Much of the landed property in these areas, initially, made up the farms and gardens of the city dwellers. The increasing encroachment on the land area of Kumbotso District therefore meant a reduction in the available land area to be put in production. The impact of this on the economy of Kano was not much especially that Kano was more of a commercial centre. Gradually, these developments encapsulated large part

[497] ***Kumbotso District Note-book, Op. Cit.***

of Kumbotso District into Kano City and made very little, if any difference between the two. It was these specific contexts of the relationships that paved the way for the establishment of the Kumbotso District and for its continued development.

Of great concern in the history of the evolution of the district system in Kumbotso was the political transformations of the late 1940s and early 50s. Though targeted to transform the NA system, the development caught up with [an Buran Umaru Faruku who was forcefully removed in 1954.

Chapter Four

Land tenure, Land administration and Land use in Kumbotso District 1916-1953

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters established that for effective administration of their colonies (Kano emirate in this case) the British had to make use of the existing political structure represented by the emirs and their subordinate officials, when Indirect Rule system was accepted as the British system of administering its colonies. Primarily this was what assisted the successful establishment of the Kano Native Authority and restored back the political powers of the emirate aristocracy. Thus from about 1909 when an understanding was reached between the local authority and the British colonial officers, a system of administration was put in place with the task of overseeing the administration of land. This chapter examine's the administration of land in Kumbotso District in the period of the colonization of Kano emirate to 1953. Emphasis here is laid on the nature and pattern of changes during the colonial rule and how these changes affected the people of Kumbotso District. The study brings out the roles played by the Native Authority in the administration of land. This is fundamental because of the established position that the powers of administration of land at local level were granted to the Native Authority by the British colonial authority through the British colonial office. It was on this understanding that the Native Authority executed policies on land and other matters that affected the lives of the people.

4.2 Colonial Land Policy

Land tenure can be defined as ".. interrelationships between men in the use of land resources" or as "… the rights that people have in land, that is their integral privileges to use, cultivate, dispose of, and even exploit specified portion

of the earth's surface.[498] Tenure is therefore a social relationship between human beings with respect to land; it is reflected in a broad array of social regulation regarding the use of the soil."[499] Land, therefore, as the primary means of production, and its distribution to and among the people, is of crucial and central importance.

As with all societies, land in Africa was the foundation of the economy, politics and the society. It was also the major element in African religious belief systems, African social relationships, and African political configurations.[500] It was variously regarded as a preserve of major deities, the sacred soil of the ancestors, an object of the most important rituals, the origin of royal power, the basis for health and prosperity; indeed, it was widely looked at as the source of life.[501] Such an important place occupied by land no doubt gave it a very significant place in African eyes. Its importance placed it above value; like the air we breathe, "it was a priceless possession that no individual could conceive of owning… making that ownership a basis for personal profit."[502] In short land could be something to be occupied corporately by a nation, a clan, a lineage, or a family; it belonged to the community, tribal group, to the ancestors, or sometimes to the King acting as custodian for his people.[503]

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[498] Philips Anne, ***The Enigma of Colonialism: British Policy in West Africa***, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indiana Polis, 1989, P. 78

[499] ***Ibid*** P.78

[500] See Usman Y. B. ***Th Transformation of Katsina 14400-1883***, ABU Press, Zaria, Kaduna State, 1981 and also in Mahdi, A. "***State and Economy, The Sarauta System and its roles in shaping the society and economy of Kano with particular reference to the 18th and 19th century.***" Ph. D., ABU, Zaria, 1982.

[501] Robert J**. *Pre-colonial Africa: An economic and Social History***, Davidson Publishers Limited, 1976, P. 89

[502] ***Ibid*** P. 89

[503] ***Ibid*** P. 89

In the case of Kano emirate, the administration of land was prior to the 20th century under the control of the Emirate authority. The twentieth century set a new stage in the administration of land in Kano when it ushered in the processes for effective integration of Kano into the World capitalist system through the imposition and functioning of British colonial domination. This integration led to the creation of structures in which the economy of Kano complemented that of Britain.[504] As already noted, in this period of the history of Kano Emirate the aristocracy made up the dominant class consisting of the Emirate officials among whom the entire Emirate was divided into various official fiefs. The economy on the other hand relied on both the use of slave labour in the estates of the aristocracy and simple commodity production of the peasantry in addition to the expanding merchant class involved in internal and external trade.[505]

The conquered emirs were given letters of appointment, whose terms of reference covered a declaration that the ultimate title to land was henceforth vested on the suzerain power (Britain), a claim which was accepted by all. Unavoidably this development had profound effect on the nature of the Socio-economic and political structures of Kano,[506] amongst which were the loss of political over lordship by the aristocracy and the establishment of the basis for a culture of subservience. In Kumbotso District in particular, the ruling class lost control of large hectares of land which were automatically turned to emirate lands and not the personal property of any member of the aristocracy. The significance of Kumbotso District here is, in its location very close to the capital city of Kano. Land in Kumbotso District therefore remained highly in demand to meet up the

[504] Sule, B. ***Op. Cit***.
[505] Muktar, I. M. ***Op. Cit***.
[506] ***Ibid***. P.1

expanding colonial economy of Kano. In particular, Kumbotso District provided the available land in which the Groundnut Pyramid was made. It is important to note that Groundnut was the main stay of the economy of Kano during the colonial period. However the whole area where the pyramid was hosted made up the Gandu (agricultural estate) of Emir Abdullahi Bayero, then as Ciroma.

Colonial policies on land took effect from the declaration that all lands within the Nigerian area belong to the British Crown.[507] This was soon followed by the Lands and Native Rights Proclamation of 1906, later amended in 1910 which vested all the lands in the Northern protectorates in the hands of the Governor in the Northern parts of the country.[508] This therefore also meant that no person other than a native of the protectorate should either, directly or indirectly; acquire any interest in or right over land within Northern Nigeria from a native without the consent, in writing, of the High Commissioner. As a result of these the Emirates which were semi-autonomous under the Sokoto Caliphate were made autonomous units in which the respective Emirs continued to use their own administrative machinery, like courts and other paraphernalia of rule hauled over from the pre-conquest days. This meant, of course, that the old system of taxation and other oppressive measures remained in existence and extended in the interest of the British who took away significant part of the proceeds.[509] The basis for this was in Lugard's[510] belief "that

[507] During his time as the High Commissioner Lugard from 1900 through to 1907, signed a large number of bills into law, among them the native court proclamation (1900), the native revenue proclamation (1904), the land revenue proclamation (1904) and the native authority proclamation (1907).

[508] In the South the British took over the control of certain lands which they declared Crown lands and left the rest in the hands of the local communities under the administrative control of Obas, Chiefs and headmen who ultimately derived their legitimacy from the British. Thus a stage was set for large-scale communal land disputes in the South which sapped the energy of the administration and divided the peasantry.

[509] Bello S. ***Op. Cit***. P. 73

[510] Lugard was the first British High Commissioner to Nigerian area. Before his appointment he served in RNC under George Tubman Goldie. Goldie was the first to attempt to proffer solution to the fate of

all those thing which the Fulani, by right of conquest took, the right to do, has now passed on to the British."[511] What Lord Lugard started with, having made this point was to set the stage for the transformation of land tenure. In this he declared that the Government would, in due course, hold the rights in land and if Government requires land it would take it for any purpose. This was indeed endorsed and accepted by the new rulers, Emir Abbas in the case of Kano. It needs to be emphasised that such a pronouncement established clearly the ground upon which the aristocracy (Native Authority) administered land and land related issues. Basically therefore two powers came into play here:

(1) the already established aristocratic powers,

(2) and those of the British Imperialism.[512]

The Land and Native rights proclamation made it very clear to all when it stressed that by the ordinance, land was in effect nationalised.[513] The law emphasised that the whole of the land whether occupied or unoccupied was subject to the control and declaration of the Governor, and that the control is to be exercised as far as possible in accordance with native law and custom.[514] This empowered the Native Authority, more over land administration and control and stripped the people, of any right of ownership; or free use of any land area. This enactment vested on the traditional rulers, acting theoretically as delegates of Government, powers of land administration and alienation. This was to fulfil the section where the Governor was to control land in accordance with native law and custom. In

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slaves when RNC was administering Lokoja. Part of the experience of Lugard on the administration of land and of the freed slaves was developed during that period. For detail refer to Lennihan, L. D. ***"Rights in men and Rights in Land: Slavery, Wage Labour, and Small holder Agriculture in Northern Nigeria***," In ***Slavery and Abolition,*** 3, 2, 1982, P. 114-5.

[511] Flora Shaw, Tropical Dependency ***…. Op. Cit.***

[512] Thus the use of terms like Babban Dodo in Zaria, Mai Wandon Karfe, Mai Gashin Baki and so on to describe not only Colonial Officers but also colonial powers (authority).

[513] Bello S. ***Op Cit***. P. 75

[514] ***Ibid***. P. 75-76

Kano the Native Authority of the Emir assisted by his judicial council exercised these powers.[515]

To make these changes functional the Government made all the freed slaves landless.[516] This was the handwork of Lugard who wanted to avoid a situation in which, a large number of the more recently enslaved to form their own villages where they would live a life of idleness, defying all authority. To combat this problem, Lugard proposed to prevent former slaves from gaining access to land, forcing them instead to work as labourers, whose land would be the private property of their aristocratic owners. The Government according to him would in return be financed by their (ex-slaves) taxes, and the officials supported by the revenues from their estates.[517] Such a declaration exposed the slaves to a world of insecurity ('though free') and indeed to make ends meet where there was none. This led to an increasing thirst for land, which was only helped by the gesture of land lending dominant in Kumbotso District [518] and among the *Fadama* lands of especially Kura and some other areas to the South of *Birnin* Kano. In both these areas land became highly commoditised.[519]

Having offered this scheme for transforming the countryside of Northern Nigeria, Lugard concluded his memorandum with instructions for implementing

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[515] ***Ibid.*** P. 76.

[516] The idea of turning slaves into proletarians depended upon the state's being able to ensure that former slaves would be forced to choose between slavery and being "free labor" meaning that free not only from servile status but also from access to the means of production. Also in the Caliphal years at the death of the *Masu gidaje*, the *Gandaye* were divided among the individuals instead of giving the whole under the trusteeship of the most eldest. This led to more fragmentation of land and increasing struggle over ownership of land. For detail refer to Pierce, S. T. "***Looking at the legal: Land, Law and Colonialism in Kano Emirate, Nigeria***." Ph. D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 2000, P. 101.

[517] Lenniham ***Op. Cit***. P. 123

[518] This was also echoed by Hill, P. "Some Socio-economic consequences of the high population density in rural area near kano City," In Moss, R. P. and Rathbone (edited), ***The population factor in African Studies***, University of London Press, London, London, 1975, P. 207

[519] Pierce**,** *Op. Cit***.** P. 77

this policy. Residents should inaugurate the change by encouraging a few leading men to adopt the regime and to exert pressure upon a number of farm slaves to enter such a contract upon the protection of the authority concern. The Residents were also cautioned not to allow the freed slaves any form of employment possible, whether as police, army, etc. since such were the few means of livelihood that they could pursue. This is indeed to ensure that they are barred from possessing land to which they had no title, nor to build new villages at all and so on. This was further summarised by way of ascribing meaning to the various categories of land.[520]

This approach had to be reversed at a later point, by Girouard,[521] following Morel's thesis that African land rights were being undermined by the reckless application of European capitalism in tropical Africa. He therefore suggested two ways for the purpose of administering specifically the West African colonies. The first encourages the outright denial of African of the right in land, but warned that if so applied the African would not put any effort in his work and would therefore have nothing with which to purchase European goods. The tendency is therefore that British trade interest would be affected, which would as a result render a fundamental point for the conquest meaningless. It would also lead to social misery and a landless proletariat. The second option stressed on the need to recognise the right of the African in land to form the foundation of British rule. Clearly this signified a reversal from the Lugardian approach, especially because it emphasised peasant proprietorship as against large-scale estates.[522]

[520] Lugard, F. ***Political Memorandum, Instructions to Political and other Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative***. London Waterloo and sons Ltd., 1906, P. 140.
[521] Lenniham, ***Op Cit***. P124
[522] Lenniham ***Op. Cit***. P. 126-7

It is the understanding here that the appointment of a Colonial Officer, especially of a very higher rank, has always been in response to certain specific needs within the context of the changing colonial paradigm. Thus the appointment of E. P. C. Girouard, as the High Commissioner in 1907 was with a view to doing away with 'the proletarian paradigm of Lugard. To meet up this challenge Girouard was therefore faced by two major tasks toward establishing a formidable British system of colonial administration in Northern Nigeria. As an engineer to over see the construction of rail line from the Northern part of Nigeria to the coast in the South. Basically this was with the sole aim of facilitating the movement of raw materials, in the form of cash crops to be exported to Britain for the use of British industries. Secondly and more importantly was to create a policy of land tenure for Northern Nigeria that will support the institutionalisation of capitalist structures without any antagonism or that which would carry along with it the custom of the people. This desire developed upon the proclamation that freed slaves metamorphosed into another form of contradiction 'outside' colonial imagination.[523] Indeed beside his profession as an Engineer, his experience on land issues while in colonial office in India made him more qualified than Lugard to undertake the task.[524] Indeed the emphasis on India was also symptomatic of Girouard's shift from Lugard's model of abolition.[525] It is of relevance to note therefore that the appointment of Girouard was to serve such a specific purpose.

Girouard's Indian interest thus not only led him towards the notion that land tenure was important but also helped dictate the kind of inquiry he set in motion. The important thing to consider was the traditional basis by which people

[523] ***Ibid*** P. 127
[524] Pierce, S. T. ***Op. Cit***. P. 104.
[525] ***Ibid***. P. 104.

held land. Girouard began work on a memorandum about land tenure and land revenue sending out a circular to the Residents of all the provinces inquiring about land tenure in their regions. The responses were compiled into the final version of Girouard's memorandum to the Colonial Office. Based on the proposal a committee was set to consider the matter in detail.[526] The committee's report found that the theory of land tenure was such that the Governor owns all the lands. He gives it to Emir of Kano on payment of certain amount of tribute. The Emir of Kano gives the "Village" or Unit to his subordinate officials, the District head (*Hakimi*) and then to a Village head (*Dagaci*) on payment of tribute.[527] The first point of concern by the committee was that the system in operation did not support private property in land as conceived in the Western (Capitalist) sense. It further argued that such tenures were incapable of supporting 'economic development' or of being evoked to any scheme of large-scale agricultural production, simply put it was not supportive to capitalist economy. The recommendation was therefore that the native must adopt methods of agricultural production that will support a reasonable means of living (capitalist economy).[528] New colonial policy on land was therefore fashioned out whose net effect was the increasing alienation of peasant land as well as the marginalisation of the rural producers which led to the breakdown of the *Gandu* and the fragmentation of land.[529]

The committee recommended that Proclamation should be made to announce that:

[526] ***Ibid*** P. 104-5.
[527] See detail in Pierce S. T**.** *Op. Cit***.** P.105-8, and in *NAK SNP 6/3 162/1907, Land tenure, land revenue in Northern Nigeria (1907).*
[528] ***Ibid***. P. 1
[529] ***Ibid.*** P. 79

1) The whole of the land of the protectorate is under the control and dominion of the government and that no title to the occupation, use or enjoyment of any land is valid without the assent of the Government.

2) That the law should be amended or declared by providing that the control and dominion of the government should be exercised in any particular case with due regard to lawful customs proved to exist in any district or province where the land is situated.

3) That persons or community entitled to the occupation, use or enjoyment of the land should have the exclusive right thereto against all persons other than the Government.

4) That except in so far as should be specifically provided by the terms of any lease or license, the Government should be entitled for good cause to revoke the title of any land.

These recommendations were accepted by the secretary of state and Girouard who described them "in substance, a declaration in favour of the nationalisation of the lands of the protectorates".[530]

The basis for the present land laws was laid down in the lands and Native Rights Proclamation, which conferred on government the absolute control and ownership of land in Northern Nigeria, though the Governor was required to have 'regard for the native laws and customs existing in the district in which such land is situated.[531] In practice, the people held rights to the portion of emirate lands they utilised and enjoyed permanent tenure of such lands. Colonial governments in

[530] Meek, C. J. ***Op. Cit***. P. 102. See also ***NAK/KANO PROF/2/31/LAN/32 ii Land Tenure in Northern Provinces***, by C. W. Rowling, Commissioner of Lands, Nigeria.
[531] Meek ***Ibid.*** P. 30

the permission given to Native Authorities to modify their native law expressly recognised this.[532] In Nigeria this was made possible when the native Courts ordinance empowers a native tribunal to make rules embodying any law and custom 'with or without such additions or Changes in tenure which could be produced by many causes.[533] Thus by this paradigm land could be held by companies or corporations in the form of large plantations, a development which opened up for the processes toward a more developed private enterprise.[534] In addition favourable grounds where made for the growing merchant class most of whom also acted as colonial political and economic agents.

The following changes in tenure gave the local authority some powers of ownership of the land. At the same time government agricultural departments were also given some powers within which to introduce restrictions on the freedom of using pastureland. In particular forestry regulations, which may entail the need for a more economical use of arable land, and land departments, may introduce systems of boundaries, survey and registration compatible with the exercise of individual proprietary rights.[535] Local authorities may also introduce far-reaching changes of their own. For, quite apart from the fact that Native Authorities may be required to administer the land regulations of the Central Government, they were usually also empowered to make new regulations of their own. The Nigerian Native Authority Ordinance, for example, empowered the Native Authorities to make new regulations

[532] Same was the experience in other parts of Africa. For example in Ashanti (Ghana) the Native Law and Custom ordinance of 1940 empowers the Ashanti Confederacy to modify the customary law.
[533] Pressure of population may necessitate a switch from shifting cultivation on many scattered holdings to intensive holdings to intensive cultivation on consolidated holdings: or it may lead to excessive subdivision, soil erosion and eventual abandonment. New method of agriculture and of marketing may demand new methods of holding land. The introduction of a money crop may give a money value to land, which it did not possess before. It may necessitate a new security of tenure, which would be incompatible with any form of collective ownership; or it may, on the contrary, require an expenditure of capital beyond the single means of any single proprietor.
[534] Meek *Op. Cit*. P. 289
[535] ***Ibid***. P. 289

of their own native law (subject to the approval of the Governor), amongst the laws promulgated in this respect include the law:

1) providing for the fencing of land,
2) declaring any land to be an open space, and so on.[536]

There is however, no generally accepted procedure for the determination of native law and custom regarding land among the various tribal groups.[537] Notwithstanding, this single opportunity was preset to the Native Authority powers over land administration. In the specific case of Kano Emirate the Emir remained so powerful over all the districts and villages especially as most of the officials at districts and village levels were either his direct or indirect blood relations and that they owe their appointment to him. In the case of the districts closer to Kano (Kano Close Settled Zone) the policy was that only those from the royal family were appointed to administer such areas.[538] The reason for keeping the princes, especially, around the Kano Close Settled Zones was to have full control over them or simply to check their activities. It was also to serve as the basis for giving the favoured ones additional attention and training.[539] Indeed the control and administration of land, labour and taxation in such areas were all under the control of Sarkin Kano. Thus the court cases administered by Emir Abbas were made up of cases coming from areas covering districts to as far as those districts outside the Kano Close Settled Zone. In the case of Kumbotso District, court cases were held at the Emirs court until the reorganizations which decentralised the administrations of court and the

[536] ***Ibid***.P. 289
[537] P. 290. ***Ibid***
[538] For that reason Kumbotso was tagged the prison of the Princes. Interview with Sheikh Abubakar Bamaina, Sarkin Malamai Jigawa State, 73years, 2001.
[539] The case of Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero is cited here as example. The same was with Emir Sunusi, who was also favoured for the succession of the throne. Interview with Alhaji Gizo Maroki, 1998, Kofar Mata.

posting of trained judges to respective districts. The reorganisations apart, cases of disputes continued to be reported to the city court.[540]

It is therefore clear from the administrative arrangements that the colonial land policy was intended to dispossess the peasantry, artisans and the pastoralist of the ownership and control of the land in favour of colonial Government and its surrogates. It was this role that the Native Authority was created and supported to play. The basis for this is found in the powers (lost after the British conquest in 1903) given to the Emirs to decide the distribution of salaries, titles, authority, and functions among his officials without the British exercising any veto. Inevitably this powers corrupted the Emirs, specifically in the case of Emir Abbas he used it in pleasing his sons and those very close to him. On the other hand those from among his distant relations were discriminated against. This was so glaring on the introduction of salary to be paid to the emirate officials; instead for a formula to be followed based on the proportionate amount of revenue generated from a locality, the emir remunerated them based on his own criteria. As a result the Galadima and Wambai, though administering larger Districts than any other royal official, received much lower salaries than their brother Turaki Manya Salihi. The Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero, Emir Abbas's chosen heir, despite his modest fief, received five times as much as the Galadima and four times as much as Wambai.[541]

This particular kind of treatment characterised the administration of Districts, for example Emir Abbas placed Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero in charge of the Home Districts surrounding Kano. As argued by Smith, this was to serve three

[540] Available records of court documents in the Kano NA Archive contain cases mostly from the villages in the outskirts of Kano.
[541] Smith M. G. ***Government in Kano, 1350-1950***, Boulder, Colorado: West view Press, 1997, P. 435-7.

purposes, first to elevate and enhance the Ciroma's status and political prospects; to reduce the Viziers authority and importance by transferring his functions to the Ciroma; and to segregate the administration of the area around the city from that of other Districts.[542] Though the experiment did not last, it however set the stage for the allocation of most of the land area to himself and his closest kinsmen; for example most of the land area around Unguwa Uku, Naibawa, Gandun Albasa and thereabout was made the estate of Abdullahi Bayero. Respective district heads within the new arrangement resented this, considering their position as the senior officials and indeed more experienced than Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero.[543] Emir Abbas's interest on this area remained obvious as he quickly assumed the control of the Home districts and later when the districts were divided into two Ciroma Abdullahi and Madaki Mahmud were trusted with half each. Exercising his role as the custodian of the districts under him, to allocate land to new comers, collection of tax, covee labour, collection of Zakka, the Ciroma made very good use of the opportunity to take hold of most of the non occupied land area within his control. Such remained the dominant practice all over the emirate during the course of that period. It was found during the course of interviews that District and Village heads engaged in giving their officials, friends and relatives landed property which further consolidated their political hold of the emirate.[544]

4.3 Administration of Land in Kano 1903-1919: the Kumbotso Experience

For most part of this period Kumbotso was not made a district. It was therefore under the District Head of the Home District that comprised of the ten sub-districts close to Kano city. Thus until 1916, Kumbotso district was called Dan Isa

[542] Ibid.
[543] Smith, M. G. ***Op. Cit***. P. 437.
[544] Interview with Mallam Lawan Dambazau, Dambazau Quarters, Kano, 1997.

Sub-district, and its administration was under the central authority; which made the discussion of the central administration at Kano under the emir very relevant.

The period 1903-1919 marked the administration of Emir Abbas who happened to be the first emir after the British conquest of Kano. He was of the same ancestry with the last Fulani ruler of Kano (Aliyu Babba) and the first of the Kano rulers under colonial administration whose tenure, as shown in Chapter two, was characterized by ups and downs.[545] Yet new changes were made in the administrative set up especially from about 1908 when C. L. Temple was appointed Resident of Kano. Among the first measures taken was the revival of the judicial council, which gave the Emir the powers to adjudicate cases. Imam Imoru narrated the Emir's reputation for justice and the difficulty of getting to see him by a plaintiff. A Plaintiff might turn up daily for sixty days before being admitted into the palace. [546] It is found that such a tradition encouraged corrupt practices by the palace errands and court clerks (***Yaran Sarki***) especially when a plaintiff appeared desperate or ignorant. Some influential people also used such an opportunity to bribe the palace officials to bar the common people from getting access to report their case.[547] The Emir is however noted for always encouraging the subject population to report abuses by local headmen, slave officials and his own sons. Mere recognition of such a possibility by the emir as indicated above could stand as a justification for the excesses and other corrupt practices of the court officials. Indeed Imoru's description of the set up around the palace further justified the tendencies to promote corruption. He narrated that:

> "Outside the audience chamber there were guards with long sticks who kept order and instructed litigants in the proper

[545] Refer to Chapter 1. This as earlier indicated has more to do with a clash of interest between Cargil's approach to colonial policies and Emir Abbas aristocratic powers.
[546] Ferguson, D. E. ***Op. Cit***. p. 238-242
[547] Interview with Lawal Danbazau, *Op. Cit*.

differential manner of addressing the emir-bowed down, with their heads pressed to the ground."[548]

As noted in an interview, most plaintiffs were deliberately made confused by such acts to achieve certain pre-planned objective and in some cases the emir himself was made confused to take a wrong decision. A certain person from among the people of "***Hayewa***" (Habe, non Fulani population) committed a certain offence whose nature my informant could not remember due to her old age and state of health as at the time of the interview. After being served with a sermon to appear before Emir Abbas, he became so confused not knowing what to do, that he approached the emissary for advice. At a price the emissary advised him to remain quite when before the Emir. At the palace the emissary arranged with other members of the palace and made a pronouncement, which justifies his acceptance of the powers of the emir and indeed of his mercy to his subjects. And finally call for the emir's mercy, which he quickly granted since as the ***Uban Kasa*** he is not supposed to reject submission of his subject especially from among the Habe.[549] Thus the set up was such that whatever the good intentions and love for justice by the emir, such could not be realised without the support and willingness of the palace officials. Primarily that was why cases on land disputes from all the districts were reported to the Emir. Indeed not only land, but on all matters. The Emir himself used to encourage complaints against the officials especially on land matters.[550]

In spite of what the above outlook in the nature of the political relations portrays, records from the court cases of Emir Abbas indicated that he paid attention

[548] Ferguson, D. E. ***Ibid***. p. 238-242
[549] Interview with late Hajiya Fadi Yakasai Lokon Jajaye, Kano, 1992.
[550] Christelow A. ***Thus ruled Abbas. Selected cases from the records of the emir of Kano's judicial council***, Michigan University press, east Lansing, 1994, P. 14

to all cases until he satisfied himself that he has done justice to the recognition of the religion of Islam. Thus all through the recorded cases Emir Abbas concludes his discussion with the recognition that the judgement was based on ***Hukum*** *(legal* system).[551] Among the cases that appeared often include cases on inheritance, sale of land by the headmen, cases of bribe taking by officials, betrayal of trust and so on.[552] A very controversial development in the administration of justice in Kano was the issue of the inheritance of land or a house by women. The practice gain prominence during the time of Emir Usmanu but was said to have started since the days of Emir Abbas.[553] As noted in some of the cases judged by Emir Abbas women were allowed the right to inheritance. The specific cases that dwell on this include case No. 167 B of *Iyandu* from among the women of *Yardakuna*. Case No. 147 C involving *Salama* the daughter of the Emir of Kano, case No. 146I *Bangila* from the women of *Yargaya*, all of which were claiming for their rights over inheritance of land of their deceased husbands. Thus women during this early period (1903-1926) were not denied the right to own land until a little later, specifically from the tenure of Emir Usman (1926) and beyond.

