



**Dissertation**

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**The Railways Is A Factor In The British  
Colonial Control Domination And  
Exploitation Of The Zaria Province, 1902-  
1945**

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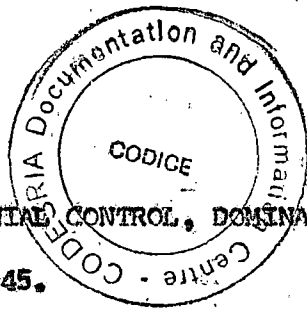
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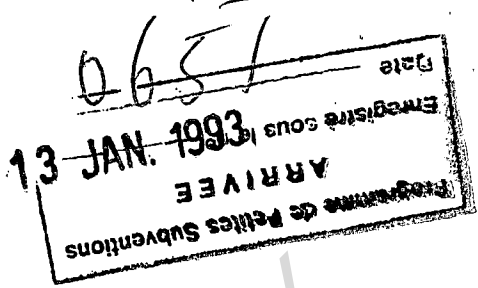
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THE RAILWAYS AS A FACTOR IN THE BRITISH COLONIAL CONTROL, DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE ZARIA PROVINCE, 1902- 1945.



BY  
SHOYEBI ABAYOMI

A thesis submitted to the Post- Graduate School, University of Jos, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts ( History)

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Department of History  
Faculty of Arts  
University of Jos, Nigeria.

1991

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my handwork. All sources of information are acknowledged, and all quotations were footnoted in compliance with academic traditions. Whatever shortcomings it contained are mine.

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APPROVAL

This thesis has been read and approved as meeting the standards required for the award of an M. A. ( History) Degree, Faculty of Arts, University of Jos, Nigeria.

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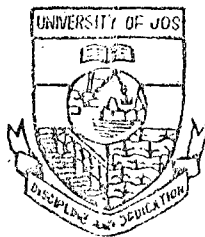
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## TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that Mr. Abayomi Shoyebi has successfully completed his Masters Degree Programme in History. The official testimonial and certificate are yet to be issued to him by the School of Post Graduate.

He has been a hardworking and dependable youngman. I therefore recommend him to anyone who may need his services.

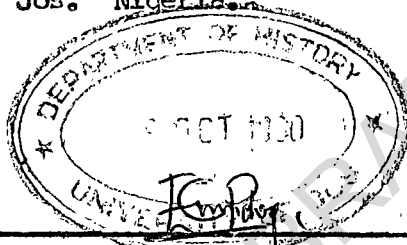
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CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out under my supervision in the department of History, University of Jos, Jos. Nigeria.



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Dr. C. P. Emudong

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DEDICATION

To My Parents

YUSUF ATANDA &

A' ISHAT ADUKE.

My Inspiration

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to explain the consequence of the construction and the operation of the railways on the economy and the society of colonial Zaria province 1902-1945.

The colonial state built the railways ostensibly to effect the economic growth and development of the Northern protectorate of Nigeria. However, in the practical and concrete reality of the colonial era, the railways turned out to be the means through which the social surpluses of the Zaria province were siphoned to Britain to the utter neglect of the province.

The aim of this study is to show how the colonial state exploited the freight capacities of the railways to coerce and turn the Zaria province into a giant exporter of agricultural and industrial raw-materials, and a net importer of British manufactured goods.

This study will also show that colonial exploitation subsequently resulted in the dislocation and the distortion of the economy and the society of the Zaria province. This disarticulated state of affairs perhaps best accounted for, and explained the general state of the impoverishment, pauperism, and poverty that was the lot of indigenous people who bore the brunt of British colonial imperialism in the Zaria province.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the course of undertaking this project, I benefitted immensely from the invaluable intellectual insight, friendship, concern and assistance of my supervisor, Dr. C. P. Emudong. His keen interest, encouragement and motivation carried this work through. Without his kind efforts and most especially his thorough supervision, constructive criticisms and recommendations, this work would not have been possible. My deepest gratitude and special appreciation and thanks therefore go to him.

I also wish to express special appreciation and great indebtedness to the following: Drs. C. C. Jacobs, J.H. Mengel, M.Y. Mangwat, C.K. Gonyok, I.L. Bashir, and Ibrahim James ( all of University of Jos,) and B.A. Mojuetan, ( of University of Ibadan). They contributed greatly to the success of this work by ways of discussions, readings of drafts, introduction to sources, critical comments and corrections, ( To them all I say thank you.)

Special thanks to the Soyebi's.

I also wish to thank the following dear friends for their contributions towards the success of this project: L. Bola Rahman Debo Dosunmu, Abayomi Akinyeye, Oyiniola Olaniyi, Emma Azinge, Moses E. U. Tedheke, Dotun Azeez, Sunday Obaba, Bashiru Lagoke, Obaro Ganiyu, Afris, Bitrus Pada Ateka, Yahaya Baba, Umaru Sati, Wapdiyel Shedrack D., Omoflaye Ajayi, Yahuza Bala Abdullahi, Adamu Mansur Mohammed, Ahmed Yaro, Sunday Yabo, E.E. Ekanm ( Miss), Dung C. Cholom, Datoe A. H., Aris Aliyu, Emmanuel Erhue, Yahuza Gambo Mohammed, Toure Kazah, Ahmed Ramat Aminu, Bawa Mukhtar, and Paulinus Francis Udoh.

I would also like to thank the following families:- the Kehinde's, the Turwashe's, the Owolabi's, the Aboda's, The Afolabi's, the Yelokwu's, and the Owoniran Shoyemi's.

However, for Usuanlele Uyilawa, is a very sweet and special gift of a deep and rare friendship which I greatly value, and to which I am greatly indebted. Uyi, thanks.

Special commendations and thanks go to Alhaja Adijatu Kuburat Amosha Rabiun Oderinlo. I really enjoyed her company and counselling throughout the duration of this study.

I also wish to thank my dear cousins, Razak, Safiat and Mojdat who extended great warmth and hospitality to me during my long stay with them.

I would also like to express appreciation to Mr. Amadi of Railway Archives, Ebute-Metta, Lagos, for his kind efforts in locating Railway materials for me.

Olakunle, Ronke and Olajimi Akintunde, this is also for you dear ones.

My very dear brothers and sisters, Rasheed Alani, Razak Ademola, Fatimah Bintu, Luguan Adewale, Basiratu Teju Toyin and Moriano Ayinke also deserve very special and deep thanks you for their contributions towards the success of this projects. Without their support this work would not have been possible.

My dear son AbdulMaleek Adedotun, Anuoluwapo's presence was a great stimulant for the completion of this work.

A very special thanks and deep appreciation also go to my dear sweet little pet, Monsuratu Amake Adebunkola, who is also the mother of my son. I derive great pleasure from her advice, encouragement, understanding and interest in my work.

A special thanks goes to C O D E S R I A for financing this project.

Finally a big thanks goes to Allah for his guidance.

Shoyebi Abayomi

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U.	Ahmadu Bello University Zaria.
A.D.O.	Assistant District Officer.
B.U.K.	Bayero University Kano.
D.O.	District Officer.
G.R.A.	Government Reservation Area.
H.S.N.	Historical Society of Nigeria.
H.M.S.O.	Her Majesty Stationary Office.
J.A.S.	Journal of African Society.
J.H.S.N.	Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria.
J.P.S.	Journal of Peasant Studies.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of Royal Anthropological Society.
K.I.L.	Kashim Ibrahim Library Ahmadu Bello University Zaria.
L.B.A.	License Buying Agent.
N.J.E.S.S	Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies.
N.A.	Native Authority.
N.A.K.	National Archives, Kaduna.
N.H.R.S.	Northern History Research Scheme. Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
N.R.C.	Nigerian Railway Corporation.
R.N.C.	Royal Niger Company.
S.D.O.	Senior District Officer.
S.N.P.	Secretariat Northern Provinces.
U.A.C.	United Africa Company.
U.I.	University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
U.K.	United Kingdom.
U.S.A.	United States of America.
U.S.S.R.	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
W.A.F.F.	West African Frontier Force.

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GLOSSARY OF WORDS AND TERMS

Acha	Hungry rice
Alaru	Professional porter
Alkali	Islamic Justist
Attajira	( Pl. attajirai) - Rich merchants
Auren Kulle	Furdah
Babban Dodo	Big Monster
Bakin Kasa	Brownish soil type
Bapraw	Head of smith ( Kaje)
Daji	Forest woodland
Dankali Turawa	Irish potatoes
Dibhan Government	Government Labourers (forced labour)
Dillahila	Broker
Doka	Government Legislation.
Fadama	Valley bottom land (river bank)
Fataka	Long distance trader or caravan trader
Gandu	Household.
Gandu Sarakuna	Aristocratic farms
Gayya	Mutual communal labour/peasant services for Aristocrats
Gayyahuna	Evening farm/private farms
Gida	Household
Giwa	Elephant
Gona	Farm
Gona (gandu)	Household farm
Hakimai	Court officials
Hura	Millet pudding
Jangali	Cattle tax
Jankasa	redish soil type
Jekadu	Emirate officials fief officials)
Kabyen Kayit	Bush ( Kaje)

Kadago	Paid labour
Kasuwa	Market
Kayan Sarauta	Dresses and trappings of the aristocrats
Kofa	Gate
Koko	Corn pap
Kosai	Bean cake
Kpop Nnah	Head of smith ( Jaba)
Kpop Ku	Council of Elders ( Jaba)
Kuka	Soup condiment
Kyauta	Land gift
Laka	Dark clay soil
Maaji	Head of treasury
Magaji Jisanbo	Head of works department
Maigina	Builders
Madugu	Long distance trader
Magagin Kasuwa	Head of market administrations
Masa	Corn cake
Masu safauta	Ruling Aristocracy
Masu arziki	Rich peoples
Maguzawa	Non muslim Hausa people
Noman Kusa	Mining
Nono	Milk
Otsu	Traditional council head (Gbayi)
Rundawa	Aristocratic farms
Sarakuna	Ruling Aristocracy
Sarkin Daji	Head of forestry
Sarkin makers	Head of smiths
Sarkin Ruwa	Head of water resources
Sarkin Shanu	Head of veterinary
Sharia	Islamic law

PREFACE

1. Nature of the Problem

The railways were the principal projects and the major means of transportation and distribution during the colonial era. This study is therefore designed to examine the historic role and uses of the railway during this period. In a nutshell, this thesis is an attempt to study the consequences of the construction and the operation of the railways on the economy and the society of the Zaria province between 1902 and 1945.

Our investigation reveals clearly that the realisation of British colonial goals were articulated through the services of the railways. This study further reveals that the realisation of colonial imperial goals entailed the exploitation of the Zaria province for the economic benefit of the U.K.. The mechanism of this exploitation in the Zaria province is the focus of this study.

2. Defination of the Problem

Any meaningful study of British colonial economy must begin with an examination of the tool that facilitated the realisation of imperial goals. This study intends to demonstrate that without the freight capacities of the railways, the realisation of British colonial goals in the Zaria province would have been a very problematic task. Most importantly, this study wants to identify and investigate the nature and the scope of the historical consequences of the construction and the operations of the railways on indigeneous peoples production, distribution, exchange and consumption, patterns and processes.

This study shall show that because of the presence of the railways, the colonial state coerced a radical and fundamental transformation of the pre-existing socio-economic administrative and buraucratic structures. In the new colonial dispensation, there emerged, a colonial relations of production, characterised by new land tenure system, new property relations, a monetised economy, export commodity production and the huge import of British manufactured goods.

The problem, therefore, is to locate the consequences of the siphoning of indigenous peoples' social wealth to the U.K. viz: see the cost or benefit to Nigerians of the efforts to produce mainly exportable raw-materials and the importation of manufactured goods freighted by the railways. Thus, this study will look at, for example, what was produced, how it was produced, for whom it was produced, size that was produced, patterns of distribution, especially the pivotal role of the railways, see also methods of exchange and pattern of consumption. In other words, we want see the historic activities and experiences of peasant farmers, workers and labourers, in their concrete effort to serve and survive British colonial imperialism, in the Zaria province.

### 3. Methodology and Theoretical Framework:

This thesis gives primacy to the material conditions of existence, especially, the material conditions of production, distribution, exchange, and consumption because it is through such an exercise that the true state and well-being of indigenous people under colonial dispensation can thoroughly be grasped.

In the course of the research for this project, this writer extensively consulted material in libraries, museums and the archives, he also conducted an extensive field work.

### 4. Literature Review

The consequences of the activities of the railways under colonialism has been a subject that has attracted some attention from scholars, historians, geographers, economists and agricultural economists. However, the interpretation of the impact of the activities of the railways on the historical processes of the colonised is sharply into two schools of thought.

The first school of thought views the impact of the railways essentially from the perspective of those who built them; the colonial state. This school's perspective is shaped by its parochial world outlook, which sees the historic mission and objective of British colonial imperialism as the

execution of God's ordained mission, a humanitarian venture, that was designed to bring civilization and light into the darkest part of the African continent.<sup>2</sup> One of its proponents has argued that societal development in West Africa in general and Zaria emirate in particular at the inception of colonial imperialism was still at the stage Europe was in the year 20 B.C. scholars in this group characterised the old society as barbaric, chaotic, backward and un-organised.<sup>4</sup>

It is clear that this school, mainly articulates thought that justifies colonial imperialism. Their position takes essentially an apologetic nature, because of this; this study calls them colonial apologists. They see any phenomena that emanated from the imperial state to the colonies as good, a blessing. For this school, therefore, the building of the railways represented an imperial act of charity, a blessing to the colonised, the railways for them was the engine designed to bring civilization, economic growth and development into the Zaria province. The task this school, thus, set for the imperialists railways was one of being benefactors. The theoretical and methodological standpoint of this school is shaped by, and based on empiricist outlook. Essentially, increased figures of import and export ultimately determines their perspectives. They took increased movement of goods for the sign of a healthy and buoyant economy. They completely ignored the practical and concrete material conditions of existence of indigenous people, who toiled to make these increased figures possible. Thus, their works devoid of a profound grasp of the true lot of peasant farmers, workers and labourers under colonialism. They failed to uncover the state of well-being and the correct welfare status of the people of the Zaria province, as they completely and totally devoted their resources and energies into the sole and main production of mainly agricultural and industrial raw-materials for the colonial state. And, herein, lay the fundamental flaw of the apologist school of thought. They did not probe underneath phenomena, they were satisfied with superficial observations, they

mistook appearances for reality. Those in this group includes imperial officials; Lugard,<sup>5</sup> C.W. Orr,<sup>6</sup> Girard,<sup>7</sup> and E.J. Arnett.<sup>8</sup> Their writings in the form of memoirs, diaries, and anthropological records and reports constitutes the bulk of primary archival sources. In such writings, the scope, nature, extent and character of indigenous peoples popular discontent and opposition to colonial imperialism were seldom recorded. Other apologists whose works constitute secondary materials includes; Kphee, for whom the railways constitutes the basis of British revolution in West-Africa,<sup>9</sup> and H.W. Rostow, who sees the railways as the vehicle that would launch pre-industrial societies like that of the Zaria emirate, on to the path of development and industrial growth.<sup>10</sup> G.K. Helleiner, also shares this view of the railways as an engine that would motivate growth and development.<sup>11</sup> Hegerdom,<sup>12</sup> Okekiji,<sup>13</sup> and Skundere<sup>14</sup> got carried away by import and export figures and erroneously conclude that the railways had spurred growth and development, Walker<sup>15</sup> and Hawkins<sup>16</sup> also took increased figures of cargo as a sign of healthy development, they were particularly concerned with the freight capacities and efficiency of the railways vis a vis motor, or human and animal transports. For these scholars, the railways provided the vent that stimulated vast commodity production in Northern Nigeria in general and the Zaria province in particular.

However, in direct opposition to, and as a challenge to the colonial apologists school, were those who see the railways essentially as an engine that was designed for and used by the colonial imperialist to expedite and facilitate a cheap and steady exploitation of the human and material resources of the colonies for the economic benefit of the metropole. Essentially, scholars in this group shows that the arguments of the colonial apologists school were far fetched. This second school's position is shaped by the fact that its proponents examines the practical uses of the railways in the colonial scheme of things, and discover that the railways were merely tools used for the actualization of colonial imperial goals. They also examine the

concrete material conditions of living of peasant farmers, and labourers and discover that the true lot of these people under colonial dispensation was a poor ones. It is very necessary to point out that, these scholars were not deceived by import and export figures, but rather the objectivity of material conditions of existence determined their outlook. This materialist school's perspective is shaped by a thorough and critical evaluation of empirical data. Notable works have been produced by the materialists on the consequences of the railways on colonised peoples. Karl Marx, for examples, looks at the relationship between the imperial government, the railways, and the colonised and comes to the conclusion that as long as colonialism lasts, the railways would remain an imperial tool. He states that under the conditions and the manipulations and exploitation inherent in colonial imperialism the colonised should not expect the betterment of their lot, despite the provision of a mechanical means of transport.<sup>17</sup> Lenin, also arrives at the same conclusion as above, he states that the specific task designed for the railways in the colonial situation was to facilitate an easy and cheap exploitation of the colony for the economic benefit of the mother country.<sup>18</sup>

Aside from debunking the myth of imperialist civilising mission, some scholars in this group contends that pre-colonial society had its own dynamism. They argue that the pre-colonial level of development reflected and represented the giant efforts of indigenous people to master their environment and win a living for themselves from nature. These scholars interpretes the history of the pre-colonial era through the concrete efforts of the toiling masses. They further demonstrates that the people, were neither barbaric nor was life chaotic. The argument being that wars and revolutions were part and parcel of unfolding phenomena in the processes of state and Nation building.

Although, evidence suggests that studies of this nature were just emerging,<sup>19</sup> they, however, represents a giant step in the true re-construction of the African past, that had been cleverly distorted by colonial apologists in their



dubious effort to justify colonial imperialism in Africa in general and the Zaria province in particular. Thus, Nuala,<sup>20</sup> Palola,<sup>21</sup> Onwude,<sup>22</sup> and Swai,<sup>23</sup> Rodney,<sup>24</sup> Tukur,<sup>25</sup> Oyedele,<sup>26</sup> Ballo,<sup>27</sup> Hangwat,<sup>28</sup> Phillips,<sup>29</sup> Donat,<sup>30</sup> and Yohanna<sup>31</sup> among a host of other has treated and demonstrated the negative consequences of British colonialism on the economy and the society of the colonised peoples. They show that the material state of well-being of indigenous people under colonialism was a very poor one.

It is, however, important to point out that their studies marks a significant and fundamental change in the historiography of the colonial era. Their study of the material conditions of existence, especially throws more light on the exploitativeness of the colonial regime. Their analyses, thus, serves as a very useful guide for this study. However, despite the relevance of the studies of the materialists, there is still more room for advance, and more exploitation to give and more contradictions to be resolved, especially on the consequences of the activities of the railways in the Zaria province. This is so, because the materialists have not really addressed the particular, the central, and the pivotal role and influence of the railways as they shaped British colonialist policies in the Zaria province. The gap that urgently needs to be filled, is the consequences on indigenous peoples economy and society of the need to produce for, and divert all their energies and resources mainly and solely into export commodity production.

This is precisely what this study intends to do. To show in a tidy form, the role and place of the railways in the exploitation of the material resource of the Zaria province for the benefit of Britain. This work will show the dialectical relationship which existed between freight facilities and capacity made available by the railways, and their influence as they shaped the colonial states agricultural, labour, mining and manufacturing policies. In the course of research for this thesis, I undertook extensive field work in order to capture the direct living experience of indigenous people in the Zaria province during the colonial era. Their experiences were mainly retained in their

memories, so, with their reminiscences, this study has been able to reconstruct the true reality of colonial loot, exploitation and plunder in the Zaria province, and show that the lot of the peasants who toiled to make the realisation of imperial goal possible was poor.

##### 5. Scope and Unit of Study

The mere fact that a new and expensive project like the railways were built by parsimonious colonial treasury was enough justification to draw attention to the need for it and the uses to which they were put during the colonial era, more importantly the consequences of their activities on indigenous society and economy will throw more light on practical experiences of Nigerian during the colonial era.

This study's delimitation is informed by the fact that it wants to see the impact on the indigenous people of the urgency to service the railways and international capital in the unit that housed and hosted a large concentration of railway facilities. The Zaria province was the model centre for all the major lines, other smaller lines also radiated from the province. Thus, in the province there was the Western line, the Eastern line, Rahama line (groundnut line). Extensive road net work also aided the activities of the railways.

##### 6. Justification of Study

The Zaria province is still a fresh area of study, the study of the impact of colonialism on this area is justing starting. The consequences railways have not yet been thoroughly studied. The railways were built to the province to help freight bulky commodities from and to the coast, thus, the railways were a crucial actor in the colonial scheme. So, there is the need to see the concrete results of their activities. More importantly, it will be very interesting and quite revealing to show how the activities of the railways turned the Zaria province into a net exporters of only agricultural and industrial raw materials and into a major dumping ground for British manufactured goods. This thesis hopes to show that the

incidence of poverty, was the result of the historical uses of the railways in the Zaria province by the British colonial imperialists.

#### 7. Periodisation

The period 1902-1945 is deliberate. The study wants to see the impact of colonialism from its inception in the province, right up to end of the second world war, when the so called process of decolonisation started. This work shall show that within this time limit, the impact of the activities of the railways was glearily clear enough to be perceived and by 1945, the incidence of poverty and pauperism was pervasive in the Zaria province.

#### 8. Organisation of Study

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one, deals with the state of affairs before the construction and the operation of the railways. This chapter particularly elaborates on the adequacy of the pre-existing means of transport for the level of the emirates production. Chapter two, deals with British need for territories in Nigeria, especially of the need to annex the cotton belt of the Zaria emirate. Chapter three, deals with the implications of the military conquest of the Zaria emirate on the radical structural transformation of pre-existing order in the effort to realise imperial goals, most especially the indispensability of the railways in the colonial scheme is the high light of the chapter. Chapter four, deals with the exploitation of the human and material resources of the Zaria province for a speedy construction of the railways. Chapter five, deals with the operation of the railways, the coercion of petty commodity production, the dumping of British goods and the subsequent realisation of colonial imperial goals in the Zaria province. Chapter six, examines the implications of petty commodity production, and the colonial industrial policy on indigenus society and economy. It highlights particularly the siphoning to the U.K. of the Zaria provinces' social wealth and the resultant famines, rinderpest, incidence of diseases, unemployment and

general poverty among indigencus people.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE ZARIA EMIRATE ON THE EVE OF THE RAILWAYS.

This chapter is an attempt to examine the political economy of the Zaria emirate on the eve of British colonial control and domination. The chapter is designed to achieve the following objectives; (a) to enable us see the level of societal organisation in the pre-railway era, and (b) to provide us with the basis on which to compare and contrast what happened before colonial rule with what obtained during the age of the railways.

1.1 The Environment

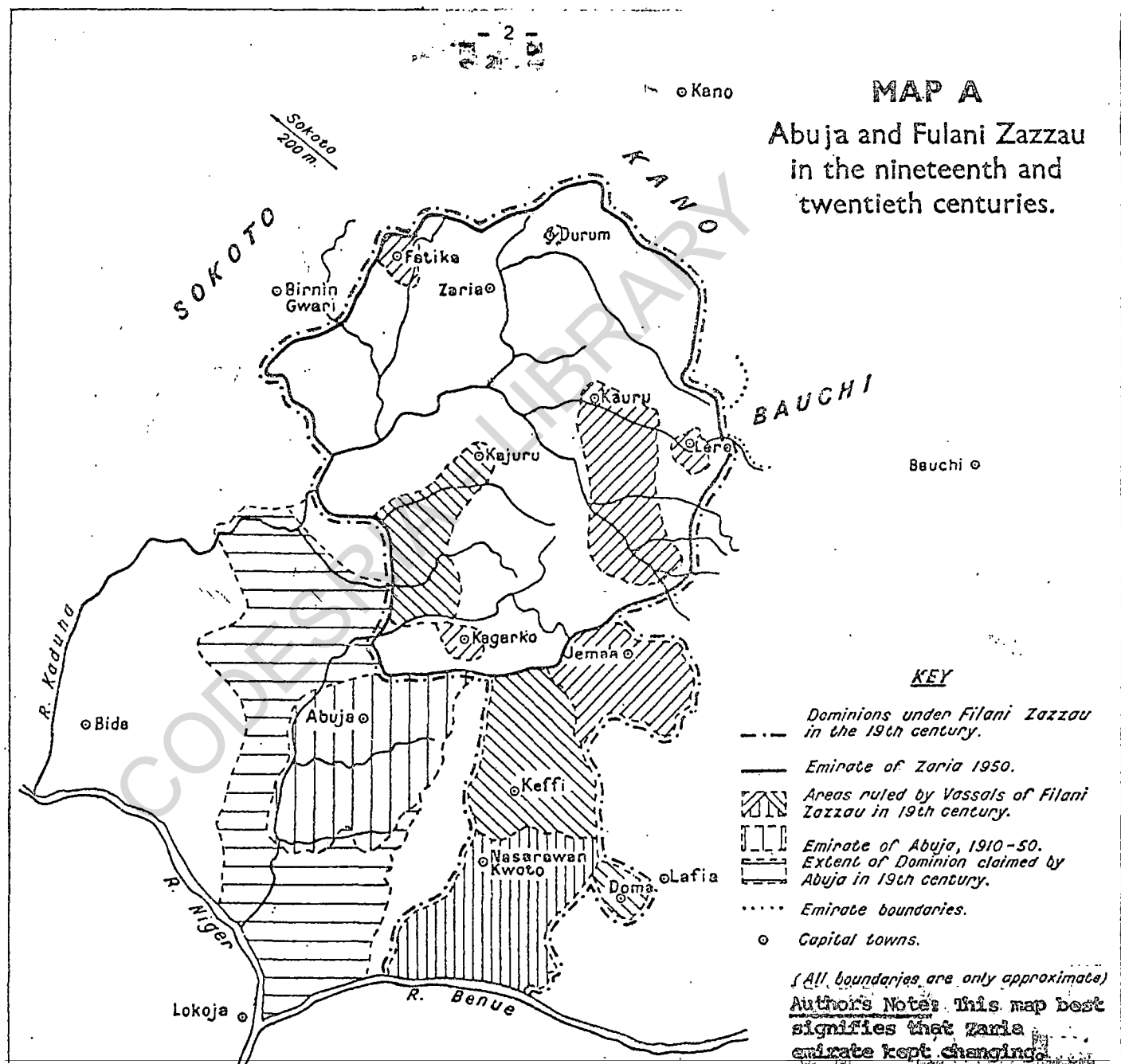
The exploration of the physical basis of any given phenomenon is very necessary in order to see and show how the environment influenced and shaped and was in turn shaped by the people in the process of production.<sup>1</sup> It is only when this is properly done that one can uncover the dynamics of history, because it is in the process of production that the true history of the people unfolds.<sup>2</sup> The study of the environment, thus, proves right the position that no society can be understood except in the context of its physical basis, because the environment is a crucial factor in the peopling of an area,<sup>3</sup> and it also determines greatly the organisation of production.<sup>4</sup>

The Zaria emirate lay roughly between latitudes  $9^{\circ}$  and  $12^{\circ}$  North and longitude  $7^{\circ}$  to  $9^{\circ}$  to the East.<sup>5</sup> It was situated between the Katsina emirate to the north west, the Kano emirate to the north east, the Gwari (Ghayi) communities and the Nupe emirate to the west, the Abuja emirate to the south west, the Bauchi emirate to the east, and the communities on plateau to the south east.<sup>6</sup> ( See Fig. 1, p. 2)

The emirate lay on a plateau of about 2,200 feet above sea level.<sup>7</sup> It was part of the vast undulating plains of northern Nigeria, which extended almost unbroken from Sokoto in the west to the Lake Chad and beyond in the east, and from the south of Kaduna to the Tiggudi Escarp near Agades in the north. This gently rolling landscape was interspersed by rocky out-posts of

# MAP A

## Abuja and Fulani Zazzau in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.



### KEY

- Dominions under Fulani Zazzau in the 19th century.
- Emirate of Zaria 1950.
- Areas ruled by Vassals of Fulani Zazzau in 19th century.
- Emirate of Abuja, 1910-50.
- Extent of Dominion claimed by Abuja in 19th century.
- Emirate boundaries.
- Capital towns.

(All boundaries are only approximate)

**Author's Note:** This map best signifies that Zaria emirate kept changing.



inselbergs, Ruwars and Meases of various sizes and shapes.<sup>8</sup> Some of these hills, includes the famous Kufena hills, the Turunku, the Parkwai, and the Harge to the north.<sup>9</sup> The rocky formation also continued almost unbroken from Kujama on the outskirts of Kaduna to the southernmost regions of the emirate on the borders of the plateau. The famous hills in this region includes the Ludo hills, the Nok-Kwoi-Chori ridge, the Jaban Kogo-Ankum hills and the Taine hills;<sup>10</sup> this rocky formation also extended Westwards to the Gwari areas.<sup>11</sup>

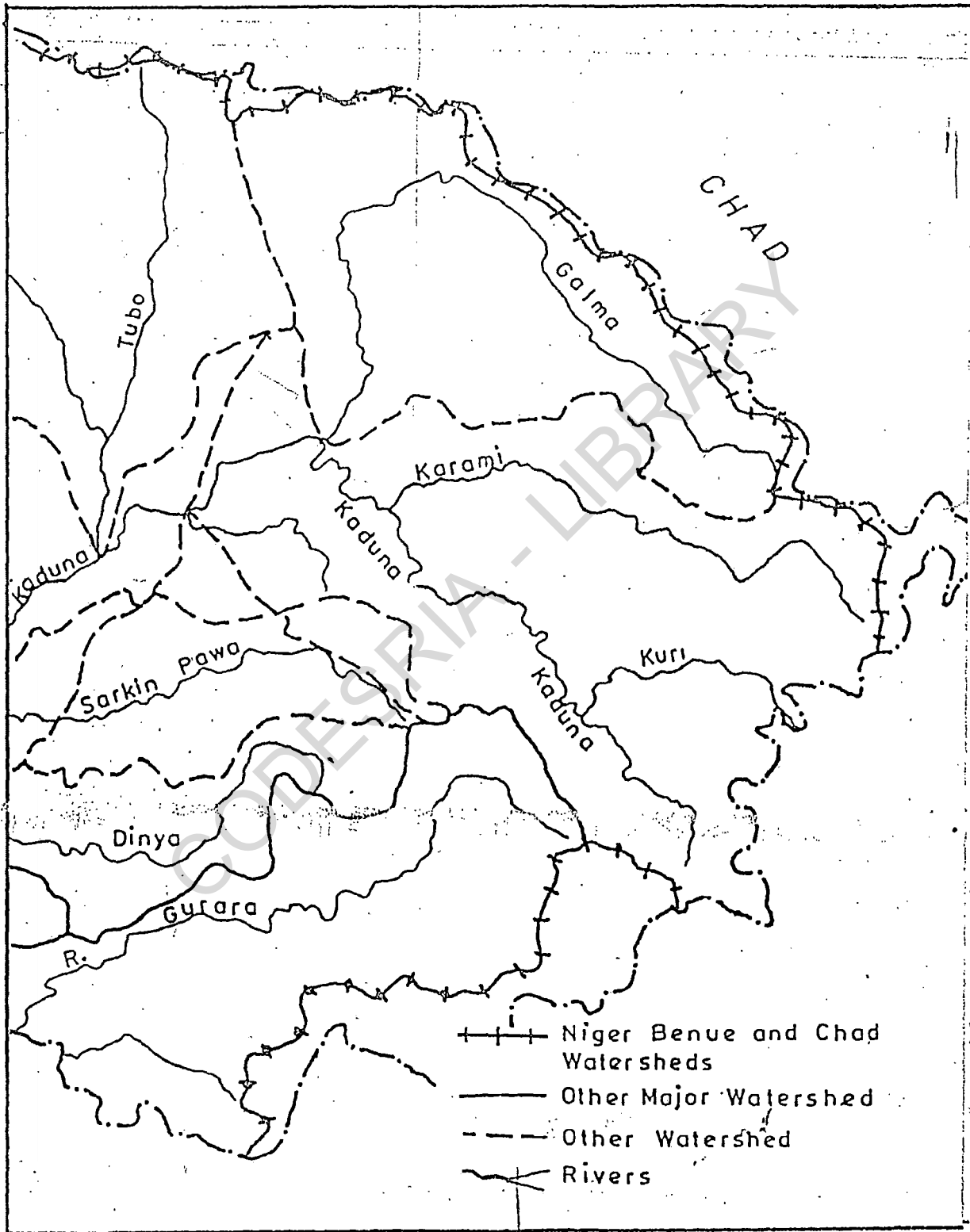
The Zaria emirate lay within the tropical region and posses a tropical continental climate of two distinct weather conditions, wet and dry seasons, which also varies in a north-south direction.<sup>12</sup> The variations in the climatic conditions is subject to the movement of the inter-tropical discontinuity (I.T.D.) convergence zone. It is the movement of the I.T.D. which determines the pattern of rainfall, its distribution, and the temperature of a given area.<sup>13</sup> Because of the variations of the impact of the I.T.D. on the Zaria emirate, two ecological zones had resulted. The first ecological zone corresponded roughly with the area of the emirate north of the Kaduna area, up to the borders of the emirate with Katsina and Kano emirates. This zone lay within the Northern Guinea Savana zone. Rainfall averaged about 40 inches annually, and lasted from about mid-April to mid-September. The second ecological zone corresponded roughly with the southern part of the emirate. This zone lay within the southern belt of the Guinea Savana area. Annual rainfall lasted longer and heavier in this zone, it was about 60 inches and lasted from about mid-March to October. The temperature of the different ecological zones also reflected seasonal as well as diurnal variations. The northern part of the emirate was generally hotter than the southern part, it was generally hotter during the day and much cooler at night throughout the emirate.<sup>14</sup> Rainfall has been shown to be the crucial climatic element which determined the patterns, processes and the nature of human activities, especially settlement and

agriculture.<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to point out that the amount of rainfall recorded in the Zaria emirate was enough to support human habitation and agriculture.<sup>16</sup> However, vegetation varied in the two ecological zones. The landscape of the northern zone was interspersed by low orchard bush of Isobelinia-doka, I. tomentosa, and Uapala togoensis, with a well developed layer of grass tufted Andropogoneae. There also existed a scattered shade trees like; Baobab, silk cotton, and Shea Butter.<sup>17</sup> The vegetation of the southern part was heavier and densier due to heavier rainfall. This part consisted of more wooded area. Trees such as Shea Butter, Tamarind, Locust Bean and Rubber Climber existed in this area.<sup>18</sup> The soils that supported these trees and vegetations also differed. The northern ecological zone was blessed with Jan Kasa (red-soil) type, while the southern part was blessed with the brownish Bakin Kasa type.<sup>18</sup>

All in all, these soils were very fertile and easily tillable. Most importantly, these soils supported a variety of crops which are very crucial for the survival of human society in the region. Almost all types of foodcrops like; the grains, legumes and tubers were produced, so also were agricultural raw materials like tobacco, cotton, and groundnut.<sup>20</sup>

The drainage system of the Zaria emirate centred on the Kaduna river. Most of the rivers and streams which transversed the emirate emptied into the River Kaduna. River Kaduna itself is a major tributary of the River Niger and thus constituted a part of the river routes of northern Nigeria.<sup>21</sup> The rivers of the emirate included; the Mero, the Sarkin Pawa, the Garara, the Saye, the Kubani, the Tubo, the Galma, the Harmi, the Gantang, the Kachia river, the Deck, the Duduh, the Nok, and the Cap Wenye.<sup>22</sup> ( See Fig. II p. 5 ). Water table fluctuated in conformity with the annual rainfall and weather conditions, thus, water table rose during the rains and dropped considerably during the dry season.<sup>23</sup> The river system provided the water resources necessary for the regeneration of life. But, the irrational manner of the water table, as shall be shown later, restricted water system

### KADUNA PLAINS - DRAINAGE BASINS



Adapted from Enoch Oyedele.,  
"Kaduna" FIG. 2

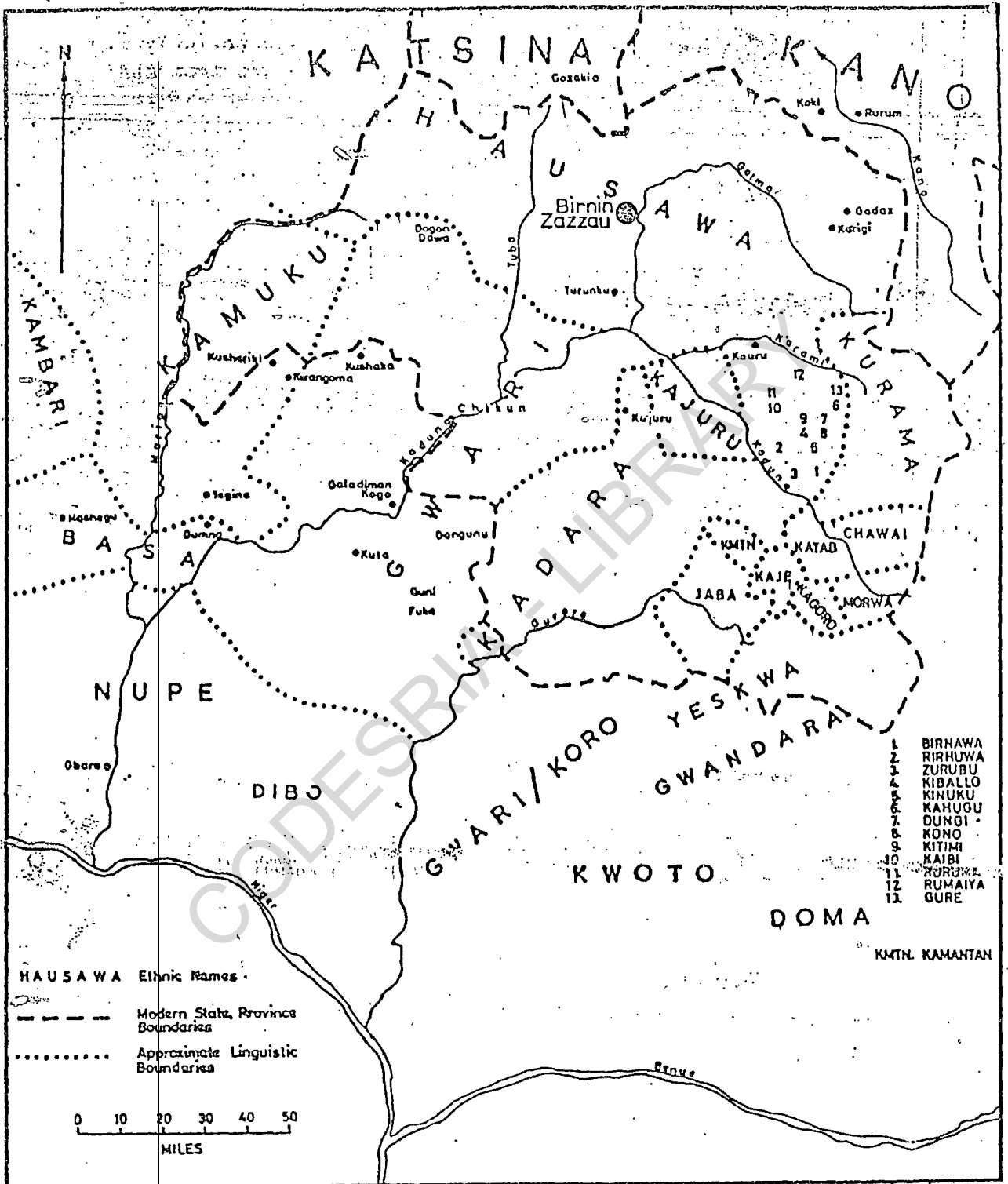
as a useful means of transport, and that was why the railways were the principal means of transport in this area during the colonial period.

