

**AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF KUDARU DISTRICT, ZAZZAU EMIRATE  
UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION, 1907-1960**

**BY**

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**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,  
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AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,  
ZARIA, NIGERIA**

**JUNE, 2021**

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UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION, 1907-1960**

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**B. A (A.B.U, ZARIA)**

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE  
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**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,  
FACULTY OF ARTS,  
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,  
ZARIA, NIGERIA**

**JUNE, 2021**

## CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled: ‘An Economic History of Kudara District, Zazzau Emirate under Colonial Domination, 1907-1960’, by Mathew Yakubu meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Arts (M.A) of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and research.

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## DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation ‘An Economic History of Kudara District, Zazzau Emirate under Colonial Domination, 1907-1960’ was conducted by me in the Department of History under the supervision of Dr. Shuaibu Shehu Aliyu and Prof. Jimada Shaaba Idris.

The information derived from the relevant literature has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references has been provided. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for another degree or diploma programme at any University or Tertiary Institution.

Mathew Yakubu

Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my immediate and extended family, friends and well wishers for their support and prayers.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

First and foremost, all honour, glory and praises are unto God, the Merciful Who made the completion of this dissertation a reality.

Multitudes of important personalities have contributed in one way or the other to the successful completion of this research work, hence deserve acknowledgement. Special appreciation and thanks to my supervisors Dr. Shuaibu Shehu Aliyu and Prof. Jimada Shaba Idris for their valuable comments and constructive criticisms, which helped in shaping the dissertation, may God reward you.

My gratitude goes to the Lecturers in the History Department who gave me moral support as well as materials needed for the success of this research. I thank you all for your endless concern and advice received during the writing of this dissertation.

However, this acknowledgement may not be complete without expressing my deep appreciation to the Management and Staff of Kaduna State College of Education and other people outside my work place for their assistance in various ways. I am grateful to the Staff of Arewa House Library and National Archives Kaduna, Kashim Ibrahim Library, Center for Democratic Research Library and Northern History Research Scheme, all in A.B.U, Zaria for their assistance.

To the people in the area of study, I will like to express my great appreciation to the people who provided me useful information that added value to this work during my field work. I thank you immensely for the precious time you spent with me.

## **PREFACE**

The main aim of this work is to bring into limelight the activities and the impact of the colonial economic policies on Kudu District, especially from 1907-1960.

Chapter one discusses the introduction and the general background to the study, providing a clear picture of the statement of the problem, scope, limitations and justification of the study. In addition to this chapter, is the methodology used in eliciting information, literature review and the theoretical framework adopted.

Chapter two examines the environment and peopling of Kudu area considering the location of the area, the nature of the soil, climate, and vegetation and so on.

Chapter three deals with the pre-colonial socio-political and economic organization; promoted by inter-community relations in the area of study. Also discusses factors of production such as land tenure system and labour mobilization. Of importance are issues on agriculture, local craft industries, pastoralism, and trade and so on.

Chapter four focuses on Kudu and the British Conquest of Zaria Emirate, 1902-1960. It deals with the administrative reorganization of Zaria Province and the establishment of District Heads system, 1902-1907 consolidated by the colonial instruments of coercion such as the Native Courts, Police and Prisons in the study area.

Chapter five discusses the major Colonial Economic Policies operated in Kudu District from 1907-1960 particularly the colonial policies on Land, Monetary policy, Taxation, Agriculture and their impact on the society.

Chapter six further examines colonial policies on Forced labour, Mining, Transportation, Trade, Forest Reserves, Resettlement scheme policy and their impact on the people of the study area.

Chapter seven, which is the last chapter, contains the summary of the whole work, conclusion, research findings and bibliography.

### **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>A.A.B</b>	-	Anglo-African Bank
<b>A.B.C</b>	-	African Banking Corporation
<b>A.B.U</b>	-	Ahmadu Bello University
<b>A.D.O</b>	-	Assistant District Officer
<b>B.C.G.A</b>	-	British Cotton Growing Association
<b>B.O.N</b>	-	Bank of Nigeria
<b>C.B.W.A</b>	-	Currency Board of West Africa
<b>C.M.B</b>	-	Cotton Marketing Board
<b>D.H</b>	-	District Head
<b>D.O</b>	-	District Officer
<b>G. M.B</b>	-	Groundnuts Marketing Board
<b>H. M. S. O</b>	-	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
<b>I.J.H.S</b>	-	International Journal of African Historical Studies
<b>J.A.H</b>	-	Journal of African History
<b>J.H.S.N</b>	-	Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria
<b>K.I.L</b>	-	Ibrahim Kashim Library
<b>M.A</b>	-	Master of Arts
<b>M.B</b>	-	Marketing Board
<b>N.A</b>	-	Native Authority
<b>N.A.K</b>	-	National Archives Kaduna
<b>N.H.R.S</b>	-	Northern History Research Scheme



<b>N.T</b>	-	Native Treasury
<b>O.U.P</b>	-	Oxford University Press
<b>P.W.D</b>	-	Public Works Department
<b>R.N.C</b>	-	Royal Niger Company
<b>W.A.C.B</b>	-	West Africa Currency Board
<b>W.A.F.F</b>	-	West African Frontier Force
<b>ZARPROF</b>	-	Zaria Province

## GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH WORDS

*Aikin Gayya* (Hausa)- Communal work among peasants organized to cultivate one another's farms

*Aikin Tilas* (Hausa)- Forced Labour

*Alkali* (Hausa)- Judge

*Attajiri (sing) Attajirai (plural)* (Hausa)- Wealthy Merchant(s)

*Barori* (Hausa)- Clients/Slaves/Servants

*Bayt-al-mal*(Hausa)- Treasury

*Bazara* (Hausa)- Hot or Dry season

*Boko* (Hausa)- Western Education

*Dakachi* (Hausa)- Village Head

*Daji* (Hausa)- Forest

*Damina* (Hausa)- Rainy season

*Dawa* (Hausa)- Guinea corn

*Dillali (sing) Dillalai (plural)* (Hausa)- Broker(s)

*Dukanci* (Hausa)-Leather work

*Fartanya* (Hausa)- Small Hoe

*Gandu* (Hausa)- Family farmland

*Gatari* (Hausa)- Axe

*Gyada* (Hausa)- Groundnuts

*Habe* (Hausa)- Hausa King

*Hakimi (sing) Hakimai (plural)* (Hausa)-District Head(s)

*Haraji* (Hausa)-General tax

*Jangali* (Hausa)- Cattle tax

*Jakada (sing) Jakadu (plural)*- Fief holder (s)

*Kadi* (Hausa)- Spinning

*Kaka* (Hausa)- Dry season

*Kira* (Hausa)- Smithing

*Kudin Kasa* (Hausa)- Land tax

*Kudin Tama* (Hausa)- Mining rent

*Kudin gari* (Hausa)- Town tax

*Kudin su*- Fishing tax

*Maharba* (plural)- Hunter, *Maharbi(singular)* (Hausa)- Hunter

*Maianguwa* (Hausa)- Ward Head

*Maigida* (Hausa)- House hold head

*Maishela* (Hausa)- Town crier

*Makeri bakin babbaku* (Hausa)- Blacksmith/ Makerin fari

*Mallam* (Hausa)- Islamic scholar

*Ningawa* (Hausa)- Raiders from Ningi

*Saka* (Hausa)- Weaving

*Sarki* (Hausa)- Emir or King

*Sarkin noma* (Hausa)- Head of farmers

*Sarkin pawa* (Hausa)- Head of butchers

*Talakawa* (plural) *Talaka (sing)* (Hausa)- Commoners, non members of the aristocracy largely the farmers or artisans

*Zakat* (Arabic)- An Islamic tax assessed on wealth earning annually.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This work is an attempt to study the ‘Economic History of Kудару District, Zazzau Emirate under Colonial Domination, 1907-1960’. In order to achieve this, several sources were consulted and oral interviews were carried out on the field of study. Kудару area is blessed with human and natural resources particularly cotton, groundnuts and tin ore. The demand for these crops in Europe attracted the British occupation of the area of study. The research reveals that the British policies on land, monetization of the economy, introduction of taxation, cash crop production, transportations, local craft industries, trade, mining, creation of forest reserves, and resettlement scheme dislocated and underdeveloped the economy of the area of study. The study reveals the following findings: First, that the indigenous economies were not backward or stagnant in contrast to the economies of European industrialized nations. This is because the indigenous economies were built on real and dynamic economic sectors that operated in an integrated system of inter-related industries whose technology, raw materials and skills were sourced locally. This self-sustaining economic system was destroyed by the British through the colonial administrative and economic policies. The second point is that the communities in Kудару District particularly the Kurama, Amo and Rumaya resisted the imposition of colonial taxation, even though they were later overpowered by the British military might. This resistance signifies that the communities were not docile to external aggression. Having overpowered, the women livestock and food crops were confiscated by the N.A to make up for the taxes of their husbands and sons. Finally the research also reveals that the Non-Muslims constitute the dominant population in the area of study. Based on our findings, colonialism was not only about political governance, but a complete exploitation of the human and natural resources of the colonized. Therefore, 1907 and 1960 form watersheds in the study of the Economic History of Kудару District, Zazzau Emirate under Colonial Domination.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introduction

The research titled ‘An Economic History of Kudu District, Zazzau Emirate under Colonial Domination, 1907-1960’ is a contribution to our understanding of various perspectives on colonialism and contemporary African studies. Kudu District is located between longitude 8° 45 “E” and latitude 10° 58 “N” of the Equator. The District shares border to the North with Anchau District, to the East with Tudun Wada District (Kano), to the South-East with Lere District, South-West with Kauru District, and to the West with Soba District. The size of the District was about 900 miles (1,448.4 kms)<sup>1</sup>.

The research discusses the environmental and the pre-colonial socio-economic and political settings of the people in the area of study. It then gives a vivid analysis of the British conquest of Zazzau Emirate and subsequent imposition of colonial rule over the vast territory that made up the former Zazzau Emirate. Our area of study was part of the Zazzau Emirate occupied by the British. It was this unique event that led to the creation of Zaria Province in 1902<sup>2</sup>, which was subdivided into divisions and every division was further sub-divided into Districts for administrative convenience of the British<sup>3</sup>. Based on these administrative structures, Kudu District was carved out in 1907<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> NAKZARPROF/474/Kudu District Notes, 1932, p.3

<sup>2</sup> Figure 1.0: Map of Zaria Province in 1902 showing Kudu area before 1907, Source: Northern Nigeria Survey (1958)

<sup>3</sup> R. Heussler. *The British in Northern Nigeria*. London, Longman, 1968, p.83

<sup>4</sup> Figure 1.1: Map of Kudu District showing the villages that made up the District in 1907

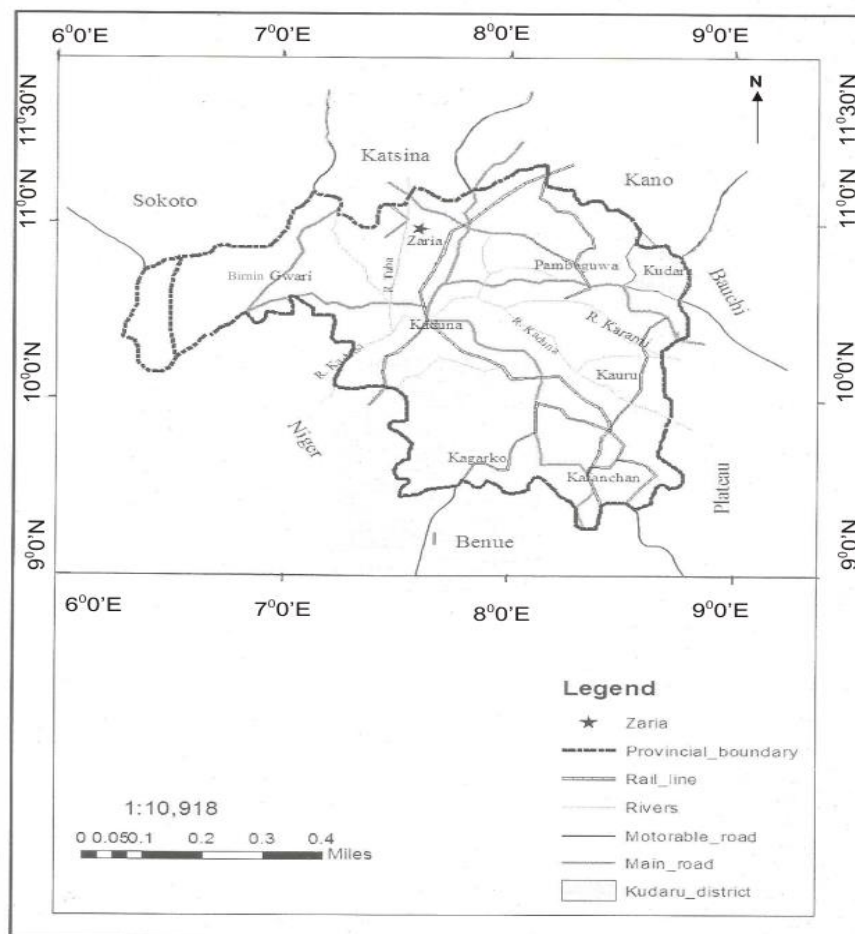


Fig 1.0: Map Showing Zaria Province and Kudu area as at 1902  
Source: Northern Nigerian Survey (1958)

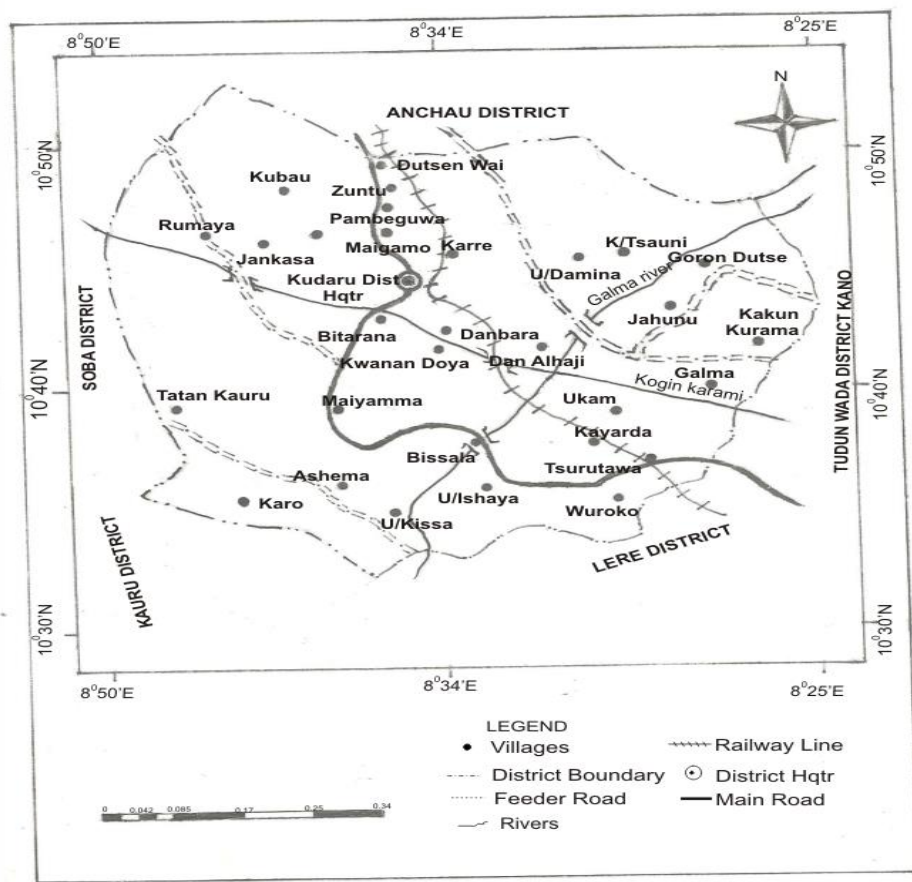


Fig. 1.1: Map of Kudu District Showing The Villages From 1907-1936  
Source: NAK/ZARPROF/112(1912)

Before the making of Kudu District, Kudu was a village surrounded by a number of hamlets occupying the Kudu hills and lowland under its control. It was fairly well populated estimated to be about 23,191 as at 1936,<sup>5</sup> and strategically located in a fertile land. These influenced the colonial authorities to make Kudu the District headquarters. The dominant ethnic groups that occupied the plains of Kudu include Kurama, Jere, Mangu, Amo, Rumaya, Hausa and Fulani. On the other hand, the major towns and villages that dotted the area also include Kudu, Dutsan-Wai, Zuntu, Kubau,

<sup>5</sup>NAK/ZARPROF/C.2468, Anchau, Kudu and Lere Proposed Amalgamation Notes, 1936, p.5

Pambeguwa, Maigamo, Bissalla, Dan-Bara, Karre and Dan-Alhaji. The major occupation of the communities in the pre-colonial Kudu area was subsistence agriculture and also engaged in local crafts and trading activities, particularly with their close and distance neighbours.

From 1907-1960 various policies were introduced by the British to ensure maximum and effective exploitation of the natural and human resources of the area. The most prominent were policies related to land, taxation, monetization of the economy, cash crops production, mining, forced labour, trade, industries, transport and so on. In an attempt to ensure full implementation of these policies the British put in place institutions like the native police, courts and prisons, with the primary objectives to arrest, prosecute and imprison law breakers. However, these policies and actions dislocated the flourishing pre-colonial economy and facilitated the pace of economic dependence on colonial economic needs.

The economic underdevelopment and dependency situation of Kudu District was necessitated by the twin concepts of imperialism and colonialism, and currently the global capitalist economy<sup>6</sup>. The exchange of goods and services between the colonial state and Kudu District was not balance. Kudu people by the colonial economic policies were made to be raw material producers and consumers of the British manufactured goods.

The main aim of this study is to address and evaluate the impact of colonialism on the economy of Kudu District. In order to achieve this, it is important to first and foremost

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<sup>6</sup> T. D. Santos. *The New Character of Dependence*, Revised Edition, (CESO'S Notebooks), 10. Santiago, CESP. 2002, P.15, see also, A. G. Frank. *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, New York, Monthly press, 1968, p.30; J. Galtung "Structural Theory of Imperialism" *The African Review*, Vol. No.4, 1972, p.53

provide a historical background to the study area. Therefore, this chapter, being the first of the research work, starts with the statement of the research problem in order to get acquainted with the problem the research work intends to solve. The literature review raises issues relevant to the research work with the intention of adding value to the work and justifying the need for undertaking it. The chapter goes further to discuss the methodology of the research. Limitations expected in the course of the research are also highlighted.

### **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

The primary objective of the British conquest and subsequent imposition of colonial economy was to force the natives of the area to produce cash crops and to find market for European finished goods. To ensure compliance, British had to nationalise lands, monetize the economy, introduced direct taxation, which gave birth to forced labour, transportation and trading activities. These major policies dislocated the pre-colonial economy and laid the foundation for the peasant impoverishment, poverty<sup>7</sup> and hunger among communities in Kudaru District, these attracted the attention of the researcher.

By the British policy statement on taxation, only adult males were to pay tax; women were exempted. But, in the case of Kudaru District, this policy was deliberately and consciously faulted by the Native Authority officials. While the males were taxed at that policy level, ‘Pagan’ or Non-Muslim women also suffered certain level of taxation in the hands of the officials of the Native Authority (N.A). Asabe Yohanna states that in most instances their livestock and food crops were confiscated to make up for the taxes of their

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<sup>7</sup> Note that “Poverty” in this context means that communities income and resources are inadequate to a standard of living considered acceptable in the society in which they are living.



husbands and sons<sup>8</sup>. It should be noted it was the healthiest looking livestock and grain crops that were confiscated. Thus, Kudaru District was one of the Districts in the South-East of Zaria Province which suffered this kind of direct taxation which was very exploitative in nature. In certain instances, Muslim women were exempted from the payment of taxes due to the practice of ‘Purdah’ (women kept in seclusion). The British ensured that conditions guiding colonial economic policies, particularly taxations were strongly enforced by the use of native police, native courts and prisons to arrest, prosecute and imprisoned law breakers.

It is on the basis of these colonial economic policies and actions that this work was conceived to tackle the following research questions:

- What were the factors that played vital role in the early history of Kudaru District?
- What were the reasons for the British conquest and the creation of Kudaru District?
- What were the processes that led to the British introduction of colonial economic policies in Kudaru District?
- To what extent did the colonial economic policies impacted on the economy and society of the study area?

Therefore, there is need to properly document these developments because the people are yet to recover from the effects of colonialism.

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Asabe Yohanna, 85 years, farmer from Kudaru on the 3/12/17 by 11:08 am

## **1.2 Aims and Objectives of the Study**

Based on the statement of the problem and the research questions above, the followings are the objectives of the study:

- 1) to identify and explain some of the factors that played important role in the early history of Kudu District.
- 2) discuss the issues related to the conquest of the study area by the British which subsequently led to the creation of Kudu District.
- 3) examine the process leading to the introduction of colonial economic policies in Kudu District.
- 4) assess the extent to which the colonial economic policies impacted on the economy and society of the study area.

## **1.3 Scope of the Study**

The research focused on Kudu District from 1907-1960. The year 1907, marked the beginning of the creation/evolution of the District Heads System in Zaria Province, which Kudu District was a part. Kudu District as at 1907 had a population estimated to be about 23,191; it also occupied an area of about 900 miles (1,448.4) square kilometres<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> NAKZARPROF/474/Kudu District Notes, 1932, p.3

The District shares border to the North with Anchau District, to the East with Tudun Wada District (Kano), to the South-East with Lere District, South-West with Kauru District, and to the West with Soba District. The dominant ethnic groups that occupied the plains of Kudu include Kurama, Jere, Mangu, Amo, Rumaya, Hausa and Fulani. On the other hand, the major towns and villages that dotted the area also include Kudu, Dutsan-Wai, Zuntu, Kubau, Pambeguwa, Maigamo, Bissalla, Dan-Bara, Karre and Dan-Alhaji. The Headquarters was Kudu village where the first District Head called Yusuf Turaki Karami I resided.

Kudu and Dutsan-Wai were railway stations, began to witness physical and administrative changes as well as gradual increase in population through migrations, and the establishment of social amenities and infrastructure by the British government like schools, and clinics and so on<sup>10</sup>. The year 1960 is the terminal period of the study, because it marked the end of the British colonial rule and political independence was granted to Nigeria. Therefore, 1907 and 1960 form watersheds in the study of the Economic History of Kudu District under Colonial Administration.

#### **1.4 Delimitations of the Study**

All researches have limitations and it could be internal or external in nature. In any research work the researcher may face either the problem of abundance or lack of sources. The probability is very high that abundance or scarcity of sources may lead to confusion in consultation and analysis, which may affect the time frame for the

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<sup>10</sup>Interview with Maigari Garba, 77 years, farmer and Rtd civil servant from Kudu on the 12/8/2016 by 5:0pm

completion of the research. Where the archival documents are available, some colonial record files have either been torn or some pages have been removed. This problem will affect our analysis or corroboration of the secondary sources collected.

Umar Danjummai says most of the informants who would have provided important and invaluable information on the subject matter were not alive and some had relocated out of the District. Another problem is the unwillingness on the part of some informants to provide concrete information that will illuminate our analysis and conclusion. In addition, bad terrain may constitute another obstacle to conducting oral interviews in villages where relevant information could be derived.

### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

The primary aim of any historical research is to discover new facts about society and to extend the frontiers of knowledge. The present research was set to examine ‘An Economic History of Kudu District, Zazzau Emirate under Colonial Domination, 1907-1960’. The area is unexplored by historical researchers. Therefore, the study is significant in shedding light on the historical evolution of the various communities that made up Kudu District and the nature of their relationship with one another. The research will provide a better understanding of the nature of the pre-colonial economic activities in this area, and how the colonial economy dislocated/disrupted the pre-colonial societies of the area.

It will bring into limelight how the colonial economic policies and actions on land, labour, taxation, provision of infrastructure and agriculture plunged the people of Kudu District into poverty, hunger and economic dependence.

This work not only fills some vacuum of the history of Kudu District but is an addition to the volume of work on Nigerian historiography. The development of Kudu District, under colonial domination, thus becomes very important to record and keep record of this historical process. Hence, this research will be a pioneering work since no work has been done on 'An Economic History of Kudu District, Zazzau Emirate under the Colonial Administration, 1907-1960'. Finally, It will help in preserving the historical heritage of the people as observes by Fage, that:

*It is our duty to proceed from what is near to what is distant,  
from what is known to that which is less known, to gather  
the tradition from those who have reported them as much  
as possible and to leave the rest as it is, in order to make our  
work help any one who seeks truth and loves wisdom*<sup>11</sup>.

Frantz Fanon cited by Y.B Usman in justifying the need for the continuing study and reconstruction of any historical event by age says, "...each generation must out of relative obscurity, discover its mission and fulfil it"<sup>12</sup>.

It may not be out of point to say that the history of Kudu District must from time to time be rewritten. This is not just because the facts are continually accumulating, criticism is growing more rigid, and the style of writing varies. The reason is that ideas change, and that the whole mode and manner of looking at things alter in age.

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<sup>11</sup> J.D. Fage. *Africa Discovers Her Past*, london, Oxford University Press, 1970, p.88

<sup>12</sup> A. Smith. *Little New Light: Selected Writings Vol.1*, Zaria, Gaskiya Corporation Press, 1987

## 1.6 Methodology

Methodology involves the collection and re-interpretation of data. The research intends to adopt the historical methodology, which is scientific and analytical in investigation of any historical event under study. The complementary is the inter-disciplinary method. Inter-disciplinary approach and techniques is particularly recommended by historians, for example, E.J. Alagoa stresses that, "...the distant past of African societies have imposed on Africa the necessity of an inter-disciplinary approach and it is this approach that can best explain the history of any African pre-literate societies<sup>13</sup>. Historians have now agreed that the use of sources from other disciplines like, archaeology, anthropology, and linguistics will assist in the reconstruction of the history of most societies in Africa.

Therefore, the researcher intends to use and re-interpret the information collected from the primary, secondary, and tertiary sources to add value on the subject under study.

**Primary sources** are the raw materials that generate firsthand information for historical reconstruction. Examples of primary sources include oral sources, archival materials, archaeological and linguistic materials. Primary source information can be collected in oral or written form.

### Oral Interview

Oral interviews will be conducted in all communities that made up the former Kudaru District. The categories of the people that will be interviewed include some of the people that are still alive and survived the colonial period and had participated in the collection

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<sup>13</sup> E.J, Alagoa "The Relationship between History and Other Disciplines", in Tarikh vol.6, no.1, London: Longman Group Ltd, 1978, pp15-24. Alagoa, E.J, Alagoa The Python's Eye: The Past in the Living Present, 1<sup>st</sup> Inaugural Lecture delivered at University of Port-Harcourt, 1979, pp.20-25

or payment of colonial taxes, constructions of markets, roads, and railway lines, mining, production of export and domestic crops, nomadic pastoralists who were highly exploited through excessive taxation and forced labour in the period of our study.

The age limit for the participants would not be less than 63 years. This age bracket experienced colonial rule. Participants will be interviewed either as individuals or in a group form. Group interviews would be conducted in a community hall where possible and individuals would be interviewed in their respective houses or occupational places. Focus group discussion will be used. Information derived through these processes will be more reliable and authentic though may have limitations.

### **Archival materials**

Kuduru District was a colonial creation, as such; the use of archival materials to reconstruct the history of the District is indispensable. These were series of writings/reports by the Provincial Resident Officers, District Officers and Assistant District Officers mostly on monthly, quarterly and annual basis.

These documents are raw data of colonial reports, district notebooks, assessments and re-assessment reports, correspondences, biographies and missionary records on Kuduru District. They will be useful to this research because they provide invaluable information on the colonial history, particularly on this subject matter where the area is under research. These documents are found in the National Archives, Kaduna, Kashim Ibrahim Library, A.B.U, Zaria, History and Culture Bureau, Kaduna.

The archival materials are not devoid of imperial bias and prejudice; however, they were also interested in capturing the reality of the colonized societies in order to formulate

policies that would not destabilize the colonial state and frustrate the exploitation of the human and material resources of the colonies.

Since our study is on colonial economic history, the research will focus more on the colonial documents that have direct bearing on colonial economy as it affects our area of study. Some of these records may be available while some, due to poor record keeping, may not be available. The ones found available will be critically assessed and corroborated with other sources.

### **Secondary Sources**

Secondary sources are second hand information and for the purpose of this research, relevant secondary sources would be critically examined. Some of these sources include published and unpublished works, which include undergraduate projects, seminar papers, articles, dissertations, monographs and theses. Some of these works are accessible in the internet and electronic materials found in research institutions, public and private libraries such as Department of History library, Northern History Research Scheme and Kashim Ibrahim Library all in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. These materials can also be found in Arewa House, State Library Board, State University Library, National Library, all located in Kaduna, as well as in Kaduna State College of Education, Gidan Waya Library.

Secondary sources may suffer inherent weaknesses, particularly in terms of perspective, sources, theory and methodology employed by the authors or writers who sometimes may be biased because of human nature. To achieve a reasonable level of provenance, secondary sources would be scrutinized and handled with extra care, especially while corroborating primary sources.



## 1.7 Literature Review

Kudaru District was and still is part of the immediate area that formed the metropolitan section of the Zazzau Emirate. Kudaru District is always mentioned in most of the Historical writings concerning Zazzau Emirate both in the pre-colonial and the colonial periods. We will still make reference to some of the earliest writings pertaining to the economy of Zazzau Emirate whether they make direct or indirect reference, which could add to better understanding of the subject matter of our research.

Although, we may not review them thoroughly, we must make a passing reference to such important works like that of M. G. Smith titled, “The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria,”<sup>14</sup> and that of A. Mahdi titled, “The Economy of a Hausa Capital: Zaria in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries”<sup>15</sup>. These works are useful because they will serve as a general background to our study. Both works present a clear picture of the indigenous economy of *Kasar* (land) Zazzau in general during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Also the works of A. Z. Bonat, “Colonialism and the Destruction of the Local Industrial System: A Case Study of Zaria Province, 1902-1945”<sup>16</sup> and S. M. Aminu, “The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Zaria Native Authority, 1902-1945” are considered important references. In his work, Bonat’s study rejected the colonial hypothesis which glorifies colonialism as an agent of economic development in Africa.

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<sup>14</sup> M. G. Smith. “The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria” A report to colonial social science research (H.M.S.O), London, 1955

<sup>15</sup> A. Mahdi. The Economy of Hausa Capital: Zaria in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries” Postgraduate seminar papers of the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1982

<sup>16</sup> A, Z, Bonat. “Colonialism and the Destruction of the Local Industrial System: A Case Study of Zaria Province, 1902-1945” *Sanannah Journal of Environment and Social Sciences*, Vol.9 No.2, Published by A.B.U, Press Ltd Dec, 1988.

This hypothesis subsists on the false claim that indigenous economies were backward or stagnant in contrast to the economies of European industrialised nations. Bonat argues that the indigenous economy of Zaria province was built on real and dynamic sectors that operated in an integrated system of inter-related industries whose technology, raw materials, skilled labour and markets were sourced locally. He stresses that these indigenous industrial system was structurally connected with other productive activities in the area and formed part of the local and internal commercial network to which Zazzau belong.