Pressure on land during this period was not only influenced by the system of inheritance or that of growth in population but with the development that surrounds the advent of railway construction which created a new market for groundnut, to which farmers were forced to respond positively.[554] One of the reason for this was the location of Kumbotso District. The railway line nearly divided the District into two equal parts from Runkusawa Kai, through to Panshekara, Gaida, Maidile,

[551] Refer to the cases as recorded in Christelow, A. ***Ibid.***
[552] ***Ibid***. PP. 37 (193 A), PP. 32 (120 B), PP.38 (97G), PP28 (32C), PP 29 (79 D), pp 22-23, Pp24-25, PP 27 (10F), PP29 (88H)
[553] ***NAK/KANPROF District Officer to resident, 25 June, 1923, 5/15570A***
[554] Hogendorn J. S. ***Nigerian Ground nut Exports: Origin and Early Development***, Zaria, ABU Press,

Sharada to the Railway Station in central Kano.[555] These village areas became, as a result of the rail line, centres of business activities and of attraction of population from far and near. The lands in these villages also became centres of attraction to rich city dwellers and the aristocratic class. As noted elsewhere nearly all members of the aristocratic families owned a large hectors of land in these villages. According to Sarkin Maidile one of the reasons why his village is developing to an urban setting now is because of the nature of the land ownership. Most of the owners of the land belong to either the rich city dwellers in the form of Government Officials, merchants or members of the aristocracy.[556] In general factors as this made the land area in Kumbotso District became a zone of attraction to rich settlers from the city, which ultimately made land very scarce and more expensive. To the people of Kumbotso this was a bad omen because it cost them much of their land due to both state policies and colonial taxation system that emphasised taxation on the basis of the land area (Taki Assessment).[557] This also meant increasing poverty of the people and of land becoming highly unobtainable. In villages of Kumbotso District that bordered Kano city e.g. [orayi, Sharada Unguwa Uku, Ja'oji, Hotoro, Ja'en etc, so many of the common people who owned large hectors of land had to surrendered it at a very meagre pay or sometimes no pay at all. In the very specific case of Mallam Garba Na' ayya the land area he inherited was so big that the District Head of his village took most part of it. The claim by the village Head was that the land area was too big for his need. According to Na'ayya, such an act was normal, since it reduced the tax burden on him, but very painful now considering the

[555] Refer to Figure 3
[556] Interview with Sarkin Maidile Yusufu, 2000, Maidile.
[557] Most of the Government establishments e.g. Administrative Offices, Schools, Farms were cited in one part or the other of the Kumbotso District.

cost of land in Sharada area presently.[558] Information from around Darmanawa, Unguwa Uku, Ja'oji, Na'ibawa, Unguwar rimi, Hotoro, Ringimawa, Zara and Mariri all in Kumbotso District agreed with the experience by Gaarba Na'ayya to represent a common experience of the people of Kumbotso District. According to Alhaji Sani Hotoro it was not just the District and Village Heads that took away lands from the common people, some rich people from the city also.[559] Hotoro is one of the closest towns of Kumbotso District from the eastern corner. In fact because of its closeness it is now part of the six Local Governments that made up the Kano City area councils. Sani Hotoro admitted that he lost most of his land out of such an act of connivance between some influential people in the city and the NA court. This position was also supported by Mallam Audu Tasha Wailari, also in Kumbotso District, who claimed that he lost the only land he inherited to such mischief on the ground that he has no child to inherit him. In his own case Mallam Audu was threatened not to appear in the court anymore until otherwise requested, and on the other hand the emir was misinformed that Mallam Audu had willingly indicated that he was no longer interested in the case.[560] 'This was at a time when the *Yaran Sarki* (possibly Emirs servants) were powerful in the court and can easily frame you to be jailed.'[561]

4.4 **Land Administration 1919-1926**

Kumbotso District was three years old when Emir Abbas died and was succeeded by Emir Usman. The relevance of this is that the administration of the

[558] I have went on Holy Pilgrimage to Mecce in Saudi Arabia five times all from the monies I collected after selling one piece of my land or the other of my inherited lands. All the lands from Sharada Police Station down to this my house (very close to NEPA Shara]a) belong to my parents. If you have such of my lands now in Shara]a, you are a billioneer. Interview with Garba Na'ayya.
[559] Interview with Alhaji Sani Hotoro [an marke, 1997, 75 years old.
[560] Interview with Mallam Audu Wailari Tasha.
[561] Interview with Mallam Audu tasha Wailari, 1997, 80 years. He was a noted NEPU member in wailari village. According to him he joined NEPU because of what he saw in NA was too in human.

district was still at its infancy that most directives came from the city. And since no colonial office officials were based there it became necessary for all issues to be referred to the city before their execution. In fact the administration of land in Kumbotso and other Districts of the Kano Close Settled Zone remained under emir Usman all through his tenure.

The period 1919-1926 was the administration of Emir Usman in Kano. He assumed the throne after the death of Emir Abbas. Emir Usman's tenure could best be appreciated if looked within the context of the colonial needs of that specific period. Tension and disillusionment in the economy and politics of the World generally characterized the period,[562] a development that necessitated the need for a weaker ruler or indeed a ruler that would be receptive to whatever ideas thrown to him. As earlier argued especially in chapter two, this supported the enthronement of Wambai Usman as against Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero even though the latter was younger, more experienced and very dynamic than the former. As argued earlier the enthronement of Wambai Usman is here seen to be a deliberate attempt to have in place a weak authority that could not force any challenge to the colonial policies of the inter war years.

Administration in this period was dominated by the influence of slave officials. New laws were made on the issue of Land right especially on the right of women to own land. Central to the understanding was the belief that allowing women the right of inheritance especially of land would make them independent of the men, a status very close to prostitution. Emirate officials mostly dominated by slave officials argued that such should not be condoned and therefore extremely undesirable. To this effect on March 7, 1923, the emir of Kano Usman proclaimed

[562] Detail explanation on this is found in chapter one of this thesis.

that under the Islamic law of inheritance women should not be allowed to inherit houses. Meaning that a dead man's house would not be shared with the female members of the family, it was rather divided among the male children alone. This law was later extended to deny women the ownership of even farm on the explanation from a commentary as found available in the text *"Agrab ul-masaliki*".[563] The District and Village heads went out of their ways to interpret the law on their own terms. For example Resident Lindsel of Kano reported a case in which a certain woman who had held land in care for a certain boy had to immediately loose it to a *Dagaci* on the death of the boy.[564] Similar instances were noted in [orayi, Yan Danko and Panshekara in Kumbotso District. In Zawaciki and Sheka for example the village heads in accord with Yaran Sarki (mostly slave officials) made it a big business and rendered a significant number of widows not only landless but bankrupt and poverty stricken.[565] If anything this rule was only based on male chauvinism and dominance of the court by people who are greedy and of servile background.[566] Garba Na'ayya was very emphatic and indeed bitter narrating how, even though he was favoured against his sisters by the law, but that a large part of the land area went to the palace slaves and other rich influential people in the town for no reason other than "I possessed more land than I needed for myself." Garba Na'ayya is still alive occupying a small mud house in the present *Sharadar Mallam*. He is very old and poor, according to him he is supposed to be equal to the [antata family in riches now, had he possessed all the land he inherited from his parents, subsisting by teaching in a Madrasa.[567] Examining the context more critically, Malam Bashir Magatakardar Hakimin Kumbotso stressed that a lot

[563] ***HCB SNP 9/12 635, Kano Province Annual Report, 1924; see also NAK KANPROF 5/1 5579 A***.
[564] Pierce, S. T***. Op. Cit***. P.158
[565] Interview with Alhaji Isa Tajo, *Op Cit.*
[566] Interview with Alhaji Garba Na'ayya, 2003
[567] *Ibid.*

of dubious activities took place in the past all because of the ignorance of the law. District officials took laws into their hands and applied it the way they wanted, but in most cases without the knowledge of the Hakimi, Village head or the Emir. The presence of large population of slaves in Kumbotso District in addition to the high demand for land in the area made it even worst.[568]

This decision was later accepted as an error even by the administration of emir Usman, a very costly error indeed that flanged a lot of families into chaos and general disorder in the history of land administration in Kano.[569] What appeared open about Usman's land policy as also argued by Steven Todd was the desperate desire for money and patronage in order to consolidate his position and that of his children. The desire was so clear that emir Usman was working toward establishing himself and his children for a more stable control of Kano emirate.[570] The most obvious effect of this was that women not only lost control of their bargaining power but were made to rely on male support, and where such was not forthcoming women condition was rendered highly deplorable.[571] In Kumbotso, Ungogo and other villages within the Kano Close-Settled Zone widows and divorcees were forced into small-scale agricultural production, mostly in the extended family farms or in some farms of some kin relations, to make ends meet. And especially as there was not in existence a developed market in these districts, women carried agricultural goods on their heads to the city for sale. From Shekar Barde for example Women were seen carrying chickens, a load of groundnut oil, groundnut cake ***(}uli }uli)***, ***Mangwaro*** (Mango), ***Kadanya***, ***Kanya***, Cassava, ***Zogale, Yadiya,***

[568] Interview with Mallam Basiru Magatakardar Hakimin Kumbotso
[569] ***HCB MLG LAN/22, Vol. 1 "Land registration-Kano city***."
[570] Also in Smith, M. G. ***Op. Cit***. and Fika, A. M. ***Op. Cit***.
[571] Pierce, S. T. ***Op. Cit***. P. 144.

Dinkin, Kara (cornstalk) and so on, trekking all the road to the city.[572] The business was such so insignificant that the profit out of it was only very little enough to make some purchases from the city. Indeed it is relevant to mention here that most of the goods being traded on were farm products that were seasonal. In addition to the fact that not much could be saved from the transaction the continuous participation of the women in such activities shows the level of poverty of especially the widows and divorcees of the district. Thus it became clear that there was a relationship between women non-inheritance and subsistence to the extent that they were not able to attain access to the means or products of production. The prohibition of women inheritance continued into the 1930 to the extent that the 1932 Kumbotso Assessment report showed a large number of women destitute in Kumbotso District.[573] As argued above the only basis for this judgement, if any, was 'tradition' and greed.

The administration of land by this period also affected the male population on the ground that powerful slave officials went out of their ways to allocate lands to themselves and denied ownership to others. It was so flagrant that at any time an ordinary person lay claim to a land especially an uncultivated land the emirate and district officials used their powers to seize it.[574] And in a situation in which the slave officials happen to be among the most influential in the palace administration an

[572] The trade by women of the Kumbotso District especially the villages around Sheka, Sharada, Ja'en Unguwa Uku and so on, continued up to the early 70s. It came to an end with the development during the second Republic which saw the renovation and construction of road net-works that linked the City with the nearby Districts as a result of which buses were made available for those trading in those routes. Though this could be seen as a mark of development' it however led to further marginalization of the common people. A lot of them lost control of their farms to the government at an unreasonable amount of compensation. In addition closeness to the City exposed them to the difficulties of urban set up in the form of growing number of prostitutes and Brothels. The youth became so used to the City life that they had to watch Cinema movies in the City everyday before they retire back to their villages late in the night.

[573] ***NAK Kano Prof. 5/55A, comment on Mr. Leslie's Kumbotso Reassessment Report, 22, July 1932***

[574] ***NAK SNP 17/8K.761, vols. Ii (c.1924), iii (c.1932, iv (c.1937-46)***

ordinary person could find it very difficult to report and indeed even if he did hardly could he succeed in any court. Records show persistent complaints that Village and Hamlet heads confiscated land belonging to both men and women on unjust grounds. Most often such lands were kept in the possession of those official concerned.[575] The general outlook of this administration was such that due process was not followed due to the much influence of the palace slaves, the Waziri and other District officials known in theory to be the advisers were ignored and had lost any meaningful touch with the capital City. The affairs of the Emirate became fully under the control of slave officials, in particular, [*an rimi Sambo, Shamaki Salihi and Sallama*. The state of corruption during the course of this period was terrible. At a point it was narrated that the Emir himself had a certain agent (Tanko Barzo) who used to dispose people's lands and hand over the money to the Emir.[576] This continued up to the end of his reign. The slave officials remained so powerful that even the District Heads had to go through them to see the emir. Emir Usman died leaving a large sum of money in the palace. It is the contention here that the political and judicial blunder which denied women the right to inheritance must have developed from the misuse of power by such slave officials, who, as earlier mentioned used the opportunity to enrich themselves with such lands. At the end, the administration became so paralyzed that the first step taken after the death of emir Usman was the abolishing of slave powers. In place of it a council was introduced.

4.5 **Land Administration 1926-1953**

As discussed in chapter one, Ciroma Abdullahi Bayero remained the undisputed choice of the council members (Electoral College) comprising of the

[575] ***Interview Hajiya Fadi, Yakasai, 70 yrs, 1992***
[576] For detail see Smith, M. G. ***Op. Cit***. P. 452 and 455.

Waziri, Madawaki, Sarkin Bai, Sarkin Dawaki Maituta and Makama. On assumption to the throne, Emir Abdullahi Bayero declared free all the slaves and directed that whosoever is interested can remain. The emir also drew, from among the slaves, his court attendants, messengers, Dogarai, groom, his heavy cavalry, confidential agents, spies, prison warders, *Yandoka*, city gatekeepers, official representatives to the provincial office, and such senior confidential executives as the Shamaki and [an rimi. Quite a welcomed idea to the British, the manumission of the slaves created a serious vacuum in the socio-political set up. Very many in numbers, the slaves found it inconveniencing to leave due to lack of any means of survival or even were to get accommodated. Greater number of them therefore opted to stay around even though declared free since they had no land to farm or the house to leave in.

Emir Abdullahi Bayero was not only a political head; he was also a spiritual leader. Like his father he presided over the weekly Friday prayers, a development that gave him the unrivalled support of the Kano populace. As obtained in the past, he also adjudicated court cases, especially those that relate to farm disputes. Farm disputes were noted to be on the increase because of the mistakes of the administration of his predecessor. Emir Abdullahi opened up his doors for all those who felt cheated by the conduct of the past regime. This led to the removal of a great number of Al}alai and a lot were transferred to a new places of assignment. As part of an attempt to guard against the past experience, the administration encouraged the recruitment of new officers with more training in the field of jurisprudence to man the offices of the Al}alai; thus explained the involvement of Ulamas in the administration of Emir Abdullahi. In addition to proper checking

through the office of the Madaki[577] and finally the Waziri since about 1932, further decentralization of functions aided this administrative set up. Tendencies for undue practices were brought to an end, in particular because the excesses of the slave officials were put under control. Muntari Tsohon Soja of Mariri, a Village on the eastern border, argued that inhuman treatments of the common people were only checked at the emirate levels. In the villages common people continued to experience maltreatment of one form or the other.[578]

Indeed since Kumbotso District and other districts within the Kano Close Settled Zones were the ones that provided the available land area for agricultural activity, the freeing of slaves created a population of landless people. In the specific case of Kumbotso District in which was found a significant number of royal estates with a huge slave population taking charge of them, instances of theft and breaking into people's houses became very common that one of the district head had to pay serious attention on that. According Sarkin Bariki the theft cases around Kumbotso were mostly of animals (mostly goats), money and clothes (in the case of house breaking), which indicate the desperation for money to make ends meet.[579] As found in the 1932 Inspection Notes on Kumbotso, the district became hideout for a number of criminal activities within the district and to as far as Kano city. More so with the influence of railway that traversed the district and brought along with it foreign cultures and influences, Kumbotso District, especially those areas through which the rail lines passes, became centres of local alcohol (***Burkutu***) production and

[577] Tijjani, M. N. "***The Administration of Justice in Colonial Kano 1903-1960***" Ph.D. Thesis 1990, P. 223

[578] Interview with Muntari Tsohon Soja

[579] Interview with Sa'adu Sarkin Bariki Kumbotso; see also Rogers P. A. Hausa Blacksmiths and the Great Train Robbery: Iron Theft and the Moral economy of Technological Change in Northern Nigeria, 1910-1935; In Harnes, R. W. (et. al) Paths Towards the past, African Historical Essays in Honour of Jan Vassina, Atlanta, African Studies Association, 1994, P. 376-381.

consumption.[580] By summation therefore these twin factors of growth in the population of redundant people (freed slaves) and the introduction of the foreign cultures of alcoholism turned Kumbotso District into a centre for criminal activities. The proximity of Kumbotso to the city was another added advantage, which made Kumbotso a more secured place for the criminals to hide and operate when convenient in the city, where rich people lived. It is possible that ***Makahon Ingila*** (blind man of England), a prominent master burglar who kept and controlled well trained house breakers, very prominent in the 1960s and 1970s was a product of this development. ***Makahon Ingila*** lived in Wailari, one of the villages of the Kumbotso District. The commercial status of Kano further supported the strategic positioning of Kumbotso and other districts of the Kano Close Settle d Zones to continue to serve as hide outs for criminal activities and for the consumption of alcohol. It is important to note that production and consumption of alcohol was prohibited within the city walls. Thus the point here is that, change in colonial land policy apart, the style of administrations of the respective emirs and district officials played an important role in influencing the nature and outlook of social relationship in Kano. In the case of Kumbotso District, however, the tenure of Abdullahi Bayero marked an important turning point. Important in the sense that it was only at that time that the district was blessed with a leadership, and indeed also the leadership was confident enough to undertake the task of the administration of the people with commitment to developing the district to its urban status. This was with the posting of Tijjani Hashim as the District Head.[581]

[580] The production and consumption were mostly by non Kano people. I was also informed that some influential persons also took part in the act. Interview with Sa'adu Sarkin Barikin Kumbotso

[581] For the tenure of Tijjani Hashim as District Head Kumbotso see chapter three of this work.

4.6 **Land Alienation**

The attitude of the British on the evolution of land tenure in Kano produced certain traits which dispossessed the peasants, artisans and pastoralist from the ownership of the land. This was made possible by attaching capitalist values to land and taking over the powers of its allocation without establishing a workable procedure for the Native Authority (NA) to handle. Under such a situation and especially when powers fell into the hands of some palace officials, as experienced in the period 1919-1926[582], tendencies were such that those among the lower cadre of the population suffered greatly. As buttressed by most informants often times peasant were forced to give up their land because of inability to pay tax. In some cases the village heads took over the land and declared the produce of those farms their 'perquisites'. Such led to the village heads demanding from anyone who would wish to collect such produce, including from the one who would have cultivated it. Mallam Sani Hotoro was a victim of this abuse of power. It was in this respect that the Native Authority in collaboration with the rich people in the city took away his land. He however claimed that it was a set up, if a certain rich man in the city is interested in your land he will bribe the village head and before you know it they will present to you a tax three times the usual. Since political awareness was very low then the only option was to follow what suggestion the District or Village head gave.[583] However inability to pay to reclaim the produce or refusal to agree to the decision of the District or Village head often led to the Village Heads selling the land to other individuals, and this proliferated up to the 1950's and beyond.[584] By the fifth decade of colonial rule the land question had so deteriorated that a Northern

[582] Smith, M. G. ***Op. Cit***.
[583] Interview with Mallam Sani Hotoro Dan marke, ***Op. Cit***.
[584] Manasse ***Op. Cit***. p. 81.

Regional commission was set to look into it and several other issues. Colonial needs for the establishment of capitalist structures for investment worsen the situation more when it supported cases of outright expropriation of land for the use of mining areas to alien capitalist for exploitation and in appropriating land for the building of railways, roads and other public facilities.[585] Forest areas were made out of bounds to the growing land-hungry peasantry. This did not affect our area of study, so also was the issue of a forestation. What the people of Kumbotso suffered much from were the combined effects of taxation and the destruction and subjugation of cottage industries leading to the increasing pauperization of the productive sector of the peasant economy.[586] For instance, Hamza made it clear that some farms were placed at the rate of 10s to £1:00 while others were placed either on 5s or 3s.[587] In view of the several pressures on the extraction of Ta}i revenue, at [orayi (Kumbotso District) farms became a liability and cumbersome to handle, this led to the adoption of the most painful measures so that a farmer can save his dignity and those under him. Since farms became assessable on their physical sizes many farms were abandoned while their owners migrated or looked for fresh land to clear.[588] Such colonial policies and especially the outright commitment of the native rulers toward protecting them created a sense of insecurity amongst the entire people of the emirate. Specifically the worst affected were the peasantry, artisans and Ulama's as they could not even guarantee the control of the land they were occupying, let alone acquire new ones.[589] Mallam Garba Na'ayya, whose grand parents belong to the Ulama class, suffered so much

[585] Tijjani, M. N. ***Op. Cit***. P. 215-216
[586] ***Op Cit***. P. 78-79
[587] Hamza, I. ***"Socio-economic history of Daurayi in the 18th and 20th century***, M.A. History, UDUS, 1994, P. 96
[588] Hamza, I. ***Ibid***. P. 97
[589] Tijjani M. N. ***Op. Cit***. P. 216.

of such disregard. "As a young person I new how students of my parents were forced into different kind of laborious works by the *Yaran Sarki,* on so many occasions our farms were 'borrowed' by *Mutanen fada* (people of the palace) but could not be returned and you have no right to demand its return back."[590] This and many such attitudes were the experience which equally provided more grounds for the Native Authority to administer land issues without much regard to the peasant right to ownership. The people around the Kano Close Settled Zones (and especially Kumbotso area) were the worst affected, because such a policy exposed them to persistent demand for more land from the rich merchants of the City. Such possibly explains the great number of complaints on land confiscation by the government and the traditional institution in this District.[591] Many families ended being displaced to find alternative means of living in the City doing menial jobs (*Burkila* and so on).[592] Others followed the option of giving out their children to itinerant Qur'anic scholars to lessened the burden of caring for them.[593] Not much was achieved even during the tenure of Emir Abdullahi Bayero on the issue of proper control and coordination of land administration, as records shows some of the Al}alai were made to resign in protest.[594] At best, a structured administration was put in place; under which policies and political developments followed stated procedures. After the death of Abdullahi Bayero his son Ciroma Sunusi took over in 1953 with a promise to see to it that land registration and

[590] Interview with Alhaji Garba Na'auwa Sharada
[591] Kano State Government Report on Land Allocation, 1980.
[592] Interview with Mallam Abdulkadir Sai kayi, 45 Years
[593] Tijjani, M. N. ***Op. Cit***. 218
[594] A certain Alkali in the city, an informant opined was forced into resignation because he refused to follow dictates from Ciroma Sunusi. This was after the death of Waziri Gidado in 1936 which led to the breaking of his office into two with the administrative part given to Ciroma Sunusi. Ciroma was also the native authority official in charge of native courts. See also Tijjani M. N. ***Op Cit***. P.222

reform in Kano were effected.[595] This was with a view to check some of the excess on land administration in Kano. It was also part of an attempt to look into the controversy over women's right to ownership and inheritance of land.[596]

4.7 Land Use in Kumbotso

The first justification given for British control and ownership of the land area around Northern Nigeria was made public in August 1900. This was before the conquest of Northern Nigeria by the British, which was only completed after 1900.[597] In essence it appeared so glaring that the conquest was predetermined by some specific needs, which as shown in the previous chapters, were motivated by the urge to satisfy some definite desires.[598] Though the absolute property of the Colonial Government, Lugard was quick to state that these lands were as a matter of fact, native towns; with a large number of people living and engaged in practices to cater for their day to day socioeconomic well being. Indeed the inhabitant of these towns never for one day, as acknowledged by Lugard, accepts that their rights in the lands have ever been alienated.[599]

[595] It is a known fact that, before the ascension of Sarki Sunusi Bayero (1953-1963), women were not allowed to inherit either farms or houses in the emirate. That women could only own land or house of their own by purchase. That women whether married, divorced or widowed have their basis and daily needs taken care of by either their husbands or relations and therefore there is absolutely no need for them to inherit land. For detail refer to Hamza, I. ***Op. Cit***. P. 102.

[596] Pierce, S. T. ***Op. Cit***.

[597] The British formally announced the conquest of Northern Nigeria in 1903 after the subjugation of Sokoto. This did not however mean the submission by the people or the authority concern. In the case of Sokoto it was until 1906 after the final defeat of the forces at Burmi, other parts of the Caliphate had their different experiences, but certainly it all went beyond 1903.

[598] Therefore the argument that the colonial government of Northern Nigeria had acquired from the Royal Niger Company the sole and absolute title to certain lands, is not just a justification for their right over the land area, but that it was one of the major desires by the British colonialism. This followed the argument as made by the company that their ownership over the land areas was as a result of some "private effort" to acquire it. And that the lands were held in their private right as a commercial company.

[599] Meek C. K. ***Op. Cit.*** P. 100-101

Land in the area of Kumbotso has since the pre-colonial days been used for the purposes of agricultural activities.[600] This was clearly emphasised by Mahadi where he argued that one of the factors that encouraged the migration and settlement of people in the central region of Kano (Kumbotso District area inclusive) was the fertility of the soil in addition to available water and a favourable commercial environment.[601] Specifically as at 1932 the area of the district under cultivation amounted to approximately over 49, 812 acres. Kumbotso District Re-assessment provided a more detailed elaboration of the number of farms per village unit in Kumbotso District. The document shows that over 56 villages contained farms that ranged from 200-700 acres, while over 28 village units contained 100-199 acres, totalling to over 48791.08 acres.[602] In short the obvious is therefore that nearly every able bodied person in the district engaged in one form of agricultural activity or simply farming as his major economic activity. Added to this was an insignificant number of rich persons in possession of herds of assorted livestock whose manure, in addition to the one from the city, the agricultural practice in Kumbotso District relied on.[603]

The great proportion of the soil in the Kumbotso District has always been in a state of cultivation or temporarily lying fallow, a very small proportion only being left entirely waste. The soil therefore appears very rich and required not much manure before it could yield much. The ordinary corn crop (Dawa, {aura, Farfara), Millet (***Gero***) and ***Maiwa*** were those chiefly grown in most of the Kumbotso District areas. There is in addition a certain amount of irrigation produce (***Rafi***) and crops such as Cassava (***Rogo***), Sweet Potatoes (***Dankali***), Cotton (***Auduga***),

[600] ***NAK/KANPROF/16490/4/1932***
[601] Mahadi, A.
[602] NAK/KANPROF/761, P. 112-114
[603] ***Op. Cit. Par. 38***

Groundnut (***Gya]a***), ***Gurjia*** and Beans (**Wake**) all grown in the District. In general the crops below are found in good state of production in one village or the other of Kumbotso District.