### 1.2 The People, Language and Religion.

The Zaria emirate had been continuously inhabited by various groups of people from antiquity, the Nok culture findings corroborated this fact.<sup>24</sup> The northern part of the emirate was inhabited largely by Hausa-Fulani groups, who were predominantly muslims. Evidence has shown that Islam had penetrated this area as far back as the fifteenth century.<sup>25</sup> A non-muslim minority group of Maguzawa also existed in this region. There were also people from other areas, thus, we had the presence of the Nupes, the Kanuris and the Yorubas in this area.<sup>26</sup> The southern part of the emirate was inhabited by many ethnic groups, the Kadara (Adara) the Kaje (Bajju) the Jaba (Ham) the Ikulus, the Gwaris (Gbayi) among a host of others. (See Fig. iii, p. 7 ) These people were practitioners of African traditional religion. However, small enclaves of muslim Hausa-Fulani traders and pastoralists lived in this area, the most famous of such enclaves being in Zango Kataf (Zango Hausa) Kachia, Kauru, Lere, Kargarko and Kajuru.<sup>27</sup>

Two schools of thought have emerged on the nature, contents, form and the character of inter group relations between Zaria and the southern communities. The first school argues that the southern area was deliberately kept un-Islamised as a slave reservoir by the aristocracy in Zaria, the aristocratic logic being shaped by Islamic ideology that forbids the enslavement of fellow muslims.<sup>28</sup> The second school vigorously challenges and repudiates the claims of the first school. Proponents of the second school argue that the southern part of the emirate deliberately fought to remain outside the orbit of Islam because it wanted it so.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the true nature of relations is yet to emerge. However for the purposes of this work it is enough to show the existence of multi-religions in this era, and that a form of mutau, especially economic, contacts existed between the various

ZAZZAU KINGDOM: SHOWING TERRITORIAL EXTENT AND THE MAIN LINGUISTIC GROUPS



Source: Gunn & Connant see also A. Smith, some notes  
Op. cit. P. 90

Adapted from Enoch Oyedele.,  
'Kaduna' FIG. 1b

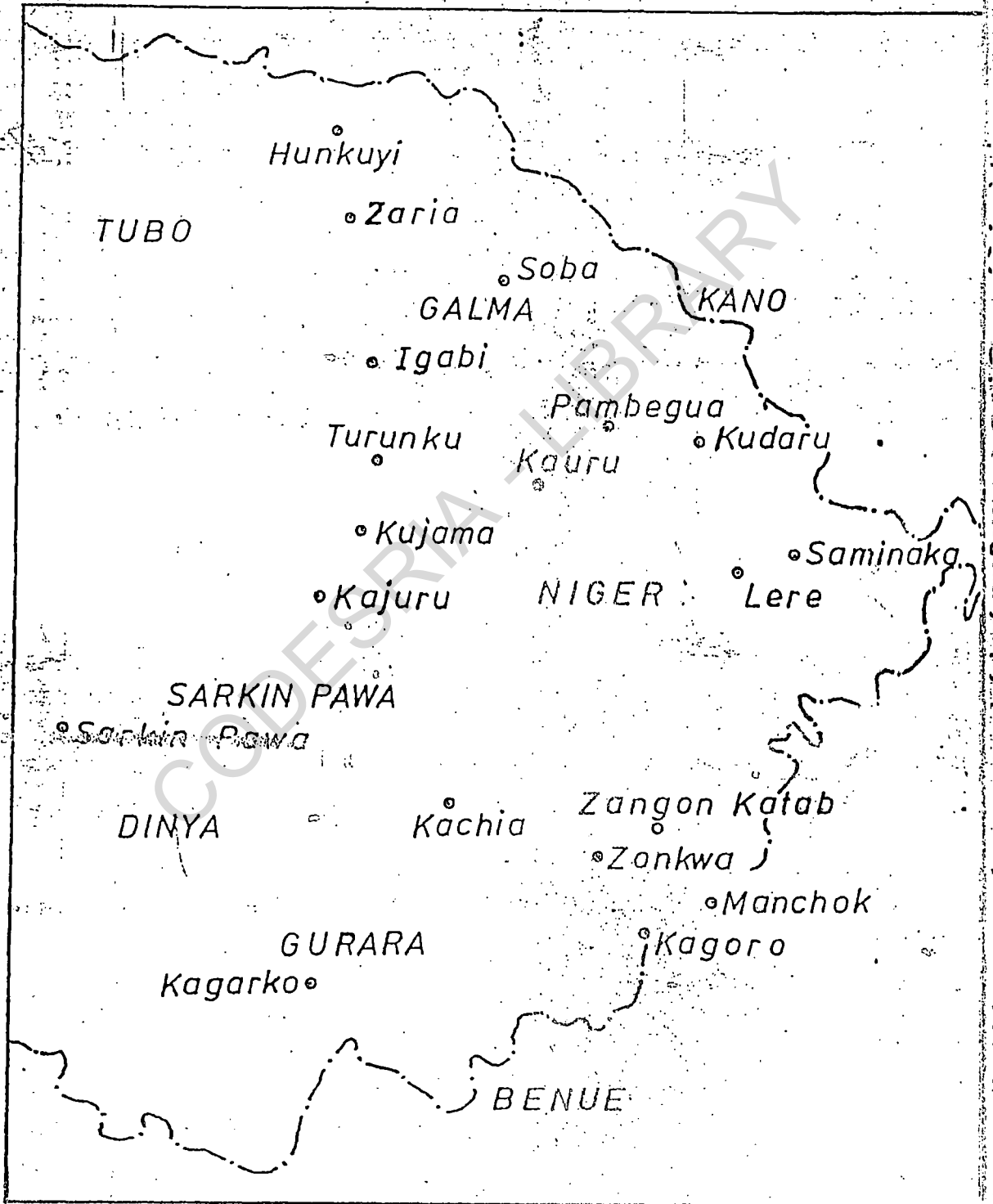
peoples of the Zaria emirate. However, as it will be shown later, the colonialists blew these differences out of proportion in order to achieve selfish colonial gains.

The vast majority of the people in the emirate were predominantly rural dwellers, they lived in small groups, in compounds, hamlets, and villages. A very small percentage of them lived in the few towns and cities that existed then. Before the colonial period, Zaria city was the capital city of the emirate.<sup>30</sup> Other urban centres included Hunkuyi, Kauru and Kajuru.<sup>31</sup> ( See Fig. iv, p. 9 ). All sources agreed that the Zaria emirate was adequately populated, for example, Zaria city was said to have been inhabited by about 50,000 people.<sup>32</sup> However, an interesting feature of the pattern of urban settlement in the cities of the pre-colonial era was that these cities reflected homogeneity<sup>33</sup> rather than, as it shall be shown later, the heterogeneity the colonial state imposed in the urban centres that came after the railways.

### 1.3 Political Organisation and the Administration of States:

The superstructure was organised thus: there existed two broad political types, involving differing articulations of governments operated in the Zaria emirate. The reason for this is not far-fetched, social relations were at different stages of evolution and development in the northern and southern parts of the emirate.<sup>34</sup> The northern part had over time evolved an administrative and bureaucratic apparatuses that were far advanced to what obtained in the southern part.<sup>35</sup> In the northern part, the Emir of Zaria was the head and Chief executive of state. He was also the chief judge (by the virtue of his being the chief custodian of Islamic religion). He owned an army, of which he was the commander-in chief.<sup>36</sup> The emir was seen as the representative of the caliph in Sokoto, he was thus linked with brother emirs in the caliphate. Through such link all intra-emirate problems were solved.<sup>37</sup> This channel, as we shall show later, was smashed by the colonialists; as they dealt individually with each emir it was, thus, easy for the colonialists to conquer isolated emirates.

ZARIA PLAINS: THE EXTENT AND THE MAJOR PRE-1900 URBAN CENTRES



Source: Walls J. D. Op. cit [Text Map 5-6)

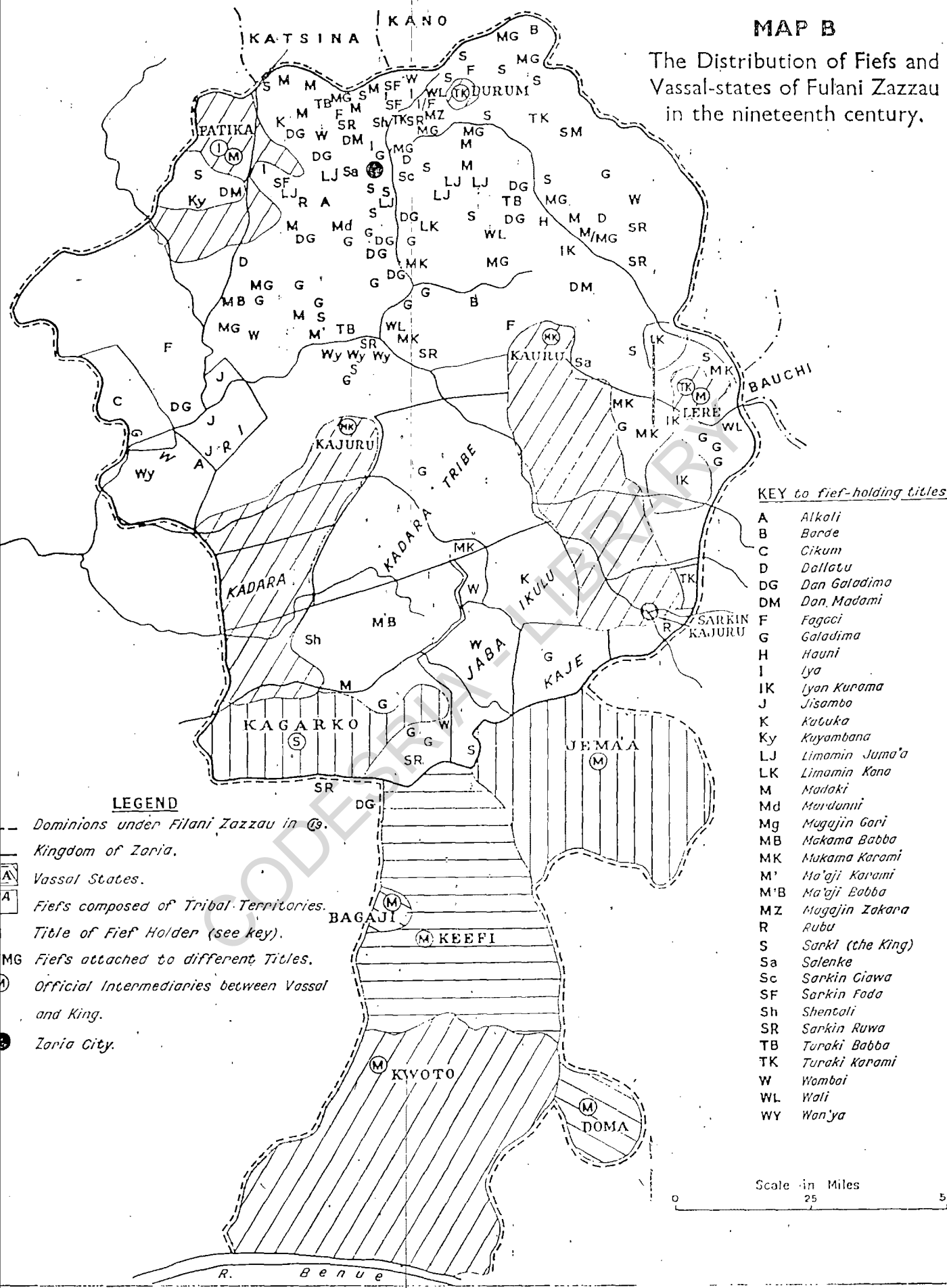
Adapted from Enoch Oyedele.,  
PhD. 'Kaduna' FIG. 1a

The pre-colonial emir was assisted in his administration by a subordinate group of leaders, who formed a ruling class of office-holders (Masu-Sarauta). It was to this group of leaders that the emir delegated most of his executive, legislative, judicial and military powers. He allocated to them roles and rewards, and in turn the officials saw to the day to day administration of the emirate. They were the link between the emir and the peasants (talakawa). For an effective and proper administration, the emirate was divided into community units, this was to ensure that the outlying areas and distant parts were properly governed. These units were given out as fiefs,<sup>38</sup> to the members of the masu sarauta who consisted of favoured princes and others, like, titled chiefs (See Fig. V, p. 11 ). The prerogative of appointment, promotions and dismissal, gave the emir absolute control over emirate's apparatuses. This control, as we shall show later, was smashed by the colonialists in order to create their own apparatuses that would facilitate the realisation of colonial goals. However, the actual administration of the fiefdoms were delegated to the Hakinai and Jekatu, who supervised local government administration. They collected taxes and maintained law and order. Taxes collected were repatriated to the emir. Vassal enclaves like: Kachia, Kajuru, Kargarko and Lere, also sent tributes to the emir,<sup>39</sup> the emir reserved the rights to raid recalcitrant enclaves for tributes if they failed in their obligations. Ychanna has recorded some of such tribute raids.<sup>40</sup> One school of thought postulates that the non-payment of taxes by some enclaves was more of nationalist and independence sentiments.<sup>41</sup> However, because of the porous and underfined nature of relationship between Zaria and the southern communities in the emirate, a fluxy sort of relations has emerged. The most vexed issue, is the particular true position, power and influence of the emir in the southern communities. Thus, at one level; there is the issue of raids and coercion, and at the other, there is the issue of independence of southern communities. I delve into this fluxy nature of inter-group relations to bring into sharp focus, the



MAP B

The Distribution of Fiefs and Vassal-states of Fulani Zazzau in the nineteenth century.



LEGEND

- Dominions under Fulani Zazzau in the Kingdom of Zaria.
- MA Vassal States.
- BA Fiefs composed of Tribal Territories.
- M Title of Fief Holder (see key).
- MG Fiefs attached to different Titles.
- (M) Official Intermediaries between Vassal and King.
- Zaria City.

KEY to fief-holding titles

- A Alkali
- B Barde
- C Cikum
- D Dallatu
- DG Dan Galadima
- DM Dan Madami
- F Fagaci
- G Galadima
- H Hauni
- I Iya
- IK Iyan Kurama
- J Jisamba
- K Katuka
- Ky Kuyambana
- LJ Limamin Juma'a
- LK Limamin Kano
- M Madaki
- Md Mardanni
- Mg Mugajin Gari
- MB Makama Babba
- MK Makama Karami
- M' Ha'aji Karami
- M'B Ha'aji Babba
- MZ Mugajin Zakara
- R Rubu
- S Sanki (the King)
- Sa Salenke
- Sc Sarkin Giawa
- SF Sarkin Fada
- Sh Shentali
- SR Sarkin Ruwa
- TB Turaki Babba
- TK Turaki Karami
- W Wombai
- WL Wali
- WY Wan'ya

Scale in Miles  
0 25 50

influence of pressure group history or propaganda, and most important of all, this study wants to show the inadequacy of existing literature on this issue. The true pre-colonial relations are yet to be brought to the fore. Many people are very interested in seeing this issue scientifically resolved.<sup>42</sup>

However, for the purposes of this study, it is necessary to show the type of administration that was drawn up for the southern communities. It has been demonstrated that in these parts, political fragmentation obtained with the village group being the largest unit of obvious political integration.<sup>43</sup> Examples, were, the Kaje, Gwari, Jaba, and Ikulu communities that were scattered over the southern part of the emirate. Here, political authority was vested in a council of elders, who managed and controlled the distribution and consumption of social wealth.<sup>44</sup> Gerontocracy was the best description for this council, the oldest chief enjoyed the privileges of a primus inter pares. He was recognized as chief because of his old age which was supposed to make him the repository of the peoples' culture, traditions and history.<sup>45</sup> However, specialised individuals like the chief priest of traditional religion, regardless of his age, was also a member of this council, by virtue of his being the chief protector of religion.<sup>46</sup> There existed different names for this council: for that of the Kaje's it was headed by the Tagama,<sup>47</sup> for the Jabas, it was Kpoo-Ku,<sup>48</sup> and for the Gwaris it was Otsu.<sup>49</sup>

#### 1.4 Administration of Law.

Judicial administration was organised along religious lines. In the Islamised northern part of the Zaria emirate, Islamic law, the sharia law (Maliki Code) was the corner stone of the legal system and Learned jurists (Alkali) dispensed justice. The emir's court was the highest judicial authority.<sup>49</sup> In the southern part, community customs, conventions taboos and codes were the corner stone of the traditionalist legal system, the council of elders constituted the highest judicial body.<sup>51</sup>

It is interesting to point out that both legal systems emphasised fair play and communal well being, most important of all, these legal systems were designed to protect the corporate interests of indigenous people. Later the colonial state was to smash these legal protections and impose legal system that sheltered colonial exploitation. The superstructure we have discussed was supported by an economic base that was organised around the land.

### 1.5 Land Tenure

Land tenure system, is the analysis of the inter-relationships between men in the uses and control of land and its resources.<sup>52</sup> The issue of land tenure is important and crucial to this study because of the following reasons, (a) Land was very basic and crucial to any mode of production, as it was and is still a principal means of production, without which production would be impossible. (b) Land was also the basic resources of the pre-colonial setting, so the examination of the ways and manners in which land was acquired, distributed, and managed is of fundamental importance, if we are to grasp the true and correct relations of production.

Theoretically the emir of Zaria owned all the land in the area in which his authority was supreme.<sup>53</sup> In the southern communities that recognised no outside body, but only their traditional council of elders, the councils were the supreme bodies on land matters.<sup>54</sup> However, this did not imply that the emir and the council literally owned the land, they merely exercised allotial political control as the head of administration. In other words, the emir and the council held land in trust for the people. In actual practice, land was communally owned.<sup>55</sup> The emir delegated his power of trusteeship to the various community heads, who allocated lands to individual members of the community.<sup>56</sup> The council did the same in its areas of jurisdiction.<sup>57</sup> However, a prominent feature of pre-colonial land allocation and land distribution was its egalitarian nature, the fact that all the member of the communities had unrestricted access to land.<sup>58</sup> Land was so abundant that man-to land ratio

was so generous that everybody had access to a piece of land.

Evidence shows that no member of the community could be denied legitimate use of land. It is thus, very important, to point out that, pre-existing land tenurial rights merely demanded that individuals should appeal to the right authority for land allocation. Strangers too were to appeal to the same authority for land. Inalienable rights to land were guaranteed as once and allottee received land, he held it in perpetuity, and his male heirs inherited it after his death. An allottee could not alienate or dispose of land by sale or by mortgage; in other words, no individual rights to land were recognised.<sup>59</sup> Only members of the community had rights of land use as members of the community. Land could, however, be transferred by (a) pledging for future redemption, and (b) it could be given out in form of gift, (Kyauta). These methods of exchanges merely gave the new owners privileges of land use,<sup>60</sup> but land sale was not practised, as Cole want us to believe.<sup>61</sup> The ruling authority could not arbitrarily evict or disposes people of their land. Eviction was only possible in extreme cases, i.e. When an allottee failed in his responsibilities, such as tax default, or he had committed a crime whose punishment was banishment.<sup>62</sup> The allodial rights of the ruling classes did not confer upon them more rights and privileges over land than any other member of the community. They too must follow the normal land acquisition processes followed by other members of the society,<sup>63</sup> fief-holders did not have any special control over fief lands. It is instructive to point out that the direct control of land was by the peasants to whom it had been allocated. Land disputes between members of the community were settled at community levels. In the northern part of the emirate, the village head settled land disputes, and the emirs court settled serious cases.<sup>64</sup> In the southern part of the emirate, which did not recognise outside authority, the council of elders adjudged all land cases. In such circumstances, the chief priest of traditional religion had special privileges. As a professed magician who could bring rain, and

fertilize the soil and avoid disasters like draught and pestilence, his decisions weighed heavily, especially his threat of curse of terrible consequences if his decisions were disobeyed, was the ultimate deterrent. In this way continued feuds were avoided.<sup>65</sup> However, there were lands expressly reserved for community uses like recreation grounds, market squares, roads and foot paths, mineral sites and religious places. All members of the community were also free to tap resources of the rivers, and forests.<sup>66</sup> And as it shall be shown later, there were no exclusive state reserves and landlessness as obtained during the railway era. It is however, important to point out that the effective control of land was the gidda or gandu which was also the basic unit of production.

#### 1.6 Organisation of Production

The people organised themselves into units for production purposes. These social relations of production were formed independent of the peoples' will. The basic unit of production in all the sectors of the economy, ( agriculture, craft and commerce), was the gidda, the house hold, which has been defined as a patrilineal homestead which was headed by its most senior male member (Mai-gidda). Members of the gidda consisted of close kins and affines of the mai-gidda; in other words, his wife (wives) his brothers their wives, slaves and often attached strangers.<sup>67</sup> The size of the gidda, depended on the occupation and the status of the mai-gidda. However, the tendency was toward a populous gidda, this was because the population of the work unit was obviously very significant in relations to its productive capacities in satisfying the needs of the unit.<sup>68</sup> The more the population of the gandu, the more the maximisation of labour, and the greater the production surpluses. Furthermore, populous gidda were also desired for defence purposes, as highly populated gidda would scare away potential trouble from either humans (slave raiders) or wild animals ( hyenas) etc.<sup>69</sup> This need for a populous gidda perhaps best accounted for the popularity of the institution of polygamy in the pre-colonial Zaria emirate. ( The more the wives, the more the children, the

more the workers' and soldiers)<sup>70</sup> The mai-gidda was in charge of the organisation of production within the gidda. He took basic decisions as to the allocation of Jobs/duties, energy, time and resources as they related to gandu production. For agricultural purposes, the mai-gidda supplied the seeds, fertilizer and tools. Members of the gandu worked the farm (gona gandu) under the close supervision and control of the mai-gidda. Gandu farms were worked from sun rise till sun-set; some time was, however, set aside for break, refreshment and rest.<sup>71</sup> The number of work days was determined by religious practices; in muslim areas, special Islamic festival days like Fridays and Saliah days would be work-free days.<sup>72</sup> Field survey also demonstrates that work-free days were also observed in the traditionalist societies. Where work-free days corresponded with religious festival. For example, Dikan festival days in Kaje land were work-free days.<sup>73</sup>

The size of the gona gandu was determined by the mai-gidda's managerial abilities. Since people were free to acquire as much of communal land as was free, all the mai-gidda needed to acquire fresh land was to clear bush, (dail),<sup>74</sup> or Kabven Kavit.<sup>75</sup>

Aside from controlling the gona gandu, the mai-gidda could also set aside a small piece of land to be shared by members of the family. Such plots, (gavyauna), or evening farms, were worked by individual owners in their own free time. On these farms, they grew what they liked and monopolised their resources to acquire a little more revenue over and their shares in the main gandu resources.<sup>76</sup> The main gandu resources which consisted essentially of basic food crops and agricultural raw-materials like cotton were kept in a common pool. The mai-gidda controlled resources. He redistributed largesse within the gidda. In other words, he controlled and managed exchange, distribution and consumption of gandu's wealth. The bulk of the gandu produce was consumed directly by gandu members.<sup>77</sup> It is necessary to point out that this was not subsistence agriculture as colonial apologists would have us believe.<sup>78</sup> This study's position is that the development of

social relations of production, and the nature and character of the level of the productive forces at that material time determined that groups should produce the bulk of their basic needs themselves. But still, there were excesses far and above individual needs that were exchanged for commodities that were not readily available within the community; this aspect of production will be treated in details later. It is, however, important here to stress that a part of gandu produce were reserved as next year's seeds, some were exchanged to meet social obligations like the welfare of women, the aged, the infirm, and the very young ones. Some were also spent on clothing and accessories, burial, marriages and child naming ceremonies. That was the social security system of the gandu system at work. Also some gandu's resources were also spent on re-tooling and for tax payment.<sup>79</sup> A comment on the form, character and content of pre-colonial tax demands and tax relations is here necessary, because later colonial apologists argued that colonialism was designed to smash injustices inherent in the harsh pre-existing tax demands. Evidence, however, shows the contrary. It has been shown, for example, that pre-colonial taxation was very flexible, as it was levied on collective gandu basis, and was payable in kind or cash. The most revealing aspect of its flexibility was that tax levy corresponded with actual earnings and was not levied on projected income, and this lenient principle of taxation radically contrasted with the individualised universal monetarised regressive tax practices of the colonial era.<sup>80</sup> Thus, the character of pre-colonial taxation, as have been shown above, clearly reveals that it was humane, as such, it was not burdensome as peasants enjoyed tax relief during bad seasons. Tax payment then was do it or die issue, as the colonialists who made it compulsory, whether the harvests were good or bad, and as it shall be shown later, indigenous people strained and starved themselves in order to fulfill usurious, colonialists tax demands.

Gandu organisation, allowed adult male members to split off from the main gandu if they so desired.<sup>81</sup> Such splits were to a greater degree as a

result of mutual agreements between all the parties concerned, it was rather voluntary, quite unlike the great splits that were forced and induced by the colonialists fiscal and economic measures, as will be demonstrated later. The most interesting aspect of pre-colonial gandu split was that it did not lead to great migrations, nor did it throw up a landless peasantry, as wrought by colonialist measures in the twentieth century. So far, what has been demonstrated is the social security system and welfare mechanisms inherent in the gandu production unit. All members of the gandu were cared and catered for by the gidda welfare system known in some parlance as the African extended family welfare mechanism. This welfare system also included the gayya work unit. Gayya, a form of mutual communal labour exchange, was utilised at the peak of agricultural periods; for example, during sowing and harvesting. Thus, gayya afforded individuals more labour on their farm.<sup>82</sup> It is interesting to point out that, the colonial state later justified forced labour on the basis of similarity with gayya,<sup>83</sup> but that was clearly a misrepresentation of an institution that was mainly designed to enhance output in the period before colonialism. It was through gayya that people over-came the shortfall of individual production. The practical utility of gayya was that it brought people together, and, thus allowed mass mobilisation for greater productivity. It was, thus, the inherent advantages of the gayya that the colonialists tried to recreate in their forced labour relations during the construction of the railways. But then, as it shall be shown later, instead of mutual agreement of the past it was the whip that spurred labourers to railway construction sites during the colonial era.

The relations of production enumerated above, were the ways and manners in which the bulk of the peasants created and re-created themselves in the pre-colonial Zaria emirate. The fascinating phenomenon inherent in this social relation of production was its subtle division of labour and specialization of duties based on gender, age and the social institutions. Men performed the harder and more strenuous farming activities, while women



performed the softer, lighter roles such as harvesting, dressing of crops and cooking.<sup>84</sup> In muslim areas, the practice of Auren Kulle (purdah) restricted women's production to the gidda.<sup>85</sup> There were no such restriction in southern traditionalist societies.<sup>86</sup> The interesting thing this study discerns from pre-existing labour management relations is that nobody was expected to do more than the limitation of his or her physical endurance, the mal-gidda were no hard-task masters, as gayya took care of extra hard jobs. So tasks that could cause health problems were avoided but, as will be shown later, the colonial state did not consider the health of the people in assigning them strenuous tasks during the construction of the railways.

Production at secondary and aristocratic or state levels were, however, slightly different from the individual practices of the peasants. At secondary level, the rich and wealthy merchants (masu-arzik), famous mallams and chief preists of traditional religions engaged the services of the peasants for production purposes. It has been shown that the most common labour pool available to these classes of people were those of their slaves and clients. Rich people possessed slaves because they could afford them,<sup>87</sup> Clients also paid their patrons in labour power; for example, students paid their fees in this manner, patients also paid after recovery off their doctors in labour services in lieu of cash.<sup>88</sup> At this level, there also existed a measure of paid labour (Kadago),<sup>89</sup> evidence however suggests that this type of labour relations marginally existed in the pre-colonial Zaria emirate.<sup>90</sup> It is important to point out that paid labour only became prominent through coercion by the later colonial state who for their own selfish purposes, required such type of relations.

It was such labourers, as shall be shown later, that wrer forced to construct the railways. However, at the aristocratic level, members of this class, because of their noble status, had to engage the services of others for production purposes. Thus, working on Gandu Sarauta was part of the obligatory services the peasants must perform for the ruler, This form of

gayya was supervised by the Kokofi.<sup>91</sup> This study is of the opinion that the fact that this relations was known as gayya meant it was obligatory agreement between the rulers and their subjects that had been institutionalised over time. The aristocrats also used extensively the services of their slaves, for production purposes. Studies have demonstrated the presence of rudawa in Hanwa, Mankarfi, Zarewa, Karo, Danja and Dan Mahawayo.<sup>92</sup> The aristocrats, used their revenue on state administration; some were spent to acquire trappings of state (Kayan Saurata), some parts were used as salaries for hangers-on, and state bureaucrats, while the remainder were stored. It is important to point out that during emergencies like famine, state granaries were thrown open to the public as part of the famine relief measures, this was another social security system inherent in the old system.<sup>93</sup> However, colonial apologists were full of criticism for relations of production at the secondary and state levels. Slavery and gayya; especially, were castigated as corvee and, thus, represented inhuman treatment of the peasants by a privileged few. The institution of slavery came under serious attack. Slavery was seen as the great evil that plagued the society of pre-colonial Zaria emirate. The emir is seen particularly as a cruel slave master.<sup>94</sup> This study believes that colonialists attack on the emir, represents a clever justification for colonial imperialism.

However, Ukur, for example, exposes the fallacy of the apologist positions, he demonstrates that the institution and the practice of slavery was not that abused and degraded in pre-colonial Hausa-land.<sup>95</sup> Other studies corroborate this position, and further demonstrate that slaves were absorbed into the nuclear family if they behaved themselves, and after generations the children of slaves were assimilated into the family. Furthermore, the children of concubines were born free citizens.<sup>96</sup> It has further been demonstrated that the prevailing ideology, Islam, frowns at the unjust treatment of slaves.<sup>97</sup> It is the opinion of this study that this Islamic injunction no doubt informed and shaped the beginning treatment of slaves as observed in Hausa-land. This

study posits that it was perhaps this fair treatment of slaves that best explain the fact that in the Zaria emirate some palace and state posts were exclusively preserved for slaves, thus, slaves did rise to positions of prominence, privileges, trust and power with their lords, in the Zaria emirate, such posts included that of, Kurwa, Tarkarki and Garkus, among a host of others.<sup>98</sup> Thus, the colonial apologists position that British colonialism was designed to end slavery, becomes untenable, this was because colonialism itself, as this study will reveal later, was another form of slavery. The whole society of the Zaria province came under British domination and control, the province became an appendage, an enclave of colonial imperialists to be looted at will. We shall elaborate later on the content and form of colonial enslavement of the Zaria province.

#### 1.7 The Main Economic Occupations

All the sources consulted in the course of research for this project agree that agriculture, particularly farming, was the principal occupation of the vast majority of the people of the pre-colonial Zaria emirate. All these sources also agree that a greater percentage of total population was involved in farming or one type of agricultural production or the other. It has been estimated that about 80-85% of the total population were involved in agricultural occupations.<sup>99</sup> Farming, the chief occupation, was a serious business, people realized its importance for cooperate existence, and regeneration. However, agricultural production in the Zaria emirate reflected the physical diversity of the area. Thus, environmental factors played a crucial role in crop distribution, and that was why different ecological zones produced different and varied crops.<sup>100</sup> Farming activities also reflected the seasonal nature of the weather. The main farming activities took place during the raining season, an interesting phenomenon was the fact that the bulk of the crops were annual. During the rainy season, the upland farms,

season, an interesting phenomenon was the fact that the bulk of the crops were annual. During the rainy season, the upland farms, which also constituted the main farm (gona) were cultivated. It was on these farms that the bulk of the basic food crops like millet, maize, sorghum, guinea corn, acha (hungry rice) cassava, beans, yam, and cocoyam, were grown. Fruit trees like banana, orange ( ) were also cultivated on these farms. Useful trees like the locust beans, the Tsakiya, the baobab, the Kadanya, the silk cotton, the shea nut, the kuka, the Rini and timber were maintained on the upland farms. Agricultural raw materials like tobacco, groundnut, cotton, ginger were also extensively cultivated on these farms, these raw materials were used by the textile and food industries. Interestingly the bulk of the cotton and groundnut were grown on the northern lake type soil, while ginger did well in the southern part of the emirate. However, limited dry season agriculture was also practised through the use of irrigation. ( the Shaduf system) There was also an all year-round cultivation of the river banks. Water crops like rice, a variety of sugar-canes and some vegetable were grown on the fadamas.<sup>101</sup> In order to get the best crop yield, farmers in the Zaria emirate employed different agricultural systems; these included; bush fallowing, crop rotation, shifting cultivation, terrace agriculture, mixed cropping or simultaneous interplanting of crops.<sup>102</sup> The inherent advantages of these systems was that they allowed natural fertility, as each crop added its own nutrient to the soil. They also prevented a permanent monocropping of a particular crop. Other means by which soil fertility was improved included the use of manures, ash (from burnt field and household cookings) household wastes, human and animal wastes, especially cow dung.<sup>103</sup> The multiplicity of indigenous agricultural systems in the Zaria emirate, clearly demonstrated that indigenous farmers were wise enough and knowledgeable enough to employ agricultural methods that best suited their terrain and the particular crop. All these methods of agriculture show clearly the predominant position of agriculture; they also reflected agricultural practices that were rich and varied in character

due to both the favourable configuration of the environment and the advanced civilization of the people. Furthermore, the rich and varied systems of cultivation reflected already a standard of civilization, technology, achievement and inventiveness of a people which had learnt to master its environment. <sup>104</sup> This study is of the opinion that these agricultural systems allowed efficient environmental management, thus, soil degradation and the attendant environmental waste were avoided. The apparent inherent advantage of these agricultural systems were that they resulted in surplus production, over and above what was needed for basic subsistence, and that they were so intensive and so efficient that not only was there enough food produced to support both the farmers and host of non farming and non productive sectors of the economy, but there were also some surpluses for exchange. It has been shown that the agricultural systems employed were so good that, except for natural disasters like pest invasion or drought, food shortages and famine rarely occurred. <sup>105</sup> Furthermore, a number of other measures were employed in order to cushion the impact of the unpredictability of weather conditions on food production and famine. These anti-famine measures were, (a) production in excess of immediate needs, and an efficient and careful storage of a greater percentage of crop produced. Such reserves could be used in the case of crop failure. <sup>106</sup> (b) the opening to the public of state reserves. These then were the old welfare systems. One can thus, see clearly that surpluses were geared towards redistribution to maintain social co-existence and stability. This, however, starkly with the colonial period, when re-occurring famines, dealt serious catastrophes on indigenous people.

Apart from farming, other agricultural occupations included pastoralism or animal husbandry. There were basically two groups of animal rearers. The first group were the small part-time keepers of domestic animals, poultry, (fowls, turkeys, ducks guinea fowls, pigeons), goats, sheep, dogs, donkeys, horses and camels. Mostly these animals were for private uses and consumptions, although some could be exchanged for other commodities. The second group was that of full-time animal rearers mainly the cattle

Fulanis, whose main activity was animal husbandry. The linkages between pastoralism and farming comes to the fore in that pastoralists depended on farms by products—grass and groundnut leaves—for fodder. It was the search for fodder that perhaps best accounted for pastoralists trans-circuit all over the emirate and beyond. They kept moving northwards and southwards in search of fodder in conformity with weather conditions. The size of the herd determined the status and wealth of the owner. Pastoralists took their occupations seriously, and they were very much aware of basic veterinary medical practices, which were necessary for the healthy well being of their herd.<sup>107</sup> From these animals man derived food items such as meat and diary products, especially milk, cheese and yoghurt.<sup>108</sup> (nono)

Other occupations closely linked with farming and pastoralism were wild food gathering, fishing and hunting. Some fruits and soup condiments like locust beans were gathered from the bush. Trees also provided energy resources.

Aquatic life was part of the occupations. People close to rivers, streams and ponds derived all sorts of fish from these sources to satisfy their food tastes. The last of the occupation was hunting.

Hunting was extensively practised because of the presence of bush-daji which was full of wild life. The hunting and the killing of these animals served a number of purposes. It was very necessary to eliminate these wild animals because of their threat to human corporate existence. Animals hunted included hynas, elephants, antelops, tigers, lions, wild birds and rodents. Hunting expeditions took place during the farming off season of the year, especially during the dry seasons. These animals provided meat, their skins and furs provided hides and skin for the leather and textile industries, while their bones, claws, feathers and furs were used for medical purposes.<sup>109</sup> Hunting weapons included a variety of traps, guns, bows and arrows to mention but few.

What this study has done so far, is to demonstrate how the environment was scientifically managed by the people of the Zaria emirate. It has

shown, for example, how environmental crises was averted, and as it shall be shown in detail later environmental problems were to a large extent principally a development of the selfish farming and mining practices of the colonial era.

However, it is now pertinent to point out that this environmental management, and especially the development of such large scale agricultural practices and productions as has been attempted to sketch above, which largely supported such a large concentration of people as that of the Zaria emirate, and also produced surpluses for trade, were a concrete result of the development of the metallurgical industry and the subsequent manufacture of iron tools like, axes, hoes, cutlasses, knives, hooks, and other implements. It was these simple hand-operated tools that were utilised for agricultural and other purposes. These implements were made by craftsmen in the emirate from raw-materials obtained locally.<sup>110</sup> The iron industry was an important industry in the pre-colonial Zaria emirate, and its environs. Archeological findings have shown that the iron industry had been in existence in all the communities of the Zaria emirate for thousands of years. The industry had been dated to as far back as 900 B.C.<sup>111</sup> The most famous of the iron industries was the Nok one, which was located in the southern part of the emirate.<sup>112</sup> Iron working sites have also been located in Zaria and Kaduna areas of the emirate.<sup>113</sup> It has been shown that the iron industry employed a very advanced technology of smelting iron and tin. The iron industry was of two types, blacksmithing and brass.<sup>114</sup> Blacksmiths smelted iron ores, to produce all the implements for other smiths brass, they also produced all tools for farming, building works, they also made weapons for hunting and warfare. Their products included a variety of iron, chains, door bolts, cutlasses, knives, axes, hoes, spears, fish hooks, swords, needles, nails, arrow heads, door and window frames. The brass smiths used lead and copper alloys to produce ornaments like ear rings, rings, neck and hand brace lets, decorative works on swords, knives and enamel wares.<sup>115</sup> Evidence

117  
suggests that the smiths were held in very high esteem in the society,  
it has further been shown that the highly gifted ones among them were  
specially commissioned by the Musa-Sarauta and the rich people to work  
for them. <sup>118</sup> The head of the smiths guild, Sarkin Makara (Hausa), <sup>119</sup> Baprawu  
<sup>120</sup> (Kafe) Knop Rnah (Jaba) enjoyed a special status in the hierarchy of  
crafts guilds, and it is shown that he was one of the agents through which  
the emir of Zaria administered his territory, <sup>122</sup> and this study believes the  
guild heads also helped community administration in southern part of the  
emirate. In close and direct linkage with the iron industry was the wood  
industry.

Wood workers and carpenters were located in all the communities of the  
Zaria emirate. <sup>123</sup> They produced supporting materials for the iron industry.  
Wood workers provided, wooden hoe handles, wooden windows, doors hinges,  
pestles, mortars, and a variety of wooden wares. They also made canoes.  
Wood workers also produced the hand looms used in the textile industry. <sup>124</sup>  
Closely integrated with the iron and wood industry was the leather industry.

Leather workers in the emirate produced some of the famed morocco  
leather goods for which Hausaland was famous in the past. The leather goods  
were in various colours, yellow, orange, black and red. They were also of  
various designs. Leather goods included, shoes, sandals, bags, purses,  
musical instruments, skin seats, cushion puffs, long riding boots and skin  
clothes. <sup>125</sup>

The textile industry was another famous manufacturing sector in the old  
Zaria emirate. Madi's study, for instance, has shown that the textile  
industry was a big one in this area; he further shows that the industry was  
engaged in dyeing, tailoring, embroidering, cap making and spinning. <sup>126</sup> The  
textile industry, thus, provided materials that sheltered men from the  
elements. Builders also provided houses that sheltered men from wild animals  
and the elements. The Zaria emirate was especially famous for its



building industry. Malgineas, builders, knew the technology of burnt bricks and used them for construction purposes. The building industry was shown to be highly professionalised in savana area of which the Zaria emirate was a part. Houses, palaces, and Mosques of different kinds and sizes were built. These designs included, round huts with grass thatching, rectangular rooms with dome roofs etc. The painting of exotic signs and symbols were also mastered by the builders. However, owners status, and wealth determined the size and beauty of the buildings. So, elaborate care was taken in the building of all kinds of houses, regardless of the status of the owner. All the basic architectural needs were taken into consideration in the course of construction, thus, space and ventilation were afforded high priority. The most celebrated of the professional builders was Babban Gwani Muhammadu Durugu. He built the emirs' mosque in Zaria city, a work which up till date is regarded as a great architectural masterpiece. Urban planning was a famous feature of pre-colonial town planning. All these elaborate cares and precautions were abandoned in the later colonial era. We shall demonstrate later that urban slums came with migration in search of jobs provided by the railways, and the firms.

The food processing industry was another full-time occupation in the Zaria emirate. Professional caterers provided a variety of dishes and snacks. The menu included, Kosai (Bean cake), masa or waina (corn cake), koko (corn pap) and hura (millet pudding) others included, boiled yam, and a variety of tuyo (grain meal).

The ceramic industry was also very popular in the pre-colonial Zaria emirate. Potters manufactured a great number of earthen wares, pots, kettles, plates and cup.