Bonat justifies the ways this self-sustaining economic system was destroyed by the British through colonial administrative and economic policies. The work of Bonat is very close to this work in terms of period (colonial economy) while it differs from the present study in terms of special scope, which covered the whole of Zaria province.

S. M, Aminu, examines the role of the Native Authority as a collaborator of the colonial state in the establishment of colonial economy in Zaria province as he clearly puts it:

*The objective is to bring out the role and impact of this institution to the economy and societies of the area with particular reference to Zaria Native Authority system<sup>17</sup>*

Aminu focuses his study on Zaria City and its metropolitan Districts; the substance of his work lies in his examination of the colonial policies on land use, taxation, agriculture, and infrastructure, particularly the construction of railway, roads and how the native authority mediated in their provision. His work relates to our study in terms of its proximity to our area of study as well as in the subject matter.

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<sup>17</sup> Safiyanu, M.A. Safiyanu “The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Zaria Native Authority, 1902-1945”, M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, A.B.U, Zaria, 1991, p.7

The next work reviewed was the work of E. J. Arnett titled, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*<sup>18</sup>, one of the official colonial documents assembled by the Resident of the Zaria Province. The work provides a general overview of the history of Zazzau Emirate from the earliest time to the establishment of colonial rule. The document clearly reflected the various activities of the provincial administration (i.e. the activities of the Resident, Divisional and District Officers in their respective areas of assignments). It also contains the detailed account of the creation of Districts, Native Courts, Native Prisons and the names of the various District Heads appointed in Zaria province from 1907.

Arnett's perspective is very useful to our study, for it provides first-hand information on the activities and duties of the District Heads system in the Zaria Province, which Kudu was a part.

M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau, 1800-1950*,<sup>19</sup> was another invaluable work reviewed and found useful for this study. This is a colonial pioneering work on the history of Zazzau. Smith traces the history of Zazzau from its foundation and locations of its capitals up to the present site of Zaria city. He discusses its relations with other Hausa states, Bornu and other powerful Kingdoms around. His analysis covers the advent of the different Fulani lineages and the role they played in the 1804 Jihad, which led to the overthrow of the last Habe King of Zazzau, Makau.

He discusses in greater details the Emirate system of government founded from the time of Mallam Musa (1821) to the 13<sup>th</sup> Emir of Zazzau, Muhammad Lawal Kwassau (1897-1902), who was dislodged by the British. The book also contains narrations on the consolidation of the British colonial rule and the making of the District Heads system in the

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<sup>18</sup> E.J. Arnett. *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, London: Waterlow and Sons Limited, 1920.

<sup>19</sup>M.G. Smith. *Government in Zazzau, 1800-1950*, London, Oxford University Press, 1970

Emirate in the year 1907. The re-organization of the Emirate which led to the establishment of the Native Courts and redeployment of District Heads, popularly known as *Hakimai* to their different Districts to implement colonial policies. The period 1800-1950 was characterized by changes in the political landscape of Zaria Province as described by Smith.

However, Smith was an anthropologist by profession. Though, he concentrated on the dynastic struggle between the four ruling houses of Zazzau (i.e. *Sullubawa*, *Mallawa*, *Katsinawa* and *Bornawa*). Secondly, he devoted many pages discussing the similarities and differences between pre-jihad Hausa and the post-jihad emirate system of government in Zazzau. The work is not directly written on Kudu District; his scope of work has given us background information on the pre-colonial setting of the people around the Zazzau Emirate, which Kudu was a part.

J.S. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene in their book titled, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*<sup>20</sup> had similar perspectives with Smith about the history of Zazzau. On the other hand, P.J. Shea reviewed M.G. Smith book, *Government in Kano, 1350-1950*, in *Kano Studies: A Journal of Savanna and Sudanic Research*. Shea argues that, Smith's "perspective and presentation is generally been one of comparing and contrasting the same society under different conditions and different regimes." He stresses that, most of the works of Smith left, "in the hands of an inexperienced and unsophisticated student could prove disastrous"<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> S. J. Hogben & A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London: Oxford University press, 1966

<sup>21</sup>P. J. Shea "Book Review: M.G. Smith *Government in Kano, 1350-1950*, in *Kano Studies: A Journal of Savanna and Sudanic Research*, New series 2000, vol.1, no.2, 2003, pp146-147

In a more critical approach Y.B. Usman “The Problem of Ethnic Categorisation in the Study of the Historical Development of the Central Sudan: A Critique of M.G. Smith and Others,” in *Beyond Fairy Tales*, reveals Smith’s erroneous usage of ethnic categories (i.e. Habe, Hausa, and Fulani) in the study of the historical development of Central Sudan with particular reference to Kasar Zazzau.

*The definitions of categories like “Hausa”, “Habe”..., Smith never defines any of them, nor does he probe into their meaning and substance. He only listed the element, which he says gave each its internal solidarity and differentiated them from one another<sup>22</sup>.*

In line with Y.B.Usman and P.J. Shea criticisms, Smith’s book only demonstrated governance at the centre of Zaria itself ignoring other towns and villages under the jurisdiction of Zazzau, which includes our area of study.

Smith’s work present a fair picture of the indigenous economy of Kasar Zazzau in general of which our area of study is part. And finally, it also clearly demonstrates the processes of colonial conquest of Zaria Emirate and Kudu District in particular.

Another work with similar impact on this study reviewed was the work of R. Cohen titled, *Forced Labour in Colonial Africa*<sup>23</sup>. The major thesis of this work is that, colonial policies were consciously designed to establish a relationship between Nigeria and the British colonial powers so that the surplus generated by the peasant farmers could be expropriated by Britain. This took the form of taxation and the commercialization of agriculture, the introduction of European trade and infrastructural development such as roads and railways.

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<sup>22</sup>Y.B. Usman “The Problem of Ethnic Categories in the Study of the Historical Development of the Central Sudan: A Critique of M.G. Smith and Others,” in *Beyond Fairy Tales*, vol.1, CERDDERT, Zaria, pp25-27

<sup>23</sup> R. Cohen: *Force Labour in Colonial Africa*, Lagos: Zed press, 1979, pp41-43

Taxes were the main source of revenue of the colonial state. This was so evident that the main duty of the village chief in the colonial era was the collection of taxes, which forced the people to engage in public works to earn enough to pay taxes. In short, the village Chief was an agent of the colonial government for tax collection. It is in the light of the above discourse by Cohen that M.M. Tukur and M.M. Gwadabe works were reviewed, and the two authors discuss the nature of the colonial taxation in the colonies.

M.M. Tukur work titled, “The Imposition of the British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Barno and Neighbouring States: 1897-1914. A Re-interpretation of Colonial Sources,”<sup>24</sup> states that, when the British consolidated their administrative and judicial control over the Emirates, they imposed a large number of taxes on the people of these Emirates.<sup>25</sup> This was further reiterated by M.M. Gwadabe in his work titled, “Land, Labour and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: The Case of *Kumbotso* District (Kano Emirate) 1916-1953”.<sup>26</sup> According to him, “taxation played a momentous role in the establishment and consolidation of the colonial economy and society..., the quest for taxation was not only economic, but socio-political”<sup>27</sup>. Invariably, colonial taxation was a way of subjugating the people economically, politically and socially. It connotes the desire to fashion out ways and means of subjecting the conquered people into an unquestionable submission because of taxes.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> M. M. Tukur “The Imposition of the British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Barno and Neighbouring States: 1897-1914. A re-interpretation of Colonial Policies”<sup>24</sup> PhD Thesis, A.B.U Zaria, 1979, p.531

<sup>25</sup> M. M. Tukur “The Imposition of the British Colonial Domination...”p.531

<sup>26</sup> M. M. Gwadabe “Land, Labour and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: The case of *Kumbotso* District (Kano Emirate) 1916-1953” PhD Thesis, A.B.U, Zaria, 2008, p.233.

<sup>27</sup> M.M. Gwadabe “Land, Labour and Taxation...”p.233

<sup>28</sup> M.M. Gwadabe “Land, Labour and Taxation...”p.233

F. L. Lugard work, *Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, advanced the European perspective that “taxation was a replacement for extortion; that the District Officers appointment comes as a herald of a just and equitable tax to replace extortion”<sup>29</sup>. He also stresses that, “the tax was a means of creating and enforcing Native Authority, of curbing lawlessness, and assisting in tribal evolution, and hence it serves as a moral benefit...”<sup>30</sup> The statement by Lugard was far from being the reality, because the taxes imposed by the British, as Tukur pointed out, “far from being fewer; more rational and lighter... were in fact more in number and heavier in incidence...many of them were baseless and arbitrary...”<sup>31</sup>. Colonial taxation was basically exploitative and a more organized way of extortion.

Similarly, Kazah Toure’s work was also reviewed titled; “The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province 1902-1960” emphatically states that, “colonial taxation was more exploitative to the peasants, artisans, workers and the poor...”<sup>32</sup> and hence systematically crippled local occupations. According to Toure, the nationalists’ movement in Zaria Province, particularly the Southern Zaria, constituted an important organ of opposition. Colonial exploitation has nothing to do with morality; therefore it is incorrect for Lugard to say that it was only disorderly and unlegislated communities that did not pay taxes. There is no community that survives in anarchy and bedlam.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> F.L. Lugard *Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, London: 1965, p233

<sup>30</sup> F.L. Lugard *Dual Mandate...* p233

<sup>31</sup> M.M. Tukur “The Imposition of the British Colonial Domination...” p.531

<sup>32</sup> K. Toure, “The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province 1902-1960” M.A Thesis, A.B.U, Zaria, 1991, p.191

<sup>33</sup> K. Toure, “The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province...” p.191

Tukur, Gwadabe and Kazah's works are found relevant to this study, because the works reveals that taxation was a favourite technique used by the Europeans to engage the peasants into cash crop production. Taxes were introduced on different items like cattle, land, houses and the people themselves. Money to pay taxes was gotten by growing cash-crops or working on the European farms or in their mines. Colonial taxation led to poverty and separation amongst families in our area of study. Nuhu Musa states that his late grandfather had always hid himself in the traditional granary (rumbu) whenever tax collectors arrived for tax collection.<sup>34</sup>.

Though the various works did not deal directly with our area of study, the methodology, perspective and concepts used can influence our discussion of the colonial economic history of Kудару District.

In a situation where an individual failed or consciously refused to pay tax, physical coercion, backed up by legal sanction was the last resort. This viewpoint was reinforced by A. Claude in his work, *A Political Economy of Africa*. He observes that "African economies were monetized by imposing taxes and insisting on the payment of taxes with European currencies"<sup>35</sup>. Colonialism is not just about political governance, but a complete exploitation of the human and material resources of the colonized states for the development of Europe. Monetization of African economies accelerated the means of tax generation and forced labour. Though, Ake's work is not directly concerned with our area of study, the work has clearly defined the rationale of colonial monetization of African

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<sup>34</sup> Musa Nuhu, 68 years from Kubau, a farmer interviewed on the 17/3/2017 by 11:45am

<sup>35</sup> A. Claude. *A Political Economy of Africa*, London: Longman press, 2002, pp32-33



economies. The work is a reference material for this research, particularly on colonial taxation policy.

Another work reviewed was the work of M. A. Nasiru titled, “Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure: A Study on the Impact of Railway in Kaura Namoda Region, 1929-1960”<sup>36</sup>, discusses the nature of the physical environment, the evolution of political institutions and the nature of the social and production relations of the people in the pre-colonial period.

He also examines how the area was incorporated into the colonial state by means of colonial ordinances and basic colonial infrastructures, especially roads and railway lines, which were established for the expansion of the colonial economic activities in the area. An informant who participated in the colonial railway construction stated that the construction work on the railway was from morning to evening without food. That the amount paid was small but time consuming. It also had negative effect on their dry season economic activities (i.e., hunting and fishing)<sup>37</sup>.

The work focuses on the impact of the railway in consolidating the process of change in Kaura Namoda region within the period of study, though not directly on the area of study. This work did not discuss the positive impact of the colonial infrastructures, particularly on the area of employment; as such the perspective is not holistic. Yet it will influence our discussion and analysis of the impact of the colonial infrastructures particularly on the peasants that were involved in the eastern railway line that was constructed from Zaria, which passed through some towns and villages of Kudu District, these included; Dutsan-wai, Karre, Kudu up to Bukuru in Jos.

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<sup>36</sup> M. A. Nasiru “Colonial Economy and Colonial Infrastructure: A Study on the Impact of Railway in Kaura Namoda, Region 1929-1960” M.A Dissertation, Department of History, A.B.U Zaria, 2011, p10

<sup>37</sup> Magaji Danjuma, 73 years, farmer from Zuntu, interviewed 30/8/2016 by 4:05pm

Other relevant materials reviewed were the two works written by A. Adamu, “British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria 1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District”<sup>38</sup> and “The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria; A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis c. 1902-1960”<sup>39</sup>. The main thrust of the first dissertation is an analysis of the impact of the British colonial policy on the agricultural system of the people in Soba District of Zazzau Emirate.

Agriculture was chosen, because it was the mainstay of the economy. A general picture of the historical geography of the area under study provided an eye opener to the work, while other chapters concentrated on the pre-colonial and the colonial economic formations. This was an important strategy of showing how British colonial policies altered and indeed impacted negatively on the society and economy of the peasant farmers in Soba District.

The British emphasis on the production of cash crops (i.e. cotton and groundnuts) found in abundance in Soba District crippled subsistence agriculture, which created hunger and starvation. The challenge of food production, distribution and shortage, which often led to famine, hunger and poverty, had become an important subject of research on the consequences of colonialism on Kudu District. The case study of Soba people’s experience was similar to that of Kudu people since British colonial policies were the same in most colonies. In addition to this, Kudu and Soba Districts shared boundary with each other.

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<sup>38</sup>A. Adamu “British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria 1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District” Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, ABU, Zaria, 1992.

<sup>39</sup> A. Adamu “The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria; A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis c. 1902-1960”, unpublished PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, 2001

The second work is on food production and distribution in Zaria Metropolis during the colonial period. It examined British colonial policy on food production. Adamu stresses that Birnin Zaria was a major centre for surplus food appropriation, storage and distribution both within and outside Zaria metropolis and the emirate at large.

The thesis traced the involvement of foreign firms and the local agents in the business of food merchandise from the production centres in the rural communities to Birnin Zaria. Adamu stated that one of the reasons for the colonial interest in food production business varied from feeding its army to hoarding in case of possible social crisis that may arise, especially in urban settlements.

Adamu's works are relevant because they help our understanding of the causes of food crisis and hunger in Nigeria and particularly our area of study. It will help understand the rationale behind the people of Kudu's dependency on food importation even after independence. The proximity of the study area (i.e Soba District) to the present study area makes it useful as a source of information to our study. These and other factors made the works relevant to this research.

Other materials reviewed were the works of I.M. Mukhtar and A. A. Hannatu on colonial labour policies. Mukhtar's work, titled "British Colonial Labour Policies and the Changing Roles of Labour in Kano Emirate, C. 1903-1960"<sup>40</sup> and Hannatu's work; "Methods of Labour Recruitment in the Jos Tin Mines under British Colonial Rule,"<sup>41</sup> argues that the British policy on labour recruitment or mobilization was common in all colonies. The first method was that they restructured the society and the pre-colonial

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<sup>40</sup> I. M. Mukhtar "British Colonial Labour Policies and the Changing Roles of Labour in Kano Emirate, C. 1903-1960" Unpublished Ph.D Thesis A.B.U, Zaria, 1983

<sup>41</sup> A. A. Hannatu "Methods of Labour Recruitment in the Jos Tin Mines under British colonial Rule" in *ZAHIR Journal of the Department of History*, A.B.U, Zaria, Vol.4, Nos. 1-4, June 2009-June 2012,p.128

economic system. Mukhtar specifically mentioned that such exercise led to the collapse of the feudal mode of production in Kano<sup>42</sup>. This transformation was necessary in order to create a favourable environment required for the exploitation of the human and natural resources available in the colonies.

Another method of labour mobilization identified by Mukhtar and Hannatu for the interest of the colonialists was the imposition of taxes which led to supply of cheap, forced and contract labour. Hannatu argues that direct taxation forced the peasant farmers in Jos Plateau to abandon subsistence farming to work as labourers in the Tin mines under harsh conditions with meager wages<sup>43</sup>. It should be noted that our area of study shares a boundary with Jos Plateau and labourers were recruited from Kudu District to work in tin minefields there. Mukhtar and Hannatu conclude that the processes involved in labour mobilization were harsh, crude, exploitative and devastating.

Mukhtar and Hannatu's works are not directly dealing with Kudu District but are significant to this research because they are concerned principally with the colonial imperial methods of labour organization and its impact on the colonies. Mukhtar's analysis of the mode of production in Kano in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century was quite helpful and educative. It highlighted the land tenure system, forms and relations of production of pre-colonial Kano. Hannatu's work was of particular interest because it expanded our understanding of the health hazards involved in the tin mines sector. Our informant states that many Tin mine workers from his village died as a result of untreated injuries sustained in the course of mining even as many also died of cancer which he believed was contracted during the

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<sup>42</sup> I. M. Mukhtar "British Colonial Labour Policies..."p.55

<sup>43</sup> A. A. Hannatu "Methods of Labour Recruitment..."p.128

mining process<sup>44</sup>. However, the Ex-tin miner was not able to recall the exact number of people that died as a result of such attack. One of the limitations of these works is the writers' inability to discuss the positive aspects of this exercise on the side of the tin miners. To perceive the exercise hundred percent negative is not a fair judgment.

Z. K. Bonat wrote on "The Colonial Phase of the Underdevelopment of Zaria Province, 1902-1945"<sup>45</sup>. His thesis studied the organization of material production in the Zaria area as well as the political and administrative changes introduced by British colonialism in the area. He discusses how colonialism restructured the productive system in such a way that production was then geared in the direction of export needs rather than for domestic requirements. The methods by which labour was exploited in order to create monopoly profits for the European companies and their local agents in this area were analytically explained.

He also analyzes the nature and development of class contradictions and class struggles that occurred as a result of the colonial activities and the consequences of such development on the society. His analysis on the British political and administrative changes has enhanced our understanding of why the British used indirect rule and reorganization policies in Northern Nigeria.

Bonat's work is not dealing directly with our area of study, but his analysis, perspective and content on the nature and development of colonial mode of production and the administrative mechanism will influence our discussion on how class contradictions and class struggles developed and affected our area of study. Though, Bonat's period of study

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<sup>44</sup> Chinge Adamu, 80 years, Rtd Jos mine worker from Dutsen Wai, interviewed on the 5/9/2016 by 3:00pm

<sup>45</sup> Z. K. Bonat. "The Colonial phase of the Underdevelopment of Zaria Province 1902-1945" Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, A.B.U, Zaria, 1992

and the subject of study is the same; the difference is that of the scope which covered the whole of Zaria province against Kudu District. Therefore, our conclusion seems to be narrower than that of Bonat. Bonat concludes that colonialism brought technological dependence.

The specific works reviewed were the works of Kenneth and Samson on tradition origins. T.D. Kenneth work titled, "The History of Kurama Origin, Settlement and Dispersal"<sup>46</sup> traces the origin of the Kurama speaking people from Madina to Kano through Barno and finally settled at Kudu area. He argues that the Kurama had undergone series of migrations because of unfavourable climatic conditions, population growth or their refusal to embrace Islam.

Samson, K.W. Samson work titled *The Amap (Amo) People of Central Nigeria: A Historical Perspective*<sup>47</sup>, states that the Amo speaking people migrated from the Middle-East to Niger, Sokoto, Kano and finally settled at Kudu area (to be specific Karre village). These traditions of origins, migrations and settlements could be considered as part of the distance migration hypothesis, which attempt to discuss historical events within the context of foreign civilization. Kenneth and Samson concentrated on the study of legends, and history is beyond the study of legends. History is about human activities over time and space. History deals with the relationship that exists between man and his environment, and how these interactions affect each other.

One of the major limitations of Kenneth and Samson's works is that, they focused on the study of legends and the promotion of the distance migration hypothesis or foreign origin

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<sup>46</sup> T.D. Kenneth. The History of Kurama Origin, Settlement and Dispersal, Unpublished seminar paper presented at Kurama Annual Cultural Day, Yarkasuwa, 26/12/1988.

<sup>47</sup> K.W. Samson, *The Amap (Amo) People of Central Nigeria: A Historical Perspective*, Jos, SK Press, 2009, p.5

and civilization. The works are relevant because they will influence our understanding of history as human activities over time and space.

Another invaluable works reviewed were the works of J.G. Nengel titles *Intergroup Relations in Kauru and Pengena Polities of Central Nigerian Highlands*, 1800-1900, and “An overview of the Precolonial History and Culture of the Akurmi of Eastern Zazzau”<sup>48</sup>.

Nengel discusses intergroup relations and the peopling of the central Nigerian area, which our area of study is a part. He analyses the factors that promoted intergroup relations, example, petty wars, migrations, trade, marriages, local festivals, and so forth, amongst communities in the Central Nigerian Region. In his second publication, he explains the precolonial history and culture of the Akurmi people one of the major communities in Kudu District. These two works help our understanding of the environment, the origins, and socio-cultural, religious, political and economic activities of the communities in Kudu District before colonialism.

In addition to the above works reviewed for the purpose of this research are books written by the British colonial officials, such as M. Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria*, Donald Cameron, *The Principles of Native Administration and their Application*, C.W. Orr, *The making of Northern Nigeria*, and F. L. Lugard *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects, Chiefs, Political and Administrative*, and others.

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<sup>48</sup> J.G. Nengel titles *Intergroup Relations in Kauru and Pengena Polities of Central Nigerian Highlands*, 1800-1900, Berlin-Germany, am Main, 1999, and “An overview of the Precolonial History and Culture of the Akurmi of Eastern Zazzau” M. Jeremiah and E. Dogara (eds.) *The Akurmi People of Central Nigeria: Their Heritage and Hope*, Kaduna Al-Uzzy Ventures, 2014

They are published works that deals with the history of British administration in Northern Nigeria. These works are relevant because they were presented to justify colonialism and have largely influenced and shaped our understanding of colonialism. The colonial apologists' position ought to be challenged using a different and more useful theoretical perspective. Therefore, we intend to adopt the Underdevelopment and Dependency theoretical perspectives in our analysis in the present study.

### **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

The most important principle that provides a researcher with a suitable tool, which enables one to effectively evaluate and analyze data, is the theoretical framework. This is very essential in any academic research. A Theoretical framework is a compass for navigating research with ease without wandering away from the focus of the study. There are several theories that attempt to explain economic development of a given society. We have the Political Economy Theory, Development Theory, Modernization Theory, Dependency Theory, and Underdevelopment Theory. But for the sake of this research our study will adopt the Underdevelopment/ Dependency Theories.

Underdevelopment and dependency theories are critiques to the Euro-centric theory of development. Scholars of development theory like Lugard, Rostow and so on, argue that colonies were acquired for civilizing reasons. On the opposite, are the underdevelopment and dependency school of thought prominent ones included Gunder Frank, Walter Rodney, and Samir Amin, who argues that colonies were acquired for exploitation and underdevelopment of the colonies. The underdevelopment and dependency theorists used



the historical methodology to explain the processes and nature of the colonial economy in Kударu District.

Underdevelopment theorists sees colonialism as exploitative, racist, discriminating and humiliating wherever it was found, while the Dependency theorists addresses a relationship of subordination and super-ordination between two or more economies (i.e. unequal relationship that existed between the communities in Kударu District and British government)<sup>49</sup>. The citizens of Kударu District were recruited by force for public works without or with little pay. This exercise led to labour migration, depopulation, food scarcity and hunger, which is responsible for the present economic crises and dependency on the imperial powers up till date. The central argument of the dependence theory is that an economic dependency of the citizens of Kударu District generates poverty and underdevelopment.

To buttress this, Frank recaps that contemporary underdevelopment is in a large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relationships between the satellite underdeveloped and the now-developed metropolitan countries<sup>50</sup>. R. Walter has it that African and Asian societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalist powers<sup>51</sup>. This shows that colonial economic policies on land, forced labour and taxation basically represented significant tools for the operation, regulation and development of capitalism in the Kударu District.

Underdevelopment and Dependency theorists, though differ on the mechanism of perpetuation of the state of dependency and underdevelopment. They agreed on the basic

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<sup>49</sup> T.D. Santos. "The Crisis of Development Theory and the Problem of Dependency in Latin America", in H. Berntsen (ed), *Underdevelopment and Development: The Third World Today*, Middlesex, 1973, p.76

<sup>50</sup> G.F. Andre, *Crisis in the Third World*, New York, Holmes and Meier, 1967, p.5

<sup>51</sup> R. Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Abuja-Nigeria, Panaf Publishers, 2009, p.16

causes of this condition, namely, the reaction of capitalist relationships of production in the third world and the unequal and exploitative relationship between them and the centers of world capitalism.

These schools of thoughts established the origin, nature and reality of underdevelopment and dependency state of the colonized nations. To the people of the third world, Kudu District inclusive, the reality of underdevelopment and dependency is palpable and not debatable. Because it has a direct bearing not only on the present quality of their lives, but more seriously on the question of whether or not they will ever achieve genuine economic progress on their own account, thereby liberating themselves from the condition of dependence in which they are today<sup>52</sup>.

The weight of these theories are not used only to further demonstrate the character and authenticity of the observable fact of underdevelopment, but also to look into the ways by which it was perpetuated and consolidated on Kudu District under Colonial administration.

The position of the underdevelopment and dependency theorists is that the problems of the backwardness of the third world nations are products of imperialism and capitalism, and the solution is to break away from capitalism. It is not easy to break away because no society can survive in isolation. The most important idea is that change can occur when the system is fought within. The relationship within the capitalist world system can be enhanced through gradual integration.

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<sup>52</sup> M. Hamman "Consolidation of Underdevelopment in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1960" in *Zaria Historical Research*, 2001, p119

However, it is a fact that, the Underdevelopment and Dependency theories opened up new perspectives on the realities of international political economy. These perspectives have focused on the problem of the underdevelopment of the third world countries which our area of study is a part.

## **1.9 Conclusion**

Chapter one started with the historical background and the geographical location of the area of study. Two maps are attached, the first showing Zaria Province as at 1902 and the second showing Kudu District as at 1907. We stated that the problem that led to this research is the growing peasant impoverishment and hunger, which seems to be located from the era of colonialism and post colonial levels of corruption in the Country. The British administrative policies and actions dislocated the pre-colonial economy of the area of study.

The scope of the research started from the year the District was created (1907) and ended with the political exit of the British administration in 1960. Historical methodology seems to be useful for collection, analysis and re-interpretation of primary, secondary and tertiary sources. We stated that the area of study is yet to be explored by historical researchers. Therefore, the research is important because it will bring into limelight the basic features of the British administration particularly with regards to the imposition of economic policies on land, labour, taxation, provision of infrastructure and agriculture which have not been discussed by any work in the area of study.

We reviewed literatures which directly or indirectly deals with the economy of Zazzau Emirate, because the focus of our study cannot be understood meaningfully outside the

larger context of the economic history of Zazzau Emirate. We concluded that the most relevant theory that would be useful to explain the operations and actions of the colonial economic policies in the area of study is the underdevelopment theory.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ENVIRONMENT AND PEOPLING OF KUDARU AREA

#### 2.0 Introduction

History deals with the study of man and his environment. Carr contends that “environment, society and the individual are inseparable; they are necessary and complementary to each other, not opposites<sup>53</sup>. It means that no man is an island.

Although environment plays significant role in human and historical geography of all societies, man by his nature is a part and an active part of nature and not a helpless creature of his environment. Thus, the relationship between man and his environment is very dialectical, hence, environment plays a significant role in human history and invariably man also utilizes the environment for his benefits. Natural conditions like rainfall, weather, climate, hills and mountains often influence the society, the farming, trading, and industrial skills of the inhabitants of (Kudaru District) are the outcome of the relationship between man and his environment<sup>54</sup>.

Emphasizing the significance of geography in the reconstruction of the history of any society, Udo, argues:

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<sup>53</sup> E.H. Carr, *What is History* Penguin Books London, 1961, P.25

<sup>54</sup> S. I. Jimada “The Environment, and the early Peopling of the Middle Niger Basin area in Lapai of Central Nigeria History” *Journal of the Department of History and Archaeology*, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Lapai, Niger state, Vol.1 No.1 Dec, 2007, p.15

*Gentlemen give me the map of the country, its configuration, its waters, its winds and all its physical geography, give me its natural productions, its flora, its zoology and I pledge myself to tell you, apriori, what man of this country will be, and what part he will be in history, not by accident but of necessity, not at one epoch but at all epochs.*<sup>55</sup>

The importance of geography to any society cannot be over emphasized since the area in which people live affects their way of life. Again, for land and other resources to become useful, they have to be exploited by man. Moreover, the activities of man are influenced by nature and place of habitation. Furthermore, the development of skills to manipulate environment will make society to advance.

In the same vein, more improvement and development will bring about the emergence of state with elaborate social, economic and political systems. It is a fact to state that, areas that were well occupied were the ones that were capable of supporting life. However, the geography of the study area was viewed in relation to the climate such as: Rainfall, Temperature, Soil, Vegetation, and Wind among others. Therefore the chapter outlines the geography of the area, the peopling of the area and finally draw conclusion.

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<sup>55</sup> R. K. Udo, "Environment and People's of Nigeria" in Obaro Ikime (Ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann Education Books, Ibadan: 1980, p.10

## 2.1 Geography of the Area

It is important to discuss the nature of the environment of Kudara because the life of human beings, which the historian studies, cannot be understood outside the context of nature. It is also believed that the environment determines to a greater extent what people do and what is obtainable within it. History cannot be made outside human satisfaction; man must obviously eat, drink and clothe himself.<sup>56</sup>

Hopkins in support of this view stresses that, any attempt to discuss a facet of human society, the relationship between the natural environment and man's activities worth understanding"<sup>57</sup> That man and nature has been in constant dialectical relationship. That nature has been providing opportunities to man and man also have been making good use of the natural environment for his survival over time and space. Karl Marx further stresses that:

*Man confronts the material nature as one of his forces. He sets in motion arms, legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body in order to appreciate the materials of nature in a form suitable for his own needs.*<sup>58</sup>

The environment or the geography provides information on the type of soil, climatic changes, and rock types, amount of rainfall and relief which contributes to the understanding of evolution of human society. Our knowledge about the environment assisted us greatly in our historical analysis of the various processes of human development, which include urbanization, settlements pattern, economic activities,

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<sup>56</sup> C. Cartile, (Ed), *Civilization and Historical Process*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1983, p.117

<sup>57</sup> A.G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa*, London: Longman ltd, 1973, p11

<sup>58</sup> M. Karl, *Capital: A critique of Political Economy*, vol.1, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977, p.175.

intergroup relationships and also the nature and dynamics of the forms and land use system. The study examined the environment of Kudu District, and the factors that shaped and determined the location of the District (i.e soils, temperature, humidity, climate, hydrology, and vegetation).

### **2.1.1 Location of the study area.**

As earlier described in chapter one, Kudu District as at 1907 is located in the South-East of Zaria Province. It stretches between latitude  $10^{\circ} 58$  "N" and longitude  $8^{\circ} 45$  "E" of the equator. The District is bordered with Bauchi in the North, Kano in the North-East and Plateau in the South. The District is also bordered with Ikara and Kubau in the North, Kuru in the West, and Zangon Kataf Districts in the South-West. This area is a well-watered and fertile land for both agricultural, commerce, industrial and livestock production activities and many migrated and settled in the area since time immemorial.