1. Guinea corn (**Dawa**)
2. Groundnut (**Gya]a**)
3. Millet (also called **Maiwa** or **Gero**),
4. Cassava ***(Rogo***)
5. Sweet potatoes (***Dankali***)
6. Beans (***Wake***)
7. Cotton (***Auduga***)
8. Rice (**Shinkafa**)
9. Tobacco (**Taba**)
10. and Indigo.

One other point that gave agriculture such an important place in the economy of the district was Kumbotso's proximity to Kano city. The city, whose land area was over populated, relied solely on agricultural produces from areas within the Kano Close Settled Zones. This was also because of the state of backwardness of the means of communication at that period of time, which made it very difficult for goods to be moved easily to the city from areas far away.[604] On the other hand farmers from around Kumbotso and other parts of the Kano Close Settled Zones were more engrossed to carry their goods to the city because of the differences in price, which as shown in the table below recorded up to 10% increase. Primarily that was why Kumbotso and most other villages within the

[604] Interview with Sarkin Makera Kumbotso, 2000

district did not have a developed market beyond the normal village market for the sales of domestic ingredients. The following table shows the differences between prices in the city and the countryside for the period 1931-1932.

Table 4.1: **Average District Prices and the Average City Prices for the Period 1931-1932**

Crops	Average District Price per lb	Average City price per lb	Price Difference
Guinea Corn	.325d.	.438d.	.113d
Gero (Millet)	.500d.	.540d.	.40d
Maiwa (Millet)	.390d.	.483d.	.93d
Ground Nut	--------	.514d.	.514d
Cassava	.150d.	.223d.	.73d
Sw. Potatoes	.135d.	.223d.	.88d
Wheat	--------	1. 315d	1.315d

Source: Kumbotso District Re-assessment of 1932. Report by assistant District Officer S. A. S. Leslie, 18/04/1932, Par. 71.

Though farmers were in most cases forced to sell their produced for the purposes of paying the colonial taxes, yet the differences between the prices in the city and the Kumbotso villages remained consistently wide with a difference of about 10%, when supplied to the city.

Taking the figures for the yield of each crop as in the above table and the value together with the bye-products, the acreage values can be summarized as follows:

Table 4.2: Summary of the Acreage Value

S/N	Crop	Yield	Value per lb	Bye-product	Total
1	G. corn	960lbs	.400d. = £1-12s- 0d	Stalk = 8s-	£2- 0s- 0d
2	Gero	700lbs	.500d. = £1-9s- 2d	Stalk = 6s-	£1- 15s- 2d
3	Maiwa	560lbs	.435d. = £1- 0s- 4d	Stalk = 8s-	£1- 8s- 4d
4	G. Nut	750lbs	.450d. = £1- 8s- 2d	Leaves= 5s- 3d.	£1- 13s- 5d
5	Cassav	2800lbs	.200d. = £2- 6s- 8d	Nil	£2- 6s- 8d
6	S. pota	2100lbs	.200d. = £1- 15s- 0d	Nil	£1- 15s- 0d
7	Wheat	2000lbs	1d. = £8- 6s-8d	Nil	£8- 6s- 8d
8	Onions	83 load	3s. = £12- 9s- 0d	Nil	£12-9s- 0d
9	Pepper	3000 measures	3d. = £37- 10s- 0d	Nil.	£37- 10s- 0d

Source: Kumbotso District Re-assessment of 1932. Report by assistant District Officer S. A. S. Leslie, 18/04/1932, ***Par 73***

The average value of an acre has been arrived at by applying the figures for the area under each crop as discussed in pages 180-183 of this chapter. The table below provides the result looking at the proportion of area planted, the value per acre and total value in 100 acres, for each crop.

Table 4.3: Proportion of area under cultivation in every one hundred Acres

S/N	Crops	Proportion of area per 100 acres	Value per Acre	Total Value per crop in every 100 acres
1	G. Corn	46 acres	£2- 0s- 0d	£92- 0s- 0d
2	G. Nut	20 acres	£1- 13s- 5d	£33- 0s- 0d
3	Gero	13½ acres	£1- 15s- 0d	£23 12s- 6d
4	Cassava	5 acres	£2- 6s- 6d	£11- 12s- 6d
5	Maiwa	5 acres	£1- 8s- 0d	£7- 0s- 0d
6	S. potat	3 acres	£1- 15s- 0d	£5- 5s- 0d
7	Rafi	1 acre	£12- 0s- 0d	£12- 0s- 0d
8	Fallow	6½ acres	_____	_____
9	Total	100 acres	£22- 7s- 7d	£184- 10s- 0d

Source: Kumbotso District Re-assessment of 1932. Report by assistant District Officer S. A. S. Leslie, 18/04/1932**,, *Par 74***

What appears very clear in the table is that about half of the total cultivable area was used in the production of guinea corn. This, unarguably made guinea corn the staple

food for the people of Kumbotso. In addition guinea corn was also traded in Kumbotso District but at very little profit. After attending four village markets in a week of a year, corn dealers could make a profit of one shilling each day to make a total amount of £10- 8s- 0d only.[605] Those amongst the traders who, using their donkeys travelled to as far as Katsina or some parts of Southern Kano, where corn is sold cheaper, and bring load of it to the market in the city derived more profit. As estimated in the 1932 assessment the profit on each trip is about 2/-. 9d and an average of 36 trips were made a year. This gives an income of £5. Those who use several donkeys and pack oxen made a profit correspondingly higher.[606]

With 20% groundnut appeared second highest, more specifically here because of its monetary value. Groundnut was used to satisfy the cash crop market and provided the peasants with some money to settle their taxes.[607] Groundnut was also used in Kumbotso District was used to make a number edible things, in particular it was used to make groundnut cake (}uli), which when in its powdered form was used to eat ***Zogale***, ***YaJiya***, ***Dinkim***, and ***Garin rogo***. It was also used as a sauce to eat cooked cassava (rogo). {uli was in the past traded very well by women from the villages of Kumbotso District closer to Kano city to especially those centres where low earning laborious works, i.e. construction centres etc.[608]

Gero (millet) that made up the third was also used for food, but not as basic as guinea corn. Though Gero could also be used as food, but is mostly used to make pap (Koko) in the morning, with only very few using it to make ***Tuwon gero*** or

[605] NAK/KANPROF/16490/4/1932, P. 29
[606] ***Ibid.*** p. 31
[607] Interview with Saidu Sarkin Bariki, 2002
[608] See the chapter on Labour in this study.

Burabusko. ***Tuwon gero*** [609]and ***Burabusko***[610] are mostly foods for the poorest peasants in Kumbotso District.[611] In other areas around the northern part of Kano, especially areas that made up the present Jigawa State to as far as Borno State, ***Burabusko*** is still a very important delicacy and is eaten by all class of people, depending on how they prepare it.[612] The upper class people eat it with plenty meat and butter (Manshanu). In Maiduguri they eat it will all kinds of soups, but it is popularly eaten with ***Taushe*** soup in Kumbotso District. Both ***Tuwon Gero*** and ***Burabusko*** are served as complete meal mostly for dinner. ***Burabusko*** is presently served as lunch and break fast in some parts of Jigawa and Borno States of Nigeria.

Cassava, Maiwa, Sweet Potatoes and Vegetables followed in the list and took up 14% of the total land area, but were mostly used by the farmers to make money. Cassava is cooked to make ***rogo***, which was served mixed with }uli (groundnut cake) as take away food. It can also be pounded when mixed with ***}uli*** to make ***Manda}o***, mostly taken by the lower class people, especially labourers in the field. This used to be very common in Kumbotso District, taken in most homes for lunch.[613] Maiwa served the same purpose as Gero, but Maiwa is not very much liked because it has less content of fat in it to give a relatively nice taste like that of gero. Sweet potatoes is cooked and taken with **}uli** and is also fried and taken as ***dindikolo***. In Kumbotso District, potatoes was also eaten with fried groundnut

[609] ***Tuwon Gero*** is made by simply grinding the Millet into a powdered form after washing and drying it. It is prepared by putting it into boiled water in a pot to be cooked on fire for at least an hour. It is eaten with soup, mostly ***Miyar Kuka,*** (soup made from the leaves of Baobab tree) etc. ***Tuwon Gero*** is very soft and nice.

[610] On the other hand ***Burabusko*** is half grinded, meaning that it is not made into flour like. The Millet is in this case broken into pieces and unlike Tuwon Gero, Burabusko is not cooked. Rather it is steamed but eaten also with soup, preferably ***Miyan Taushe***. ***Miyan Taushe*** is made of pumpkin and vegetable.

[611] ***Ibid.***

[612] ***Ibid.***

[613] ***Manda}o*** is made when Cassava is pounded together with ***}uli*** (Groundnut cake) and some salt. It can also be mixed with ordinary hand. It is sometimes eaten even in the well to do houses especially when Cassava is newly cultivated, this is mostly not because of lack of food but as an appetizer (***Marmari***)

(Gya]a Maigishiri). With about 6.5% fallow land (less than 1/10) Shows that Kumbotso District represent a good example of a district where land was effectively used for agricultural purposes.

It is clear also from the table that at the value of £2. per acre a peasant in Kumbotso District cultivating 3 acres of land should produce Guinea corn worth £6. Taking about 50% of the total cultivable land area, this shows that a large part of the population engaged in the cultivation of the crop, indicating also that the land area upon which they farm was not any big, at most about 3 – 6 acres of land. Taking an average of 4 acres, the total earning annually should be within the range of £8, and when we consider the expenses, in addition to the needs of the family and the amount to be paid as tax, the balance should be within the range of £2 to £3, or a little higher in the case of rich farmers. An added advantage in the case of Kumbotso was that most of the farmers engaged in mix farming, whereby they farmed two or three different types of crops. In particular, peasant farmers are found to be engaged in the farming of guinea corn and Millet for the purposes of feeding the family, groundnut, sweet potatoes, pepper and wheat for sale in the market to earn some money to pay tax (at 6% to 7% incidence) and attend to some basic problems. Of importance to note was that not all of the peasants possessed that enough land area to comfortably engage in the production of such number of crops. At most the production of one more type of crop beside the main crop meant to feed the family. One other means of increasing the earning capacity was through hired labour (***}odago***), a good number of peasants in Kumbotso engaged in this form of labour. In the case of the available estates ***(Gandaye)*** in Kumbotso District slave labour was very much in use. Most of the estates were owned by the members of the ruling class and some rich merchants.

An important variety of the use of land was the few areas in which irrigation was practiced, mostly around the moist areas of Zara, Salanta and its surrounding villages of Yan Danko, Karimbu, Tasawa and Kabba; and in Shekar Barde, Shara]a and many other villages through which Salanta passes, in which was grown mostly wheat, onions and sweet potatoes. Similar use of land is found in areas around the Chalawa River and other minor streams (like W***atari*** and ***Tatsawarki***) around the District. Among the crops produced include guinea corn, onions, tomatoes, wheat, pepper, sugarcane, sweet potatoes, banana, red sorrel and egg plant, with the first four as the major produce.[614] Specifically there were a good many onion farms on the banks of Chalawa and Salanta. The farms were divided into small plots (***Komi***) of about 4ft. per Sq., making an average size farm to about 500 to 600 plots (***Komi***).[615] In order to water the farm, the water was drawn up from the stream, or a hole dug in the bed of the stream, by means of a Jigo (Shadoof), a pole weighted at one end with earth to balance the water which is hauled up in a calabash at the other end. When drawn up the water was emptied into a sloping platform of straw from which it flows directly into the main channel. A channel was dug through the centre of the farm to carry water and distribute to areas covering the total size of the farm. The water channels are supported by walls of earth of about 4 inches high to contain the water. These walls are called ***Doki*** (Horse) in Kumbotso. As soon as the ***Komi*** is full with water the hole in the ***Doki*** is blocked with earth again, and the next ***Komi*** in the channel is watered. This is repeated until all the ***Komi*** in the farm have been watered. This process has to be repeated every five to six days.

Two ***Komi*** of onions sown for seed purposes are sufficient to supply enough seed for a farm of 600 ***Komi***. Five to six hundred ***Komi*** was the normal size of most

[614] ***Op. Cit.***
[615] SNP7?1035/1911

of the farms in Kumbotso District. The onions are planted in the dry season, say during the months of December and January being the best months. For this to be practicable the seeds had to be sown in October or November, to give a maximum of one to two month germination period. The seed became matured for planting when it measured about nine (9) inches to one (1) foot length above the ground. The planting takes one day with each ***Komi*** taking an average of 30 onions. It takes about four months for the onions to be ready for harvest, which was just about the time when rainy season was to commence.

The local market price of onion varied from 3d to 6d for 30 pieces of onions. As noted earlier 30 onions made up a ***Komi*** and the normal farm size in Kumbotso District contained a total of five hundred (500) to six hundred (600) ***Komi***. On a farm containing 600 ***Komi***, each of which will produce, say, 3d worth of onion, the farmer should make a gross income of about £7- 10s- 0d with possibly an addition or subtraction of 10/- depending on the conditions surrounding the farm work. This is when the total number of the ***Komi*** in a farm (600) is multiplied with the total onions in a ***Komi*** (30) to give a total of 1800d at the lowest price of 3d per 30 onion, which totalled to 150s- and when converted into pound, it becomes £7-10s- 0d. After taking into account expenses of labour for watering the farms, losses from the spoils (bad onions) etc the farmer will make a net profit of from £3 to £4 annually.[616] It was from this that the farmer settled his tax or taxes, feed and cloth the family, and took care of some contingences. [617]

A fair amount of wheat was also grown on the irrigation farms. Like the onions, the wheat farm were also divided into ***Komi*** (plots) and watered as done to

[616] ***Ibid***.
[617] ***Ibid.***

the onions also. In the case of wheat the seed is sown for five months, thus the process must begin by November or at most December. Anything after December is late and could not produce mature seed for planting at the right time. On the other hand the crop must be harvested before the rains or else it would rot or be damaged. The produce of one ***Komi*** is worth about 1d. It was sold by the ***mudu*** (measure) of smaller weight at 2d at harvest time; and at 3d or more by the end of the season. By estimate one ***mudu*** should contain the produce of 2 ***komi***. A wheat farm of 600 Komi therefore will give a income of about £1- 4s- 0d, or a net profit of £1.[618] This estimate is derived from the consideration that 600 Komi produced 300 ***mudus*** of wheat. And the price per the produce of a ***Komi*** is found to be 1d and 2 ***Komi*** made up a ***mudu***, at harvest time. When the price of a ***mudu*** at 2d is multiplied with the 300 ***mudus*** of the 600 ***Komi*** gives a total of 600d. When converted into shillings, 600d equals to 50s- or £2- 10s- 0d. Taking into consideration the expenses in the farm work and other possible hazards relating to the farming of wheat and etc, a balance of £1- 4s- was realised as the final profit. Wheat was mostly used by the royal class or at best during ceremonies when Wheat was used to make ***Funkaso, Alkubus, Gurasa, Alkaki*** and so on.[619]

Cotton was also grown in Kumbotso District. In this case the crop was produced in nearly all the villages of the District, partly because of the general desire for the crop by the British or more specifically because of the relevance of the

[618] ***Ibid***. P. 8

[619] ***Funkaso*** is serves as a meal mostly in the morning as breakfast. This is after the wheat is grinded into powdered form, mixes with water and fried in hot oil. It is serves with ***Taushe*** soup also. Alkubus is also served as meal with ***Miyan Taushe***, mostly taken as lunch and dinner, but more as lunch. It is made from wheat after it is grinded, mixed with water and steamed. Unlike Burabusko, Alkubud is made in solid form but very soft. Gurasa is also made of wheat but when in its flour form. The flour is mixed with water and baked to produce bread like cake. Gurasa is eating as a meal with Taushe also and also as snack when eaten raw. It served as long distance traders food because it stays for some time before it gets spoilt. ***Alkaki*** is a snack and mostly royal. It is also the food of long distance traders because it hardly spoilt easily,

industry in Kumbotso and most other villages around the Southern part of Kano. When planted in good time, cotton should be ready for plucking by November or December. Under good condition a farm of one acre should produce 2 ***Keso*** (a mat full of cotton spread) weight on the first plucking. Two or three weeks later the farm should be due for the second plucking in which also a ***Keso*** weight should be obtained. Under good condition plucking can be repeated up to about 5 to 6 times, though the amount being plucked will continue to reduce by half. Under an unfavourable condition not more than 2 plucking will be obtained.[620]

By estimate one ***keso*** of cotton weigh about 43.75lbs and worth the sum of 5s- in the local market and indeed higher depending on its scarcity or otherwise. A farm of one acre therefore will, if the crop is a good one, produce about 8 ***keso*** or say 350lbs of cotton a year worth about £2 in the local market.[621] In every acre therefore the farmer will produce say 115lbs of lint and 235 lbs of seed if the crop is a good one. The greatest impediment to good cotton production in Kumbotso District was due to the lack of an improved method of cultivation. When converted on money terms, a ***Keso*** which weigh 43. 75lbs was valued at 5s-. Since One acre produces 8 ***Keso***, equivalent to 350lbs, the total earning of a farmer should be a division of 350lbs by 43.75lbs to give 8 total weight of keso. To arrive at the total figure for the annual earnings of a cotton farmer in Kumbotso District the total weight of 8 should be multiplied by 5s- (a price per ***Keso***) to give 40s-. When divided by 20s- (i.e. 40s- /20s-) (at 20s- equals to a pound), the final figure rounds up to £2- 0s- 0d. Indeed when the cost of production is considered in addition to damages etc, the net profit drops down to less than £2 also.[622]

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[620] ***Ibid.*** P. 9
[621] A **Keso** produces 43.75ibs weight of cotton
[622] ***Ibid***.

Besides playing the role of food, some of these crops (mostly grains) produced stalks used in constructing houses (huts), beds, fence, and doors; and indeed as support grass for roofs of the hut. Still the grasses (mostly from the leaves of beans and groundnut) and soft grain stalk were used to feed the domestic animals, specifically donkeys, cattle and sheep; and also to use as fire wood in cooking food and so on.[623] To the people of Kumbotso agriculture provides a totality of life consisting of what to eat, sell, rear animals for meat, money and transportation; and build houses. In addition the stalks were also used in making beds for use and sell in the city. Mattresses were also made for those who could not afford the expensive cotton made one. Such mattresses were made by sewing white material and filling it with grass; instead of the grass, rich men of Kumbotso filled their own with cotton-wool.

Other uses of land in Kumbotso District include those that relates to the production of beans though quite negligible in terms of revenue generation. Others include the rearing of hens and guinea fowl, and the production of rice, tobacco and indigo, though also grown in a minute quantity. Very relevant to the hypothesis in this study is that in all these processes of assessing the products of land, giving it weight, value, the right size for a bundle, the price etc; the colonial office relied solely on the advice of the NA. The district and village head on the advice of some few village elders determine a bundle, a sack, and their respective values. This on the other hand helped the NA to decide on the incidence of taxation for the District and village heads to administer.

Agriculture thus provided a lot to the people of Kumbotso. It is therefore surprising how peasants in Kumbotso District abandoned much of the land that they

[623] ***Ibid. Par. 70***

lived on. Colonial policies especially on taxation made it necessary for the greater part of the population of those around the Kumbotso District to abandon their lands. The abandonment of farmland in Kumbotso District was the last resort because of the strenuous conditions attached to it. In the first place, the farmer had to be taken to Kumbotso before the Hakimi to openly declare that he no longer wish to own and cultivate his said farm. Indeed the farmer had to also pay back some money called 'dowry', marking the end of his marriage with the land, so that his name is excised from the (***Taki***) register".[624] Thus a farmer wishing to give up a holding or part of a holding and be relieved of the tax upon it must so inform his village or District Head. The necessary amendments can then be made at the annual revision.

This practice was only common in Kumbotso even amongst the districts of the Kano close settled Zone, partly because of the closeness of Kumbotso District to the Kano City.[625] The rationale was to regulate land ownership especially amongst the non ruling class segment of the population.[626] As noted earlier respective members of the Ruling Houses around the Kano Emirate were all given land in the District. It is my understanding here that the main reason for this practice was to create reserved land area for the use of the Ruling Class and the Rich. Indeed struggle for ownership of land in this District continued even after independence, especially in those villages very close to the city like Shara]a, Hotoro, Mariri, Nai'bawa, [orayi. Basically what was Kumbotso District in the 20th century is Kano municipality today. This possibly explains best how important the District has been.

[624] ***NAK/KANPROF5/1/761 1932***
[625] Most other settlements within the Close settled Zones are presently residents to Nigerian settlers of Kano. But Kumbotso District remain a hot cake for the Kano people, indeed the rich Kano people. In fact even the state Government prepared Kumbotso than other arears looking at the number of Government Housing estates, educational institutions, Companies and so on constructed in the District.
[626] Isa Tajo, June 2007

Such a practice caused a lot of embarrassment to families that some followed the only option of fleeing the town.[627] Colonial policies (especially the Taki revenue) in Kumbotso District therefore became a sort of "divorce" mechanism which separate the traditional "marriage" relations between a farmer and his farm, while in turn it provides no alternative for a re-union. The district officials (District and Village Heads) did their worst in this case by checking and cross checking on all those abandoned farms.[628] To the district officials the inability of the owner to pay his tax and claim his land or farm gave them the opportunity to claim ownership. And on the other hand it gave them the authority, where a certain individual indicate interest to surcharge him for their on good. By their authority the district officials made sure that the previous owner did not continue to farm it after he has been relieved of his tax. **Taki** conclusively led to the abandonment of the most fertile land and indeed the disintegration of the society, especially in Kumbotso District.[629]

Peasant condition in colonial Kumbotso therefore presented three cases in point. While it institutionalised the culture of submissiveness to the dictates of the Village and District Heads, it, on the one hand mobilised some segment of the marginalised groups into developing the culture of hatred of the Ruling Class.[630] The third case was such that the concept of taxing individual farmlands in especially Dorayi and few other parts of Kumbotso brought to an end the firm grip of familial *Gandu* fraternity. This is because individual male members of the household were made to settle their taxes singularly. In essence this led to the collapse of extended family relations and of the culture of assistance in the form of *Gayya* and so on. It

[627] Interview with a group of villagers in Dorayi. See also Hamza, I. ***Op. Cit.***
[628] Interview with Alhaji Sa'adu Sarkin Barik Kumbotso.
[629] *NAK/KANPROF 5/1/6029 1945.*
[630] Interview with Alhaji Sa'adu Sarkin Bariki, Kumbotso, 2002.

also made available the labour to be exploited by colonial and neo-colonial economies.

Generally around Kumbotso such a development destroyed the familial linkages and indeed the ownership of land. It indeed served as an additional way for the massive sale of farmlands to the rich merchants from the city.[631] The use of land therefore took a new outlook. Land In Kumbotso since the beginning of colonial period became dominantly for building of mighty and elegant houses, in more specific terms it made up the first Government Reserved Area (GRA) created by the colonial establishment.[632] These developments have so much subsumed Kumbotso District into the environs of Kano city, so much so that such areas are no longer used as farms. The effect this transformation had on food production and the well being of the people of Kumbotso was enormous, some of which is discussed in chapter six of this effort.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the administration of land in Kano under colonial rule was with the intent to satisfy the basic interest of Imperialism. It also established that for this to be accomplished policies and approaches were made which explains the respective successions of the actors within the colonial officials. Yet the control and administration of land was only made possible through the support given by the native rulers. The purpose for such as clearly shown was to localize the system of exploitation and alienated the peasantry from the use of land. The result was the appropriation of large chunk of land by the members of the Native Authority and its allies at the detriment of the huge peasant

[631] Interview with Alhaji Isa Tajo, Kano, 1999.
[632] This was created at Nasarawa. The area is still referred to as the Nasarawa quarters and served as the area where the Kano State Government House is located to date.

population, leading to growing social problems. In the specific case of Kumbotso colonial policy on land not only made so many of them destitute and landless, but also rendered them economically less productive. This was in the light that most of their farms had to be disposed of with a meagre amount as compensation for institutional use, or in fact in response to the growing population in the city which necessitated the establishment of new settlements. Yet the use of land in cultivation remained the most important and productive economic activity of the people of Kumbotso District.

Chapter Five

Labour and Labour Administration in Kumbotso District 1916-1953

5.1 Introduction

Labour creates civilization when it enters the process of production and in the course of that creates supplementary value over and above the initial capital.[633] This line of thought defines labour as the totality of those mental and physical substances existing in human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a *use-value* of any description.[634] Thus labour power, the only element that needs to be added to create value, is a capacity, a potential which can be left fallow or brought into action, and which can be used more or less intensely.[635] Therefore labour has not being colonial throughout history. It rather represents a specific stage in the socio-political and economic history of people. It is with this understanding that this chapter examines labour policies in Colonial Kano with reference to Kumbotso District. The emphasis is on the roles of the Native Authority (NA) in the administration of colonial labour policies.

5.2 Administration of Colonial Labour Policy

As discussed in chapter one, the conquest of Kano was 'completed' in 1903 with the installation of Emir Abbas on the throne. This development meant not just the installation of a new Emir but a whole attempt at restructure the political set up in such a way that authority to administer the State was left to the local rulers. Such was the basic justification for restoring the powers of the native rulers to assist in

633 Marx, **Karl,** ***Des Capital***, Vol.1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 83, P.53

634 Jalee, Pierre, ***How Capitalism Works,*** Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1977, 1974 (Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data) P24

635 Marx, Karl ***Des Capital***, Vol.1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, ***Op. Cit***. Chapter vii and ix.

controlling and exploiting the territory.[636] In this case therefore the administration and control of colonial labour policy was left in the hand of the newly enthroned traditional rulers (Emirs, District and Village Heads and their errand men).

Administration of labour in colonial Kano began with the abolition of slave labour as a system of production especially in agriculture, consequent to which labour regain its freedom.[637] It was the putting into practice of this policy that first confronted the Emirs, District and Village headmen in Kano and its environs. As the experience buttressed, this policy had the first effect of ejecting the slaves out of agricultural production, with a large number of them made redundant. The first result was therefore the instant collapse of most of the numerous and large agricultural estates of the feudal ruling class especially those which thrived on slave labour. It has been established that the abolition of slavery threw most of these estates out of cultivation.[638] The greater part of the land lied fallow, though some of it was cultivated occasionally by leases with a year's tenancy, or those who borrowed the land on payment for a season.[639] This policy therefore created serious crises of labour shortage, which made it impossible for large scale *Gandu* production to continue in the old way. It also brought to an end the reproduction of the labour power on the estates, in addition to creating conditions of economic crisis, which redefined the nature of the social and administrative relationships. Thus estates of the aristocracy and merchants were forced to resort to client and hired labour in order to cultivate enough farmlands sufficient to feed the household. As a result, much of the areas of such estates had to lie fallow. The produce of such

636 The first effort in this respect was the attempt not to weaken the ruling class by bringing about the total collapse of its social and economic base which would happen if general emancipation or mass desertions of slaves was encouraged.