There also existed in the emirate the following industries; mat making, basket making, calabash carving and rope making. These enterprises were in most cases family or individually financed cottage industries. However, evidence suggests that full-time financiers, did finance some products for the

long distance trade.<sup>134</sup> It is interesting to point out that the technological requirement of these industries were satisfied with the use of simple hand operated tools, hammers, hand looms, and simple furnaces.<sup>135</sup>

The health care industry on the other hand, revealed a thorough understanding of the flora and fauna, by indigenous people, as the by products of agriculture and hunting were used for medical services. Thus animal skins, feathers, bones, teeth were used in medical practices; medical practitioners also used flowers, fruits, bark, wood, roots and shrubs in the prevention and the cure of any diseases. For example the wood of the (Hano) bosenellia(dalziaki), was used for the cure of diarrhoea; the root of rewaya, (Kiigeba-actioio) was used for the treatment of skin diseases, while the sansami ( sturoseun Kuntiami) also known as Dan carkin ice<sup>136</sup> (price of trees), was used for numerous curative and preventive preparations. An informant also claimed that Islamic amulets and other concoctions were used for medical purposes.<sup>137</sup> Indigenous medical practitioners went also into surgery, bone setting and midwifery.<sup>138</sup> It is worthy to point out that there industries were strategically linked and integrated in a forward and backward motion, these integrative linkages represented a clear testimony to the level of the grasp of the laws of science by indigenous people in the pre-colonial Zaria emirate.

The organisation of production in these industries were also based on the gidda. Craftmen also employed the services of slaves, clients and paid labourers.<sup>139</sup> At the state level, aristocrats and the super rich patronized only the services of master craftsmen.<sup>140</sup> There was also specialisation of duties on sexual basis in craft production. For example, men dominated the more strenuous smith crafts, while women were in the textile and food processing industries. pre-colonial education at this level involved boys learning men's trade, and girls learnt women's occupations.<sup>141</sup> Evidence shows that some of these crafts were monopolised by guilds, which were also the bodies which regulated quality and style; they also sheltered the industries from quacks. Training

for some of these crafts required long years of painstaking apprenticeship.<sup>142</sup> It is of fundamental importance for this study to point out that the bulk of the crafts were produced by the peasants during agricultural off-season, the dry season.<sup>143</sup> Later on this study will show, that the colonialist destroyed this indigenous technological basis in the effort to create the markets for British manufactured goods in the Zaria province. But, here for the purposes of this work, it is important to point out that the dynamism of pre-colonial economy, especially provided the basis for the excess production of commodities that led to flourishing commerce for which the Zaria emirate was very famous. The development and expansion of commerce in the pre-colonial Zaria emirate was a result of the division of labour and production of surpluses in the various sectors of the economy. Evidence has, as shall be demonstrated shortly, revealed that after the agro-allied industries, trade was the next important occupation of the people of Hausa land of which the Zaria emirate was a part.

### 1.8 Commerce:

All the commodities that were produced in the Zaria emirate namely; agricultural food stuffs, agricultural raw-materials, and industrial crafts, were all articles of trade. It should be noted that without exchange, production would not have been completed. Exchange, thus, made the products of specialization reached the larger world community. Exchange, was the natural result of specialization as no single unit of the Zaria emirate was completely self-sufficient in the production of all its basic material needs.

### 1.9 Organisation of Trade

Trade in the pre-colonial Zaria emirate was of two types, short distance, or internal or domestic trade and long distance, trans-sahara or trans-Atlantic international trade.<sup>144</sup> Domestic trade which existed between and among individuals and communities within the Zaria emirate was a very popular one. This sort of trade, it has been revealed, dated back into antiquity.<sup>145</sup> At this level the means and methods of exchange ranged from simple barter transactions,

to a more complex use of money, at specialised market centres- (Kasuwa).

There, thus, existed in the Zaria emirate a net work of market places. It has been shown that each community unit in the Zaria emirate and in the southern communities had a specialised place which served it as meeting place for exchange. Such centres were usually located in the middle of the town or close to the palaces; centrality was to allow for easy access by all. These market places functioned as places for exchange of goods and services. They functioned as physical loci for people.<sup>146</sup> There were various grades of markets; the small village market square, was designed mainly to serve its immediate locality. This type of markets operated daily, or in some cases it operated periodically, bi-weekly or weekly, bi-monthly or monthly. The other type of markets was the town and city market, which served the whole area. Such markets also held daily and periodically, weekly, bi-monthly. For example, Kachia market met on Fridays.<sup>147</sup> Lastly there were specialised commodity markets situated in urban towns like Hunkuyi, and Zaria city, they met daily.<sup>148</sup> At this juncture, it is necessary to show that market places were not just centres of exchanges alone, their societal roles went beyond this. Because of the concentration of people from different areas in these areas, market squares served as centres for social interaction and transmission of new ideas. With this constant interaction between different peoples at market, squares, new social ties were formed and a sense of interdependence forged. It has been shown that commerce probable supplied the earliest link between the various neighbouring people of the Zaria emirate. Zaria city was the major commercial centre in this matrix of commercial centres that were scattered all over the emirate. The major urban centres also functioned as the major points of articulations, they set the standards ( styles, qualities) of commodities produced and marketed and they also determined what responses should be.<sup>149</sup> The currencies for these trade, included cowries, iron rods, and stripe of cloth among a host of others.<sup>150</sup> This internal trade was the very basis and the foundation for a very large

extensive external trade. Perhaps the major reason that accounted for the Zaria emirate's pre-eminence in the international trade system was her centrality and favourable geographical location. The emirate thus, linked north and southern areas. Because of this geographical setting goods had to pass through the Zaria emirate to reach other market centres. Zaria advantageously utilised its geographical position to play a crucial role in the international world order. Through the trans-Atlantic and trans-sahara routes, Zaria emirate placed her goods on the world market and imported other commodities. These trades organised on caravans constituted the greatest outlets for surplus production. A smith's graphic description of the form, nature, character and content of the Zaria emirate's contribution to world trade is very necessary, here:

Zaria became a great route junction with many commercial connections over long distances converging on Zaria were a number of long distance routes from the far west via Yawuri and the Kanuku dependencies, from Yoruba land and Nupe through Gumma and Gwari markets, from the lower and Niger via the Tggi river, from northern Africa, the sahara and Northern Hausa-land via Katsina and Kano and from the countries of the Niger bend and the Gulbis Kebbi, passing through Yawuri and Katsina Laks

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Because of all these routes, the Zaria emirate emerged as a great commercial entropot of the southern Hausa Land. These routes provided the outlets through which Zaria exchanged her agricultural and manufactured commodities, slaves, Iron wares, including tools, weapons and other equipments, wood and basket work, including furniture and building materials, textiles of many sorts and raw cotton, dressed hides and finished leather works, pottery, ivory, salt (both domestic and industrial) medicines, jewellery, cosmetics, animals horses, donkeys hunting dogs, sheep, goats, poultry, fish and a great variety of food stuff including syaka produce, kolanut and vegetables, and

It was this trade that supported the local industries, dyeing (textile),  
tanning (leather) weaving (basketry) and the iron industry.<sup>152</sup>

A trade that involved all these varieties of commodities required  
meticulous planning and finance. Hausaland, of which the Zaria emirate  
was a part, was not lacking in men capable of planning and financing this  
trade.<sup>153</sup> In fact, it has been shown that a professional class of traders  
emerged whose major pre-occupation was to cater for the smooth running of  
trade. Madugu, the class of rich merchant traders, extended credits to  
their numerous clients, they also acted brokers, and as bankers. It was  
these class of traders that sustained the system of the pre-colonial era.<sup>154</sup>  
Barth's account of the organization, volume, and value of this trade  
clearly buttresses the significance and the contribution of the Zaria emirate  
in particular and Hausaland in general to the world economic order.<sup>155</sup>

However, it is pertinent to point out that the Zaria emirate to a large  
extent operated and traded in the international market on favourable terms.  
It sold and bought from whoever pleased her. The emirate decided and  
dictated quality, quantity, and terms of trade. Because of this interaction  
with European powers, foreign currencies, like the German Mark, the Paris  
Theorac Dollar and British pound sterling became legal tender in the caliphate  
of which the emirate was a part.<sup>156</sup> At that time, this study postulates that  
based on the fact that the Zaria emirate was an independent entity,  
European and emirate's trade relations were such that foreign capital was  
unable to control, dominate and dictate terms of trade. This was clearly  
different from what obtained during the colonial period, when Britain dictated  
terms of trade in the Zaria province.

A noticeable feature of relations between the emirate and foreigners was  
the complete dependence of European on the emirate's security system for  
the safety of their lives and their properties, and that was why European  
asked for and secured the emir's good-will with presents to guarantee their  
safe conduct.<sup>157</sup> The emirate's army and police maintained internal peace and

order, and protected trade routes from armed robbers, the emir had thus provided a conducive atmosphere for trade.<sup>158</sup> Furthermore, studies have shown that a more fundamental and concrete expression of the emir's control over trade relation was graphically demonstrated by his levying and collection of taxes from all categories of trader. From taxes collected the emir realised great wealth with which he financed his administration.<sup>159</sup> This study, therefore, postulates that the dominant feature of inter-group relations in the pre-colonial era was trade, because trade certainly does not flourish in chaotic atmosphere. The flourishing trade, as it has been shown above thus did not represent a situation devoted solely to war. This atmosphere that thus favoured trade, clearly negates colonial apologist position that chaos was the endemic feature of intergroup relations in the era before colonialism.<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, the colonial apologists ridicule the pre-colonial economy and market system of the Zaria emirate, to these scholars, the market was too narrow, and thereby frustrated capacity utilisation of means of production; these under-utilised capacities were thus, the forces colonialism was to release for the great out-puts that were recorded during the colonial era.<sup>161</sup> this will be further dealt with in chapters four and five. However, it is worth pointing out that the Zaria emirate's level of trade was commensurate to the level of its productive forces. A phenomenon that is also worth mentioning is that the gigantic trade of the pre-colonial Zaria emirate would have been impossible without an adequate means of transportation. Transport system is the single most important factor that makes production complete; it is therefore, the role of transport in the distributive system that will now be examined.

#### 1.10 Transport System

It has been revealed that " every society gets the commerce it deserves and can afford to transport, commerce depended on good net work of roads"<sup>162</sup> It is from this perspective that this study views the adequacy of otherwise of the pre-colonial transportation and communication networks in the Zaria

emirate. It is important to point out that pre-colonial transportation system is a topic that has been examined from different perspectives. There were those who see the pre-colonial transport as very inadequate, very archaic and time consuming, in-fact, to scholars in this group the tragedy of Africa can be summed up in its obsolete communication system, which fettered growth and development. <sup>163</sup> This is the colonial apologist school per se. However, a second school, contests the position of the apologists. <sup>164</sup> Bello, <sup>165</sup> and Ogunranti, among a host of others, has demonstrated the adequacy of transport system in the pre-colonial socio-economic formation. This study hopes to consolidate their position, and show that without an adequate means of transport the specialisation of production in manufactures and agricultural sectors of the economy of the pre-colonial Zaria emirate would not have cared to produce surpluses. Surpluses, were only produced, because the people were very confident of their distribution and communication systems, which facilitated exchanges and consumption.

It has been shown that human portrage and pack animals provided the major means of transportation in pre-colonial Zaria emirate. <sup>166</sup> We have shown above, that the emirate was relatively populated, and that almost everybody kept a type of beast of burden, donkeys, horses and camels. It is instructive to point out that a major and fundamental pre-requisite for an efficient transportation network is good road network. It has been shown that the Zaria emirate was not lacking in good communication infrastructure, as it constructed and maintained perhaps the best road network in pre-colonial times. <sup>167</sup> The Zaria emirate consisted of a vast network of roads that reached every nook and corner of the emirate. This as would be shown later, starkly contrasted with the railways of the colonial era, which were selectively constructed to choice areas. As shown above, pre-colonial road networks were also the trade and communication routes, and they crisscrossed the whole emirate and linked it with beyond.



This study discovers that the construction and maintainance of these routes were met in a typical fashion, the emir of Zaria, for example, instituted gayya for road construction,<sup>168</sup> Sources also confirm that in the southern communities, road networks were maintained in Kadara area through gayya.<sup>169</sup> (communal work.) At this juncture, we should clear the issue as to the uses of gayya during the pre-colonial era. This study has pointed out above that gayya was a form of mass-mobilisation for societal self help efforts, thus, gayya for road and other state works was merely directing and diverting labour pool to activities that benefited the community. However, colonial apologists, were especially critical of gayya, and one of the justification for British colonial imperialism was to abolish the so called aristocratic excesses and injustices.<sup>170</sup> However, later, when it suited their purposes, especially during the construction of the railways, the stated forced and mobilised labour on a scale quite larger than what obtained before. The colonial justification for this forced labour, was that labour was summoned for developmental activities.<sup>171</sup> The basic difference between pre-colonial and colonial labour relations is that, while pre-colonial relations sanctioned gayya, forced labour had its basis in colonialist coercion and exhortation. We shall treat this issue elaborately in subsequent chapters. However, for the purposes of this chapter, it is enough to state that gayya made it mandatory for adult male members of the community to maintain portions of emirate's highways that transversed his immediate vicinity, so there were no great migrations unlike the forced migration for railway construction in the twentieth century. Thus, every community was able to contribute its quota to road construction and maintainance at no financial burden on emirates finances unlike,<sup>172</sup> as shall be shown later in the colonial period when indigenous people carried great financial burdens to pay for the railways construction loans. Lands for the pre-colonial highways were communal lands set aside expressly for communication purposes which were

mainly small tracks (foot paths), unlike, as we shall see shortly, the huge land possessions of the railways of the colonial era. Thus, land acquired for pre-colonial highways did not alienate indigenous-people from their principal means of production, so there was no landlessness,<sup>173</sup> unlike, as it shall be shown later, how land acquired for the railways brought landlessness in Zaria province.

It is very crucial for this study to show that pre-colonial road construction demands were not too different from farming activities, since they involved merely the leveling of foot paths, and the building of simple wood bridges- that wiggins were quite capable of doing.<sup>174</sup> Later railway work, as it will be shown later, was hard, as it required specialised work. Another feature of pre-colonial labour demands was that critical productive hands and time were not diverted to road construction. One informant said that road maintenance was done essentially during the dry season,<sup>175</sup> which also coincided with trade season; thus, farmers were free to devote their labour to agricultural purposes during the raining season. So, the issue of food shortages and famines were minimal, if not non-existent, then.<sup>177</sup> It was these roads thus maintained that linked yards, hamlets, villages, towns and cities, and through them links were maintained with the trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic international high ways.

The means of transport were human beings and animals, who freighted goods to and fro.<sup>178</sup> Human transporters consisted of individual traders.

However, big time traders engaged the services of members of their families, professional porters, alarm clients and their slaves.<sup>179</sup>

There is, however, some controversy about the total number of slaves involved in pre-colonial transportation. The colonial apologists school postulates that slaves constituted the bulk of porters and that it was the demand for slaves that best accounts for the incessant warfare that characterised the Zaria emirate in the nineteenth century.<sup>180</sup> Thus, colonialism was designed to stem this war instill peace and order, civilisation and

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growth. However, it has been shown that the arguments of the apologists  
is unacceptable, evidence suggests that in some cases porters were not too  
useful as they constituted high risks, they could desert, and run away  
with the cargo.<sup>182</sup> In other words, monitoring an unwilling porter could be very  
problematic. So, evidence tends to suggest that the bulk of the porters  
were free men, who were either individual traders, carrying their own wares,  
or at least professional porter of some merchants.<sup>183</sup> It has been shown that pack  
animals consisted the principal vehicle of transportation in the long  
distance trade.<sup>184</sup> Because of the nature of the long distance trade, and  
especially because of the nature of the terrain, arid areas, special breed of  
draught resistant animals like donkeys, mules, hinny, ox and camels were  
used.<sup>185</sup> Human porters and pack animals proved very suitable, and  
adaptable and very convenient for the types of cargo freighted, which  
were mainly food stuffs (grains), and agricultural raw-materials (cotton),  
and simple manufactured goods (hoes).<sup>186</sup> Bulky goods were broken down to  
small manageable pieces and sizes for easy freighting. Sacks and calabashes  
were the major containers.<sup>187</sup> Thus, great number of food stuffs raw-material  
and craftwork were freighted, and as it has been shown above, there was not  
such that needed to be carried that could not be carried by men and animals.<sup>188</sup>  
The size of the trading mission (caravan) could be great. A caravan of  
30,000 camels, with freight worth, 3000,000,000 kurdi had been observed;<sup>189</sup>  
and this Hopkins estimated to be worth about £40,000.<sup>190</sup> This study postulates  
that because of this enormous cargo involved, the cost of transportation  
must have been moderate. However, the single most bitter criticism of  
the colonial apologists against pre-colonial transport was its cost.<sup>191</sup>  
However, what they failed to see was that transport cost was only high for  
Europeans.<sup>192</sup> Sources shows that indigenous people were either not ready to  
co-operate with white men or if forced to, they must make the best use of  
the relationship.<sup>193</sup> It was thus the need to earn as much as was possible  
that in our opinion accounted for the extra charges on Europeans. Africans

traders who relied more on family members and clients would not go through such inflated price manipulations. It is the opinion of this study that, colonial apologists exaggerated the cost of pre-colonial transport out of proportion in order to justify the need for a railways.

It is also particularly necessary to point out the pre-colonial transportation included water transport. Although the peculiar weather conditions in the emirate discounts its all year uses, but still goods and people were carried to and from various destinations and centres through the river system.<sup>194</sup> It has thus been revealed that aside from its economic use, pre-colonial transport system also performed social obligations, the tracks and foot paths, facilitated movements among friends, relations and acquaintances.<sup>195</sup> All said and done, it has been shown that the pre-colonial transport systems were very much adequate to meet the transport needs of the pre-capitalist society.<sup>196</sup> This study strongly shares Ogunremi's position that critics of pre-colonial transportation systems, based their criticisms on the fact that alternatives existed.<sup>197</sup> This then was the picture of the pre-colonial economy and society of the Zaria emirate on the eve of British colonial conquest.

We have shown clearly how these individuals expressed their lives, so they were what they were, this, therefore, coincides with their level of production and both with what they produce and with how they produce. Hence what these individuals, were, was a reality of their material conditions of production.<sup>198</sup> This study has, shown a society still changing, however, at its own pace. It is, our understanding of the political economy of the Zaria emirate at that era, that has helped throw some light on the inner secrets of its economic life. We have also seen the science, laws and dynamics that shaped phenomena in the Zaria emirate. We have also seen that human ingenuity and resourcefulness were not space bound, here we have shown clearly in the case of the Zaria emirate, that the indigenous peoples's manifestation and development were often shaped by the local material with

which they had to work.<sup>199</sup> Thus, the result was a close interaction between the people and their land, and between the course of history and the element of environment, etc. The society of the Zaria emirate the study has outlined above was a society firmly controlled and properly ordered by the emir and the council of elders. Thus the society was self sufficient in terms of providing jobs, goods and services to its members. unemployment was and unknown phenomenon in the emirate. Every member of the community was gainfully engaged in one form of production or the other, for instance; farming, pastoralism craftsmanship and trade, etc. so, there did not exist poverty in the true sense of the word because of wants,<sup>200</sup> poverty, as we know it, came with colonial domination. The most impressive aspect of socio-economic relations in the pre-colonial Zaria emirate, was the attitude and re-action of indigenous people to work. The attitude was that upholding the dignity of labour, of taking some pride in making the maximum contribution to the society deriving great satisfaction from doing so. There was no coercion, the defaming effects of social sanctions in form of sporadic songs of abuse, social ostracism, social boycott aimed at discrediting indolence, moral laxity and crime were enough.<sup>201</sup> However, this study will reveal later that those advanced ways of social control were shattered in the colonial era, and anti-social mainly became pervasive during this period. The picture of the Zaria emirate then was that of a society that properly and adequately managed its human and material resources for its own benefit; a society that did not succumb to foreign control and domination.<sup>202</sup>

However, by the first decade of the twentieth century, things changed. European domination and control became increasingly entrenched. This foreign control and the domination of the Zaria emirate was the result of internal situation in Britain that demanded a new set of relations on the world scene and especially with the Zaria emirate. Prevailing situation in the U.K. demanded the annexation of the Zaria emirate for the

economic benefit of Britain. In order to realize its imperial goals, Britain invaded, defeated and incorporated the emirate into its world wide colonial empire. The next chapter will deal with how British colonial imperialism was imposed on the Zaria emirate.

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storage facilities is here necessary, because of its crucial role  
in food banking system. Storage facilities included barns,  
grannaries, pots and calabashes. Farmers, thus

employed the best storage method for a particular crop. Also, through experience, farmers knew the best state or form to store and preserve crops to prevent decay. For example, some crops were shredded or beaten out, and dried before storage, for example the grains, while some were stored as they were harvested, i.e., the tubers. Cactus milk, and ash were spread and on crops for pest control. See Kabashim . C. Labesa, *Economic change....*, p. 33. and S.P. Nadel., *By Zantium,....*, p. 213, Further comment by this author on indigenous preservatives, is that they do not constitute health risk, just clearing and the crops are ready for consumption, unlike the use of chemical preservatives which requires elaborate clearings or toxin poison results.

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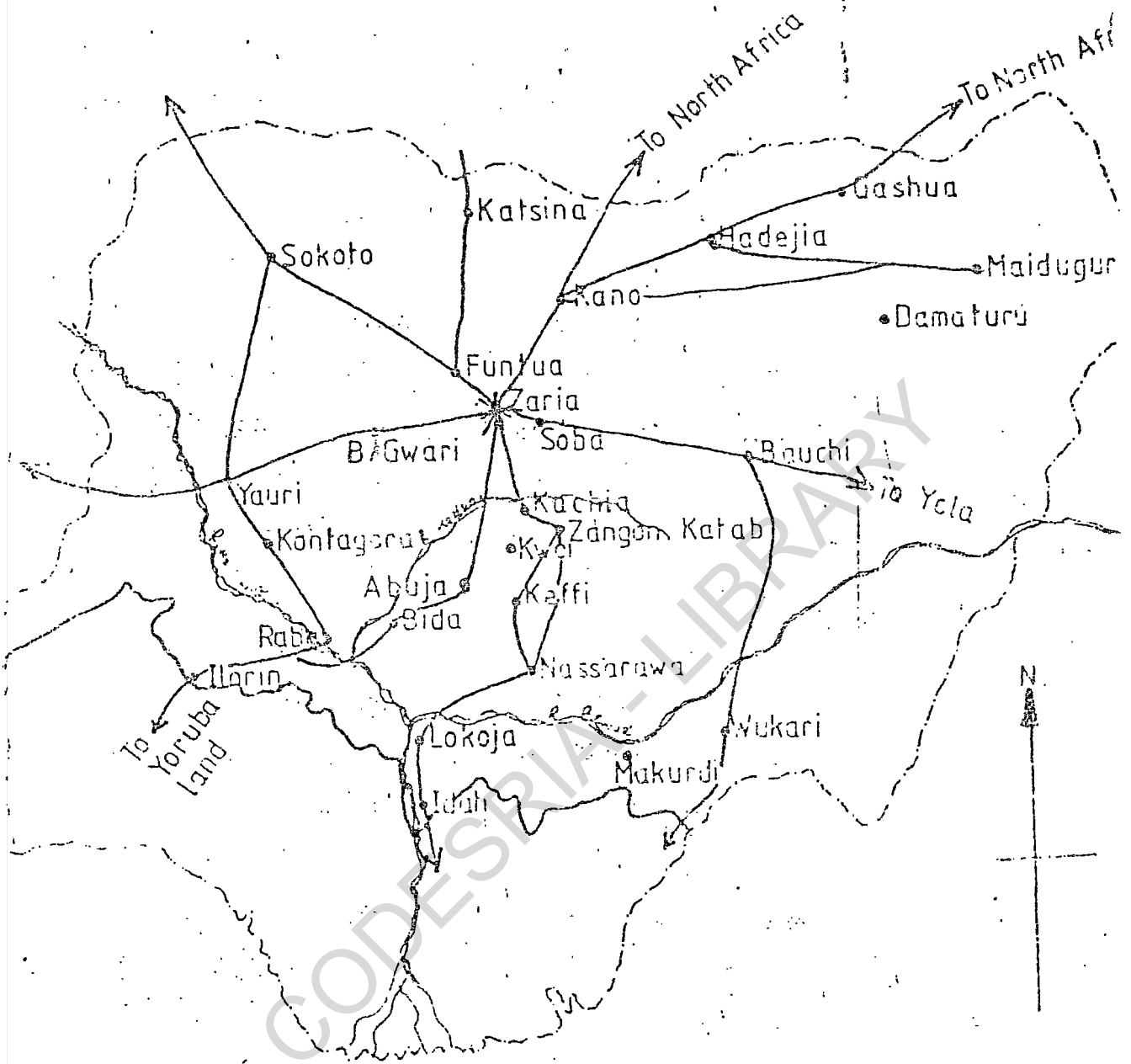
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172. As each man brought his own tools to construction sites, and as there were no special buildings only foot paths, etc. so there were special financial levies for road construction and maintainance, in the emirate.
173. Shown above that landlessness was rare and only in extreme cases of irresponsibility were people denied access to land.
174. All these were not more than normal farming or building requirements, so they required no special efforts in execution.
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202. The Emirate was up till the British conquest of 1902, nominally an  
Independent entity.

FIG. VI. MAJOR TRADE ROUTES TRAVERSING  
NORTHERN NIGERIA IN THE 19th CENTURY

*See Zaria in the very middle.*



Adapted from Enclosure in despatch No. 175 of 2/6/1905,

Miscellaneous Historical papers FIG. II.1

**Author's Note:** This map merely depicts the importance of trade routes in

pre-colonial trade relations. The map does not fully describe the

principal trade routes.

CHAPTER TWOBRITISH CONQUEST AND THE INCORPORATION OF THE ZARFA EMIRATE INTO THE BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE

This chapter is an analysis of the reasons for the British conquest and incorporation of the Zarfa emirate into their world-wide colonial empire. In other words, the chapter will examine what the Zarfa emirate possessed that made it attract British attention with a potential colony. The importance of this chapter lies in the fact that, it will enable us see how an independent entity like the Zarfa emirate lost its independence and became a subordinate part of another country, the U.K. and the chapter will try to show the logic and the basis of military conquest in colonial relations. Lastly, the chapter is preparatory sort of: once we are able to grasp clearly the motivating factors behind colonial imperialism, we can look forward to British realisation of imperial goals in the colony.

2.1 Background to British Acquisition of the Zarfa Emirate:

The factors that culminated in the subjugation and the colonisation of the Zarfa emirate lay in European activities. British colonial imperialism in the Zarfa emirate, was a re-action to and a hope of solution to the internal contradictions in the British economy that manifested themselves around the last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Around 1873, a great depression hit British economy and the economies of other European powers.<sup>2</sup> However, Britain was the most hard hit by this state of affairs as the leading industrial capitalist country.<sup>3</sup> The aftermath of the depression was a general decline in economic activities, prices, profits and trade. The resultant effect was a general glut of goods on British market. This glut forced British merchants and industrialists to seek for an outlet else where.<sup>4</sup> However, by the same token, British traditional European market also proved unsuitable. This was because these economies also had their own problems.<sup>5</sup> A resultant effect of the closure of European markets to British goods was that a non-European market became very desirable as the only hope of ameliorating the crises. The most obvious markets were the Asian and

African markets. However, prior to 1873 various expeditions and trade missions were sent to investigate the potentialities Africa by the European power.<sup>7</sup> The British government organized its exploratory mission through the auspices of the African Association which was formed in 1788.<sup>8</sup> The explorers were to investigate all facts of production distribution, exchange and consumption processes and patterns in Africa. Thus, explorers like Clapperton,<sup>9</sup> Macgregor Laird and old Field,<sup>10</sup> and Dr. Barth,<sup>11</sup> among others, travelled extensively in Africa. For example, Dr. Barth, reported extensively on production processes and patterns in northern Nigeria the Zaria emirate inclusive.<sup>12</sup> These reports (intelligence reports) thus, informed the basis of European colonial imperialism in the Zaria emirate in particular and Africa as a whole. These explorers have been aptly described as the advance agents of colonialism, which they truly were.<sup>13</sup> Thus, based on these reports European powers intensified their activities in northern Nigeria. For example, the activities of the Royal Niger Company (RNC) have been well documented by Dike.<sup>14</sup> He shows that the RNC was the major British trading firm, whose sole activity was to promote, defend and consolidate British interests in the Nigerian area. Thus, the R.N.C. was a principal agent of British colonial imperialism. However, it is highly interesting to point out that the quest for African markets was a general European phenomenon, at this time, emphasis was on exclusive monopolised markets.<sup>15</sup> Apart from markets, European powers also desired new sources of raw-materials.<sup>16</sup> Interestingly the bulk of these raw materials which essentially were agricultural and industrial products, such as cotton, and groundnut, were not readily available in temperate weathered Europe.<sup>17</sup> Most of these products could only be produced in tropical regions.<sup>18</sup> So the need for a tropical source of raw-materials became an issue of paramount importance for the European nations.<sup>19</sup> This scarcity of raw materials was also most hard felt by Britain, the leading manufacturing country. Britain was especially

desperate to secure raw materials for the textile industry which was then the leading industry in U.K. at this time, as America, her old source of cotton supply had become unreliable. This study, thus postulates that the source of cotton was the prime target of British capitalist. It was this search for cotton that turned the attention of British capitalists on to the Zaria emirate. It is, therefore pertinent to point out that the Zaria emirate attracted the attention of British concerns, because it possessed the potentialities of meeting imperial cotton needs. As it has been shown above, the emirate had supplied high quality cotton to the international market in the past, the added attraction was the provinces large population, a source of potential profitable market for British manufacturers.

However, as shown above, the urgent need of the Europeans to secure choice enclaves in Africa, and the resultant intra-rivalries among the foreign powers, were the major causes of the famous scramble for Africa. The nature, character, form and content of this scramble were clearly demonstrated in the Nigerian area by the rush and the urgency of European merchant firms, missionary groups, and military forces to establish spheres of influence for their home governments. This scramble was especially tense between France and Britain to secure Nigeria in general and the Zaria emirate in particular. Franco-British scramble was graphically demonstrated by the contests between the following dramatic personae and principles: Regis Aine versus Goldie, Faicharhe versus Lugard and La paix Francaise versus pax

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Britannica. This study postulates that the efforts of R.N.C. to monopolise trade for British concerns in the Nigerian area, including the Caliphate, of which the emirate was a part, graphically and objectively represented the local version of the intra European struggles for enclave markets in Africa. These contests resulted in the signing of "treaties of protection" with various indigenous rulers in the emirates and beyond. However, Curtin has off-handishly dismissed the concrete need of European powers for a tropical dependency as the myth of tropical exuberance. The

reality of colonial exploitation as it will be shown later, exposes the fallacy of Curtains's position.

At this juncture, it is necessary to comment on the nature of the contents and the ways and manners these "treaties" were "signed". This is very necessary in order to throw some light on the deceitfulness of the imperial powers. Adeleye, for example, has brilliantly exposed European trickery, deceit and fraud involved in the imposition of these "treaties" on Nigerian rulers. He especially exposed the fallacy of the contents of these "treaties". He shows that what R.N.C. interpreted to the world as treaties of protection, were interpreted and accepted by indigenous rulers as merely commercial treaties. He further shows that the emirs did not realise that the treaties meant they had signed away their independence and that the treaties would ultimately determine the destiny of their people in the future.<sup>25</sup> At the Berlin conference 1884-1885, when European powers bargained for and shared out African territories among themselves in order to settle their rivalries, these fake treaties of the N.R.C. were accepted as evidence of British sphere of influence in Nigeria. Thus, the Zaria emirate and other emirates-Borno and Neighbouring states-became part and parcel of British colonial empire.<sup>26</sup> Sadly enough, the Zaria emirate did not know that it had been carved into the British empire. The fact and reality of British rule only dawned on the emirate later, when Lugard wrote the emirs asking them to relinquish power to the British.<sup>27</sup>

Colonial apologists, however, justified British colonisation of the Zaria emirate, on the basis that it was designed to bring light and civilization to the darkest part of the world.<sup>28</sup> Colonisation is, thus, seen as the noble burden which the benevolent caucasian (white race) must bear for the betterment of mankind.<sup>29</sup> However, the real concrete motives for British colonisation of the Zaria emirate was economic, the real interests and needs of the colonised were never considered. British colonial imperialism merely presented the people of the Zaria emirate with a fait

accompli. But, then, the problem was the manner in which the occupation of the Zaria emirate would be effected in the face of its independence. This contradiction was resolved by violent military conquest and the subordination of the Zaria emirate.

## 2.2 British Conquest and Occupation of the Zaria Province; the Imposition of Colonial Control and Domination.

By 1886, the Zaria emirate was already informally a part of the British colonial empire.<sup>30</sup> However, between 1886 and 1889, the Royal Niger company administered the emirate on behalf of the British government.<sup>31</sup>

On January 1st 1900, formal colonial control and domination began.<sup>32</sup> But, it was in April 1902, after the military subjugation of the emirate that direct British domination became a reality in the Zaria province.<sup>33</sup>

Military conquest was the forerunner and the harbinger of colonial penetration of the Zaria province. The British, it must be noted, are old colonial imperialists, they knew and understood all that was involved in colonisation. They, thus, grasped the inherent advantages of military conquest, which conferred on the conqueror the prerogative of victor, vac victis.<sup>34</sup>

The military subjugation of the Zaria emirate, therefore, was part and parcel of a grand colonial imperial policy.

In the course of the conquest of northern Nigeria, the British imperialists adopted the tactics of gradual or piece meal conquest. This manner of warfare was dictated by logistic. The geographical spread of northern Nigeria, and combined military might of the caliphate's forces could be too much for a direct single confrontation by the small contingent of west African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.) So cautious approach to military engagements was necessary, viz, engage a piece of caliphate in combat at a time, and this tactic ultimately proved successful as the whole caliphate was conquered. Interestingly, it was the forces of R.N.C. that began the wars of conquest, however, the withdraw of their charter in 1899, by the British government aborted further conquests.<sup>35</sup>

The completion of the conquest, of northern Nigeria therefore, fell on the British government, and they chose an experienced soldier and imperial conquistador, captain Lugard, who had fought for R.N.C., he had, also fought imperial wars in Uganda, he was appointed to complete the task.<sup>35</sup>

Before the conquest of the Zaria emirate, her neighbours had been subjugated this was necessary, because the emirate was located in the interior. So, Ilorin fell in 1897,<sup>37</sup> Nupe 1897,<sup>38</sup> Bauchi 1902,<sup>39</sup> and Kontagora fell in 1901.<sup>40</sup> It was, however, the defeat of Kontagora that gave the British imperialist the chance to launch military attack and the subsequent occupation of the Zaria emirate. It has been shown that in the course of British subjugation of Kontagora, the emir of Kontagora, Ibrahim Ngwanntse and some of his forces, managed to escape from the rampaging B.A.F.P. and they took shelter to Zaria's territory, (as Zaria was yet untouched by agents of imperialism.<sup>41</sup> Ngwanntse's flight was more of safety measure, his Islamic ideology allowed him such flight rather than the defeat and humiliation from christians.<sup>42</sup> Ngwanntse was pursued by B.A.F.P. his capture was fundamental, since in flight and underfought, he represented focus of resistance, this must be avoided. However, colonial apologists point a lurid picture of Ngwanntse, in order to justify the conquest of his territory, that he was a notorious slaver who led to be dealt with.<sup>43</sup> To further justify their pursuit of him, he was accused of brigandage in Zaria's territory.<sup>44</sup> The story goes on that, in order to stop Ngwanntse's pillage, the emir of Zaria, appealed to Lugard for help.<sup>45</sup> In response to this "appeal" Lugard thus, sent his son to Zaria, they apprehended Ngwanntse, imprisoned him, and disbanded his men.<sup>46</sup> Well, the story should have finished with B.A.F.P.'s withdrawal from Zaria's territory as their mission had been accomplished. But rather than withdraw, the "invites" turned themselves into an army of occupation and instituted formal direct British administration in the area. A residency was established still under the guise of "protecting" Zaria, and an officer of B.A.F.P. captain



Abadie, was imposed as the resident in April 1902.

This tricky way of occupation, which considerably cheapened and simplified the task of British occupation of Zaria province, has led to erroneous conclusions in certain quarters, that the Zaria emirate and the emir timidly submitted to colonial control and domination without resistance. This was not so, because a mere thorough grasp of forces at play, and clever understanding of the historical processes that culminated in the British occupation of the Zaria province, will show that Zaria was unaware of, and totally unprepared for the position and place international capital has assigned for her. The role expected of the Zaria province in the world order was that of a colony, via a cheap source of raw materials and profitable market for manufactured goods. Thus, the argument that Zaria sheeply submitted is informed by apologists' methodological empiricism. The irony of colonial situation was that those that were formerly protected, had now become the grand "protector" as Northern Nigeria became a protectorate of the British. Thus, the Zaria province became a unit of administration in the colonial protectorate of northern Nigeria. It is, however, fundamental for this study to correct erroneous and false impressions colonial apologists created about the fall of Zaria. Zaria did oppose the occupation of its territory: it bitterly fought the forces of occupation, but defeat was total and permanent in the face of an overwhelmingly superior British force. Lugard had lured the emir to complacency by his offer of "Friendship". Moreover, the emir could not refuse this imperialist "offer" which was more of a command. By the time the "offer" was made the British colonial imperialism was a reality in northern Nigeria and the occupation of Zaria emirate was just a matter of time. It is of paramount importance to demonstrate that the colonialists had shown naked aggression against the Zaria emirate in the past: this was before Nagwatshe's incident the W.A.F.F. had demonstrated brute force, and exhibited the deadliness of its arms, and has especially shown the colonialists

brutality and the desperacy and seriousness underlining colonial acquisitions and conquest. In 1902 colonial Kenball, the commandant of W.A.F.F., came to Zaria on a "friendly" visit, but in the course of his "visit" he burnt down two towns Reno and Kaje for "obstructing" his way to Zaria. This study believe that the people were not ready to allow his passage because they were not clear about his missions. Aside from the destruction, Kenball also boasted that all of Zaria would soon become British territory.<sup>49</sup> Kenball's "visit" must be seen for what it represented, it was designed to over-awe and instil fear and terror in the Zaria emirate, with such blattant demonstration of British fire power, it becomes illogical and irrational to expect the emir to refuse Lugardian "offer" of protection. Another issue to be probed was the underpinning logic behind Lugard's assumption of the role of "protector". Lugard in essence meant by this act that a new power base had come. In other words, the caliphate's power base was ignored by the British colonial imperialists. In-fact, he had written to the caliph in Sokoto to surrender and accept British sovereignty or be conquered.<sup>50</sup> Such an arrogant display of imperialism implies in essence that any emir who refused Lugardian "offer" of "protection" merely hastened the inevitable, the conquest of his emirate, personal disgrace and deposition. This was because the inner logic of colonialism dictated and demanded the subjugation of territories. Zaria's turn merely came in 1902, Zaria was subsequently used as the launching pad on other emirates. From Zaria, the W.A.F.F. moved on to Kano, which fell in 1903.<sup>51</sup> From Kano, the W.A. F. F. moved to Sokoto, the caliphates's capital, which fell on 15th 1903.<sup>52</sup> Henceforth, colonial control and domination became a de-facto reality.

Attention is also called to the fact that Lugard also took concrete measures to secure military victory in Zaria. Before the attack on Zaria he had cleverly set up an espionage ring in the very heart of the emirate

under the guise of a missionary enterprise. Bishop Tugwell's missionary clan at Girku was imposed on the emirate on Lugard's insistence, his famous

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"advice" This study comes to this conclusion about Bishop Tugwell mission, because the dialectical relationship between missionary groups (under the guise of messianism) and European colonialism has been well documented,

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the missionaries were the advance parties that prepared the ground for subsequent direct European colonialism.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, it is the position of this study, that Arnett's account of the British subjugation of the Zaria emirate gives credence to support the argument about Tugwell's complicity and duplicity in the conquest of Zaria. He states that:

Two columns of troops entered Zaria in February 1902, during the reign of emir Kwassau, one from Wushishi under major Moorland, the other from Bauchi under colonel Lowry, they met at GIRKU

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This work postulates that the soldiers first assembled at Girku in order to collect intelligence data from Tugwell, who had been strategically placed close to the emirate's capital. From such vantage position, Tugwell's people could observe all that went on in the city. However, fired with missionary messianic zeal, it became a divine duty, for example, for Nigerian converts to report on the level of Zaria's military preparedness to the white missionaries who wanted to "save" their brothers' soul. These troops who were on reconnaissance mission, were thus craftly manoeuvred into the emirate, they were the advance party who prepared the way for the main expeditionary forces which attacked a month after the troops had settled at Girku. Our emphasis is to point out the complimentary and dubious role of the missionaries in aiding British conquest of the Zaria emirate, Existing literature has been silent on this fundamental issue. However, the major factor that needs to be stressed and the one that best accounted for the defeat of the emirate was the superior military technology which the imperialists enjoyed.

while British forces used latest military hardware-maxim guns, artillery etc, emirates forces used obsolete weapons, old guns, bows and arrows, and spears, all ineffective weapons in the face of superior British fire power.<sup>57</sup> The British conquest of the Zaria emirate should, thus, be seen and be fully grasped within the context of the dictates of colonial imperialism. Military conquest paved the way for the subsequent imposition of direct colonial control and domination. Military conquest, thus, facilitated the chance to remove a major internal obstacle that had prevented complete control in the past. The defeat of the emir enabled British to seize power from indigenous rulers and transfer allegiance from the emir to the British crown. However, it is important to draw attention to the fact that the imposition of colonialism was not that easy in the Zaria province. The imposition of captain Abadie and the vexed issue of foreign rule, and a Christian one for that matter, provoked resistance.<sup>58</sup> It was thus, the reality of colonial subjugation and loss of sovereignty and especially the loss of power and authority that naturally geared the emir and his people into combat though in vain. They tried to recuperate, but it was a very difficult situation and rather late. However, in order to enforce colonial imperialism in the province, the state instituted brutal punitive measures against resisters, many of such expeditions against peoples of the province are well documented.<sup>59</sup> Thus, the reality of the colonial situation was shown to be one of repression, terror and fear. For example, Kargi and Amo were burnt and looted in the course of colonialists expeditions.<sup>60</sup> The emir Kwessu was also removed,<sup>61</sup> that was a clever strategy of imperialists decapitation viz, neutralizing the enemy and further resistance by destroying its leadership. The emir's dismissal this study believes, was designed to shatter focal point of resistance to colonial imperialism. In such dispensation, indigenous people had no option in the face of such brutality but to accept some form co-existence with the imperialist, since it became clear to them that they could not rebel the white man by force,

he had come to stay for some reasons which indigenous people did not yet understand, <sup>62</sup> but which as it shall be shown later, was manifestly made clear by the blatant exploitation of the province material wealth by the colonialists.