### **2.1.2 Topography**

Topographically, the physical features of Kudu area are largely mountainous. The District belongs to a region that consists of the plains, hills and inselbergs developed on the basement complex rocks of pre-cambrian origin. The hills and inselbergs served as sources of security against external aggression. Some of the stones were used as precious stones for gems, decoration of houses or dwelling places, and for building constructions. The Northern part of the Kudu area is fairly a plain terrain which promoted agricultural



activities and animal grazing.<sup>59</sup> The hills and plains provided favourable environment for human habitation.

### 2.1.3 Soils

The soils in Kударu area are categorized into two. They are the tropical laterite soil, otherwise known as *Jankasa* or red soil, and the dark clay soil of the *Fadama* or marsh land, which is muddy and sticky in the rainy season and very dusty in the dry season. The laterite is freely drained red soil. The two types are the most common soils in the area. The soils are relatively good for the production of agricultural crops such as maize, cotton, yam, groundnuts, guinea corn, millet, rice and so on. Large tracts of land have been subjected to extensive cultivation over the years. This led to steady migration of people from one part of the area to the other.

The productivity of the land varies as it supports the cultivation of cash crops and food crops like guinea corn, Cocoyam, maize, cassava and some species of yams, which were common in the area. Legumes such as groundnut and beans were also cultivated. Tree crops of economic values such as shear nut, locust beans, and mahogany trees were preserved. The colonialists introduced other crops such as spinach, mango, and guava. The abundance and the cultivation of variety of food crops by the communities in Kударu area and its environs made the economy of the area far from being monoculture.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Y. Mathew "An Enquiry into the History of Kurama (Akurmi) People: Traditions of Origin, Migrations and Settlement Patterns" in *The Akurmi People of Central Nigeria: Their Heritage and Hope*, Kaduna: Al-Uzzy White Ventures Ltd, 2014, p.47

<sup>60</sup> I.B. Adon, "Management and Utilization of Soils of Corundum mineland for agricultural production in Kafanchan" M.A. Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Jos, 2005, p.10

#### **2.1.4a. Climate**

One of the most determinants of the geography of any area is its climatic conditions, which in turn affects the vegetation and indeed the people's way of life as well as their economic activities.<sup>61</sup> This area has a climate typical of the tropical zone because of its location. Its climate is quite pleasant. Kudu area is situated within the Guinea savannah belt of Nigeria, as a result of this, the climate of Kudu area needs to be studied closely in order to understand the relationship that existed between the climate and the people.

The area is influenced by two air masses that bring about the dry and rainy seasons. One of them is the North-East Tropical Continental air mass emanating from the Sahara desert, between November-March and its dusty dry wind brings about the dry season. While the other air mass is the South-West Tropical maritime which arises across the Atlantic and brings with it rains from April to October<sup>62</sup>. The above climatic conditions influenced the life style of the people of Kudu area and determined their daily activities and occupations.

#### **2.1.4b. The rainy season**

The rainy season begins in April and ends in October; except in certain cases where rain may cease to fall due to unreliability of the movement of the Inter-Tropical Discontinuity (I.T.D). Rainy season reaches its peak between July and September with heavy rainfall throughout the months. The minimum rainfall is about 1.27mm. The rainy season

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<sup>61</sup> R.K. Udo "Environment and People's of Nigeria..." 1980, p.10

<sup>62</sup> P. N. Hore " Weather and Climate" in M.J. Motimore (Ed). Zaria and its Region, Department of Geography, A.B.U, Zaria, 1970, p.44

influences people to engage in farming and planting activities as the dominant occupation of the people of the area.

#### **2.1.4c. The dry season**

The dry season starts early in November and ends in early April. For the dry season the period between November and February used to be its peak, when it used to be cold and dusty with the North-East *Harmattan* wind blowing. The dry season was the period marked for clearing of farmlands in preparation for farming activities, time for hunting, trading expeditions, building new huts, marriage celebrations and other social activities that rains cannot disturb them.

#### **2.1.4d. Temperature/Humidity**

The temperature of a given place determines the activities of the people in that area. The temperature fluctuates in some towns and villages in Kudara District. However, the area enjoys a mean temperature of 60<sup>0</sup> F and 80<sup>0</sup> F maximum. The month of December is the coldest, and the months of March and April make up the hottest period. The nature of the temperature provides a suitable ground for the cultivation of both food and cash crops, such as maize, guinea corn, yam, soya beans, cassava, cotton, and groundnuts. The relative humidity is 62% and the maximum relative humidity is 120%. Due to the fluctuating conditions in the climatic elements, the relative humidity is high due to altitude and the presence of cloud cover<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>63</sup> I.B. Adon, *Management and Utilization of Soils...*p.11

### 2.1.5 Hydrology

The availability of the surface and underground water was greatly influenced by the character of the topography and climatic condition in the area of study. The prominent rivers are the *Karami* and the *Galma* rivers, which empty their waters into River Kaduna. There are also streams, which flow into this river though suffers seasonal fluctuations in water level, especially during the dry season.

The seasonally flooded lands called the *fadama* were used for irrigation purposes, where crops like vegetables, sugarcane, maize, and onions were cultivated. The rivers also determined the settlement patterns and the occupations (i.e, fishing and craftworks) of some communities in Kudu District. The rivers also encouraged trading activities, social relationship and the gradual growth and development of the area from simple to complex.<sup>64</sup>

### 2.1.6 Vegetation

The relationship between climate and vegetation cannot be quantified. In most cases the vegetation of a given place is being influenced by the soil, relief and human activities. Kudu District is located within the Northern Guinea Savannah woodland region.<sup>65</sup> The vegetation of the area comprises of tall grasses and trees, whose products were both locally utilized for the benefits of the people within and around the District. The natural vegetation has been influenced by farming, grazing, mining and other related activities for human survival.

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<sup>64</sup> Interview with Chindo Bitrus, 59 years, farmer in his residence at Dan'bara, 13/12/2016

<sup>65</sup> G. Jackson "Vegetation around the city and nearby villages of Zaria" in M. J. Motimore (Ed); *Zaria and its Region*, pp.61-62

## 2.2 The Peopling of the Area

This part is very relevant in the history of our area of study because it tends to portray the fact that history does not start only when writing began. The term peopling refers to the earliest evidence of man's presence in an area. In most parts of Africa, especially in the East and South, archaeological discoveries brought into limelight comprehensive and convincing records of fossils and cultural remains, which provide significant evidence of early human existence in the region. Some of these evidences of artefacts such as the terra cotta models, iron tools, grinding stones, pot sheds and furnaces support the fact that people existed in Kudu area which falls within the axis of the Nok culture which flourished from 500 BC-200 AD.<sup>66</sup>

The tradition of origins of most communities in the area of study cannot be treated in isolation from the myths of origins of most communities of Central Nigerian area. This is due to the fact that Central Nigerian area appears to have been recipient area for cohorts of migrations from the Middle-East especially from Egypt, Sudan, Lake Chad, Borno, Bauchi and the South-East. It is in this context James maintains that:

*Borno became the broad way for invading communities because it was well connected with Egypt by Daffur and Kordofan, provided that migratory corridor along which hordes and hordes of invaders from the North and East displaced communities found easy passage West along Kamadugu River and the Great plains of Borno, Kano, Katsina and Zaria to the South<sup>67</sup>.*

The above contention is substantiated by the available archaeological evidences discovered at Nok, Taruga, and Katsina Ala and so on, that indicate man's occupation of

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<sup>66</sup> A. Obadiah, *Nigeria in History from Stone Age to 1900 AD*, Akwanga: Calvary Production, 2008, p.13

<sup>67</sup> I. James, *Studies in the History, Politics and Cultures of the Southern Kaduna Peoples in Groups*, Ladsomas press Ltd, Jos, 1907, p.147.

Central Nigerian area from pre-historic times. Since these evidences provide a focus for reason behind the involuntary migrations of cohorts' displaced persons which is centred on natural disasters such as, drought and desertification or manmade factors.

Kudaru District consists of diverse cultural and linguistic groups that belong to the Jos Plateau hills of the branch of the Benue –Congo sub-group of the Niger Congo family except the Hausa and Fulani people.<sup>68</sup> Amongst such groups are the Kurama, Rumaya, Amo, Lemoro, Hausa, and Fulani and so on. It is difficult for us to state the exact population of all the towns and tribes in Kudaru District. However, the approximate population of the major towns and tribes are mention in table one and two below:

**Table 2.0: Population of the Principal Towns in Kudaru District, 1920<sup>69</sup>**

<b>Name of towns</b>	<b>Approximate total population</b>
Dan'Alhaji	2,136
Kudaru	3,393
Zuntu	3,736
Kubau	4,188
Damo	2,571
Dan Maliki	2, 119

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<sup>68</sup> H. D, Gunn, *Pagans People of the Central area of Northern-Nigeria*, International African Institute, London, 1956, p.89

<sup>69</sup> E. .J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, Waterlow & Sons Limited, London, 1920, pp,17-18

**Table 2.1: Population of the Major Tribes in Kudaru District, 1920<sup>70</sup>**

<b>Name of tribe</b>	<b>Approximate total population</b>
Kurama	10,481
Rumaya	1,429
Amo	625

As a result of series of migrations and integration, some communities have almost lost their identity since most of them could not speak the language fluently. It became difficult for us to get accurate information on the dates when each group migrated into Kudaru area, and which tribal group first settled in the area. However, the research made attempt to document the traditions of origin, migrations and settlement patterns of different ethnic groups that made up the District.

In writing or reconstructing the early history of the communities in the area of study, we have to rely entirely on non-written sources of various kinds. Of these, oral tradition is probably the most important. It can be supplemented with findings of archaeological and linguistic research, and with inferences drawn from the results of ethnographic mapping of present-day cultures and socio-political organizations. None of these sources alone can take us far, but by drawing on the various types simultaneously, and by constant cross-checking one against the other, we build up some semblance of a coherent and probable narrative. Thanks to the expansion of Islamic learning and Arabic literacy in the wake of

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<sup>70</sup> E.J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*...p.19

the early trans-Saharan trade. The later have their command and wealth of written documents, dating as far back as the eighth century.

In the area of study, immigration from the Middle-East has greater prima facie plausibility. As for etymological arguments conventionally used to back up these assertions of Middle-East origins, these do not stand up to any degree of scientific scrutiny. The researcher had to join others in showing that the communities in this area of study could not have been as a result of an exodus from the Middle-East. It is only when we turn to more recent findings based on other source materials that they appear as illusory as the claims of ultimate origins in the Middle-East. It becomes clear that we must turn to modern archaeological and linguistic investigation.

The broad outlines of archaeological findings in what is now called the Central Nigerian area (particularly the Nok Culture) and its implications are enough evidence used to debunk the Middle-East theory. The two most important implications are, first, that there have been considerable populations in this area for several thousand years; second, that such populations seem to have been physically and culturally continuous with the present-day inhabitants<sup>71</sup>. The implications of modern linguistic research both fit in with and supplemented those of archaeological research. They suggest that the communities in the area of study form a cluster of languages within the larger Kwa group, centred roughly on the area of the Niger-Benue Confluence<sup>72</sup>. Glottochronological considerations

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<sup>71</sup> S. Thurstan, "Prehistory, Early Man", in ed. Obaro Ikime, *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann, Nigeria Ltd, Ibadan, 1980, pp.23-53, see also J.F. Jemkur, *Aspects of the Nok Culture*, A. B.U Press Ltd, 1992, p.30

<sup>72</sup> For discussion of aspects of this configuration in the linguistic Map, see J. Ballar, *Historical Inferences from the Linguistic Geography of the Nigerian Middle Belt, Africa*, xli, 4, 1971, pp.294-305



further suggest that separations between the units of this cluster vary between 2,000 and 6,000 years<sup>73</sup>.

These findings seem to indicate a process of slow, steady population expansion and cultural differentiation, beginning some thousand years ago in the area of the confluence, and continuing with little external interruption right down to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The implications for earlier attempts to discover the origins of the peoples and cultures of our area of study are painfully clear. If any Eastern origin is to be asserted for the communities in this area must refer to the Niger-Benue Confluence area, rather than to Egypt or the Yemen. However, the researcher made attempt to document the traditions of origin, migrations and settlement patterns of different ethnic groups that made up the District, bearing in mind the critical observations made above.

In addition, the communities in this area share the following characteristics:

- a. A general pattern of kingship terminology which classified king by generation.
- b. The organization of local communities to the lineage (Kindred) model, with the lineage and compound as basic grouping.
- c. Secret societies operating with primarily socio-political responsibilities.
- d. Household organization consisting of nucleus of a narrowed couple and several dependent patrilineal/matrilineal relatives. Sometimes it also included some comparatively remote patrilineal/matrilineal relatives.

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<sup>73</sup> We should be conscious of the tentative nature of the historical deductions from linguistic data, such evidences are guides since no parallel evidence is available. Thus on glottochronology see Greenberge, *The Languages of Africa*, Bloomington, 1963, see also R. G. Armstrong, *The Study of West African Languages*, Ibadan, 1964, pp.12-13

- e. Village organization consisting of closely related family, the member of which traced their descent to a common ancestor.
- f. Confederation of ethnic groups, which figure mainly on ceremonial occasions and in the defensive war fare of the people<sup>74</sup>.

The researcher discussed briefly the various traditions of origin of the dominant communities that made up Kudu District which include Amo, Kurama, Rumaya, Hausa and Fulani. But it must be pointed out at this juncture that the proper epithet of Amo, Kurama and Rumaya as will be used is actually *Amap*<sup>75</sup>, *Akurmi*<sup>76</sup> and *Ammala*<sup>77</sup> respectively. The names were corrupted when they began to interact with the outsiders especially the Hausas but were subsequently popularized by the colonialists.

### 2.2.1 Amo

The Amo (*Amap*) community constitutes an important language group that make up the Kudu District. They were largely designated as Amo by the people of the area, but they called themselves the *Amap* people. The ancestral homes of the Amo people are in the present areas of Pengena and Kuru Chiefdoms, and in Bassa and Lere Local Government areas of Plateau and Kaduna States. In an attempt to trace the origins of the Amo speaking people, conflicting accounts and versions of tradition were considered.

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<sup>74</sup> O. A. John "The Development and Impact of British Colonial Rule in Low land Division of Plateau Province in Central Nigeria 1902 – 1948" Unpublished PhD Thesis Department of History, A.B.U Zaria, 2004, p. 80. Note that the peopling of the North Central Nigeria believes that their original names are corrupted by the Hausa speaking people; hence they cannot call their original names in their dialects. Now they need to be called by their original names as mentioned above.

<sup>75</sup> K.W. Samson, *The Amap People of Central Nigeria...*, p.2

<sup>76</sup> J.G. Nengel "An Overview of the Precolonial History and Culture of the Akurmi of Eastern Zazzau" ...p.21

<sup>77</sup> J.G. Nengel, *Precolonial African Intergroup Relations in Kuru and Pengena...*17

The first oral account states that the Amo people migrated from the Middle-East and passed through Niger and Sokoto. From Sokoto they moved to Kano, and from there they settled fully at Karreh in the present Lere Local Government Area. From Karreh they later moved to Pengel where they settled at Utara or Kupara in Plateau state.<sup>78</sup> This tradition could be considered as part of the Colonial state distance migration hypothesis, which attempts to discuss historical events within the context of foreign civilization.

The second oral account appears more reliable, because it did not lay claims on any distant migration of the people from elsewhere, but rather maintained that the origin of the Amo is from within the locality. According to this tradition the Amo people have been living in Utara or Kupara since time immemorial.<sup>79</sup> This tradition of origin of the people seems to be in conformity with Gunn's submission on the origin of the Amo people who are believed to have come from Gba, which is presumed to be one of the areas close to Pengel, an ancient archaeological site on the Bauchi plains.<sup>80</sup> Besides what Gunn had documented, Samson, argues that the Amo people migrated from an ancient settlement called Utaru situated north of the Jos plateau along Zaria road.<sup>81</sup> The settlement pattern is nuclear in nature.

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<sup>78</sup> Interview with John Mato, 69 years at his residence Karreh, 3/01/2017, retired civil servant

<sup>79</sup> Interview with Barnabas Maikarfi, 70 years at his residence Jingre (plateau state), 2/01/2017 retired civil servant

<sup>80</sup> H.D. Gunn, *People of the Plateau area of Northern Nigeria* Vol. ii: Ethnographic Survey of African Institute, London: 1953, p.25, see also C.L.Temple, *Notes on the Tribes of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, London, 1965, pp.118-120

<sup>81</sup> K.W. Samson, *The Amap People of North Central Nigeria...*, pp.8-9

### 2.2.2 Kurama

The Kurama (*Akurmi*) people constitute one of the major language groups in Kudu District. The Kurama speaking people claims that the ancestors of Kurama initially lived in Kano and later moved out from there, as a result of their refusal to embrace Islam. Those who accepted Islam lived in a separate quarters in Kano called *Kutumbawa*, being a corrupt version of a phrase *Kun tuba*, which means converted people.<sup>82</sup>

The second legend is the foreign migration version which claims that their ancestors originated from Madina and had once stayed at Barno on their way to Kano, before proceeding to their final settlement in the Kudu hills.<sup>83</sup> This version is an attempt to link tradition origins to foreign migration which is not true. The first claims is more acceptable because the Kurama have being where they are time immemorial. Over time, the population of Kurama grew and they dispersed from the center into several areas and founded new settlements such as Gurza, Tidere, Woba, Goron Dutse, Kurfi Rigada, Yarkasuwa and Uroko. Other settlements are Kudu, Maigamo and Garun-Kurama which are regarded as their ancestral towns. The Kurama settlement pattern is nuclear dimensions.

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<sup>82</sup> T.D. Kenneth, The Kurama: An Appraisal of the Historical Reconstruction of their Origins, Unpublished paper presented at a symposium organized by the Kaduna State Library Board, Saminaka, 28<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> November, 1988. NAK/SNP/17/2981, Kurama Anthropological Notes, by C.K. Meek; See also J. Abednego "The Socio-economic impact of Colonization on the Kurama of Garun-Kurama 1900-1960", B. A. History project, University of Jos, 1996, p.12. Also especially Mr Brice-Smith, on the *Origin of Kurama* and C.K. Meek, *Tribal Studies Northern Nigeria*, Vol. II, London, Kegan and Paul Publishers, 1931, pp.160

<sup>83</sup> Interview with HRH, Ishaku Damina, The Chief of Kurama, 65 years and Kenneth Danladi, 70 years, retired Civil Servant at their various residences, in Kaduna, 28/11/2016.

### 2.2.3 Rumaya

Rumaya speaking people claims that their ancestors came from *Utare* hill called *Wamda*<sup>84</sup> which is found in the western part of Kudaru hills. Rumaya tradition conformed to that of the early forbearers who once lived in abandoned dry stone wall settlement in the Kudaru hills. The colonial account claims that the Rumaya people lived in a wall built with stones called Garun Korau,<sup>85</sup> which literally means the fortified place of Korau. However, the period when the wall was built surrounding the settlement at Utare has scanty document. On leaving *Utare* hill the Rumaya speaking people founded Fegen rawa and Fadan Rumaya. The period of migrations is difficult to ascertain, but Walker suggests that it might have been more than 300 to 400 years ago,<sup>86</sup> though; he had no written records to buttress his assertion. The Rumaya settlement pattern was/is the nuclear type.

The most important thing to note was the fact that the topography of the area influenced human habitation by the various communities who settled and developed independent entities. In spite of the differences in their social organization, they had many things in common. For instance, it is not easy to determine the exact boundaries of the different ethnic groups in the area because there was vast land that accommodated the existing population at that particular time. The relationships developed were none exploitative and not restricted to only communities within the area; it was largely determined by the process of socio-cultural and economic interactions.

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<sup>84</sup> Interview with Danmaraya Ibrahim, 56 years at his residence Fadan Rumaya, civil servant, on the 30/10/2016

<sup>85</sup> NAK/SNP/474, Kudaru District Notes, p.31

<sup>86</sup> NAK/SNP/10/419/P1919, Kauru Assessment Report, pp.4-7

#### 2.2.4 The Hausa People of Kudu

On the origin of the Hausa people in the area of study, Usman Ahmed states that the Hausa people that occupied Dutsen Wai, Zuntu and Kubau came from Zaria and Katsina<sup>87</sup>. While Danjuma Haliru claims that the first occupants of Dan'Alhaji and Kayarda towns were Hausa people from Kano<sup>88</sup>. However, the most popular myth is the one which states that the Hausa are the descendants of the offspring of the marriage between a migrant Bayajidda from Baghdad and the Queen of Daura<sup>89</sup>. The veracity and authenticity of this legend has been questioned, particularly by a renowned historian Abdullahi Smith.

Smith argues that there is really no evidence at all showing that Hausa people as a distinct ethnic group did emerge as a result of Berber-Negro assimilation, or even if they did, that this assimilation took place at the end of the first millennium A.D. He further says, it is important to enquire what is meant by the expression "the Hausa people" (means the people who speak the Hausa language)<sup>90</sup>. Therefore, if we are looking for the origins of Hausawa as a distinct group we must seek them in the origins of Hausa language.

Like all other languages the speech has gone through and continues to go through a process of development. Smith maintains that Hausa is now generally agreed to belong to Chadic group of languages emerging from the same proto-language which produced

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<sup>87</sup> Interview with Usman Ahmed, 73 years, a farmer at his residence Zuntu on the 13/8/18 by 11:03 am

<sup>88</sup> Interview with Danjuma Haliru, 80 years, a farmer at his residence, Kayarda on the 14/8/18 by 10:42am

<sup>89</sup> W.K.R. Hallam, "The Bayyajida Legend in Hausa Folklore" in *Journal of African History*, Vol.7, 1966, pp.46-58.

<sup>90</sup> S. Abdullahi, "Some Considerations Relating to the Formation of States in Hausaland", Seminar paper presented at the Department of History, A.B.U, Zaria, 1973, pp.1-2

Ngizim, Maber, Bolawa, Angas, and Auyokawa...(to name only a few). These languages are so distinct from Hausa because they latter separated out from Hausa many years ago.

He stresses that it was from this group that Hausa separated out, not from the Berber language group, for connection between Hausa and the Berber languages is even more remote<sup>91</sup>. Based on the scientific evidence, it is more relevant and convincing to easily agree with Smith that the mentioned languages are members of the Afro-Asiatic family, but any common origin between the Chadic and Berber groups must be very ancient, indeed many thousands of years ago. What needs to be emphasized is that the Hausa-speaking people as a distinct ethnic group from the Berber-Tuareg on the one hand and the Niger-Congo language speaking peoples of the Central Nigeria on the other must have existed long before the foundation of the states such as the celebrated Hausa Bakwai issues.

In fact, the legend of Daura refers to the political changes brought among people already possessing an ancient historical identity demonstrated by the alleged existence of a pre-Bayyajida dynasty of female rulers in Tsohon Birni<sup>92</sup>. Once we disentangle the matter of the formation of the Hausa-speaking people from that of the formation of the Hausa Bakwai, we are able to admit of the very ancient origin of the former which seems to accord much better with the evidence of comparative linguistics and oral tradition. The most notable characteristics of the Hausa people are primarily farmers and traders,<sup>93</sup> which were the reasons for their settlement in Kudu area.

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<sup>91</sup> S. Abdullahi, "Some Considerations Relating...pp.4-5

<sup>92</sup> S. Abdullahi "Some Considerations Relating...p.5, see also the King lists of the Hausa Bakwai found in E. G. Palma, *Sudanese Memoir* and in E. J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, London, 1920, p.9

<sup>93</sup> Interview with Mairiga Dankaka, 81 years, farmer from Kudu on the 4/5/2017 by 9:20 am

Another interesting feature of the Hausa is their ability to assimilate others. Mahdi observes throughout history, the Hausa ethnic unit has shown itself as an assimilating ethnic entity...to the extent that many people who were not originally Hausa and did not use the Hausa language later became Hausa through assimilation.<sup>94</sup> Chiroma Adamu contends that, the Hausa people lived in Kudu for many centuries. However, it should be clear that they are not the host; hence they are amongst late comers in the area<sup>95</sup>. It is therefore important to note that neither the foreign migration hypothesis nor the story of Bayajida-Bawo is of much use to us in explaining the tradition of origin of Hausa speaking people. Until we admit that the Hausa speaking people have an ancient origin which agreed much better with the evidences provided by the archaeologists, linguistics, historians and oral tradition even before the desiccation of the Sahara. The Hausa people settlement pattern was/ is the linear type.

### **2.2.5 The Fulani People of Kudu**

The Fulani is one of the ethnic groups that speak the language of the Niger Congo family. The Fulani language intonation is very close with the Western Atlantic languages like the Wolof and Sere speaking languages in the Western and Central Sudan particularly in Senegal. The spread of the Fulani has been credited to many factors including the search by the Fulani pastoralists for grazing places, for providing political leadership and the desire to spread Islam.

The Fulani in our area of study are categorized into two groups, the Baroro (the migrant pastoralists) and the Torodbe (*Fulanin gida* or the town Fulani). The difference is the

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<sup>94</sup> A. Mahdi, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1978, p.2

<sup>95</sup> Interview with Chiroma Adamu, 72 years, farmer at Kudu, on the 4/5/2017 by 11:21am



nature of occupation. The Baroro are a sub-group of Fulani, who are largely Fulani that specialize in cattle rearing. Ardo Abubakar Muhammadu claims that the Baroro Fulani came from Katsina through Zaria and settled at the valley of Kudaru hills for grazing their animals<sup>96</sup>. While the *Fulanin gida*, were those who turned into peasant farmers and abandoned nomadic pastoralism. Some of them were Muslim scholars and teachers,<sup>97</sup> who came from different places like Kano, Katsina, Adamawa, Sokoto, and Zaria and settled at Dan'Alhaji, Kudaru, Kayarda, Zuntu, Kubau and Dutsen Wai at different times<sup>98</sup>.

Donga Abba argues that the Bororo Fulani moved into the hills of Kudaru, because the ecology of the area was conducive for the breeding of cattle and relatively healthier than the surrounding lowlands which had tsetse flies. He added that, others moved into the area from other parts of Hausa land on account of heavy cattle tax (*Jangali*) exacted on them by the Hausa rulers<sup>99</sup>. The problem with the traditions of origin of the communities in the area of study is the complete absence of the time when the forbearers of the mentioned communities left where they came from and settled at their present places. But, they laid emphasis on internal migrations and integrations among communities in the area of study.

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<sup>96</sup> Interview with Ardo Abubakar Muhammadu, 78 years a pastoralist at his residence Kudaru on the 15/8/18/ by 10:15 am.

<sup>97</sup> The informant above states that majority of the settled Fulani were members of the aristocratic families, such as the Torodbe and Sullubawa. These families became experts in Muslim law, and held posts of alkali (judge and malami) gave them growing influence and authority in places where they settled. The Baroro and Torodbe Fulani share common features and speak the same Fulfulde language with dialectical variations. For more details see the works of M. Junaidu, *Tarihin Fulani*, Zaria, Northern Nigeria publishers, 1956, which clearly explains the Fulbe history and culture.

<sup>98</sup> Interview with Ardo Gimba Buba (Sarkin Fulani), 68 years at his residence Dan'Alhaji town on the 4/01/2017

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Donga Abba (Bororo), 70 years at his residence Kudaru on the 5/5/2017 by 10:40am

However, Turaki argues that the possible home of the Fulani is in the north and eastern parts of Senegal from where they dispersed to other places.<sup>100</sup> He maintains that Fulani people are known to be migrants, searching for grazing lands, teaching and preaching Islam. Their religious zeal coupled with the social conditions in the Sudan brought about religious and political revolution. Gradually, some groups of the Fulani were assimilated into Hausa culture.<sup>101</sup> The Fulani claim of distant migrations has long been discredited by reputable historians like Waziri Junaidu in one of his works “*Tarihin Fulani*”<sup>102</sup>. He argues that the Fulani have been where they are presently for years immemorial. He lays emphasis on the role of internal migrations and integrations as key issues that brought the various communities together. The Fulani settlement pattern is nuclear type.

Generally, contemporary scientific studies do not support the claims of distant origin for societies found in Sub-Saharan Africa. Modern scientific studies claims that mankind, like the science of iron smelting technology, emerged at several centres in the world. Archaeological studies by Leakey from Olduvain Gorge in East Africa show that the antiquity of mankind on the African continent predates that of any other in the world<sup>103</sup>.

In the light of this, scholars have seriously questioned such myths like that of the communities that constitutes Kudara District in ascribing their ancestry from the Middle East. Whereas linguistic studies classify these communities as belonging to eastern Kainji

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<sup>100</sup> T. Yusuf, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria*, Jos: Challenge Press, 1993, pp.33-34.

<sup>101</sup> T. Yusuf, *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria*...p.35

<sup>102</sup> M. Junaidu, *Tarihin Fulani*, pp.2-8

<sup>103</sup> L. S. B, Leakey “Homo Fossil from Olduvai Gorge”, ed. J. Desmond Clark, *Cambridge History of Africa: From Earliest Times to C.500 BC*, London, 1962, pp.108-147

groups which are a sub-branch of the Niger Congo family of African languages<sup>104</sup>. Also, early studies of African languages by the famous German linguist, Greenberg, has classified these communities together with their neighbours as belonging to the Benue Congo groups, which is one of the main branches of the Niger Congo of African languages family. From these extensive linguistic, archaeological and glottochronological works, it is reasonably safe to say that the antiquity of these communities in the area of study have existed in their present location time immemorial.

## 2.3 Conclusion

This chapter started with the analysis of the dialectical relationship between man and the environment over time and space in the area of study. We argued that environment plays significant role in human and geography of all societies. Carr contends that “environment, society and the individual are inseparable”<sup>105</sup>. We argued that the activities of man are influenced by nature and place of habitation. However, the geography of the area of study was viewed in relation to the climate such as: Rainfall, Temperature, Soil, Vegetation, and Wind among others.

We also discussed the peopling of the area and their tradition of origins. Among such communities are the Kurama, Amo, Rumaya, the Hausa and Fulani people. Much of what the informants stated as regards to their tradition of origins were myth theories. However, we argued that archaeological and linguistic findings provided significant evidence of

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<sup>104</sup> B. Roger, “Language Families of the Nigerian Middle Belt and the Historical Implications of their Distribution” a paper presented at Jos Linguistic Circle, Jos, 2007, p.1

<sup>105</sup> E.H. Carr, *What is History*, p.25

early human existence in the area of study more than the myth theory. Some of these evidences are artefacts such as; terra cotta models, grinding stones, iron tools, pot shed and furnaces to support the fact that people existed in Kударu area which falls within the axis of the Nok culture.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE PRE-COLONIAL SOCIO-CULTURAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS OF KUDARU AREA.**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

Our knowledge about the environment assisted us in our historical analysis of the various processes of human development, which include the nature and dynamics of the pre-colonial socio-cultural, political and economic activities of the people in the area of study. Lands were subjected to intensive cultivation of varieties of food and cash crops.