637 Tukur, M. M. ***Op. Cit.***

638 Muktar, M. I. Labour in Colonial Kano

639 K.S.A. M.L.G. 16490 Kumbotso District, Kano Emirate, reassessment report for 1931

portions of farmlands could no longer finance the political and economic powers of the ruling class; rather they had to depend on other means.[640] Side by side with the collapse of the estates farms of the rulers were the twin factors of decline in food production and the increasing tendency on the part of the ruling class to impose themselves over the subject population. This, on the other hand, also subjected the ruling class into tilting towards supporting colonial policies so as to further institutionalise their control over and above what it used to be in the pre-colonial days. According to a palace historian, Emir Abbas was very careful in his response to colonial rule, which explained his disagreements with Resident Cargill.[641] It is uniquely noted in the emirate of Kano that this development marked the beginning of the establishment of the culture of high handedness in the colonial administration of land, labour and taxation.[642]

On the other hand the need for resources to pay labour on such estates (royal estates etc) stimulated the development of an agrarian wage labour force, which also marked the beginning of renting out of farmlands by the ruling class on a commercial basis. In itself this act stimulated the development of commodity production on such estates; it also accelerated the process of the creation of the Proletariat class, which was set in motion by the above changes.[643] For the rich and middle level peasantry, the loss of slave labour forced most of them to resort to cultivating some of their farms themselves. While the surplus land in the hands of this group created by the relative shortage of labour, increased the practice of leasing of land which led to the development of real property value in land. This was also part of the pre-requisites processes for the development of colonial

640 Muktar, I. M., ***Op Cit***. P. 177

[641] Interview with Alhaji Gizo Maroki, Kofar Mata
[642] Interview Isa Tajo, ***Op. Cit.***
643 Muktar ***Op. Cit.*** P. 177

capitalism in Kano.[644] In Sharada, Hotoro, Naíbawa and so on villages of Kumbotso District (located closer to the main city) was noted cases in which successive village heads, since the time of Emir of Kano Abbas (1903-1919) through to especially the time of Emir of Kano Usman (1919-1926), used such inability to provide enough labour to cultivate some of the available farm lands by some people as an excuse to seize the land and dispose of it to some rich city merchants. This continued up to the 1950$^{th;}$ an informant stressed that the history of Sharada's present industrial status as one of the most pre-eminent industrial centre in Kano took its root from these development during the colonial administration of the area.[645] He added that the rail line that passes through Sharada was not for nothing, but the mass available flat land in the area. The Same experience was noted in Hotoro, a village located to the north-east and also in Unguwar Rimi village located to the south east of the Kumbotso district.[646] According to an informant in Sharadar Mallam, students of his parents (traditional Islamic school), were on many occasions forced to work in some of such lands for the use of the village head; at a point this attitude became a yearly affair, especially during the reign of emir Usman, 1919-1926, that students boycotted the school. Emir Usman himself made it a means through which grasses was made available for the royal horses in the emir's palace.[647] Same was also the experience in Beci under a village head Mallam Muhammadu Usman who died in 1921 and in Medile located close to the main rail line that traversed the District. In the case of Medile the challenge was more after the construction of the rail line, a development that transformed the village to a centre of trading activity. The Present village head of Medile Mallam Yusufu critically stressed the point that much of

644 ***Ibid*** P. 177

645 Interview with Mallam Sale Ado Sharadar Malam, 1993, 80 years.
646 Refer to chapter three of this thesis.
647 Interview with Alhaji garba ***Op. Cit***

what happened on the issues of labour administration in the villages were the initiatives of the village heads and not the emirs in the city. The important point is however that labour administration during the colonial period, especially during the first decade of colonial rule transformed the nature of the social relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Kumbotso district.

The ejection (redemption) of slaves had the significant effect of releasing a lot of servile labour from feudal agricultural estates. With the exception of the few former slaves that decided to enter into clientele relations with their former masters, such a huge population (well over 12,000 officially released in the area of Kano emirate alone by 1917) became completely an alienated group.[648] Such a group had no land or capital to maintain itself and sustain its freedom. For it to do so, it must acquire or have access to a means of production and reproduction. It must either have access to land or capital, or sell its labour power, because the manner and conditions in which such a labour force could operate must be entirely different from the manner it operated in the pre-colonial period. It is in this present context neither a part of the capital nor a means of production as was the case before. The most logical means for its survival was to sell its labour power or lease farmlands. Thus, it could only get access to a means of production by selling its labour power or become an agricultural tenant.[649] As clearly noted by Hamza,[650] the development of Dorayi relied so much on such kind of freed slaves with no means of survival. Those around the *Gandun Albasa* and *Gandun Sarki* quickly moved to the City and became errand boys to some rich merchants. According to an informant a great

[648] Of this number about 8% are likely to be from around the Kumbotso District. This is on the assumption that of the total 23 agricultural estates attached to the office of the Emir, Kumbotso and Minjibir took the largest shares of 3 each, making 8% of the total. It was conservatively argued also that these specific estates possessed the largest acres. For detail refer to Muktar, M. I. Op. Cit. P. 70-80.

[649] Muktar, M. I. ***Ibid*** P. 178

[650] Hamza, I. Socio-economic history of Dorayi in the 18th and 19th Century, MA, History, ***Op. Cit***.

number of them were accepted, because of their discipline and hard work to serve as agents in trade across to some distant places as far as to Niger Republic and Ghana. Most of the groundnut buying agents of Turaki Nuhu, an important agent of the Alhassan [antata groundnut business (in Kazaure, Daura emirates to as far as the Niger Republic), were products of such historical antecedents. According to an informant who was a participant in the business during the early fifties, such people were so proud serving as errand boys and very good in hassling, competing and protecting the interest of their master; a hung over of their hitherto social position.[651]

One other pattern adopted for survival by such alienated group was the leasing of farmlands from the rich peasantry and some members of the ruling class who had surplus farmlands due to the shortage of labour created by the slave redemption policy. Most of the "free or freed slaves tended to migrate seasonally or permanently to areas where such lands were available, mostly in the areas around the Kano close settled zones (Kumbotso etc) in order to start afresh. Such migrants were attracted by the likelihood of surplus lands that could be leased.[652] The whole population of Gandun Nassarawa in Kumbotso District were product of such adventure. Mostly from amongst the ex-slaves family, they settled and establish settlement maintaining their hitherto relations with the royal house and enjoying a little of their independence as freed slaves. It has been revealed that a total of one hundred and thirty one (131) people left Ungogo village of Ungogo District (also in Kano Close Settled Zone) from 1931-51 and many had settled in outlying districts in order to farm new lands.[653] Most of the estates (Gandaye) of Emir Abdullahi

[651] Interview with Alhaji Garba Dan Kano, Sarkin Bariki, Kanti, Kazaure, 2005.

652 Migrants in search of farmlands to lease were called *Nomijjde*. The *Nomijidde* became more prominent with the increase in the number of such freed slaves and with the growing commodity status of farmlands.

653 Tudun Wada Inspection Note, KSA Agr. 175 Advance to mixed farmers, ***Kano province, KSA MLG 525/1924. Ungogo district Assessment Report Kano Emirate.***

Bayero around Unguwa Uku in Kumbotso District were leased out to such ex-slaves free of charge. The area where the Federal Government College Kano, the former and present Unguwa Uku Motor parks, are located to as far as Ja'en were one of such sites that served as farms leased to ex-slaves for free by Sakin Kano Abdullahi Bayero. Indeed the practice then was that new comers to Kano who were fully introduced to the emir were given lands in the area to make a living. According to an informant the rationale was to have an idea of the number of people that relocated to Kano and to make sure that none was without means of sustenance. Such were the means through which social problems were checked, it also helped in disclosing the identity of the visitor and restrict him to a specific location so that he could be watched and studied before he mingled with the larger population.[654] Some numbers of them were given land free to farm in other areas of the Kano Close Settled Zones and specifically in [orayi, Zawaciki and Ja'en Villages of Kumbotso District that today have become their personal property.[655]

Others did engage in cash earning activities in order to raise enough money to regain their freedom. Many, therefore, decided to pay their ransom fee.[656] Information from *Rinjin* Fulani in Kumbotso pointed that most of the original inhabitants of the area were of slave parentage, only regained their freedom through this means. Masters of such slaves allowed them the opportunity to take to cash earning activity in order to generate enough money to redeem them selves. The state, on its part decided to create an opportunity and also to exploit this desire by such slaves to be free by establishing job opportunities where such slaves could sell

[654] Interview with Alhaji Gizo Maroki, ***Op. Cit.***
[655] Interview with Mallam Bala Dorayi, 2000, 65 years. Mallam Bala claimed that his grand father benefitted from such a gesture.
[656] Refer to Chapter two where I discussed a specific case in point from a discussion I had with an informant in Kumbotso.

their labour power and earn the needed cash. Many of such slaves were recruited as labourers on railway and road construction projects or drafted to transport materials to distant places as far as Zungeru.[657] Encouraging them to set themselves free through this means was therefore a welcome idea.[658] It has been stated that much of the force on the Baro-Kano railway from 1907-12 and on the numerous colonial road projects was provided by slaves wishing to earn enough money to pay for their freedom. Monthly deductions were made from their allowances and paid immediately to the slave masters by the colonial state until the redemption fees was fully paid.[659] The experience in most parts of Kumbotso was however different with most of the labour recruited through the use of force or not paid what they were due.

Many such slaves (freed slaves) also sold their labour power to colonial companies and individuals while others took up trading, agriculture or craft production. The engagement of such slaves (freed slaves) on ***Murgu***[660] in agricultural production stimulated and promoted the development of agricultural wage labour as well as that of an agrarian semi-proletariat.[661] ***Murgu***, as this arrangement is called, can therefore be regarded as a step toward the end of slave labour as well as a factor for the development of the (colonial type) proletarianisation process. It also assisted in the development of the basic colonial physical infrastructure required for the purpose of establishing the structures of exploitation by imperialism.[662] Such transformation of labour which led to the development of a system of leasing of excess farms through ***Ci Rani*** (non rainy

657 Muktar ***Op Cit***. P. 180

658 Interview with Mallam Bala Dorayi, 2000, ***Op. Cit***.

659 P. E. Love joy and JS Hogendorn, ***Op. Cit***. P. 203-206

660 Murgu is the attempt by a slave to sale his labour outside with a view to raise the money enough to free him from the slave bondage.

661 Muktar, I. M. ***Op. Cit***. 1994

662 Muktar, I. M***. Ibid***. P. 180-81

season labour) had the overall effect of creating land hunger and difficulty of access to land if not outright land shortage. Thus land hunger developed among the lower classes due to the presence of large alienated labour force which did not own a means of production and was therefore searching for some.[663] Land hunger here did not mean the lack of available land, but that some few people have monopolised the land available due to their position in the society at the expense a large number of common people.[664] Members of the royalty in Kumbotso District owned large hectares of land. Specifically these were located in Medile, Yan [anko, Chabano, Gwazaye and Yankusa. Available oral information revealed that there is no village in Kumbotso District without such lands owned by royalty that were left unattended to for years. This claim was based on the understanding that all members of the royal family were at one time given land in one of the Districts of the Kano Close Settled Zone for the purposes of establishing a Gandu for their feeds.[665] Specifically Kumbotso District was the main target for both the royalty and the rich City dwellers, because of its proximity to the city in addition to the fertility of the soil. The idea behind posting persons of royal blood to the District headship of Kumbotso, according to Isa Tajo was purposely for that.[666]

The consequent shortage and monopoly of land also greatly accelerated the development of commodity status in land. Land increasingly came to develop market value. The process of slave redemption directly informed this development because it reduced the number of people with direct access to agricultural lands and had increased the size of an alienated population in need of access. From then onward producers began to develop awareness of investment in land and inputs in

[663] Muktar ***Ibid*** P. 181
[664] Interview with Saadu Sarkin Bariki, ***Op. Cit***.
[665] Refer to Chaper two of this work
[666] Interview with Alhaji Isa Tajo,. ***Op. Cit***

agriculture. Thus, land factor as a commodity began to feature.[667] Alhaji Alhassan [antata and many of the Kano City merchants acquired so many hectares of land from around the Kumbotso District as a result of this development.[668] An informant however claimed that much of the land owned by such rich merchants were just given to them free by the Emir, District or Village Heads on ensuring their loyalty and to encourage agricultural production especially the production of cash crop like groundnut due to its significance as a cash derive product. In Hotoro, the experience was that land was given to those who can farm it to encourage them to have the means and the ability to pay their taxes.[669]

While it was true that some large estates of the pre-colonial ruling class were retained intact, though largely left fallow or leased out, many estates, especially of the lower classes broke up. This translated into the process of monetisation of the economy and impoverishment of the peasantry, coupled with the increasing commodity status of land and the consequent effect of the sub-division of family farms (*Gandu*) among the lower classes. The trends in the sub-division of family farms were accelerated by the pauperising conditions of the colonial situation, which made many people to resort to the sale of lands at the slightest opportunity. The sub-division of farmlands was greater in Kano close-settled zone where population and land pressure were greater. In Kumbotso district for example it is said that: "Perhaps the greatest draw-back to successful farming near the city was the growing practice of sub-division of farms among heirs to an estate. There is practically no limit to the length to which this sub-division went." [670] Most of the settlers of [anmarke in Hotoro village of Kumbotso District were at one time owners

[667] Muktar ***Op. Cit.*** P. 181
[668] Interview with Alhaji Isa Tajo, ***Op. Cit***.
[669] Interview with Sani Hotoro, ***Op. Cit***.
[670] ***KSA Kumbotso District assessment report, Kano emirate***.

of farm lands in the area, but lost it mostly due to this development only to have enough to use as residence. The result of such general changes in land holding due to this sub-division was the emergence of smaller and smaller parcels of land as private individual holdings increasingly replacing those of the household. Many, as indicated above, were too small to be economically viable. Holders of such land, who were usually from the lower classes, could not adequately produce sufficient for their sustenance without augmenting their income through leasing more land or selling their labour power. In Kumbotso District in particular the former was the most dominant practice, as rich city dwellers established new settlements very close to the City by buying lands from such desperate peasants.[671]

5.3 Administration of Labour in Railway and Road Construction in Kumbotso District

I. Railway Construction

Railway line entered Kumbotso district from the south west through the border towns of Sura and Runkusawa Kai to Panshekara, Gaida, Maidile (Bulbugaji), Shara]a, Gandu, through to the borders of Unguwa uku-ja'oji to Nassarawa where the central Kano railway station is still located.[672] The construction of rail line in Kumbotso district followed the general effort to link Lagos with the hinterland by rail as requested by the British colonial authority. Indeed the construction of the line through Kumbotso district was also because of the location of the district and the nature of the environment, which was less mountainous. The land was flat though traversed by some number of rivers.

671 C. W. Rowlings reported that with the break-up of family cohesion farmers are thrown on to their personal resources whenever they needed money. Their fields are often the readiest or even the only way of getting it… It is true that one instance was encountered in which a rich villager held ten fields, from some of which he drew revenue under lease, and a similar case would probably be found elsewhere, sub-division is the principal means whereby individuals have obtained their holdings. See Muktar I. M. Ibid P. 183 for detail. See also ***NAK/KANPROF5/1/2274/1928 Forced labour***. And in Manase, G. R. T., ***Op. Cit***. P. 83.

672 See Map in Chapter One, P. 4-5

The construction of the rail line took effect after due consultations by Lugard with Sir Ralph Moor[673] and some consulting Engineers, R. Elliot Cooper and Frederick Shelford in April 1902. The outcome of the consultation concluded that Nigeria was too big a country for a single-port single-rail complex. The effort therefore requested for surveys between the Kaduna Valley and Kano. In the past except along the rivers, transportation relied on carriers in the absence of roads and wheeled vehicles. In February 1903, Lugard again discussed the matter with the colonial office and specifically with the secretary of State, Chamberlain. This time Lugard was quite specific to have brought out the justification for constructing the rail line which was to put Kano in touch with the Niger: on military, administrative and commercial grounds where he pointed that "the need was most urgent."[674] In the same year, the first serious attempt to probe the mineral wealth of the country was made when the secretary of state sent out two geologists. Influenced by the excellent prospects of cotton production, the British cotton growers Association (BCGA) also sent a representative. The first report stressed that there was much limestone bordering the Benue to replace the costly Portland cement. Sir Percy Girouard was on the other hand deeply impressed with agricultural practice around Kano and the development of staples, cotton, groundnuts, tin and skins.[675] Clearly therefore the justification for the construction of the rail down to Kano was made, indeed it is with this understanding that one could see why the construction of the rail line became a do

673 As early as 1893, railway construction had been found to be the practical answer to the problems of joining the Nigerian Coast to its hinterland. A reliable means of communication and transportation, the railway was expected to tap the economic resources of the protectorate and facilitate general development. The hope was that it would make it convenient to send troops at once to possible rebellious groups and ease administration tremendously.

674 He went on to say that the French were constructing a railway into the Dahomean interior to capture the Hausa trade and if Kano was to rely on the LGR then the connection was fifteen to twenty years away on the basis of the 7years to reach Ibadan. Lokoja must be linked with Northern State capitals so that their position could be secured. Jaekec, F. ***Op Cit***. P. 79-80

675 **Ibid** P. 81-88

or die affair to the British. This understanding also explains why labour had to be mobilised and subjugated from those villages through which the rail line passed.[676]

The process commenced with a detail survey carried out before the construction. Construction was organized in sections, with the major tasks comprising the survey, earthworks, ballasting, plate lying, bridging, traffic operation and accounts, each responsible directly to Mr. Eaglesome. Sir Percy initiated the survey from Baro by the only surveyor available, A. S. Collard.[677] The Royal Engineer detachment under Lt. Maxwell handled the track lying. Markets were established at rail head, free passes issued to traders bridging in supplies, and rice was imported and issued at cost price. Sometimes the plate layers were as near as 200 yards on the heels of the ballasting parties. The first group of men under Graham numbered 1, 200 and were recruited from Bida province by Capt. Burnside, a deputy superintendent of police. They were paid 6p a day, and recruitment charges amounted to £2- 17s per 100 men per month.[678]

A lot of problems were encountered by the workers among which was the difficulty of cutting through thick tropical forest from the coast inwards particularly in the wet season when under growths rose luxuriantly with amazing rapidity after first clearance. This made it necessary to cut down the bush for many feet beyond each side of the track or trees would occasionally fall across the rail after heavy rains accompanied by strong wind. The damp hot climate was usually unhealthy and Malaria took heavy tolls especially among white railway workers. Such, explains much of the difficulties encountered by the workers during the course of railway

[676] Nzulz, Forced Labour in Colonial Africa

677 The railway project was launched at the instance of Joseph Chamberlain the dynamic Secretary of State who during his tenure of office between 1895-1903 actively pursued the cause of the economic development of British overseas possessions. This was in keeping with the stipulation of the Brussels conference of 1890, which made "effective occupation" the only valid indication of European imperial acquisition over African territories.

678 Jaekec , F. ***Ibid*** P. 98

construction across to the hinterland of Nigeria.[679] Jaekec was however only concerned with the immediate positive gains to the 'native population' where he maintained that it provided enough for the domestic slaves to pay for their freedom. And that free men found railway service attractive for it gave them money to acquire wives and more wives.[680] However it was not in all cases that labour was paid for. Information from around the villages through which the rail line passed in Kumbotso district uniquely agreed that in some cases labour recruits were paid half of the allowance, but in most other cases labour was even forced and unpaid. According to Muktar, the money for the payment of labour was always released from the colonial office to the respective village or district authority, but information available indicated that hardly was the money paid in full to the labour employed since much of it was forced labour.[681]

Thus the experience was more than just providing employment. As pointed by an informant subjects were coerced into carrying heavy iron (plate) material on their heads covering a very long distance during the course of the construction.[682] Indeed it was a work full of the use of human energy and power as no machines were made available at that time. Using shovels and cutlasses labour recruits were forced into such hardships of clearing the land and landscaping it to provide the necessary space for the laying of the railway line. "In scorching sun shine they carry large stones on their heads, level the ground and drag blocks of marble along. So many people died in the process without seeing or testing the train."[683] This goes close to what an

679 Ibid. P. 21-22

680 Jaekec, F. Ibid P. 24

681 Muktar, M. I. Labour in colonial Kano

682 Interview with Maigarin Zawachiki and Medile

683 Nzula, A. T. (et. al.) ***Forced Labour in Colonial Africa***. Edited and introduced by Robin Cohen, ZED Press, 57 Caledonian Road, London, N1 9DN, 1933 (Moscow), 1979, P. 85.

informant narrated for the experience around Runkusawa Kai,[684] the entry point of the rail line into Kumbotso district from the south west.[685] He claimed that it was during the course of the railway construction that so many people absconded or rather disappeared from their village areas living their families. [686]

Additional problem was in the construction materials, which were irregularly supplied owing to shipping and landing difficulties in the Lagos harbour. And yet a heavy reliance was placed on imported stool sleepers "since termites were always ready to eat up local timber". A part from the fact that much labour was required in carrying such sleepers from Lagos for use along the line in the hinterland, similar troubles were involved in carrying and distributing the not readily available ballast's from the Abeokuta quarry where alone they were found.[687] People forcefully recruited from around the districts were therefore forced into carrying heavy material on their head from a very distant place that a great number of them were said no longer to have any hair on their head.[688] This equally affects the brain, meaning that it was a serious catastrophe on the health and psychology of the communities, which explains why they disappeared into the neighbouring villages to avoid being conscripted again.[689] In addition the leg swells at the end of the journey and developed into all

[684] When railway constructions went through the North from Ibadan the Yoruba formed the bulk of the labour force, specifically outside their planting and harvesting seasons and not as a way of life for long time. Beside Yorubas, other group of people were Sierra Leoneans and Ghanaians."[684] The relevance of this is that it provided explanation to the existence of a population of Yoruba people in most village centers along the rail lines in Kano.

685 Interview with ***Alhaji Isa Tajo***.

686 Same information was found in an interview with Maigarin Medile and Zawachiki.

687 T. N. Tamuno, "**The Genesis of the Nigerian Railway in Nigerian Magazine** No. 83 of December 1964, pp.279-292).

688 Manase recorded that the Native Authority used to send labour quota to Zungeru for the collection of equipment for the use of colonial office and other colonial development works. This is indicative therefore that labour was sent to trek to as far as Zungeru to carry some of the necessary equipment for the lying of the railway line. The trekking itself was a difficult job, not to talk of the heaviness of the equipment to be carried.

689 When the laying of the rail reached the Kano side at Kumbotso District the communities around Zawachiki, Runkusawa, Ja'en Shara]a and Panshekara were forcefully recruited to do the work by their respective Village Heads. . Since the instruction was to recruit labour from around the immediate village, villagers escaped to a nearby village to dodged being forced. Group Interview at Challawa in Kumbotso district with community leaders comprising the Imam, Village head and civil servants, 2003.

forms of sickness that sometimes found walking around so difficult. Increasingly therefore this seriously affected the communities, especially that it was the healthy and most energetic that were recruited for the work on the railway line. According to Maigarin Zawachiki this is one of the reasons why it is very difficult to get some of those that took part in the construction here in Kumbotso District. They have all died because of the hardship involved without even testing the train; the greatest worry is even that such a project that took so many lives has now collapsed to nothing.[690]

The railway construction made use of so much of raw labour for that was all that was required in this clearing phase. This was justified by the colonial office on the ground that that was the type of work the people were used to. "Just as they had cut down the bush in order to make heaps to plant their crops they similarly cut down the bush and levelled the ground in preparation for the actual lying of rails." Accordingly the traditional cutlasses and hoes were used as under regular farm work although shovels and spades increasingly displaced them eventually. For a while in some areas they did no more than turn the surface soil. In others they dug far down to level the track. But the actual lying of rail required definite skills therefore was left to experts, mostly recruits from the South.[691] Contrary to the position raised to justify labour exploitation in the railway construction, the issue goes beyond that. In the first place the subject populations were denied the time and energy they needed to expend in their farms and were as a result exposed into the search for how to take care of their families and respond to other demands of the colonial policies, especially on taxation. Secondly it was a labour which they rendered unwillingly with no pay and at the end of it were all forms of sickness and diseases.[692]

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690 Interview with Maigarin Medile Op. Cit.
691 Jaekec, F. ***Op Cit***. P. 25
692 **Interview with Alhaji Isa Tajo**.

Jaekec was desperately apologetic to have made up the point that labour saving devices was unnecessary because labour was quite available.[693] Yet could not resist saying the fact that fines were freely imposed and the cane was used especially in the railway construction in the North for late coming and abscondment. The act of late reporting to work or not performing to expectation by Northern workers who considered it as encroachment on their economic activities (farm work) was however indicating some level of protest or displeasure.[694] To worsen the situation the Native Authority made sure that citizens of northern origin, who were engaged in railway construction remained under its control even when they were operating under officials in southern Nigerian employment. This case came out clearly when the Lagos railway extended north of the Niger, specifically with the building of the Jebba-Zungeru section. The northern officials insisted on having the final word as to control, payment and management of labour and the method of carrying out the work[695] For one thing, labour from anywhere south of the Niger was not allowed into the country north of the river as we have seen. Again they insisted that under no condition were contractors to be employed. The labourers were not to be tied down to any hourly program but each was to be allowed to knock off after finishing a clearly defined task for the day and for which he should be separately paid immediately. While strictly forbidden the district engineers to engage workers directly, the Native Authority officials insisted that they should be kept informed of each man's task and how long he took over it.[696] This concludes the point that the Native Authority was a primary partner in the processes that assisted the actualization of colonial policies through subjecting its people to naked exploitation. As reported by Manase, such attempt by

693 They also believed that Africans would never appreciate even the simplest form of labour saving devices. Shelford for instance argued that if a Wheel-barrow was provided, the African labourers would combine to get heads under it to carry it instead of roll it on the ground.

694 Interview with Alhaji Isa Tajo.

695 Jaekec ***Op. Cit***. P. 54

696 ***Ibid*** P. 54-55

the rulers to be responsible for the payment of the recruits was part of an attempt not to pay them at all. Indeed as discussed above that was the experience in most districts and villages in Kano whereby the first child of the district head was made the overseer of all colonial projects of his locality. Record shows that in many instances promises were made to recruits that the money would be used to settle their taxes. This never happened as workers were served with tax warrant during the tax season.[697]

- Runkusawa Kai

This was the village through which the railway network enters Kumbotso district. Runkusawa Kai bordered Suru village to the west, Panshekara to the north and eastern part and Turaki district to the south. Mallam [anladi,[698] a resident of the village pointed that the people of this village and their immediate neighbours suffered a lot during the course of the laying of the rail in that village. As the first village through which the rail entered the district, the people were very cooperative and submitted for employment with the hope that payment would be effected at the end. The experience was the other way round, which sent messages to the villages ahead. Those migrant labourers from the neighbouring villages absconded; those from Runkusawa village had no option since most of them were known by name, by the village head who was personally involved in the recruitment and supervision of the work. Most of those who came from the neighbouring villages however disappeared and never returned.