This then was the picture of the Zaria province at the inauguration of British colonial rule. They had subjugated the territory and coerced the people into a sort of submission. All that remained was for some sort of order to prevail, and for the pursuit of the realisation of colonial, imperial goal to start. The next chapter will therefore address how the colonialists created and maintained the atmosphere conducive for the realisation of imperial aims in the Zaria province.

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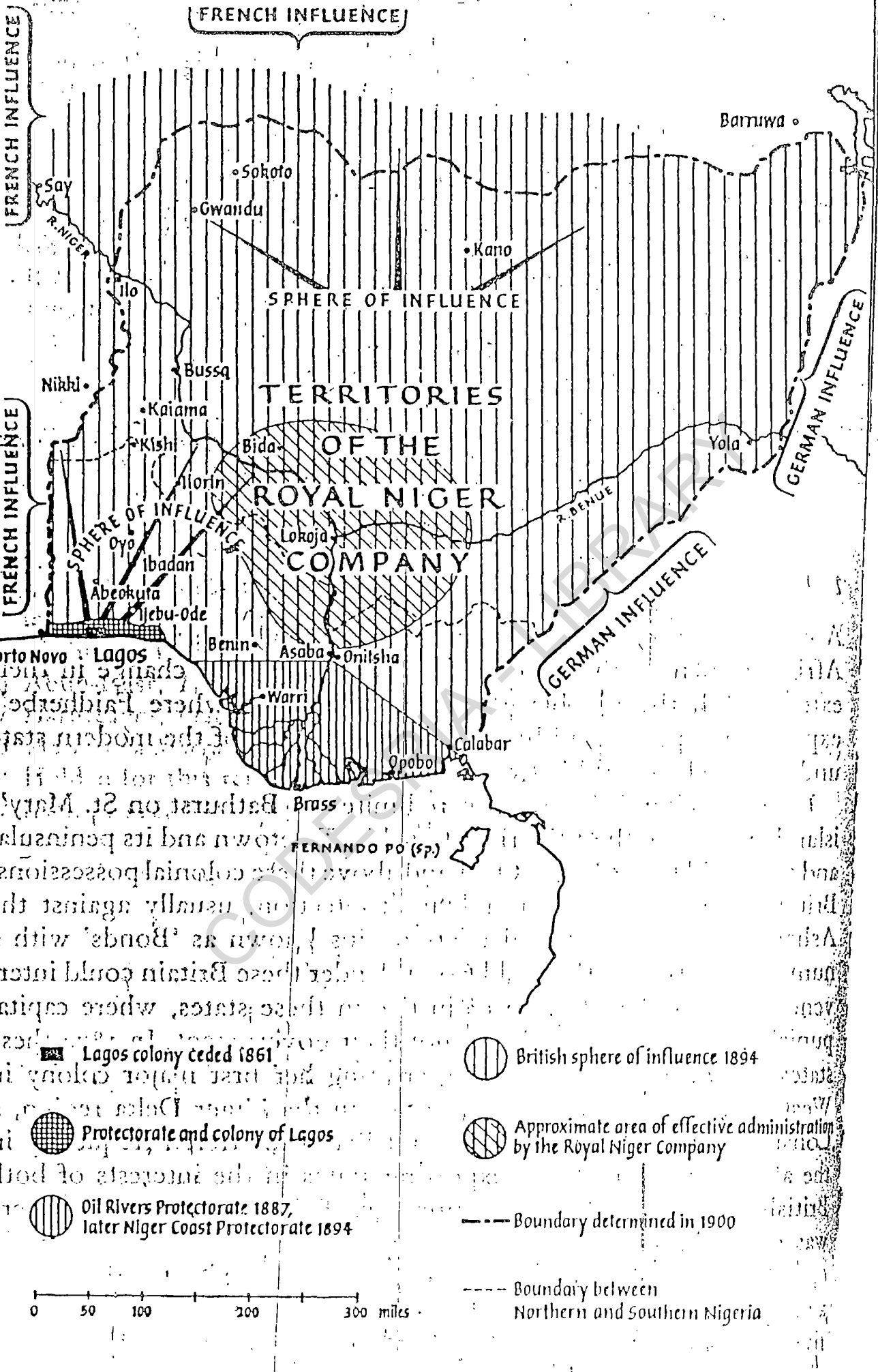
FOOTNOTES








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-  British sphere of influence 1894
-  Approximate area of effective administration by the Royal Niger Company
-  Boundary determined in 1900
-  Boundary between Northern and Southern Nigeria
-  Protectorate and colony of Lagos
-  Oil Rivers Protectorate 1887, later Niger Coast Protectorate 1894
-  Lagos colony ceded 1861

CHAPTER THREE

AN OVERVIEW OF THE APPARATUSES FASHIONED BY THE BRITISH COLONIALISTS FOR THE  
DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE ZARIA PROVINCE.

This chapter is an overview of the apparatuses that were fashioned by the colonialists for the control, domination and the exploitation of the social surpluses of the Zaria province. The last chapter has shown us that by April 1902, colonial imperialism had become a reality in the Zaria province. However, the imposition of colonial control and domination was ultimately designed to make the Zaria province into a steady supplier of cheap agricultural and industrial raw materials for British industries and also turn the province into net importer of British manufactured goods.

The subsequent issue which arose and confronted the colonial imperialists was the reality of the impossibility of the realisation of British colonial imperial goals within the context of the pre-colonial protectionist obstacles inherent in the socio-economic administrative and bureaucratic apparatuses of the Zaria emirate. Thus, the realisation of the colonial objectives, therefore, demanded the smashing of the barriers that had effectively safeguarded and protected the interests of the emirate, vis a vis: foreign interests. This chapter is, therefore, designed to highlight how the colonialists removed these internal obstacles. It will show that the smashing of these "fetters" took the form of the imposition and execution of a radical and fundamental restructuring, re-ordering and re-organisation of pre-existing structures to suit colonialist demands and goals. Thus, colonialist restructuring resulted in the removal of old aristocratic powers and privileges, hence new territorial arrangement emerged, so also was new colonial bureaucratic apparatuses with the Native Authority (N.A.A.) as its basis. New land tenure system and property relations also came into being in the wake of colonialist fiscal and economic policies. New agricultural, and mining practices were also instituted by the state.

3.1 British Military Victory as the Basis of the Colonial State in the  
Zaria Province.

The military victory of the colonial imperialists in the Zaria province was very decisive. The victory cleared the way for the exploitation of the prerogative of the conquerer which gave unlimited, unconditional privileges, rights and powers to the colonialists. Conquest, thus, allowed the subordination of Zaria province's human and material resources to the dictates of colonial imperialism. With such vast powers, the colonial state subsequently implemented policies that engendered the realisation of colonial imperial goals in the Zaria province.

Thus, immediately after the military victory, the state announced policies that smashed, over time, these pre-existing "obstacles." The first step the state took was to seize power from the former ruling class and instituted imperial colonial control. Furthermore, they also enacted the following laws:

- (a) The emirs and other principal officers of state would be appointed, disciplined and dismissed by the state.
- (b) Taxes henceforth would be levied and collected only on behalf of the colonial state.
- (c) British currency should become the sole legal tender.
- (d) All lands were nationalised, and their control vested in the state.
- (e) All mineral sites were to be also nationalised, and their control also vested in the state.
- (f) The capturing and sale of slaves were to be forbidden.
- (g) British law shall be the basis of the legal system.

All in all, these policies effected a radical and fundamental transformation of pre-colonial socio-economic administrative, and bureaucratic apparatuses. It is interesting to point out that colonial restructuring consequently opened up the province's society and economy to British loot and plunder.

### 3.2 The Creation of Colonial Super Structure; NAs

As shown above the colonial state became the supreme authority. In order to facilitate the actualisation of colonial goals, new structures were

fashioned. It was colonial wants that, therefore, decided the establishment of a bureaucratic and administrative machinery known as the Native Authority (N.A.) in the Zaria province. The N.A.s were created and established in the Zaria province with the appointment and the co-option of some members of the aristocracy into the colonial system. However, in order for the state to maintain firm control over the N.A., recalcitrant aristocrats were disgraced and dismissed, the first to go as shown earlier, was emir Kwassau who spearheaded resistance to the imposition of colonial imperialism. But the state justified the deposition of Kwassau on the grounds that he was tyrannical, despotic and cruel leader who took much pleasure in inflicting pain on his subjects.<sup>2</sup>

However, with Kwassau out of the way, emir Aliyu was appointed by the state. It is interesting to point out that the power of choice among contestant princes enabled the colonial state pick pro-colonial candidates. Thus, they appointed their own men into the helm of affairs. The state justified the appointment of Aliyu on the basis that he was of intelligent bearing; in other words, he was a kinder person than his predecessor.<sup>3</sup> Such profusion of humility was another trick of the colonial state, their argument being that they were the liberators of the people, as they helped them remove bad rulers. A further justification of colonialist liberation was the exaggerated picture of welcome and acceptance of colonial imperialism by the the indigenous people of the province.<sup>4</sup> But, the bitter wars of resistance clearly illuminated the fact that colonialism was clearly unwelcomed in the Zaria province.

The political re-organisation of the institution of the emirship under colonial imperialism rendered the emir a mere puppet. He enjoyed tenure of office only at the pleasure of the state, he must be loyal to the British crown,<sup>5</sup> He could neither initiate any policy nor execute one without the say so of the state. The emir became a mere agent of the state. Thus, though he was made to head the N.A., he was stripped of a large number of his personal followers

and officers. In the new colonial administrative shake up, a number of district and village heads ( the Hakims, Kokofis, Doraria) and other palace officials lost their jobs. Their dismissal was justified by the state on the basis of redundancy and that this bogus bureaucracy constituted a drain on state coffers.<sup>6</sup> In the southern communities, the old ruling council was smashed and the New N.A. structure was super imposed over the people.<sup>7</sup> However, a school of thought has seen the imposition of the N.A. in the southern division as a consolidation of emirate structure on an independent of entity.<sup>8</sup> This study will not go into this controversy, but for the purposes of the study it is enough to say that the N.A. structure was an imperialist tool. The study believes that this mass purge of the old aristocracy by the colonialists was to shatter old loyalties to the former ruling systems, the logic of the imperialist being that these dismissed officials could be easily manipulated by old indigenous aristocratic machinery to channel, co-ordinate and sustain resistance to colonialism, and thereby fetter the realization of imperial ambitions. To shatter this focus of resistance, these officials had to go. The mechanisms of colonial imperialism required pre-colonial loyal officials. The power of dismissal of officials enabled the state maintain firm grip over the N.A. staff, of more fundamental importance was the fact that the co-option of the aristocracy was a clever and practical cover up by the state. The N.A. gave the image of continuity with the former structures and was designed to lent legitimacy to colonialism. It was meant to show that the new regime was not radically different from the old one, only that "bad" and "redundant" offices of the former regime were removed. It has been demonstrated that the co-option of indigenous aristocracy was an astute disguise to cover real ambitions of colonial imperialism. The co-option of the N.A. was, thus, designed to smash further resistance of colonial rule, thus, the N.A. was meant to lull the sense of alien control, and the co-option of the aristocracy had the practical sense of entrenching colonial imperialism in

the Zaria province.<sup>9</sup> However, of more crucial importance is the fact that the very nature, form, and content of their old functions, duties and responsibilities of the old administrative and bureaucratic apparatuses of the emirate's system made them into a class ready made for colonial manipulations. For colonialist opportunistic reasons, the old machinery needed only to be re-organised restructured re-fashioned and adapted into efficient colonial tool. It is important to point out that the N.A. staff who were co-opted into the colonial scheme had no option. Service under colonialism was merely survival strategy. Military victory had shown all and sundry the futility of further resistance, colonialism had become a reality and people must adapt to it. So, from time to time, the state forced the N.A. staff to re-affirm their loyalty to the crown. For example, the emir must observe all imperial functions, like, coronations, birthdays, etc; he must also pay homage to imperial officials.<sup>10</sup> At this point, it is very necessary to point out that it was this N.A. staff that made the realisation of imperial goals possible. They, for example, secured the labour that constructed the railways, they also supervised state agricultural and mining policies; these shall be shown later. The colonialist transformations were further consolidated with a territorial re-arrangement that swept aside old order, and created and recreated a territorial organisation that suited the aims and aspirations of the state.

### 3.3 Territorial Re-Organisation

In order to effect complete colonial control and domination over the Zaria province, the state instituted a radical and fundamental transformation of pre-existing territorial arrangement. Because of this need for a territorial system that would facilitate the realisation of imperial goals, the state smashed the delicate territorial arrangement of the past with its inherent respect of tribal and ethnic compositions. Such arrangement was discredited by the colonial state on the grounds of anomalies of haphazard territorial arrangement that it inhibited administrative efficiency as duties

were duplicated it thus, allowed for the overstuffed bureaucracy. In other words, scattered fiefs constituted irrational and illogical arrangements.<sup>11</sup> In the subsequent colonialist territorial "harmonization", pre-existing borders were scrapped; in their places, the state instituted territorial arrangement on the basis of geographical contiguity. Hence, hamlets, villages, and towns were amalgamated into district and divisions regardless of ethnic and linguistic compositions. For example, Achau district consisted of the following: Achau, Baugau, Gadas, Haskiya, Kargi and Mah. Chikun district consisted of the following: Chikun, Bugal, Gwari, Dutsa, Gadani, Owaru, Kabrafi, Kessya, Kachabo, Kafarna, Kujama and Kogochi.<sup>12</sup>

It is of fundamental importance to point out that these territorial arrangements had no basis in pre-existing social relations and organisations. But they were very adequate for colonialists purposes. In order to consolidate territorial arrangement that would suit their purposes, the state kept gerrymandering borders; for example, in 1906, there were 33 districts in the province, by 1912 they were reduced to 22.<sup>13</sup> Thus, because of this erratic nature of territorial arrangement, some disturbing phenomena emerged. Because homogeneous groups were arbitrarily carved out and split up into different districts there were agitations by groups for re-union with their kin and kin across the border. The case of the Afakar, has been highlighted,<sup>14</sup> so also was constant boundary disputes and the Gure-Kabugu clashes reflect this phenomenon.<sup>15</sup>

It is, however, essential to point out that colonialist territorial re-organisations only took cognisance of imperialists designs. Colonialist convenience was the sole reason for the gerrymandering, for example, the practical utility of this territorial arrangement allowed the complete direct colonial control and domination in the Zaria province. Parasitonic grants from the imperial treasury had dictated the minimization of the employment of imperial officials in the Zaria province. In other

words, only few imperial official could be employed for colonial services. Thus, the problem of shortage of imperial manpower shaped the state's political and territorial re-organisations. Subsequent colonialists territorial re-organisations enabled the tactical and strategic deployment of few imperial officials in the province. For example, in 1929 only eleven imperial administrative staff officials controlled, administered and dominated the Zaria province of 23,900 miles with populations estimated in the millions.<sup>16</sup> These officials were superimposed on the provincial administration as Residents. District officers (D.Os), Assistant District officers (A.D.Os) and cadets; an interesting phenomena was that most of the imperial officials were ex-service men.<sup>17</sup> It was these imperial officials that guided, monitored and coerced the N.A . staff, into action. For colonialist convenience it was the N.As who were the direct executors of imperial orders. It was this sort of administration that was known as the indirect rule system and basic to the colonialist philosophy of indirect rule was that the natives must be guided for the proper administration of their people and their country.<sup>18</sup> But, this study is of the opinion that this position, essentially represented colonial apologist deceptiveness to justify British rule. A fundamental and a more thorough grasp of the character, content and form of how the so called indirect rule system operated reveals that N.A. officials were mere puppets, through whom the state maintained firm and complete grip over provincial affairs. This study also exposes the cunningness inherent in indirect rule as it was meant to diverted attention of Nigerians away from the reality of colonial exploitation. The co-option of the aristocratic class allowed the ruse of indirect rule; it also avoided the development of riotous situation in the province. Thus, the policy of indirect rule system was a clever imperial tool that was age-old and that had been used by all imperialists.<sup>19</sup> It is of interest to point out that where the British did not find an aristocratic class, they created one, and maintained it, for example, this was the case with the infamous warrant chief system in eastern Nigeria.<sup>20</sup>



The political economy of indirect rule, as will be evident in this study, shows that, it cleverly enabled the imperial official to manipulate situations through remote control. This clever strategies allowed imperial official to stayed off line high light but indigenous people were not deceived by their tactics of aloofness thus, the imperial officers earned nick name like Zaki ( lion) , Giva ( elephant), Ekben Dado ( the big monster) . All these signified the profound reality of the enormous powers wielded by suppose beania imperial officials.<sup>21</sup> The present study is of the opinion that there was nothing indirect in the N.A. system. Colonial imperial rule was firmly, completely and directly entrenched in the Zaria province. The protagonists of indirect rule system failed to grasp this irrefutable fact. The scenario they painted is undoubtedly cynical depicting a facade as they failed to ask a fundamental question, what would be the fate of N.A. staff who failed to conform to colonialist order. It is from this simple point and especially from the standpoint of hapless and harassed N.A. officials that the true nature of colonial rule could be grasped.

The people of the province had been subjugated and subordinated to foreign rule and the Zaria province had become an integral part and parcel of the British protectorate of northern Nigeria. Thus, foreign control was a fait accompli, this was instituted in April 1902, and as it has been shown above, the N.A. staff were mere pawns, susceptible to dismissal for dereliction of duty viz, for failure to carry out imperial exploitative orders.

However, it was from the hamlet and district levels, from the rural places that colonial exploitations were carried out. From such levels, it was very easy for the B.os to monitor and detect lapses in the execution and implementation of colonialists policies and effect corrections. For administrative convenience, the apparatuses operated through the agency of specialised departments

### 3.4 The Creation of the Specialised Departments

By 1915, the state had created departments in the province this was done in order to smoothen the technical and

administrative machinery. These departments, like those of Agriculture, Forestry, Health, Education, Public Works, (PWD), Treasury, Police etc, were the conduits through which imperialist orders were executed. These departments essentially were the mediums that made the exploitation of the Zaria province possible. For administrative convenience, imperial officials headed these department, while the N.A. were the support staffs. In order to give the N.A. staff a sense of belonging, and most especially to instill in them a sense of regained lost powers and authority, the state created new bogus titles for them, thus, we have Sakin Nawa (head of water resources), Fajje (head of treasury), Naqaji Jisabo (head of works) Sarkin Sharu (head of veterinary) Wakillin Gona (head of Agriculture), Sarkin Daji (head of Forestry).<sup>22</sup> All these were to boost the sense of importance and prestige of N.A. staff, but it essentially was an empty gesture, what was in a title, when the owner could not initiate policies on his own.

One further point must be made before we can proceed with other features of colonial apparatuses; this was the clever tactics of divided and rule engendered by the state's political and territorial re-organisation. The deceptive way this was achieved, was through the elevation or demotion of the statuses, powers and positions of individuals and communities vis a vis one another. For example, some independent districts were created in the province these were totally outside the control of Zaria's N.A. as was the case of , Birni Gwari.<sup>23</sup> Thus, evidence shows that a sense of competition and confrontation emerged between the emir of Zaria and some of the district heads.<sup>24</sup> While some districts were exercised from Zaria N.A. others were amalgamated into the Zaria N.A. This gerrymandering sort of relationship, as it has been shown above, made it difficult to grasp the true relations among communities.<sup>25</sup>

This study is of opinion that these territorial organisation were implemented solely for colonialist convenience. Thus, for example, Kujana was amalgamated with Chikun, under the district head of Chikun,

while Kujama was also amalgamated with Markarfi, under the district head of Markarfi.<sup>26</sup> The resultant effect of these mergers was that subordinated districts, lost their former autonomy, friction thus, emerged between them and the new rulers. A poignant remainder of this situation as shown above was demonstrated by the call by Bajju people in the southern part of Kaduna state for a realignment of political arrangement imposed by colonialism.<sup>27</sup>

However, this study would like to point out that for the fashioning of the atmosphere conducive for the procurement of raw materials and profitable markets, divide and rule tactics were very effective. These tactics had the ignoble effect of diverting attention away from colonial exploitation and the focusing of indigenous peoples attention on petty internal "crises", the remedying of this "crises" subsequently absorbed all their energies. The state deliberately fostered and stimulated jealousies, and subsequently suspicion of each other became rife, among indigenous people. Tribal, religious and ethnic differences were blown out of proportion on the basis that civil strife was the dominant mode of intercourse in the past, and that colonialist peace entailed segregating the races.<sup>28</sup> The way the state located and exploited these internal contradictions lay in the superious ethnographic and anthropological findings and reports. The colonialist took great pains to report on what they perceived as the level of socio-economic development of indigenous people, and through such reports came to fore the vexed classifications of indigenous people into Hamitic Fulani, Hausa, and Pagans groups.<sup>29</sup> These reports consequently formed the basis of their re-organisations.

However, a thorough grasp of pre-colonial setting as demonstrated above, clearly reveals the fallaciousness of colonial anthropological reports. The bases of these reports, was that they constituted an intrinsic tool of colonial imperialism; they served to justify the actions and deeds of the imperialist. It has further been shown that these reports exhibited the pervasive and vicious racism of the imperialist for whom black was derogatory.<sup>30</sup> Thus, divide and rule prevented a sustained and consistent struggle against

colonial imperialism in Zaria province. This study is of opinions that it was this divide and rule tactics that guaranteed the state a horde of indigenous officials who guided and showed them all that was exploitable in the province, this was because those favoured by the colonialists naturally took great interest in satisfying their patrons needs, while those unfavoured also strove for colonialist favours. It was this competition for favours that provided the state with its espionage network, each spying on the other to curry favours, and all to the benefit of the imperial colonialists. However, colonial intelligence reports represent a concrete evidence of the efficiency and vastness of their informants. Thus, with these reports, it was very easy for the imperialists to smash centres of resistance, most cases, resistance took isolated forms, and thus, it was easy to deal with one at a time, thereby cajole all to obey to colonial order. It is very important to point out that intelligence reports were very important in the colonial scheme of things. It was the data from these reports that also guided other colonial policies, like the fiscal, monetary, trade, industrial and transport policies.

### 3.5 The Imposition of Colonial Fiscal and Economic Systems: Taxation, British Currencies Etc.

As we have shown above, the pre-existing fiscal, monetary and trade policies constituted fetters to foreign control. Such domestic policies were clearly inimical to the realisation of colonial goals, thus, they had to be eradicated. The way to removing old obstacles lay in the imposition of colonialists economic re-structuring.

It has been shown above that the state had arrogated to itself right to tax collection. It justified its tax policies on the pretext that pre-existing taxes were highly exploitative, and such constituted an unnecessary burden on the peasants, colonialists taxation, therefore, was to liberate the peasants from this financial hardship;<sup>32</sup> the classical paternal humanitarian posture of British imperialists. Aside

from this "humanitarian" reason, Lugard gave a more concrete reason for their taxes. He argued that the state would lose authority if it did not collect taxes, as the peasants associated tax collection with authority. In other words, colonial control and domination would not be complete and total without financial extortions, a prerogative of the conqueror. Furthermore, Lugard argues that taxes would be raised for developmental (revenue) purposes, as the colonial office had stipulated a financial policy of self-sufficiency for colonies.<sup>33</sup>

A comment on colonialist fiscal policy is necessary in order to unveil their fake humanitarian pose. We have shown elsewhere, that colonial apologists want us to believe that humanitarian reasons shaped colonial acquisitions. But the pertinent question then is why deny the province, the much needed financial aid. Colonial apologists say self-sufficiency was to teach productivity and thrift, but, the reality of financial self-sufficiency was to minimize imperial funds to Zaria province. In other words, British tax payers must not bear the financial burdens of the province, rather mother country should feed fat on the provinces expense.<sup>34</sup> Fundamentally, this study sees colonialist taxation as a mechanism for exploitation, perhaps the most profound and sure way of pricing loose indigenous peoples control over their social wealth.

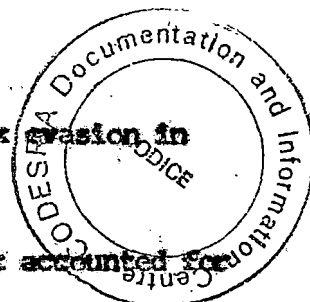
In a concrete move to realise surplus wealth the state levied the following taxes, poll tax, hoe tax, land rent, cattle tax (Jangali) industrial tax, compound tax, income tax, etc. taxes were imposed on produce like sugar cane, traders also paid taxes in form of permits and licenses. A most glaring feature of colonial taxation was that it was radically and fundamentally different from what obtained before. It has further been shown that the implication of colonialist tax policies was that the incidence of taxation become very high; for example, the peasant paid tax as a farmer, cattle owner, craftsmen, and trader. The taxes due were assessed by the state and it was aimed at potential profit. Thus, it

has been revealed that about 41% of indigenous people earnings went into the satisfaction of state's voracious tax demands.<sup>35</sup>

A most prominent and perhaps the most revealing exploitative nature of colonial imperialist fiscal demand was that taxes were paid on an individual basis.<sup>36</sup> In the colonialists scheme of things, tax assessment was a serious business, in-fact imperial careers were tied to success of tax collection. For example, the emir and some district heads had their salaries stopped and some were dismissed for "dereliction of duties" viz, they did not squeeze the peasants for enough tax as much as the state expected of them.<sup>37</sup> On the hand, imperial officials got promoted by the degree of squeeze they extracted from the people they were supposed to "humanize and civilise"<sup>38</sup> It was also this tax assessment that necessitated an elaborate census system. It is necessary to show that it was in the process of tax assessment that the intelligence network came to serve.

A cursory examination of colonial records shows that throughout the province, everything was counted and meticulously recorded, humans, animals and trees. For example, hamlets that were located very deep into the outskirts of the province were discovered. Thus, Damisa, which consisted of 28 people was located; Dan Huru of 23 people was also discovered so was Kafeni which was made up of 18 people.<sup>39</sup> Tax collection, took the form of military pugnance. For example, E.J. Arnett led such military party in 1908 to enforce tax payment in Kauru area. The state justified the inclusion of armed men in the tax party on the grounds that soldiers were mere escorts, especially in the need "to pacify the wild pagan countries"<sup>40</sup> It is the believe of this study that the armed party were designed to coerce indigenous people into paying colonial taxes and to obey and submit to colonial domination and control. Those who refused to pay taxes faced stiff penalties, individuals were jailed,<sup>41</sup> and communities and settlements were completely destroyed for such offences. The Gure

people, for example, faced such horrible treatment for tax evasion in  
1908.<sup>42</sup>



Another prominent feature of colonialist taxation that accounted for  
its exploitativeness and inflexibility was that it was monetarised and payable  
only in British currency the sterling.<sup>43</sup> Meeting colonialists tax obligations,  
thus, became problematic, in other words, the colonial state imposed taxes  
which necessitated the sourcing of cash incomes.<sup>44</sup> The methods by which  
sterling could be secured for tax purposes were either through growing of  
exportable products, which incidentally were the raw materials needed by  
British industries, or working for the state or British firms. What we  
are thus saying is that through its tax policies, the colonial state  
achieved the following objectives, (a) it effectively tied the Zaria  
province into the economy of Britain through the imposition of British  
currency as the universal medium for tax payment and for exchange.  
(b) Furthermore, the search for tax money forced some peasants to petty  
commodity production of cotton, groundnut and ginger etc. (c) The sourcing  
for tax money, also released some labourers to the colonial economy, those  
issues will be amplified in subsequent sections.

### 3.6 The Creation of Peasant Labourers

At this point it will be very necessary to pinpoint some of the  
disturbing phenomena that emerged in the wake of the imposition of the  
colonialists fiscal and monetary policies, (a) Universal individual  
monetary taxation shattered the pre-existing relations of production at the  
individual level and subsequently petty commodity production became dominant  
relations of production under British colonial imperialism in the Zaria  
province. The crushing of the gandu production unit, for example, led peasants  
to strive on their own to secured tax money. It is also revealing to show  
that productions at the private and state levels broke up, as it became  
unremunerative, for instance, to hold slaves, as slaves masters had to pay  
taxes for his slaves.<sup>45</sup> As the gandu unit broke up, gandu holdings,

especially their lands were divided up. Each member subsequently ended up with a fragmented portion of the land. The land, thus, became too small for some people who subsequently sold it off, and went in search of alternative means of subsistence. When they got works they sold only what they possessed, their labour power. Two issues concomitantly emerged, (a) Landlessness, and new property relations, and (b) peasant labourers, and a small proletariat came into being. We shall show later the impact of these phenomena on the political economy of the Zaria province. We shall also discuss in details in chapter five the impact of coercion of petty commodity production in the Zaria province. But for now, it is enough to say that peasant production on individual basis became the norm, and this made it easy, as we shall show later, for the colonial state and British firms to manipulate such loosely organised units for the realization of cheap labourers and cheap raw materials. This individualism logically carried the policy of divide and rule to the rank and file, to the grass root. This divide and rule policy was thus, a central and prominent feature in the British control and domination of the Zaria province throughout colonial period. The distortion of production at private and state levels also disarticulated relations between slaves and their masters. To further break up this relations of production, the state promulgated slavery edit which forbade slave transactions, and slave holdings were to be eradicated over time.<sup>46</sup>

This slavery issue, especially demands attention because it, more than any other phenomenon, was used as the justification for colonial imperialism. Colonial apologists arguments were that the old society was slave-ridden, and that the efforts to secure slaves accounted for the incessant local wars.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, slave-holding was said to fetter production, as labour immobility and manpower under utilisation were its results.<sup>48</sup> Colonialism, therefore, was designed to reduce injustices inherent in slave-holding, and free more hands for production purposes.<sup>49</sup> However, the reality of colonial situation as we shall show later, reveals that the interests of the people were not paramount



in shaping state slavery laws. The state merely wanted labourers for its uses, and thus, set loose those that were securely tied down elsewhere in various occupations. It was thus, easy for the state to manipulate such labour to do its bidings. Lugard glossed over the success of their labour supply policy saying that "the state can count on a fairly adequate labour supply both for current needs and for great construction works such as the railways<sup>50</sup>, thus, it was the concrete need of railway construction that best accounted for Lugard's statement that: "not every slave should become a peasant proprietor for no country in the world can do without causal

<sup>51</sup>paid labour" (emphasis mine). So a class was rendered landless, and had to sell their labour power for subsistence. However, with these coercive policies the state had, thus effectively subordinated and subsumed indigenous peoples productive potentials and capacities to foreign control. This will be shown more clearly later in subsequent chapters. It is, however, important here to state that the colonialists policies also transformed pre-existing land tenure systems.

### 3.7 Colonial Land Tenure

Another prominent feature of the colonialists economic re-organisation was the radical transformation of the land tenure systems. Old tenurial systems with emphasis on indigenous peoples use-factory control was very inimical to the realisation of colonial goals. For example, it would have been very difficult under the old system for the state to displace people from their lands and acquire it for railway uses. In the new colonial order land was nationalised, and the colonial state and its agents, the Residents, became the new trustees. They could dispose of land as they deemed fit and any land could be acquired for state purposes. The colonial certificate of occupancy (C of O) became the only valid basis for land ownership.<sup>52</sup> This study believes that perhaps only those who paid land rents, acquired rights to land ownership.<sup>53</sup> Thus, under colonial dispensation, inalienable rights to land became a force. In fact, as we shall show later,

landlessness became prominent as a result of vast lands acquired by the state for railways and mineral firms. The state justified its huge land holdings on the grounds that they were waste and un-occupied lands.<sup>54</sup> However, as evidenced in chapter one, these ostensible waste lands were left fallow by agricultural practices, in order to regain natural fertility. But colonial land tenure introduced new property relations, viz individual land holdings and hence the commoditization of land relations became increasingly popular and it was perhaps the single most rampant way of land transfer.<sup>55</sup> And as will be demonstrated later, this new property relations completely shattered the old agricultural systems and induced mainly commodity production in the Zaria province.

Of more fundamental importance, however, is the need to point out that colonialists policies were interrelated and interdirected as they were diverted at achieving a multiplicity of effects and they thus, represented grand and comprehensive methods aimed at engendering the propitious conditions suitable for the smooth realisation of colonial imperial goals. For the purposes of this study, it is crucial to show briefly at this stage that the state's fiscal and economic policies also guaranteed British firms a profitable market in the Zaria province. This was because poll and industrial taxes represented concrete measures to remove old emirate's antidumping measures; poll tax and the subsequent increase in the prices of indigenous manufactured goods, for example, discouraged trade along the old trans-saharan routes,<sup>56</sup> while industrial taxes also shattered indigenous manufacturing sector.<sup>57</sup> These were the concrete ways and manners in which the colonial state paved the way for the ascendancy of British goods in the Zaria province. As we shall amplify later, monetarization of the economy, especially the imposition of unaurious exchange rate facilitated the realisation of profit by foreign firms. For example, one shilling, is (10 Kobo) were exchanged for between 1,200-4,000 cowries.<sup>58</sup> The phenomenon of unequal exchange will be discussed shortly. However, it is necessary to reveal that

such ridiculously low exchange rate wiped out all former wealth,<sup>59</sup> in other words, colonialist exchange rate decapitalised the Zaria province. This state of poverty was however, conducive for the achievement of imperial goals. It was very easy and less daunting to manipulate impoverished people to do colonialists bidding. This enabling atmosphere, was concretely maintained by the imposition of British legal system.<sup>60</sup>

### 3.8 Colonialist Laws

The imposition of British legal system was one of the most striking features that engendered, and consolidated British colonial imperialism in the Zaria province. Yadudu, for example, argues that colonialist laws were imposed to suit and aid colonialism, as old legal systems became subordinated to imperialists' designs.<sup>61</sup> The state backed up this legal system with a huge coercive apparatuses, army,<sup>62</sup> police,<sup>63</sup> courts,<sup>64</sup> and prisons.<sup>65</sup> Military expeditions to enforce obedience to colonialists orders as shown above became a re-occurring theme in the Zaria province. It has been shown that the state unleashed violence and terror on the people, to show them the futility of disobedience.<sup>66</sup> It should be recognised that, with the imposition of colonialist structures, this subsequently resulted in the enabling atmosphere, conducive for trade. This development drew foreign firms to the province.

### 3.9 The Coming of Multi-National Firms

It should be pointed that with colonial conquest foreign firms came to the province in search of trade opportunities. Thus, in 1902, two British firms, namely; the Niger company and the British cotton growing Association (BCGA), became operational in the province.<sup>67</sup> The entry of BCGA, especially deserves some special comment, because its activities were to affect in a profound manner the political economy of the Zaria province. BCGA was formed by the Manchester based British African Merchants and chambers of commerce (hence forth referred to as the Chambers).<sup>68</sup> BCGA was formed specifically to source for cotton in northern Nigeria.<sup>69</sup>

As already indicated earlier on, the Zaria province had in the past exported cotton and textile materials. It thus, possessed the potential to satisfy Lancashire. BEGA sent favourable reports back home, that it was possible to secure cotton from especially the Zaria province.<sup>70</sup> At this point it is necessary to point out that Lancashire was in desperate need of cotton as its American supply became erratic and unreliable.<sup>71</sup> But, a fundamental logistical problem especially confronted by BEGA and other British firms in their effort to move huge bulky cargo to and from the coast to Zaria province in the interior, as that of transport. The pre-existing means of transport were clearly inadequate for BEGA's purposes. It was then, the grand design of colonial imperialists that best accounted for their negative criticism of pre-existing means of transport. Inyard puts it best, that the problem of Africa could be summed up in the word "transport" (emphasis mine).<sup>72</sup> But such an interpretation of pre-existing transport system is exceedingly superficial and misses the main significance of its adequacy for that level of the development of the productive forces as we have intimated in chapter one above.

The logic of colonialist ambitions, thus, demanded and necessitated the provision of an alternative means of transport, especially, a mechanical one. At that time, the early part of the twentieth century there existed four principal means of long distance haulage, namely, by water, air, road and the railways.<sup>73</sup>

However, water transportation was irrelevant in the Zaria province because of the poor nature of water ways, and the occasional dry ups.<sup>74</sup> Air and road transportation were in their infancy, so they were not seriously considered, and that left the railways, as the only feasible alternative.<sup>75</sup> The chambers opted for the railways because they were very sure of their effectiveness, as the railways had been used in the U.K. for quite some time before our era.<sup>76</sup>

3.10 The Need for and the Importance of the Railways in the Colonial Economy. (Main Attraction, Raw-Materials-the Cotton Belt)

In capitalist logic, the railways would be very useful and indispensable in the colonies, especially more so in the case of the Zaria province which was located very far from the sea board. The railways would then be used to move bulky goods (both machinery and commodities) from and to the Zaria province from the coast. Church puts the argument best that:

Since rivers do not suffice and motor transport was then unknown, railways were the only possible method for large scale long distance evacuation of low value bulky goods, they remained the only all year method.<sup>77</sup>

However, what remained was to convince the colonial state of the desirability and need for railways in northern Nigeria; this was so, because the state had in the past vetoed earlier railways proposals for west-Africa.<sup>78</sup> The state's stand was based on the fear of exploitation by private entrepreneurs, since this was the era of informal empire.<sup>79</sup> Moreover imperial treasury was not ready to finance a project whose profitability had not then been fully established.<sup>80</sup>

However, by 1907 the situation had radically changed, BECA had determined that the Zaria province could bail Lancashire out of its cotton raw material predicament. In other words, the British economy could expect a prop up from the Zaria province.<sup>81</sup> BECA was thus in the fore front of the lobby to get the railways built from the coast to a point the cotton belt which lay in the Zaria province.<sup>81</sup> (emphasis mine). Thus, in 1906, BECA sent a very powerful lobby of 64 members of parliament, 30 lawyers, and high imperial like Lord Marlborough and Sir Ralph Moor- to solicit the government for Northern railways. Their lobby yielded results because in 1907 the northern railways from Ibadan-Kano was approved, this railways interestingly cut across the Zaria province.<sup>82</sup>

With the imperial approval, the railways project, thus, became a reality. Colonial offices secured finance for the project from the London money market.<sup>83</sup>

However, one can see clearly that economic bias ultimately shaped the colonialists railways policy. The ultimate aim of the imperialists was to endow their firms with a fast and steady giant freighter, the railways. However, apologist literature, as it has been shown above, want us to believe that the railways were built for "humanitarian," "administrative" and "military purposes". But a more penetrating insight into the courses of the railways net works, clearly reveals that humanitarian gesture was far fetched. There existed only 230 miles of rail-road in a province of 23,900 sq. miles, that is, roughly about 13sq. miles of rail-road to 1,000 sq. miles; railways land ratio in the province very was poor.<sup>84</sup> This study thus posits that if the railways were for humanitarian reasons, they would have criss- crossed the province thereby easing transportation problems of the peasants. What was glaringly clear from the poor spread of railways infrastructural facilities was that the communications of indigenous people was not the decisive factor, as the railways were mainly selectively built to places of imperial economic interest which principally were the raw materials belts (regions).<sup>85</sup> Because of this inadequacy of the railways systems,, evidence shows that indigenous people were still used as beast of burden because they were the porters who carried the luggage of imperial officers during administrative tours; thus human portorage and pack animals still constituted an intrinsic part of the systems during the colonial era,<sup>86</sup> and this sharply defeated the apologists administrative and humanitarian excuses for the construction of the railways. Likewise, if military logistics determined the route of the railways, numerous lines, should at least have reached international frontiers-Katsina, Forno, and Sokoto- but there were none to these areas. However, as it has been shown, if the railways were used for military purposes, they were used only to suppress internal protests against imperialism, in other words, the railways were used to coerrve obedience to colonial imperialism.<sup>87</sup> We have already shown that finance had been secured to the project; it is however, interesting to point out the exploitativeness inherent in colonial imperialist loan policy.