The entire topography of the area influence human habitation and interactions for the exchange of goods and services among communities in the area of study. The relationships developed were none exploitative and not restricted to only communities within the area. The physical environment influence the evolution of political institutions based on their cultural and religious rights.

Looking at the nature of the socio-cultural and political organizations of the various communities, communal mode of production seems suitable for the analysis of the pre-colonial economy in the area of study. For man to survive he had to control the factors of production such as land, labour and technology. The discovery and the use of iron technology transformed the communities from being monocultural to multicultural economy. Agriculture was supplemented by local craft industries, fishing, hunting, trade, and pastoralism and so on.

### **3.1 Socio-Cultural Organization**

In this context of usage, socio-economic activities refer to the nature and character of human relations or interactions. This include the entire activities they indulged in their bid to reproduce their material wellbeing. In other words it means the arrangement under which production; distribution and exchange take place within an economy. All these activities provide meaning to a people; they also explain the essence of their existence and provide their symbol of identity as a people on one hand and their efforts to satisfy their numerous human needs in the society on the other hand.

The study of the pre-colonial socio-cultural organization of the people of Kudu area will provide a balanced interpretation of the whole structure of the socio-cultural, political and economic relations between the various communities, which were crucial in determining their historical development.

It is an indisputable fact that the socio-economic base of the people in this area is predominantly agriculture. In other words, prior to the *Sokoto* Jihad at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, almost all the communities in the area were essentially agriculturalists. This is based largely on the nature of geographical and vegetational distribution of the area which provide the kind of soil composition it has. Land was not a scarce commodity, and could be left fallow for a period of time. Manual labour was provided mainly by the family; the level of technology was very simple. Local craft activities, hunting, fishing, animal husbandry and iron working (smithing) supplemented agricultural production. This gave rise to trade and specialization between and amongst communities in the area.

It is on this basis that the pre-colonial socio-cultural organization of these communities will be discussed.

In most of the communities, except the Hausas and Fulani, the clan was the basic element in the social structure. Clans were in turn divided into lineages which sprang up sequel to the growth and expansion of the clans.<sup>106</sup> Membership of the clan was by birth, assimilation of visitors was through marital relations. Each clan had its name, values and rules that it esteemed, and a totemic symbol that differentiated it from other clans in the society.

The totemic emblems were usually animals such as the crocodile among the *Abisi* in Kurama community<sup>107</sup>. One of the significance of the totemic symbol is for clan's identification. In the absence of clan existence, there was kinship or village-centred communities. The village elders who were the heads of families constituted the council of elders of each village. The kinship or the lineage formed the basis of socio-cultural structure of both the clan-based and the village-centred communities in the area of study. It is difficult to say exactly when the process of clan formation started in the area because of insufficient information in that respect.

The kinship relationship must be examined not only as an expression of consanguinities, but also in terms of relations of production. Production relations in the area involved the cooperation of several individuals in working relationships under different kinds of conditions and motivations.<sup>108</sup> The need for cooperation, especially in agriculture and

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<sup>106</sup> A clan is defined as a group of people who claim descent from a remote common ancestor

<sup>107</sup> Interview with Anthony Bulus, 67 years, retired Secretary to Kurama Chieftdom, at his house Maigamo, 4/9/2016, See also C.K. Meek, *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*, p.165

<sup>108</sup> M. Karl & E. Fredrick *The German Ideology*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970, pp.18-19

other activities required the existence of large number of people who were bound to each other in some reasonable compelling ways (i.e *gaiya*).

The clan setting was important in the organization of communal labour, it enhanced inter-group relations and security, socialization, acculturation, and assimilation were nurtured and forged through this process.<sup>109</sup> The open-handedness and the spirit of give-and-take attitudes generated among these communities in these villages were important functions of the socio-cultural life of the whole area under study. The character of this type of social relations has been described by James Scott as the, “Moral Economy of the Peasants”.<sup>110</sup>

Religion as an ideology played an important role in the maintenance of kinship ties among communities in the area. For example, among the Rumaya and Amo people, the elders utilized religion for the maintenance of law and order in the society. Those who violated the fundamental rules were punished through the judicial system. In non-Muslim communities like Kurama people, religious activities were embedded in their culture, which had to do with the nature of the judiciary system and its operation among them. In most Muslim communities, activities were done in accordance with the rules and regulations guiding Islam as a religion.

It is important to emphasize that the migration of the people to this area of study was determined to a large extent by the topography and general weather conditions of the area. It is on the basis of this that the pre-colonial settlement patterns were equally

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<sup>109</sup> J.G. Nengel, *Pre-colonial African Inter-group Relations...*, pp.22-23

<sup>110</sup> C. S. James, *The Moral Economy of the Peasants*, New Heaven, 1977, p.1



organized in response to the economic needs of the people. What is discussed and analysed above are some of the existing socio-cultural traditions of communities in Kudara area put forward either by way of documentation or orally presented during the course of research. However, it is important to discuss one of the communities' pre-colonial socio-cultural settings to be specific that of Kurama.

### **A Brief Outline of Kurama Pre-colonial Socio-Cultural Organization**

Generally, there are two aspects to culture: tangible and intangible. Tangible culture refers to the material aspects of human societies such as arts, sculpture, crafts, food, artefacts, any designing and fashioning of objects by man. Intangible culture consists of abstract and creative ideas such as institutions, government, schools of thought, philosophy, regulation, custom, religion and so on<sup>111</sup>.

Within the context of this definitions, the intangible aspects of the Kurama culture consists of the peoples core beliefs, norms, rules, regulations, religious practices; while the tangible aspects of their culture includes foods, handicrafts, any material objects designed and fashioned by their forefathers or the present generation. In this brief outline it will not be possible to discuss much on any detail aspects of the Kurama socio-cultural organization, especially their religion which entirely is controlled by men and surrounded by taboos. In essence, one is referring to the Kurama *Dodo cult* which has remained a no go area for scholars<sup>112</sup>.

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<sup>111</sup> J.G. Nengel, An Overview of the Pre-colonial History and Culture of the Akurmi (Kurama) of Eastern Zazzau, in *The Akurmi People of Central Nigeria: Their Heritage and Hope...*p.34

<sup>112</sup> Interview with Wada Zakka, 67 years, Rtd civil servant at his residence karre on the 2/1/19 by 9:15 am

However, Wada states that the Kurama culture has certain intrinsic features in common with those of the Hausa and their neighbours, example *Bori* dance; bori is one of the major cultural heritages of the Kurama people<sup>113</sup>. It is a spirit possession dance which belongs to a secret cult open to both male and female. It is practiced by the Kurama and some of their neighbours, as well as the Maguzawa people.

The general acceptance of the existence of a Supreme Being, Allah among the Hausa is similar to that of Kurama concept of *Ashini* (God). Gaiyye argues that *Ashini* had little interest in the affairs of the mundane life except in connection with the provision of rain, sunshine, and weather changes which affect the growth and ripening of their crops. On matters of daily practical life, Gaiyye says intercourse was limited to the intermediary spirits called (*Aljanu*) which were quite numerous. He identified two types *Farin Aljanu* (White spirits) denoting purity and good which are sources of blessing and prosperity; and *Bakin Aljanu* (Black spirits) representing evil forces which are responsible for causing harm and danger. Among Kurama and their neighbours as well as Hausa, most diseases were caused by *bakin aljanu*. At the same time the *farin aljanu* were the sources of cure through the use of appropriate herbs<sup>114</sup>. The central role of the bori is demonstrated when its devotees organized a dance through which they communicate with the spirits. For person who had been attacked by the spirits to survive, the individual had to be initiated into the *bori* cult. This was done through appropriate ceremonies in which a *garaya* (a wind string instrument) was played and the specific herbal medicine administered.

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<sup>113</sup> Interview with Wada Zakka, 67 years, retired civil servant at his residence Karre, 2/1/19 by 9:15 am

<sup>114</sup> Interview with Gaiyye Abundu, 65 years at his residence DanBara on the 4419 by 7:20 pm

Dangana states that the social structure of the Kurama as well as neighbouring societies was organized into several clans (*dangi*), and this had a social significance. That, each clan was identified with totemic emblems, such as the crocodile among the *Asare* lineage or snake among *Haruboke* lineage. These animals were revered by members of this clan who never killed or ate its flesh<sup>115</sup>.

Other social activities exercised by the Kurama are birth/traditional names and death. Arosta argues that there was no formal ceremony for the birth of a single baby except for the birth of twins which requires announcing the arrival of the twins by the father. New born babies were given Kurama traditional names reflecting the circumstances of their births, see the table below:

**Table 3.0: Kurama Traditional Names Based on Circumstances**

Traditional Names	English meaning	Sex
Achim	Very small	Male/Female
Avazo	Born in a furrow	Female
B'gbama	King/Chief	Male
N'chiye	I got it	Male/Female
Ngufe	I heard	Female
Uren	He/She Exist	Male/Female
Uchara	Old man	Male

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<sup>115</sup> Interview with Dangana Amutu, 68 years, a farmer residence in Kudaru on the 16/7/19 by 6:25 pm

Arosta maintains that death among the Kurama is thought to be caused by witchcraft or old age. Among the Kurama the death of a youth attracts the sympathy of the whole community, while that of a very old man marks by celebration<sup>116</sup>.

The methods of marriages practice by the Kurama are similar with other communities in Kudaru, but with slight variations. The normal Kurama mode of contracting marriages are classified into four types; Betrothal marriage= this kind of marriage is contracted when a man has a male child and wishes his son to marry a daughter of another man. The family of the suitor must engage in farm labour for a period of 5- 7 years before contracting such marriage. Marriage by elopement= if the girl have many suitors the one that is able to outmonouvre other suitors will marry the girl. The Kurama permits exogamous and endogamous marriage= in this form of marriage two adult males may agree to exchange sisters who have no blood relationship for marriage. The Kurama also practice Leviratic system of marriage whereby the brother of a deceased marries the wife of the deceased to preserve the bloodline of the family<sup>117</sup>. To some extent there are similarities in the socio-cultural activities among communities in the area of study.

### **3.2 Political Organization of the People**

The political organization of the people was based on their cultural and religious beliefs. Each community was made up of several clans and each clan was in turn made up of families who belonged to the same lineage or related through marriage. From the foundation, political authority rested on the nuclear family, and each family was

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<sup>116</sup> Arotsa Basuwa, 65 years, retired civil servant, at his residence Bissalla on the 27/3/18 by 12:45 pm

<sup>117</sup> Interview with Ladan Sauri, 64 years, retired civil servant at his residence on the 96/19 by 8:15 pm.

independent of the other. The head of each family was responsible for the entire family. Each clan had a priest who presided over special events.

As a result of population increase by birth or immigration, a combination of several families led to the establishment of villages. In the same process, a combination of several villages led to the selection of a leader who possessed the qualities of good leadership (i.e., honesty, hard-work, generosity, bravery with excellent human relations). In most families, communities and villages, appointment into offices were hereditary. Leaders were people of proven integrity. There were occupational and other associations that accommodated members of communities, such as the age grade system.

An informant states that one of the major bases of social identity and organization was the age-grade, which was often formed for the regulation of affairs and execution of community projects and defence against external attacks. For these reasons, each community had constituted age-grades (i.e., elders, adults and youths) though, the activities of the age grades differed from one group to the other<sup>118</sup>.

Within each community power was exercised by a council of elders. The elders as a social group did not appropriate the labour of non-elders. In addition to this age-grades, there also evolved a stratum of political and religious heads as well as specialized occupational groups (guild heads) called *Buruchimtu* among the Kurama, *Ugo* among the

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<sup>118</sup> Interview with Christopher William, 68 years a Rtd civil servant at his residence Gonin gora Kaduna on the 55/19 by 6:21 pm

Amo, and *Ashoku uyawa* among the Rumaya<sup>119</sup>. Political authority was generally diffused throughout the area.

The elders were at the top of the ladder of authority in each community. The council of elders played political and religious roles, for example their functions include settling of inter-community disputes on either land or marriage, and also exercised judicial functions. Among the Kurama and Amo people, the elders were regarded as the link between the living and the departed ancestors. Hence they preserved and safeguarded the society's norms and values. The youth constituted the workforce of the communities in the area of study.<sup>120</sup>

### **3.3 Inter-community Relations**

Most of the communities trace their history of intergroup relations prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Considering the fact that economic pre-occupation of the people is agriculture, their migrations have been on their search for abundant farm lands. Therefore, intergroup relations in any society can be viewed from various perspectives which include economic, social, political, cultural and religious perspectives. Yusuf Bala Usman argues that, the language that is spoken by a people or its culture and polity cannot be understood on its own, without a critical look at the human being who is not just a social

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<sup>119</sup> Interview with Sodangi Yakubu, 70 years (Kurama) at his residence Saminaka on 3/9/2016; Pitto Siman, 66 years (Amo), on the 15/9/2016, and Yakubu Galadimawa, 69 years (Rumaya) on the 27/9/2016. All are traditional titled holders in their respective Chiefdoms.

<sup>120</sup> Interview with Danbala Philibus in his office at no.8, Zaria road, Businessman, Saminaka, 13/12/2016

being, but who has the capacity for manual and mental activity including language, procreation, education, feeding, nurturing, and socialization<sup>121</sup>.

Our contention is that, limiting inter-community relations to language and cultural relationship is a stereotype view. We rather argue that, such relationships, be they religious, economic or political are born out of the processes of the peoples way of reproducing themselves, the production of their means of sustaining human life. An attempt was made elsewhere in this research work to clear the doubt that issues surrounding the demarcation and identification of boundaries, ownership of land, petty wars, regional division of labour, were treated by the various polities in a co-operate manner to meet their different needs.

Sadau Sanda says despite the differences in the nature of dwelling of the people, they did relate to one another in various ways. One of these was the attendance of the neighbouring villages' religious groups/cult yearly festivals. Invited groups were fully integrated in the drinking, dancing and eating which accompanied the festival. He further states that hunting expeditions, which were usually organized by clans/villages, attracted a lot of people outside the clan or village. Evidence has shown that on several occasions, communities like Amo, Rumaya and Hausa attended hunting expeditions organized by the Kurama<sup>122</sup>. Other festivals such as initiation into adulthood, burial and birth ceremonies were well attended by the people from different background and polities.

Other important areas of inter-community relations were in the areas of marriage, trade and wars. Marriage relations were contracted within and without clans or language group.

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<sup>121</sup> Y.B. Usman, "Political Economy and Political Community" The Significance of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Mimeo-Seminar on National Question in Nigeria, Abuja, 1986, p.15

<sup>122</sup> Interview with Sadau Sanda, 65 years, at Bissalla, retired civil servant, on the 6/5/2017 by 5:05pm

This encouraged inter-community relations among the various communities in the area. Evidence has shown that, the major crop produced by the Kurama is maize; Amo produced hungry rice (*acha*) and Rumaya produced guinea corn. The differences in these crop production encouraged exchange of goods and services between the communities.

However, war was another form of relationship that existed in the area of study. M. Karl contends that, “war is the great collective duty and communal task required either to take possession of the material conditions of life or to defend and perpetuate the same possession”<sup>123</sup>. Some of these wars were fought because of population expansion and increase in labour force. But, more importantly, wars and conflicts were sources for peace and integration among communities in the area of study. However, the peace and integration processes in this area were disrupted by the colonial state policy of divide and rule.

These socio-cultural and economic relations started taking new dimensions in the face of colonialism, markets become more advanced, money became more surplus as such, and many things became more complicated. The peaceful co-existence that was experienced initially ceased to be such that many communal conflicts started manifesting. This was because all socio-economic activities became highly commercialized and commercial value became contentious. Various communities started developing interest in the control of economic activities and economic centres such as market places. Political structures became more sophisticated thereby leading to political interests and contention. This

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<sup>123</sup> M. Karl, *Grundisse*, Moscow, 1973, p378. The war fought at this level of technology was relatively low, the tools used in fighting the battles or wars were bows and arrows, spears, slings, knives, swords etc.,



situation has prevailed to this moment. Whatever was the case, these relations in the pre-colonial era were more peaceful than chaotic.

### **3.4 Pre-colonial Land Tenure System**

In every society land is an important economic factor of production, because it provides man with food, raw materials, clothing and shelter. Therefore, land constitutes the basis of social, political and economic activities of any society. In other words the survival of man is related to the existence of land and the skills to exploit it fully. Land, as a factor of production, ownership, control and administration determined to a great extent by the social, political and economic system obtained in any society. The issue of land control is always paramount to every environment.

The pre-colonial land tenure system in Kudu area was based on the general principles governing land tenure in Northern Provinces where the District was located. The principles states:

*All lands in the country were in the keeping of the chiefs for the members of the tribes to whom the land belongs. There is not a foot of land that is not claimed or possessed by some tribe or other, and the members of each tribe can apply to their respective chiefs for a grant of land to be used and cultivated for farming and other purpose. And land so granted becomes the property of the grantee for life, and for his heirs after him in perpetuity, with all that grows on it and all that lies underneath it*<sup>124</sup>.

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<sup>124</sup> NAK/SNP/ File No.1703. Vol. I, Agricultural Policy in Northern Province. Also see Lugard, F.D.Lugard, *Political Memoranda...*pp.343-344

John Boyi (an informant from Kurama community) states that, based on the Kurama native land tenure custom, the freehold/possession of land belongs to the section of the population that has occupied the land. In every case each section has a recognized paramount leader/chief; the chief had the power to grant the use of land to private individuals. He was also competent to transfer this power to subordinate leaders/chiefs that in their turn could transfer this power to minor chiefs and so on<sup>125</sup>.

Theoretically there was no private or individual ownership of land. Land was conceived as a communal property because it is very central in the dimension of social relationship. Its role in any property system is fundamental. Chinge Dauda (*Amo*) states that each indigenous man is not just interested in the right to a farm land, but has right to sufficient farm land; and that land is not a property to be sold among the *Amo* people, selling of land may be tantamount to selling a genealogical position<sup>126</sup>.

Patrick Emmanuel (Rumaya) argues that in the traditional Rumaya people, land was held in collective ownership; no individual, irrespective of wealth or age could own land in personal capacity<sup>127</sup>. The comments made by these informants shows that the highly fragmented nature of the settlement patterns among the Kurama, Amo, Rumaya and others that are not mentioned in this dissertation; are largely due to their attachment to their farmlands beliefs which they inherited from their ancestors, and consequently established their de facto claim to the land and also some measures of independence.

The 19<sup>th</sup> Century Jihad introduced new political and economic relations with regards to land control and ownership between the peasants and the ruling class in areas like Kubau,

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<sup>125</sup> Interview with John Boyi, 68 years, retired civil servant from Kudaru , on 29/9/17 by 11:20 am

<sup>126</sup> Interview with Chinge Dauda, 72 years, a farmer from Bitarana village on the 20/1/19 by 5:24 pm

<sup>127</sup> Interview with Patrick Emmanuel, 66 years a farmer from Fadan Rumaya on the 25/1/19 by 1:10 pm

Zuntu and Dutsen Wai. At the Emirate level, the Emir was considered to be the custodian of the land as the representative of the Caliph and therefore land is considered to be given on loan by the Emir with peasant having only right of use. What bound the relationship between the Emirate aristocracy and the peasant was the annual payment of taxes for the use of land. Mustapha Danjummai maintains that, the payment of rent on a year-by-year basis was the only security for land tenure. He further states that there were provisions for right of ownership and this right could be transferred through gifts, pledging, inheritance, lease, loan or sale<sup>128</sup>.

The dominant tradition of land allocation was that lands were divided into family farm (*gonar gandu*) and individual farm. The family farm was primarily meant for family utilization, while individual farm was for personal use. The tools used for clearing of land were local small and big hoes (*fatanya da garma*), cutlass (*fitiki*) and axe (*magirbi*), they also used rake and fire (*manjagara da wuta*). For planting they used seeds (*iri*) and local bowl (*kwarya*) as well as local manure (*taki*). During harvesting they used axe, sickle (*lauje*), basket (Kwando) and ropes to tie the goods<sup>129</sup>.

The general nature of land tenure system before the occupation of Kudara area was that majority of the peasants had possession of the means of production and of their own labour power. We can, therefore, argue that peasants in Kudara area in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century had considerable control over their lands as shown by the existence of sale, mortgaging, and renting of land.

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<sup>128</sup> Interview with Mustapha Danjummai, 73 years, retired civil servant from Dutsen Wai, on 4/10/17 by 3:03pm

<sup>129</sup> D.B. Fatima, A History of Lere, Circa 1804-1903, unpublished M.A, Dissertation, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2012, pp.80-85

### **3.5 Pre-colonial Economic Activities**

From our discussion of the environment of the area of study, it is clear that Kudaru area offered opportunities for human activity and settlement. According to Gaba Yunusa, most of the economic activities embarked upon by the people in this area such as farming, hunting, fishing, livestock rearing and other auxiliaries such as weaving, blacksmithing, trading, pottery, irrigation, pastoralism and so on, were considered pleasant by the nature of the area<sup>130</sup>. The existence of the various socio-economic and political activities contributed to the growth of towns in the area of study.

#### **i) Agriculture**

Agricultural production was the major economic activity practiced by the various communities that occupied Kudaru area. However, agriculture was supplemented by minor units of the economy such as hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, iron working (smithing), and local craft activities. The nature of the ecology of the area made the practice of agriculture both intensive and extensive, because land was in abundance. To understand the value of land and labour, there is the need to examine the type and mode of production that was in operation at that period.

According to Nengel, a mode of production covers not only the techniques of production and the material condition of production, but also embraces the relationships between the products and how they are produced.<sup>131</sup> From whichever angle one would want to define

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<sup>130</sup> Interview with Gaba Yunusa, 68 years a farmer from Bissalla on the 15/01/19 by 4:12 pm

<sup>131</sup> J.G. Nengel, Pre-colonial African Inter-group Relations...pp.23-24

mode of production, it has to do with the relationships between what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are distributed and exchanged. Looking at the nature of the socio-cultural and political organization of the various communities in Kudaru area, communal mode of production would be useful for the analysis of the pre-colonial economy of the area of study.

It is important to note that the struggles for human survival started with human capacity to control the factors of production such as land, labour, raw materials, and technology. Throughout the early stages of human technological development, sticks and stones were the main implements of production and the people lived by hunting and gathering wild fruits and kept various types of animals including dogs, goats, sheep and cattle. Most of the communities claim that their ancestors initially kept wandering from one place to another within the same environment in the quest for shelter and food.

This is largely confirmed by traditions of short distance migrations among some of the early settlers in the area, such as the Kurama, Rumaya, Amo, and so forth. In fact, the art of iron smelting and the production of iron tools were learned by the inhabitants. However, there is no concrete oral account on when and how the early inhabitants learned the process of iron smelting. But the discovery and the use of iron tools by these communities transformed the agricultural production in this area.

Agriculture became the most important source of livelihood which resulted to the emergence of villages and towns such as Dutsin Wai, Zuntu, Kubau, Pambeguwa, Maigamo, Kudaru, Dan-bara, Bissalla, and so forth, which were later placed under

Kudaru District. The table below shows the varieties of food crops produce in Kudaru District;

**Table 3.1: Food crops produce in Kudaru District**

<b>Name of town</b>	<b>Item produce</b>
Kudaru	Guinea corn
Dutsin Wai	Millet
Zuntu	Local Sugar cane
Pambeguwa	Beans
Danbara	Yam
Maigamo	Maize
Bissalla	Local rice
Kubau	Local Cassava

**Source:** 2019 Field trip Market survey.

As stated above, the basic unit of production was the household/family. Peter Yakubu says access to factors of production was through membership of the household<sup>132</sup>. This shows that there was unity in production and consumption of goods and services amongst communities in this area.

Amongst the Kurama and Rumaya, oral traditions indicates that, under the communal mode system, land was communally possessed, and early settlers fought to defend hunting, pasture, and farmlands<sup>133</sup> Nengel maintains that with the rise and conquest of

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<sup>132</sup> Interview with Peter Yakubu, 68 years, farmer at Bissalla on the 21/11/2016 by 11:00 am

<sup>133</sup> Interview with Ishaya Habila, 65 years, Kurama, 20/11/2016 and Danjuma Sabo, 67 years, Rumaya, 22/11/2016 at their residences, all are farmers.

the area by the Sokoto Jihad, land was divided into three categories: there was uncultivated land reserved for the entire community, there was also land reserved for sacred religious purposes/ grave yard areas or curved as centres for public/community meetings and finally, land which was free for any member of the society to cultivate.<sup>134</sup>

Therefore, agriculture has been the major factor that transformed human societies in our area of study; because as man settled down, farming became the major source of livelihood. In Kudu area, farming activities were determined by two seasons' that is rainy season for planting and weeding; and dry season farming for harvesting, storage, processing and marketing. Some of the items farm during dry season is: vegetables like spinach, tomatoes, pepper, and other vegetables. Some of these vegetables and food crops listed above are also grown during rainy season.

Crop production, organization, storage and marketing in Kudu area were predominantly subsistence; where the farmers produce primarily at feeding the operator and family, or dependants. In the study area the bulk of food production is in the hands of the men and their sons. Like the pastoralists, the men are responsible for cattle breeding, management, movement and general welfare; while the women are responsible for milk processing and marketing in addition to domestic work. Because of the high value placed on cattle, they are rarely sold. Cattle are sold only for purpose of paying taxes, fines, purchase of food items and so on<sup>135</sup>.

The case of groundnuts production, storage, processing and marketing was a division of labour between the men and women among the Hausas who were/are the major producers

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<sup>134</sup> Nengel, J.G, Pre-colonial African Inter-group Relations...p.24

<sup>135</sup> Interview with Abubakar Muhammadu, 68 years, a pastoralist at his residence Banki on the 2319 by 9:05 am

of groundnuts in the area of study. An informant states that groundnuts production and storage was done by the men, while groundnuts' processing into oil and local cake (Kulikuli) as well as the marketing was done by the women. She stresses that Hausa people largely depend on groundnuts oil to prepare food of different varieties<sup>136</sup>. The procurement of the raw groundnuts was through the sale agents who had direct access to the farmers. According to the informant, groundnuts processing is lengthy and strenuous; the instruments used were mortal and pestle for threshing and grinding stone for grinding. That groundnut oil extraction involves kreading and processing of groundnut paste until oil comes out<sup>137</sup>. Therefore, groundnuts oil extraction demands a lot of time and energy to extract as much as possible.

She argues that on the average a woman need twelve hours to extract six litres of groundnuts oil. The processing is dominated by middle age women who hardly engage in other economic activities<sup>138</sup>. The marketing of the processed products was done by women at the open markets; sometimes the whole-salers go from house to house buying the groundnut products in large quantities for sale in the market. Raw groundnuts were stored in local barns and baskets for a period of time.

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<sup>136</sup> Interview with Kande Ahmadu, 64 years, a marketer of groundnut oil and Kulikuli at her residence Zuntu on the 18/8/18 by 12:15 pm

<sup>137</sup> Interview with Kande Ahmadu, 64 years, a marketer of groundnut oil and Kulikuli at her residence Zuntu on the 18/8/18 by 12:15 pm

<sup>138</sup> Interview with Kande Ahmadu, 64 years, a marketer of groundnut oil and Kulikuli at her residence Zuntu on the 18/8/18 by 12:15 pm



## **ii) Irrigation Farming**

Irrigation is the artificial application of water to land to promote the growth of crops. Where there were insufficient amount of rainfall, irrigation was applied to supplement rainfall to support plant growth, using water from the rivers and streams. The nature of the soil, humidity and temperature determines the amount of water to be supplied on the farm. According to Tukur Yahaya, the Hausa speaking people found in villages and towns like Zuntu, Pambeguwa, Kubau, Dutsin wai and Dan-Alhaji were greatly involved in irrigation farming. He stresses that the most common type of irrigation in Kudu area was the *shadoof* type, whereby banks of rivers were built up and channels constructed leading to the farm for easy flow of water. Kogin galma which never dries up has been the main source of water for this farming<sup>139</sup>. Another method was the use of local calabash tied unto a rope and bamboo pole. The farmer fills the calabash with water from the river and pours it into ditches leading to the field. Some of the crops cultivated by irrigation were tomatoes, pepper, onions, garden eggs, spinach and so forth.

## **iii) Organization of Labour**

Labour is one of the strongest factors of production that needed mass mobilization. The basic units of production were the household and co-operative farm agreement (*aikin gayya*). All members of households were involved in the production of goods and services. There was also an extended labour organization called communal labour mobilization (*aikin gayya*). Gayya was a system of labour exchange developed by the

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<sup>139</sup> Interview with Tukur Yahaya, 68 years, farmer, from Pambeguwa, 9/5/2017 by 3:07 pm

peasantry whereby the labour service is pulled to one household unit for a specific duration.<sup>140</sup>

The major reasons for the *gayya* work was to assist the weak farmer to increase the production level of his household and also to strengthen the bond of fraternity, courage, discipline, hard work, and to help individual(s) to develop keen interest in agricultural matters. During such occasions, participants were thrilled to music, food, meat, and beer in non-Hausa or Non-Muslim communities. An example of such labour mobilization is called *enyane* (*sauri*) among the Kurama. It was organized for two or three days work. There was also wage labour called *kwadago* where people were hired to work for payment in cash or kind. This kind of labour mobilization was done by royalties (*attajirai* and *sarakuna*).<sup>141</sup>

According to Agandi Ariku (Kurama) and Danjumai Muazu (Hausa) both from Dan’Alhaji town argues that a man’s wealth and influence was determined by the size of his family as well as the number of his dependants<sup>142</sup>. The economic explanation here was that more dependants meant more labourers, more labourers connotes more farms. It is on this basis that people in this area encouraged giving birth many children and that translated into more labourers. Agandi Ariku further argues that people who had large farms, a lot of domestic animals, many wives, a large family and many children were considered prestigious and very reputable people in the society<sup>143</sup>. Pre-colonial labour

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<sup>140</sup> D.W. Norman, “Labour Power Input of Farmers: A case study of Zaria province of the North Central States of Nigeria” in *Samaru Bulletin*, 1970, pp. 115-116.

<sup>141</sup> D.B. Fatima, *A History of Lere*, Circa 1804-1903...p.128

<sup>142</sup> Interview with Agandi Ariku, 65 years and Danjumai Muazu, 67 years are farmers from Dan’Alhaji town on the 10/01/19 by 11:02 am and 11:53 am respectively.

<sup>143</sup> Interview with Agandi Ariku, 65 years a farmer from Dan’Alhaji town on the 21/01/19 by 11:02 am

was sourced within the family where division of labour was prominent, while the men went to the farm to cultivate ridges and mounds, women went to weed the farm, harvest crops and convey such home for storage.

#### **iv) Hunting and Gathering**

Other important economic activities practiced in this area were hunting and gathering. The venture was undertaken by adult and young male. Buba Mathew identifies two categories of hunters among the Rumaya people; first is the part time hunters, and second is the group that took hunting as a game. He further states that professional hunters spent most of their time in the bush and were also consulted as great herbalists<sup>144</sup>.