- Panshekara

It was from Panshekara that the use of force started in the construction of the rail line in Kumbotso district. Panshekara was the second village through which the rail line enters Kumbotso district. Information on the cruelty in the work of rail lying

697 Manase, ***Op. Cit***.

[698] Interview with Mallam Danladi Tudun Mazadu, Farmer, 71 years, September 2006

reached Panshekara long before the extension of the rail into the village.[699] Thus by the time when the real clearing and construction was to start most of the active people of the village had left or went into hiding. According to my informant, the harvest of that year was even affected in Panshekara because of the general fear of forced labour. The labour here had to therefore rely on people arrested by force in addition to a number of southerners, especially those from the south west. According to an informant payment was effected to those employed from the south. Those arrested and forced into the work were paid half the amount the southerners collected. The payment was done on a daily basis, with the sum of 6d (six pence) as the full day pay.[700] According to Magaji [ambatta, payment was really made from the colonial authority, but district and village officials were the ones who either reduce the amount by a certain percentage or refuse to pay at all.[701]

- Gaida

From Panshekara, the experience continued to be the same. In the case of Gaida, its closeness to the city was an added problem. The use of force was also prevalent. Mallam Tijjani Gaida argued that houses were searched and all able bodied men were recruited by force. A great number of those who work in the clearing and the lying were recruited through this means. The challenge to the people was that the railway work in Gaida took place close to rainy season; as such it became so difficult for the people to hide or escape to neighbouring villages or to the city.[702] The harvest of that year was also not as good as the previous primarily because of divided attention between the work of laying the rails and the farm.

[699] Interview with Alhaji Gizo Maroki, Kofar Mata Kano, Op. Cit.
[700] Interview with Mallam Ali MAMSER, Panshekara, 1998. Ali has also written a pamplet on the history of Panshekara, unpublished, in possession of the author.
[701] Interview with Alhaji Magaji Danbatta, Bala Muhammed Road, Nassarawa Quarters, Kano, 1998.
[702] Interview with Mallam Tijjani Gaida, Farm,er and Trader, 75 Years, 2006, Gaida Village.

- Zawaciki (Gabas and Yamma)

Zawaciki is an old town of history. As found in the 1932 Assessment report, "in about 1830 a religious scholar by name "Waziri" (Abdullahi Sukkur) known far and wide for his integrity and learning moved out from the city and settled in the village now known as Zawaciki, a dozen of miles from the Na'isa gate (Kofar Na'isa). Kofar Na'ísa is one of the twelve ancient gates of Kano city through which entry is made. He lived there for many years praying and teaching. It is said that the village gained its name from the offer of people living in the city to direct strangers who had come to seek the Mallams help. The village was much enclosed by trees and thorns, and therefore guides offered to lead strangers "Zuwa chiki" (inside)." Thus Zawacika was derived from the exclamation "Zuwa chiki), meaning going inside or taking the strangers inside the enclosed trees and thorns.

The experience of rail lying in Zawaciki was very strenuous. Work commenced in the early hours of the morning until late evening. Supervisors, mostly NA officials served as overseers. This is because Zawachiki takes the largest part of the rail line in the whole of Kumbotso district. The duration of work also took a very long period of time. Indeed the authorities in Zawaciki had to work hard to bring into control the conscripted labour for the work in the village. Yet it was in Zawaciki that the highest number of silent protest was staged, mostly in the form of late coming.[703] One specific instance was the case under which recruits put down tools in protest against the beating of a member. According to my informant the incidence took place when a group of the recruits wanted to close from work earlier than the normal time of closure. The NA personnel in charge of the supervision of labourers reacted violently, as a result other labourers also responded with violence.[704] The situation

[703] Interview with Salisu Barden aiki, Zawachikii Yamma, Farmer, &0 Years, 2006
[704] Ibid.

was brought under control with the intervention of the colonial office. The intervention of the colonial office did not just rescue the situation but also rescued the condition under which labour was administered in Zawaciki. Though not much change was effected on the NA labour relations, the NA personnel's who were accused of the maltreatment were replaced by new set of officials.

- Shara]a

This is about the last village before the central station at Nasarawa in the municipality. Recruitment was made from as far as the city and payment was effected. Force was used, but that was not the main means through which labour was recruited in Shara]a. Proximity to the city made recruitment easier with a number non Kano indigenes employed and paid for the services rendered. The work in Shara]a was at about the time when colonial economy has consolidated itself. In the case of Kano, which served as the economic nerve of its region, the booming colonial economy attracted people from within the country and beyond. Thus labour recruitment was not that difficult, yet force was still used by the NA representatives in the village area. The use of force here, according to my informant, was out of the desire by the NA officials overseeing the work to find ways of siphoning some of the money due for the workers;[705] it was therefore not because labour was lacking.

Forced labour in Kumbotso District was not only reduced to such ventures meant for public use. The NA represented by the District and Village heads made it mandatory on the village people to be forced when the need arise to work for them in their farms and in other construction works.[706] Such developed into a culture that defined the relationship between the NA in the respective villages and their subjects. As a result, subject people were made to always stay at home to avoid conscription, in

[705] Interview with Mallam Bala Sharada, 74 Years, retired railway worker, 2006
[706] Interview with Garba Na'ayya ***Op. Cit***.

some cases it was disclosed that the village heads could even send for a person in his house to come for a certain day's work.[707] Indeed there was no record of any form of payment for the services rendered, even in the case of the road construction, were colonial record shows that monies were set out for its purpose.[708] [an Jani Hadejia revealed the same experience in the case of Ha]ejia emirate when he stressed that in response to the order by the colonial office for labour, the Emir through the respective District and Village heads intimate the subject population. "All the *Gidaje* (houses) in Ha]ejia were grouped into 7,600 *Unguwoyi* (quarters) which were in turn divided into eight (8) districts. Each of the 7,600 *Masu Unguwa* (ward heads) would gather the peasants in his Unguwa, and divide them into two, retain half, for his own use in his farm and other projects and then send the other half to the *Dagaci*. The *Dagaci* on the other hand takes half of what was sent to him and release the remaining half to the Emir, who also does the same and send the remaining to the colonial office for whatever assignment due, i.e. work in the railway construction, mines etc."[709]

II. Road Construction

Road construction program in the emirate began as early as 1908. The colonial government became interested because of the importance of transportation to both the economy and the government. This desire led to the establishment of the Kano Native Authority Survey and Works departments in 1904. These two departments enabled the Kano Native Authority to embark on the construction of several truck "B" roads in the emirate's capital. The colonial government developed vast network of roads in Kano City because the area served as the administrative and commercial centre of the colonial administration. Thus, in 1908 road construction began from *Nassarawa* to

[707] Interview with Mallam Tijjani Gaida, *Op. Cit.*

[708] ***NAK/KANPROF 2905 Native Administration Works Department, 1937; NAK/KAN/PROF 2365. NAK/KAN/PROF 3863 Works, N.A. 1925. NAK/KANPROF 274, Roads General Policy 1928.***

[709] Ibid

Kurmi market through }*ofar Mata*. It was about 11 miles long. In 1913, the Kano Native Authority made an expenditure of £4000.00 pounds for the construction of roads in the emirate. By 1925 various network of roads were constructed and connected important areas within the City such as provincial school at }*ofar Nassarawa*. By 1928, Kano City had a total of about 17miles of roads. The construction of these roads in the city involved the destruction of several buildings and the sum of £2,454 pounds was paid as compensation.[710]

Improvement of transportation within Kano City was effected by the reconstruction of several minor roads that linked up the emirate with its major towns and villages. Rural roads construction projects began in the district of Rogo, Rimin Gado, Madobi, Garko and Fagwalawa, which were completed in about 1914. Improvements continued that by 1928 the city was linked with all its rural areas and especially those areas where groundnut production was in practice. A new road from the water works main road to Kumbotso district headquarters, a distance of 4½ miles, was also constructed in this course. This road enabled Kumbotso to be reached by car at any period of the year within half an hour from Kano.[711] Other New roads constructed included Dawanau to Dawaki ta Yamma; Ungogo to Fanisau. Preparation was also made to construct a new stretch of road from Mallam Jatau Bridge to Sarina.[712] The construction of roads to those areas, considered of less importance economically, had to wait until the 1950s. In some cases the construction of the roads involved forced labour. The people were called upon to carry out this work in the name of *Aikin Sarki* by ward heads.

710 ***NAK/KANPROF 2905 Native Administration Works Department, 193 ;. NAK/KAN/PROF 2365. NAK/KAN/PROF 3863 Works, N.A. 192;. NAK/KANPROF 274, Roads General Policy 1928.***

711 Fika, A. M. *The Kano Civil war .. Op. Cit*. P. 249-215.

712 ***Annual report on Kano province for 1928 255/1928, Par 83***

- Kano-Kumbotso Road

Kano-Kumbotso road (about 15 Miles, 45 KLM) was the main route to Zaria for travellers on horse back and on foot, with or without pack animals. The road was more of a bush path that attracts criminals[713] in the pre-colonial days. At Chalawa, crosses a river that served as a barrier and therefore made transit difficult except with a ferry.[714] The construction of the Kano-Kumbotso Road therefore became necessary to provide an outlet that links Kano with other provincial towns to the south. This was indeed in response to the development of colonial economy and the significance of Kano within the context of Imperial interest. Located to the western part of Kumbotso district, the Kano-Kumbotso Road was therefore significant for, far beyond the movement of goods and people between the Kumbotso district and Kano, but to the opening of Kano to the coastal region and beyond to other parts of Africa. The road entered Kumbotso district from Chalawa across the Chalawa River which was always a problem especially during the rainy season. Chalawa bordered Karbiu to the south, Maruen to the north and Madakin Kano district and the Chalawa River to the north and south west. From Chalawa, the road entered Kuyan-Tasidi on to Kuyan [an Inna, Shemeyu, Gwazaye, [orayi through to Kabuga, where it met the Yelwa-Kano road, into the main Kano city.[715]

The labour used in the construction of the Kano-Kumbotso road was that of the compulsory arrest of people from within the district. People were arrested on the road while on their ways to their farms or while undertaking some of their daily routine activities. In most cases it was without the knowledge of the family or any of

[713] Interview with Hajiya Jinjin Lokon Jajaye, 67 Years, 1993, Yakasai
[714] NAK?KANPROF/74/10/Kumbotso assessment Report 1932, Par. 7
[715] See Appendix C, Dan Isa District

the relative.[716] As the distance cut across so many villages respective members of those villages were mobilized by force. Garba Na'ayya claimed to be a witness to such forceful recruitment of people in Shara]a. Mallam Isuhu Zawaciki narrated his experience which shows that he volunteered to take part on hearing that there is going to be some payment, but to his dismay the payment never reached him. This type of arrangement was also mentioned by Alhaji Magaji [anbatta, but stressed the point that in most cases those who did the work were not paid. It was according to him from such crowd of common people that NEPU gathered its most committed supporters.[717] The same applied to those passing to some other places.[718] All adult members of the village were forced out at the same time and led by the son of the village head, whose main assignment was the overseeing of the execution of the work.[719] The major activity was that which involved supplying sand and gravel's by means of carrying it on the head using a container *(Kwanan Sarki)* which got its name from the act of forced labour itself. That is, since the work was imposed on them by the NA., the container used in undertaking the work is called ***Kwanan*** Sarki (the emir's container).[720]

A dissimilar experience was found in the construction of Bichi – Kunchi road. The labour was from the neighbouring villages under headmen from the village and returns home at night. A Mallam lists the labourers for the district head that arranged

716 Interview with ***Sarkin Makeran Kumbotso***. This is also discussed in the case of Dorayi by Hamza in ***Op. Cit***. MA. Thesis, UDU, 1996.

717 Interview with Alhaji Magaji [anbatta, 2000. This make some sense considering the fact that Kano housed the largest population of slaves when compared to all the Emirates under the Sokoto Caliphate. As estimated by clapperton there were as many as 32 slaves to each free man in Kano. Another source added that the ruling class alone individually owned from 100 to 500 slaves each. When this is added with those of yayan sarkuna, Hakimai, Alkalai, Dagatai, and Attajirai, the total would be stupendous.

718 Onyemakinde, ***Op. Cit***. P. 56.

719 Manase ***Op. Cit***. P 86.

720 Interview with Alhaji Gizo Maroki.

for weekly payment. The labourers received 6d per diem and were contented.[721] However, the experience generally was such that payment was not always made, indeed where payment was effected, the pay was very low. At some instance a lump sum was paid to on completion through the village head who hardly disburse it to the workers. As found in some colonial records the explanation was always that it is taken as an advance payment on Jangali or taxation.[722] Such was not the experience in Kumbotso District because of the availability of slave (freed slave) labour and the condition upon which slave relation was passing through that made the colonial office very much interested on the recruitment and payment at the end of the day. This is however not the likely reason considering the fact that slave redemption took place earlier while road construction of, especially the Kano-Kumbotso road network, was a 1920s development. Mallam Lawan Danbazau however explained that it was simply because of the closeness of the area to the City and the fear that the colonial office in Kano might come to know of what transpired.[723]

The nature of the labour used in the construction, which in some cases was through the use of force (*Kame*) made members often escaped and or don't work with all commitment and concern. This necessitated the colonial office through the NA to introduce certain guidelines for the work. As the case with most forced labour experience in the emirate, the Kumbotso experience was such that areas were earmarked in which the respective Dagatai and their village men were held responsible. This was what characterized the construction work of the Kano-Kumbotso road up to the end of it, which certainly involved a lot of hardships. Mallam Isuhu Zawachiki claimed that his colleagues in the road construction work appeared so lazy until when he noted that their attitude was a form of protest against

721 ***Annual report on Kano province for 1928 255/1928, Par. 58.***

722 ***NAK KANPROF 5/1/274 Memo from Resident to ADO's.***

723 Interview with Mallam Lawan Danbazau ***Op. Cit***.

the force used in recruiting them. It was from a discussion with them that he developed the suspicion that possibly he would not be paid for his labour.[724]

- Yelwa-Kano Road

This road network linked Kano to the village areas to as far as Funtuwa en-route to the Caliphate's seat of power in Sokoto. The road was therefore another important route that opened Kano to areas as far as the Niger Republic and beyond. The history of this route therefore goes back to as far as the pre-Jihad era. Indeed it was the route through which the Jihadist relocated and took position in western Kano around Kwazazzabon Dan Zabo where the fight and defeat of the Kano forces took place. The route remained the main link with Sokoto on horse, thus it was more of a rural bush path and not the type of road we have now. The construction of the road took place in the first decade of the colonial domination of Kano. The logic was to facilitate movement of goods from those areas where railway lines were not laid, to Kano, which was the major depot.

The Yelwa-Kano road was on the borderline that separates the Kumbotso district to the south and the Tafida District to the North. In Kumbotso district it passed by Maja-ma'a]anjarime which borders the river Watari to the west. The river Watari was very important economically, especially in facilitating dry season agriculture. From [anjarime it passed to Hawan Dawaki to [orayi and Kusuba to {ofar Kabuga into the city. Through this route goods from western Kano were shifted into the city for the purposes of patronising colonial cash crop economy. During the course of the construction labour was used and misused. According to an informant the NA played the supervisory role and like the situation in most other parts of Kumbotso allowances were made available, but did not reach those involved in the work.[725] The constriction

[724] Interview with Mallam Isuhu Zawachiki ***Op. Cit***.
[725] Interview with Mallam Daiyabu Dorayi, Dorayi, Farmer and Islamic teacher, 2006

work involved a number of difficulties considering the equipments used in clearing the land and transporting the necessary materials, for example sand etc. Construction materials like sands, and so on, were carried from a distance on the head.

- Gaya-Kano Road

This road network provided another border between Kumbotso district and Tafida district to the east. The road linked Kano to as far as Maiduguri into the Chad and Cameroun Republics, in addition to the provinces of the northeast. The road entered Kumbotso district from Mariri through to Hotoro and Unguwa Uku to Nassarawa into Kano city. Looking at the links provided by the networks, Kumbotso was therefore very relevant in the development of Kano since the pre-colonial days. It was this significant position occupied by Kumbotso that explained the important role it played in the pre-colonial trade across to as far as North Africa and indeed to the coast from the south. As noted by Hogendorn most of the groundnut that enriched the Kano groundnut depot was produced from these three main routes that opened Kano to the societies and people of the far west, south and eastern directions. [726]

The construction of the road was through the use of both paid and forced labour. An informant in Hotoro described how people were arrested from their farms and forced to work in the construction of the road. Mallam Abdullahi Shalkwata maintained that the work involved a lot of difficulty of carrying sand and gravels on the head under scorching sun. The overseers carry along with them canes to check defaulters.

Construction work in Kumbotso district during the colonial period did not end with the construction of these three major roads. Other rural feeder roads were also constructed to link the smaller villages with other villages or with the district

[726] Hogendorn, J. S. ***Op. Cit.***

headquarters in Kumbotso. In the case of Kumbotso located at the extreme south on the border with [an Tubi District, not all the villages did have road network that linked to the district head's palace. Yet at village levels rural road network were constructed using the labour available. According to Mallam Lawal it was at this level that the Talakawa really suffered. This point is supported by Alhaji Isa Tajo and Mallam Muntari Tsohon Soja who disclosed that the district and village heads really subjected the Talakawa to all forms of punishment to check at abscondment. Not withstanding, the construction of roads and railways opened the Kano economy to the booming colonial business in the production and export of cotton and groundnut which Kano became the most relevant of all the states of the Caliphate, as centre of production and shipment.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the Kano Native Authority by its position and relation with the colonial authority supported and executed colonial policy that subjected the people of Kano to different kind of humiliations. This was obviously clear during the course of the railway and road construction and in other projects of colonial interest as demonstrated in the chapter. During the course of this also, the Native Authority played the supervisory role in the course of which they subjected the common people to working in their farms without pay. Indeed record shows that even where the native officials were given money to pay for the labour they hardly oblige. The above was the general experience in the entire emirate and indeed in the Caliphate in general. It is no doubt the inhuman nature of this relationship that explains the mass support the Northern Element Progressive Union {NEPU} enjoyed in Kano in general and in Kumbotso in particular during the 1950s and 60s.

The bottom line of all was the ardent desire by imperial Britain to take over control of the land and people of Kano. To make such feasible and practicable the NA had to be used even though conquered in 1903. The understanding in this thesis is that though the Caliphate had to be conquered for imperial Britain to take over full control, it was of equal necessity for them to retain the Native Authority and to work with them hand in hand for a purposeful and successful administration and exploitation of the economy and society of the conquered people. It was on this condition that the Native Authority under the Emirs, District and Village heads were given back their powers of control. It was indeed on this basis that the Native Authority successfully participated in the colonial administration of the emirates, districts and village areas of their jurisdictions. In Kumbotso district, like in others, the district and village authorities cooperated and supported the execution of colonial projects that involved the construction of rail lines and roads during the course of which labour was used and abused.

Chapter Six

Taxation and Tax Administration in Kumbotso District 1916-1953

6.1 Introduction

The first challenge after the conquest of Kano in 1903 was how to source fund to finance its administration. This was quite fundamental to the British because the aim of colonial administration was to create a protectorate that would be self sustaining; and to provide the Centre with the needed raw material, cheap labour and market for its finished goods. From all intent the aim was never to finance the colonies from the Centre. This therefore necessitated the desire to raise fund to finance the exploitation of the conquered colonies. Introduction of colonial taxes was the immediate option taken. Colonial taxation involved the assessment, levying and collection of a certain sum of money on some fundamental aspects of people's lives. It involved taxing all people (male) of determined age, and what they possessed in economic terms. For example not only that people were directed to pay for themselves and other members of the family, they also paid for their cattle, farms, economic trees and so on.

This chapter examines the administration of taxation in Kumbotso District of colonial Kano. Emphasis is laid on the roles of the Native Authority in the process of assessment and collection of taxes for onward submission to a higher authority. As noted, taxation played a momentous role in the establishment and consolidation of colonial economy and society.[727] This is because of the aim of colonial administration, which was built on the need for the maximum exploitation of the

[727] Because of the uniqueness of native administration in Northern Nigeria a lot of similarities were found in the general outlook of tax administration in the caliphate under the colonial administration. See Tukur, M. M., ***"The imposition of British Colonial Domination on Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States: A Reinterpretation of the Colonial Sources***." Ph.D. thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1979.

colonies.[728] Of importance to note, however, is that the administration of taxes was not as easy a process as it is thought of, especially at district and village levels. It certainly has a history that involved trials and error and repeat trials. Thus like the administration of colonies, administration of taxes was more than just remote driving or the free easy implementation by a superior force of a design, so perfected, from abroad. Rather, it involved a continuous attempt guided by an interest, during the course of which the main concern was how possible could the 'interest' be realised or put in place. It was in this context that the types and systems of tax assessment and collection kept changing to a point when it was realised that there could not be any uniform workable system for all people and for all the districts.

Thus to achieve its aim of putting structures necessary for proper taxation of the people, social formations within the emirate were modified and reinforced to support the regime.[729] Structures and infrastructures were established to facilitate the super exploitation of the region through the European trading companies and government in collaboration with the Native Authority.[730] To make this possible and effective the colonised economy was monetised.[731] For a potent monetisation of the economy a system of taxation was introduced as a first measure, and made to work by force.[732] As discussed previously this started after the political reorganisation of the emirate which divided Kano Emirate into District and villages. This administrative reorganisation was to ensure appropriate

[728] See Ake C. ***Political Economy of Africa. Longman, Nigeria***, 1981, P. 19-30. See also Tukur, M. M. ***Ibid***, and Modibo, A. M. ***"European Trading Company and the Underdevelopment of Northern Nigeria 1855-1939: the case of the Royal Niger Company and United African Company***." Ph. D. Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
[729] See Tukur, M. M. ***Op. Cit***.
[730] Modibo, A. M., ***Op. Cit***.
[731] Ake C. ***Op. Cit***. P. 32.
[732] One other important reason for the imposition of colonial taxation was the need for money to finance colonial administration i.e. the financing of the officers and their official activities within and outside the colonies. For detail on this see ***The Analyst Magazine***, Vol. 1, Nos. 3, August-September 1986.

control of the revenue mobilisation and collection in the emirate, to permit the financing of colonial administration and to establish conditions for a definite political control and administration of the general populace.[733] It also affirms the position that the NA establishment represented by the Emirs, District and Village heads were a necessary force in the administration the colonies.

6.2 History of Colonial Taxation 1903 - 1939

British Colonial Authority was not the first to collect taxes from the people of Kano. As noted earlier taxation has been an old institution in Kano and the Hausaland in general, long before the Jihad. However colonial type of taxation was certainly new and different. It was, by its nature a particular type of tax system that involved not just the imposition of the tax but also insisting that it had to be paid at a fixed time, using a specific currency. This first came into effect when in 1907 the colonial authority ruled that its share of the tax collected should be paid only in cash (British coins and paper money) and instructed the Native Authority to press for payment in cash alone. Other possible options acceptable by the colonial government include some quantity of goods (export crops) in lieu of cash though it stressed that the goods must be of the type "... easily convertible into cash, such as groundnut, cotton, livestock, produce, indeed such goods that can be sold for export, or possibly used as food items that can be issued as ration to soldiers or police."[734]

Obviously therefore every effort was made to induce payment in cash. To further strengthen this, the Native Authority "advised" the peasant to insist on cash

[733] In his study of Dorayi, Hamza, pointed this clearly where he showed that the colonial administration noted some anomalies with tax collection and administration in the Dorayi town. This reorganization in this sense was to take control of such anomalies and maintain a proper and effective administration of taxation in all the localities under Kano emirate. For detail see Hamza, I. ***Op. Cit***. P. 50.

[734] Lugard, L. ***Op cit***. ***Political Memo***. Par. 206

payment from traders coming to buy their produce. Indeed series of campaigns and enlightenments to bring to the notice of the peasant producers prospective buyers guaranteed to pay in cash were made.[735] The logic in the insistence was not just political, but economic as well; since it gave the British businessmen a virtual monopoly in the whole trading network. At the local levels independent merchants became intermediaries between the producers of raw materials in need of British currency to pay their taxes and British companies who could purchase the produce in their currency.[736] Thus Money Lenders were introduced into the social life of most of the villages. The implication was that the farmer lost control of his produces and therefore had to sell his products at low prices after harvest only to, under pressure, buy some back later at a very exorbitant price. This did not just pauperise the peasantry, it also made them politically weak. The arrival of the railway in 1912 and the development of export crop production specifically accentuated this particular development. To further establish the monopoly control of the business and cement the unequal relationship between the peasants and the British merchants a pre-harvest credit system was organised. This paved the way for the establishment of a class of middlemen[737] who stood in between and supplied the peasants with those items[738] they required and indeed cash, to increasingly remain relevant and determinant in the economic activity of the area. Under this set up goods and cash were offered to the peasants in advance to pay back after harvest.