The loans were raised at discriminatory rates, because it was for a dependency colony; it thus, carried higher rates of interest (emphasis mine).<sup>88</sup> In other words, Nigerians would pay more on the loan" because the state did not endeavour to raise the loan internally, this would have been impossible because their fiscal policies, as we have shown, had decapitalised the Zaria province, thus, the much talked about low equity trap was imposed by the state. So internal self financing became problematic; more ominous was the reality of Nigerian dependency on foreign source for capital to finance the projects. Thus, the area was laid open to the financial manipulations of international finance capital. The acquisition of loans from external sources thus helped achieved a fundamental objective of colonial imperialism, colonies represented areas of little investments and huge returns. It has been shown that loans represented avenues through which international capital swindled colonial economies. Loans for the railways thus opened the gate for this international swindle.<sup>89</sup>

Another noticeable feature of international swindle was the way and manner the loans were disbursed. The bulk of the loans were spent in the U.K.<sup>90</sup> Thus, railways loans disbursement stimulated British iron and steel industries, as all the nails, iron sleepers, poles, zinc and wire were bought in the U.K.<sup>91</sup> This study also believes that the procurement of railway equipment in the U.K. enabled British rail dispose of its old stock rendered obsolete by rail standardization of 1846, as prior to this time, various railway gauges existed in the U.K. 2ft 6ins, 3ft 6ins and 4ft 8ins;<sup>92</sup> however, all these were harmonised to 4ft 8ins in 1846, so, the smaller gauges became obsolete. Railway projects in new places, thus, afforded British rails a tidy outlet for the disposal of obsolescents. The line approved for the Baro-Kano and Rahama lines were the "pioneer lines" of smaller 3ft 6ins and 2ft 6ins gauges.<sup>93</sup> However, colonial apologists justified this exploitative of stock procurement policy on the basis of sound economy. In Church's words, it was economically wise to use second hand

equipment for tropical railways.<sup>94</sup> In other words, the apologists were not bothered about quality and the obsolete nature of rolling stock of the northern railways, what was glossed over, was the "humanitarian" gesture that the railways was built in the very first instance.<sup>95</sup>

Yet, it is necessary to look at the issue of procurement of iron materials overseas from the larger broader issue of its implication for indigenous metallurgical industry; while British industries were thus, stimulated as shown above simultaneously indigenous technical and technological bases were neglected, and they became disarticulated.<sup>96</sup> However, the destruction of indigenous technological basis was designed to satisfy colonial imperial demands, viz: this obnoxious policy of unindustrialization of the colonies was justified on the superior theory of comparative and absolute advantage of classical economics. Thus, while Britain was to specialise on manufactures, the Zaria province should specialise on the production and supply of mainly raw materials.<sup>98</sup> The impact of this on the economy and the society of the Zaria province would be shown later.

However, in order to make it look like the railways were not superimposed on the province, the state undertook railway propaganda tours. Baba of Koro best describes this action, when she states that "ever since we were quite small the natives had been saying that the Europeans would come with a thing called train"<sup>99</sup> Such was the deceit of the imperialists, they used local apparatuses to get their ways through.

In summation, it is clear from above that the structure and apparatuses that would facilitate the realisation of imperial goals had been laid. The next chapter, will, however, highlight how the colonial state exploited the human and material resources of the Zaria province for the construction of the railways.



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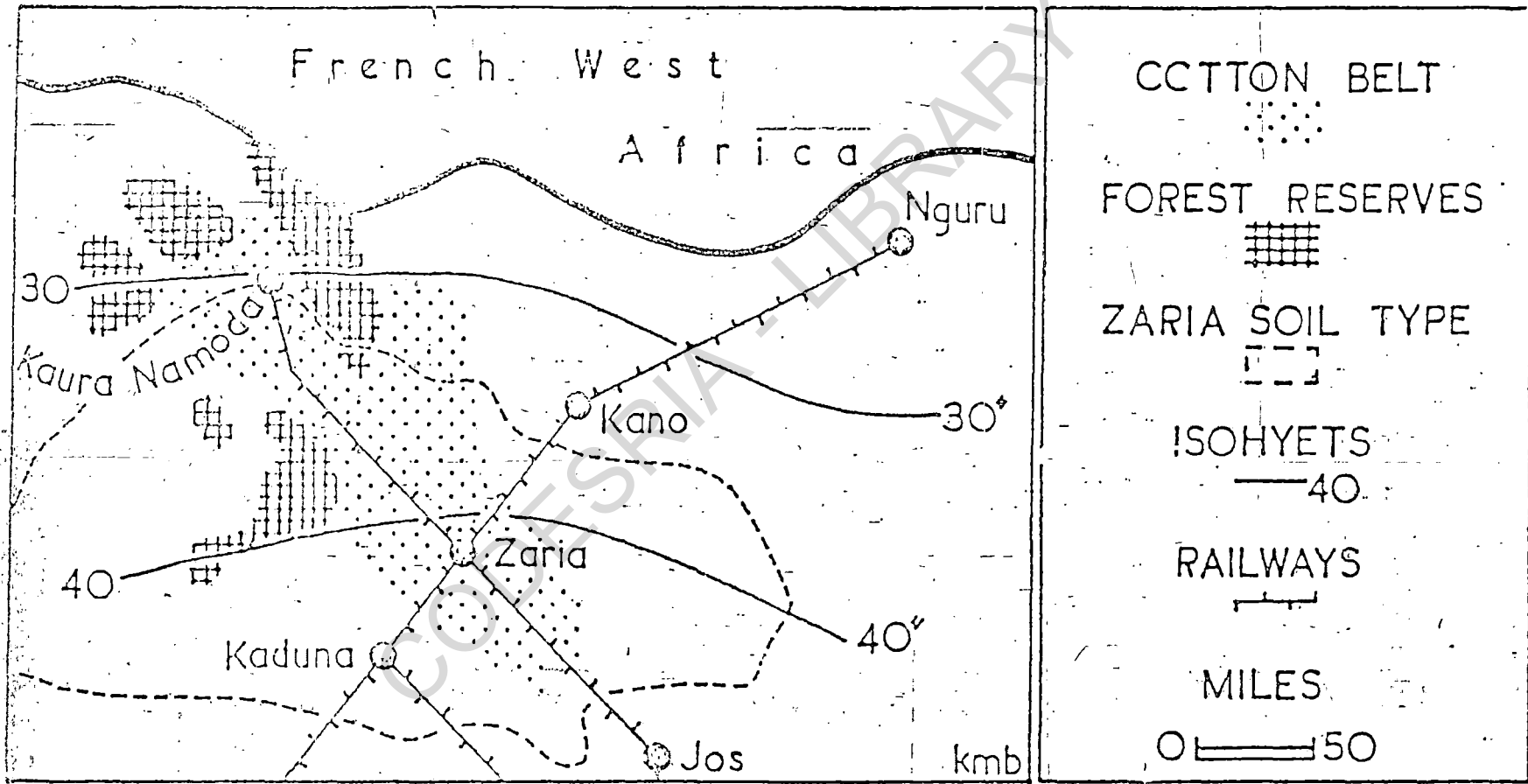


FIG. 116. THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING OF THE COTTON BELT

Illustrating the concentration of production for export on the heavy Zaria-type soils and in close proximity to the Jos-Zaria-Kaura Namoda railway.

Adapted from K.M. Buchanan & T.C. Pugh

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RAILWAYS AND THE EXPLOITATION OF THE HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES OF THE ZARIA PROVINCE

The last chapter has shown us how the state fashioned the bureaucracy and administrative machinery that would engender the realisation of colonial imperial goals. Most especially the chapter has demonstrated the critical and cardinal role designed for the railways in the colonial scheme of things. The subsequent task that confronted the state, therefore, was the construction of these infrastructural facilities.

This chapter is precisely designed to show how the colonial state utilised the endowments of the Zaria province for the building of the railways. Thus, it will show how the state grabbed cheap vast land for railway uses, and how they coerced cheap labour for construction purposes. Finally the chapter will show the impact of the alienation of land and the diversion of labour from the agricultural sector to railway construction in the Zaria province.

4.1 The Appropriation of Land for Railway Uses

The railways required vast land for successful operations, all the railways needed much land themselves, the offices, ware houses, station houses, workshops and official quarters.<sup>1</sup>

The problem then was how to secure this land for the railways. However, under colonial dispensation, the problem of land acquisition by the state did not arise, since, as we have shown earlier on, the state had nationalised land, and had reserved for itself exclusive right to any land needed for "developmental purposes." And, incidentally, the railways were the "principal developmental projects" of the colonial state.<sup>2</sup> The Railway act, specifically stated that the High Commissioner could acquire any land any where for the railway purposes.<sup>3</sup> Thus, under the guise of acquiring land for developmental purposes" the state grabbed vast tracts of lands for railway purposes. Unfortunately, the records were rather silent on the actual size of lands acquired for railway purposes in the Zaria province,<sup>4</sup> but the giant railway



properties in the province were actual practical evidence of the land appropriated for railway purposes.<sup>5</sup> It is very necessary for this study to point out that, since these lands were acquired for "developmental purposes" the state exploited this technicality to deny the payment of financial compensation to indigenous people, whose lands had been acquired for railway purposes.<sup>6</sup> Railway proclamation had state that no compensation should be paid to any party of "unoccupied lands" and under the dispensation of the colonial state, any land shall be deemed unoccupied where it was not proved that the land was in beneficial use for cultivation, inhabitation, or for collecting or storing water or for any other industrial purposes.<sup>7</sup> The state cleverly justified its non compensatory policy on the spurious grounds that railway landed properties were "waste and un-occupied lands,"<sup>8</sup> Lugard, thus, argued that, there was no need to pay indigenous people compensation for such lands.<sup>9</sup> He further argues that after indigenous people had been intimidated with "developmental advantages" inherent in the railways,<sup>10</sup> they willingly gave up their lands. So, since the lands were gifts, there was no justification for any financial compensation.<sup>11</sup> It was in such manner that the state appropriated lands for railway projects in the Zaria province.

However, at this juncture, a critic of colonialist land appropriation policy is very necessary. This study has shown in chapter one, that pre-colonial land use patterns allowed for bush fallow and shifting cultivation. It was these uncultivated lands that the state conveniently tagged un-occupied and waste lands. Lugard knew why the lands were left unused, but for the convenience of the colonialist, they became waste lots.<sup>12</sup> Helleiner, among a host of others, informs us that these patterns of old land tenure inhibited development and growth, and that was why the colonial state had destroy them,<sup>13</sup> But the reality of colonial land appropriation policy was that thousands of peasants were deprived of their legitimate land.<sup>14</sup> For example, in Kakuri area among others, many indigenous people were rendered landless as they were evacuated from their ascentral settlements in order to make way for the

railways.<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to point out that this landless class ended up forming the labour force for the colonial state.<sup>16</sup> Henceforth, landlessness became a reality of life; furthermore, the incessant land dispute that had come to characterise land relations in today's, Kaduna state were due, in the opinion of this study, to colonialist appropriation of land for railway and other uses. (See for example, Bitiyong, and New Nigerian )<sup>17</sup> Lastly, the implication of the appropriation of land by the state for food crop production was serious, as will be shown later. Otherwise, what needs immediate examination is the actual construction of the railways, since land already been secured for the purpose.

#### 4.2 The Technology of Railway Construction

At the time of the construction of the Haro-Kano railways in 1907, various methods of railways construction existed. The method adopted in the U.K., the mother country, was for private contractors to build the railways.<sup>18</sup> Their mode of construction was machine intensive,<sup>19</sup> But, in the protectorate of northern Nigeria, the state opted for state construction (departmental method) and labour intensive method of construction.<sup>20</sup> The state explained the logic of its policies in terms of its characteristic perennial humanitarian gesture. Government construction and ownership, was said to protect the financial positions of the protectorate, which must be self-sufficient financially. The "protectorate" government will, thus, not want to burden its "ward" unnecessarily,<sup>21</sup> unlike private contractors who were in the lust of financial manipulations in the efforts to make maximum profits.<sup>22</sup> Secondly, they argued, political officers who would be construction supervisors would be more dispositive and amenable to gentle treatment of construction crew, who were their wards,<sup>23</sup> unlike private contractors who would minimize labour, maximize tasks, and thereby be hard-task masters all in the effort to maximize the margin of profit.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, labour intensive techniques, the apologists argument continues, was adopted in order to provide employment, for floating population would thus, be

taught the value of labour, learn thrift, learn to fraternize, and shed old hostilities and timidity; and most important of all, the provision of the railways was supposed to end slavery, since the argument has been that the need for human porters encouraged slavery,<sup>25</sup> perhaps the most ridiculous of the colonial apologist's factor that accounted for labour intensive methods of construction was the alleged low level of technical ability and know-how of indigenous people. Hazzelidine, for example, carries this unskillful argument to absurd extremities, when he argues that when a blackman was given wheelbarrow, he would carry it on his head rather than wheel it on the ground and that the blackman was 90% muscle and 10% brain; he was thus useless as a technician and at best he should be used as a beast of burden.<sup>26</sup>

This study posits that these colonial apologist arguments represented a false representation of reality. They clearly give a fake image of indigenous people, and distort the true state of their being. Their positions should then be seen for what they were, manipulative tactics for the justification of colonial imperialism.

Chapter one, of this thesis has clearly demonstrated the level of indigenous peoples' technical and mechanical know-how; that the level of technological know-how attained by this people was a true and correct reflection of the law of the correspondence of the relations of production to the nature and level of development of the productive forces. Thus, for the purposes of clarity, we shall reiterate the point here that, if the colonial state had introduced mechanical devices and taught the indigenous people how to use them, they would have done so successfully. However, the non provision of mechanical devices, it should be pointed out, aptly fitted the colonialists racist anthropological world view of the blackman.<sup>27</sup> This perspective which essentially sees the blackman as an inferior being with only muscle and no brains and thus fit only for hard tasks,

and that if "properly supervised" or manipulated" which in our opinion entails brutalising him, he could perform wonders.<sup>28</sup> This false valorization of the blackmen's physical prowess best accounted for the labour intensive method of railway construction adopted by the British colonial imperialists in the Zaria province.

However, this method of construction required large numbers of labourers. This labour force must be acquired if the railways were to be built, and as this study has shown previously that the railways must be constructed, hence, any obstacle that would hinder the building of the railways must be removed. In other words, the labourers that would construct the railways must be secured.

#### 4.3. The Political Economy of Forced Labour in the Zaria Province

It is of fundamental importance to point out that securing labourers for the construction of the railway was very difficult and very problematic in the Zaria province. This was because indigenous people were not familiar with paid labour relations, thus, they were not willing to hire themselves out as paid railway labourers.<sup>29</sup> This was because, Zaria labouring class was especially noted for its recalcitrant attitude to state's labour call.<sup>30</sup> This was so because they were highly suspicious of the white man, whose motives were not yet understood; thus, they were not ready to co-operate with the colonial administration.<sup>31</sup> Finally, the humiliation of colonial conquest, annexation and domination no doubt shaped the poor nature of labour turn out. For example, when railway construction began in the Zaria province in 1908, only 168 labourers turned up for work, even out this figure, 100 labourers were from Kano, so only 68 labourers from the Zaria province answered the call of the state.<sup>32</sup> (emphasis mine). The state noticed the reluctant nature of Zaria's labourers, as shown above, the notoriety of the labourers was both displeasing and frustrating.<sup>33</sup> This raised the spectre of the hindering shortage of labour and frustration of colonialist railway project. The implication of such possibility was too serious to be

contemplated as it meant, inter alia, the denial of raw materials to Britain and the frustration of profitable market for British manufactures. All these meant serious economic problems. This grim prospect had to be avoided and surmounted at all costs, the railways must be built. Thus, in order to get the railways built, the state subsequently resorted to coercion. Lugard expressly stated when he argued where labour was reluctant to work, "the labour must be forced out"<sup>34</sup> (emphasis mine).

The state justified its sanction of forced labour on the basis that it was a humanitarian gesture designed to cure indigenous people of their timidity and bashfulness.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, forced labour was necessary in order to build developmental projects that would engender the economic growth and development of the protectorate.<sup>36</sup> It is interesting to point out that such messianic postures allowed the state exploit the human and material resources of the Zaria province for the building of the infrastructure with which colonial loot and plunder were carried out.

In order to secure this much needed labour, the state exploited the services of the N.A. It was especially at the realm of labour mobilisation for the state that the utility of the N.A. came to the fore. In the concrete effort to make sure that all hands were acquired and utilised, labour was apportioned and acquired on territorial basis. This territorial manner of acquisition of labourers, clearly showed how the state exploited its territorial and bureaucratic arrangements to suit its purposes. The state labour recruitment pattern took the form of apportioning quotas of men to be supplied by emir, who then delegated labour recruitment to village and district heads. In such manner, it was easy to detect lapses in labour recruitment exercise and make amendments.<sup>37</sup> So hamlet, villages, and districts were taxed a quota of men, that must be supplied to railway construction site. If the N.A. and especially the emir failed to secure this labour they are in trouble, and they risked their careers.<sup>38</sup> The state adopted this method of labour acquisition, because it best suited their overall philosophy of

of colonial imperialism, thus, all colonial imperialists adopted the policy of forced labour in Africa. Forced labour represented an intrinsic part of colonial imperialism, the exploitation of African labour power.<sup>39</sup> The state took to forced labour, because they knew that the labour was available; intelligence reports and census data, which constituted a fundamental part of colonial records, indicated the abundance of labour in the Zaria province. For example, census data recorded 20,000 labourers for Zaria province.<sup>40</sup> So this labour must be expunged. Labour dodgers faced fines and imprisonment.<sup>41</sup> So Dibban Government (political labour) became a crucial task of the N.A.s<sup>42</sup>

This task thus assigned for the N.A.s in the Zaria province was very daunting in the face of labourers refusal to co-operate with the state. Oyemkinde, for example, failed to grasp the nature and character of passive resistance involved in indigenous peoples un-cooperative attitude to colonialists labour demands. He erroneously comes to the conclusion that labour failed to turn up at construction sites, because everything was well with indigenous people in the northern protectorate,<sup>43</sup> this error is a result of methodological world view, which relies more on empirical evidence rather than on concrete reality of existence, these shortcomings did not allow him to discern the true state of affairs in the northern protectorate; thus, he argues that labour turn out was poor because

the society was peaceful, so, there were no extra pressures of upheaval and revolutions that would have thrown up a landless and floating population who would seek railway jobs as an alternative to unemployment<sup>44</sup>

( emphasis mine)

But, the reality of the atmosphere that was imposed in the Zaria province by colonial imperialism by 1903, when construction work began, was radically different from Oyemkinde's position. As this study has demonstrated above by, 1903, there were constant upheavals, which were a direct result of

military actions intensified by the state in order to consolidate and entrench colonial imperialism.<sup>45</sup> Aside from military terrorism and the attendant chaos, the colonial imperialists had also unleashed policies and measures that effected a radical, thorough and fundamental re-organisation and re-ordering of pre-existing socio-economic, administrative and bureaucratic apparatuses. Such reforms, it should be noted, resulted in the destabilisation and the smashing of old relations of production, leading to the emergence of a landless and unemployed class, who had no other means of survival, except to work for the colonial state in brief, their only means of survival was the sale of their labour power. Thus labour as a commodity for sale was coerced by the colonial state. Hence quite contrary to Oyesokinde's position, it was the combinations of physical force and coercive fiscal and economic measures that finally set loose a great number of peasants from the security of their former vocations to railway construction sites.

Thus, after the tightening and the consolidation of the state's coercive policies, for example, thousands of slaves and peasants went for railway work in order to secure British currency with which to pay their taxes.<sup>46</sup> The result was that there was a dramatic increase in the number of labourers who reported for construction work. Thus, labour rose from 69 in 1908, to 7,291 in 1909.<sup>47</sup> It is instructive to point out that such great number of labourers were steadily maintained at construction sites throughout our period of study, at one point, over 10,000 labourers were involved in railway construction work.<sup>48</sup> This aptly confirmed Lugard's assertion that their policies would secure for them the necessary labour needed for railway construction.<sup>49</sup>

The Resident in the Zaria province was especially proud of the efficiency of labour recruitment patterns and the resultant turn out in the province when he noted that, "railway requirements were met mechanically and without hitch"<sup>50</sup> This "mechanical" pattern of recruitment, this study

posits, took the form of state terrorism. Evidence shows that labour recruitment exercises took the form of old slave raids of looting and arson etc.<sup>51</sup> The N.A. staff led the army, they must do this dirty job, because, as we have shown above, their careers partly hinged on the success of labourers caught for railway work. Hazzeliedine, graphically exposes the brutalities that accompanied labour recruitment "tours" He has explained that when many labourers were needed, all that could be done was to go to "the nearest village and beat some natives to construction sites"<sup>52</sup> (emphasis mine). Indigenous people, the Gwaris, Kadaras, Hausa, who were thus, beaten from their homes were forcefully marched hundreds of miles to any railway construction sites. For example, thousands of labourers were recruited from Kajuru, Bikaratu, Kujama and Makera in Kachia district in Zaria province and were deployed to construction sites far away from their homes<sup>53</sup> in Kaduna area and beyond.

However, in colonial apologist parlance, this forced migration represented the release of hitherto underutilised capacities. In other words, forced labour allowed the smashing of old fetters that hindered "labour mobility" Forced labour, thus, made for "labour mobility" and the provision of "employment" for the floating population.<sup>54</sup> It is of fundamental importance to point out that these policies of forced labour were so successful that the labour market became overflooded. The resultant effect was that in some instances, excess labourers who numbered thousands were turned back from construction sites and unemployment was the logical result of overglutted labour market.<sup>55</sup>

Colonial apologist, however, argues that the civilising mission inherent in the state's labour policies were its most prominent features. The argument being that with the bringing together of thousands of Hausa, Gwari, Kadara, and Kaje labourers at one site, old customs, prejudices, fears, taboos, suspicions, hatreds and inertia that had tied up indigenes to local environments in the past had been removed.<sup>56</sup> This argument continues



that the mere fact that pagans Gwari, Kadara and Hausa muslims worked side by side without recourse to hostilities, was an achievement for the colonial state.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the labourers were alleged to have left construction sites more cultured, as those who came to construction sites without clothes, went back home fully clothed; this was also supposed to be a great colonialist achievement.<sup>58</sup>

This colonialists position was not, however, congruent with reality and so it should not be taken seriously. Evidence shows that contrary to a colonialists postulates of fraternity among indigenous labourers, there was a deliberate policy of segregation along tribal and ethnic lines practiced at railway construction sites. This was the case because construction tasks were assigned on ethnic gang basis, and labourers were also accommodated, on ethnic basis.<sup>59</sup> The colonialists segregationist policy was justified on an assumed paternalistic assumptions of retaining cultural purity, viz, that the state wanted to prevent cultural pollution; that was why, for example, it kept muslim Fulanis away from the less culturally developed pagan people. In other words, each ethnic group would retain its true cultural identity if there were no interactions.<sup>60</sup> This policy, as we shall show later, was predicated on the principle of divide and rule imposed in work places and in other spheres of life in order to forestall the development of workers consciousness and the formation of a united body that could challenge, frustrate and disrupt colonial exploitation. Such nationalist tendencies, the state realised, would be inimical to the realisation of imperial goals. Nationalist sentiments should, thus, be forestalled by segregation, and division. So divisive tactics were a prominent feature of colonial imperialism in the Zaria province.

So far, we have been discussing the problems of labour recruitment that confronted the construction of the railways and how they were solved now it is time to turn to the real task of construction. It is very important for this study to show that great topographical problems confronted the

building of the railways in the Zaria province, for evidence suggests that the stiffest and most difficult portion of the railways system fell within the Zaria province.<sup>61</sup> As this study has shown in chapter one, the topography of Zaria province consisted of rugged terrain made up of rocky formations, rivers and streams, and some patched bushy forest regions. Aside from this rugged terrain, the province housed the longest stretch of 14 miles of the Baro-Kano railway systems and lengthy portions of other railways systems also traversed the province.<sup>62</sup> In order to get the railways built, this great topographical obstacles had to be surmounted because the railways would run only on smooth track surfaces. In themselves, these topographical obstacles constituted great technical problems even for machinery; hence, they represented tedious jobs for manual labourers as railway construction demanded the leveling and lowering of hills, the raising of valleys, the clearing of forests and the building of bridges. In other words, great labour would, therefore, be needed to make the rail road systems. Thus, the subsequent surmounting of these obstacles entailed the callous exploitation of human labour by the colonial imperialists.

The actual construction work involved lots of earth work-quarrying, and the human portraged of heavy railway sleepers. To execute these tasks, indigenous labourers were provided with hoes, axes, headpans buckets and shovels.<sup>63</sup> It is, however, neccessary here to correct the wrong impression created by Oyenakinde, that the tasks indigenous people performed in the course of railway constructions were not different from normal farm duties.<sup>64</sup> This view derives from a methodological perspective whose major shortcoming is its inability to discover and grasp the specific technical specifications and standards that must be met by railway construction. The laying of railway track, for example, required more work than making farm ridges. Bonat has clearly demonstrated the tremendous hard job done in the course of railway construction; he shows, for example, that each labourer must carry 120 headpan of soil per day, at 28 kg. per load, this represents 87,369 kg. per man per

month or 1,048,320 kg. 1048.32 tones, of earth material per man, per year.<sup>65</sup>

It was in such manner that millions of tones of excavation and quarrying jobs were done. It was these same labourers that freighted, by head protrage, the 8,000 tones of heavy railway materials, sleepers, iron poles,

etc. all over Zaria province between 1908-1912.<sup>66</sup> These hard tasks were accompanied by tedious and tortours working conditions. For instance, labourers worked long hours; from morning till late afternoon, 6 a.m. - 3p.m; then the night shift worked from 3.00 pm-12 mid night; they had only 30 minutes<sup>67</sup> for break and refreshment, these working conditions were maintained for seven

days throughout the year, whether in rain, cold or sunshine.<sup>67</sup> A more tidious situation was the fact that some part of the construction work, especially b bridging, was done during the rainy season. Resident Ormsby, graphically demonstrated this, for example, when he states that the most difficult part of the work was the Goddani section", which had to be completed during the rains

owing to the nature of the ground", ( emphasis mine).<sup>68</sup>

It is very important for this study to highlight the fact that in order to get construction work done perfectly and quickly, special supervising officials were brought into northern Nigeria. The state especially brought in imperial officials that had previous experiences of railway construction in other colonies; the best of them, Girouraud, was made the High Commisioner for northern Nigeria at the crucial critical railway construction period.

He was a military engineer, and he had successfully built railways in east Africa and the Sudan; so, he had the experience of how to force indigenus people to work. He was assisted by imperial official who, in most cases, were also ex-military personnel.<sup>69</sup> They doubled as railway supervisory staff.<sup>70</sup>

For the purposeses of getting the railways built, they had been especially warned by Lugard not to interract unneccessarily with the labourers, they should keep stern faces and maintain a master-servant relationship with the crew. All these actions, Lugard argued, were to enable them cajole

great production out of tired manual labourers.<sup>71</sup> Because of the false praise of African strength, no tasks were deemed too hard or difficult for the blackman to perform. Lugard had this to say about setting indigenous people to difficult tasks.

No white man could carry so heavy load or for so long a distance as he ( Blackman) does without fatigue, and at heavy earth work with his own implements he can show good results.<sup>72</sup>

In the course of performing these hard tasks, if the labourer eased a inching muscle or stretched a tired limb, the automatic treatment for such expression of physical relief was corporal punishment.<sup>73</sup> Colonial imperialist, racist

world out look of Africans and blackman generally was that he was lazy , and that he suffered from the disease Dysaesthesia Ethiopica<sup>74</sup> and that the "proper" way to guide them to a satisfactory performance of their duty was to flog them. This was the supposed burden placed on the white race by the

providence.<sup>75</sup> One can thus see clearly that the hardships faced by indigenous labourers in the course of the construction of the railways were really terrible ones; these hardships were worsened by atrocious working conditions, because workers were inadequately housed, they were housed on dormitory style built houses, with between 30 to 50 people in each, offices of nature were far and few in between. Furthermore, their lives were tightly regimented, and controlled; they lived and worked under a state of seige as they were guarded all day round. Railway construction sites thus took the form of armed camps; military patrols were maintained to prevent break out ( deserters) and riots.<sup>76</sup> For enduring all these hardships,

indigenous labourers were paid a paltry sum of six-nine pence out of which they paid three pence as tax.<sup>77</sup> They were, thus left with six pence for their maintainance and welfare.

However, colonial apologists tell us that such wages were fair. Lugard expressly stated that " it would be economically unwise to maintain high wages

in colonies.<sup>78</sup> The argument was that six pence was enough to satisfy the simple basic needs of indigenous people. The colonial apologist position however, needs amplification, because under the usurious exchange rates, six pence represented about 2,000 cowries, which was a lot of money in the pre-colonial era. Lugard's position was that such a "fortune" enough then, but unfortunately it was not so during the 20th century because then colonial intrusion had smashed all the socio-economic formation that made 2,000 cowries a fortune in the past. Evidence shows that six pence was very much inadequate to meet the expenses of indigenous labourers, as most of them complained bitterly of hunger,<sup>79</sup> however, in order to survive at construction sites most of them had therefore to depend on provisions sent to them by their people back in their villages.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, because of repressive and alienative nature of camp environment, labours wasted the bulk of their wages on frivolities, such as, drinking, gambling and prostitution to escape boredom and drudgery.<sup>81</sup>

However, despite the inadequacy of the wages, the colonial apologists still intimate us with success stories; of indigenous people making money, learning thrift, the value of labour and acquiring luxuries with their wages.<sup>82</sup> Apologists position should, however, be seen for what it is, a clever guise with which to justify forced labour. It is the opinion of this study that wages were deliberately kept low in order to facilitate cheap cost of production; this would in turn facilitate a very cheap realisation of imperial goals. It, was in this realm of low wages that the reality of colonialist exploitation of the labour power of indigenous people was clearly and distinctively manifested.

However, despite these terrible conditions of service, indigenous labour was relentlessly pushed into a rapid rate of railway construction this was because the imperialists wanted the lines completed as fast as possible.

Thus, to quote Tamano, "in the last stages of work, the speed in track laying

<sup>83</sup>  
was phenomenal" (emphasis mine). This speed of construction, thus, broke records in railway construction. Tamano, shows that the staff on the Barokano railway, achieved a best week work in track laying of 12½ mile, and a best days work of 6½ miles, thus, 22 miles of rail work were completed by 12-13, December 1910, 36½ miles of rail work in January 1911, 37 mile of railway work in February and 42½ miles of railway work in March. <sup>84</sup> Now, it is

of fundamental importance for this study to state that from this rapid pace of construction work, it is thus clear that despite the manual nature of construction work, the colonial imperialists still demanded and exacted technical precision and mechanical efficiency and rapidity from manual labourers in the Zaria province. This study posits that the overworked and underpaid labourers broke records because of the brutalities and coercion exerted on them by the supervising officials. Evidence, as shown above, reveals wide spread flogging, and, that construction gangs who left their tasks uncompleted had their wages stopped or were fined for uncompleted

<sup>85</sup>  
tasks. It was, thus, such maltreatment and corporal punishments that forced these feats of performances. However, Tamano's shallow methodological outlook did not allow for the grasp of the coercion that spurred these record breaking performances. He thus failed to see the brutal and gross exploitation of indigenous peoples labour power in the achievement of these records, thus, he completely ignores the indignities and humiliation involved in flogging adults in order to get them do a job. Even the Christian missionaries who were colonialists collaborators protested about the inhuman treatment of indigenous labourers in the course of railway construction. For example, the Right Reverend Bishop Tugwell, laid complaints to the colonial office on this matter. <sup>86</sup> However, sadly enough, but clearly reflective of the desperacy

of the colonialists to get the railways built at all costs, nothing came out of his complaint as construction work went ahead. <sup>87</sup> It is very necessary for this study to

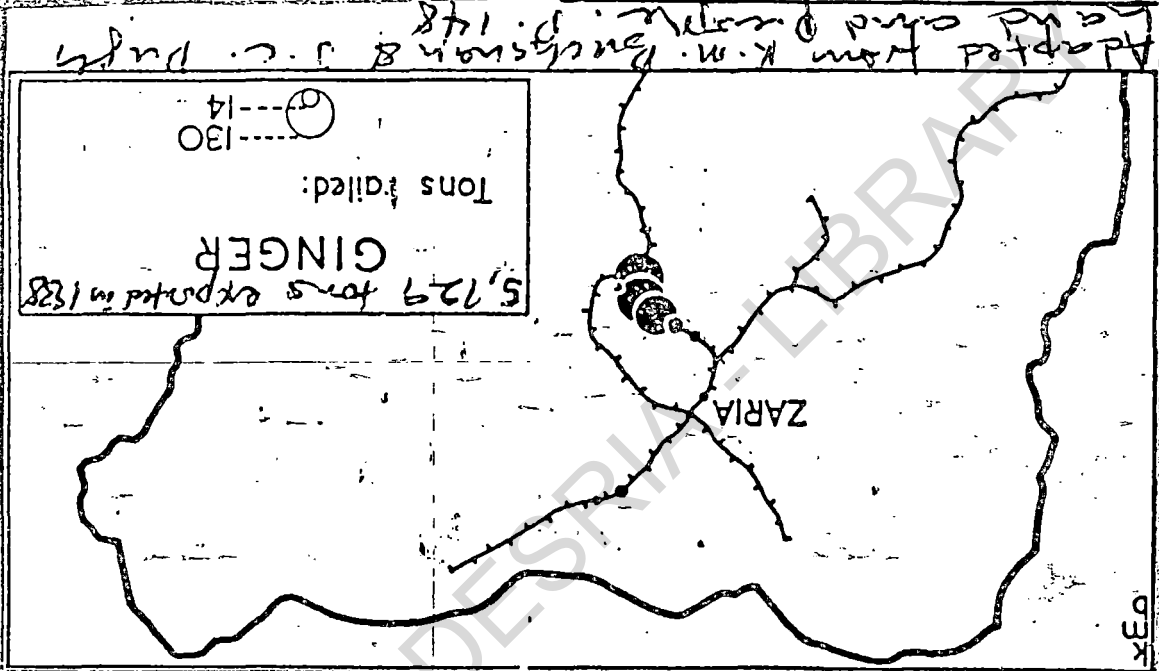
reveal that the rapid development of railway construction in the Zaria province especially highlighted the urgency of the need for the colonial imperialists to get the railway especially built to the cotton belt of northern Nigeria which lay within the Zaria province, (see fig. VIII, p. 97 )

Because of this rapidity of construction, the Baro-Kano line has been described as, " the most rapid, the cheapest and most satisfactory line hitherto constructed in Tropical Africa"<sup>88</sup> The blood and sweat of indigenous people that went into this performance was completely ignored. Aside from the Baro-Kano line, there was also a shorter line ( Rahama line) of 2ft 6 inches gauge to the Jos tin mines.<sup>89</sup> An extension line runs from Zaria to Kaura Namoda, this was for the cotton belt,<sup>90</sup> the portion of the eastern line from Kaduna to Kafanchan, effectively covers the ginger producing area<sup>91</sup> (see figure IX, p. 114 ) Furthermore, construction work in the form of rail realignments went on throughout the period covered by this study and the same poor conditions of service obtained.<sup>92</sup> The state also used forced labour to construct an extensive road network that complemented the railway system.<sup>93</sup>

#### 4.4 Indigenous Peoples Reaction to Forced Labour.

At this point, it is quite necessary to highlight the fact that indigenous labourers in the Zaria province did not merely submit to the exploitation of their labour power by the colonialists. They resisted and protested against the colonialists exploitation of their services. The study of the nature and character of indigenous peoples reaction to colonial exploitation reveals that it took two forms, violent and passive protest.

However, violent protest, against railway work never really took place in the province. This type of protest did not happen, because indigenous peoples had learnt a bitter lesson from the terrible experiences of their neighbours, the Gusoro people of Niger province, who had violently protested against the injustices of forced labour. In the course of their





protest, they killed a supervising official Mr. Vanrenen. The subsequent state's retaliation was very brutal, Gusoro was obliterated from the map.<sup>94</sup> This violent reaction of the state, and the brutal suppression of the Gusoro uprising subsequently shaped the form and content of later protests in the Zaria province. As the Gusoro crisis reverberated, there is evidence that some labourers in the Zaria province went to railway construction sites armed for conflict, so there certainly existed an undercurrent of tension. But the military patrols intensified by the state, and this plus the terrible destruction of Gusoro served the purpose of forestalling violent protests in the Zaria province.<sup>95</sup> The people wisely did not chose the path of Gusoro's people, who no doubt had been pushed to the limit of endurance. It was thus the natural human instinct for self preservation and self survival that subsequently shaped the form of Zaria's protests. The people in the province took to passive protests, in the form of flight, and withdrawal of services.<sup>96</sup>

It is important to show that this method of resistance, non-co-operation was equally effective, since it was designed for the same effect, i.e. to show dissatisfaction to and frustrate, colonial exploitation. It also reflected the grasp of reality by indigenous people, that colonial domination and control should be resisted. In the process of this passive resistance, thousands of people migrated from the Zaria province to other areas like Katsina and Kano where there were no pressure of railway construction.<sup>97</sup> Demographic data tells this story more clearly; for example, in 1910, the population of Zaria city was 26,000 by 1912 it had dropped to 19260, the intervening years were the crucial critical construction periods.<sup>98</sup>

It is, however, interesting to show that the colonialists characteristically cynically explained away this concrete form of protest, on the ground that demographic decline was due to the migratory nature of the Haqazawa people, and also to demographic apathy by women.<sup>99</sup> These apologists position want us to believe that indigenous people did not understand that their labour power was being exploited for the construction of the railways.

However, migrations by indigenous people in order to avoid railway work, represented a clear understanding and cognition of the reality of the exploitative nature railway construction work. Indigenous peoples understanding of the issues at stake was revealed by demographic trend immediately after the major railway constructions were over because census revealed that there was emigration into rather than immigration out of the Zaria province. In other words, there was no need any more for flight from the province as major works were completed. Thus, by 1914 demographic figure show an increase compared to that of 1912.<sup>100</sup>

As for the issue of demographic apathy by women this was merely in the imagination of the colonialists as evidence suggests that such practice was not popular in northern Nigeria, where marriage was principally meant for procreation.<sup>101</sup> It is, therefore, the opinion of this study that even if this far-fetched position of the imperialists is hypothetically, accepted i.e., if birth control method existed at all, it was forced on the society by the uncertainty that accompanied the imposition of colonial domination in such period of anxiety. Procreation could be problematic. However, of more fundamental importance was the negative impacts of railway work on reproductive potentials of people. Railway work, has been proved to be hazardous, unhealthy and to constitute reproductive risks, as sickness, fatigue, and weight loss were the natural results of strenuous over work,<sup>102</sup> in such circumstances evidence shows that men would naturally find it difficult to procreate, so their women folk would have difficulty conceiving.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, as railway work involved absence from home, women could not also reproduce in the absence of their husbands.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, evidence also reveals that venereal diseases were rampant among construction gangs,<sup>105</sup> It has further been shown that venereal diseases greatly reduced the chances of procreation,<sup>106</sup> so women in the province could not be expected to reproduce while their men were gonorrhoea ridden. It is thus in the opinion of this study that all these health and social hazards made child-bearing

difficult.

It is, however, interesting to point out that despite these protests railway construction and re-alignments went ahead. This clearly shows the effectiveness of the state's labour recruitment policies, as they kept quite a large number of labourers at construction sites. This study, therefore, believes that the colonialist policies that kept huge labourers at construction sites included the unscrupulous tactic of divide and rule through segregating labourers at construction sites and camps. The impact of this divisive policy was that it forestalled and prevented spontaneous, sustained and articulate protests against colonial exploitation, as workers, consciousness lacked avenues of organised expression. Moreover, the incidence of unemployment also kept many at construction sites, as later there existed a huge pool of labour reservoir who would take the place of dismissed or displaced labourers; in other words, fear of unemployment kept many labourers at construction sites despite the poor wages.

At this juncture it is very necessary to show that in order to justify so-called humanitarianism inherent in its labour policies the state took measures to disguise forced labour. To do this, the colonialists gave it a lot of fancy names, it was either enlisted or political labour. <sup>107</sup> This study maintains that regardless of its name, it was forced labour no more no less. It has been shown that colonial imperialism was slavery in another form because its basis could be located in the prerogative of the conqueror, which gave absolute right to the British over the Zaria province. In this case the conquered were ruthlessly exploited to construct the major tool of colonial exploitation, the railways. Furthermore, colonial imperial demands entailed the exploitation of the blacks in their own <sup>108</sup> country. They would now work for imperial masters and grow cash crops, and that was the reality of the world order imposed by British colonial imperialism in the Zaria province. A prominent feature and concomitant result of strenuous railway work was health hazards and diseases which

consequently accounted for the exceptionally high mortality rate among construction workers. Mortality rate is estimated at 24/1000, fever, and cerebral spinal meningitis accounted for most deaths; <sup>109</sup> interestingly, these were diseases of over exposure, fatigue and overcrowding. However, despite these glearing atrocities, colonial apologists say that the construction of the railways represents a lasting legacy which left positive educational values that effected a social and economic revolution on the indigenous economy and society. This position should, however, be seen for what it is, a frame up that is designed to cover the hypocrisy, deceit and duplicity of the colonial state which ostensibly came to end slavery, only to institute large scale forced labour. A significant feature of the manner of the construction of the railways was that it wrought negative impacts of famine, and diseases on the Zaria province.