Almost every community claims that the technique of hunting using bow and arrow, trapping of animals were inherited from their ancestors. History has it that man started his life experiences as a wanderer and hunter for sustenance. Jibril Musa states that the skill of hunting had a long history in the area. He says there were rules guiding hunting; one of them is purity of heart and body amongst the hunters; they must seek approval from the village head before proceeding; these processes must be observed. On the part of the Kurama, Amono states that the usual hunters festival must be observed, where all outstanding hunters from each clan or family were required to exhibit their hunting skills a day before proceeding<sup>145</sup>. The Galma and Kogin Karami forests few kilometres away from Kudu town as well as Dogon daji forest located between DanAlhaji and Tudun wada Kano were the forests that the hunters patronized. Some of the tools used for hunting were bows and arrows, spears, slings, knives and swords; the animals hunted

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<sup>144</sup> Interview with Buba Mathew, 69 years, a hunter from Rumaya on the 14/12/2018 by 11:00 am

<sup>145</sup> Interview with Amono Tafarki, 70 years, a hunter, from Maigamo, 2/7/19 by 3:04 pm

were monkeys, rabbits, rats, birds and so on<sup>146</sup>. The level of technology was relatively poor.

Hunting was organized at the level of individual and at the level of group. The group type of hunting was always organized and headed by the *Sarkin Baka* (head of hunters) of that particular village or community. Sometimes the number of people involved depended on the size of the group, some communities like the Amo, Rumaya, Kurama, Hausa had participants of about 50-100 and above.<sup>147</sup> The hunted meats were used as a source of protein and sometimes the skins were kept as a sign of prestige and for reference.

#### **v) Local Craft Industries**

Local craft industries were important economic activities found among communities in the area. The industrial activity revolved around craft manufactured industries, which depended on the utilization of the local resources. The resources included agricultural and animal products as well as forest resources. The development of these local craft industries led to the growth of the commercial centres and to some extent introduced social differentiations. Some of these industries included weaving/dyeing, smithing/iron work, pottery, and to some extent leather/tanning activities.

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<sup>146</sup> Interview with Jibril Musa, 70 years at his resident Zuntu 1/12/2016 who also said that his grandfather Usman Yahaya (Sarkin bakan Zuntu), a renowned hunter was one of the early settlers in Zuntu which was a hamlet then.

<sup>147</sup> Interview with the following people: Sambo Gada (Amo) from Dan-bara town, 61 years on 3/12/2016; Iliya Baduku (Kurama) from Bissalla, 69 years on 5/12/2016; Nehemiah Maitala (Rumaya) from Fadan Rumaya, 71 years on 8/12/2016 and Abdullahi Gambo (Hausa) from Kubau, 56 years, civil servant interviewed on 10/12/2016. See also F. D. Bello, A History of Lere...p.77

### **a) Weaving/Dyeing**

Weaving industry was common among communities in Kudaru area because cotton was an important commodity produced in the area. And it was the raw material required in weaving occupation. Weaving industry had different areas of specialization which includes spinning, weaving, and dyeing. The women specialized in spinning (making thread), while the men and women were all involved in weaving of wide and narrow strip blankets (*zanin saka da gwado*).<sup>148</sup> The major centers of weaving clothes in Kudaru area were Dan-Alhaji, Dutsin Wai, Kubau and Zuntu. Clothes were dyed to satisfy the needs of the buyers. It was the dominant economic activities of the Hausa who were from Zaria, Kano and Borno. Leather work and tanning went hand in hand because tanning of skins and the prodding of leather goods were done one after the other. Most of the woven products were for domestic use, and the excess was traded.

### **b) Pottery**

Pottery is the art of using mould to construct pots of various shapes and sizes using clay. The skill of pot making started when man started to produce food. Therefore, the pot industry is as old as the time agriculture started in the area. According to oral account, every community had the knowledge of pot making. Pots were made according to purposes, these included pots for storage of grain crops, and pots for domestic uses as utensils. However, the industry was not taken seriously by the Kurama; it was overtaken by the Hausas because the Kurama products were of low quality and could not compete

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<sup>148</sup> Interview with Magajiya Umaru Maisaka, 64 years at Dan-Alhaji Who claimed that she learned the art of weaving from her grandmother at the 18 years to date on 20/12/2016

with the Hausa made.<sup>149</sup> The major producers of various types of local pots with decorations on them are Hausas in DanAlhaji, Kubau and Zuntu towns.

### **c) Smelting/Iron Work**

Smelting was one of the important economic activities in Kударu area. The discovery of large deposits of iron ore in the Nok Central Nigeria area facilitated the development of iron smelting technology in the area of study. The nature of the smelting industry strengthened the ties of relationship between communities in the area. Most of the blacksmiths (*makera*) were Hausa people from Zaria, Kano and Katsina who produced different implements for farmers and women. The Kurama, Rumaya and Amo people also participated in the development of iron industry particularly at the beginning of farming season. An informant says they learned the skill from the Hausas<sup>150</sup>. Some of the tools produced included hoes, axes, rakes, knives, machetes, spears, swords, and arrows, for farmers, hunters and warriors. Other ornamental objects produced included rings, bangles, and earrings for male and female use. Processing of iron bearing materials were the same in the communities that had iron smelting knowledge.

Like other professions, smiths were organized in guild system and to become a blacksmith one must undergo some years of apprenticeship.<sup>151</sup> Smiths were highly respected by the society, because the implements they produced transformed the society greatly. These implements encouraged exchange of goods and services. This industry was

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<sup>149</sup> Interview with Zainabu Adamu, 68 years at unguwar makama, Dan-Alhaji, local pot maker on 20/12/2016

<sup>150</sup> Interview with Tanimu Ibrahim, 65 years, blacksmith from Maigamo on 12/12/2017 by 9:13 am

<sup>151</sup> Interview with Tanimu Shehu, 65 years at Pambeguwa, on 1/11/2016 *Makeri* (blacksmith)

well known and practiced for centuries and the prominent towns and individuals were identified by the Village Heads; at Maigamo (Tanimu makeri), at DanAlhaji (Bala makeri), at Zuntu (Yahuza makeri), at Dutsin Wai (Muazu makeri), and at Kubau (DanAsabe makeri). Bawa Magaji the Village Head of Maigamo states that most of the smiths were known by their first names and the surname as “makeri” for identification; and iron was imported by the smiths from Zaria, Kano, Jos, and Barno <sup>152</sup>.

#### **vi) Fishing**

Fishing was an important economic occupation practiced by the communities in the area. It was an economic activity that supplemented the main sources of protein. The tributaries of rivers Kaduna, Galma, and Karami were the major rivers for fishing activities. Fishing occupation was carried out during dry season between the months of January and March. Fish were caught not only for home consumption, but also complement sources of income in the communities, especially in the dry season. The variety of fish caught included: catfish (*tarwada*), tilapia *nilotica* (*karfasa*), tiger fish (*tsage*), and so on.<sup>153</sup> The method of fishing was by the use of nets of various shapes and sizes, the common example is the use of net called (*koma*) and hook called (*kugiya*).

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<sup>152</sup> Interview with Bawa Magaji, 69 years, Village Head of Maigamo at his residence, on the 24/3/18 by 1:12 pm. Other Village heads interviewed were; Usman Umaru (DanAlhaji), Balarabe Isah (Zuntu), Babuje Nuhu (Dutsin Wai) and Hamisu Sale (Kubau).

<sup>153</sup> Interview with Sallau Danjuma, 70 years at Dan-bara, fisherman on 17/11/2016, See also, D. B. Fatima, History of Lere...p93

Other means employed for catching fish included spears and poison. An informant argues that some fishermen combined fishing with aquatic hunting<sup>154</sup>

## **vii) Pastoralism**

Pastoralism was another economic activity that the people engaged on in the area of study. Like agriculture, pastoralism is sensitive to the availability of rainfall, vegetation and draught. Pastoralists devised various forms of transhumant activities to sustain livestock production and to avoid risk of livestock decapitalization. The pastoral groups not only reared cattle, sheep and goats but also kept livestock as source of food and the means to engage in economic relations with the non pastoral groups.

In Kударu area, the pastoral groups employed nomadism and a variety of transhuman movements as their principal mode of resource utilization. This involved seasonal and long term movements as well as a vertical and horizontal migration of stock and human population across ecological zones in search of water and pasture. Transhuman movement is one of the major strategies employed by the pastoral group to make use of land resource in the absence of private ownership of land. The main mode of transhuman movement employed was determined by what it can be called ecological resources logic as Chafe states;

*Animals must be moved regularly to provide the best feed for them and to avoid over-grazing. In normal conditions annual patterns of movements may be quite regular. In*

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<sup>154</sup> Interview with Mato Gaiya, 68 years at Maigamo, Fisherman on 22/2/2018 by 3:24pm



*period of extreme draught, pastoralists must be able to leave their traditional grazing lands and wander far in search of adequate feed resources<sup>155</sup>.*

Therefore, transhuman movement across the nation today is not a new development. Pastoral and poultry rearing were common economic activities practiced in Kudu area. Uncultivated lands were left fallow for livestock grazing around the villages and towns of Kudu, Maigama, Kubau, Dutsin Wai, Bissalla, and Rumaya lowland areas. Some of the animals kept by these communities included goats, sheep, cattle, and poultry. Some of these animals were used for either home consumption during festivities or sacrifice to idols. The waste products of the animals were used as local manure to enrich the farms.<sup>156</sup> Even though the Fulani pastoralists were well known for this occupation, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century a good number of the inhabitants of the area were into the business of keeping sheep, goats, dogs, poultry, and pigs, especially the Kurama, Rumaya and Amo communities. Poultry rearing was common to all communities, horses and donkeys were kept mostly by the Hausa community for festivals, transportation and for expeditions.

### **3.6 Trade**

Hopkins defines local trade as transactions which took place within a radius of about ten miles from the area of production. He further maintains that, this range could be covered in one day by foot or by donkey.<sup>157</sup> The differences in the economic activities were determined by the variations in the soil texture, vegetation, climate and the hydrology of

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<sup>155</sup> K.S. Chafe, *State and Economy in Sokoto: Policies and Practices in the Metropolitan District, 1804-1903*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1999, p.121

<sup>156</sup> Interview with Mato Dauda, 70 years at his residence Kudu, farmer

<sup>157</sup> A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa*, pp.15-16.

the region. These variations led to the development of exchange of goods and services through the available markets in the area.

Exchange of goods and services were either by barter or gift giving in conformity with the prevailing mode of production. Goods were transported and exchanged on market days. Based on Hopkin's definition, most of the markets were not more than ten miles away from one another. The area witnessed the development of communications and commerce among the communities.

The people of the area of study have been involved in trading activities which include long and short distance trade, and sometimes inter-regional trade. They had been trading with their neighbouring communities for quite a long time. There were transactions between Zuntu and Dutsan Wai, between Kubau and Pambeguwa, Kudara and Dan-bara, between Rumaya and Dan-bara, and between Bissalla and Dan-Alhaji. Some of them grew into important centres of commerce as a result of combined effects of the internal and external trading links passing through them.

Also the communities exchanged goods with traders from Kano, Zaria, Bauchi and Barno<sup>158</sup>. Cowry shells and mallinas were recognized as a medium for exchange of goods and services up to the time colonial currency was introduced. The items traded included millet, yam, guinea corn, hungry rice called (*Acca*), potatoes (*Dankali*), cocoyam (*Gwaza*), *risga*, farm implements, textile materials, pots (clay made), animals and so on<sup>159</sup>.

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<sup>158</sup> Interview with Andrew Zakka at Fegen Rumaya, 73 years old on 17/11/2016 and Wada Mustapha at Dutsan Wai, 71 years on 30/11/2016, all were retailers in cotton business.

<sup>159</sup> Interview with Maiwada Ubandoma, 73 years, farmer from Zuntu on 1/12/2016 by 10:32 am

Generally, trade, whether short-distance or long-distance, was significant in the economy and social structure of the people of Kudu area. Trade served as an indicator that there were surplus products and exchange amongst the communities in the region. The area was situated along many trade routes. These included the following:

- Zaria-Maigana-Soba-Dutsen Wai-Kudu to Rahama.
- Lere-Gurza-Zangon -Kataf to Jema'a
- Lere-Dan-Alhaji-Doguwa-Falgore to Tudun wadan Kano.<sup>160</sup>

The dominant items of trade were Hausa garments, dyed clothes, horses, beads, ropes, knives, and condiments such as onions, *daddawa* (local maggi) and so on, which were sold at the markets. Paul Dauda identified Mallam Mustapha Garba as the most promising dealer in Hausa garments from Kano and Bala Maisaje as another dealer in kolanuts from Borno<sup>161</sup>. Some of the imported commodities from Kano and Borno into the region were glasses, potash, salt, and wheat and kola nuts<sup>162</sup>. The traders were the *fatake*, the middlemen (*dillalai*) and the retailers (*yankoli*) all of who played important roles in the integration of the various groups in trading activities in the area of study.

### 3.7 Pre-Colonial Taxation

Tax was another important source of income exacted by the Habe rulers and the Emirs. The major reason behind taxation was to support the ruling class. The pre-colonial taxation involved two different successive periods that is; the system of taxation during

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<sup>160</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/907, See also Fatima, D.Bello, A History of Lere... p.141

<sup>161</sup> Interview with Paul Dauda, 71 years, a trader, residence at Bissalla, on the 30/5/19 by 3:00 pm

<sup>162</sup> Interview with Ibrahim Makama, 74 years, trader on 17/11/2016 at his residence Dutsen Wai by 12:07pm

*Sarakunan Habe* (pre-Jihad Hausa Society) and taxation system during the Jihad period. However, the system of taxation that existed during the pre-jihad era was not purely an Islamic system of taxation; it was mixed with other un-Islamic kinds of taxation imposed on the subjects by the Habe rulers. In the case of Zazzau Emirate, of which Kudu was a part, the sources of revenue for the Emirates after the Jihad were based on the principles of Islam. According to Abdulkadir Adamu, the sources of revenue for the *bayt-al-mal* were seven, namely:

- i. One-fifth of the booty got from fighting Jihad;
- ii. Fay – that is conquered land, which was not divided into fiefs and therefore belonged to all Muslims;
- iii. Kharaj or land tax, on this, he emphasized the observance of justice for both treasury and tax payer and condemned the practices of the *Habe* regimes of Hausaland whom Uthman Dan Fodio accused of extortion;
- iv. The fourth source of revenue was wealth from the property of those without heirs;
- v. Lost properties whose owners could not be traced;
- vi. Jizya – poll tax imposed on non Muslims for protection and
- vii. The tenth is levies on commodities sold by infidels in the Islamic state.<sup>163</sup>

In Zazzau Emirate taxes were collected on the instruction of the Emir to his officials in the territory. All taxes collected by the Habe rulers were kept in treasury called (*bayt-al-mal*). However, tax was mostly paid in farm produce to the village head who in turn forwarded it to the Habe ruler at Zaria through the ambassador called (*Jakada*). M. A. Safiyanu argues that, in the process of tax collection, the tax collectors enriched

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<sup>163</sup> A. Adamu Colonial Agricultural Policies...p.63

themselves at the expense of the state and the tax payers. In certain instances they charged more than the amount demanded and in some places the tax collectors corruptly exempted able bodied men from paying taxes<sup>164</sup>.

Taxes were also imposed on some special crops, apart from general Zakkat imposed on agricultural produce as observed by E. J. Arnett:

Kurdir garma - Hoe tax C5,000 per hoe

Kurdir albasa - Onion tax C5,000 per plot

Kurdir kara - Sugar cane tax C8,000 per plot

Kurdir rogo - Cassava tax C5,000 per plot

Kurdir taba - Tobacco tax C2,000 per plot

Kurdir bori - Bori dancers tax C5,000 per dancer

Kurdir zuma - Honey tax C5,000 per man

Kurdir fawa - Butchers tax C5,000 per man

Kurdir kira - Blacksmiths tax C7,000 per man

Kurdir dillanci - Brokers tax C5,000 per man

Kurdir madaka taba - Tobacco grinders tax C5,000 per man

Kurdir shuni - Indigo tax C300 per man

Kurdir kidi - Drummers tax C4,000 per man

Kurdir karofi - Dye pit tax C4,000 per pit<sup>165</sup>. The *jangali* tax continued into the colonial era.

Taxes were paid in kind and cash depending on the tax. An informant narrated the implication of tax on the rulers and their subjects. To the rulers, particularly the Jihad era,

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<sup>164</sup> M. A. Safiyanu, Colonial State...pp.38-41

<sup>165</sup> E.J. Arnett , *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, Waterlow & Sons Ltd, London, 1921, p.16.

the payment of tax was a mark of respect and loyalty to the constituted authority. To the subjects, it was exploiting and subordinating the communities to the Habe rulers of Zazzau<sup>166</sup>. Evidence showed that heavy taxation was imposed on people regardless of their income and occupation. This was one of the reasons Shehu Uthman Bin Fodio accused the Habe rulers for imposing unjustifiable and unnecessary system of taxation on their people. This position was demonstrated in one of his writings, that one of the ways of their government is their imposing on people monies not laid down by the Shari'a which they called *jangali*, *kurdin gari* and *kurdin sallah*....<sup>167</sup>. Under the Emirate system of administration taxes collected were disbursed based on the guidelines stated by Danfodio cited by Chafe:

*Concerning taxes, one fifth should be used for sealing off the dangerous places and the frontiers, and to also purchase weapons of war and for the payment of the soldiers. If anything is left over it should go to the judges and the provisional governors and building of mosque and bridges. Then it should be divided amongst the poor, and if there is any left over then the Emir or Imam should choose between dividing it among the rich and keeping it against disaster*<sup>168</sup>

Therefore, the disbursement of taxes under the Emirate system of administration was meant to meet the needs of the community.

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<sup>166</sup> Interview with Hashimu Ibrahim, 69 years, farmer from Zuntu, on the 10/5/2017 by 5:08pm

<sup>167</sup> B. F. Shaykh Uthman, *Kitab Al-Fraq*, edited and Translated by M. Hiskett, Reprinted by Baraka Press, 2004, pp.6-7

<sup>168</sup> K.S. Chafe, *State and Economy in Sokoto...1999*, p.100

### 3.8 The Impact of the Jihad on Kudu Area

One of the significant consequences of the 1804 Sokoto Jihad was the establishment of the Emirate administration in which the communities of Kudu area were fully integrated. In this political transformation, the Habe rulers were dethroned and replaced by the Emirs. The new machinery of governance was based on the ideals of the Jihad; hence, the Emirs were answerable to the Caliph at the top of the hierarchy.

The Sultan of Sokoto supervised the Emirate of Zazzau through his kinsman, the Waziri (vizier) of Sokoto. The Waziri was the official link between the Emir of Zazzau and Sokoto Caliphate. The Emirate of Zazzau had vassal states or sub-emirates (i.e, Lere and Kuru) that were linked to the Emir through intermediaries called the *Jakadu* (fief holders). The *jakadu* kept the Emir informed about local affairs of the various areas assigned to them. Kudu was under the vassal state/sub-emirate of Lere, which was linked to Zazzau Emirate, through an intermediary called *jakada*. The *jakada* supervised the local affairs of Kudu area<sup>169</sup>. One of the major responsibilities of the Jakada was to ensure cordial relationship between the communities in Kudu and Zazzau Emirate; by this, the Jihad fostered intergroup relations in the area of studies.

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<sup>169</sup> M.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau...pp 79-80

### 3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter we examined the pre-colonial socio-cultural, political and economic activities of the various communities that made up the Kударu area. Our discussion of the socio-cultural and political relations demonstrated that the basis of authority lies in the household head, because of his knowledge of the environment and the tradition of the people. Each clan had its values, rules and totemic symbol that differentiated it with other clans in the society. Religion as an ideology played an important role in the maintenance of law and order in the society. We argued that the political organization of the people was based on their socio-cultural and religious beliefs. Political authority was rested on the nuclear family. Within each community power was exercised by the council of elders and other age-grades.

We further argued that there were various levels of interactions that existed among the people in Kударu area. Such relationships, be it religious, political, economic or social were born out of the processes of the people's way of reproducing themselves, the production of their means of sustaining human life. We stated that the pre-colonial land tenure system in the area of study was based on the general principles governing land tenure system in Northern Nigeria. The principles state that "all lands in the country were under the leadership of the members of the tribes to whom the land belong...."<sup>170</sup>. Theoretically, there was no private or individual ownership of land. Land was conceived as a corporate property in the area of study.

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<sup>170</sup> NAK/NSP/FILE NO.1703, VOL.1, Agricultural Policy in Northern Province, p.3



We argued that agriculture was the major pre-colonial economic activity in the area of study. Agriculture was supplemented by other minor units of the economy such as hunting, fishing, and animal husbandry, iron working (smithing), trading, and local craft activities. We noted that pre-colonial taxation existed as source of income exacted by Habe rulers and the Emirs. The reason for taxation was to support the ruling class. We listed the various types of pre-colonial taxations. We concluded that the 1804 Sokoto Jihad integrated the communities in the area of study into political unit called the Emirate system of administration.

The jihad fostered inter-group relations among communities in the area, and lasted up to 1902 when the Sokoto Caliphate was overthrown by British military might. This marked the beginning of the colonial rule in our area of study and it will be the subject matter for discussion in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE BRITISH CONQUEST OF ZAZZAU EMIRATE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF KUDARU DISTRICT 1907-1960**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

Studies have indicated that by 1st January, 1900, under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Lugard, the flag of the Royal Niger Company was run down and in its place; the Union Jack of Great Britain was hoisted at Lokoja. As such, it was not enough evidence to infer that the entire area that later became Nigeria had been conquered. However, it only indicated that it was the beginning of the conquest of communities in Northern Nigeria, and particularly communities in the area of study. We shall now proceed to examine critically these conquests as it affects our area of study.

The British contingent of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) was constituted to pacify any resistance to colonial domination. It was this military squad the British used to forcefully occupy Zazzau Emirate in 1902. The conquest of Zazzau Emirate was necessary because of its abundant human and natural resources in the Emirate.

Therefore, the chapter discusses the conquest of Northern Nigeria as a prelude to the occupation of Zazzau Emirate, justification and resistance for the occupation, the establishment of Zaria Province, administrative reorganization of the province and the creation of the District Head system in the Emirate, of which Kudu District was a part. The objective of the conquest was to ensure effective colonial domination and economic exploitation of the area of study by the British and its incorporation into the capitalist economic system.

#### **4.1 The Conquest of Northern Nigeria, 1899-1901**

The end of the Nineteenth Century and the beginning of the Twentieth Century witnessed a massive influx of British explorers, missionaries and administrators, which led to the establishment of British colonial rule in Northern Nigeria. All of these agencies were generally committed to the goal of establishing British economic and political influence in the colonies.<sup>171</sup> The desire to have areas of economic and political influence outside Europe was clearly exposed by Lenin:

*The new imperialism was characterized by the transition of capitalism from pre-monopolist in which free competition was predominant to the stage of monopoly capitalism to finance capital which was connected with the intensification of the struggle for the partition of the world.*<sup>172</sup>

The struggles by these European nations to have areas of economic and political influence in Africa led to the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. It was at this conference that the Europeans claimed the power to explore and exploit the potential economic and human resources of Africa for their own benefit. It took them about twenty years after the Berlin Conference to translate these decisions into reality on the African soil. However, there were series of reactions from many communities in Northern Nigeria, but were overpowered by the military might of the British forces.

Therefore, the conquest and occupation of Northern Nigeria had its foundation from these competitions generated by imperial powers from Europe. By 1898 various methods were employed in the conquest of Northern Nigeria and Zazzau Emirate in particular, which

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<sup>171</sup> I. Obaro, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest*, Ibadan: Heinemann Books Ltd, 1982, p.10

<sup>172</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism the Highest state of Capitalism*, Moscow: Progress publishers, 1919, p212

negatively affected our area of study. The British used military violence to conquer most of the communities in our area of study, for example, in 1907-1908; Arnett used military force to conquer the villages of Kударu area and Kauru hills where communities like Kurama, Gure, Amo, Kahugu, Rumaya, Kaibi and Kono had settled<sup>173</sup>. The main reasons were to enforce the payment of taxes and to grow cotton and groundnuts for the growth of the Colonial state industries.

#### **4.2 The Conquest of Zazzau Emirate and the Making of Zaria Province by the British, 1899-1902**

We cannot discuss fairly the conquest of Zazzau Emirate without looking into the political developments that took place before and after the establishment of Zazzau Emirate. The conquest and occupation of Zazzau Emirate was carried out by the British West African Frontier Force (BWAFF), which was established by Lugard in 1897 to check the French advances in the Niger territories. The British territorial expansion agenda was confirmed by the British Secretary of State cited by Gwadabe clearly and cleverly, “we shall get the Hausa country via Lagos before the French”<sup>174</sup>

The relative ease of the fall of Zazzau Emirate was attributed to several factors, among which were: The Ningi incursion 1881-1890; the role played by the missionaries in 1899 and explorers; the raiding of villages in the neighbouring Zazzau Emirate by Ibrahim the Emir of Kontagora who fled from the British incursion in 1901; the Emir of Zazzau

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<sup>173</sup> Y. Simon. *The Nation Question: Ethnic Minorities and Conflicts in Northern Nigeria*, Kagoro, Mikrom Prints. 2006, p.77

<sup>174</sup> M.M, Gwadabe, “The Consolidation of British Colonial Administration of Kano, 1903-1926”, *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 4, No.1, 2005, p.91

Kwassau's request for the British assistance against Ibrahim; and finally, the British alleged that assassination of Captain Moloney who was the Resident Officer of Nassarawa Province was planned and executed by Magajin Keffi Dan Yamusa in 1902. The British used these events as an excuse, hence, the major reason was purely economic interest stimulated by the capitalists competition in Europe, which Lenin explains clearly that;

*the more capitalism was deployed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials was felt, the more intense the competition and hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, and the more desperate the struggle for the acquisition of colonies become.*<sup>175</sup>

Lenin's statement is a confirmation of what led to the occupation and incorporation of Zazzau Emirate into the colonial system of administration and domination in 1902, which Kударu area was a part.

The fall of Zazzau Emirate started with the attacks from the Eastern Zazzau by the combined forces of the Ningi Chiefdom led by Haruna and the Non-amana Kurama group led by Maigamo between 1881-1890.<sup>176</sup> The devastations caused by the combined forces of Haruna and Maigamo was not confined to Lere vassal state only, but extended to the Kauru vassal area. Kenneth claims that, Maigamo and Haruna's raids caused serious destruction and carried away plenty of booty from the communities in Eastern Zazzau<sup>177</sup>. In support of Kenneth's claims, Walker a colonial officer states that Matarko which was

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<sup>175</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism the Highest Stage...* pp.79 – 81

<sup>176</sup> NAK/ZARPRO/907, Lere District Notes, 1931, p.67, also see J.G. Nengel, *Pre-colonial African Intergroup Relations...*p.127 for details on the formation and the emergence of Haruna of Ningi Chiefdom and Maigamo of the Kurama amana group.

<sup>177</sup> Kenneth Danladi, 75 years, a retired civil servant at Maigamo on the 8/8/6:00pm

an immigrant settlement closed to Kauru town was pillaged by Haruna, son of Dan'Maje who took ninety (90) men, fifteen (15) horses and one hundred (100) goats<sup>178</sup>.

The Plan between Haruna and Suleimanu worked very well, that when Maigamo and Haruna launched their offensive (attack) against Zaria, Mallam Sambo barely escaped being killed outside the city. Though the plot failed, Smith claims that Haruna devastated the area around Zaria city and was said to have taken five thousand (5,000) of Sambo's subjects to slavery or execution<sup>179</sup>. The military attacks by Haruna and Maigamo weakened the forces of Zazzau Emirate which paved way for other internal problems.

Another opening to the British conquest of Zazzau Emirate was an encounter between the Emir of Zazzau named Kwassau and the British missionaries in 1899. The Zaria-British relations started in 1899 when Bishop Tugwell led a C.M.S Missionary team into Northern Nigeria. The overriding objective of the Missionaries was to establish a mission centre at Kano. On their way to Kano they stopped at Zaria and the Emir of Zazzau welcomed them.<sup>180</sup> When the missionaries left and went to Kano the Emir of Kano debarred them because he did not want them to preach and teach their religion to his people.

Tugwell and his team had to come back to Zaria and were accommodated at Girku, a village located in the Southern part of Zazzau Emirate. The Emir did not allow the missionaries to settle inside the town probably for security reasons. However, the contact with the missionaries was the first prelude to the conquest of Zazzau Emirate because they were part and parcel of the negotiation for military assistance against external

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<sup>178</sup> NAK/SNP/1041/P1919, Kauru District Assessment, p.6

<sup>179</sup> M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau...*p.183

<sup>180</sup> I. Obaro, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest...*pp.185-187

invaders led by Ibrahim the dethroned Emir of Kontagora. This measure can be seen to be more of a diplomatic move and not militant in nature.

The second encounter was a direct contact with the British forces. The British government had entrusted the task of establishing control of the Niger-Benue areas to the Royal Niger Company, but when the position of the British was threatened in Sokoto Caliphate by the French and Germans, the British government decided to take control from the Royal Niger Company. Lord Lugard was appointed to ensure he satisfy British government heart desires, he did not waste time to declare what used to be known as Sokoto Caliphate, a British protectorate on 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1900. The Sokoto Caliphate refused to accept Lugard's declaration. Consequently, the only possible way to establish British rule in Sokoto Caliphate were through the use of military force and diplomatic means. His first seat of government was Lokoja, but it was clear to Lugard from the very beginning that the geographical location of Lokoja was not an ideal headquarters.

When Lugard took the mantle of power he officially wrote to the colonial office and indicated his interest to move the headquarters to a territory between Bida and Kontagora.<sup>181</sup> Lugard established his military base under the command of Major O'Neil at Wushishi without consultation with Bida and Kontagora people. By implication, he moved to a virgin area that was not under Bida or Kontagora. Bida and Kontagora reacted by harassing and attacking British staff in illegal operations in and around Bida and Kontagora. Based on these, Lugard accused the Emirs of Bida and Kontagora as barbarous slave raiders, depopulating the areas of the North of the Niger by pillaging, burning villages and carrying off slaves.

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<sup>181</sup> I. Obaro, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest...*,p.80

He therefore, sought for permission to take military action against these Emirs. Lugard described the Emir of Kontagora as a slave raider of the worst type.<sup>182</sup> His request was granted and Col. Kemball who was the commander of the West Africa Frontier Force led the troop against Kontagora forces on 31<sup>st</sup> January, 1901. The Kontagora forces fought with local weapons, and therefore, they were unable to match the British military might. Because of the serious pressure of the British forces on Kontagora, Ibrahim, the Emir, fled away with his followers and finally ravaged villages South-West of Zazzau Emirate. The Emir of Zazzau appealed to Sokoto Caliphate for intervention but to no avail. The Caliph himself instructed Ibrahim to stop ravaging his Muslim brother territory, but was ignored. This shows that a common loyalty to Sokoto Caliph did not necessarily remove conflicts among the Emirates.

Zazzau Emirate was not strong enough to stop Ibrahim from further raiding, and there was no military support from Sokoto or Kano against Ibrahim's raiding. To the British, this was an opportunity to capture Ibrahim and as such they constantly kept asking the Emir of Zazzau to accept their assistance against Ibrahim. Zazzau Emirate at last agreed to accept the British help. In March, 1902 the British military fought Ibrahim and his followers, and was captured and sent in chains to Lokoja for trial.<sup>183</sup>

The British turned to occupy Zazzau Emirate, unfortunately the Emir of Zazzau had no enough military forces to resist the British forces and it was impossible for him to flee from Zaria. All roads leading to Kano, Bauchi, Kastina and Sokoto were controlled by the British patrol officers who had the mandate to arrest and punish him. In spite of this

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<sup>182</sup> I. Obaro, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest...*p.81

<sup>183</sup> I. Obaro, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest...*pp.188-189



combined British patrol against any resistance, there were few clashes between the Zaria warriors and the British patrol security, but no major fighting took place.