By implication the peasant producers were tied up to a particular company, such as UAC, GBO and so on, and to the production of cash crop. In the event of

[735] ***Kano Province Annual Report for 1911***, Par. 16
[736] Bello S., ***Op. Cit***. P.12
[737] Among them were Adamu Jakada, Mai Kano Agogo, Alhassan Dantata and Umaru Sharubutu for detail see Bello S. ***Ibid*** P.122
[738] The items were of course salt, cloth, and so on. Ibid

any catastrophe the peasants would have no option but to remain indebted to the company. In addition the middlemen in connivance with the company gave out goods on credit to the peasants during periods of famine, at inflated prices.[739] For the colonial government to achieve these goals the Native Authority was established.[740] This therefore made it clear that the Native Authority itself was put in place, partly, in response to the urge for taxation.[741] Thus the quest for taxation was not only economic but Socio-political. It connotes the desire to fashion out ways and means of subjecting the conquered people into an unquestionable submission, and not just the payment of taxes.[742]

Therefore the institution of taxation was manipulated in the attempt by the British to establish her domination and to restructure the society and the social system. In this regard series of changes (in the form of legislation and edicts) where put in place, apparently with a view to harmonise the social set up and perfect the system so as to avoid contradiction; but in reality, designed to weaken the socio-political and cultural bases of the society. The basis for this was the pressing problems faced by the new rulers to finance the administrative institutions of the newly conquered areas.[743] Thus the British took with all seriousness, the issues of taxation and other financial matters, like it did to all other matters of colonial interest.[744] The demand for taxation was therefore, mainly aimed at supporting the administrative system through which law and

[739] Okedeji ***Op. Cit***. and also in Smith M. G. ***Op. Cit***. P. 334 for details.
[740] Bello S., ***Op. Cit***. P. 106.
[741] This was made clear by the Deputy Governor of Northern Provinces in a letter to the Resident Zaria where he stated that: "It is however not for the sake of financial problem a lone that taxation was introduced. It is rather with a view to prevent a large community of people from becoming detached from their natural leaders." See Bello, S. ***Op. Cit***. P. 106.
[742] Okedeji ***Op cit***. P. 91.
[743] Chapter three of this work offered some explanations for the desperation on the part of the British for the resources to finance the administration from the colonies. See Okedeji ***Op. Cit***. P. 201.
[744] ***Ibid***. P. 211.

order were maintained and economic enterprises promoted. On the other hand colonial taxation had other aims, the major ones being promoting export-crop production to feed the British growing industries and inducing farmers to earn the cash with which to pay their taxes and buy European goods to sustain capitalism.[745]

Immediately after the conquest therefore Colonial authority formalised the existing taxes and their methods of assessment, payment, collection, and control. It was also emphatic on what the tax money should be used for how and why.[746] Amongst the taxes first endorsed by the High Commissioner since 1900 (before even the conquest of the Caliphate) were taxes on traders, special industries and crafts. Others were market dues and tithe on the staple crops. When looked at critically therefore, the desire for this set of taxes was to checkmate and redefine the economic set up to go by the imperialist need for the conquest of these Colonies. Some changes were made in 1904, under the land revenue ordinance, the purpose of which was to consolidate and adjust the existing multiplicity of taxes into a single general tax.[747] In the case of Nomad herdsmen, who had no settled village, the cattle tax (*Jangali*) remained, and was fixed at five percent (5%) instead of the former ten-percent (10%). The ordinance replaced all taxes on land and agricultural output by a single levy. It further shared out the percentage due for all the stakeholders in the colonisation effort.[748]

In summary therefore the main trait was the retention of some traditional taxes in addition to the introduction of some new ones. However the ordinance

[745] ***Ibid.*** P. 211
[746] This was exactly what the Jihadist did when they took power from the Habe in most parts of the Caliphate, they retained and modified the practices and derived their revenue from them.
[747] Okedeji, ***Ibid.*** P. 96.
[748] ***Ibid***. P. 96.

was said to be a temporary measure with the object being to share a certain proportion of the taxes levied by the Emirs. Its aim was therefore not to interfere with the nature of the taxes or alter the assessment procedure.[749] It was purposely to organise the assessment and collection of taxes by dividing the Emirate into divisible parts.[750] Settlements outside the Emirate capital were merged into districts and villages that could be assessed "Lump sum" on the basis of population and income. Operating from their respective domains, the district, village and ward heads ascribed to each individual his share of taxes.[751]

6.3 Lump sum Assessment

Tax assessment took different forms, and sometimes even over laugh, through out the period of colonial administration. The first method employed the Lump sum. Lump sum was a system of tax allotment to the districts to share according to the population. It was noted to be a conservative estimate based on the assumed total number of people in the district. It meant that each Resident and his European staff should visit every town and village in his province and rely on the help of the personnel of Native Authorities in determining the taxability of the people. The experience in [an Isa Sub-district was that the assessment was conducted by the respective district officials of the District and Village Heads. This was due to the fact that colonial officials posted to [an Isa Sub-district hardly resided in the district because of its close proximity to the capital city.[752] As a result they relied on the existing authority for information and execution of some

[749] ***Ibid***. P. 96.
[750] Lugard, L. ***Op. Cit***. P. 223.
[751] Lugard, L. ***Political Memo***. P. 195 and 198.
[752] Kumbotso District, especially the district headquarter is without any colonial structure noted to have served as residence of the colonial officials. But in those parts of Kumbotso nearer to the city are found a number of such structures. For example Gidan dan Hausa, Gidam Biminister and so on. Indeed the whole European Reserves settlement area was located within Kumbotso in Nassarawa area.

of their administrative responsibilities. In practice the assessment was made to estimate what the normal level of income of a community would be considering such factors as quality of the soil, accessibility to markets, and the amount of industry and livestock.[753] By design the Lump sum system authorised the Provincial Residents to assess the tax-paying capacity of the people and to resolve on the final amount to be paid by each. The system rested on the assumptions that justice would be maintained since those responsible for collection lived among the people and had to face the hostility of their communities in case of excessive assessment.

This therefore shows that what appeared more important in the administration of taxation was the way and manner information was made available to the colonial authority for the apportionment of the taxes. In [an Isa Sub-district the persons responsible, as made clear, were the NA officials represented by the District and Village officials. For example the table below provides sample of the detail data collected from the district.

[753] Okedeji . P. 97.

Table 6.1 **[an Isa Sub-District statistics 1909-1911**

Villages	93
Compounds	4263
Farms	12616
Acreage	17499.2
Population Males Females Children	27760 9027 10318 8415
Ku]in Ta}i	£940 – 12s - 3d
Ku]in Gida	£319 – 15s - 0d
1910-1911 total tax (excluding jangali)	£1260 – 7s- 3d
Average of compound (1910-1911)	5s - 0d
Average per adult male	2 – 9d
Average Ku]in Ta}i per farm	1/5
1909-1910 total tax excluding Jangali	£1123 - 0s- 1d.
Average per compound (1909-1910)	5s – 3d
Average per Adult male	2s – 5d

Source: NAK/SNP7/1035/1911 Dan Isa Sub-district Resident Assessment Report, by Ass. Res. A. N. Gepp, P.20

Statistically the table brought out all that was in [an Isa Sub-district 1909-1911, by village, population, age range, gender and the total tax for the purposes of documentation. This formed the background and the basis upon which subsequent assessments relied. It equally showed that colonialism was all out to actualise its mission of setting a system that could prove effective using the existing and most influential network of the Emirs, District and Village heads.

Tax assessment was the means through which the taxability of individuals was ascertained. Being the first system of taxation introduced, the Lump sum was assessed on the basis of the tax payer's wealth or the growth of the annual income of the individual. Under this arrangement the village head was given a Register of household statistics (*Littafin Yayanka nawa*). During the time for the assessment the

village head sent his village criers to inform all the people under his area that they should gather in front of the village heads house the next day for assessment. The village head performed this assignment in the company of his tax Mallam where he asked the subject population about themselves, their number of children, wives, goats, cattle, donkeys, horses and so on. They were also asked about the number of economic trees in their farms. The peasants were also required to say whether they engaged in industries such as dyeing, weaving, sweet making or tailoring as well as the gross annual income derived from their various crops.[754] Other questions asked were geared towards finding out the social position or status of the tax payer. Such was intended to give more detailed information on the person and his dependants. Where the dependants are found to include a blind person or persons with any other serious deformity like leprosy, taxes were made less burdensome since the blind and so on were not in good health condition to pay tax.[755] These exercises continued and the village head could at anytime raise cases with the colonial officer for example on matters of tax readjustment because it is either too heavy or that the house is empty.[756]

The spread sheet contained in the Register, had columns to record information on the village unit, the total compound in a village unit, the age range, type of disability (blind, leper etc) and petty traders. The sheet also recorded the total number and types of crops available in the District; village by village and farm by farm to record the total number of the farms, fallow land, irrigation farms and even the houses. In another effort, the income of the people was also taken note of, all with a view to facilitating adequate assessment and to make sure that taxes were effectively administered. In an effort to achieve this, a record sheet was also made

[754] ***KANPROF/82/1921, Kano City and Fagge Re-assessment, P. 15***
[755] ***Ibid***
[756] ***Ibid.*** P. 16.

available requesting for information on the different types of incomes derived by the respective members of the community. For example the register contained columns on Agricultural income, Livestock income and Industrial income. It was on the basis of this that income tax was collected. Records were also taken of the total Livestock in the District. In Kumbotso the total Livestock available included Horses, Mares, Donkeys, Sheep and Goats. There was also a list of industrialist, in good number in the District. They included Brokers, Barbers, Tailors, Leather workers, Weavers, Fishermen, Corn dealers, Bed makers, Beggars, Kola nuts, dealers, Bakers, Dyers, Black Smiths, Tanners, Tailors etc. Census was also taken of trees, especially economic trees. In [an Isa Sub-district and its villages, a total of five types of economic trees were found dominant in most of the villages. They included Locust beans (***[orawa***),[757] Tamarind tree (*Tsamiya*),[758] Black plum tree (***[inya***), Baobab tree (***Kuka***) and Date tree (***Dabino***).[759]

After the district re-organisation of 1916, [an Isa Sub-district was made a district renamed Kumbotso District with its capital at Kumbotso. This political re-organisation did not just stop at the change in nomenclature; it also led to the merging of a number of villages which by 1931 reduced the total village areas under the district to 37 as against 65 in 1911.[760] This was after the population census exercise meant to ascertain the number of taxable population in all the districts.

[757] Dorawa is leaked by children as sweetener. It is also used as Kunu in most villages in Kano, including some parts of Kumbotso, to supplement sugar. On the other hand its seed (the Locust Beans) is used in making Dadadawa (local magi) used in cooking.
[758] This tree serves two roles as medicine for cleaning all unnecessary dirt in the stomach and as an ingredient for making Kunu Tsamiya, a common drink available in most towns and villages in Hausaland.
[759] Dinya,, and Dabino are sweeteners and appetizers with equally some medicinal functions. Kuka serves many purposes, i.e. its leaves are dried to make a traditional soup very common in Hausaland called Miyar Kuka. The fruits is also mixed with water to make yoghurt used in preparing forage (Fura da Nono), a common food amongst Fulani and Hausa communities. According to 1932 assessment Report Locust beans tree ranked the first with a total of 20744. It was followed by Black plum 4404, Baobab tree with 3658, Tamarind with 3114 and date trees. Found in such a large quantity, these trees were used as food and for medicinal purposes.
[760] Brooke, N. J. Census of Nigeria 1931, Vol. II, ***Op. Cit.***

Thus by its structure the population record sheet categorised the population into gender and age. More critically therefore, the data was a presentation of the population in the form of those legible to pay tax and those illegible to pay. Tax Mallams were trained and sent to all the respective Districts and Villages in the emirate for the purposes of the assessment. In Kumbotso the time of assessment was when the village heads had "gifts" of chickens, eggs, ducks and so on brought to them by the peasants. As pointed out by one of the collectors (of the late 1950s) in Kumbotso, the presence of tax collectors in a locality sends messages of worry to especially those who lacked the money to pay their taxes.[761] Muktari Tsohon Soja of Zara Village confirmed this and went ahead offer the information that donkeys load of items were seen with the tax collectors on their way home. He added that it was a rainy day to the collectors most of who did not waste their time tilling the land since they were sure of getting all they needed during the tax assessment excercie. Same point was also raised by Garba Na'ayya of Sharada and by the Village Head (Maigarin) Medile who was very apologetic of what he said was the experience in his Village when he was young.

After all these the tax *Mallam* submits the tax register to the tax officer of the district. This was checked by him and passed on to the district head and later to the colonial officer on tour of the district. The assessment for the district was then sent to the headquarters where the colonial government determine what was to be paid in the whole district and what was to be collected by each village head. The District, Village, Hamlet heads and elders of each town together discussed and settled the individual apportionment. On the authority of the District and Village

[761] ***Interview with Mallam Basiru Kumbotso, 2000.***

Authority, the Village *Mallams* then write each householder's tax on the register.[762] In order to satisfy colonial needs, by meeting the expected number assessed, under aged children and older men of the age of 70 and 80 years were in some instances included. For this reason the general experience throughout the emirate was that taxation became very high and therefore unbearable and led to the emigration of people out of the districts, as they had no money to pay for themselves, their children and old men.[763]

Similar experience is also found in the District of Kumbotso, though not necessarily because of wrong apportionment. For example in 1925 the Resident Kano division noted cases of non payment of taxes to the tune of £467- 11s- 5d in Kumbotso District; under pressure from the Resident 8 villages paid up, amounting to £24- 17s- 6d; while 11 villages paid some part of theirs amounting to £116- 7s- 7d; leaving a total amount of £326- 6s- 6d still unpaid. The Resident concluded that despite the promise by village heads that they will effect the payment before the end of the month, a number of them must face disciplinary action, indicating that they have also contributed to the non payment or possibly they used some part of the money. In the case of [orayi, village with £43- 7s- 0d however the headman in charge requested Kano to help him with Dogarai in the collection. However the headman of Rigafada is found to have absconded to Lokoja with about £33- 0s-. 1d of the tax payer money.[764] The table below provides a detail list of the villages with an outstanding tax payment to settle as at the year 1925.

[762] See table on lump sum assessment on P. 275)
[763] Garba, T. ***Op. Cit***. P. 281.
[764] NAK/SNP/8452 Kumbotso District Office – Instructions; 2. Inspection Reports

Table 6.2 Outstanding Tax Kumbotso District 1932-1933

S/N	Unit	Balance unpaid	Remarks
1	Shekar Barde	£42- 15s- 3d	_____
2	Dorayi	£155- 17- 0d	Village head sick just recovered
3	Unguwar Rimi	£44- 17s- 11d	_____
4	Panshekara	£34- 19s- 4d	_____
5	Riga fada	£30- 1s - 10d	_____
6	Zawacikin gabas	£31. 10s- 7d	_____
7	[an Jerima	£25- 9s- 11d	_____
8	Challawa	£125- 10s- 1d	Sickness of tax payers
9	Gandu	£25- 11s- 2d	_____
10	Hotoro	£31- 0s- 6d	_____
11	Yan kusa	£141- 3s- 9d	Village head just recovering
12	Kureken Sani	£31- 10s- 1d	_____
13	Ja'en	£118- 2s- 0d	Sickness of tax payers
14	Kirambo	£61- 13s- 10d	Village head just recovered
15	[an Bari	£24- 17s- 11d	_____

Source: NAK/SNP/8452/Kumbotso District Office-Instructions 2, Inspection Report

The same village units, with the exception of Kureken Sani and Hotoro were found to have outstanding payments again in 1933. The list also included other Village units as Unguwa Uku (£8- 15s- 0d); [an awaya (£3- 16s- 0d); Bechi (£6- 7s- 0d); Kuuyan ta Sidi (£43 19s- 0d); Gwazaye (£4- 8s- 4d); Mariri (£4- 5s- 4d); Kumbotso (£16- 14s- 4d); Limawa (£10- 1s- 00d); Umarawa (£7- 9s- 0d); [angoran S. Shana (£1- 0s- 0d) and Shekar Madaki owing (£32- 0s- 0d), which shows that non payment of taxes in Kumbotso District was a common phenomenon. In his report on the 1932-1933 General tax in Kumbotso District, Cadet Officer Dalgleisch who spent a week in Kumbotso District between the villages of Kumbotso, Challawa, Shekar Madaki and Mariri found that the counterfoils in possession of [an Buran totalled £15- [765] more than the receipt which looks questionable but condoned it for the respect the colonial office had on [an Buran. It was reported that the

[765] Counterfoil = £77. 0/-. 4d
Receipt = £76. 8/-. 9d
Difference = £15. 0/-. 0d.

anomaly was possibly due to errors in calculation by the tax Mallams.[766] It was later found, after detail investigation of the Village headmen, that there were a number of discrepancies varying from £22- to £2-, justifying the suspicion that the Village headmen must have pocketed some part of the money. It was rather discovered that the village headmen had, in many instances, paid in very small amount or even nothing at all.[767] It was found that of the total amount not paid £73- was embezzled by the Village heads while £5- 8s- 1d only has not been paid by the tax payers; others was money due on farms retained by a family but in excess of requirement.[768]

The Lump sum method of assessment was therefore found to be problematic not necessarily because of the problems of collection. There were, according to Skinner, factors that made the lump sum system inadequate. In the first place in terms of practical reality, the lump sum was difficult to apply. Many of the Residents and other Political Officers assigned for the job had little or no knowledge about the policy of taxation therefore they could not fulfil the assessment provisions of the proclamation. This made assessment rather sketchy. In the second instance the Lump-sum assessment was not subject to an annual revision since it was based more on potential productivity, which was also subject of a number of variables e.g. weather condition and so on, than on the actual production of each cultivator.[769] By inference therefore only major and significant economic changes in the villages could support a revision. And given the constant fluctuations in the market prices it was very difficult to arrive at accurate economic situation.

[766] NAK/SNP/8452 ***Op. Cit.*** P. 16
[767] ***Ibid***, P. 17-18
[768] ***Ibid.***
[769] ***Ibid***. P. 66.

These conditions accounted for great dissimilarity in the application of the system in the emirates. Therefore between 1908 and 1910 the collection of traditional tributes was allowed to continue in the whole of Kano emirate including Kumbotso District. Such departure represented an adaptation of the old forms rather than the entirely new system. Apart from the various adjustments in the provinces, the Resident recommended a general reform, which would simplify the taxation structure in the districts and villages. The form advocated by the Resident was for administrative purposes, due to the limitations of the Lump sum assessment. Farmers and traders continued to pay taxes in one form or the other. In Dorayi village of Kumbotso District land tax (*Kurdin }asa*) and industrial tax (*Kurdin Sana'a*), and in some cases *Zakka* made up the taxes paid by the people during this part of the colonial period.[770] Generally according to the 1914 Assessment, Kumbotso District, which was then a Sub-district under the Wambai District, was assessed on the payment of Zakka, Kur]in }asa and Kurdin Ta}i. The assessment for that financial year was £1050- 17s- 3d for Zakka and Kur]in }asa and £1384- 5s- 5d Kur]in Ta}i with an incidence per adult at £3- 3⅛s, and incidence per head population at £9⅜-. This was out of the total £5375- 10s- 10d of the total Zakka and Kur]in }asa, and £12024- 3s- 6d of the total Kur]in Ta}i assessed in the Emirate. In the specific case of Kano and its Districts, record shows that in addition to the *Kur]in }asa* and *Jangali*, the British also collected the *Ku]rin Shuka* and *Kur]in Karofi* from 1903-1909, considered to be rents for the use of agricultural or grazing lands.[771] A number of villages around Kumbotso District, especially those villages were dyeing industry was prominent, also paid

[770] Hamza. I.***Op. Cit***. M.A. 1994, P55-57.
[771] Tukur M. M***. Op. Cit***. P. 547.

the tax on ***Karofi***. Being mostly agriculturalist, a number of villages in Kumbotso also paid *Ku]in* ***shuka*** for especially the irrigated crops.

6.4 Ta}i Assessment

Beside Lump sum assessment *Ta}i* (pacing) was another important way through which assessment was conducted. This started simultaneously with the Lump sum assessment from about 1911. *Ta}i* involved the tax officer or the Ta}I Mallam measuring the farm with the use of his feet so as to determine the number of acres in the farm. Each village head was provided with a register with which to record the names of the tax payers and the total number of acres in their farms. The colonial officer on tour supervised the register to ensure that no mistake was made. The village heads were also instructed to remain vigilant to report new farms acquired as well as those abandoned.[772] Under this system, assessment and collection of taxes began with the farms close to the city, mostly those around Shara]a, in Kumbotso District. Most of the farms were assessed to pay 1s- 8d per acre, while those around Zawaciki, Dorayi, Jaén etc. in its neighbourhood were charged 1s per acre per annum. From 1914 the rate was raised to 4s per acre from 1s- 8d[773], which led to an increase in people who could not pay. Kumbotso was resident assessed in 1911 on a tax that amounted to £1,260 made up of Ta}i at 1s an acre £940 and compound tax at 1s- 6d making a total of £320. The incidence per adult male was 2s- 9d. these taxes replaced the old native taxes.[774] The district remained under the *Ta}i* assessment for a number of years. In 1920 the rate per acre was raised to 3s- and in 1926-27 the tax revenue on this basis was £8223

[772] ***Ibid***. P. 273.
[773] Okedeji ***Op. Cit***. P. 106
[774] ***NAK/KanoProf/74/10/Kumbotso Assessment Report 1932, Par.*** 12.

which includes £5- 55s- derived from the industrial tax imposed in 1925.[775] The Ta}I method of assessment involved taking a very detailed information concerning the number of the villages in the district, farms and the acres per person.

The *Ta}i* measurement was complex, tedious, inequitable and resulted in over-assessments and a large number of complaints in the first few years. Among the main problems of *Ta}i* assessment therefore was that the fertility of the soil was not considered in determining what was paid. This made the peasants very reluctant to extend or increase his ownership of cultivable land fearing that they would be asked to pay more. Such an act affected agriculture and food production and the general well being of the people. Yet the Resident authorized an assessment of part of Kano on an absurdly high rate and attempted to enforce it even when the tax payers rejected the assessment. The disagreement led to serious conflicts. The military was called upon to render assistance on six occasions in order to maintain peace in the emirate. This extended to villages in Kumbotso District, especially to those villages very close to the city. Waves of disaffection was also exhibited in those villages where a combination of both farming and other occupational practices were predominant In Limawa, one of the villages under Kumbotso district, *Ta}i* tax at 1s- an acre caused a certain amount of temporary discontent. The same was the experience in Ringimawa (Yan Gizo), Lera, Mariri, Yan Sango, Unguwar rimi and some eight other villages neighbouring Limawa. In the specific case of Limawa the situation was so tensed that the village headman was unable to get his people to pay their taxes even after the attention of the reigning [an Isa (Muhammadu) was drawn. Indeed [an Isa Muhammadu was forced out of the village (Limawa) together with his entourage when he paid a surprise visit with the aim of ascertaining the extent of

[775] ***Ibid*** Par 13.

the problem. The reason behind the revolt was not far from high handedness and lack of tactics in approaching the matter. Complainants argued that they were unduly over assessed and surcharged. The suspected leaders of disturbances were all arrested, arraigned and punished before the Emir. This action sent messages to the neighbouring villages that also had the same plan, even though they appeared more diplomatic than the inhabitants of Limawa in their approach to the matter.

This, at the end, led to a reduction of the taxes by the Resident, more specifically because of the disturbances in the city which led to the disruption of telegram lines.[776] This led to the search for an alternative method that could sufficiently furnish a reliable system of check in areas where the Ta}i figures were questioned by the taxpayers, as the case in Kumbotso above. The first caution was that the method to be introduced should be less intricate, and that which will be within the capability of the available staff.[777] Against the *Ta}i* method a system which provided Government with an equitable proportion of the increasing revenue on agricultural production was introduced.

6.5 **Revenue Survey Assessment**

The revenue survey scheme took the place of the *Ta}i* method. It was an attempt to transform the *Ta}i* system into a more equitable scheme. To meet the problem of land survey and production assessment, classes to train *Mallams* as surveyors were instituted at the Nassarawa schools. It was to train the "natives" on how to execute land measurements with "reasonable accuracy." They were taught European methods of keeping land records, calculating taxes and judging between different kinds of land. The attempt was to come up with a permanent structure to

[776] Garba T. ***Op. Cit.*** P. 108
[777] ***Ibid***. P. 290.

assist in getting close to the real figure.[778] The land Survey System demanded accurate land measurement with consideration given to such factors as the value of produces cultivated, nearness to markets and the grading of the soil. The system was based on the belief that the normal yield of different types of land would be known, and would have a recognized value varying slightly from year to year and easily estimated by the assessors. The assessment aimed at estimating the total income derived from production at a given period. But one crucial factor was how to ascertain how much a cultivator could cultivate his land to at least the normal standard so as to produce sufficient amount to pay his tax in addition to his own household consumption. Land survey therefore involved the assessment of the yield of the owner. In practical terms, then, the assessment introduced a form of graded agricultural tax.[779]

In the whole of Kano emirate accurate farm survey commenced in the most populous districts. In such a course the areas under cultivation were surveyed, assessed and estimate was made in relation to the kind of soil in the districts and the population density including the value of the various produce cultivated, giving the NA more say in the administration of the sources of finances in the colonial administrative set up. According to the report of the Kano survey department for 1926, the farmlands around the city, most of which fell within Kumbotso District, were classified into five grades with the following assigned rates:

1. ***Faʓo*** (hard, dry soil-2s. per acre)
2. ***Ganga gari*** (Sic- *Jangargari*) (light red loam –3s. 0d. per acre)
3. ***Jigawa*** (light sandy loam-3s. 6d. per acre)
4. ***Da~aro*** (a kind of cotton soil which is flooded for the part of the year- 5s.6d. per acre)

[778] ***Ibid.*** P. 285
[779] Okedeji ***Op Cit***. P. 110.

5. ***Rafi*** (irrigated market garden-6s.per acre.)[780]

Apart from soil classification other factors such as the acreage and the amount of crops produced were considered in the final assessment of the farmer's tax rate. In Kano, Kumbotso District was among those surveyed farms during the years 1918-1921 and 1927.[781] The soil was graded by a revenue officer and the units were taxed at a rate per acre, which varied, with the class of soil predominating. These rates were based on observed yields per acre of the different kinds of soil, and varied from 8s for irrigated land and (*rafi*) to 4s for light loam (*Jigawa*), 3s for red light loam (*Jangargari*) and 2s for hard stone land (*Fa}o*).[782] This caused some difficulties especially to the peasant class. As one of their feature as a class buttressed, they were fond of claiming the ownership of large tract of land beyond their ability to cultivate. The experience in Kumbotso was that a tax per acre however small becomes very difficult for them to upset. This explains the frequent relinquishing of the holdings to some rich people around the city.[783] Kumbotso district remained under this form of taxation up to 1932. After three years of survey work and experimentation of agricultural tax, the *Ta}i* system was abolished in the densely cultivated districts of the emirate and the land survey tax was instituted.[784] From the 1931 census, Kumbotso was reported to be the most heavily populated district in Kano emirate.[785] Report shows a substantial increase in the revenue derived from land after the introduction of land revenue survey of 1924, even though greater number of the owners of the farm lands reside in the city and were therefore paying their taxes there. In Kano and in its vicinity an increase of £32,000 over the estimate was reported in

[780] ***Ibid***. P. 111.
[781] ***NAK/256/1928, Annual Report on Kano Province for 1928, Par. 30***.
[782] Kumbotso Assessment1932. ***Op. Cit***. Par 14.
[783] The units at Dorayi and Danbare made up a good example of this experience. See ***Ibid***. par 25-26.
[784] Okedeji ***Op. Cit***. P111.
[785] ***Op. Cit***. Par. 36.

the 1927-28 financial year. In Kumbotso Districts and the districts of Kuru and Ungogo also in Kano emirate where this system was first practiced, the total revenue for 1928-29 derived from agricultural taxes suggested an increase of about twenty-percent (20%) over the period when the districts were under *Ta}i* system.[786]

In 1929, Ta}i system was finally abolished in order to allow the survey department to concentrate on revenue survey.[787] Land revenue survey assessment continued in the districts already covered, and was extended as the progress of the survey permitted. By 1934, four districts were brought under revenue survey, while in 20 more others the measurements and listing of farms were completed, but reassessment was postponed owing to shortage of political staff. In 1939 the following areas had been brought under revenue survey in Kano emirate:

Table 3 Revenue Survey Assessment 1939 Kano Emirate

District	**Started**	**Finished**
Kumbotso	23.9.19	19.4.21
Kumbotso first Revision	10.9.32	26.4.32
Ungogo	24.4.32	27.8.22
Ungogo first revision	8 month	15.6.33
Gezawa	20.7.24	16.6.28
Kunya (old district)	28.8.27	5.2.27

[786] ***NAK/F12004/SNP17/2, Annual Report on Kano Province for 1929. Par. 29.***
[787] MacBride ***Op. Cit***. P. 85

Kiru (old district)	8.2.23	19.7.25
Minjibir (old district)	15.6.33	10.5.31
Dawakin Yamma (part of)	12.11.22	19.9.31
Kura (part of)	18.7.22	5.1.27
Birnin Kano	17.12.18	24.4.28

Source: NAK/Kanprof/1708 Vol.1, Kano Revenue survey, 11.1.34

An interesting point with regard to the emir's estate, which was located in the revenue-survey districts, was the question of whether they should be taxed or not. By about 1932 the district heads and the Al}alai were said to be paying taxes. Only the Emir was exempted.[788] As regards the Emir's "slaves" and dependants in revenue survey districts, they were not taxed if farming in the emir's estates, but in non-revenue survey districts they reportedly paid income tax.[789] In the case of Kumbotso, this provides some likely explanation to the accusations made against some of the rulers for embezzlement from the taxes collected.[790] An informant made the point that much of the accusations over embezzlement were baseless and was only meant to achieve some political goals.[791] The table below shows that Kumbotso District alone had about five estates farmed by the Emir's slaves. In a situation where assessment

[788] ***Ibid.*** P. 299

[789] ***Ibid***

[790] ***Kumbotso District assessment, 1932.***

[791] Interview with Alhaji Gizo Maroki. Alhaji Gizo Maroki was brought up as one of the errand boys of Emir Abdullahi Bayero.

was conducted based on census, the tendency is that the total number of the population could not tally with the amount paid since slaves were exempted.