#### 4.5 Famine, Diseases: the Result of Land Acquisition and Forced Labour for the Construction of the Railways

It is very important to emphasis the fact that, the manner of the construction of the railways in the Zaria province represented a flagrant exploitation of the human and material resources of the province which left lasting negative impact on the economy and society of the province. The reality of the impact of railway construction in Zaria province was that it led to the disarticulation and disintegration of the economic and social basis of indigenous society.

Firstly for indigenous people, railway construction work merely relieved unemployment, this was because those who had been violently alienated from the security of their former occupations, for example, craftsmen, and farmers whose lands had been appropriated for the railways, lost their means of livelihood, and this naturally resulted in unemployment. Unemployment first manifested itself in 1915, this was immediately after railway construction work, <sup>110</sup> and unemployment since then became a prominent and permanent feature of colonialist legacy in the Zaria province throughout the

period of this study. The concomitant effect of unemployment was that social vices became rampant, these were especially deepened because of the break down of pre-existing social mechanisms created against anti-social practices. For example, as shown above, there was drunkenness, and also other social vices like prostitution.<sup>111</sup> Prostitution and the attendant spread of venereal diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhoea, also became rampant.<sup>112</sup> Theft and armed robberies were also reported.<sup>113</sup> The appalling living conditions of indigenous people, most especially among the labourers, also led to the spread of contagious diseases, like cerebral spinal meningitis, cholera etc., which led to the death of thousands.<sup>114</sup> This rate of mortality was especially worsened by severe famine that ravaged the Zaria province by 1914.<sup>115</sup>

The incidence of famine in the Zaria province during the construction of the railways perhaps represented the most striking illustration of the negative impact of the ways and manner of labour management and utilisation techniques of the state. The occurrence of famine was the result of the diversion of indigenous people's means of production (labour) away from their crucial domestic needs and wants. For example, 10,750 young men were removed by the state from the critical area of food crop production to work at railway construction sites.<sup>116</sup> The resultant effect of this diversion of labour was that there were lesser hands on the farms. Furthermore, it has been shown that vast lands had also been appropriated for railway uses, so total acreage available for food cultivation drastically reduced.<sup>117</sup> The net effect of the loss of these means of production (land and labour) was food shortages reported in 1914.<sup>118</sup> However, persistent and consistent food shortages over time ultimately resulted in famines.<sup>119</sup> It is of fundamental importance for this study to show that famine occurred because of the break-down of indigenous people's pre-existing, pre-cautionary adaptive, and coping mechanisms erected against food shortages.<sup>120</sup> This study thus posits that famine was a

result of the smashing of old collective production processes whereby excesses were produced to cushion lean years. Furthermore, the redistribution of surpluses through social mechanisms of gifts had also been destroyed by the colonial state's emphasis on individual tax payments, so securing communal help became difficult. Also Aristocratic and state granaries had also gone with the abolition of labour relations that sustained them. The concomitant result of the smashing of old relations of production and old social relations was that henceforth, the negative impact of famine especially became a severe re-occurring theme in the political economy of the Zaria province.

The next chapter will examine how the activities of the state and foreign firms, which came mainly because of the railways, further deepened and consolidated the exploitation of the province's human and material resources.

CHAPTER FOUR

FOOTNOTES

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5. Such properties are spread over Kaduna, Zonkwa, Zaria etc.
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32. N.A.K. Zarprof, 2555, Annual Report for Zaria province for 1908.
33. Ibid.
34. Lord F.D. Lugard., Mandate.... , p. 41.
35. Lord F. D. Lugard., Mandate.... , p. 243, and N.A. K. Zarprof,



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36. Lord F.D. Lugard., Mandate.... , pp. 410-411.
37. N.A.K. Zarprof. 2555, Annual Report for Zaria province for 1908.
38. Lord F.D. Lugard., Mandate.... , p. 414.
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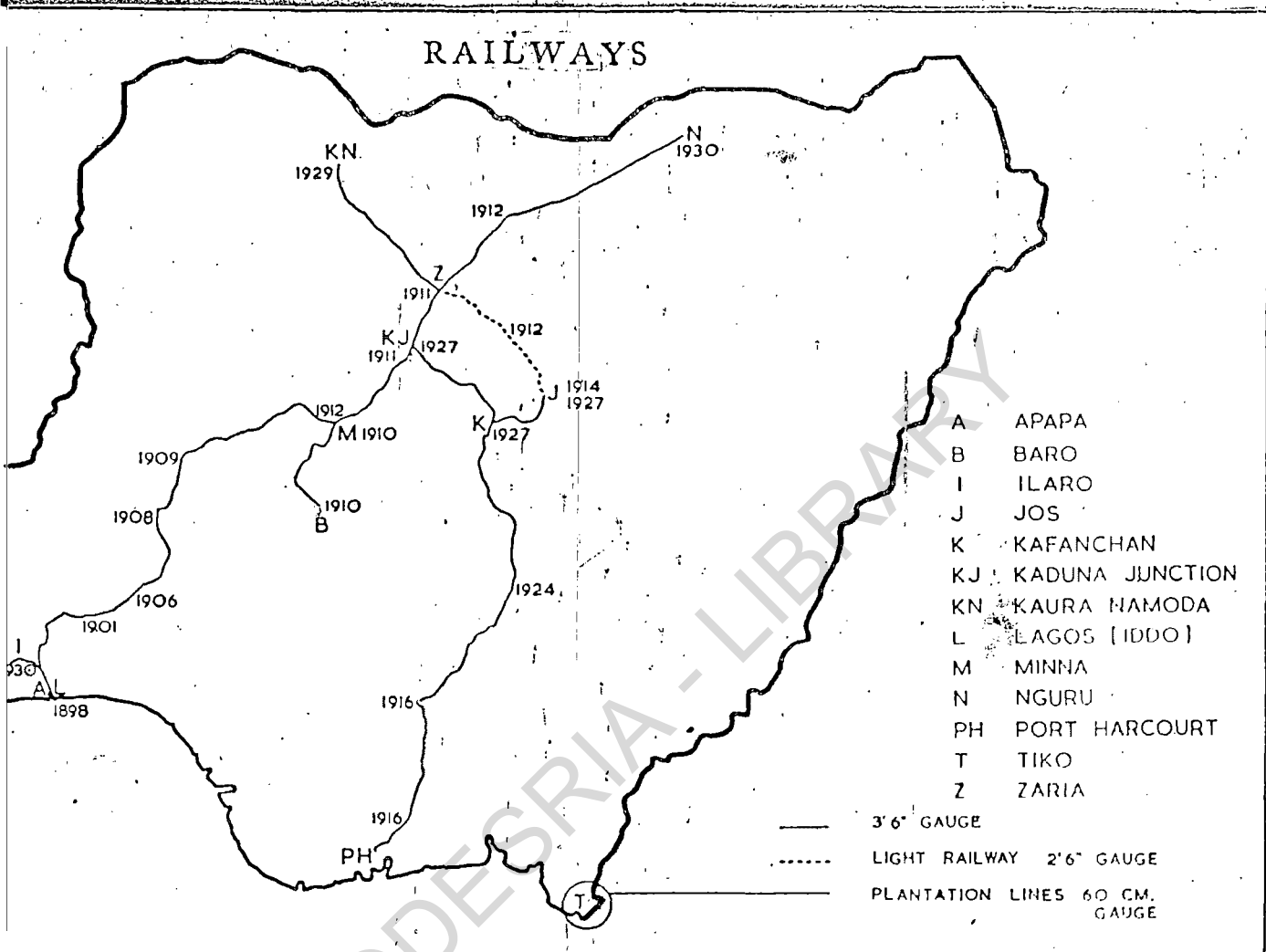


FIG. 151. RAILWAYS

The main railway system has developed from three separate centres, namely Lagos, Baro and Port Harcourt, and the gradual expansion and linking-up of these lines can be seen from the dates on the map. An extension from Nguru eastward to Maiduguri near Lake Chad, has been proposed, but no new line appears likely to be constructed in the immediate future.

The main line system is on a narrow gauge of 3 feet 6 inches, and is as yet single-track throughout. The original line (the Bauchi Light Railway) from Zaria to Jos is on a 2 feet 6 inches gauge, and having reached the end of its useful life has an uncertain future. The Cameroons plantations are served by a private railway system of 60 cm. gauge, based on Tiko port.

*J.C. Pugh and his People. P. 208. Adapted from K.M. Buchanan*

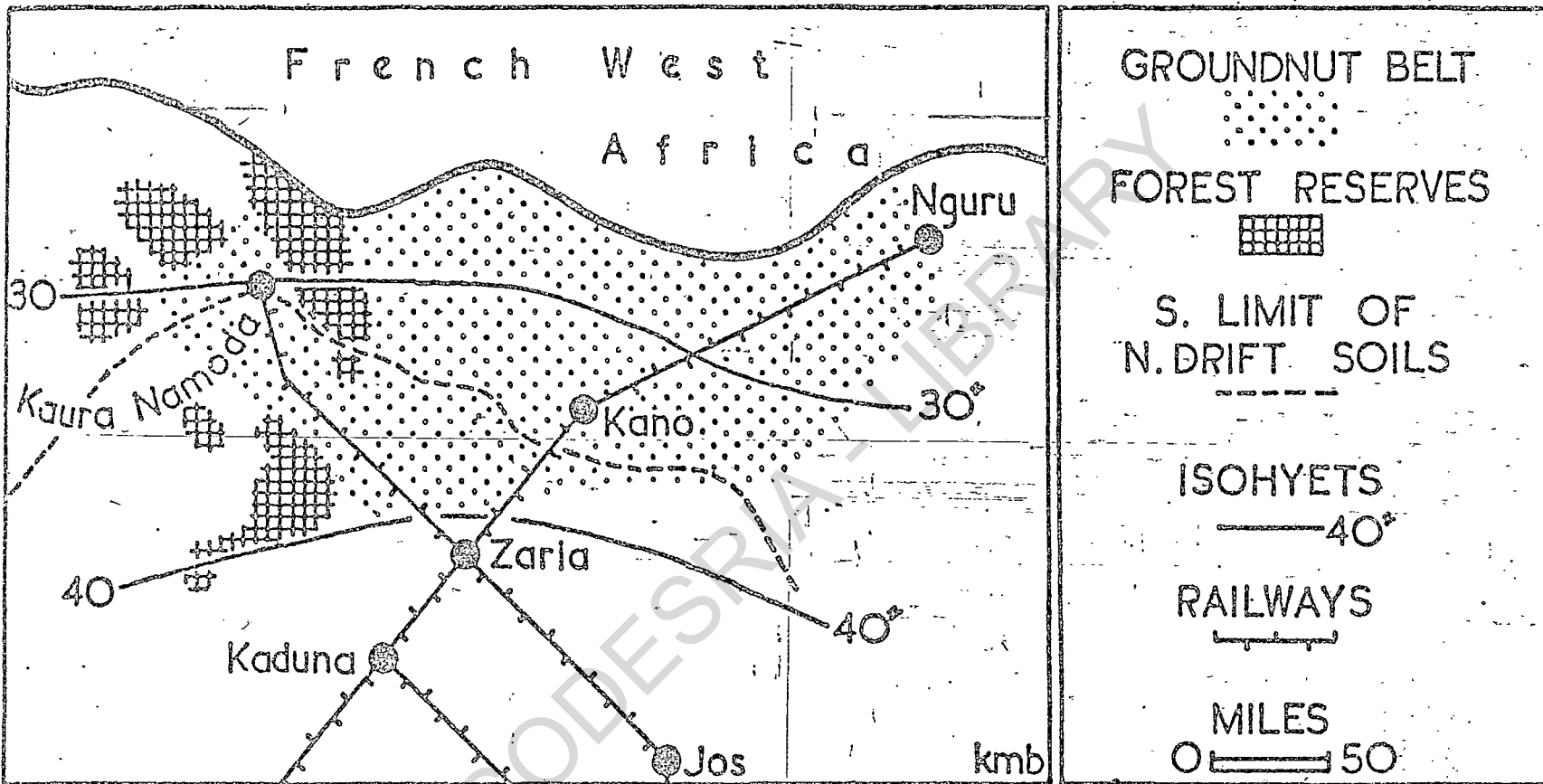


FIG. 109. THE GROUNDNUT BELT

Illustrating diagrammatically some of the factors which have produced the present pattern of production for export. Note particularly the influence of the railway.

Adapted from K. W. Buchanan & J. C. Pugh *Land and People*, p. 138

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE AND PLACE OF THE RAILWAYS IN THE BRITISH EXPLOITATION OF THE ZARIA PROVINCE

The last chapter has shown us how the colonialists exploited the human and material resources of the Zaria province for the speedy construction of the railway systems. The railways were to help move agricultural and industrial raw materials and British manufactured goods to and from the coast to the province.

A central focus of this chapter, therefore, is to highlight how the state's policies guaranteed cargo for the railways. Thus, the chapter will trace and examine the dialectical connections that existed between the railways, the firms, and state's agricultural, mining, manufacturing, trading and social policies in relation to the fate of indigenous people of Zaria province.

5.1 Railways and the Political Economy of Commodity Production

From the onset, the crucial problem that confronted the colonialists was how to transform the quality, quantity and the destination of indigenous produce to suit colonial imperial goals.<sup>1</sup> This was so because the needs of indigenous people were diametrically opposed to and irreconcilable with the needs of British firms. For example, the experiences of the textile industry will be instanced here. Lancashire needed about seven million tonnes of new variety of American ( Allen long grain of the Georgis or Nigerian Allen 26j ) cotton a year from the Zaria province.<sup>2</sup> It is of fundamental importance to this study to point out that these demands clearly represented a higher and qualitatively new demands on indigenous agricultural systems. Here also, the state wanted indigenous people to divert and concentrate greater energies and resources to commodity production. In order to satisfy imperial demands indigenous people had to redirect their agricultural practices and priorities to suit this imperial wants. This study further posits that the logic of Lancashire's needs and



demands ultimately dictated the subordination of indigenous farmers production to the requirements of the British economy. In order, therefore, to secure the right quality and quantity of cotton and other products- groundnut, giner, tobacco, hides and skin, etc. the state instituted and implemented radical economic and social policies that coerced commodity production in the Zaria province. The state's land tenure ordinances, labour laws, agricultural policies, taxation and currency laws, market structures, were the tools with which the state engendered the sole production of cheap and steady agricultural and industrial raw materials in the Zaria province. Thus, it was at the sphere of commodity production that the coerciveness of state's laws and policies should be located. With state fiat, the conquerors, for example, out-lawed the production of old indigenous cotton, in its place, American variety had to be produced. Stiff penalties of fines and imprisonment awaited farmers who broke these laws.<sup>3</sup> Indigenous farmers had no alternative but to comply. The state's taxation and currency laws, were the means of further consolidation of the coercion of indigenous farmers to grow mainly agricultural raw material products. In other words, farmers had to produce what foreign firms would buy in order to earn cash with which to pay their tax.<sup>4</sup> Henceforth, the purpose of production underwent radical transformations. Thus, these crops like cotton, groundnut and ginger took the title of cash crops.<sup>5</sup> The importance of these crops was especially buttressed by the fact that people outside the cotton or cash crop producing belt had difficulty in raising cash for tax purposes.<sup>6</sup>

A graphic example of how the state coerced agricultural raw material production suffices here. The initial response of indigenous farmers to colonialist agricultural demands was very lukewarm, unenthusiastic. Thus, in 1910, in its first year of operation in Zaria province; BCGA secured only 2,000lb of cotton.<sup>7</sup> Such a meagre return was very disappointing and of more fundamental importance, it was very inimical to the realisation of imperial goal.<sup>8</sup>

In other words, such a low return threatened the dream of cotton supply for Lacanshire from the province. This situation thus, called for desperate drastic remedial actions. In order to secure the right quality, the state, as already discoursed above, imposed multiple taxes; a more desperate measure was the proposal to collect taxes in cotton.<sup>9</sup> It is crucial to point out that high levies thus became the order of the day. Evidence has shown that tax increase was to induce cotton and ginger cultivation.<sup>10</sup> It is, however, important to point out that the state's coercion was very successful, as in 1911, BCGA realised 346,316 Lbs of cotton,<sup>11</sup> and in 1912 it bought 2,823,608 Lbs of the crop from the Zaria province.<sup>12</sup>

However, to colonial apologists, cotton laws and other coercive agricultural measure, represented the revolutionisation of indigenous peoples agricultural systems and practices.<sup>13</sup> Thus, for these officials to quote Lugard, for example, " Railways have created a demand for exportable hitherto undrest of appetit vient en mangeant,"<sup>14</sup> Hence, cotton laws, to them were civilising gestures that were designed for the economic benefit of the peasant farmers as the right quality and quantity of cotton meant more earnings for them, and with such earnings they would be able to improve the quality of their lives. With such glowing arguments, colonial apologists glossed over the coerciveness inherent in the state's agricultural policies, their position being that the state's policies merely removed old constraints that hindered maximum capacity utilisation of means of production.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the giant demands by Lacanshire was supposed to serve as a sort of stimulus for greater production.<sup>16</sup> In other words, foreign demands for raw materials were the vent that spurred surplus productions.<sup>17</sup> The apologists argument goes further that in order to satisfy these demands, indigenous farmers responded by the cultivation of new lands, and more energies and capacities were concentrated on commodity production, that is lesser time was devoted the pursuit of leisure.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, it is worth reiterating that, the state's tenure system further consolidated the coercion of commodity production in the Zaria province. We have shown previously, that the state's land tenure system broke up old land holdings into fragments, thus, indigenous farmers, became confirmed and confined to small plots. The only rational and economic way to utilise such land was to produce what the foreign firms wanted, which were mainly agricultural raw materials. Indigenous farmers, thus, became small-time farmers, ( petty commodity producers).<sup>19</sup>

But, to colonial apologist scholars, the state's land tenure system was revolutionary in that it made for equitable redistribution of land to many peasants, and was also supposed to prevent land speculations, as foreigners were forbidden large lands holdings. Thus, foreign exploitation of large land, to the denial of small-time peasants, would be avoided.<sup>20</sup> However, an expose of colonialist land tenure mechanisms revealed its exploitativeness. In fact, while indigenous farmers, were denied large land holdings, for they owned only about 3.25 acres of land each,<sup>21</sup> the state gave out large parcels of lands to British firms, thus, foreign concerns like BCGA owned thousands of acres, for example, they owned 1330 areas of Daudawa.<sup>22</sup> The state also owned 70sq. miles around Guma river as game reserved,<sup>23</sup> and another 10.sq miles at Kwagin Kaura exclusively for fuel for the railways.<sup>24</sup> So one can see clearly that the equitable redistribution of land supposed by championed by the state was falacious as the state and foreign firms owned huge lands, while indigenous people owned small pieces.

A poignant phenomenon in the colonial political economy was that peasant commodity production was very practical, and the imperialists deliberately foistered this policy, its astuteness and exploitativeness was that it effectively sheltered the state and its agents from the vicissitudes of direct agricultural production. In other words, foreign investment in agriculture was nil, and yet, thousands of tonnes of commodities were

produced year in year out,<sup>27</sup> This was because, as it has been shown above if farmers must survive, and stay free and pay their taxes, they must produce agricultural raw materials. It was the fear of brutal state reprisals that shaped indigenous farmers response to state's agricultural demands. While the northern part of the province concentrated on the production of commodities like cotton, and groundnut, the southern part of the province, produced mainly ginger.<sup>28</sup>

Aside from producing agricultural raw materials for export, indigenous farmers were also coerced, into the cultivation of slyvan produce; Shea nuts, and gum Arabic, ( See fig XVI, p. 169 for export of slyvan produce).

Furthermore, some foreign crops were produced for European consumption, thus, crops like Irish potatoes ( Dankali Turawa), water melon, lettuce, cucumba,<sup>29</sup> green beans, green pepper, etc. came to be extensively produced in the province. It was, thus, the versatility of indigenous peoples' agricultural experiences which had been painstakingly acquired over the years that were blatantly exploited by the colonial imperialists for the realisation of their goals. For example, the Canadian agricultural experts who came to northern Nigeria in the early part of the century were astonished by the effectiveness and efficiency of indigenous farming systems, they candidly confessed that there was nothing new to teach the Hausa farmers about agriculture which he already did not know.<sup>30</sup> It is thus important to point out here that it was the coercive apparatuses-the army and police that were used to enforce obedience to colonialists agricultural policies. The state's supervision took the form of cotton tours.<sup>31</sup> The N.A.s were the main organs that co-ordinated agricultural production; there were special cotton mallams,<sup>32</sup> They distributed cotton seeds, and "informed" the people of the need to grow cotton.<sup>33</sup> In other words, they commanded them to grow cotton. Imperial officials dutifully counted the total acres devoted to cotton production,<sup>34</sup> If they were not satisfied with land devoted to cotton cultivation, the N.A.s were ordered to intensify efforts. Cotton

tours, it is interesting to point out, took place under the guise of maintaining law and order and the inspection of the welfare and well-being of the people.<sup>35</sup> This study has shown above that the colonialists liked to execute their programmes under other guises and cover; this was cleverly designed to blunt colonial exploitation. These so called "administrative tours" were therefor the perfect cover up for the coercion of petty commodity production. However, in the concrete step to get the right quality of cotton produces in the Zaria province, the state brought in a cotton expert, Mr. H. Lamb, the first Director of Agriculture in the northern protectorate. He was the one who laid the foundation of the state's exploitative agricultural policies. Evidence shows that he had cajoled cotton production in Uganda,<sup>36</sup> he was expressly brought to northern Nigeria to make sure that imperial cotton goals were realised; Thus, it was Lancashire's needs that dictated cotton policy in the Zaria province. The centrality of the Zaria province in the imperialist agricultural scheme was so important that agricultural headquarters was in the province. In other words, the centrality of cotton shaped the siting of agricultural head quarters in the province, also also was the siting of forestry school, BCGA's demonstration farms at Daudawa and ginger selection and multiplication center at Zonkwa,<sup>37</sup> The N.A. staff supervised, and co-ordinated issues; As shown above cotton mallams monitored cotton cultivation, other agricultural products were under the Wakinlin Gona, while Sarkin Daji saw to forestry issues, and the Sarkin Shanu, supervised cattle movement and the treatment of Hides and skin.<sup>38</sup> It is of fundamental importance to point out that the N.A.s had no alternative, but to carry out imperial orders for their own survival. It is the opinion of this writer that N.A.s hands were tied, they could not do otherwise. This study delves into the analysis of the content, roles and functions of the N.A.s during the colonial era, because a school of thought sees the N.A. as imperialist collaborators.<sup>39</sup> It is the opinion of this writer that there was no room for N.A. to manoeuvre, the reality of

British colonialism restricted their choices of action, they had obey imperial command or be dismissed. It is however, the candid opinion of this study that the N.A.s were forced to implement these agricultural policies because the state had provided the railways, that would and did freighted whatever were produced. As would be shown below there would had been great logistical problems without the services of the railways.

At this junctures, it is very necessary to point out that the dramatic upsurge in commodity production was achieved without the aid of machinery and labour saving devices; evidence has shown that the imperialists did not design machinery for the cultivation of tropical crops.<sup>40</sup> This was justified on an excuse that there was no future for European-made agricultural implements here.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, the false image of a powerful African was a another justification for adopting labour intensive methods of agricultural production, that such methods of production were age-old in Africa.<sup>42</sup> However, indigenous people's acceptance and execution of greater tasks was shaped by the issue of basic need for survival, most especially, the need to secure tax money.

However, unmechanised agricultural production in the Zaria province, clearly reveals the falsity of the imperialists, especially their mirage of "civilising mission" thus, becomes exposed. Rather than provide farm tools, as it has been shown above, soldiers were deployed to farming communities under the guise of administrative tours to brutalize indigenous farmers into greater productivity.

Aside from the exploitation of agricultural raw materials, other agricultural by-products were also extensively exploited in the Zaria province by the foreign firms. For example, the rich cattle population of the province was highly decimated for hides and skin,<sup>43</sup> Timber was also extensively exploited in the province.<sup>44</sup> Reptiles skins were bought and exported.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, dairy products like cheese, butter, milk, and eggs were also extracted, from indigenous farmers, all these freighted by the railways

to Lagos and Port Harcourt ports for onward shipment to Europe.<sup>46</sup>

It is important to point out that the life of indigenous farmers under colonialism was one of unrelieved drudgery, they produced for the state under very tiring conditions. The most important phenomenon that emerged from forced commodity production was that indigenous people lost control over what to produce and how to produce them; thus, the need of international capital came to dictate the pace of commodity production in the Zaria province. Indigenous farmers were mere pawns; they must only fill an allocated quota of raw materials supply, that was their role in the economic world order imposed on them by the British imperialists.

#### 5.2 The Railways and the Exploitation of the Mineral Resources of the Zaria Province.

The imperialists also desired industrial raw materials; fortunately for them, the province was abundantly blessed with mineral resources, as shown previously under colonialists disposition all mineral rights were vested in the state. Thus, minerals like tin, columbite cassitents and gold were extracted in the Zaria province at Kudara, Anchau and Kegarko.<sup>47</sup> By 1912, there twelve mining concerns in the province. (See appendix ii p. 196, for the list of mining companies in the province). It is however, very necessary to point out that the exploitation of these valuable resources started after the completion of the railway to the Zaria province in 1911 and on the completion of the tin lines to Jos. It is also interesting to show that mining firms also owned vast landed properties in the province and paid very little rent for those properties. For example, A.J. Tangalakis and co.Ltd., paid 2 £30 for 1,606 acres of land.<sup>48</sup> Interestingly the land rent paid by these firms graphically confirms and shows how the state's land tenure policies cheapened cost of land for foreign companies, and fundamentally cheapened the cost of production for imperialist concerns. However, cheap land, concretely shows that the nationalisation

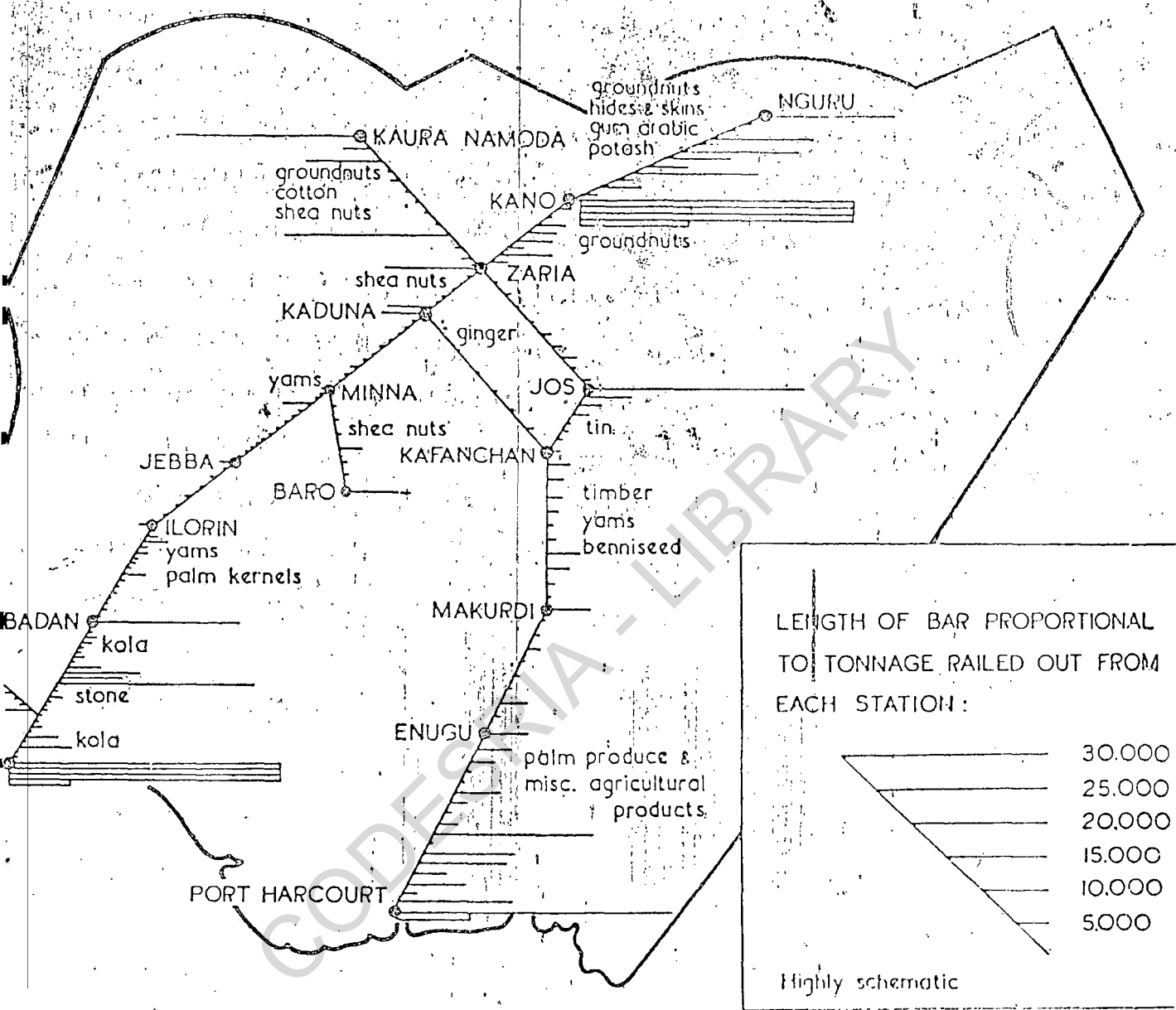


FIG. 153. TRAFFIC MOVEMENT ON THE NIGERIAN RAILWAY

the concentration of activity in the Cocoa Belt, the eastern Palm Belt, the Jos Plateau and, above all, groundnut and cotton-producing areas of the Sudan zone. The volume of traffic originating in the Belt stations is relatively small. Some of the ~~exports~~ <sup>products</sup> handled are indicated.

*Adapted from R. M. Borchers and J. C. Pugh. and Preyer, p. 210 (emphasis mine)*



of land was done in the sole interest of the imperialists, such land tenure policies allowed the state give out any land to only foreign minerals prospective firms.

It is crucial for this study, to show that mining activities in the Zaria province were also labour intensive, as miners were not provided with labour saving or mechanical tools. Mining sites were thus crudely exploited with manual tools; shovels, axes, cutlasses etc. Evidence confirms that the working conditions of a pit boy was a very perilous one.<sup>49</sup> Because of the nature of the job, it was only very strong young men that were recruited for mining work.<sup>50</sup> Because of this manner of tin exploitation, great number of labourers were required for mining activities. This labour must also be secured. It was also the N.A. staff that secured this labour for mining firms. This labour was secured the same way labour was secured for the railway construction, by force, i.e. by hunting people in their homes, and forcefully marching them hundreds of miles to mining sites;<sup>51</sup> and the same apologist labour mobility deception was the justification for forced labour in the mines. In other words, mining work provided work for the floating population.<sup>52</sup> At a point 90,000 people were involved in mining activities both in the province and on the Jos plateau.<sup>53</sup> Mining prospecting was all year round activities in cold, rain or sun shine. Labourers were still paid 9s with 3d deductible as tax.<sup>54</sup> They still lived under perilous conditions of over of over crowded hostels, little facilities for relief of nature and great difficult Soldiers kept watch at the camps to prevents desertions.<sup>55</sup> However, despite the crude nature of working conditions, there was great increase in the quantity of tin produced; for example, in 1914, 6174 tons of tin had been railed.<sup>56</sup> There was no official data of mortality rate at mining camps. However, field work in the course of this study reveals that it must have been very high. Mallama Afabe Kande, for example, informed this researcher that her father went Nowan Kusa in the 1920s and never came back,<sup>57</sup> furthermore, Bilus and Kentick spoke of entombment of piting boys because

of the dangerous ways mining activities were carried out .

While foreign concerns were granted vast mining rights, indigenous miners were completely denied mining concessions.<sup>59</sup> So, because of the presence of the railways, indigenous metallurgical sector lost right to raw-materials . We have shown above that there was a dramatic upsurge in commodity production, in both the agricultural and industrial sectors, it was this increased production, in both, these sectors that attracted international capitalist firms to the Zaria province. Of more fundamental attraction was the railways, which could fricht giant capacities of the provinces resources. For example, the number of firms in Zaria province rose from two in 1902 the pre-railway era, to twelve in 1913 immediately after the railways were built,<sup>60</sup> and to twenty in 1919.<sup>61</sup> ( emphasis mine) The Railways were therefore central to colonialists distribution and exchange systems.

### 5.3 Railways and the Distribution, Exchange and Consumption of goods in the Zaria Province.

It is very neccessary to first of all point out that these firms were basically local branches of foreign companies. ( See Appendix iii and iv, pp. 197 198 , for the list of firms operating in zaria province in 1919). However the central role of railways in the distribution system was further enhanced by building of railways, sidings to the premises of these firms. Railways sidings were built to their stores, were houses, and in some cases to their headquarters.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, railways sidings were also built to centers that dismantled bulky commodities for easy handling , management and freighting. For example, there railway siding to BCGA ginnery complexes. Interestingly, the Zaria province was said to house the largest ginnery in the world,<sup>63</sup> this fact graphically corroborates the fact the huge cotton returns were expected from the province. ( See figure xiii, p.141 , for the location of ginneries and their concentration in the province). Because of these sidings there were great trading

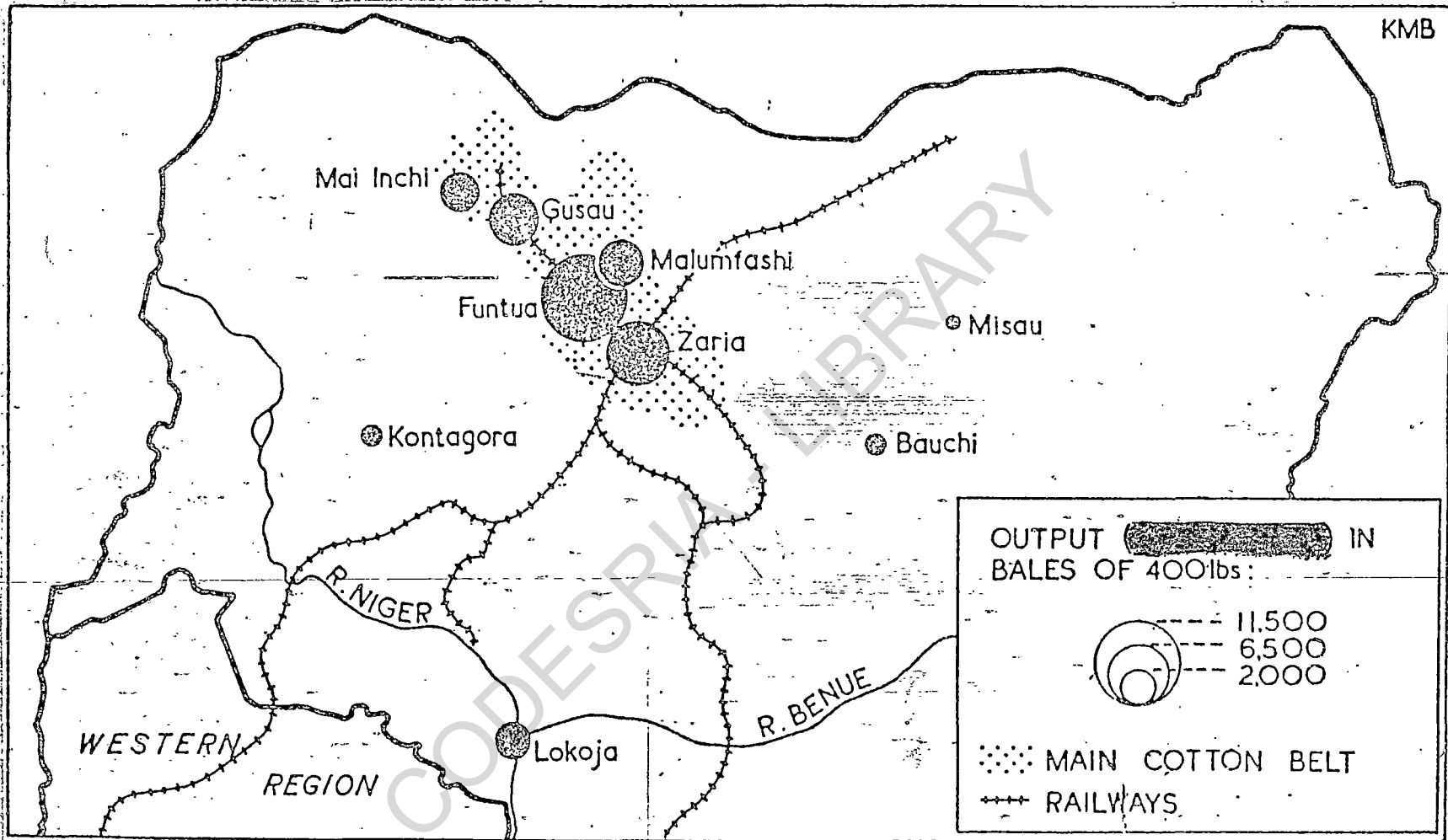


FIG. 118. COTTON GINNERIES

Note the relation of major ginneries to the cotton belt as defined in Fig. 116 and the scattered ginneries serving outlying producing districts. Output from the Ibadan and Oshogbo ginneries in the Western Region has been negligible during recent years.

*Adapted from K.M. Buchanan & J.C. Pugh  
Land and People, p. 146*

activities, so much, so that the province became commercialised,<sup>64</sup> area the area had thus become a veritable place very ripe for colonial exploitation and plunder. These firms were, in fact, the conduit pipes through which colonial loot was pumped to Europe.<sup>65</sup> While British firms held total control, there were also the presence of French and Lebanese firms.<sup>66</sup> But indigenous firms were in absolute minority,<sup>67</sup> there were only two in 1917, (See appendix v, p. 199 ). The state's excuse for this anomaly was that there were no enterprising indigenous entrepreneurial class.<sup>68</sup> However, this study has shown above that the state had deliberately smashed indigenous entrepreneurial class in order to pave the way for British firms in the Zaria province. The state was thus the principal actor that engendered favourable trading conditions for foreign firms in the Zaria province. The state in the province was an arm of the imperial government in London, and it merely executed policies that were determined in the U.K.<sup>69</sup> However, in order to justify the preponderance of the British firms in the Zaria province, the state argued that the presence of so many firms meant *laissez faire*.<sup>70</sup> But if viewed against the backdrop of the presence of mainly British firms, who thus, enjoyed oligopolistic privileges, this study then question the rationale of this so-called liberal trading policy. Colonialist justification as shown above, wants us to believe that their trading relations were not exploitative, but this study shall expose their pious fraud when we show presently how they traded on terms imposed by the state. The colonialists deceptive strategy that guaranteed profits for British firms in the Zaria province included the coercion of about 80% of indigenous people into petty commodity production,<sup>71</sup> the result was over supply and glut on the commodity market. Under such supply relations it was a buyers market. They held the aces and they dictated prices. We have evidence that British firms underbided indigenous buyers. On the cotton market, for example, while BCGA bidded 1d for 1b of cotton, indigenous traders offered 1½ for the same quantity,

it is revealing to show that under such market relations BCGA realised only 200lbs of cotton.<sup>72</sup> However, the state was displeased, with such returns,<sup>73</sup> and as an answer to the shortage of cotton supply to BCGA the state subsequently erected market structures that guaranteed BCGA excess supply. This was by the imposition of gazetted commodity markets.<sup>74</sup> The coerciveness inherent in gazetted market relations was that it was only in such markets that agricultural raw materials were bought and sold.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, it was only government licenced agents that could trade in these imposed commodity markets.<sup>76</sup> It is also paramount to point out that it was mainly British firms and their agents that secured trading licences from the state.<sup>77</sup> Evidence shows that the cost of obtaining a licence was too much for individual peasant traders.<sup>78</sup> In other words, indigenous people were left out of the control of market activities they only sold commodities on terms imposed and dictated by foreign firms.<sup>79</sup> A glaring exploitative feature of imperialist market relations was that the finance and the organisation of the trade was completely controlled and dominated by the Licence Buying Agents (LBAs) whose unscrupulous activities included pre-harvest purchase of commodities, thereby forcing peasants into debt relations with them.<sup>80</sup> It is however, interesting to point out that LBA were mere agents; real trade relations were controlled, as shown above, and dominated as shown above, by foreigners capitalists in U. K. It is very important to point out that trade relations in the colonial era contrasted sharply with the pre-colonial era, when indigenous mercantile class then determined the course and the content of trade with foreigners. During the colonial period, the prerogative of the conqueror, backed with colonialists coercive apparatuses and enabling laws, allowed foreign firms complete control and domination of trade, thus, the indigenous people lost control over distribution. It is pertinent to state that the gazetted markets were strategically located at railway station. This then exposes the concrete link that existed between the railways and the distributive system. Such markets located at railway

stations in the Zaria province were at, Awai, Soba, Dutin-n-wai, Kudara, Ikara, Anchau-na Gabbas, Kauru, Zaria, Gini Dabosa, Fatika, Birni Yaro, Kujama, and Gama-Gira.<sup>81</sup>

A prominent feature of new market centres was that they eclipsed old market centres that were not on the railway line. Evidence, for example, has shown that some market became less prominent in the colonial market system.<sup>82</sup>

However, these gazetted markets were very convenient for the colonialists exploitative purposes, because it was from these centres that commodities were loaded on the railways for onward movement to the coast and Europe. Gana has treated the roles, functions and activities of markets in Zaria province during the colonial era.<sup>83</sup> But the fact that Gana, for example, did not realise the exploitative and domineering mechanisms inherent in these gazetted markets in the colonialists scheme of things shows the defect in his methodological and conceptual frame work.