In this situation the British resolved that the Emir should be removed and soldiers were instructed to move to the palace and arrest the Emir and appointed an overseer called Salmanu who was the *Galadima* of the Emirate. This was how Zazzau Emirate was systematically defeated and fell under British rule. The British did not move away from Zazzau, but established a garrison at Girku village near Zaria, and in April, 1902, Captain Abadie was posted as the Resident Officer of what was now described as Zaria Province. These were the events that led to the establishment of Zaria as a British Province in 1902.

#### **4.3 Justification for the Conquest of Zazzau Emirate**

The British government saw the need to provide justification for the conquest and domination of Zazzau Emirate. The British accused the Emirs in the Sokoto Caliphate of continuing in slave raiding, trading and keeping slaves which was already declared illegal by the British government. For example, Kirk Green comments on the state of insecurity in the *Sokoto* Caliphate, thus:

*the destruction of life resulting from slave raiding which was worrying because under reasonable conditions of security the existing population might soon treble.*<sup>184</sup>

The British government also accused the Emirs of being responsible for the general breakdown of law and order in the society. In the case of Zazzau Emirate, the frequent raiding of some villages and towns in Zazzau Emirate by Ibrahim was said

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<sup>184</sup> A.H.M. Kirk Green, *Gazetters of the Northern Provinces*, Vol.1, Frankcass,1972, p.19

to have been alarming. Nabibi cited Carlyle, who was the District Officer in charge of Tangale Waja District who argues that:

*the primary objective of occupying the area of Northern Nigeria was necessitated to introduce law and order among the people, to put down slave raiding, slave trade, and theft cases by the pataken dare (Night merchants)*<sup>185</sup>.

Lenin also explains that the struggle by the British and European nations for raw materials to feed their industries, markets to dispose their manufactured goods, and areas for investment of surplus capital as well as cheap labour led to the desperation for the acquisition of colonies throughout the world<sup>186</sup>. Lenin statement is a confirmation of what led to the occupation of the area of study.

#### **4.4 Resistance to British Conquest**

It is important to note that the patterns of European penetration, conquest and occupation of their areas of interest varied and were very complex in character. The most common styles used to conquer Zazzau Emirate were protracted, gradual or slow methods. Yet the people resisted. For example, there were clashes between the Zaria warriors and the British patrol security. Another example of resistance was the Emir of Zazzau reaction to Lugard's instruction to the Emir through Captain Abadie in August, 1902. As mentioned earlier the Emir declined that he was only answerable to the Caliph in Sokoto and not to Lugard or the British government.

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<sup>185</sup> I. Nabibi, "Colonial Economy of Jema'a Division: The Role of the Native Authority, 1903-1960" M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, A.B.U, Zaria, 2011, p.116

<sup>186</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism the Highest Stage...* pp.79 – 81

When Col. Kemball, threatened to stop the business of slavery and slave trade in the Zazzau Emirate, the Emir reacted to Kemball's threat by a formal submission to Lugard that "he could not on his own allow any of his territories to become British or agree to stop slave trade and slavery as he was no more than an agent of the Caliph in Sokoto."<sup>187</sup> This was another form of objection to British rule in Zazzau Emirate.

Apart from the use of violence by direct military conquest, other forms and character of the European penetration included the peaceful means (that is through signing of diplomatic treaties of friendship and slave trade protection), granting of loans, the establishment of foreign monopoly trading companies, establishment of settler agricultural communities and European mining concessional rights, the missionary activities, the establishment of consular, trading activities and so forth.

These methods or techniques of penetration also made the forms of resistance from the people varied and complex. The complexity in the nature of resistance and penetration was due to the nature of pre-colonial institutions and structures of the people of our area of study. As earlier mentioned above, Zazzau Emirate did not resist British occupation violently, but made several formal submissions to either the colonial agents or its government as a sign of resistance. However, in spite of the resistance Zazzau Emirate was eventually conquered and was incorporated under the colonial form of administration and domination.

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<sup>187</sup> I. Obaro, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest...*p.186

#### **4.5 The Administrative Reorganization of Zaria Province and the Establishment of Kudu District, 1902-1907**

It is important to note that after the British conquest of Zazzau Emirate, they embarked on administrative reorganization of the Emirate. The purpose according to M. Tukur was to facilitate better control of the rural areas of the Emirate and simplify administrative supervision of the local chiefs. They also wanted one local chief to work for them instead of multiple of chiefs in each town and district in each Division<sup>188</sup>. In a nut shell, the exercise was done for their administrative conveniences and to reduce cost of employing British personnel.

To achieve this, the British took the following measures: the fief holders (*jakadu*) were transformed into permanent and Resident District Heads. C.W. Orr's, in his assessment report on Zazzau in 1906 states, "the towns owned by the various headmen were dotted at random around the Emirate and the headmen all resided in Zaria town...and had little or no knowledge of their towns"<sup>189</sup>

This development led to the breaking of Zazzau Emirate into District Heads system in 1907. The British in the first instance created thirty-two (32) Districts. In this regards, Kudu District was among the thirty-two (32) Districts carved out in 1907. Below are the names of the Districts and the District Heads:

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<sup>188</sup> Tukur, M.M. "Imposition of the British Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate...", p.343

<sup>189</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/2533, C. W. Orr, Zaria Provincial Annual Report for 1906, p.2

**Table 4.0: Showing the 32 Colonial created Districts and their titles.**

<b>S/no</b>	<b>Name of District</b>	<b>Their traditional titles</b>
1	Anchau	Dallatu
2	Auchan	Magajin Gari
3	Bichini	Sarkin Zana
4	Bikaratu	Dan Galadima
5	Chawai	Sarkin Chawai
6	Giwa	Fagachi
7	Igabi	Turaki Baba
8	Ikara	Sarkin Yaki
9	Jaji	Wambai
10	Jere	Sarkin Jere
11	Kachia	Maaji
12	Kagarko	Sakin Kagarko
13	Kain Giwa	Iyan Gari
14	Katab	Katuka
15	Kajuru	Sarkin Kajuru
16	Kauru	Sarkin Kauru
17	Kudan	Sarkin Fada
<b>18</b>	<b>Kudaru</b>	<b>Turaki Karami</b>
19	Kujama	Woinya
20	Lere	Wali
21	Makarfi	Galadima
22	Makera	Magaji Jisambo
23	Panhauya	Madauchi
24	Sabon Birni	Makama Baba
25	Soba	Makama Kerami
26	Turunku	Sarkin Rua
27	Zangon Aya	Dan Madami

	Name of District	Their traditional titles
28	Paki	Sarki Fai'ida
29	Maroa	Independent districts
30	Kaura	Same above
31	Kagoro	Same above
32	Jaba	Same above

**Source:** E .J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, London, Waterlow & Sons Limited, 1920, p.7. see ,A.D.Yahaya “Colonialism in Stateless Societies of Africa: A Historical Overview of Administrative Policies and Enduring Consequences in Southern Zaria Districts”,Nigeria, Texas-USA, *African Social Sciences Review*, Vol.8, No.1, Article.3, 2016, p.59. Note that Jaba, Moro’a, and Kagoro Districts were transferred from Plateau Province to Zaria province in 1934.

In a letter dated 3<sup>rd</sup> October, 1934, Governor Donald Cameron sought for permission of the Secretary of State for Colonies to return the Moroa, Jaba and Kagoro Districts then placed in Plateau Province back to Zaria Province with effect from 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1934. His request was fully granted. The transfer of these independent Districts from Plateau Province to Zaria Province was majorly for economic reason because the Districts were later integrated into the Zaria Native Treasury<sup>190</sup>.

Besides territorial and administrative reorganizations, there were other minor re-adjustments and re-transfer throughout the colonial period. These changes represented concrete mechanism in the formation of colonial rule. The major purpose for which this reorganization was carried out was expressed by M. Tukur among other reasons was to

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<sup>190</sup> A.D. Yahaya, “Colonialism in Stateless Societies of Africa.... p.59.

simplify administrative supervision of local chiefs and to reduce the amount of tax embezzlement by the tax collectors<sup>191</sup>.

To understand the background that led to the creation of the District Heads system in Northern Nigeria, we have to re-examine the system of Indirect Rule. In order to have complete control of the human and material resources of the Emirates in the Sokoto Caliphate, the British imposed the administrative system called Indirect Rule. The educated Africans and the native chiefs were employed as local agents in dealing with the natives. F.D, Lugard, Mary Kingsley and Sir George Goldie were leaders of pressure groups that facilitated the success of the British administrative policies in territories occupied by the British government.<sup>192</sup>

Lugard criticized the slow pace of the British policies in West Africa; he argues that the British government should explore and expand the resources that abound in the interior of the West African region. The establishment of the Colonial Offices, Protectorates and the Chartered Company were obstacles to the success of the colonial administration. He concluded that the use of native chiefs would create a conducive atmosphere for the operation of the British policies.<sup>193</sup>

While M. Kingsley argues for the protection of the British traders on West African Coast who became the objects of constant attacks by other European traders. She maintains that British traders should be given administrative authority in West Africa; she saw the Missionary and the colonial offices as an obstacle to the realization of the colonial state

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<sup>191</sup> M. M. Tukur, "The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate...", p.343. Note that these independent districts were only political answerable to Kaduna division, but financially attached to the Native Treasury at Zaria.

<sup>192</sup> See I. Obaro, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest...*pp.187-180

<sup>193</sup> See F.L. Lugard, *Dual Mandate...*pp.231-233

goals. She concludes that Africans were inferior beings and should not be given equal education with the Europeans. That was the work the missionaries had done which was wrong. She agrees with Lugard that Africans should be ruled through their own institutions because the Crown Colony administration had failed to fulfil the British imperial aspirations in West Africa. The Crown Colony was expensive in men and money, and many Europeans lost their lives<sup>194</sup>.

George Goldie was a pioneer of the Royal Niger Company who argues that there were many Africans who were prepared to accept protectorates, but not an outright loss of their political sovereignty. Their local customs and systems of government should be maintained and respected. As a result of these developments, they took steps which eventually led to the establishment of Indirect Rule as a policy of administration in Northern Nigeria which Kudu District was a part.

The British decision to promote peasant based agriculture in Nigeria meant that there was the need for a strong indigenous administration which will closely monitor and control land and labour. The symbol of authority that the people knew was the Emir or chief. Therefore, indirect rule was largely influenced by the nature of the colonial economy and by the character of the indigenous administrative/political institutions operated in Nigeria before colonialism.

Lugard, who was the first Commissioner of Northern Nigeria and the founder of the Indirect Rule system, defined Indirect Rule as:

*A rule through the Native Chiefs who are regarded as integral part of the machinery of government, with well defined powers*

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<sup>194</sup> P. Margery, *Lugard, the Year of Adventure, 1858-1898*, London. Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp.56-57



*and functions recognized by the government and by the law, and not dependent on the caprice of an executive office.*<sup>195</sup>

Lugard argues that what Africans needed was order before development and that only his method of administration through the Emirs and Chiefs provided the order. In support of Lugard, E.D. Morel cited by Nabibi stresses that the retention of the natives' rulers in their position of authority and the enhancement of their powers by the colonial administration was the wisest policy to follow in Northern Nigeria<sup>196</sup>

Under Sir Percy Girouard (1907-1909) and Sir Hesketh Bell (1909-1912) who were Lieutenant Governors argues that "Indirect rule came to mean a policy of minimal interference by the colonial administration in the affairs of Native Authorities."<sup>197</sup>

Lugard, Palmer, Temple, Cameron, and Orr, variously propagated the view that the Indirect Rule system was a system of administration which leaves in existence the administrative machinery which had been created by the people themselves which recognizes the existence of Chiefs, Emirs, Native Councils, Native Courts, Native Police and Native Prisons to be controlled by Native Executive which European influence brought to bear on the natives through European political officers...<sup>198</sup> This is why the District Heads system was accompanied by the establishment of the Native Police, Native Courts and Native Prisons.

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<sup>195</sup> G. S. Asmau, "Sir, Herbert Richard Palmer and Establishment of Colonial Rule 1904-1930," *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2013* in A.M. Yakubu, Eds, Arewa House, Kaduna: 2005, p.143

<sup>196</sup> I. Nabibi, "Colonial Economy of Jema'a Division...", p.57

<sup>197</sup> G. S. Asmau, "Sir, Herbert Richard Palmer, p.143

<sup>198</sup> C.L. Temple, *Native Races and their Rulers*, London, Frank Cass Ltd, 1968, p.30

The British government adopted indirect rule system of administration in Northern Nigeria because they knew that nothing could be done to undercut the position of the indigenous ruling class. Hence, if the British were to survive the position of the Sultan, Emirs, Chiefs and the Fief Holders (*Jakadu*) whom were later transformed into permanent District Heads (*Hakimai*) must be maintained to serve the Native administration.

Unfortunately, the functions and powers of the Emirs, Chiefs and District Heads were limited. The Emirate system of administration was transformed into the colonial bureaucratic system. The old system of tax-collection was abolished, and was replaced by direct taxation policy. Tax was payable only in the new British currency. These measures in 1910 were backed by the establishment of the Native Treasury Act (*Beit-el-mal*)<sup>199</sup>.

It was clear that local administrations were created first and foremost for tax collection and taxes were seen as a sign of complete allegiance to the colonial regime. Against this background further measures in the areas of finance, judiciary, police and prisons were introduced by the British colonial administration in order to ensure effective administrative control and supervision of the newly created Districts and village authorities.

The central argument in this unit is that the District Head system was basically a British creation, primarily introduced to facilitate collection of taxes, maintain law and order, and

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<sup>199</sup> M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau, 1880-1950*, p.211

ensure steady supply of labour and production of export crops for development of British industries<sup>200</sup>.

#### **4.6 Colonial State Administration of Kudu District: Theory and Practice, 1907-1960**

The sub-sections (4.6 and 4.7) discuss the theoretical issues and provisions in the ordinances that deal with the historical reality of the practice of Indirect Rule in our area of study. It has been noted that having conquered the Kudu area and made it a colonial District, the colonial state set out modalities to govern the area effectively. The British therefore introduced the policy of Indirect Rule and Native Administration system in the entire Northern Protectorates, of which lays the area of our study. The founder and the reasons behind the introduction of Indirect Rule system has been discussed in this chapter.

However, the focus of Lugard's concept of indirect rule system was to redefine the place of Native institutions in the colonial administration. The five basic Native institutions were Native Authority, Native Courts, Native Police, Native Prisons and Native Treasury. The Native Authority is any Chief or other Natives so appointed by the Government, as the executive head of Native Administration. The Native Courts were developed out of the Islamic judicial system native customs and laws preside by judges called (*Alkalai*). There were also Native Police (*Yandoka*) and Native Prisons. Native Treasury was

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<sup>200</sup> B. Sule, *State and Economy in Kano C.1894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press Ltd, 2011, p.85

developed out of the fiscal system of Muslim states. The role played by these institutions would be discussed below.

#### **4.6.1 The Native Authority and its Roles in the Establishment of Colonial Administration in Kudu District, 1907-1960**

The cardinal principle upon which the administration of Kudu District was based on, was, what has been commonly called “Indirect Rule,” that is rule through the Native Chiefs or Emirs, who are regarded as an integral part of the machinery of government...with well defined powers and functions recognized by government and by law<sup>201</sup>. Therefore, the Native Authority was a child born out of the Indirect Rule system of administration introduced by Lugard in Northern Nigeria. This policy succeeded and was extended to other parts of Nigeria after Lugard was made the Governor General of Nigeria.

The development of the Native Authority has been attributed to socio-economic reasons. These reasons can be explained within the context of shortage of staff, the search for cheap and available labour, official's determination to achieve continuity of administration in view of the unfavourable climate of the region, to avoid the difficult task of abolishing the traditional system of administration.

These factors might have shaped British policy in the early period of colonial rule, but these reasons can never satisfactorily account for the long existence of the Native Authority ideas and policies, nor explain clearly what was intended to be a temporary policy was transformed from the British traditional administration policy of pragmatism

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<sup>201</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*...p.296

to that of rigidity. It was clear that the British policy of pragmatism was abandoned in favour of inflexible system of Native Authority, which was employed to sustain unjust, unpopular, and to crown it all imposed autocratic leadership on the natives in Nigeria and the area of study.

Note that by 1897 the health conditions in Nigeria had improved through the use of mosquito nets to deal with cases of malaria. As soon as mosquito netting was introduced many European staff brought their wives to Nigeria. By 1910 Nigeria was considered a safe place for European habitation. Therefore, the problem of staff shortage was no longer a serious problem; European staffs were not difficult to recruit. However, the essential functions of the Native Authority were the collection of taxes, maintenance of law and order as well as marshalling of forced labour as argues by B. Sule<sup>202</sup>.

These were some of the reasons the position of the Native Authority was upheld. The District and the village Heads were not regarded as independent rulers; they were the delegates of the Governor whose representative was the Resident Officer. The central government reserved the sole right to raise and control Armed Forces, to impose taxation of any kind, to make laws and to execute such laws as it were under the law and custom vested in the District Head powers.

The District Head and his Village Heads were entirely responsible for everything that goes on in the District (for example constructions, building, maintenance of peace and

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<sup>202</sup> B. Sule, *State and Economy in Kano C.1894-1960...2011*, p.85

order, collection of taxes and recruitment of labour into various colonial projects). As well as the payment of salary to Native Administrative staff in his District<sup>203</sup>.

The adoption of this system of administration was to a large extent influenced by the nature of the colonial economy. All the laws and ordinances made by the colonial state were applied in the administration of Kudu District. The colonial state impression was that if the peasants had enough farms, land, money, and food they will not work on export crop farms and mines.

The British saw the traditional institutions as the center of loyalty and peace and to retain them will cost them nothing, because the traditional leaders were paid through the local treasuries which were funded through taxing the people. The Native Authority system received a legal backing in 1907 through the Native Authority Proclamation Act passed by Lugard. The Proclamation upheld the grades of Chiefs ranging from Emir to Village Head. They saw themselves as a single chain of government in which the Native Authority had defined duties supervised by the British official. According to Lugard, the Native Administration was expected to have funds at their disposal with which to pay for the labour provided by the peasants. Unfortunately, peasants were made to construct the roads and clear it without pay. The Districts heads were found embezzling and diverting monies meant for the construction of roads and other colonial projects.

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<sup>203</sup> C.R. Niven, *How Nigeria is Governed*, London, Longman, 1950, pp.30-31, see A.D. Yahaya, *The Native Authority Administration in Northern Nigeria, 1950-1970*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, pp.40-45, and H. Sirajo, "The British Administration and the Creation of the District Head system in Zaria Emirate: A Case Study of Igabi District 1907-1976" M. A. History Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, 2011, pp.52-61.

In conclusion, the recognition and reorganization of the Native Authority system was to assist the colonial state in exploiting the economy and human resources which contributed to the development of Britain and underdevelopment of the area of study.

#### **4.6.2 The Functions of the Native Courts, Police, Prisons, Education and the Native Treasury in Kudaru District.**

These institutions were established to serve as instrument of coercion to ensure compliance to the British needs for raw materials and cheap labour. They facilitated the consolidation of colonial economy in the area of study. Their functions are stated below.

##### **a. The Native Courts**

The native Courts were established to empower the local rulers whom the whole authority of the colonial state firmly hanged on. Most of these native courts were established between 1900 and 1906 headed by the African judges (*Alkalai*) independent of the Emir or District Head. Anderson in Michael Crowther & Obaro Ikime maintains that:

*The Native courts were and indeed still are very much the local instruments of the particular Emirs within whose Emirates they served, and it would have been obvious to any intelligent observer that they were dominated by the Emir and his entourage and were really an executive arm.... They were tolerated and indeed supported by the British administration, precisely because it was recognized that they were an arm of government by Emirs and it was through the Emirs that the administration ruled. However, Provincial Residents and District Officers had wide powers of veto and revision and by these means, and particularly*

*by the influence of the Resident, major incidents were avoided*<sup>204</sup>.

The powers of the judges and members were clearly defined by the Resident Officer<sup>205</sup>. Members of the Native Court and their salaries were determined by the Resident Officer. In a mixed society like that of Kудару District, the type of law administered was a combination of native and customary law, particularly on matters relating to land, marriage and inheritance. The Muslims court was presided by the *Alkali*, while the Non-Muslims court was presided by the Chief or elders in the community.<sup>206</sup>

The Court made other Ordinances including the Native Revenue Ordinance of 1904, the Agricultural Ordinance of 1906, the Forced Ordinance no.43 of 1933, the Native Authority Ordinance of no. 17 of 1943, the Direct Taxation Ordinance of no. 42 of 1940. A number of these ordinances were enacted to forbid indigenous craftsmen and manufacturers using local materials in their production. Some ordinances gave right to the colonial government to use forced labour, enforce law and order or collect taxes. These Ordinances were effectively enforced by the District Head of Kудару and his Village Heads. The law breakers were arrested and imprisoned without delay. The grade 'C' Native Court established in 1911 in Kудару, served the purpose for which it was established. The Native Court had on the average seventy-five (75) cases a month in the area of study<sup>207</sup>.

Criminal cases (like rape and stealing), and civil cases (like land, debt, assault and trespass) were treated and settled by the Alkali. Marriage, divorce and civil cases

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<sup>204</sup> C. Michael & I. Obaro, *West African Chiefs their Changing....1970*, pp.168-169

<sup>205</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda...*pp.265-290

<sup>206</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda...*pp.265-267

<sup>207</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474, Kудару Notes...p.10



between pagans were settled by the Village Heads. Inheritance case was settled by heads of families. All cases treated in these courts were reviewed by the Colonial Officers and had the power to suspend, reduce or modify a sentence or to transfer any case to the Provincial Court.

The Court furthermore, contributed in generating revenue for Colonial Government and Native Administration through fines and fees paid by offenders. For instance, in Kudaru District, a case of theft of farm produce was either one year imprisonment or a fine of £50. The fee for witness call varied from 4d to 2 shillings based on the distance to cover<sup>208</sup>.

#### **b. The Native Treasury**

In 1910 the Native Treasury was established in Kudaru to increase the efficiency of the Native Authority in the collection of the colonial taxes, fees, market dues and fines. It was responsible for drawing up estimates of revenue and expenditure for colonial state approval<sup>209</sup>. From the native treasury the salaries of the Emirs, District Heads and other officials were paid. Surpluses were kept as reserves for other purposes.

#### **c. The Native Police**

The need to use the Native Police (*Yandoka*) by the Colonial Government for smooth administration of Kudaru District was indispensable. The colonial administration placed the Police under the District Head as an icon of authority. The Police was to serve primarily as the local enforcer of the British law and order. The Native Authority Police

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<sup>208</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474, Kudaru Notes...pp.9-10

<sup>209</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/2557, Zaria Province Annual Report for 1910, by J. Wither, p.3

were empowered to make arrests without warrant. They had powers to take action against individuals on the basis of what the Colonial Officials and the District Head considered a breach of law.

The police was particularly used as an instrument of oppression of the peasantry and political opponents. An informant argues that, the authority on which the District Head was operating derived from the Native Authority Police, the Prison and the Native Court. When a new District Head is appointed, his first act of authority is to mobilize his law enforcement agents such as the Police, Prison and Court officials to avoid break-down of law and order.<sup>210</sup>

#### **d. The Native Prison**

The Prison (*gidan yari*) institution is another important source of power the colonial state used. The Prisons worked side by side with the Native Court and the Native Police. The three institutions were established to ensure absolute peace, obedience and orderliness in the exploitation and plunder of human and material resources in our area of study. The need for the establishment of prison arose in 1904 when the colonial government noticed that there was need to keep the accused in custody pending restitution. Kudu District had what they called “District Lock Up” at Dutsen Wai and Kudu towns. It consisted of two cells, one for female and one for male prisoners. Prisoners awaiting trial and those sentenced to fourteen (14) days or less were detained in the lock up. Prisoners with heavier sentences than fourteen (14) days were sent to Zaria Native Authority Prison<sup>211</sup>.

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<sup>210</sup> Interview with John Ladan, 65 years, Rtd Civil Servant from Bissalla, on the 17/5/2017 at Saminaka by 5:04pm

<sup>211</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474 Kudu Notes...p.11

#### 4.7 Colonial Administrative Practice in Kudaru District

Colonial administrative practice involved the administrative attitude of the colonial officers in the various offices they served. In accordance with the principle of the indirect rule system, communities were grouped into Districts and Villages for administrative convenience. This was achieved after gathering the history of demography of communities, districts and villages during the punitive patrol and tax assessment exercised by colonial political officers in Zaria Province and the area of study.

In 1907, Zaria province was divided into 32 Districts, each with its own resident *Hakimi* (District Head).<sup>212</sup> From the onset, the division of the Emirate into Districts was carried out only along socio-cultural and geographical location of communities and villages around the Emirate. The Southern Districts were referred to what the British often called the Non-Muslim or the Pagan communities. The Northern Districts were Anchau, Auchan, Giwa, Igabi, Ikara, Jaji, Kan-Giwa, **Kudaru**, Kudan, Makarfi, Makera, Paki, Panhauya, Turunku, Soba, Zangon-Aiya and Sabon Birni.

The Southern Districts included: Chawai, Kachia, Kagoro, Kaura, Kauru, Kajuru, Kagarko, Lere, Zangon-Katab, Jaba, Kujama, Moroa, Bishini, and Birakatu<sup>213</sup>. Our area of study (Kudaru District) belongs to the Northern Districts, made up of different communities with different socio-cultural backgrounds. The processes for communities'

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<sup>212</sup> I. A. Abba, "Changing Pattern of Local Authority and the Evolution of District Head System in Gombe Emirate C.1804-1960" PhD Thesis, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, 1985, p.25

<sup>213</sup> E. J. Arnnnet, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, pp.7-8

integration were not easy because of the differences in their socio-cultural and religious backgrounds.

The following people served as District Heads of Kudaru from 1907: Yusuf Turaki Karami **I** was the first District Head. During his tenure; the headquarters of the District was established at Zuntu but later relocated to Kudaru. There were two reasons for this relocation: Zuntu was thinly populated while Kudaru was a railway station and more populated than Zuntu. He died in 1917 and was succeeded by his nephew Yusuf Turaki Karami **II**.

Yusuf Karami **II** served for only one year, 1917-1918 and was retired by the Emir Aliyu because of disagreement over the deposition of the village head of Kubau who was appointed by Yusuf Karami **II** and deposed by the Emir. Yusuf challenged the Emir's action on ground of injustice and power drunkenness. The Emir saw Yusuf's action as an act of insubordination and therefore dethroned him<sup>214</sup>.

He was succeeded by Turaki Karami Suleiman who ruled for five years and died in 1931. He was succeeded by Sa'i Umaru who was also found guilty of misappropriation of public funds and was deposed. Sa'i Hayatu, a son to Yusuf Turaki Karami **I** succeeded Sa'i Umar on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April, 1932.<sup>215</sup> He remained in office till 1936 when the District was merged with Lere District for colonial administrative convenience.

Note that any action taken by any District Head that was capable of challenging the colonial economic interest such leader was prone to deposition by the colonial state. Some of the changes came naturally as a result of death, while some were due to

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<sup>214</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474: Kudaru District Notes, Report from Mr. W.R. Shirley, A.D.O, To the Resident i/c Zaria Division, 1932, p.4

<sup>215</sup> Memorandum from the District Officer i/c Zaria Division to the Resident Officer i/c Zaria Province; Misappropriation of Native Administration Funds in Kudaru District, 17/2/1931, pp.1-7

personality clashes like that of Yusuf Karami II and his superior officer the then Emir of Zazzau, Aliyu. There were other workers under the District Head. The office of the District Secretary was occupied by a person who had the knowledge of reading and writing the Roman script as well as *ajami*.

Communications between the District Head and the Emir or village heads was done by the District Secretary. The office of the messenger to the District Head was important. Other offices like that of Police (Dan doka) and Dogarai were considered important. The Local police were to supervise the construction of the colonial projects and to prevent crimes, while, the *Dogarai* were stationed with the District Head and the *Alkalai* (judges) as security officers.

The colonial state created the office of the forestry and that of education. The forest officer called the (*Galadiman Daji*) Mallam Boyi was in charge of forests within and around the District. The colonial state had interest in forests preservation which will be discussed in details in the next chapter. Because of the need to raise a class of interpreters, the colonial state established elementary schools and appointed local overseers in the District. Mallam Ladan and Mallam Muhammadu were officers in charge of schools in Kudu District.

These Offices created by the colonial state had officers that were placed on salaries, for example Sa'i Hayatu the District Head was placed on a salary of £350 per annum. Mallam Haruna the District Secretary was placed on a salary of £30 per annum, Muhammadu the District messenger was placed on a salary of £18 per annum. Each Policeman was collecting £21 per annum, each *Dogari* was paid £18 and Alkali (Judge) was collecting £72 per annum. The forests supervisor was receiving £30 per annum and

each school supervisor was paid £42 per annum<sup>216</sup>. The major significance of these developments was that the natives were involved directly or indirectly in the administrative and economic exploitation of the area of study. The meagre salary paid to these staff served as an incentive to ensure compliance to colonial state needs.

This is one of the examples of the appointments made by the different District Heads of Kudaru as shown in the table below<sup>217</sup>:

**Table 4.1: Showing names of Villages, Village Heads, Salaries and Dates of Appointments**

S/N	Name of village	Name of the village head	Salary	Date of appointment
1	Dutsin Wai	Yakubu	£15	1931
2	Kubau	Abubakar	£63	1922
3	Zuntu	Salihu	£16	1931
4	Pambeguwa	Abdullahi	£12	1931
5	Dam maliki	Umaru	£15	1931
6	Kargi	Sa'idu	Ushera	1931
7	Karre	Muhamman	Ushera	1931
8	Leren Dutsi	Suleiman	£12	1931
9	Nassari	Adamu	Ushera	1930
10	Damo	Muhamman	£24	1931
11	Kuzuntu	Aliyu	£9	1921
12	Alere	Yani	£10	1922
13	Bissalla	Sambo	£12	1931
14	Dan-Bara	Wuchara	£12	1929

<sup>216</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474: Kudaru District Notes, Report from Mr. W.R. Shirley, A.D.O, To the Resident i/c Zaria Division, 1932, pp.6-8

<sup>217</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474: Kudaru District Notes, Report from Mr. W.R. Shirley, A.D.O, To the Resident i/c Zaria Division, 1932, pp.9-12

The table above proved that the colonial state worked with the Village Heads. The appointments of these Village Heads were to ensure prompt payment of taxes and to mobilize cheap labour for colonial projects. They were also given a meagre salary as a means of motivation. By implication they were also local agents the colonial state used for the consolidation of colonial administration in the study area.

It is important to note that the colonial state administrative reorganization exercise affected the initial thirty-two (32) Districts created. For example by 1920 the number of the Districts were reduced to twenty-seven (27), by 1950 they were only seventeen (17) left in the Province<sup>218</sup>. The colonial state streamlined the number of the districts to reduce cost of maintenance and for administrative convenience. It should be noted that every transfer of functions involved transfer of power. The colonial state had absolute power and authority to appoint and to dismiss erring staff.