Table 4 Estates of the Emir of Kano in Revenue Survey Districts

Districts	**Estates**	**Acreage**
Kumbotso	Gandnu Sarki	22.06
	Jaoji gandun Sarki	105.84
	Shekar Barde: rajin Sarki	4.00
	Dan Bare Gandun Sarki	13.56
	Darmanawa	16.00
Ungogo	Muncika Gandun Sarki	200.68
Minjibir	Magarawa: gandun Sarki	88.61
	Karke: Gandun Sarki	78.86
	Garwa Gandun Sarki	111.95
	Rimi Gandun Sarki	35.98
Kano city	Fuskar Kudu gandun Sarki	13.95
	Gwagwarwa: Rinjin Sarki	1.91
Dawakin kudu	Giwaran: gandun Sarki	330.00
	Garin Dau:Rafin Sarki	5.55
	Gogel (Not Surveyed)	---------
	Madarin taba (discovered later)	152.58
Total		**1235.53**

Source: NAK/Kanprof/1708 Vol.1, Kano Revenue survey

6.5 **Other Forms of Taxes**

Under the Native Revenue Ordinance, all officials' salaries paid by the government or the native administration were exempted from taxation, a serious anomaly, which allowed salary earners to go untaxed. By the 1920's the number of clerks, scribes and other workers not considered to be the ***Masu*** *Sarauta* (ruling class) was increasing. As a result the Resident conference of 1927 decided that it was better to tax this group to whom the "normal method of assessment could scarcely be made to apply." This group includes salaried clerks and also Africans of like status." It also includes those officials who had not previously paid direct taxes and who were resident in townships or similar areas.[792] The conference recommended that the

[792] Garba ***Op. Cit***. P. 309

Native Authority should levy a flat rate of taxation on salary at 2d in the pound (£). The Residents conference discovered that the 2d in the £ rate were applied "to others than those for whom it was originally intended." It was found that domestic servant, native administration officials and government messengers were wrongly included in that category.[793] It was decided in 1934 that in the case of artisans employed by commercial farms, railway employees and mission employees, the decision should be left to the discretion of the Residents. In short colonial taxation was such that it did not spare anybody especially those from among the category of the productive members of the population.

6.6 Industrial Tax

Another form of taxes under the revenue survey system of 1924 was the industrial tax. Historically Kano has been a known commercial centre with contacts that cut across the States of especially West Africa. The experience in most of its towns has been the prevalence of greater number of its people engaged in trade and crafts activities.[794] Before the British conquest the Emirs levied special taxes on these occupational groups.[795] The amounts imposed varied and special officials were appointed to collect from them. In 1926, the Industrialists of Kano emirate fell into 50 groups. The average income of each group whether they had farm or not was estimated. This was with a view to arriving at a fairly accurate estimate of the taxable income of each ward. The rate of 6d in the Pound (£) was applied in Kano. The process was that in each ward, the ward heads convened an assessment committee,

[793] NAK/SNPSOKPROF/2/20/c.67: From SNP to Resident of Sokoto April, 1941.
[794] Dan'asabe, A. U. Comparative Biographies of Selected Leaders of the Kano Commercial Establishment", M.A." History, Bayero University, Kano 1987
[795] Fika, A. M."The Political and Economic Reorientation of Kano Emirate, Northern Nigeria c. 1882-1940." Ph D. Thesis, University of London, 1973, published under the title, ***The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule 1882-1940,*** Ibadan, Oxford University Press, 1978. Bello, S. ***The State and the Economy in Kano c. 18944-11960: A Study of Colonial Domination***, Ph. D. Thesis, ABU, Zaria, 1982 and Muktar M. I. ***"The Impact of British Domination on the Social and Economic Structures of the Society of Kano 11903-1950***, M A. Thesis, ABU, Zaria, 1983.

which comprised "persons of authority and intelligence carefully selected from different partitions of the ward.[796] The format of assessment was based on:

a) Occupation and
b) Size of the family

It was only in this respect that households capacity to pay was arrived at, and adjustments were made to ensure that the total agreed with what was payable to the ward. Each assessment committee was then supplied with a slip showing the average taxable capacity of each of the 50 trades.[797] After this the householder was told the levy on his house and it was his responsibility to apportion the amount that each individual in his house was required to pay. To avoid abuses, the householder was required to submit his division of the tax to the ward head for approval. A tax demanded slip was then given to him; and endorsed after payment thereby becoming a receipt.[798] To avoid double taxing, long distance traders across Kano made Kumbotso a permanent station (Zango). As noted in chapter three it was in this respect that Gidan }aya, one of the earliest village settlements in Kumbotso, became prominent.

Industrial farmers were also grouped under this category. In the past this category made it very difficult to the tax assessors. Farming under this condition was considered only to the extent that it interfered with his activities as a trader.[799] The wealthier groups of Kano and the Arab traders were not treated as ordinary householders by the ward heads, whose authority over these persons was weak. The British assessing officer was therefore obliged to deal with the one hundred and one (111) rich merchants separately. He convened a special board, which comprised the

[796] Garba T. ***Op. Cit***. P. 313.
[797] ***SNP/9/1460/1925, Kano Emirate Dutsi District Re-assessment and also in KANPROF/82/1921, Kano City and Fagge re-assessment***
[798] ***NAK/SOKPROF/260/1926: census and Re-assessment of Kano, Par. 14.***
[799] Garba T. ***Op. Cit***. P. 314

Sarkin Bai, ten ward heads, and the seven leading merchants of Kano and himself to assess this group. Their assessments were estimated from their economic activities in the city only, which consisted chiefly of the sale of Kolanuts. The wealthy Arab traders had a separate assessment committee, consisting of the wealthy people, under the chairmanship of their salaried Mallam. A free hand was given to them in assessing their wealthy people.[800] The system certainly reduced bribery and corruption to a minimum, particularly because a separate committee under Resident assessed the richest persons, who had the wherewithal to offer bribes.[801]

In Kano Emirate district areas, the general form of industrial taxation was that by which each member of a particular industry paid a flat rate at which that industry was assessed. In any case, the village head's views varied as found in a personal investigation conducted by touring officers that the income of members of any given industry were in no way uniform, and the ideal form would naturally have been an assessment according to individuals wealth. In the late 1920s and early 1930s it was suggested that a "lump sum" might be assigned to a given industry after ascertaining what each member of the trade earned per annum. This is saying that in a village unit with 20 blacksmiths, for instance, who paid a flat rate of 2s each, the sum of £2 would be allocated to this industry. This would then be apportioned amongst the blacksmith by the village head according to individual wealth, some paying 3s and others 1s. The rate proposed represented 2.5% of the estimated incomes to the nearest 6 pence. Under this scheme traders were to be taxed as follows:

[800] NAK/SOKPROF/260/1926: census ***Op Cit***. Highest income bracket (excluding those assessed by special committees).
[801] NAK/SNP/7/12/6667:From secretariat northern province to all Residents: Re-taxation of persons in township and similar areas, 29th October1924.

Table 5 Tax on Traders

Trade	Rate per Annum
Butchers (major)	between 8s and 10s
Butchers (minor)	Between 3s and 3s.6d
Corn dealers	Between 3s and 3s. 6d
Weavers (buhu)	Between 1s 6d and 2s
Weavers (fari)	Between 1s and 1s 6d
Potash Sellers	Between 2s 6d and 2s
Drum men	Between 2s and 1s 6d

Source: NAK/KANPROF/1708/vol.1. extract from file no. 363/1928: Gezawa District: From touring officer, eastern area to the D. O. Kano division

From the available evidence such special tax on the rich, three general levels of payment were observed. At the top were the wealthy traders with assessment as high as £5 or more. This group was a small percentage of the industrial class. They were mainly traders dealing in export products such as groundnuts, cotton and skins. In this category could be included successful cattle dealers and Kola nut traders. The lowest level of assessment varied from 8s to 1s, the class included the musicians, butchers and menial workers. The great majority of the industrial classes were in the assessment group paying between two pounds (£2) and ten shillings (10s). It was a very heterogeneous group constituting a large proportion of traders, brokers, blacksmiths, builders and metal workers.[802] Generally the revenue survey system appeared more accurate than the old *Ta}i* method, which it had replaced, but it was open to the same basic weaknesses as the *Ta}i* in regard to equity and firmness. Moreover, it was very slow.

6.7 The case of over (under) assessment in Kumbotso District

In Kumbotso District one of the noted ways of tax misdeed was in the over assessment of the subject population. This took a number of forms depending on the system in operation under the colonial taxation policy. In Hausaland in general the

[802] Garba, T. ***Op. Cit***. P. 117

experience was such that the Native Authority was in the habit of misrepresenting the figures of the tax paying population. The logic was to keep some percentage of the payers off the register for the personal benefit of the NA officials. In the case of Kumbotso, in this specific case, claims were always made that the district housed a large number of slave population working on the farms (Gandu) of the emir. According to an informant, and also as buttressed in the chapter above,[803] such a claim was not always right since in some cases even the slaves were forced to pay tax. Therefore the assessment was not always a representation of the correct figure, rather, it was just what the Native Authority decided to make available. Thus as noted in colonial files of especially the period 1911 – 1930s, figures kept changing with hardly any convincing explanation.

Figures were also played down with the assessment of farms in Kumbotso when people were paying taxes based on land ownership. As found in the assessment of 1932-33, there were a number of anomalies in the list of farm owners submitted. While the number of farms and farm owners increased due to subdivision amongst heirs as a result of inheritance, little or no information was extended to the colonial office to that effect. At the end therefore taxes were collected from a number of people but remained unaccounted for in the taxation record. Attention of the colonial office was drawn to this even before the 1932-1933 tax collection season. Yet all effort to check the anomaly was frustrated by the District tax officials, for lack of sufficient European staff to undertake the administration of tax in the area. The only attempt made to check at the anomaly was when the District Head was assigned to make a careful enquiry into the matter and submit report to the colonial office in Kano. The report was submitted to the District Head in person

[803] Refer to P. 242 of this thesis

of [an Buram Hashimu who made a formal submission to emir Abdullahi of Kano.[804] Having accepted the fact that the authority in Kumbotso lacked the administrative prowess to attract positive response in the payment of their taxes, the District Head suggested the following reorganisations.

Table 6 Village Re-organisation in Kumbotso District

Village Areas	Remark
Yan'sango and Madinawa	Each to be a village on its own
Mariri town, Yalwa, Farawa and Ruwan sanyi	To be on its own To be merged together
Jaén town Chiranchi and Tudun Mazadu	To be on its own To be merged together
Yan kusa town Gaida	To be on its own To be on its own
Riga fada and Kakuri Gadama	To be merged together To be on its own
Kuyan tasidi and Kusuba Kuyan ta Inna and Marwan	To be merged together To be merged together
Chalawa, Sara, and Danfami Kashin, Runkusawa Kai and Limawa	To be merged together To be merged together
Yanshana and Yangizo	To be merged together

Source: NAK/SNP/8452/Kumbotso District Office-Instructions 2, Inspection Report, P. 22

This was sent to Kano in the month of May 1933 for the blessing of Emir Abdullahi. According to an informant the report confirms how weak the authority in Kumbotso was. Indeed the explanation offered by the district head was not convincing that further explanations was sought from the district head of one of the neighbouring district (Ungogo). Explaining the circumstance that led to the disturbances however Madaki argued that in Kumbotso the tax on farms was mixed up with that of Kurdin

[804] ***Ibid.***

Arziki, unlike the case in other neighbouring districts of the Kano Close Settled Zone. Thus the solution is not in what [an Buram Hashimu has proposed but in reconciling the nomenclature (Kudin Arziki) to Kurdin Sanaá and in assigning it on those who are engaged on Sanaá and not on every adult male.

6.8 Extortion in Kumbotso District

Extortion was one of the commonest acts that defined the Native Authority relationship with the commoner class in the districts of Kano emirate. Extortion did not end with exaction of additional taxes as the Native Authority was also found in the acts of collecting taxes in excess of the total demand with the balance siphoned by the Native Authority.[805] In this was also found the acts of favouring some others in expectation of *Gaisuwa* (gratitude) from them. While on the other hand people who were not supposed to pay any of the taxes were forced into it, for example the aged ones. The experience was flabbergasting considering the kinds of punishment defaulters were subjected to.[806] At a point a reign of 'terror' was employed against tax defaulters and to make the people believe that the administration of this district meant business. Such an act threatened the District Head to action, especially when the colonial authority declared, in the case of Kumbotso that there was general neglect on the part of the district authority. This explained the cases of depositions of village and district heads found wanting in the administration of tax. Polly Hill noted in the case of Kumbotso that the first sub-district head called Dan Isa Mamman Mai Ruwa; a Kinsman of the Emir (Abbas) was dismissed out of office for corruption after two years of his appointment. In her bid to show how corrupt the district was, Hill argued that out of the first twelve rulers of Kumbotso more than

[805] NAK/925 Kumbotso District Inspection revision of 1933, PP. 65-66
[806] ***Ibid.***

half were deposed on the ground of one malpractice or the other.[807] On this note the adage "*Kumbotso Kurkukun Yan Sarki*"[808] or "*Kumbotso }anwar Tu~e*"[809] made sense especially that most of the district heads belong to the royal family. It is in away an affirmation of the fact that leadership in Kumbotso experienced cases of depositions or that appointment of headship in Kumbotso was synonymous to deposition.

Other extortionist measures commonly practiced in Kumbotso district took the following outlook:

a) Note was not given instead the village heads informed the people individually of the amount they were required to pay.

b) In other instances the white slips were issued to the tax payers without being filled and they were asked to bring any amount that the village head felt was suitable to him.

c) Tax payers who had paid their taxes were given the demand notes instead of the receipts after such payments. Later on their village heads approached them and asked them to pay their taxes. If they said that they have paid he demands to see the receipts. Through this way, forced to pay again.[810]

All the above were very common in Kumbotso District as claimed by Mallam Muhammed Sani Na'ayya Sharada. He said that at a point he had to query some of the tax claims as having no basis. The rate at which tax assessment and collection became corrupted led to so many other disagreements and misunderstanding between the officials concerned.[811] As commonly found in Kano emirate, in performing these duties, some of the assessment scribes interfered with the individual tax paying members of the community and divert the

[807] Hill, P. ***Population, Prosperity and Poverty, Rural Kano 1900-970***. Cambridge University Press, London, 1977, P87.
[808] Interview with Alhaji Isa Tajo, Kano 2000.
[809] Interview with Sarkin Malamai, Shehi Na Bamaina, 2002.
[810] Garba, T, ***Op. Cit.***
[811] Interviewwith Mallam Muhammed Sani Na'ayya, 27th December 2003

responsibility for collection from the village heads to their group. The clerks, in some cases, indulged in fraudulent practices, reports of which became pronounced in the emirates from 1924 onwards. In Kano the emirate tax collection was held up for months because of such practices in 1926. It was to prevent such widespread tax hold-ups that from 1928 onward the district-heads were directly and personally made responsible for tax collection and of direct supervision of new assessment scribes.[812] Such has been the experience in Kumbotso District due to insufficient European personnel, which characterised the district administration of Kumbotso during the colonial era. This decision gave the District and Village heads increasing powers in their localities, which they exploited, to a greater extent.[813]

Another stringent measure often feared by the peasantry was the condition which stipulated that once a person was assessed even if he died or migrated, his relatives must settle the tax or face the necessary penalty. This simply meant that migration as a result of inability to settle taxation involved the relocation of the whole family, and not of a single individual. This made it increasingly difficult as an option. Beside, it was considered a shameful act (*Wallahi Ragwancine*), that any family that chose such would therefore no longer dire return to anywhere around the Kumbotso District. [814] This point is simply saying that Native Authority officials participated fully in brutalizing their subject people and that colonial taxation was no doubt brutal and inhuman in all its ramifications, which meant that neither the colonial officers nor the emirate officials were any better.[815]

6.8 Colonial Taxation and the People of Kumbotso District

[812] Garba, T. ***Op. Cit***. P. 118
[813] Discussion with late Mallam Lawan Danbazau, 1998 at his Residence in Kano.
[814] Interview with Sarkin Makera.
[815] Alhaji Magaji Danbatta 2002.

From the inception of colonial rule in Hausaland many natural disasters, notably droughts, famines and food shortages occurred. There where poor harvests in 1902, 1904, and 1908 which the people and their crumbling institutions coped with from their grain reserves, though there was still much suffering. Because taxation was accepted partly in cash and kind, and Zakkat was being collected as well, the granaries of the Emirs, the District and Village heads, in addition to those of individual families were still fairly well stocked. This provided enough grains and therefore some relief to the people in some parts of Hausaland. In others the situation was indeed bad. In Kumbotso in particular, because of the nature of the economy which was structured to feed the teaming city population, the experience was such that there was not much in stock to help the situation. Rather a large chunk of the population was forced to move into the city to make a leaving through some menial jobs and so on. The women folk of the population were left in the villages feeding on all sorts of 'foods' they could lay their hands on.[816]

The period 1911-1914, it could be recalled was the formative period of the colonial taxation scheme in Hausaland. The annual Report for 1913 recorded that in the years 1912-1914, rainfall in Northern Nigeria was below average, and the situation became worse in 1914. The average rainfall was 39.0 in 1912, 31.50 in 1913 and 28.78 in 1914.[817] Reporting on the people's condition during the famine, Hastings wrote "they died like flies on every road." The suffering was by no means restricted to the farmers. According to Stenning, the Wodaabe pastoral Fulani of Western Borno were estimated at 10,000 in number with 88,000 cattle, before the famine. In 1914 they were estimated at 5,000 with 26,000 cattle. Despite these

[816] Interview with Alhaji Gizo Maroki.
[817] Tukur, M. M. ***Op. Cit***. P. 343

problems, the revenue derived from taxation steadily increased. In 1910-1911, the land revenue from Northern Nigeria amounted to £180,489, an amount, which had, by 1911-12, risen further to £413,933. In 1913 which was a disastrous year for the farmers and the cattle owners, revenue from taxation dropped sharply to £214,518 and to £208,347 in 1914. This must have been partly because of people's inability to pay, probably because of the failure of their crops, and not because of reduction in the tax. In some emirates, the revenue actually increased in this period. In Sokoto emirate, for instance, the revenue derived from the general tax and Jangali was £19,554- 3s- 9d in 1911-12 and by 1913 this had risen to £40,739- 7s- 9d, and dropped slightly to £39,835- 19s- 11d in 1914.[818] It must be remembered that the drought in 1913 caused a great failure of crops, especially in all the districts of Northern Nigeria. The year 1918 was similarly beset with problems, this time an epidemic disease. In Kano and Katsina alone, deaths caused by influenza were estimated at 50,000. In Sokoto province, the same death toll was reported as that of Kano and Katsina. 1926-27 also noticed another drought period (Yunwar Kwana).

The decade which followed was one of general economic recession which compelled the authorities to reduce the rates of the general tax and the Jangali "where proved necessary." The income of the farmers had of course sharply dropped owing to the low prices which, their crops now fetched. That was however at official levels, the peasants were on the other hand never told of any reduction. They were rather harassed the more by the tax collectors that the concern of the peasantry of Kumbotso was more with how to find the tax money. Alhaji Abdulkadir Sambo *Medile* was speechless for some minutes when narrating the

[818] Tukur, M. M. ***Ibid*** P. 344

extent to which people suffered during that period.[819] The worst hit around his village were people of *Gurungawa, Shara]a, Unguwa Uku, Hotoro* and [*an maliki* where so many of them were forced to relinquish most of their belongings (farms). He added that he was more informed of the period around the 1950s and that the experience was really tough for the people. People of under aged were forced to pay tax that a lot had to relocate. The period was characterized, as noted earlier by migration of people. The burden was not only on the farmers, but also the herdsmen in which taxes were not only collected on the herds but also on their proceeds, i.e. milk, butter and manure.

During the depression of the 1930 the administration had increased difficulties in the collection of taxes.[820] The prices of agricultural products, especially groundnuts and cotton, fell considerably and most of the traders in export products in towns experienced economic hardship. In the rural districts where the intensity of the economic slump was not very obvious in terms of food supply, there was scarcity of hard money. The prices offered for food stuff were very low. Consequently, there was a great difference between estimated revenue and the amount actually collected in the various districts. The total revenue for the Northern Province for the financial year 1931-32 fell short of its original estimates by about 15%. The condition was even worse in the financial year of 1932-33, which showed a decrease of about 25%. In the case of Kumbotso, as shown in the chapter, the period marked one of the most difficult times under which a number

[819] Interview with Alhaji Abdulkadir sambo, 75 years, the present Maigarin medile in Kumbotso District, 28th December 2003

[820] Bonat, Z. A. "***The Political Economy of Nigerian Taxation: An Analysis of Institutionalized Corruption." National Ethical Re-orientation Committee Seminar on "indiscipline and Corruption and their Adverse Effects on the Nigerian Society and Economy***", Kongo Conference Hotel, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1983.

of the villages could not meet up their tax obligations.[821] In addition there was a general disappointment and discontent combined with insecurity among the people due to the economic conditions. Consequently, the government in places such as Kano, Katsina, Hadejia, Kazaure, Zaria and Sokoto ordered a reduction in the amount of rates. These reduced rates were maintained until when trade improved in 1936.[822]

The burden of colonial taxation brought about a general instability and hardship in the society.[823] People were forced to dispose of their valuables (crops, livestock etc.) at give away prices to settle taxes. According to Sarkin Makeran Kumbotso, one measure of Guinea corn, a dominant staple food in the Kano area was disposed at less 50% its original price to meet up tax obligations. These were some of the necessary options peasants of the Kano emirate experienced, indeed upon times worst, as peasants had to scout around to borrow. These efforts were all in an attempt to avoid been taken to imprisonment, after been arraigned before the Native Authority court. So many languish in the city prisons until when a relative made the sacrifice out of the very little available to set them free. Another possible option was to leave the farmlands and move about in search of work as wage labourers, in order to earn the necessary cash for tax payment.[824] Over 20,000 people were said to have crossed western part of Kano emirate into the Galadima district, and other movements of population were recorded in the direction of Zaria, Ningi, Bauchi, Jos and so on.[825] The opinion of Mallam Garba Soja was that most of those that migrated from Kano emirate came from

[821] Refer to P. !5-16 in this work
[822] Garba, T. ***Op. Cit***. P. 120
[823] Interview with Alhaji Isa Tajo 2000.
[824] Annual Report 1908 Par. 41
[825] Bello Sule ***Opcit*** P.124.

Kumbotso District. In his own case it was in response to such difficult situation that he escaped and joined Nigerian Army recruit in the 40s.[826] Mallam Abdullahi Shalkwata was in support of the claim and added that it was fear that did not allow him to join the Nigerian military force that he opted to seek refuge in the NEPU headquarters in *Sabon Gari* "No mans land." He added that it was in that respect that he earned the name "*Shalkwata*" meaning Headquarter.[827] The result of this constant population movement was an inevitable decrease in food production and increasing alienation of land.[828] The situation in 1914 was pathetic to the extent that crops sold earlier had to be brought back to be resold to the peasants.[829] People reacted to the situation in different ways.[830] The most common reaction of traders to taxation and the assessment methods in the Northern Emirates was that of passive resistance. Traders withheld payment until they were discovered and compelled to pay. This was the explanation to the behaviours of most tax payers in the Kumbotso District especially in the 1930s.[831] Even with such threats the people would resort to payment of very small sums hoping to dodge paying the rest.

Another method was evasion, especially where the tax rate was considered high by the tax payers. In such cases it was the habit of tax payers to dodge the payment of the higher rates in their districts by moving into areas of lower rates. Such artful dodgers will return to their own districts after the payment of the lower rates with full consciousness that no one was required to pay twice in a single year. This practice was more wide spread in areas with large number of migrant

[826] Interview with Garba Soja ***Op. Cit***.
[827] Interview with Mallam Abdullahi Shalkwata Mariri, ***Op. Cit***.
[828] C. W. Rowlings, Report on land Tenure in Kano province, Kaduna, 1949
[829] ***KanProf 376/1914, Annual Report***, Par.60.
[830] Tukur, M. M. ***Op. Cit***. P. 660-700
[831] See P14-20 of this chapter

settlers or traders, such as Northern Katsina, Southern Zaria and western districts of Sokoto.[832] In 1908, Festing's survey revealed that taxes were drawing "able bodied men' to leave the land in search of work as porters and payment labourers. Out of those who left, he calculated only 25% returned.[833] This was not in any way the experience in Kumbotso; it was really difficult to dodge payment of tax. The only option in the case of Kumbotso was to escape to the city and in particular to Sabon Gari area. A large number of such escapees, according to Abdullahi Shalkwata became hooligans and thieves (*Yan Iska*) never returned home. Most of them relocated further to Lagos and beyond.[834]

Generally the introduction of colonial taxation based on the newly introduced European currencies greatly affected the productivity of the people of Kumbotso District. Majority of the households could not adequately meet up the tax condition because they predominantly lived and produced in one of the *Gandu* settlements and not as individual owners and producers. The monetisation of the economy therefore introduced a condition of individualism in Kumbotso or what Hamza quoted as a feeling of "*Kowa ta Kansa yake*",[835] or "*Kowa Tasa ta fishe Shi*" as made known to me by most of my informants.[836] This equally meant that colonial taxation was also resisted violently, unlike the notion by Lugard that the peasantry welcomed it.