He, thus, failed to see that gazetted markets afforded the state and its agents, the firms, a full grip on market relations and gave them enough room to manipulate these relations to their advantages. Gazetted markets also allowed for quality control, since goods, not wanted by the imperialists, such as indigenous variety of cotton, were frowned at and discouraged at these markets.<sup>84</sup>

It is of fundamental importance to point out that the N.A. were the tools employed for market manipulations. The Magagin Kasiwa, for example, controlled market proceedings, he was there mainly to enforce commodity prices fixed by the imperialists.<sup>85</sup> In any case, it is very clear now that gazetted markets confirmed the oligopsonistic and oligopolistic powers and tendencies of the imperialists. It was mainly their firms that traded on these markets. Others, who were discriminately unauthorised dealers (who were mainly indigenous people), were discouraged from these markets.<sup>86</sup>

This study attempts to demonstrate further the practicality of the gazetted markets in the colonial relations. For example, in 1910, when these markets had not existed, NGA realised only 200 lbs of cotton in Zaria province, but by 1912 when gazetted markets had been established, it realised 2,000 lbs.

608 lbs of cotton.<sup>88</sup> This shows clearly how gazetted markets facilitated the the realisation of colonialists imperial goal of making the Zaria province into exclusive raw materials supplier, to British industries, moreover, gazetted markets also allowed price manipulations by the state and its agents. For example in pre-gazetted markets BCGA bid Id for cotton and realised only 200 lbs, however, with the imposition of gazetted markets, BCGA bid the same one penny Id in 1912 and bought a staggering 2,821, 508, lbs of cotton.<sup>89</sup> This concretely shows how the gazetted markets functioned to colonialists advantages. It will be contended here that the underpricing of indigenous commodities accounted for the depressed commodity price. An observation of commodities prices throughout our period of study in the Zaria province reveals that it fetched very low prices. It has been shown above that British firms deliberately underbid other traders; for example, BCGA underbid indigenous traders,<sup>90</sup> but, despite this underbidding BCGA, UAC, etc. still got what they wanted. The phenomenon of underpricing of indigenous commodities was achieved by the imposition of an artificially depressed exchange rate, for the sterling and cowries in the Zaria province, thus, for example, when BCGA bought cotton at Id per lb, it meant about 350 cowries per lb. In apologists parlance, as we have shown above, that was supposed to be a fortune by pre-colonial standards. However, such meagre prices kept indigenous earnings low throughout our period. For example, Baba of Karo shows us that "Adams earned £2.00 for his cotton products."<sup>91</sup> The implications of such poor earnings will be shown later. However, these low prices were very good for the imperialists, they enabled them buy agricultural and industrial commodities cheaply in the Zaria province. This study discovered that right from the time of colonial conquest; imperial emphasis implies that African produce were "cheap" (emphasis mine).<sup>92</sup> However, we now recognise that apologists position represented a misconceived and grossly exaggerated distortion of reality. As chapter one above has shown that under pre-colonial trading relations African produce were not that

cheap, this fact is buttressed by the point that colonial domination was designed to smash old trade securities, that had placed African produce out of control of foreigners, because subsequent colonialist policies, especially the market relations that had been shown above deliberately cheapened Zaria province's . There is some evidence that farmers in the Zaria province reacted negatively to prices offered by ECGA, for example, in 1910, when ECGA offered the low price of 1d per ounce of cotton it secured only 2,000 lbs.<sup>93</sup> But by 1911, with the intensification and the consolidation of colonial control and domination, most especially with the tightening of states usurious fiscal and economic measures and most especially backed by military tours; ECGA bought 346, 316 lbs of cotton at the same one penny.<sup>94</sup> One can thus see clearly that the colonialist had coerced obedience to imperial commands. They had coerced large amount outputs and had manipulated market relations, to their advantage . With coerced commodity sales, indigenous farmers in the Zaria province lost control over prices and thus, lost control over their earnings. It is also clear from the above that classical economic market relations of Laissez-fair were absent in the Zaria province, quite contrary to colonial apologists,<sup>95</sup> the phenomenon whereby producers sold more when prices of commodities were very low clearly demonstrated an imperfect market, and only colonialists, manipulations instituted these markets relations to the utter disadvantage of peasants in the province. We also contend that colonialists measures and weights, also aided the exploitation of indigenous farmers. Thus, under the new weighing and measuring systems, whatever the peasants brought to the markets were weighed by the firms and they paid only what suited them. Moreover the grading system, further intensified peasants exploitation. Grade A produce sold the highest, and in all cases, grade A produce were the very variety imposed by the state and its agents; these were the very type required by British industries.<sup>96</sup> With all these exploitative mechanisms in place, it is therefore not surprising that by the time Zaria province's cotton got to Liverpool, it sold cheaper



than when America supplied cotton to Lancashire,<sup>97</sup>

As Zaria province's commodities were railed out, (See appendix vi-ix, pp. 200-203). British manufactured goods were has been shown previously how the colonialists engendered favourable markets for British goods in the province by the destruction of the indigenous manufacturing base . It is, however, crucial for this study to show that British manufactured goods constituted luxury goods; we have evidence that indigenous people preferred their own manufactured goods to foreign ones,<sup>98</sup> but under colonialist dispensation this was not to be, foreign goods, were forced on them in order to allow British firms realise profit. The imposition of British goods is, in colonial apologist literature, "the opening up of closed markets." In other words, old anti-dumping measures closed up the markets. The prerogative of the conqueror meant that the economy of the colonised must be set loose for colonialist plunder. Thus, as Bello has shown "colonial law and order or subjugation was essentially geared to subordinating the productive sector of the colony to facilitate exploitation.<sup>100</sup> Thus, as shown above by 1902, immediately after the conquest the markets were "opened" British firms came in large numbers by 1919, there were twenty foreign firms in the province. Foreign firms dumped the following goods in the Zaria province salt, sugar, milk, arms and ammunition, beers, wines cement, corrugated iron, milk, arms and ammunition, cocoa products, cotton goods, cigars and cigarettes, hardware, kerosine, and petrol, matches, rice soap etc.<sup>101</sup> For all these commodities evidence shows that the indigenous people had a viable alternatives which were not tapped.<sup>102</sup> This naturally led, to unindustrialization of the Zaria province, the impact of this will come later, but, here it is enough to show that with the dumping of British goods and the encouragement of their consumption, indigenous people also lost control over what they consumed. British firms dumped huge quantities of their commodities in the Zaria province because of

the facilities of the railway,<sup>103</sup> and also because of liberal tariff systems maintained by the state, evidence has shown that import and export duties were very low.<sup>104</sup> Colonial apologist's argument was that such liberality would make for the economic growth and development of the colony.<sup>105</sup> While indigenous commodities sold cheaply, manufactured goods sold expensively. The phenomenon that accounted for this was the relations of unequal exchange, as indigenous commodities and foreign goods were exchanged unequally.<sup>106</sup> In some cases firms resorted to barter trade relations in order to enforce the consumption of their goods, and to consolidation relations of unequal exchange.<sup>107</sup> These manufactured goods, evidence has further shown constituted a huge drain on the scarce resources of indigenous people. For example, evidence shows that indigenous people could not afford most of these products, they were too expensive for them.<sup>108</sup> However, while indigenous people were exploited with the mechanisms of unequal exchange, British firms made huge profits. In 1912, Niger company recorded a profit of £19,102 from its trading activities in northern Nigeria Zaria province inclusive.<sup>109</sup> And such was the trend with many firms throughout the period of this study. Such surpluses accumulated by foreign concerns shows the magnitude of the surpluses appropriated from the Zaria province. It is however, interesting to point out that these profits were realised through swindle, cheating and the undervaluing of indigenous commodities, underpaying labour, and the overpricing of British goods.

However, in order to facilitate easy repatriation of profit, the colonial state established banks in the Zaria province, these banks included, Bank of British West Africa Limited which opened a branch in May 1912,<sup>110</sup> while in May 1918 a branch of the colonial Bank was also opened.<sup>111</sup> Barclay Bank was opened on 16/2/1927.<sup>112</sup> It was these colonialist banks that allowed imperialist control of all financial transaction in the Zaria province. For example, the fortunes of the Zaria province were kept in such banks.<sup>113</sup> It is very interesting to point out that the state used these funds to lubricate its exploitative

machinery. However, indigenous people's participation in banking activities was NIL, (emphasis mine), as they were discriminated against in terms of loans and other credit facilities.<sup>114</sup> As would be shown later, through the services of the banks vast sums were transferred out of the Zaria province as wages, salaries, and debt services on railway loans, with such exploitative nature of banking services, the Zaria province became a net exporter of capital, thus, financing of internal growth was tied to the Bank of England. It is crucial to this study, to point out, that the realisation of profits by the firms, nay, the realisation of colonial imperial goals would have been very problematic without the services of the railways. It was essentially the railways that aided the circulation, distribution and exchange of goods and services. Our position, therefore, is that the state undertook its agricultural, mining and manufacturing policies, because of the availability of the service of the railways, it was the railways that moved the cotton, groundnut, cigar, etc. to and from the Zaria province.

#### 5.4 The Exploitative Role of the Railways in the Actualisation of Colonialist Goal in the Zaria Provinces:

It is the principal objective of this study to show the centrality of the railways in the colonial scheme of things. The railways were the major means of discounting space, a principal mode through which vast tonnes of goods and commodities were moved to and from the Zaria province. It is thus, this study is contentions that the railways were the bedrock, the linchpin engine, on which colonial exploitation of the Zaria province hinged.

This study, thus, posits that without the tremendous freight capacities and services of the railways it would have been very difficult, albeit very problematic, for the imperialists to realise their imperial ambitions in the Zaria province. This was because without the railways the transport problems that would have confronted the colonial state would have been gigantic.<sup>115</sup>

In fact, Lugard testified to this when he argues that a full train load would have done the work of 13,000 people at 1/10 the cost.<sup>116</sup> In other words,

10 trains would have done the work of 130,000 people. It was the enormity of logistical problem presented by organizing people on such vast scale all year round, that spurred Manchester trading houses, to campaign for the construction of railways to the Zaria province. It is very necessary to stress that throughout our period of study the railways, maintained and ran efficient services, for example, there were tri-weekly cargo trains to Lagos and Port-Harcourt from Zaria province all year round.<sup>117</sup> Such modus operandi shows that the railways were mainly for lifting freight. Our investigation also reveals that passenger services were secondary in the railways scheme of things, for example, they were too expensive for indigeneous commuters and traders, thus, indigeneous people resorted to the patronage of old modes of transportation, by portage and pack animals.<sup>118</sup> In other words, the activities of the railways were solely geared towards satisfying the requirements of Manchester, as it was mainly British firms that could afford their costs. Furthermore, freight capacities dominated railway rolling stock. For example, out of 1136 rolling stock, 1006 were special wagon designed for freighting.<sup>119</sup> It is also interesting to point out that the railways were built only to epicenters of cotton, groundnut, ginger, hides and skin, and tin production. It is also interesting to point out that the railways instituted lorry services to complement and supplement its freight capacity, this service was known as railway motor.<sup>120</sup> It is crucial for this study to show that rail routes were selectively determined, thus, railways were not built to areas that were economically unattractive, which corresponded essentially with areas which did not produce much raw materials, thus, communities farther away from the railways earned little for their products, this was because their wares went to railways stations by relays and intermediaries collected interest on them.<sup>121</sup> Manufactured goods also reached there through the same processes and thus, rendered them very expensive in rural areas.<sup>122</sup> British firms especially enjoyed special privileges with the railways. We have shown above that tracks were built of their trading

places, and their cargoes were freighted cheaply,<sup>123</sup> Lenin's argument that railways were built by the colonialists in order to facilitate cheap means<sup>124</sup> of colonial exploitation stands true for the Zaria province. Because of the critical role of railways in the imperialist distributive network, its smooth running was very fundamental; thus, it was felony, for example, to obstruct smooth operation of the railways, an offence like theft of railways properties carried stiff prison terms of 10yrs.<sup>125</sup> Strikes were also ruthlessly suppressed.<sup>126</sup> Furthermore, Manchester chambers maintained an undiminished interest in the activities of the railways throughout our period of study; that was why the manager of the railways was summoned to Manchester to render account of railway operation from time to time.<sup>127</sup> But as Usman has correctly printed out, imperialist efficiency and smoothness of organisation should not deceive one to the ulterior aim of that efficiency which was principally aimed at getting raw material's steadily to Lancashire and to dump in the Zaria province. Large tons of manufactured goods on regular basis.<sup>128</sup> The role and the activities of the railways, thus, revealed their decisive influence in colonial imperialist plannings. The presence of an engine that linked the Zaria province to the outside world, thus shaped colonialists domestic policies; railways were thus, the enabler, they engendered the realisation of colonial imperial goals in the Zaria province.

However, in order to maintain railways efficiency, thousands of indigenous personnel were required as maintenance men, drivers and clerks,<sup>129</sup> but getting such calibre of literate people from a society in which western education was non-existent was very problematic; so a form of training had to be provided. It is thus, our position that it was partly the needs of the railways that, for enstance, shaped the imperialists educational policy in the Zaria province. Trading firms also needed vast number of accountants, clerks and technicians.<sup>130</sup>

##### 5.5 The Railways; Colonialist Education and the Making of a Dependant Proletariat

It was thus to a large extent the railways in particular and other colonialists needs in general for indigenous educated personnel that shaped the establishment of primary, secondary, technical, vocational and craft schools in the Zaria province and in other parts of northern Nigeria.<sup>131</sup> But colonialists education should be seen for what it stood for. It was specially designed to meet the needs and exigencies of the railways principally and that of the imperial state generally. In the colonial scheme of things, their education was restricted to training people that would service the railways, work for the firms and the state especially N.As. Because of the limited scope of the responsibilities and challenges indigenous people were expected to play in the colonial scheme, the content of colonial education was very narrow, consisting of arithmetic, reading, writing, drawing, etc,<sup>132</sup> and then of the training of technicians at specialised schools, survey schools and various railways schools.<sup>133</sup> However, a critique of colonialist educational policy is necessary here in order to debunk colonial apologists position that the provision of educational facilities was a principal civilising mission, that it made savages into decent people,<sup>134</sup> An appraisal of the curricula of the educational system, as shown above, reveals that colonialist education was rooted in the interest and the needs of international capital. Because the state needed people with bare minimum skills and little knowledge merely to enable them co-ordinate colonial imperialism, it thus did not provide an education designed to promote the most rational use of materials and social resources; it was not an educational system designed to give confidence and pride to young people as members of African societies. Instead, colonialist education was for subordination, exploitation and the creation of mental enslavement, and the development of under-development. In brief, colonial education was to create black white men,<sup>135</sup> Because the state wanted neo-colonial personnel, it prevented mass literacy and mass education. Thus, the state selectively built schools, by 1914 there was only one secondary school ( provincial school) for the whole of the province.<sup>136</sup>

The most revealing aspect of colonialists exploitative educational policy was the restricted admission system whereby admissions were restricted to a privileged few; there is evidence that willing students were sent back home. Furthermore, some willing students could not attend school because they could not afford the expensive tuition fees.<sup>137</sup> This, however, contrasted sharply with Ayandele's position that northerners were apathetic to Western education.<sup>138</sup> The reality of colonial situation was that there were limited educational opportunities and facilities for those who aspired to learning in the Zaria province. However, through such few schools that were established, the state trained the clerks and the technicians that managed the operations of smooth and efficient railways. The firms also got some personnel for its operations, so did the N.A.S. The colonialists educational policy should be therefore seen for what it was, a tool designed to create the ideological class that would perpetrate colonialist exploitation.<sup>139</sup> This proletariat class essentially depended on the state and its agencies for survival, the railways mines etc.

#### 5.6 Railways and Urbanisation:

It is crucial for this study to point out that with the completion of the Bare-Kano railways to the Zaria province in 1911, there was an influx of people clerks, artisans, labourers, traders etc, to the railway centres.<sup>140</sup> These were people who came in search of opportunities presented by the presence of the railways.<sup>141</sup> It is the position of this paper that many of them were people displaced from their former pre-occupations and former homes; thus, the phenomena of rural - urban migration became a reality of colonialist exploitative economy. Hence, new centres (urban centres) came to serve as the main collection, and distribution points for the needs of the railways and merchant firms.<sup>142</sup> The banks, and firms established offices, stores, and warehouses in these centres.<sup>143</sup> The most prominent of these urban centres were the capital city, Kaduna, and Zaria, the provincial headquarters,<sup>144</sup> and to a lesser extent Saminaka and others.<sup>145</sup> A prominent feature of these

urban centres was that they were on the rail route; evidence shows that some old centres not on the rail route fell into decline.<sup>146</sup> Urbanisation during the colonial period in the Zaria province has been well covered by Dhiwayo,<sup>147</sup> and Oyedele.<sup>148</sup> But for our purposes here, it is enough to state that these centres were essentially conduits through which colonialist exploitations were conducted, co-ordinated and articulated. As Maboungbe has rightly shown,<sup>149</sup> urbanisation represents one of the most potent means used in achieving the colonial and capitalist penetration of traditional economies.<sup>149</sup>

Yet the state of material well-being of urban dwellers in the Zaria province is shown to have been very poor; and that colonialist urban policy has also been shown to be an entrenchment of the divide and rule policy.<sup>150</sup> This policy was carried to absurd extremities of forceful segregation of indigenous people along tribal and ethnic lines in the province; thus, the Tudan Wadas, Sabon Garis came into being in the Zaria province,<sup>151</sup> and indigenous people had to seek for and obtain permits before they could reside in these urban centres. (For example, 1,305 of such permits were issued in 1914,<sup>152</sup> however, the deeper meaning of and the absurdity of these permits was that some people had suddenly become undesirable aliens in their own very country. In these places the colonialists deliberately discouraged fraternization.

However, some scholars like Oyemakinde fail to see forces at play in colonialists urbanisation processes. The short comings of Oyemakinde's theoretical and methodological perceptions account for his inability to grasp the exploitativeness inherent in the colonialist urban policy; he thus sees the urban centres as homogenous entities.<sup>153</sup> It is the contention of this study that colonialists urbanisation system was designed for complete control and also a measure directed at diverting their attention of Nigerians away for colonial exploitation and focusing their attention rather on petty jealousies of other nationalists; that it was these other nationalists (Yorubas Igbos) that were exploiters of the indigenous people of the Zaria province.<sup>154</sup>



### 5.7 The Railways and the Provision of Social Services:

However, largely in order to maintain and enhance the productive and reproductive capacities of those who produced the commodities freighted by the railways and others who worked for the state and the firms, the state thus built few hospitals that were few and far in between. A more prominent feature of colonialist health care system was that the Health Centres were understaffed and grossly ill equipped.<sup>155</sup> It has been shown that medical services were very expensive during the colonial era and that indigenous people could not afford this expensive medical treatment.<sup>156</sup> So they resorted to traditional medicine as an alternative.<sup>157</sup> We shall also show later that the incidence of diseases became prevalent because of the shortage of health facilities. Furthermore, and to some extent because of the need to service an efficient railways, the state provided a token of social service, like electricity and pipe borne water scheme etc.<sup>158</sup> But they were selectively and discriminately provided only in the area, that mattered most, for instance, (Government Reserved Area) the (G.R.A.) where the Europeans resided; while Native Townships were almost neglected.<sup>159</sup> This study has thus shown clearly that under colonialists dispensations there was little investment in the social and welfare sector, thus, colonialist interest in this critical human development was very shallow. However, Mcphee wants us to believe that there was a revolution in medicine, education and social welfare in West Africa, during the colonial tenure.<sup>160</sup> This was however, not congruent with reality as it has been shown above, and as it shall be graphically demonstrated later.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that the railways, was the engine that made the realisation of colonial goals possible, as their presence fundamentally shaped and accounted for the state's agricultural, mining and manufacturing policies.

The next concluding chapter is to show what it meant for indigenous people as they neglected critical production for themselves and completely

devoted their time, resources and energies mainly into the satisfaction of imperial goals.

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CHAPTER FIVE

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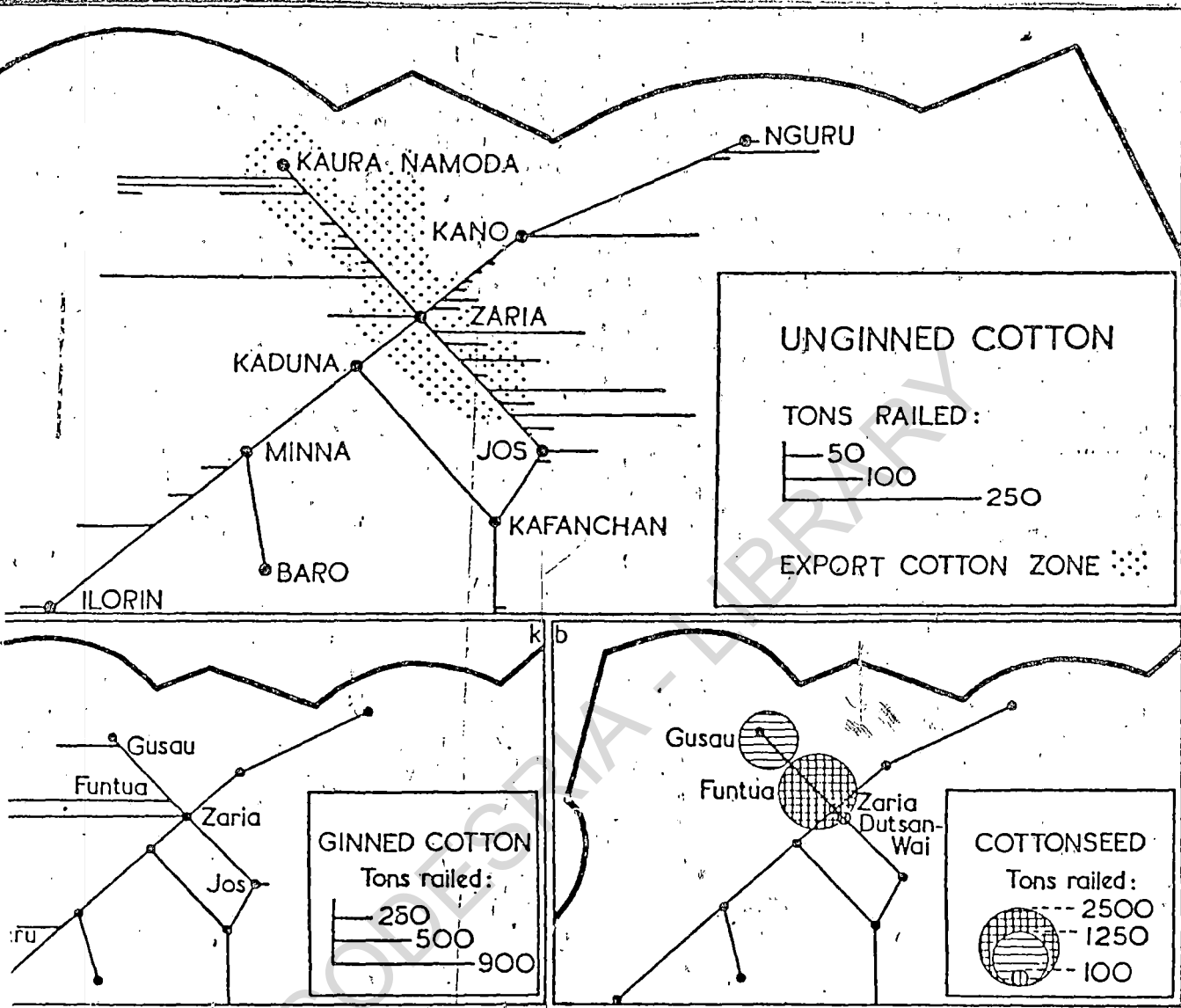
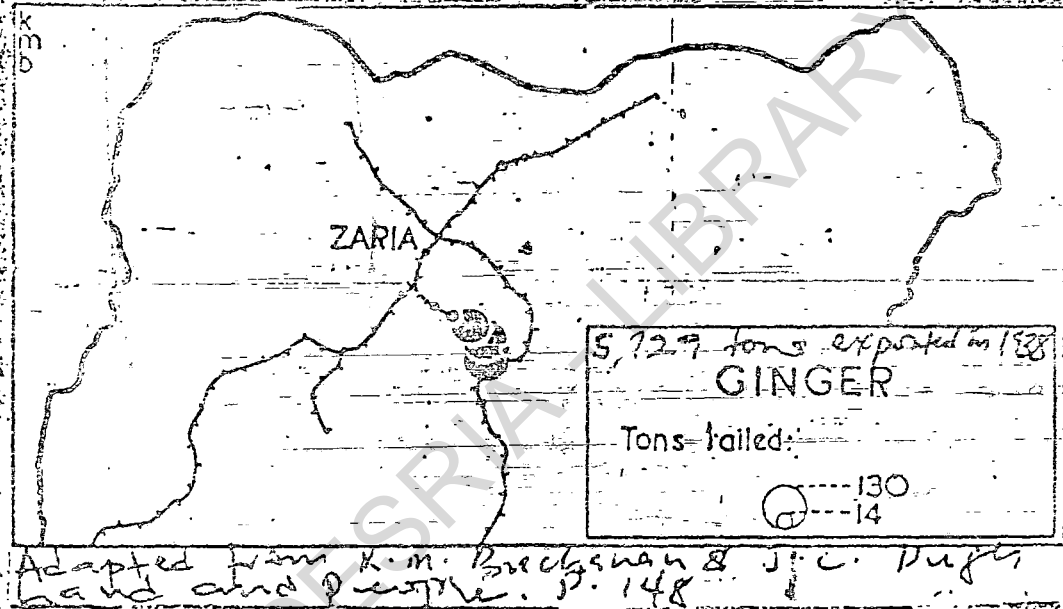
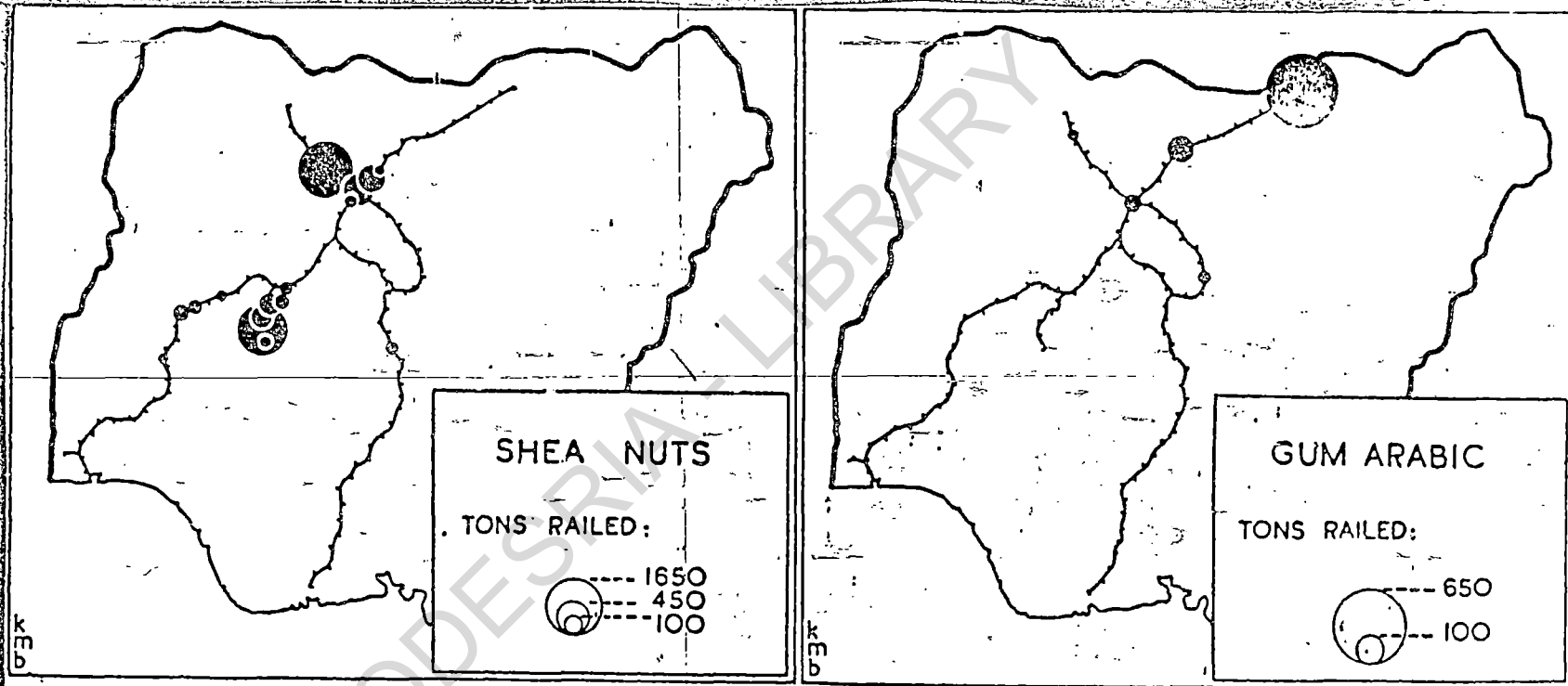


FIG. 119. MOVEMENT OF COTTON IN THE NORTHERN REGION

In Fig. 153 length of horizontal lines is proportional to the tonnage railed out from each station. Note movement of unginced cotton from areas in Kano and Niger Provinces lying outside the main cotton concentration of traffic in ginned cotton is at Funtua and Zaria (Zungeru handles the Kontagora output); local monopoly of cottonseed traffic is enjoyed by Funtua and Gusau  
 Adapted from K. M. Buchanan & J. C. Pugh  
 and People, p. 147 (emphasis mine)

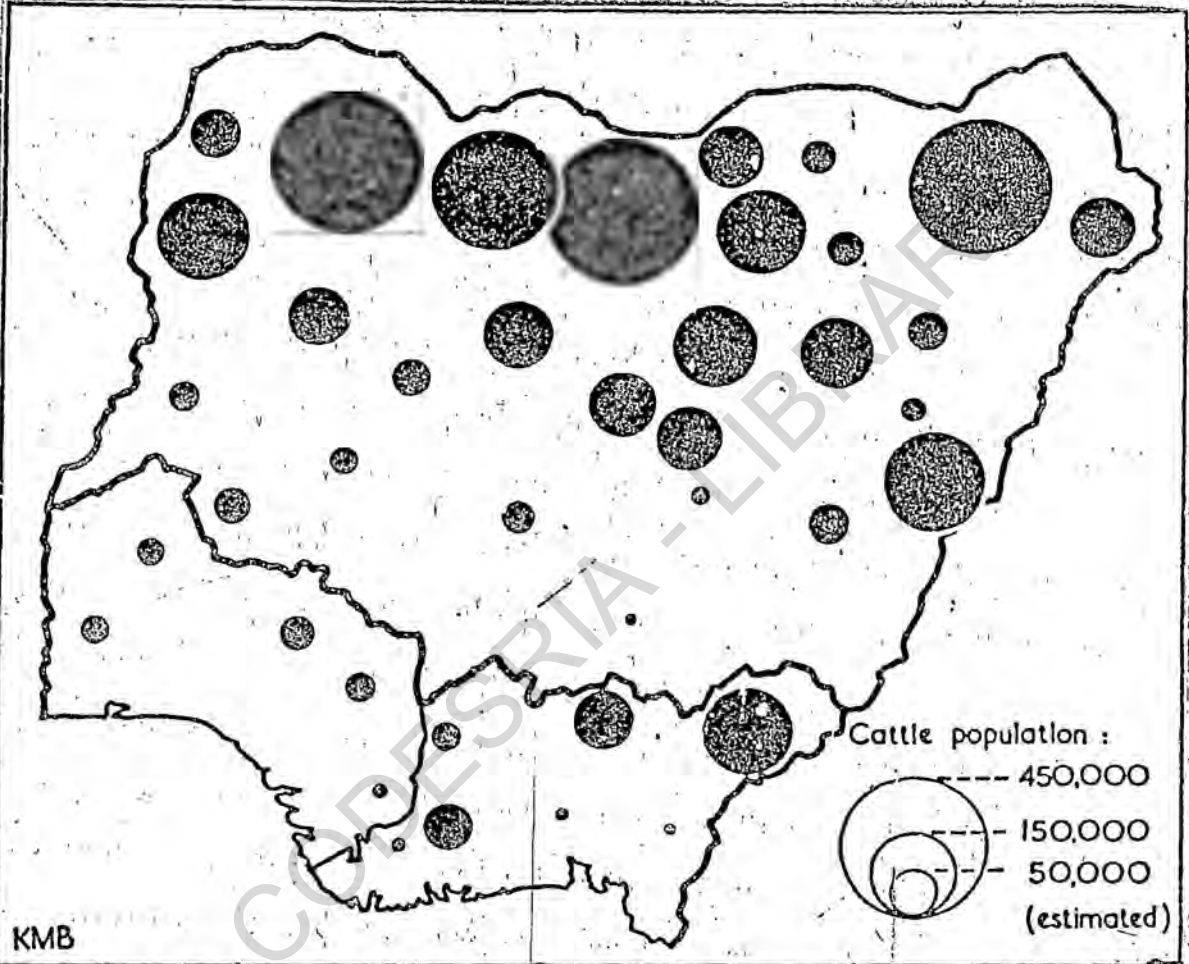




FIGS. 136 and 137. MINOR FOREST PRODUCTS

Shea nuts are collected for export in two major areas—the Middle Belt to the east of Bida, and in the vicinity of Zaria; gum arabic collection is typical of the savana zone of Bornu, the gum being railed out via Nguru.

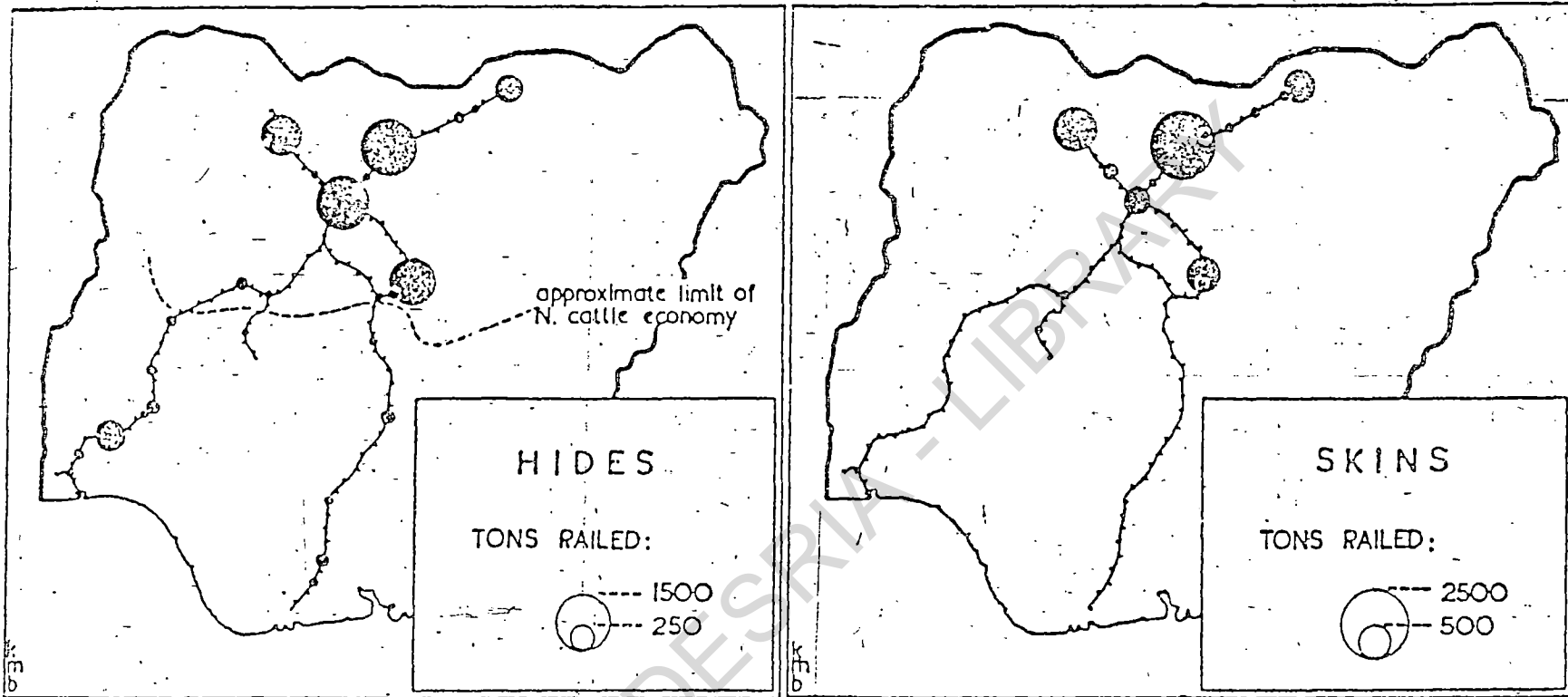
*Adapted from: K.M. Kuching and S.C. Pugh, "Cane and Dimple," p. 78. (emphasis mine)*



KMB

Adapted from K.M. Kuching and J.C. Dugh.  
 Land and People p. 12





FIGS. 92-93. HIDES AND SKINS

Cattle hides, goat-skins and sheep-skins form items of major importance in the Nigerian economy. In addition to the quantities used within the country by the leather-working industry some £4,000,000 worth were exported in 1949. Major collecting centres for export are Gusau, Nguru, Kano, Zaria and Jos.

Adapted from K.M. Buchsbaum & J.C. Pugh  
Land and People p.123

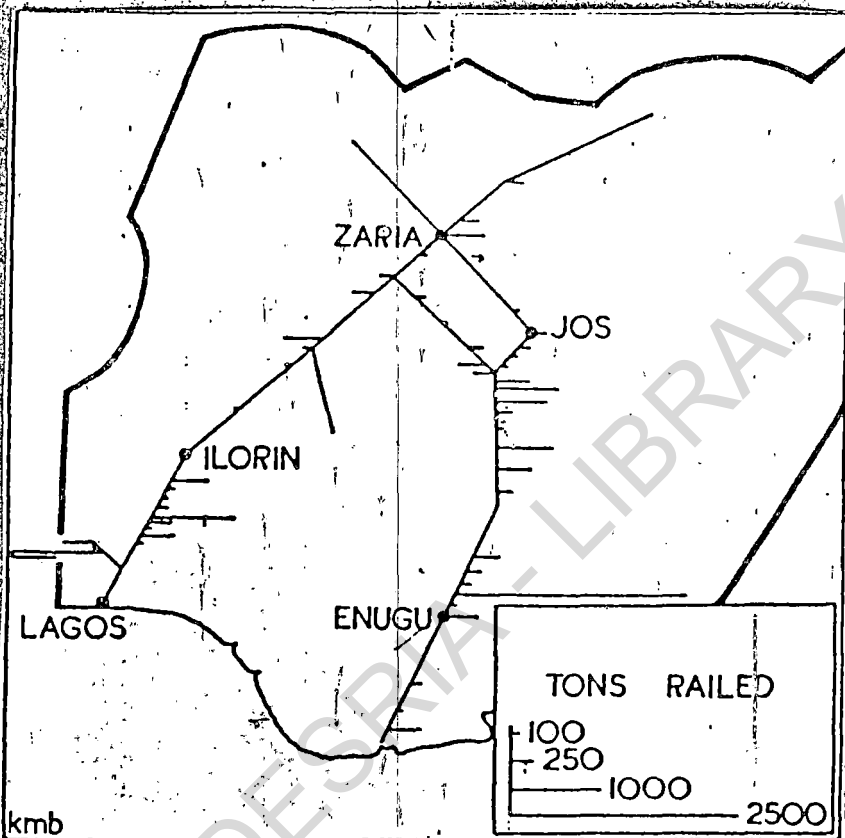


FIG. 135. TIMBER RAILINGS  
(Port termini excluded)

A considerable volume of timber, mainly fire-wood and pitprops, is handled by the Nigerian railway. Note the large tonnages railed out from stations between the mining centre of Enugu and the Plateau tinfields.