The Secretary, Northern Provinces, Mr. Morgan, in his letter to the Resident Officer, Zaria Province, states clearly, the major reason for the reorganization was to reduce the excessive number of Districts to a total where each one can justify its separate existence<sup>219</sup>. This was not the major objective of creating colonial Districts. Districts were created for colonial administrative convenience and economic exploitation and not meant to justify their separate existence as stated by Morgan.

The reorganization process ushered in serious debate between the Secretary of the Northern Province, the Resident Officers and the Emir. For instance, Anchau was proposed to be amalgamated with Kудару District because they share boundary and can easily understand their common problems. Another area of contention was the Kurama

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<sup>218</sup> M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau, 1880-1950*, p.211

<sup>219</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/C.2468; Memorandum: Anchau, Kудару and Lere Districts Proposed Amalgamation, 9//5/1936, p.1.

community who were found in Lere and Anchau Districts. It was also proposed that the Kurama in Anchau District were to be merged with Lere District where there is considerable Kurama population. The significance of this development was to reduce the problem of ethnic marginalization and to avoid crises that would disrupt the colonial state administration and economic exploitation of the area of study. See the table below.

**Table 4.2: Showing proposed amalgamation of Anchau, Kudaru and Lere Districts for the sake of reorganization, 1936.**

S/N	Name of District	Population	Tax
1	Anchau	12,229	£1,210
2	Kudaru (less Kurama)	18,221	£2,086
3	Kudaru (Kurama)	4,970	£446
4	Lere	30,644	£2,702

*Source: NAK/ZARPROF/C.2468, Proposed amalgamation of Anchau, Kudaru and Lere Districts, 1936.*

The population and tax statistics on the table above assisted the colonial state as to where Kudaru, Anchau or Lere Districts were to be merged. The reorganization assessment was based on population and tax; these were important variables for the existence of the colonial state.

In the process of reorganization some District Heads were redeployed. For example, Wali was posted to Lere District; Sa'i was dethroned as the District Head of Kudaru because his integrity was questioned by his people and the Resident Officer. Dallatu was posted to take charge of Anchau, and Ikara was amalgamated with Paki<sup>220</sup>. The transfer was necessary because District Heads that were found wanting were dethroned. The colonial

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<sup>220</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/C.2468; Memorandum: Anchau, Kudaru and Lere Districts Proposed Amalgamation, 9//5/1936, p.3



state was not ready to allow either District Heads or Village Heads to play with the issue of taxation and labour supply.

Morgan suggests that it would seem preferable to amalgamate Kudaru District with Lere District and to combine Anchau with Paki or Ikara Districts on grounds of similarity in culture and beliefs. He stresses that there were pockets of Kurama in Kauru District and in Northern part of Lere District at Kayarda, Dan’Alhaji, and Sabon Birni. They were also found in Garu area of Chawai District and Ririwai in Kano Province. Morgan believed that the Kurama people can be comfortable in Lere District because of similarities in culture and beliefs with other communities in the District. The debate ended when the colonial state was satisfied with various submissions and analysis made by the various colonial officers in the area of study as shown below.

**Table 4.3: Showing the South-East Zaria Province Districts Amalgamation Proposal, 1936**

S/N	Districts	Population
1	Lere-Kudaru	53,335 with a large proportion of pagan communities
2	Anchau-Soba	39,111
3	Anchau-Paki and Ikara	42,885
4	Anchau-Kudaru (less Kurama)	30,450
5	Lere (with Kudaru Kurama)	35,614

*Source: NAK/ZARPROF/C.2468, 29/5/1936, pp.4-6*

The table above shows that population was the major focus in the process of reorganizing the Districts located South-East of Zaria Province. Note that the significance of population cannot be overemphasized; population generates revenue and produces labour

force for the growth of any given society. Other factors were similarities in culture and beliefs.

In the administrative structure of the colonial government, the District Officers (D.Os) constituted an essential office in the colonial economy. They served as advisers to the Native Authority, supervised, and even assisted, in the collection of taxes, and were to report to the appropriate quarters the various activities of the Native Authority. The rapport between the District Officer in Kudu District and the Native Authority was cordial and this assured the security and development of the colonial policies.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

In this chapter we extensively discussed the various means of consolidation of the colonial administrative structures in Zazzau Emirate and Kudu District in particular. We clearly stated that the beginning of the British occupation of the area of study started with the hoisting of the Union Jack of Great Britain in 1900 at Lokoja. The British West African Frontier Force (WAFF) military squad was used to pacify any resistance to colonial domination. It was this military squad the British used to occupy Zazzau Emirate in 1902.

The issue of insecurity in the Sokoto Caliphate was put forward by the British as one of the major reasons for the occupation of Zazzau Emirate. But an analysis of the British economic policies in the area of study debunked the reason put forward by the British government. In the process for the conquest of Zazzau Emirate, there were resistance particularly from the Zaria warriors. In spite of the various resistances from the Zazzau

Emirate, the Emirate was eventually conquered and incorporated into colonial forms of administration and domination. In 1902 the Emirate was declared a Province (Zaria Province) under the leadership of a British Resident Officer.

As soon as the Emirate was declared a Province, the colonial state embarked on administrative reorganization with a view to ensuring smooth political and economic exploitation of the Province. One of the major outcomes of the reorganization was the creation of thirty-two Districts in 1907, which Kudu District was a part; and the transformation of the Fief holders (*Jakadu*) into permanent District Heads. The District Heads were to ensure effective administration of the hinterland of the Province.

We also stated that the District Heads system was accompanied by the Native Courts, Police and Prisons to ensure compliance to colonial policies and smooth administration.

We buttressed the fact that colonial education had economic and social impact on the people in the area of study. For example, the elementary schools established in Kubau, Dutsen wai, Kudu, Maigamo and Bissalla were meant; first to champion the course of evangelism and second to train clerks and interpreters as well as to teach them rudimentary skills like carpentry and agricultural activities. We argued that colonial education curriculum was meant to meet the needs of the colonialists and not to develop the colonized.

The goals and standards of performance of these agencies were determined by British Officials. Even where policy guidelines were clear, theory did not always permeate practice. We concluded that colonialism was essentially banditry.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### KUDARU DISTRICT AND THE BRITISH COLONIAL ECONOMIC POLICIES AND THEIR IMPACT, 1907-1960

#### 5.0 Introduction

The economic crisis imposed by the British imperial power in Nigeria, and particularly in our area of study, need reinterpretation. This is because it is often argued by the modernization theorists that the conquest and domination of Africa have transformed the colonial economy from primitive to modern economy<sup>221</sup>. This submission is debatable, thus, the British conquest and occupation of the area of study finally integrated the economy of the area into capitalist economy.

The primary objectives of British colonial policy in Kudu District, as elsewhere, was demonstrated in the strategies of imperialism, which was to harness the human and material resources of the District for the development of the colonial state. Lugard explains the economic value of the tropical colonies to industrial Europe explicitly:

*The tropics produce in abundance a class of raw materials and foodstuff, which cannot be grown in the temperate towns and are so vital to the needs of civilized man.... It was the realization of this fact, which led the nation of Europe to compete for the control of the African tropics.*<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> F. Kuhnen, "Causes of Underdevelopment and Concepts of Development: An Introduction to Development Theories" *Journal of Institutes of Development Studies*, Vol. VIII, 1986, Peshawar University Press, pp.10-12

<sup>222</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, p.43

The ways and manner the imperialist achieved their objectives were reflected on the colonial policies on land, forced labour, taxation, agricultural production, mining, transport, trade, industrial and fiscal policies whose final effect disarticulated the economy of the area of study by instituting the structure of dependency and underdevelopment. A dislocated/disarticulated economy is one whose parts or sectors are not complementing one another, like the case of Kudaru District and British capitalist economy.

On the other side, a coherent economy operates a system of linkages where regions and sectors of the economy complement one another with a sincere degree of reciprocity of exchange between them<sup>223</sup>. The British colonial economy lacked these linkages with reference to the unequal relationship that existed between Kudaru District and the British government.

This chapter starts with an examination of the nature of colonial economy and further discusses the British policies on Land, monetization of the economy, Taxation (organization, assessment, method of collection, and resistance) and agriculture particularly Cash crop production; with a view to seeing the implication they had on the economy of our area of study which culminated in her underdevelopment. We shall start with conceptual clarification of the term ‘colonial economy’.

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<sup>223</sup> A. Claude, *A Political Economy of Africa*, p.43

## 5.1 Colonial economy

Colonial economy is a description of the economic relations between a colonial power and its dependencies characterized by being self-supporting, providing raw materials for the imperial power. In other words, colonial economy means a production system deliberately established in a society, which had been physically dominated by the imperialist power in all aspects of life, politically, economically, culturally and socially<sup>224</sup>. This was one of the primary reasons for the British occupation of Kudu District in 1907. The structures and operations of the colonial economy laid a foundation for the growth of the indigenous economic malpractices that developed after independence, particularly the material corruption in the public service.

Colonial economy is characterized by encouraging technological dependence, through dislocation of the indigenous local craft industries, creating an atmosphere of the monopoly of trade and monetary dependence. Granting of concessions to favour European firms, creating market imperfection and contradictions, infrastructures were haphazardly constructed and so on. The primary interest of the colonial economy was to facilitate the development of export crops for the development of industries in Europe.

Therefore, the dominant features of the colonial economy were essentially the exploitation and underdevelopment of the colonized nations. However, one can boldly argue that the nature of the colonial economy contributed in no small measure to the creation of incoherent or dependent economy, which eventually underdeveloped Zazzau Emirate and our area of study in particular. Note that the pre-colonial economy of Kudu

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<sup>224</sup> B. Sule, *State and Economy in Kano C.1894-1960...*pp.219-222

was mainly agricultural in nature and dotted with local industrial and trading activities. However, with the advent of colonialism, the economy of Kudu area was dislocated and diverted to the needs of the imperial power.

## 5.2 Colonial Land Policy

As a matter of fact, land is an important economic factor of production, because it provides man with food, raw materials, clothing and shelter. Land constitutes the basis for social, political and economic activities of any society. To demonstrate the importance of land, Mamman notes;

*By virtue of its importance for the wellbeing of the community....Colonial government exercised their influence and authority to the extent that their legal powers permitted them to ensure that all lands in colonial territories were put to use for which it is best suited, and in particular that good agricultural land was not withheld or withdrawn from cultivation for other purposes<sup>225</sup>.*

Therefore, if the colonial state must survive in the area of study, the pre-colonial land tenure system must be revisited.

The general nature of land tenure system before the occupation of Kudu area was that majority of the peasants had possession of the means of production and of their own labour power. But with the occupation of the area of study, the communities were

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<sup>225</sup> M. A. Mamman, "The Role of the Native Authority in the Agrarian and Pastoral Economy of Katsina Emirate 1903-1960", PhD Thesis (History), Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2002, p.112

systematically incorporated into the colonial state structure through various forms of taxes as a means of surplus appropriation. Marx describes this form of relation as relationship of lordship and servitude<sup>226</sup>. We can therefore argue that peasants in Kudu District in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century had considerable control over their lands as shown by the existence of sale, mortgaging, and renting of land before colonialism. And contrary to the argument that the Emir was the de-jure owner of all lands, land alienation was said to have been a rare feature in the area of study.

With the conquest and occupation of Zazzau Emirate by the British in 1902, the colonial administration embarked on the process of land policy that would ensure their effective exploitation of Kudu District. Control of land was significant because all agricultural policies embarked upon by the colonialists depended on land.

One of the first measures taken by Giroud (the Lt. Governor of Northern Nigeria) was to constitute lands committee made up of colonial Resident officers in the Northern Provinces to investigate the native land tenure system in Northern Nigeria. Palmer (the Acting Secretary of State) submitted powerful memoranda to the committee. He states without mincing words that;

*In Northern Nigeria, generally speaking, land commands no such value in the open market; nobody will buy when there is plenty of land available. The land is to the cultivator what his tools and iron are to the blacksmith. For assessment purpose the values of the crops and stock and fruits and industry are, therefore the only basis on which taxation can be calculated because it is only they that have a market value<sup>227</sup>.*

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<sup>226</sup> M. Karl, *Capital Vol. III*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1977, p.177

<sup>227</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/SNP/15/3369A, H.R.Palmer "Land Tenure in Hausa States": Report on Land Committee, 1907, p.23



On the other hand, Charles Orr (the Resident Officer of Zaria Province) argues in his memoranda that land belongs to the community not individual. He states that, things like individual right in land did not exist and that state ownership of land was the very root of Native ideas and customs<sup>228</sup>. These memoranda assisted the lands committee to make the following recommendations to the Secretary of State Lord Crowe; that the idea of private property of land was foreign to the country; the entire land was held in trust by the chiefs for the use of the peoples and finally lands should be nationalized and put under the control of the Governor.

This intention was made open and clear in letters of appointments to Emirs by Lugard who evidently states that;

*Each Emir on appointment or reinstatement, received a letter which was publicly read, stating clearly that whatever right in the land had belong to the Fulani would now inure to the government*<sup>229</sup>.

To back up the British claim of control over land, two powerful land proclamations were made, that is the Crown Land Proclamation no. 16 of 1902 and the Land and Native Rights Ordinance of 1910. By these laws, the whole land in Northern Nigeria, occupied or unoccupied were placed under the control of the colonial state. It was made very clear that the occupier had no legal right to security of possession and could not sell or

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<sup>228</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/2554, O. Charles, , Memoranda on Land Tenure in Zaria, 1908, p. 36, see also F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*...p.345

<sup>229</sup> M.A. Safiyau, "The Colonial State and Colonial Economy..." p.205, see also F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*...pp.343-344

mortgage the land so as to make secure title to the purchaser or mortgage. The occupier also had no right to transmit indefeasible title to his heirs.

The proclamation notes that the colonial government had the right to revoke the title of any occupier for any good cause. It may be due to non-payment of tax or dues, voluntary alienation by sale or mortgage, or transfer of possession without the consent of the government. The previous differences made between Crown and Native lands were abolished. In spite of these measures the peasants were allowed to hold land in the interest of Merchant Capital.

Lugard states the important position the peasant were occupying as the, “Strongest inducement to good farming, and politically an asset to the environment....”<sup>230</sup>. Lands were acquired for agricultural reason particularly for the growth of cash crops to feed European industries. The effectiveness of this land policy depended on other colonial policies especially fiscal, transportation, taxation which would be examined as we progress.

The impact of the land policies on the natives cannot be quantified. The successful execution of the colonial land policies legislation of 1910 put all lands in our area of study under the control of the Governor not with the Native Authorities. First and foremost, the idea of exploring or developing plantation crops in the area of study was blocked. Lands were preserved to farmers under difficult conditions; the farmers were transformed to peasantry rather than wage earning agricultural labourers. This obnoxious policy led to mass land alienation and confiscation as a device to create room for cheap

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<sup>230</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Dual Mandate*...p.259, see also, F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*...pp.349-351

labour for the development of colonial projects and mining. This development affected the agricultural sector which was partly responsible for the underdevelopment of Kudaru District.

### **5.3 Monetization of the Economy, 1899-1960**

Monetization of the economy was a key factor in the consolidation of the colonial economy in Kuadru District. The British currency was the only money recognized for exchange of goods and services. Philip maintains that:

*Not everyone was forced to face the guns of the invaders, not everyone produced export crops, not everyone went to school or court or prison, but ultimately everyone had to come to terms with colonial currency<sup>231</sup>.*

British were much aware that monetary policy was important in the development of their colonial territories in Northern Nigeria. The only way to obtain the currency was to engage on cash crop production or mining activities. Therefore, to obtain British currency was not a matter of choice but a necessity for survival.

Note that there were many different kinds of money used in the Nigerian area in the pre-colonial times. Some of them were limited to certain areas while others were used over vast areas including many polities in the area of study. Examples of such monies were cloth, iron, cowry shells, silver dollars from the European and American countries. They all satisfied, to a minimal extent at least, the basic purpose of money: a medium of

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<sup>231</sup> J. S. Philip, "Making Money in Northern Nigeria: The Colonial Currency Regime, 1899-1963", *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, edited by A.M. Yakubu, I.M. Jumare and A.G. Saeed, Kaduna, Arewa House Publishers, p.271

exchange, a store of value, a means of payment and a unit of account. The control over money was probably much more important to colonial power over other areas of colonial state interest in their colonies.

The Royal Niger Company (RNC) laid the foundation for the development of monetary policy in Northern Nigeria. It was the RNC that established African Banking Corporation (ABC) in 1892, which transformed into the British Bank of West Africa (BBWA) headed by Elder Dempster and Co, in 1899. By 1905 Anglo-African Bank (AAB) was established, later named Bank of Nigeria (BON). By 1912 it was sold to British Bank of West Africa. The BBWA became the sole agency of Currency Board in West Africa (CBWA), which also had the monopoly of importing currency into Nigeria<sup>232</sup>.

As far as colonial currencies were concerned no individual or business organization had the right to have rejected its value in any market in the colonies; this is why the Native Administration insisted that taxes be paid in it as well. The major importers of currencies were the expatriate trading firms and other traders. The British established the West Africa Currency Board (WACB) system to safeguard her economy and give value to foreign currency in 1912. The prices of export goods like cotton and groundnuts were controlled and monitored by the boards.

The commercial banks worked hand in hand with the metropolitan government and the currency boards to make the system work both in the area of study and the Northern Provinces. Together they established an intricate financial network that served the common end of enriching Britain at the District's expense. Men like Arthur Creech Jones

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<sup>232</sup> J. S. Philip, "Making Money in Northern Nigeria... pp.274-275.

and Oliver Lyttleton were major figures in British colonial policy-making, admitted that in the early 1950s Britain was living on the dollar earnings of the colonies<sup>233</sup>. In this sense, Kudara District was created to generate capital which was constantly in motion from the colonies to metropole or from metropole to dependencies.

There is a great concern with how currency policies affected developments in the area of study. First the traditional 'cowry shell' used as medium for exchange of goods and services was replaced by the British currencies by 1919. The British realized that the payment of tax was going to be effective if the payers would be compelled to pay in the British currencies.

By implication, the currency policy diverted the attention of the peasants from food to cash crop production before they could get access to the new currencies. Bello Bawa, confirms that the people of Kudara used to work on railway line construction and sometimes clear bushes for road construction to earn the new currencies<sup>234</sup>. The British currencies were not utilized directly by the people, but were used to pay taxes imposed on them by the colonial state<sup>235</sup>.

Their daily wages were not enough to pay taxes imposed on them by the colonial state; this affected their level of savings for the development of the District. Shuaibu maintains that the introduction of the British currencies was not only to modernize the medium for exchange, but to control the economic activities and coerce the peasantry into specific

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<sup>233</sup> R. Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, pp.206-207.

<sup>234</sup> Interview with Bello Baduku, 68 years , a farmer from Kudara town, on the 15/9/17 by 10:12am

<sup>235</sup> S. A. Shuaibu, *A History of Anchau, 1750-1945*" M. A. (History) Dissertation, Department of History, A. B. U, Zaria, 2007, pp.158-159 see also E. J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province...*p.22

kind of behavior to satisfy the demand for cash crops to feed the British industries abroad<sup>236</sup>.

#### **5.4 Colonial Taxation Policy, 1907-1960**

Taxation was the major instrument deployed by the British to consolidate colonial economy. In the pre-colonial era, various forms of taxation and levies existed in the area of study. As far as Zazzau Emirate was concerned, the collection of taxes was an integral aspect of running the administration of the Emirate, Kudu area was not an exception. However, women, children and the disabled were exempted from tax, whether free or slave, Muslim or non-Muslim<sup>237</sup>.

The Emirate system of taxation operated on the basis of households, whereas the colonial direct taxation assessment was based on individual adult male. Because of the importance of taxation in running the administration of each area, Lugard buttresses that;

*No system of rule can be effective, unless it enjoys some measures of financial independence. Such financial independence is derived from direct taxation based on the principles of an income*<sup>238</sup>

The Native Authority System was crucial to the assessment and collection of taxes. Pagan women livestock and grain crops were confiscated by the N.A to make up taxes for their husbands and sons in this area. The collections of direct taxes were taken out of the hands

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<sup>236</sup> S. A, Shuaibu A History of Anchau..., pp.158-159

<sup>237</sup> F. Abdullahi, , *Liyaul Hukkam*, Sokoto, Umbaru Press Ltd, 1984, pp.67-81

<sup>238</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, p.231

of palace slaves and *jakadu* to the hands of the Village Heads and District Heads for onward submission to the Emir who deposited such monies in the colonial treasury.

Other important agencies used, were the native courts, police and prisons to ensure smooth collection of taxes and cash crop production by the natives. To enforce people into the production of cotton and groundnuts, taxation as a policy was introduced, and one of the major ways to get money to pay taxes was to go into cash crop or mining activities. The growing rate of these taxes, the way they were assessed, collected, and the extortion by the Native Authority forced the peasants to go into cash crop or mining production in Kudu District. Memoranda 5 and 21 of 1906 and the Native Revenue Proclamation Act of April, 1906 were documents that stated the reasons and marked the origin of direct taxation in British colonies<sup>239</sup>. Before the end of 1912, almost all pre-colonial taxes were either abolished or modified, and the following taxation came into force. Kudin Gida (house tax) was 15.6d per compound; Kudin Garma (Hoe Tax) was assessed by hoe; Kudin Kara (Sugar Cane tax) was 45.0d on every sugar plot; and so on<sup>240</sup>.

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<sup>239</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Dual Mandate*...p.230, and Lugard, F.L. *Political Memoranda*...pp.165-169.

<sup>240</sup> Arnett, E.J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*... p.16, See F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*...pp.181-

#### **5.4.1 The Organization, Assessment and Collection of Colonial Taxes**

Lurgard made it clear to all colonial officials and the Native Authority that organization, assessment and collection of colonial taxation was the most important duty of the Resident Officers and the Native Authority ( from the Village and, District head to the Emir and finally to the Colonial Treasury) . This meant that it was the responsibility of the Resident to visit every town and village with the help of the Native Authority to have details of adult tax payers under his Province. Kudaru people were properly informed by the native authority that colonial tax was based on individual wealth.

Tax assessment was based on the outcome of the census conducted in the area of study. Tax payers were discovered through census of household family conducted by the Native Authority; names of individuals both male and female and their assets like animals and lands were written on the census book. Each adult male was taxed 12/- on the average. When it was time for tax collection, the tax payers were informed through town crier. The village heads and the tax record officers went round collecting and recording taxes according to the information given during census.

During tax assessment, movement was prohibited until the exercise was completed. Note that copies of printed tax registers were kept with the Village and District heads as well as the Emir and the Resident Officer. M.V, Spurway and W.R. Shirley, commends the people of Kudaru District for tax record keeping compared to other Districts in Zaria Province. For example, in 1930, the total population of tax payers in Kudaru District was 5,806 and the amount realized as tax was £26,150. In 1931, the population decreased to



5,155, and the tax collected also reduced to £24,324<sup>241</sup>; because peasants had to migrate to places where cash crops or mineral resources were produced, which consequently led to either depopulation or overpopulation. The table below is an evidence of direct taxes collected from different villages and towns of Kudu District.

**Table 5.0: Showing Example of Haraji (Tax) paid in British currency, Kudu District in 1932<sup>242</sup>**

S/no	Village name	Haraji (Tax) paid in British currency
1	Dutsen Wai	£195
2	Damau	£247
3	Leren Dutsi	£126
4	Nassarau	£11.10
5	Karre	£33.10
6	Kuzuntu	£80
7	Zuntu gari	£971
8	Dan Maliki	£195.10
9	Pambeguwa	£56.10
11A	Bissalla Kurama	£244
B	Hausawan Bissalla	£21
12A	Alere Kurama & Rumaya	£187.12

<sup>241</sup> Annual Districts Tour Report on Tax Remittance, 1932, p.1, by M.V., Spurway, Assistant Divisional Officer, See also NAK/ZARPROF/474 Kudu Notes, 1934-1935, p.18.

<sup>242</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474 Kudu Notes by Shirley, W.R, 1932, p.62

<b>S/no</b>	<b>Village name</b>	<b>Haraji (Tax) paid in British currency</b>
B	Hausawan Alere	£1.10
13	Danbara Kurama	£84
	<b>Total</b>	<b>£3,074.2</b>

The significance of this table is to bring to limelight the huge amount realized as taxes from the District within one year. In 1932 W.R.Shirley the Assistant District Officer (A.D.O) in his Annual General Tax Assessment Report in Kudaru District, observes that the District was over taxed. That, each adult male was being taxed 12/- instead of 8/- per head. He said it appears it was the only District that was sensitive to conditions of trade and taxes than others ever seen in the Province.

The same year (1932), the total amount collected by the N.A as Jangali tax was £25.4. In other Districts (South-East of the Province), Village Heads neglected the house to house census; as such tax payers' statistics were not comprehensive<sup>243</sup>. Indeed, the money collected as tax became the main source of the colonial government's revenue.

Balarabe Ukissa, says that most of the Village Heads collected taxes and did not give the payers the demand note or allowed them to fill the white slips. There were also instances where the tax payers were given demand note instead of receipts of payment. There was the case of Sa'i Umaru (the District Head of Kudaru) in 1931 who collected Jangali tax

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<sup>243</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474, Kudaru Notes, 1932, p.17

from the Fulani without issuing them demand note or receipt<sup>244</sup>. Same Sa'i Umaru was found guilty of misappropriation of public funds to the tune of £90.7.5,<sup>245</sup> these practices were very common in all the Districts in the Province during the colonial domination; and this continue in the post colonial Nigeria and the area of study. Corruption is responsible for the growing level of poverty, hunger and starvation in the post colonial Nigeria, which our area of study is a part.

In a nutshell, the tax assessment policy meant that the unfortunate, the sick, the burdened and many others often had to pay what to them were large sums of money for tax. Many frequently found this impossible and frustrating. Crime, debt, loss of property, absconding, emigration and embezzlement were some of the negative impact of the tax assessment policy.

#### **5.4.2 Resistance to Direct Taxation**

Most of the hills related settlements of Kudaru District at the initial stage resisted the policy of direct taxes imposed on them by the British. The most pronounced communities were the Kurama, Amo and Rumaya. By 1907-1908, Arnett had to use military violence to conquer most of these communities in this area to enforce the payment of taxes. This was accompanied by a lot of looting, arson and mass migrations<sup>246</sup>. Because of the British military superiority the communities were forced to accept the policy in spite of the atrocious method used during collection.

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<sup>244</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474, Kudaru Notes, 1932, p.20.

<sup>245</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/48: Memorandum No. Z.D.29/1931/5 on Misappropriation of native Administration Funds in Kudaru District, 1931, p.2

<sup>246</sup> Y. Simon, *The National Question...*p.77

### 5.4.3 The Impact of Colonial Taxation

Colonial taxation had many features; one of the features was the stiffness in the method of tax assessment. An informant states that, colonial taxation never had concern to when the taxes should be paid whether in time of calamity or misfortune; the health condition of the tax payer; no allowances made in case of manmade or natural disaster like drought or famine; during the war years of 1930s and 1940s they were compelled to pay tax.<sup>247</sup> To be more critical taxes were collected at the time when the peasants had not harvested their crops mostly in the months of September – October.

Another vital feature of colonial taxation was the perseverance that taxes are paid in cash rather than in kind. From 1911, the colonial state made it compulsory that taxes are paid in British currency as opposed to the pre-colonial payment in kind or cowry. One of the reasons according to Lugard was that the British currency was meant to foster the habit of cash transaction among the peasantry and the merchants<sup>248</sup>. The major target was to promote trade in British manufactured goods and the purchase of local produce by the trading firms easily. To make it effective, the colonial administration made available, the British currency to the trading companies to purchase local produce and demanded it back for the sale of imported goods. Tax payment in British currency was meant to eliminate the use of cowry as currency for exchange of goods and services.

Restrictions and taxes imposed on the production of the Local craft industries such as blacksmiths, dyers, carpenters, spinners, weavers, potters, and so on led to the decline of

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<sup>247</sup> Interview with Maiwada Tagwai, 82 years, a Village Head of Hayin Maigamo, on 16/9/17 by 11:44 am

<sup>248</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*....Pp.206-207

the indigenous industries and technological dependence on the Western capitalist countries for foreign goods and services.

Adamu Yakubu regrettably says most of his village people (Dan Bara) in Kudaru District were highly indebted; because many tax payers who could not pay tax were made to borrow money or mortgage their crops to the Canteen Clerks who were representatives of the colonial companies for them to get money. Debtors were short-weighed and money collected was paid with interest. M. A. Mamman confirms the statement made by the informant above, thus:

*The practice of collecting tax in October, before the crops have been harvested and sold, definitely drives the farmers to accept advances from middlemen and from clerks. District heads must produce the tax for their districts or they get into trouble. The obvious corollary is that they go to the middlemen and clerk for the money, selling their crops in advance at probably half the true value<sup>249</sup>.*

The pressure for the pre-harvest credit system and the irregular prevalence of famine in the area of study caused many of the peasants to be indebted to the middlemen and local administrators. In fact, the method of collection and assessment of taxes ushered in instability in the society. This development resulted to migration and many households were disintegrated; they moved away to other places as wage labourers, seasonal mine workers or petty traders in order to find money with which to pay their taxes.

For example, many labourers migrated to work in the Jos minefields; some farmers migrated to the groundnuts farms in Kano and some to Zaria to work on colonial

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<sup>249</sup> M. A. Mamman, "The Role of Native Authorities in the Colonial Economy..." p.272

projects<sup>250</sup>. The nature of the environment created an early urbanization process and a practical condition for historical continuity which created the genesis for community formation in the area of study.

It is worth mention, that colonial taxes were more burdensome and exploitative as compared to the pre-colonial taxes in the area of study. Those who succeeded the colonialists continue oppressing and exploiting the less previlaged peasants. These situations explain why many of the peasants in Kudaru District lived in poverty and are still poor even after the colonial period.

## **5.5 Colonial Agricultural Policy**

In the area of study agriculture is the major occupation of the people before the British occupation of the area. Similarly, the cultivation of agricultural commodities particularly cotton and groundnuts constituted the focus of the colonial economy in Kudaru District. Apart from food crops production, cotton and groundnuts were produced for home consumption. With the occupation of the area by the British the demand for cotton and groundnuts increased because of the need to feed the industries in Britain.

The Native land Proclamation and the Native Land Rights Ordinance of 1910 were meant to satisfy the colonial state system of land control and ownership. To achieve these objectives the native Authorities were employed to assist in the control of lands, the British trading companies and marketing boards were established to ensure price regulation of these commodities to their advantage. The British Cotton Growing

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<sup>250</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/F.3658/S.10, Labor Migration Records, 1954, P.7

Association (BCGA) was responsible for the distribution of imported American cotton seeds to farmers in the District. Of the different varieties of cotton seeds tried, Allen American long-staple has proved itself to be most consistent and more superior to the local variety.