An informant who happened to be a tax collector in the late 60's narrated that one of the personalities a peasant villager hate to dream seeing was the tax

[832] ***Ibid*** P.120
[833] NAK/SNP7/5490/1908 report by Major Festing Par.78.
[834] Interview with Abdullahi Shalkwata, ***Op. Cit***.
[835] Hamza, I. ***Op. Cit.*** P. 57.
[836] Group Interviews in Kumbotso, 2002; Panshekara 2002; Hotoro 2001; Na'ibawa 2001; Auguwar rimi 2002.

collector, even if he had the money to pay. "The scene used to be as dramatic as you will see people jumping the wall (*Dangar Kara*) to escape being embarrassed before their wives."[837] The tax collector, by his insignia as a representative of the District head (and indeed the Emir and the Whiteman) can get to your house without excuse and demand any other thing he so desired. Worst still, as the experience showed in Kumbotso and its environs, there was no specific time of the year earmarked as tax season. Market days were, in Kumbotso, days of great fear and intimidation when *Yaran Sarki* could pick whatever they wanted without petition from the owner, but a word of praise, *Ranka Ya Daje*.[838] This could be corroborated with what Alhaji Tanko Yakasai[839] narrated as his personal experience in the Kano main town. According to him, just like the experience narrated by the Jihadist against the Ha~e regime, it was impossible to pass by a prince with your shoes on your feets. That in Yakasai quarters, noted to be settled, in the past, by so many Princes, any of the ordinary settlers from amongst the peasants could at anytime be dragged into all sorts of laborious work if so wished by a Prince.[840] In Kumbotso there used to be a specific District head ([an Buran Faruku) that you can not pass in front of his house while he was seated resting. The question of passing with a shoe or on Donkey or Bicycle did not even arise. This same district head was fond of putting off the engine of his car deliberately

[837] Interview with Mallam Basiru, Malamin Hakimin Kumbotso. The narration is said to be from an information he got from his elders who possibly were the tax collectors during the colonial days.
[838] This was one other explanation why it took a very long time for market to develop in Kumbotso. The Kumbotso people hardly patronize the market to avoid humiliation of the Yaran Sarki.
[839] Interview with Alhaji Tanko Yakasai, 2002, at his Residence in Yankaba, Kano.
[840] Tanko Yakasai narrated that he was once a victim of such experience. That as he was passing by the house of a certain Prince he was ordered and directed to take a broom and sweep the horse dung of the Prince, which he obliged without comment. He said he witnessed similar experience while in a village in Azare. This is agreeing with the position that it was a general outlook of district administration in Northern Nigeria. He said what worries him much about the experience was that even if the prince knows your name he would not call you by that, rather he will shout Hey this boy come here (In Hausa Kai Yaron nan Zo nan). Tanko Yakasai was a NEPU activist who defected and joined the NPN during the second republic politics of 1979 in Nigeria.

and to demand that the able-bodied men of that area must push the car to whichever destination he so desired. This say's it all on matters of taxation of the people during the reign of this specific District head.[841] At any point a peasant could be ordered to supply the horse of the District Head with food, how to get it, where to get it remained the peasants head ache. Mallam Muhammed Sani Na'ayya had a lot of such experience.

Defaulters, if any, found more safety in leaving the town before the dawn and never to come back. An informant narrated that some noted NEPU members were forced, at one time to spend the night on a tree on their way to escape the iron hand of the District Head and his men.[842] This also explains the commitment of the people in this district to NEPU political group, even though NEPU never (officially) win an election in the area. At the same time it took the NPC the use and protection of a battalion of the police (Yan Sanda), and Dogarai to organise and hold political rally anywhere outside the Kumbotso main town, because of the hatred the people had of the Native Authority.[843] The experience in other places within the emirate was not any better. In Bebeji, in the late 1950's the Village head known as the *Sarkin Fulani* was fund of stripping tax defaulters naked and ordered them to seat for an hour in the dwelling of a termite or a wild ant. Similar experiences were noted in Birnin Kudu. Defaulters, or more appropriately, noted NEPU supporters were subjected to unquestionable imprisonment. Brooms were given to them with the order to sweep the whole of the town until they settle their

[841] As pointed in Chapter 2 he was finally deposed and dismissed because the seat of power in Kano found his activities embarrassing, but not necessarily because he was tyrant to the peasant population in Kumbotso. For detail on his deposition refer to Chapter two of this work.
[842] Interview with Sarkin Bariki Kumbotso, 2002.
[843] Chiranchi, A. Y. "Native Authority Police and Security in Kano Emirate 1925-1968," Yabi Investment Kano, 2004, P. P. 151-163; See also Rotimi, K. The Police in a Federal State: the Nigerian Experience, College Press, Ibadan, 2001

tax. Indeed general publics were called upon to spit on them and to Mallam Garba a staunch NEPU supporter, who was noted for tax default, stones were thrown at him as directed by the authority concern. In yan [anko of Kumbotso District defaulters were bathed with cold water very early in the morning until they pay.[844]

6.9 Conclusion

The chapter highlighted that taxation was not a new phenomenon in the history of development of the emirate of Kano. It indeed stressed that the taxation system of the pre-colonial era differs clearly with the colonial one. The only justification for colonial taxation was that the Kano emirate was conquered in 1903 by the colonial army. The result of this was the subjugation of the hitherto existing political structure into submission. To finance the new set up, a system of taxation was re-introduced and new methods procured to ensure that nobody escaped (dodged) payment. It was only in this respect as shown clearly that the colonial office came out with so many innovations, which characterized the different systems of tax assessments and collection in the emirate.

As shown in the chapter, imperialism in itself could not have been possible without the positive role-played by the Native Authority officials. This featured, in the case of Kano, very much from the acceptance by Emir Abbas (1903-1919) to serve under the colonial dictates. It also manifested more practically by the order he gave to the people of Kano neither to listen nor follow the Caliph in his planned migration to the east. This was the beginning of the relationship, though some level of resistance was acknowledged, but in more clear terms the Native Authority were found fully involved in the processes that provided support for the actualization of colonial rule. The chapter also looked at colonial taxation and the role played by the

[844] Mallam Idi Yan Danko, interview with, 70 years, 27th December 2003

Native Authority in the District of Kumbotso in its assessment and collection. It noted that colonial history of Kano had a peculiar problem, which was also acknowledged by Tukur, that the first Resident (F. Cargill 1903-1908) burnt all the documents of the first part of the colonial regime. This and the fact that Kumbotso is closer to the capital city and therefore infrequently visited by the colonial office dotted our effort and made detail information scanty. The fear expressed by the few surviving informants of speaking their minds also made detail study impossible. Yet it is made known that in the process of the assessment and collection of taxes, the people were subjected to all forms of hardships that so many of them had to migrate while some were imprisoned. This therefore established that the Native Authority by its position in the political set up supported those policies that helped in the actualisation of colonial domination and subjugation of Kano emirate, which led to destruction of the emirate economy and society.[845]

[845] Bello. S. ***Op. Cit***

Chapter Seven
General Conclusion

The primary objective of colonial administration was to create conditions conducive for the attainment of the goals of imperialism. In Northern Nigeria the goal was to promote the production of agricultural crops for export and to create a local market for finished European manufacture. British colonial authorities, while not seeking the break up of the already existing agricultural settlements owned by the ruling class, favoured cash crop production based on small scale peasant producers rather than one based on plantations as obtained in some other colonial territories. To achieve this required an administrative structure that could guarantee effective control of the access to land and the disposition of the labour of the large number of small scale producers. This was a major factor in the adoption of the Indirect Rule system including District and Village level administration linked to the colonial super structure through the Emirate level authorities, and the introduction and enforcement of various policy measures including those pertaining to land, labour and taxation.

In Kano emirate the attempt in this direction began after the conquest with the appointment of an Emir as head of an administrative structure which while retaining attributes of the pre-conquest administrative system was clearly required and seen to be subordinate to the organs and agents of the new colonising power. This new outlook also meant that the former link with the central authority under the Caliphate in Sokoto was over. This became very obvious with the conquest of the entire Caliphate, including Sokoto, and its subordination to British colonial authorities. The entire Caliphate was divided into provinces and Districts each under Residents and District officers respectively who were accountable only to the Governor who in turn was accountable to the colonial office in London. Under this colonial super structure and subject to its over all supervision, directive and control, the Emirs headed

significantly restructured Native Administrative systems. An important aspect of this was the change in the previous system of territorial administration which led to the creation of Districts and the appointment by the Emir, with the approval of the Resident, of District and Village heads who were now to be resident within their area of control rather than at the Emirate headquarters. Around them developed District and Village level administrative structures, responsible, at that level, for the maintenance of law and order and for the enforcement of colonial policies including those relating to economic activities, land, labour and taxation.

In the case of Kano, this process which started in 1903 with Resident Cargill acquired momentum after 1908 and especially with the reforms initiated by Resident C. L. Temple which sought to resolve the bitter relationship which had developed under Cargill between the British and the traditional Emirate authorities. While this development reduced the powers of the Emir, especially when his territory was divided into districts and village administration, the 1916 Native Authority Ordinance made his powers very clear to include the maintenance of law and order in the whole of the emirate and to freely appoint whosoever he wanted to assist him at the district level, provided that the law of the protectorate was respected. It was in this context and while the administrative system was at this state of development that Kumbotso was made a District in 1916, though it had been in existence at different political levels since 1903.[846]

From 1916 administrative structures began to be established at both district and village levels in Kumbotso. Officials were appointed and given specific functions. Since the operation of these administrative structure required finances, the Native Authority was mandated to source the finances through the collection of taxes from

[846] See Chapter three of this work.

the people. In addition the Native Authority was given the right to administer land. This assured the Native Authority the powers of control of the means and processes of production, or indeed over the economy. It was in this respect that the Native Authority was able to exercise powers over the peasantry on what they should produce, the pricing and other related issues. It gave the Native Authority control of the category of people allocated land, their history, identity, integrity and the level of state attention required on them.[847] On the other hand this acknowledged position of the Native Authority institutionalised, in practical terms, the status of the Native Authority in the eyes of the peasantry.[848]

The administration of land was quickly transformed immediately after the conquest of Kano. Land was very important as a factor of production especially in Kumbotso district where agriculture was the dominant economic activity. Given their economic goals the colonial authorities through the colonial land policy nationalised land ownership and entrusted land administration to the respective authorities at the Emirate, District, and Village levels. Thus with over 65 villages, the land area in Kumbotso district came to be under the control of [an Isa Usaini, the first district head, appointed in 1916. What complicated land administration in Kumbotso district was the character of colonial land policy itself, which was structured in such a way as to disposes the peasantry of their land. In the case of Kano emirate and indeed its respective districts these powers corrupted the officials and set the ground for massive accumulation of land by the aristocracy and by other groups in society, such as merchants, who could pay for land. Colonial economic policy by requiring and facilitating the production of cash crops for export constituted a source of pressure on the ownership of land in Kumbotso, since Kumbotso was the closest district to the

[847] For details see chapter 4 of this work

[848] For details see Chapter three of this work.

main Kano town. Already the location of several large estates owned by the aristocracy, the rich soil of Kumbotso made it attractive to rich merchants and farmers who wanted to take advantage of the colonial cash crop economy. This led to high demand for land in the District.To meet this demand the District and village heads in Kumbotso tactfully collected land from ordinary people on the claim that they could not meet up the tax assessment on the land area they were claiming ownership of.[849] Rich city dwellers bribed their way through the Alkali and took over a number of lands in villages in Kumbotso District.[850] Other circumstances under which the peasantry were dispossessed include death of the head of a family and the use of the Native Authority court powers.[851] It was through the use of such powers that the decision that denied women right of land ownership was proclaimed, so also was the consideration on which former slave officials who were retained because of their loyalty, usurped political power and used it against the common people.[852]

In meeting the labour demands of the colonial authorities the ruling class, backed by colonial labour policies could exploit the labour of the peasantry as well as the free slaves, using the district and village level administrative structure. When looked at within the context of the colonial economy whereby certain obligations, like payment of taxes, must be met by individuals, the condition under which colonial labour relations operated further imprisoned the freed slaves and the peasantry. This is because; though their labour was employed, no commensurate payment to that effect was made, thus creating a situation that made it so difficult for them to make up the money to meet their tax and other monetary obligations. This explains the reported

[849] See chapter 4
[850] Ibid
[851] Refer to chapters 4 and 6 of the work
[852] ***Ibid.***

high incidence of tax default in Kumbotso District, especially from the 1920-40s.[853] It also appeared in mass disposals of land by especially the peasantry. The system of taxation created a situation under which it could be argued that the colonial labour policy in Kumbotso district transformed social relations and brought to an end the days of communal labour (Gayya) and all other attributes attached to it. In particular extended family traits gave way to nucleate relations bringing to an end the culture of a "common bowl." Big houses began to crumble creating bitter social relations and inheritance problems and the general failure by the big House to continue to guarantee economic security to its members.[854] From another dimension, villages on the Kano Kumbotso border became subsumed into the main stream Kano society. The colonial economy dealt a serious blow to those engaged in dyeing and local textile industry since they could not compete with imported finished goods from Britain. This meant additional excess labour and the price of labour had to go down; the consequences were unbearable considering its effect on kinship ties.[855] Thus like the experience under colonial land policy, labour policy transformed the traditional social structures and thereby weakened the basis for a virile social and political cohesiveness in the society.

As with the cases of the colonial land and labour policies, colonial taxation was also structured to serve colonial needs. Taxation was not just an economic issue; it was also political and social, ensuring the colonial authorities could maintain their hold over the affairs of the colonized people. The outcome in Kumbotso district was the mass migration of people to the city and shortage of food supply. In Kumbotso it became a common phenomenon to abandon land due to inability to pay tax.[856] Thus

[853] ***Ibid*** Chapter 6
[854] ***Ibid*** Chapter 4

[855] ***Ibid***
[856] See chapter 6.

from all sides of the coin the administration of the District forced a number of difficulties on the common people so much so that the traditional set up was weakened and made irrelevant. In addition colonial taxation brought about destitution by forcing people to dispose their landed and other properties to pay tax. In particular, Kumbotso district was a hot cake on the issue of land with all the rich merchants struggling to under cut each other.[857]

What the evidence of the various chapters of this work shows is a dialectical relationship between land, labour and taxation in the colonial administration of Kumbotso with the district level administration serving as the direct agency through which this relationship was actualised. The policies and administration of each aspects reinforced policies and administration in the other and collectively they defined the nature of colonial rule and its overall impact on society in the area of study. Among the important conclusions that can be drawn from the study are:

1. That colonial rule as far as the peasantry in Kumbotso district were concerned involved direct control of and influence over the distribution and use of land, organization and utilization of labour and the imposition of, collection and use of the proceeds of taxation through the agency of the district and village administration controlled by members of the traditional ruling elite.
2. The power of the traditional ruling class vis-a - vis the people was consolidated and extended during the colonial period, through the authority they were allowed to exercise over a spectrum of matters affecting the lives of the people, particularly in matters of land, labour and taxation. Similar powers had been exercised in the pre-colonial period and this was in fact the justification for allowing them in the period under study. The study shows

[857] See chapter 4.

however that the form and extent of the exercise of these powers was significantly modified and that their exercise in the context of colonial hegemony had several consequences for society. In relation to land for example the study has shown that the ruling elite used various means to dispossess the peasantry of the land and to amass this land for themselves and for others in society – particularly the business community – who could afford to pay for the land. The study emphasizes that land was a particularly significant issue in Kumbotso district because of its proximity to the city and because of the fertility of the soils of the area and its suitability for agricultural production.

3. By their control of these major instruments of colonial administration, the Emirs, District and Village heads, entrenched their class position and established their hold over the economy and society, such that they remain relevant for all times. In the process of doing this, they subjected the populace to untold hardship; in addition to expropriating their surplus, they forced many to dispose of their land and other properties. In doing this however they entrenched the antagonisms which created a fertile ground for radical politics after 1953.
4. The consequence of the administration of land, labour and taxation policies of the period as it was implemented by the District Administrative system vis-à-vis the generality of the population was the creation out of the peasantry of a dispossessed class many of whom ended up in menial jobs and street hawking in the city and the villages surrounding the city.
5. In Kano it was from amongst this category of people that the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) built its support base. The support was so

momentous, throughout the Districts and Villages of the Emirate that it made Kano a safe haven to radical politicians especially those of Northern origin. Indeed, it made Kano centre of radical political activity and political alliances with politicians from the Southern part of the country.

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FIELD INTERVIEWS

Collection of Interviews by Ali MAMSER, Panshekara, Kumbotso. The interviews are part of an attempt to document the history of Panshekara and to provide a reading material on the history of the area in the local dialect of the people. Ali was a mobilization officer under a Federal Government suspended project called Mass Mobilization for Social and Economic Reconstruction (MAMSER) of the IBB Military regime (1984-1993). He was about 45 years of age. He was at the time of this interview a political activist in the present Kumbotso Local Government vying for the post of Councillor in the Panshekara ward.

Interview with Mallam Abdulkadir Abdullahi Sai Kayi. He was 45 old at the time of the interview in 1998. I had a number of interviews with him in his Yakasai residence. Mallam Abdulkadiri is from a family with close affinity to the palace by the position of his father as one of the Emirs Dogari. He is however noted to be very critical of the traditional institution, a belief that made him a staunch member of People's Redemption Party (PRP) of the Second Republic politics (!979-1983). He is presently working with the Kano State High Court as a Court Clerk after completing his Diploma in Islamic Law from the School of Legal and Islamic Studies Kano. He is also a Land speculator.

Interview with Alhaji Tanko Yakasai. He is a known radical Politician of the First Republic Nigerian Politics, in Kano. A very close disciple of Mallam Aminu Kano of the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) and People's Redemption Party (PRP). Yakasai did not participate in PRP, rather he left the radical group and joined the reactionary NPN during the Second Republic politics. He held so many positions in and outside Government. He is presently apolitical elder and a businessman. He resides in Yankaba (Hadejia Road) of Kano state. He was about 70 years old at the time of the interview in 2002.

Interview with Sa'ad Sarkin Bariki, Mai Dawaki. He was 70 years of age at the time of this interview in 2000. He is very well known as Medawakai in Kumbotso. He was of slave parentage from Maiduguri in the present Borno State. He is presently a farmer and one of the Courtiers of the District Head of Kumbotso. He was also a political leader of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and National Party of Nigeria (NPN) in Kumbotso. He is indeed one of the most acknowledged local historian of Kumbotso from the Kumbotso palace.

Interview with Alhaji Magaji [anbatta He is a known radical Politician of the First Republic Nigerian Politics, in Kano. A close disciple of Mallam Aminu Kano of the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) and People's Redemption Party (PRP). Danbatta did not participate in PRP politics; rather he joined the reactionary NPN during the Second Republic politics. He started his career as a journalist, he to date remembered as one of the most respected journalist of the independence struggle days in Northern Nigeria. He held so many positions in and outside Government. He is presently

apolitical elder and a retired civil servant. He resides in Dr. Bala Muhammed Road, Nassarawa, Off state Road Kano state. He was about 70 years old at the time of the interview in 2001.

Interview with Sarkin Malamai Jigawa, Shehi Abubakar Bamaina. He was 80 years old and a known Tijjaniyya Sheikh. He resides in Bamaina village, Gwaram Local Government of Jigawa state. His main preoccupation is the teaching of Islamic education. He is well informed on the history, and of political development in Kano especially of the First Republic era. He is also a farmer and an Islamic leader.

Interview with Alhaji Haruna Garki. Alhaji Haruna is 70 years old. He was farmer, a Groundnut dealer during the colonial days for some European companies. He was a member of the NPC and cross carpeted to PRP in the politics of the second Republic. Alhaji Haruna is still a very influential grassroots politician in Jigawa State. I had a number of interviews with him in Kano and Garki in the period 1997-2003.

Interview with Alhaji Gizo Maroki, Kofar Mata. Alhaji Gizo is an indigene of Kumbotso. He was one of the errand boys of Sarkin Kano Abdullahi who reined in the period 1926-1953. His main occupation is Praise Singing. He is said to be the person that first brought Alhaji Mamman Shata to Kano. Late Alhaji Mamman Shata was the most respected traditional Musician of the Hausaland (Northern Nigeria). Alhaji Gizo is still alive in Kano City, Kofar Mata. He is approximately 100 years old. I had a number of interviews with him in the period 1999-2000.

Interview with Late Hajiya Fadi Yakasai. She died in 1990, some month after I had interviews with her. She was very informative on the relationship between the Native Authority and the Talakawa. Though a married woman, her involvement with palace slaves and other Yaran Sarki, most of who resides in Yakasai provided her with the information. She was 70 years old at the time of the interview in 1990

Interview with Alhaji Sule Gaya, Sarkin Fadan Kano. He was born in 1925, 77 years old at the time of the interview in 2002. A traditional ruler, Alhaji Gaya was the first Federal Commissioner (Minister) of Local Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. He resides in Durimin Iya, Kano City and still serves as the Sarkin Fadan Kano

Interview with Alkali Muktar Soron [inki. He is a retired Alkali and worked on contract as an Arabist with the Kano State History and Culture Bureau. He was 70 years old at the time of the interview in 1992. He was very informative on Native Authority administration of justice. He resides in Soron [inki quarters of Kano City.

Interview with Alhaji Uba Na-Liye. A noted Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) member, Alhaji Naliye was 65 years old as at the time of the interview in 1989. He was very informative on the Native Authority relations with the Talakawa in Kano. He resides in Yakasai quarters of Kano City.

Interview with Alhaji Isa Tajo. He lived in Kumbotso for a period of his life time. He was a merchant and a farmer and an active politician of

the second Republic. He was 70 years as at the time of the interview in 2002. He resides in Satatima quarters of Kano City.

Interview with Mallam Abdu, Sarkin Makera Kumbotso. Mallam Abdu was my principal informant on the history of Kumbotso. He was 114 years old at the time of this interview, 1992-2000. Mallam Audu was so old that he could not stand on his legs at the time of my interviews with him. He was the oldest person in Kumbotso and the most noted local historian acknowledged by the people of Kumbotso.

Interview with members of slave parenthood in Kumbotso. This interview took place in 2002 in front on the Kumbotso District Heads House. The group agreed to an interview on the condition that their names should not be mentioned.

Interview with Abdullahi Boyi,. A prominent member of Northern Element Progressive Union, Mallam Abdullahi was among the NEPU members sent on exile to Upper Volta (present day Burkino Fasso) to escape the brutalities of the Kano Native Authority. He was 60 years of age at the time of the interview in 1998. He died in 1998.

Interview with Mallam Bashir Buhari. He was 60 years old at the time of the interview in 1993. His parents were among the people sent out of Sokoto on the suspicion that they were members of Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU). He is an Islamic scholar who spent his active life teaching and preaching the religion of Islam. As a retired civil servant, Mallam Bashir still teaches in his [orayi (Bakin Bulo) residence, Kano.

Interview with Alhaji Mudi Spikin. He was one of the 8 prominent founders of Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU). He was 80 years old at the time of the interview in 1998. He was known for his intelligence in poetry and for his shaky political beliefs.

Interview with Alhaji Balarabe Musa an Accountant and a Politician. He was a one time Governor of Kaduna State during the Second Republic politics under the flag of the People's Redemption Party (PRP) 1979-81. He was 60 years of age as at the time of the interview in 1995.

Interbview with Alhaji Muhammadu Agangaro. A noted grass root politician of the radical type Agangaro was also a farmer and a butcher. He was 50 years old at the time of this interview in 2000.

Interview with Alkali Aliyu Waziri. He was from the family of the present Wazirin Kano, Alhaji Isa Waziri. He was very informative on the Native Authority relations with the Talakawa and the administration of Justice during the colonial days. He was 70 years old at the time of the interview in 1992.

Interview with Hajiya Gambo Sawaba. A woman activist in the politics of the First and Second Republic Nigeria. She was very informative in the Native Authority relations with the Talakawa. She was 70 years at the time of this interview in 1994.

Interview with Alhaji Garba Birnin Kudu. He was a critique of the Native Authority administration in Kano. He was on so many

occasions jailed and molested by the NA police. He was 70 years old at the time of this interview in 2000.

Interview with Alhaji Lili Gabari 2003. He was an activist in the politics of the First and Second Republic Nigeria. He was 70 years old at the time of the interview in 2003.

Interview with Alhaji Yususfu Maitama Sule. He was a noted politician and a Statesman. He holds the title of [an Masanin Kano and remains a very influential informer in the events of the First and Second Republic politics in Nigeria. He was 70 years of age at the time of the interview in 1995.

Interview with Mallam Basiru Kumbotso. He was the Magatakarda of the District Head of Kumbotso. He was 55 years of age at the time of the interview in 2000.

Interview with Abdullahi Shalkwata Mariri. Abdullahi is still strong and a practicing farmer in Mariri of Kumbotso district. He was a NEPU activist and about 70 years of age at the time of the interview in 2003.

Mallam Shuaibu Bakin Kasuwa Mariri. He is a farmer and a petty trader in the Mariri market. He was 65 years at the time of the interview in 2003.

Interview with Alhaji Garba Na-auyya Sharada. He is a farmer and a local Islamic teacher. He was very informative on land matters and a victim of Native Authority atrocities on land in Kumbotso District. He was 80 years at the time of the interview in 2003.

Mallam Muktari Tsohon Soja Mariri. He is from a village under Mariri. He is presently a farmer and a petty trader. He served the Nigerian Army during the Second World War and got retired after the Civil War. He joined the army in protest of the atrocities of the Local Authority. He was 80 years at the time of the interview in 2003.

Alhaji Abdulkadir Sambo Medile. He was as at the time of the Interview the District Head of Medile and about 65 years old in 2003.

Alhaji Garba Abubakar, Hakimin Mariri. He was 70 years at the time of the interview 2003.

Interview with Sarkin Hotoro. He was 60 years at the time of the interview in 1998

Interview with Sheikh Uba Safiyanu [orayi. He was 60 years at the time of the interview in 1999. He is an Islamic scholar of the Sufi (Tijaniyya) order and also a farmer.

Interview with Alhaji Aminu Dantata. The interview took place in his residence in Koki, Kano city in 2005.