*Adapted from H.M. Buchanan  
J.C. Pugh: Land and People. p. 176*

CHAPTER SIX

THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE EXPLOITATIVE PERFORMANCES OF THE COLONIALIST  
RAILWAYS ON THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE

The last chapter has shown us how the colonial state exploited the human and material resources of the Zaria province for the realisation of colonialists imperial goals. This concluding chapter is to show us what it meant for indigenous people to divert and direct their whole resources and energies solely into the satisfaction of imperial wants. The fundamental task designed for this chapter therefore, is to see the material state of well-being of peasant farmers, Pastoralists, clerks of Zaria province. In other words, the chapter tries to see the gains or losses of the indigenous people because of the selfish way the imperialist used the railways. For a proper understanding of the concrete conditions of existence of indigenous people, this study highlights the major phenomena, from the basis of their historicity. Vis, when did colonialists exploitation started, and how did it start and in what forms did it manifest itself. We must, thus, see the indices of the phenomena of exploitation, with special reference to the railways.

6.1 The Dialectics of the Impact of the Railways in Zaria Province:

It is worth bringing to light that colonial exploitation manifested itself in the Zaria province right from when the area was incorporated and integrated into the British world-wide colonial empire. The significance of being a colonial enclave was that indigenous people must obey imperial orders. Since "prerogative" of the conqueror allowed the British unlimited privileges to do as they wished. However, what Britain wanted from the Zaria province were cheap and steady raw materials, and profitable dumping grounds for British manufacturers. Thus, the state erected fiscal, economic, bureaucratic and administrative measures that engendered the realisation of imperial goals, in the province. In practical terms, what colonial exploitation demanded and expected from indigenous people was that the nature and character of production relations must change. Vis, the people should sacrifice and

neglect production for themselves for the total concentration on the satisfaction of imperial needs. In other words, indigenous people's needs and requirements were to be subordinated to colonial wants. This study has shown clearly that in the concrete effort to achieve imperial goals thousands of indigenous people were forced to railway construction jobs, these labourers also built the state's other infrastructural facilities such residences, telegraph etc; indigenous people were also coerced into mining activities and export commodity production. As it has been shown in the study, and as it has also been concretely demonstrated in other studies on the Zaria province, the colonial state was the principal actor; it fashioned the enabling atmosphere that made the realisation of colonial imperial goals possible in the province, and as this study has shown above the railways were the pivot on which colonial imperialist exploitation rested.

#### 6.2 The Implication of the Activities of Colonialists Railways for Industrialization Policy in the Zaria Province.

As Nabogunje has correctly shown in relation to the significance of transportation system:

In considering the economic effect of the movement of goods and services within a country, it is thus clear as to what type of integrative relations they subsume and consequently how far they contributed to the overall goal of development. It is worth stressing how far the pattern and structure of the movement contribute to enhancing the productive capacity of individuals in all parts of the country and ensuring them an equitable share in benefits deriving from increased mobility.<sup>2</sup>

In the light of the above, it is of fundamental importance to point out that the railways did not in any way enhance the productive capacity of indigenous people, this was because the inner logic of the colonial demands were incompatible with industrial developments to the Zaria province.<sup>3</sup>

Evidence has shown that what colonialists agriculture and industrial raw material demands and acquisitions and subsequent exportation meant was that indigenous industries were denied critical and crucial raw-materials necessary for production. For example, the state's timber exploitation, made the acquisition of raw material difficult for the indigenous furniture, wood, building and medicine industries,<sup>4</sup> similarly the encouragement of hide and skins export denied the local leather industries of necessary raw materials,<sup>5</sup> while equally the indigenous cotton industry became a mere shadow of its former self, as Lancashire staked claims to and acquired the bulk of the cotton raw products of the province. Macpherson has, in fact shown that the task designed for the railways was to divert cotton from the handlooms in the Zaria province to the textile factories of Lancashire;<sup>6</sup> this had truly been achieved. Furthermore, the state's mining laws, denied indigenous economy the necessary raw materials for its tin and metallurgical industries.<sup>7</sup> Henceforth, the production and supply of implements of production became very problematic; some metal workers resorted to stealing railway sleepers in order to get raw materials for their own metallurgical needs.<sup>8</sup> However, most important and to the detriment of local economy, indigenous people came to depend on British hardware for production purposes.<sup>9</sup> The reality of colonial situation was that indigenous industrial production became completely as irrelevant as indigenous manufactured goods, the latter becoming mere crafts produced to satisfy the racist anthropological world-view of the colonial imperialists that the African had no industry of any sort before colonialism.<sup>10</sup> As shown above, imperialists justification for unindustrialisation policy could be located in the exploitative and retrogressive theory of absolute and comparative advantage which condemned and relegated the Zaria province to a perpetual supplier of cheap raw materials to the utter neglect of her manufacturing sector.

### 6.3 Railways and the Political Economy of Famine, Rinderpest and Land Degradation in Zaria Province.

It is necessary to point out that appropriation of land for the railways and the expropriation of lands by mining activities, meant that the total acreage left for agricultural purposes had considerably been reduced.

Oyedele, reveals that farming communities moved from more fertile lands to less fertile lands in order to give room for the railways.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore,

sole production of mainly agricultural cash crops on the remaining farm lands meant a decrease in the land devoted to the production of food crops.<sup>12</sup>

This study has shown clearly that the net resultant effect of the decrease in food crop production was food shortages, which concretely manifested themselves during the diversion of much labour to railway and mining work.

persistant food shortages, ultimately resulted in famines.<sup>13</sup> Famines, as we have shown, were a re-occurring theme in the Zaria province throughout our period of study; there was famine in 1914, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931,

1932 and 1933.<sup>14</sup> A disturbing phenomena of the incidence of famine in the

Zaria province were that they were man made; this was because they resulted because of the selfish colonialists agricultural and mining demands,

which coerced indigencous people into export commodity production which subsequently led to the neglect of food crop production. It is very

important to point out that the incidences of famine were especially devastating in the Zaria province, because old farming agricultural techniques

and labour management systems, were shattered by the colonial relations of production which was geared mainly towards surplus production for export

market.<sup>15</sup> Famine was especially severe , because of the phenomena of

individualism, monocropping, timber exploitation and mining . It is important to show the colonialists agricultural raw minerals demands meant permanent

monocropping of cotton, whose production has, for example, been shown to be exacting on the soil and, as such very deleterious on the ecology and

the environment.<sup>16</sup> Also, over-grazing of cattle within colonialists, imposed

demarcated range lands also led to environment degradation.<sup>17</sup> It is necessary

to show that it was such practices that made for poorer soils, because of

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nutrition depletion. Evidence has shown that nutrient depletion and  
inadequate following subsequently led to land degradation which, especially  
compounded by mining activities and timber exploitation, rendered vast areas  
desolate. Thus these areas became susceptible to environmental hazards,  
like deforestation, erosion and desertification.<sup>19</sup> These were manifested in  
the Zaria province, for example, in Ghitu and Chawai areas.<sup>20</sup> All these  
environmental problems and agricultural mismanagement were to compound food  
crop production in the Zaria province, ending up in food shortages and  
ultimately famine. The incidence of famine, this study believes took  
great tolls in the Zaria provinces, because the area was a special  
epicenter of great colonial exploitation and loot. It is of fundamental  
necessity for this study to state that famine was especially severe and  
ravaging in the province because, as shown already all pre-existing  
indigenous anti-famine mechanisms had been smashed by colonial imperialism  
so indigenous society had no means of coping with famine. They were thus  
highly susceptible to the pangs of famine as the colonial state had no famine  
policy.<sup>21</sup> Although direct epidemiological data for famine victims for the  
Zaria province were not readily available, but of census figures and data  
of mortality rates for critical famine period of for example of 1927 suffices  
here, this was shown to be 26/1,000.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, evidence shows that  
famine induces some human diseases, and reduces immunity to fight some  
diseases like malaria, influenza, tuberculosis, small pox, typhus and  
relapsing fever.<sup>23</sup> other diseases noted in the province includes bronchial,  
and gastric troubles, syphilis, gonorrhoea, leprosy and chronic rheumatism;  
for example, in 1926 death rate from these diseases was put at 18.4/1000  
in the districts and 40.3. in Zaria towns.<sup>24</sup> This study is of the opinion  
that mortality was higher in the township because of inadequate urban planning.  
Urban planning, for example, in Zaria Town was very erratic as houses were  
joined together with no much spacing in between them,<sup>25</sup> so ventilation was

very poor. This sort of poor urban planning was justified by the state on the basis that proper urban planning was un<sup>26</sup>African. Interestingly and unfortunately the presence and the prevalence of these diseases in the province, perhaps accounted for the drastic population decline in province in 1931. Thus, for example, population figures shows that in 1929, there were 385,852 people in Zaria, this figure fell to 382,308 in 1930, and fell further still to 359,258 in 1931.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, diseases caused by overcrowding and dirty environment also took their tolls; thus: cerebaral spinal meningitis killed 18,006 people in 1933,<sup>28</sup> most of the death occurred in the township because of poor urban planning.<sup>29</sup>

Another re-occurring feature of the ravages of environmental mismanagement and draught in the province was rinderpest. It is important to point out that rinderpest was result of decreased grazing facilities made available for cattle. This study posits that reduced grazing, land was a result of large forests exclusively, reserved for railways uses,<sup>30</sup> furthermore, permanent monocropping of cash crops further reduced total acreage available for grazing, so was intensive mining activities which rendered vast areas useless. Rinderpest thus wiped out thousands of cattle, for example, in 1926; 5,089 died, in 1927; 4,425 also died.<sup>31</sup> The concrete reality of twin effect of famine and rinderpest on the pastoralist was impoverishment, as their stock had been lost. Dan Fulani, for example, reveals that he became a house boy to Alabi Maciver, who then was general produce buyer, because his pastoralist father lost all his cattle to rinderpest.<sup>32</sup>

#### 6.4 The Railways, The Depression and the World Wars:

It is very necessary to this to observe that a more disturbing phenomenon that emerged, and one which clearly sheds more light on colonial exploitation, was that famines generally coincided with years of crises in Europe. Thus, For example, the famine of 1914 coincided with world war 1, interestingly the famine of 1927-1933 coincided with time of depression in Europe, and that of 1929-1945 generally coincided with world war 11.<sup>33</sup> Thus,



the opinion of this study is that it was in these periods of crises and depressions in the metropolitan economy that Zaria province was especially called upon to devote and sacrifice more of its human and material resources for the cushioning of the crises in U.K. It is interesting to show that these times of crises coincided with the time when brutal colonial exploitations were ruthlessly heightened; intensified and consolidated. In other words, the Zaria province was deliberately drained of scarce resources in order to bail metropolitan economy out of the woods. As Lugard has pointed out,

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"Revenue from dependencies were to help mother country". (emphasis mine).

Of course this was the reality of things in the colonial Zaria province, most especially during the global recessions, as evidence shows that the effect of economic depression and the world wars was great poverty.<sup>35</sup> Thus, it is crucial

to point out that poverty manifested itself in the Zaria province because indigenous people were forced to produce more agricultural, industrial raw materials, and European food crops, for British economy.<sup>36</sup> Thus, in 1932, during

the depression, Zaria province exported 3,300,358 lbs of cotton, this figure rose astronomically to 6,828,090 in 1933.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, large tons of dairy products were exported;<sup>38</sup> During world war II, for example, large tons of

potatoes were exported; thus in 1940, 37½ tons was exported, this rose to 91 tons in 1941, onions were also exported at 29 tons in 1940, this increased to 474 tons in 1941, and 686 tons in 1942.<sup>39</sup> Also in 1944, 2646 pigs were

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slaughtered for bacon which was exported. It is necessary reiterate that all these commodities were freighted from the Zaria province to the coast

by the railways; in other words, the activities of the railways in the Zaria province were crucial in bailing U.K. out of its economic crises. Aside from increased commodity production taxes were increased during these

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periods of crises; tax increase of 1932 was concrete example, Forced labour was also intensified; for example, it was during world wars II, that forced

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labour was used for the construction of more roads, and the Kaduna aerodrome.

Furthermore, indigenous people were also called upon to make extra financial contributions to win the war efforts, thus, between 1914-1918 huge sums of money were appropriated from the peasants in the Zaria province. In 1914, for example, the emir paid £1,750 out of N.A.s funds to the war fund, this rose to £3,000 in 1915, £4,000 in 1916, also £175 was collected for Red Cross in 1915, and £753 was collected in 1917 for the Red Cross, £2,000 was collected for war funds, and £396 was also collected for Red Cross in 1917, £20,000 was collected for war effort and £500 was appropriated for Red Cross.<sup>43</sup> It was, thus, the peasants in the Zaria province that bore the brunt of the depressions and the wars. During world war 11, in particular, thousands of them were conscripted into imperial army,<sup>44</sup> some of these soldiers were recruited from villages in the Zaria province. They were transported to Kaduna and Zaria by the railways, for military training, after which the railways also moved them to Lagos,<sup>45</sup> from where they were shipped to overseas, war fronts like Burma, India, etc. for example, coporals Audu Bukar,<sup>46</sup> All Nauma, narrated how they were forcefully recruited into the colonialist army by their N.A.s. This was because all of them were then strong virile boys in their teens in the 1930s. They recounted terrible experiences of bitter fights especially in the jungles of Burma, they also bitterly recounted great mortality rates, as some of their colleagues died during the war. Audu, for example, recounted that he was paid eighteen shillings per month, however, his bitter and frustrating experience after the war was demolization into unemployment.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, thousands were also forced to the mines field to produced tins during world war 11.<sup>49</sup>

Evidence has also shown that the period after world wars, and depressions were also periods of unemployment and the impoverishment and the poverty of the peasants deepened in the Zaria province, as firms paid less for commodities during the crises.<sup>50</sup> However, the most disturbing phenomenon was that prices of manufactured goods were rose up by as much 100% , thus,

hyper inflation resulted.<sup>51</sup> Thus, indigenous people were caught in a double squeeze. Needless to say firms recorded huge profits during such periods; for example, Niger Ltd., made £79,102 during such crises.<sup>52</sup> While firms made profits; unemployment was rife in the Zaria province as there was no more railway work, and the state and the firms had laid off workers for so called "restructuring".<sup>53</sup>

Meanwhile, the railways continued than exploitative functions, undisturbed, as they continued to freight huge tons of goods and commodities to and fro. Furthermore at this juncture it is necessary to point out that the routes through Zaria province constituted the most lucrative of all railways routes<sup>54</sup> in Nigeria. But the exploitative aspect of imperialists monetary and financial transactions was that the bulk of railway earnings were siphoned to the U.K. through a variety of ways. For example, imperial officials siphoned 23.30% of these railways earnings in 1923 alone,<sup>55</sup> these earnings were repatriated abroad in form of salaries and allowances. Furthermore, part of the remainder of railways earnings were also drained abroad in form of usurious interest on railways loans. For example, in 1936-37 29.09% of railways earnings went for loan servicing.<sup>56</sup> The unscrupulous way this capital drain was achieved was through the accounting system of the state which deliberately merged railway receipts with other earnings,<sup>58</sup> this has been shown to be a clever and cheap way of realizing colonial exploitation.<sup>58</sup> It is of fundamental importance to reveal that indigenous people could not break out of this vicious circle of exploitation that British colonial imperialism imposed on them, because the railways had tied the province firmly into the world capitalist colonialist order, which at that time was shaped, controlled and dominated by Great Britain.<sup>59</sup> The end result of this was that indigenous economy could only be sidulated from the outside, the U.K. Thus, in the concrete effort to realise imperial goals in the Zaria province, the colonialists smashed internal dynamics for self-regeneration. It was this destruction of these mechanism for

internal stimulation that best accounted for the devastating effect of famine and poverty in the Zaria province. Furthermore, as would be shown later, the smashing of pre-colonial relations of production and its inherent welfare mechanisms, and the imposition of the new culture of individualism led to neglect of old welfare systems and distitution resulted, <sup>60</sup>

#### 6.5 The Railway and the Dialectics of Mass poverty; Malnutrition;

##### Diseases, Unemployment;

The breakdown of pre-colonial welfare system as shown above led to the neglect of the aged, the infirm, the very young and women. These people were left to fend and care for themselves. For survival they took to begging, <sup>61</sup> Prostitution <sup>62</sup> and robbery. <sup>63</sup> An objective appraisal of the vexed issues of drunkenness, destitution, pauperism impoverishment, and other social malaise, requires a critical examination of colonialists social security and welfare <sup>64</sup> system. Evidence shows that the colonialist had no welfare mechanism, <sup>64</sup>

It has been shown that pauperism, begging, etc, were the socio-economic consequences of poverty. <sup>65</sup> Poverty in the Zaria province was the lot of indigenous people during the colonial era, <sup>66</sup> and this was as a result of the fact as it has been shown above as they were underpaid for their services and their commodities, and simultaneously they were overtaxed out of the meagre earnings. Thus, the social vices prevalent in the Zaria province during our era was the concrete manifestation of the social problems that came in the wake of railway constructions and its exploitative activities. <sup>67</sup> Church <sup>68</sup> has argued that social problems caused by the railways are yet to be studied. This thesis has attempted to fill that void. It has tried to show that there was, for example, unemployment in the Zaria province during the colonial era, interestingly evidence shows that the psychopathology of unemployment were despair, frustration, violence, banditry and armed robbery all these were however, prevalent in the Zaria province. <sup>69</sup> As shown above

the other concrete indices of the dimension, depth, scope and pattern of poverty that manifested themselves in the Zaria province were diseases; such as leprosy, cerebro spinal meningitis, malnutrition ulcer, small pox and diabetes. These diseases showed the incidence of decay especially urban filth overcrowding, poor sanitation and poor health facilities, of more fundamental importance was that malnutrition and diabetes represented the hard realities of socio-economic diseases of underfed people the exploited. For example, medical examination revealed high incidence of ulcers and malnutrition, In the province.<sup>71</sup> This was the result of hard strenuous jobs like railway construction work, mining work and farming.<sup>72</sup> Thus, one can safely say that the reality of the material conditions of existence of the indigenous people due to the exploitative role and functions of the railways were absolute deterioration in living standards.<sup>73</sup> This was reflected in the low life expectancy.<sup>74</sup> Also in 1930, 180,000 were classified as destitutes in the province.<sup>75</sup> These indices of poverty enumerated above clearly gave meaning to colonial exploitation which largely had been made possible by the railways in the Zaria province.

However, despite these glaring evidences of exploitation colonial apologists want us to believe that there was growth and development in the Zaria province,<sup>76</sup> and that the activities of the railways had produced a contented peasantry,<sup>77</sup> since some indigenous people built zinc houses and sent their children to school.<sup>78</sup> This apologists position, however, should be seen for what it stands for, the justification of the exploitative activities of the railways and the larger justification of attendant colonialist exploitation. The falsehood and brazenness of apologists position was exposed by the stark poverty, and diseases that pervaded indigenous society and economy during the colonial era. Indigenous people, as it has been clearly shown above, were locked in a vicious circle of poverty, diseases, pestilence and famine. Evidence reveals that the countryside was debt stricken,<sup>79</sup> and urban societies were also debt ridden,

the vast majority of the people, thus, lived under the threat of hunger, and poverty resulted because indigenous people in the Zaria province were forced into cheap commodity production. Henceforth, the Zaria province became dependent on the mechanisms of international capitalism for survival. In the world of colonialist order, the Zaria province, became merely a net exporter of only raw materials and a huge dump for British manufactured goods, and the railways were the principal means that made this sort of dependency possible.

This study posits that it was largely because of the presence of the railways that was why the state consolidated and maintained political, economic, social, administrative and bureaucratic structures that facilitated and engendered the exploitation of agricultural and industrial raw materials from the Zaria province. This study maintains the position that without the freight capacities of the railways it would also have been more difficult to dump huge tons of British good in the Zaria province. Furthermore, the deeper significance of the role of the railways is that they made the realisation of colonial imperial goal possible in the Zaria province. The dependency of the Zaria province on Britain was principally the net result of the historic link facilitated by the railways. Because of the exploitative role of railways, the domestic economy became stunted, distorted, and disarticulated.<sup>80</sup> This form of structural dislocation was characterised by an open dependant-economy in which production and consumption were not integrated within the economy but through external trade. Thus, the province exchanged commodities which it produced but did not consume for mainly manufactured goods which it consumed but could not produce itself.<sup>81</sup> More to the point, this study's efforts has been geared towards debunking the myth of the supposed development activities of the railways as portrayed by McPhee, and Bindloss.<sup>82</sup> More-over this study has tried to lay bare the stark social and economic realities brought by the railways in the province.

In conclusion, in studying the concrete situation of the poverty of colonial era, this study has looked at situation in the pre-railways era, particularly exposing the inner mechanisms that shaped society then. Furthermore, in order to expose colonial exploitation, it has looked at the world view that necessitated the colonial acquisition of the Zaria emirate by Britain. This study has also examined why the colonialist opted for brutal military conquest; it further revealed the need for the railways in the actualisation of colonial imperial goals. Also it has shown how the presence of the railways facilitated the coercion of export commodity production in the province. More than that, the study has shown how the railways were the main distributive organs that facilitated the dumping of British manufactured goods in the province. Lastly, it has demonstrated that poverty and decay became a reality of the Zaria province, as indigenous people concentrated their energies and capacities solely on the satisfaction of exploitative imperial goals. This study has thus, examined the historical role of the railway in the historic colonial era. The railways, thus represented the monument to the great British colonial loot and plunder of the Zaria province. Because British colonial exploitation was designed solely for the betterment of the British society, the colonialists did not, in any way, contribute to the building of a coherent economy in the Zaria province.<sup>83</sup> One can thus see clearly that Zaria province became a dependant enclave because of the wrong emphasis on commodity export and sole import of manufactured goods. It has, for example, been shown early that even, the agricultural sector, so much emphasised during the colonial era, remained unmechanised, hence the colonialists and their railways did not enlarge the capacity of indigenous people to deal with natural environment and protect the society from external exploitation.<sup>84</sup>

While indigenous people were being exploited, the colonial imperialists lived a life of luxury in the province; imperialists lived in palatial houses and enjoyed good salaries,<sup>85</sup> they ploughed back nothing into the local economy and they enjoyed tax exemption benefits.<sup>86</sup> British colonial exploitation was thus a reality in the Zaria province, and this inevitably rendered the province helplessly dependant on Britain and her western allies.

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CHAPTER SIX

FOOTNOTES

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APPENDIX IThe Number of Labourers Maintained at Construction Sites for select Months.

<u>Month</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Labours</u>
January	1909	2,426
February	1909	3,364
March	1909	4,822
April	1909	3,820
May	1909	4,264
June	1909	4,362
31st March	1909	14,879
30th June	1910	11,911
30th September	1910	3,727
31st December	1910	3,638
31st March	1911	8,804
30th June	1911	6,000
30th September	1911	7,000
31st December	1911	9,000

APPENDIX iiList of Some of the Mining Companies that Operated in the Zaria Province.

Company	Site
Gold Coast Consolidate., Ltd.	Kudaru
Tin Properties., Ltd.	Kudaru
Mr. D. Rebony., Ltd.	Kudaru
A.J. Tangalakis and Co. Ltd.	Kudaru
Benue N.N. Tin Mines., Ltd.	Kudaru and Kangarko
Ratinpa ( Nigeria Tin Company., Ltd.	Kudaru
Kwall Tin Fields of Nigeria., Ltd.	Chawai
Faki Development Syndicate	Anchau
B.J. Mcpharlan	Kudaru
James P. Best	Kudaru
Ropp Tin., Ltd.	Kudaru
C.W. McIntosh	Kudaru
Juanite Mines of Rhodesia	Kudaru

Sources: E. J. Arnetter., Esq. Gazetter of Zaria .... p. 25. and; SNP 7/8 455/1921, Annual Report for Zaria province for 1921.

The Following Companies Operated in the Zaria Province in 1919.

The Niger Company, Ltd.,  
The Tin Areas of Nigeria, Ltd.  
The French Company Ltd.  
The Lagos Stores, Ltd.  
John Holt and Company, Ltd.  
G.B. Ollivant and Company, Ltd.  
L. Ambrosini and Company, Ltd.  
Paterson Zochonis and Company, Ltd.  
John Walkden and Company, Ltd.  
W. B. MacIver and Company, Ltd.  
London and Kano Trading Company, Ltd.  
A.L. Poole  
B.C.G.A.  
Grace Brothers.  
A.J. Tangalakis, and Company.  
African and Eastern Trade Corporation.  
G. Gotschalck and Company.  
R. Hassan and Company.  
Hendersons, Manchester, Ltd.  
Fair Brother Building Company.

Appendix iv

A select list of some of the Lebanese companies in the Zaria Province in the 1920s

C. Zard and Co.

M. Goualin.

Saul Raccah.

Ferris George.

P.S. Mandrides.

K. Maroun.

Minaise Brothers.

J. Menguissohou.

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APPENDIX V

List of Native ( Indigenous) Firms in Zaria Province in 1917.

J.H. Doherty

C.D. Edwards.

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Source: NAK Zarprof 2745, Annual Report for Zaria Province for 1917, by Acting Resident, Mr. C. O. Megeod.

20  
APPENDIX vi

A Select list of agricultural raw materials freighted from the Zaria Province to  
The Sea Ports by the Railways 1915

(A) From Zaria Centre (Main Station only)

782 tons of Ginned Cotton.

489 tons of Hides.

86 tons of Timber.

73 tons of Shea nut.

(B) From Kaduna Centre (Main Station only)

111 tons of Groundnut.

(C) From Soba Centre (Main Station only)

175 tons of Shea nut.

APPENDIX VII

A Select list of agricultural raw materials freighted from the Zaria Province to the sea ports by the Railways 1919.

From Zaria Centre (Main Station only)

2149 tons of Groundnut

1385 tons of Hides

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APPENDIX VIII

A select list of agricultural raw materials freighted from the Zaria Province to the sea ports by the Railways 1919.

6083 tons of combined commodities freighted from Zaria Station

1264	"	"	"	"	"	"	Rigachikun Railway Station
1233	"	"	"	"	"	"	Gimi Babosa Railway "
1904	"	"	"	"	"	"	Duchin-wai Railway "
583	"	"	"	"	"	"	Likero Railway "
881	"	"	"	"	"	"	Soba Railway "
818	"	"	"	"	"	"	Rahema Railway "
268	"	"	"	"	"	"	Karre Railway "



APPENDIX ix

A select list of agricultural raw material freighted to the sea ports by the  
Railways from the Zaria Province 1920.

From Zaria Centre (Main Station only)

2560 tons of Groundnut

801 tons of Hides

71 tons of Timber

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APPENDIX X

A Select list of European manufactured goods freighted to select centres in the Zaria Province by the Railways for the year 1915.

To Zaria centre (Main Station only)

- (1) 39 tons of Beer and Wine.
- (2) 15 tons of corrugated Iron sheet.
- (3) 875 tons of Cotton Goods.
- (4) 19 tons of Gin and other Spirits.
- (5) 60 tons of Hardware.
- (6) 26 tons of Kerosine and petrol.
- (7) 18 tons of Matches.
- (8) 195 tons of provisions.
- (9) 4090 tons of Salt.
- (10) 137 tons of Soap.

To Kaduna Centre (Main Stations only)

- (1) 13 tons of Beer and Wine.
- (2) 23 tons of Cotton Goods.
- (3) 2 tons of Cigar and Cigarettes.
- (4) 12 tons of Gin and other Spirits.
- (5) 12 tons of Kerosine and Petrol.
- (6) 44 tons of Provisions.
- (7) 69 tons of Salt.
- (8) 12 tons of Soap.

Source: Railways Annual Report 1915.

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APPENDIX xi

A Select list of European manufactured goods dumped in the Zaria Province 1927.

Kaduna Centre (Main Station only)

- (1) 8 tons of Salt.
- (2) 1590 tons of Wines, Spirits and Liquor.
- (3) 546 tons of Provisions.
- (4) 8 tons of Salt.
- (5) 878 tons of Cotton Goods.
- (6) 86 tons of Kerosine.
- (7) 86 tons of Petrol.
- (8) 13312 tons of Building Materials.

Zaria Centre (Main Station only)

- (1) 326 tons of Kerosine.
- (2) 607 tons of Petrol.
- (3) 878 tons of Cotton Goods.
- (4) 371 tons of Provision.
- (5) 5503 tons of Salt.
- (6) 200 tons of Spirit.

APPENDIX XII

AND ADDRESS SIR F. LUGARD, HIGH COMMISSIONER, TO THE SULTAN, WAZIRI and ELDERS of SOKOTO, regarding the CONDITIONS of BRITISH RULE, REASONS for the WAR, &c., MARCH 21st, 1903.

*Translated to them by Kiari, and checked, word by word, by Major Burdon, Resident, Sokoto (Hausa Scholar), and others.*

Present:—SIR F. LUGARD, COLONEL MORLAND, D.S.O., Commandant, MAJOR BURDON, Resident, LIEUT. COLONEL MCCLINTOCK, Commanding Battalion, MAJOR CUBITT, R.A., Brigade Major, CAPTAIN ABADIE, Resident, Zaria, and others. Also the SULTAN elect, the WAZIRI, GALADEMA, MAITURARE, and other Elders of Sokoto.

The Royal Niger Company made a Treaty with Sokoto many years ago. The Sultan promised friendship and alliance; the Company promised to pay a subsidy, and did so. Three years ago the King of England sent his own officers to administer this country instead of the Company and appointed me as Governor. I at once sent my trusted messenger, Kiari, to take my salutations to the Sultan of Sokoto, and to say that I held to the promises made by the Company; and I looked to the Sultan to fulfil his pledges. I brought money to pay the subsidy when it should fall due. But take note of what happened. My messenger was treated with indignity. It is he who is now interpreting. Ask him what happened and he will remind you. No answer was sent to my letter, which was an insult to me and to my King. Owing to the treaty the Sultan had made with the British the French could not touch his country. But the Sultan of Sokoto sent no friendly message. The Treaty was made in the name of all the Mahomedan Emirates under Sokoto, but they took arms against the British—Nupe, and Ilorin, and Yola, and Kontagora, and Kano. But I did not wish to denounce the Treaty, and I sent to the Sultan to ask him to nominate an Emir for Kontagora, when Ibrahim fought against us and was driven out. Again he sent no reply, till a year ago I received this letter declaring war (*original letter shown to the Elders for identification*).

“So the Treaty was killed by you yourselves and not by me. Then the Magaji of Keffi murdered the Resident—a lame man without arms to defend himself—and he ran to Kano and the Emir Aliu received him with honour.”

So we went to Kano and fought and drove out Aliu; and the Magaji ran to Sokoto and was treated with honour. Again I wished not to fight with the head of the Mussulmans and I sent a friendly letter, but I said that the Magaji must be given up, and that I wished to place a Resident and garrison at Sokoto. I came with troops, for though the Sultan had made a treaty of friendship it was well known that a white man could not come as a friend alone to Sokoto. My letter was put aside and the army of Sokoto came out to fight. We fought and your army was dispersed, and the Sultan fled and no one knows where he is gone. Now it is necessary for me to place a Resident and a garrison here, for this country is close to the country of the French and we are responsible for keeping peace and good order on our frontiers. The Resident is Major Burdon, who comes to you as an adviser and a friend. You will consult him on all matters and be guided by him.

The old treaties are dead, you have killed them. Now these are the words which I, the High Commissioner, have to say for the future. The Fulani in old times under Dan Fodio conquered this country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes, to depose kings and to create kings. They in turn have by defeat lost their rule which has come into the hands of the British. All these things which I have said the Fulani by conquest took the right to do now pass to the British. Every Sultan and Emir and the principal officers of State will be appointed by the High Commissioner throughout all this country. The High Commissioner will be guided by the usual laws of succession and the wishes of the people and chiefs, but will set them aside if he desires for good cause to do so. The Emirs and Chiefs who are appointed will rule over the people as of old time and take such taxes as are approved by the High Commissioner, but they will obey the laws of the Governor and will act in accordance with the advice of the Resident. Buying and selling slaves and enslaving people are forbidden. It is forbidden to import firearms (except flint-locks), and there are other minor matters which the Resident will explain. The Alkalis and the Emirs will hold the law courts as of old, but bribes are forbidden, and mutilation and confinement of men in inhuman prisons are not lawful. The powers of each Court will be contained in a warrant appointing it. Sentences of death will not be carried out without the consent of the Resident.

The Government will, in future, hold the rights in land which the Fulani took by conquest from the people, and if Government requires land it will take it for any purpose. The Government hold the right of taxation, and will tell the Emirs and Chiefs what taxes they may levy, and what part of them must be paid to Government. The Government will have the right to all minerals, but the people may dig for iron and work in it subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, and may take salt and other minerals subject to any excise imposed by law. Traders will not be taxed by Chiefs, but only by Government. The coinage of the British will be accepted as legal tender, and a rate of exchange for cowries fixed, in consultation with Chiefs, and they will enforce it.

When an Emirate, or an office of state, becomes vacant, it will only be filled with the consent of the High Commissioner, and the person chosen by the council of Chiefs and approved by the High Commissioner will fill his place only on condition that he obeys the laws of the Protectorate and the conditions of his appointment. Government will in no way interfere with the Mohammedan religion. All men are free to worship God by us, please. Mosques and prayer places will be treated with respect, who. Every person, including slaves, has the right to appeal to the Resident, who will, however, endeavour to uphold the power of the native courts. Taxes with native cases according to the law and custom of the country. If slaves are ill-treated they will be set free as your Koran orders, otherwise Government does not desire to interfere with existing domestic relations. If slaves set free must be willing to work and not remain idle or

thieves. The Resident may give permits to trustworthy men to bear fire-arms. Any person who harbours the Magaji of Keffi will be liable to be arrested and punished. It is his duty to catch him and bring him to the Resident.

"It is the earnest desire of the King of England that this country shall prosper and grow rich in peace and in contentment, that the population shall increase, and the ruined towns which abound everywhere shall be built up, and that war and trouble shall cease. Henceforth no Emir or Chief shall levy war or fight, but his case will be settled by law, and if force is necessary Government will employ it. I earnestly hope to give effect in these matters to the wishes of my King.

"In conclusion, I hope that you will find our rule sympathetic and that the country will prosper and be contented. You need have no fear regarding British rule, it is our wish to learn your customs and fashion, just as you must learn ours. I have little fear but that we shall agree, for you have always heard that British rule is just and fair, and people under our King are satisfied. You must not fear to tell the Resident everything and he will help and advise you."

*(This outline was, of course, amplified and fully explained in the verbal translation.)*

F. D. L.

APPENDIX XIII

3.

LETTER FROM HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE SULTAN OF SOKOTO, *re* Bantshi.

(Titles, Salutations from the Governor, &c.)

I have heard that you sent a letter to the Emir of Bantshi warning him to abstain from oppressing his people, but he does not obey your instructions nor listen to your words of wisdom. I have, therefore, been compelled to send troops to compel him to act properly. I do not know whether he will resist them and fight. If he does so, he will probably lose his place. But I do not wish to drive out the Fulani and the Mohammedans, I only wish that they shall rule wisely and with humanity. If, therefore, the Emir is driven out because he himself attacks my troops, I shall endeavour to find a proper successor and shall install him as King if he is a man who will rule well. So also in the matter of Kontagora, I hear that he and Abubekir do not listen to the words of your messenger nor desist from raiding the villages of Zaria. So Zaria has appealed to me for help, and I have sent troops to support him and to drive out these marauders.

Deal with those who seek peace and trouble on those who make trouble.

Since I wrote this letter I have news that Ibrahim of Kontagora and all his people and following have been captured by my troops. I am restoring the people to their places but Ibrahim and his chiefs will be sent to me to be judged.

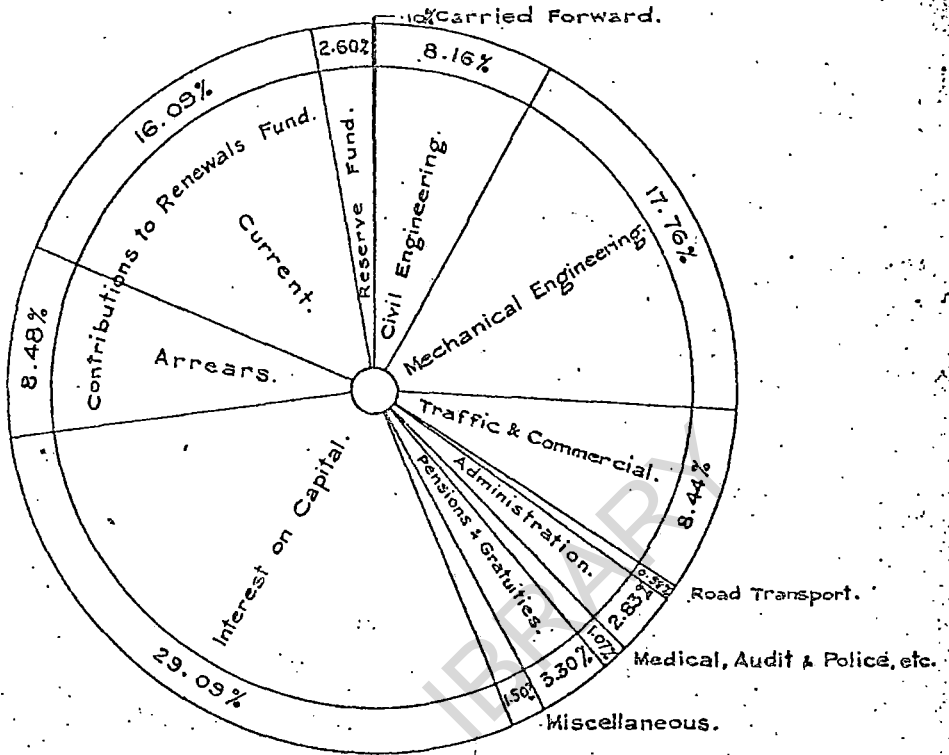
(Signed) F. D. LUGARD.

(L.S.)

about March, 1902.

210  
**NIGERIAN RAILWAY.**  
 1936-1937.

EXPENDITURE £2,693,400.



HOW THE MONEY WAS SPENT.

Note: This graphically shows the size of government revenue spent on loan servicing, interestingly, railways loans took the bulk of the revenue.



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ORAL SOURCES

A SELECT LIST OF INFORMANTS

NAMES	OCCUPATION	AGE	PLACE AND DATE OF INTERVIEW.	
Sikiratu Alhaja Abchi.,	Housewife	80+	Zaria,	13/3/90
Hassan, Mallam Ahmad.,	Trade-Medical Practitioner	80+	Rigasa, Kaduna	16/12/90
Ibrahim Yahya, Alhaji Amin	Contractor	70+	Kaduna,	4/10/90
Nwama, Ali.,	Night Guard	70+	Kaduna,	3/11/90
Kabir, Mallam Attahiru.,	Farmer	80+	Kaduna,	16/12/90
Bakar, Asidu.,	Retiree	70+	Kaduna,	8/10/90
Iss, Mallam Bawa.,	Farmer	80+	Kaduna,	16/12/90
Kabaruk Bullus	Migrant miner	70+	Kaduna,	10/2/90
Dan Fulani.,	House-help	80+	Zaria.,	7/9/90
Asabe, Mallam Kande	Housewife	80+	Kacha,	14/7/90
John Makkadas.,	Missioner	70+	Anchau,	20/11/90
Salami, Alhaji MacIver.,	Transporter	70+	Zaria.,	2/8/90
Kantick, Nadawo.,	Migrant miner	70+	Anchau,	20/11/90
Mohammedu, Hajjia Mngi.,	Housewife	80+	Zaria,	2/8/90
Chuckwemaka, Odu.,	Old Railway Staff	80+	Zaria,	2/8/90
Mr. Oduetas., A.A.	Old Railway Staff	60+	Kaduna,	15/12/90
Sifawu, Alhaja Gwade.,	Trader (cols)	70+	Zaria,	22/10/90
Lawal, Mallam Shaibu.,	Farmer	70+	Rigachikum,	1/8/90
Baba Alhaji., Umoru	Farmer	80+	Rigachikum,	11/8/90
Hajjia Mintu Ali.,	Courtesan	70+	"Nani Market" Barracks,	Hogadisha Kaduna. 8/10/90

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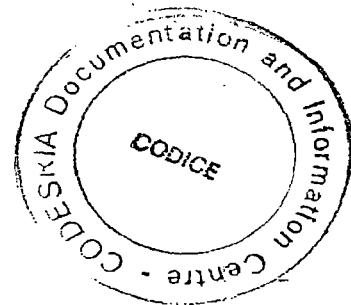
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