The Ginnery Office in Zaria was the headquarters for the storage of the imported cotton seeds before distribution to all Districts in Zaria Province. The supervisors for the distribution were the British agents namely; Bowen of United African Company and Rida Bourghal of G.B.Ollivant<sup>251</sup>. In Kudu District the middlemen who handled the distribution of the cotton seeds to cotton farmers were Village Heads through the District Head. Cotton seeds were distributed according to towns and demands by the farmers on account of its vast superiority over the local variety. The local buyers were Mallam Ladan who was in charge of Dutsin Wai depot and Mallam Machido in charge of Kudu depot<sup>252</sup>. Cotton was planted in the rainy season and harvested in the dry season. Cotton was transported by Lorries or train to depots depending on the quantity. The Major buyers were: The British Cotton Growing Association, Niger Company, African & Eastern Trading Corporation and John Holts<sup>253</sup>. An informant says that Mato Anna of Payau village, Garba Usman of Maigamo, Dantani Akawu of Fadan Rumaya and Danbaba Barau of Dutsin Wai were the prominent cotton farmers<sup>254</sup>.

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<sup>251</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474: Kudu District Notes by W.R.Shirley,( A.D.O), 1932, p.18

<sup>252</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474: Kudu District Notes by W.R.Shirley,( A.D.O), 1932, p.18

<sup>253</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474: Kudu District Notes by W.R.Shirley,( A.D.O), 1932, p.18

<sup>254</sup> Interview with Bitrus Paul, 82 years, a farmer residence at Payau, on 26/8/19 by 5:05 pm

**Table 5.1: Cotton Seeds Distribution in Kudaru District, 1948<sup>255</sup>**

<b>JANUARY 1948</b>				<b>FEBRUARY 1948</b>		
<b>Name of Station</b>	<b>Grade I</b>	<b>Grade II</b>	<b>Total LBS</b>	<b>Grade I</b>	<b>Grade II</b>	<b>Total LBS</b>
DutsinWai	243,230	1,000	244,230	112,880	900	113,780
Kudaru	140,360	1,937	142,297	106,559	1,596	108,155
<b>Total</b>	<b>383,59</b>	<b>2,937</b>	<b>386,527</b>	<b>219,439</b>	<b>2,496</b>	<b>221,935</b>

**Table 5.2: Cotton Seeds Distribution in Kudaru District, 1949<sup>256</sup>**

<b>JANUARY 1949</b>				<b>FEBRUARY 1949</b>		
<b>Name of Station</b>	<b>Grade I</b>	<b>Grade II</b>	<b>Total LBS</b>	<b>Grade I</b>	<b>Grade II</b>	<b>Total LBS</b>
DutsinWai	646,337	36,400	682737	218,685	17,000	235,685
Kudaru	565,300	32,441	597,741	175,300	10,200	185,500
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,211,637</b>	<b>68,841</b>	<b>1,280,478</b>	<b>393985</b>	<b>27,200</b>	<b>421,185</b>

<sup>255</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/4708A: Provincial Annual Report No.75/49, Department of Marketing and Exports by R. Hubbard, 1950, p.64

<sup>256</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/4708A: Provincial Annual Report No.75/49, Department of Marketing and Exports by R. Hubbard, 1950, p.64



**Table 5.3: Cotton Seeds Distribution in Kudaru District, 1949<sup>257</sup>**

<b>MARCH 1948</b>				<b>MARCH 1949</b>		
<b>Name of Station</b>	<b>Grade I</b>	<b>Grade II</b>	<b>Total LBS</b>	<b>Grade I</b>	<b>Grade II</b>	<b>Total LBS</b>
DutsinWai	1,763	Nil	1,763	28,199	1,200	29,399
Kudaru	2,020	380	2,400	121,100	1,200	13,300
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,783</b>	<b>380</b>	<b>4,163</b>	<b>149,299</b>	<b>2,400</b>	<b>42,699</b>

Tables 5.1-5.3 above shows the quantity of cotton seeds railed from Zaria Ginnery to Dutsin Wai and Kudaru towns for distribution to farmers. In order to encourage cotton cultivation and ensure a fair price to the farmer for his cotton in relation to other crops a flat price was paid at all markets for cotton seeds. According to Shirley, on market days 8/10d per lb was being offered for grade I cotton and 5/10d for grade II<sup>258</sup>. However, the expansion of cotton production was motivated by the demand of the seeds by the farmers; the monetization of the economy by the colonial state; and the application of the Native court Rules prohibiting touting and Native cotton production. By implication majority of the the peasants were into cotton production against food production, which consequently increased poverty and hunger amongst communities in Kudaru District.

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<sup>257</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/4708A: Provincial Annual Report No.75/49, Department of Marketing and Exports by R. Hubbard, 1950, p.65

<sup>258</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474: Kudaru District Notes by W.R.Shirley,( A.D.O), 1932, p.18. Also see, British Cotton Growing Association Provincial Annual Report, Marketing and Exports Department, 1949.

**Table 5.4: Tons of groundnuts inspected and railed to Zaria from Kudu District,  
1947-1949<sup>259</sup>**

<b>Gazetted market</b>	<b>Years of Report</b>	<b>Crop type</b>	<b>Quantity of tons</b>	<b>Local producers</b>	<b>Local marketers</b>	<b>British agents</b>
Dutsin Wai	1947-1948	Groundnuts	208	Kudu, Dutsin Wai, Bissalla, DanAlhaji, Zuntu, Fadan Rumaya	Mallam Ladan and Mallam Machido	Mr. H. D. Mendham and Mr. C.R. Hubbard
Dutsin Wai	1948-1949	Groundnuts	3,992	Same above	Same above	Same above

A part from cotton and groundnuts other agricultural products for which the Native Authority distributed seeds included sweet potatoes, rice, yams, maize, sugarcane, and guinea corn varieties were distributed to farmers in the District. Because of the great demand for these varieties by the natives, the Native Authority used the Village Heads to ensure that the farmers bought the seeds, planted and applied fertilizer correctly. Banicot (A.D.O) in his Kudu District tour report states that, an average farm size of each produce varied from about two or twelve acres, depending on the size of production. For instance, guinea corn produced= 1050 lb per acre; Millet produced= 460 lb per acre; Cotton produced= 175 lb per acre, and Groundnuts produced= 400 per acre<sup>260</sup>.

<sup>259</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/4708A: Provincial Annual Report No.75/49, Department of Marketing and Exports by R. Hubbard, 1950, p.63

<sup>260</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/1707, Banicot's Annual Assessment Report on Kudu District, 1933, p.20

By implication large portions of lands were reserved for the growing of these commodities in the District. The principal towns that produced cotton in large quantity were Dutsen Wai, Dan Alhaji and Kudaru. The production of export crops were achieved with intense propaganda and supervision by the Native Authority in the District. As a matter of emphasis Chuchil in Hamman declares that “there is no part of the British Empire in which cotton growing is being more powerfully pushed forward than in Nigeria”<sup>261</sup>.

The impact of colonial policy on agricultural produce were so great, the entire District was flooded with the British type of agricultural seeds to prevent the use of local varieties by the farmers. The seeds were imported and the prices were regulated by marketing boards and foreign companies. Only seeds specified by the colonial state were allowed to be planted to avoid competition. The colonial state instructed the Native Authority to pass by-laws prohibiting sowing of any crop not authorized by the colonial state. This method applied by the colonial state discouraged the growing of food production in large quantity which led to famine and poverty amongst the peasants in the area of study.

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<sup>261</sup> M. Hamman “Consolidation of Underdevelopment in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1960”, *Zaria Historical Research Journal of the Department of History*, ABU Zaria, 2001, p.160

## **5.6 Conclusion**

We started this chapter with the conceptual clarification of the term ‘colonial economy’. We argued that colonial economy is a description of the unequal economic relations between a colonial power and its dependencies. The structures and operations of the colonial economy laid a foundation for the growths of the indigenous economic malpractices that developed after independence, particularly the material corruption in the public service. We also observed that the dominant features of the colonial economy were essentially the exploitation and underdevelopment of the colonized nations.

We examined the British land policy in the area of study. We observed that land is an important economic factor of production. In the pre-colonial era, peasants had possession of their lands, means of production and labour power. But, with the occupation of the area of study the British made land proclamation, which placed lands either occupied or not occupied under the control of the colonial state. This proclamation was made clear to the chiefs and emirs in the province. By implication, peasants’ lands were confiscated and placed under the colonial state for the development of colonial projects.

To ensure total control of lands and labour, the colonial state monetized the economy. The British currency was the only money recognized for exchange of goods and services. The only way to obtain the currency was to engage on either cash crop production or mining activities.

We argued that taxation was the major instrument deployed by the British to consolidate colonial economy. We stated clearly that pre-colonial taxations and levies existed before colonial domination. The organization, assessment and collection methods of the pre-

colonial taxations were not the same with the colonial era. Colonial state introduced direct taxation on every adult male and used the local agencies like the District Heads, Village Heads, the Native Courts, Police, and Prisons to ensure smooth assessment, organization and collection of taxes.

We stated that few communities resisted but were over powered by the military might of the colonial state. Taxation was a policy deployed to enforce people to work on cash crop production and mining areas. The tax policy did not put into consideration the unfortunate, the sick, the burdened and many others. The tax policy led to crime, debt, and loss of property, absconding from their families, emigration, and embezzlement, particularly from the war years, 1930s and 1940s.

We argued that the major occupation of the people was agriculture supplemented by local craft industries, fishing and hunting. The cultivation of agricultural commodities particularly cotton and groundnuts constituted the focus of the colonial economy in Kudu District. The demand for cotton and groundnuts to feed the British industries changed the peasants' production from less food production to more of cash crops production. The entire District was flooded with the British cotton seeds to prevent the use of local varieties by the farmers. The method adopted by the colonial state discouraged the growth of food production, which led to famine and poverty amongst the peasants in the area of study.

## CHAPTER SIX

### COLONIAL POLICIES ON FORCED LABOUR, MINING, TRANSPORT, TRADE, RESETTLEMENT SCHEME, FOREST RESERVED, EDUCATION, AND THEIR IMPACT

#### 6.0 Introduction

The colonial economic policies were extended to areas of economic interest such as forced labour, mining operations, and transport, trade, resettlement scheme, forest reserves, and education. Cabral Amilcar's *Weapon of Theory* summarises the presence and impact of colonialism and Neo-colonialism in Africa, which our area of study is a part in these words:

*...both in colonialism and in Neo-colonialism the essential characteristic of imperialist domination remain the same: the negation of the historical process of the dominated people by means of violent usurpation of the freedom of development of the national productive forces<sup>262</sup>.*

This chapter discusses how the British reorganized and rechanneled Kудару District resources to serve their interest; thereby negating the historical process of the people in the area of study. Kудару District was turned into a colonial labour and export crop reserve. The focus of the chapter is to show the implication of the British policies on labour, mining, transport and trade in the area of study.

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<sup>262</sup> A. Cabral, "The Weapon of Theory" in *Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle*, Love and Malcomson Ltd, 1969, pp.73-74

## 6.1 Colonial Forced Labour Policy

In the area of production in any society, labour power is one of the strongest elements that can cause significant change. Labour power if properly used creates value to human society. Therefore, labour has not been a colonial creation; rather, it represents a specific stage in the socio-political and economic history of a people. As such, labour has not been static in the history and development of Kudaru area. In the pre-colonial era, forced and unpaid labour made up of the lower class was used to cultivate large farms owned by the ruling class in Kudaru area<sup>263</sup>. This group represented the source of labour during the slaves and feudal mode of social formation.

The upper class was the feudal lords, made up of the aristocracy, landlords, merchants and usurers. Their major role was the mobilization and exploitation of the labour power of the lower class and the supervision of the task before them. They were the beneficiaries of the task performed by the lower classes on their estates and in public works<sup>264</sup>. Therefore, the pre-colonial forced labour system did not serve the interests of the lower class but those of the ruling class.

The colonial political officers argue that the pre-colonial forced labour system was an act of barbarism, inhuman and needed to be changed. The colonial state had to restructure the pre-colonial labour system to create monopoly profits for the European companies and their agents in this area. The idea of paid and unpaid labour policy was introduced using the Forced Labour Ordinance No. 1 of 1929 and that of no. 22 of 1933<sup>265</sup> to put an end to the pre-colonial system of forced labour in the area of study. It was very clear in the

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<sup>263</sup> Interview with Adamu Danladi, 76 years a farmer from Rumaya on the 15/5/2018 by 3:05 pm

<sup>264</sup> I. M. Mukhtar, "British Colonial Labour Policy...", p180.

<sup>265</sup> F. L. Lugard, *Dual Mandate...*, p.198

words of Lugard that the natives were to provide compulsory unpaid labour in public works like the maintenance and clearing of the roads and paths, repairs of town or village fences, digging and construction of wells and the clearing of open spaces and play grounds. While paid labour was provided in the railway line constructions, cash crops production, colonial buildings and mining operations<sup>266</sup>. The labourers were young people not less than eighteen (18) years and not more than forty-five (45) years.

Labourers were also employed to pursue the Desert and African migratory locust swarms which used to invade the area of study on yearly basis particularly in the months of August to October. They were known to have caused great damage to plant and animal dung, which resulted to crop failure, food scarcity and famine in the area of study. Locust invasion was a permanent threat to people and the economy which was difficult to contain. Watt notes that from 1926 to 1937 about 2,000 locust swarms invaded Northern Nigeria and caused great damage to plants, which Kudu was a part<sup>267</sup>.

Adamu Maiganga notes that the most appropriate method for dealing with the locust swarms in Kudu District was the baiting method (baiting was the preparation of local chemical mixed up of brand maize or corn flour with water and poisonous chemicals especially anti-pests agricultural related chemicals). It was quicker and a cheap method of

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<sup>266</sup> F.L. Lugard, Political Memoranda...242-243, also see NAK/ZARPROF/C.4003, Forced Labour: W.R. Miller, Letter to the Provincial Officer on Forced Labour in 1920, p.3

<sup>267</sup> A. Watts, "Silent Revolution: the Nature of Famine and the Changing Character of Food Production in Nigeria Hausaland" in Nabibi Irimiya, "Colonial Economy of Jema'a Division: The Role of the Native Authority 1903-1960" M.A (History), A.B. U Zaria, 2011, p.224.



killing hopper and required less labour than other methods<sup>268</sup>. Sabo Yakubu states that whenever there was locust invasion, District and village heads were forced to mobilize gangs of villagers to encircle the band of hoppers beating them with branches of trees, making great noise by beating empty tins. By this method, hoppers were killed in large quantity<sup>269</sup>.

Another insect threat that required unpaid forced labour mobilization in the area of study was the tsetse fly attacks. Labourers were employed to control this menace of sleeping sickness which led to the Forced Labour Ordinance no.23 of 1933 which stated in part that: Where in any locality there is a high incidence of sleeping sickness and the governor decides to exact labour under the provision of section 14 of the unpaid forced labour ordinance, 1933, for the purpose of [preventing the spread of sleeping sickness] the following provisions with regard to the exaction and employment of the labour shall have effect:

*The governor's decision shall be communicated to the Resident and the Resident shall cause such decision to be made known to the people in their locality in such manner as ordered by the Native Authority or head chief. Thereupon: The Resident and such persons as he may appoint on his behalf may require all able bodied adult males and; where the locality is situated within the area of jurisdiction of the Native Authority and such persons appointed on his behalf may require all able bodied adult males to provide compulsory unpaid labour for the anti-tsetse fly work. Any village called upon to provide this labour must provide it compulsory<sup>270</sup>.*

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<sup>268</sup> Interview with Adamu Maganganu, 72 years, retired civil servant from Bissalla on the 19/10/17 by 10:00am

<sup>269</sup> Interview with Sabo Yakubu, 68 years, farmer from Rumaya on the 30/10/17 by 11:13am

<sup>270</sup> I. M. Mukhtar "British Colonial Labour Policy pp.213-214, also see NAK/ZARPROF/1769A&B,Tsetse clearing in Anchau, Kudaru,Lere and Ikara Districts, 1948-1957, pp.5-7, also NAK/ZARPROF/FILE NO.1295

It was through this form of forced labour that the entire tsetse fly infected area of Kudaru District was cleared by 1939. Samaila Zatto states that the tsetse fly insect had negative impact on the people, some lost their lives and sight; some became victims of sleeping sickness, until they finally got vaccines for it<sup>271</sup>. Labourers were forced to work from 6:30 am to sunset, sometimes without food.

Implications of paid and unpaid forced labour policy on the economy of Kudaru cannot be easily quantified because it had physical and psychological implications. First and foremost, the exercise took away young, strong and healthy people to go and work on roads and railway construction as well as miners. These were able bodied males who were not less than eighteen (18) years and not more than forty-five (45) years.

The bulk of the labourers employed to work in the colonial projects were the most productive people in the District. These were people who produced the food and other goods, which were used for consumption and exchange in the District. The exercise led to forced labour migration, depopulation and urbanization in pursuance of colonial projects. Many died at the construction sites or at home not only of disease and sickness, but because of too much hunger and harsh labour.

Labour was constantly demanded throughout the year, be it rainy or dry season. This shows that the inhabitants had little or no time to produce food to eat and live. An

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VOL.I & II, Sleeping Sickness Survey Zaria Province, 1932-33, pp.4-9, NAK/ZARPROF/1467 VOL.II, -Sleeping Sickness Survey Anchau and Kudaru Districts, 1933-34, p.6

<sup>271</sup> Interview with Samaila Zatto, 67years , retired civil servant at Kudaru town on the 31/10/17 by 7:00pm

informant says it was this state of affairs that was partly responsible for hunger, poverty and famines witnessed in Kudaru District during the colonial rule<sup>272</sup>.

## **6.2 Colonial Mining Policy, 1910-1933**

When the colonial state embarked on mineral resources exploration, tin, iron and columbite were discovered though in small quantity in Kudaru District. This was one of the reasons that led to the occupation of the area of study. Tin ore was discovered at Banki, Leren Dutsi, Karre and Alere-Bissalla by Wright of the Benue Tin Mines, and at Dutsin Wai by Huddart, in 1910<sup>273</sup>. Columbite was found in Kudaru and Danbara areas. Mining rights were vested on the British Crown and were further transferred to British mining companies.

The most characteristic feature of the colonial land policy in relation to mines was that mines became the exclusive properties of foreign capitalist mining companies. Consequently, the local miners were made to use their diggers, calabashes and other tools to mine tin ore for the companies in return for wages. An informant says that to pay tax and to obtain British currency to buy other necessities one had to work in the mines<sup>274</sup>. British did all it could to excavate these minerals for her advantage.

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<sup>272</sup> Interview with Danboyi Babale, 72 years, Rtd Civil Servant from Rumaya on the 24/5/2017 by 2;10pm

<sup>273</sup> E. J. Arnett *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, p.25

<sup>274</sup> Interview with Hassan Abdulkadir, 81 years, ex-miner from Banki and Chiroma Danmaraya, 79 years, ex-miner from Leren Dutsi, on the 23/5/2017 by 10:12 am and 3:15 pm respectively

Where mineral resources were found about 70% of the workforce was engaged in mining activities like the inhabitants of Karre, Dutsan Wai, Leren-Dutse, Nassaru, and Banki worked in the minefields. The remaining population engaged either in cotton or groundnuts productions.

However, mining activity did not last long because of the discovery of tin in large quantity in Jos, which led to labour migration from Kudu District to the Jos minefield. The last batch that was employed by E. M. Ducherty (Director, Benue Tin Mines Limited) was only one hundred (100) miners, who produced 50 Tons in the month of March, 1932<sup>275</sup>. These were the British firms that explored and exploited the mineral resources found in the area of study: Benue Tin Mines Limited, Rafinpa (Nigeria Tin Company Limited), B.J. Mcphalan Limited, James P. Best Limited, Ropp Tin Limited, C.W. McIntosh Limited, Karre Tin Company Limited, and Juanita Mines of Rhodesia<sup>276</sup>. Umaru Bawa a residence of Karre village states that about 72 acres of land situated at Karre was leased to Karre Tin Company Ltd from 1926-1947<sup>277</sup>.

Peasant's lands were confiscated in the name of mining activities and for the establishment of mining companies. Umaru Bawa stresses that the colonial state in conjunction with the capitalist mining Companies used violent means, and disregarded the colonial land laws and evicted the people from the villages where tin ores was found. He emphatically states that Sabon garin Kudu now called Yarkasuwa is occupied by migrants from Kudu town who migrated because of excessive mining activities<sup>278</sup>.

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<sup>275</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474/, Kudu District Notes...p17

<sup>276</sup> E..J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*...pp.24- 25

<sup>277</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/FILE. 2601: Karre Tin Company Ltd lease no. 64, p.2

<sup>278</sup> Interview with Umaru Bawa, 85 years a farmer from Karre village on the 15/4/18 by 9:23 am

The Forced Labour Ordinance no.22 of 1933 states that only able bodied males from the age of eighteen (18) and not less than forty (45) were recruited to work in the mining sites. Their remunerations or wages were determined in cash or in kind by the colonial company in charge. Sadau Adamu (Ex-miner) stresses that colonial state in conjunction with the capitalist mining Companies indirectly or directly forced the peasants to sell their labour power to mining capitalists in order to augment their means of livelihood, especially to pay the colonial taxes imposed on them<sup>279</sup>.

The colonial mining policy banned all the indigenous miners from mining and smelting tin and iron. The banning of smelting had affected the indigenous development of industrial tools, thereby; compelled local tool producers to depend on imported tools and metals. This marked the beginning of the indigenous technological underdevelopment and dependency. The wages generated from mining activity was not an income as were made to be believed. It was a source for buying British consumable goods, and for the natives to pay their taxes. The lion's share from the mining income was repatriated as profit to Britain.

To crown it all Shekarau Azaman states that, many labourers who were involved in these colonial state projects were physically and psychologically affected in the course of constructions, cuttings or digging. Many had their legs or some of their fingers cut off as a result of accidents or digger infections. He estimated about 30% of those recruited from the District of our study, were said to be unfit for heavy manual work such as farming or local manufacturing as ex-miners<sup>280</sup>. This affected the level at which agricultural production was practiced as well as other economic activities in the area of study. Forced

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<sup>279</sup> Interview with Sadau Adamu, 87, Ex-miner from Kudaru town on the 26/4/2018 by 11:40 am

<sup>280</sup> Interview with Shekarau Azaman, Ex-miner, 87 years at Kudaru town on the 10/10/2017 by 6:12pm

labour recruitment into mining and cash crops production areas; as well as the construction of railway lines and roads, led to mass migrations; which laid down the basis for urbanization in areas like Kudaru, Dutsen Wai, Yarkasuwa, Dan'Alhaji, and Kubau and so on. Most of these towns and cities gathered people because they served as administrative, commercial and socio-cultural centers. Though the process of urbanization in the area of study pre-dates colonial administration, however, with colonization, the rate of urbanization processes and phases increased rapidly because of the British influence on the development of British projects.

### **6.3 Colonial Transportation Policy, 1907-1960**

One of the colonial state projects for the exploitation of the economy of Kudaru District was the provision of infrastructure specifically the construction of roads and rail line across the District. Transportation was meant to open areas of economic interest. Roads and rail line were constructed to link areas where agricultural produce were cultivated particularly cotton and groundnuts as well as tin ore in the area of study. The way and manner roads and rail line were constructed in the area of study would be discussed below.

#### **a) Road Constructions**

Lugard states that, “the single duty which the law imposes upon the people is the maintenance of roads and water ways”<sup>281</sup>. Lugard's statement was backed by clause 13 and 14 of the 1933 Forced Labour Ordinance which stated that local roads shall be

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<sup>281</sup> F. L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda...*p.190

constructed and maintained by the natives<sup>282</sup>. Based on this development the colonial state embarked on the construction of roads in the area of study.

There were three types of roads constructed by the colonial state; Trunk ‘A’ roads were maintained by the Public Works Department (P.W.D), Trunk ‘B’ roads were maintained by the state, while other roads were maintained by the Native Authorities. Most roads constructed were seasonal roads connecting the Provisional and Divisional centres. While, the roads maintained by the Native Authorities were the ones linking the towns and villages within the District. Below is a table showing a breakdown of some of the roads constructed in miles and kilometers in the District:

**Table 6.0: Showing Roads constructed in Kudu District**<sup>283</sup>

<b>Trunk ‘A’ Road from</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>Miles</b>	<b>Kilometers</b>
Kudu	Kaduna through Pambeguwa and Kubau	235.5	379
Kudu	Zaria through Pambeguwa, Zuntu and Dutsen Wai	120.3	193.6
Kudu	Jos through Danbara and Bissalla	186.2	229.7
<b>Total</b>		<b>542.0</b>	<b>702.3</b>
<b>Trunk ‘B’ Road from</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>Miles</b>	<b>Kilometers</b>
Kudu	Karre and Banki	40.4	65

<sup>282</sup> F. L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda...*p.190

<sup>283</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/File No.348, *Kudu District Road Construction, 1931, p.15*

Trunk 'B' road from	To	Miles	Kilometers
Kudaru	Dan' Alhaji through Kayarda	45.4	73.1
Kudaru	Rumaya through Maigamo	55.6	89.5
Kudaru	Kauru through Pambeguwa	40.5	65
<b>Total</b>		<b>181.9</b>	<b>292.6</b>

The table above indicates the network of roads constructed and maintained by the Public Works Department and the Native Authority. These roads encouraged cash crop production as they were the means by which cotton, groundnuts, tin ore, hides and skins were evacuated from the areas of production in the towns and villages of Kudaru to the cities for export to Europe. There were numerous unofficial roads that were constructed and maintained by the Native Authority in the District not mentioned in this dissertation.

By implication, most of the villages were linked to stations where cash crops or grain crops were assembled for evacuation. The Public Works Department (PWD) continued to use Local Labour in clearing, constructing and maintaining these roads under the supervision of a European Assistant Engineers<sup>284</sup>. Labour mobilization for the execution of any colonial state project was provided by the people in the territorial unit or District. Labourers were recruited based on instructions from the District Head to the Village Heads. As per the remuneration there were variations, the skilled artisans were paid 1/- to 16<sup>d</sup> per day and unskilled labourers 4<sup>d</sup> a day.

The monies to be paid to these labourers were in most cases diverted by the Native Authority officials for personal use. A clear example is the way and manner Sa'i Umaru

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<sup>284</sup> Interview with Maiganga Sallau, 71 years, farmer from Pambeguwa on the 22/5/2017 by 12:30pm



the (District Head of Kudu) embezzled public funds in 1931. He diverted the sum of £152.18.6 out of £281.12.3, meant for the payment of the building of a new town at Dutsan Wai. He also misappropriated £51.10.7 meant for payment of Rest Houses and Labourers Houses erected at Rigachikun-Jos road same year. The Emir and Council recommended the dismissal of the District Head as approved by the Resident Officer<sup>285</sup>. However, the period from 1907 to 1960 was purely used in consolidating and maintaining the existing roads to facilitate the speed of colonial trade and underdevelopment of the area of study

#### **b) Construction of the Bauchi Light Railway, 1912-33**

The Nigerian railway construction started in 1896, but the construction of the Bauchi Light Railway from Zaria to Jos began in 1912, with about 1,000 men as construction labourers. The railway line constructed from Zaria to Jos was another major area where the Kudu District Native Authority played a crucial role<sup>286</sup>. The Bauchi Light Railway was a 2ft.6 inches gauge, 143 miles long. It was conceived by the discovery of Tin ore fields in Jos and its environment. The work started in 1911 under the supervision of the Director of Public Works and Railway Engineer John Eaglesome<sup>287</sup>.

The rail line passed through Kudu District North-West of Dutsan Wai and South of Dan'bara. There were three railway stations in the District: Dutsan Wai, Karre and Kudu, these towns were the major producers of cotton, groundnuts, tin ore and grain crops like maize, guinea corn, millet and so on. Lugard gave reasons for the construction of railway line as; to reduce the expense in the transport of stores and the movement of

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<sup>285</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/48, Misappropriation of native Administrative Funds, 1931, P.2

<sup>286</sup> NAK/SNP/10./107/1914, Memo 17, railway labour in Zaria Province

<sup>287</sup> J. Francis, *The History of the Nigerian Railway*, PP.119-122

colonial officials in carrying out their duties; to facilitate the movement of troops required for policing the country, above all, to open up new market for British trade.<sup>288</sup>

Similarly, Mcphee further argues that “the export trade in tin, coal, cotton and groundnut was the reason for the creation of the railways....” The railways were also necessary for crushing and anti-imperialist rebellions and the transport of black troops to Europeans theaters of war<sup>289</sup>. The mobilization of the anti-imperialist troops was to protect the interest of the British. The total revenue generated from the area of study by railway transport from 1912-1939 was £237,810 and the total amount spent on the Bauchi Light Railway construction within the area of study was £11,949<sup>290</sup>.

The degree of exploitation can be seen in the differences between the revenue generated and the expenditure incurred (that is £237,810-£11,949=£225,861). The balance of the sum of two hundred and twenty-five thousand, eight hundred and sixty-one pounds (£225,861) was transferred as profit to the colonial state. This shows that the construction of rail line that cut across the District was not in anyway intended to develop the area of study but to facilitate the transportation of raw materials to Europe and generate internal revenue for the colonial state. Therefore, the reasons put forward by Lugard and Mcphee can be considered as secondary issues.

The principal commodities shifted out of Kudu District by railway transport within the period of study were cotton, groundnuts, hides and skins and tin ore to Europe. The

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<sup>288</sup> F.L. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate*...p.463, also see M.A. Safiyanu The Native Authority, Colonial Infrastructures and Forced Labour: Peasants in the Zaria Railway Construction, 1902-1930, *Zaria Historical Research Journal of the Department of History*, A.B.U, Zaria, Vol.4 Nos 1-4, June, 2009-June, 2012, p.131.

<sup>289</sup> A. Macphee, *The Economic Revolution in West Africa*, London, 1926, pp.110-111.

<sup>290</sup> J. Francis, *The History of Railway*...p.137

Native Authority played a major role in the railway construction. The District Head and the Village Heads conscripted labourers to work on the rail line construction site. Majority of the labourers at the construction sites were conscripted by force or by raiding of villages to work as bridge builders, culverts construction and some were into building station offices and houses for railway officials<sup>291</sup>. At the site, labourers took few days to get used to the work and the tools to be used. The major tools used included local hoes, shovels, baskets and buckets. Labour recruitment to railway work was less during rainy season to allow the peasants plant export crops which were more needed for the development of the European industries.

The railway survey team also exploited the labour of the women, particularly in Karre and Kudara towns. Hannatu Danjuma laments that, the women were forced to carry different kinds of railway equipment to the needed site. Any attempt to refuse amounted to use of colonial military forces on them.<sup>292</sup> The local people that actually did the work were paid amount very low on a work that was energy sapping and deadly. Labourers were only allowed to return home on completion of the work assigned to them. All the monies were paid from the Native Authority Treasury not from the companies account<sup>293</sup>.

Note that the colonial transport policy operated in conjunction with the land policy to focus the attention of the peasantry on primary export production. This was why the colonial railway project in Kudara District was directed towards centers of export production. The District was the major producer of cotton and groundnuts in relation to other neighbouring Disripts in the Province.

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<sup>291</sup> Interview with Hayyatu Jibril, 70 years, traditional ruler at Karre on the 20/5/2017 by 3:00pm

<sup>292</sup> Interview with Hannatu Danjuma, 69 years, farmer from Kudara, on the 18/5/2017 by 10:38am

<sup>293</sup> M.A. Mamman, "British Colonial Labour Policy... pp.107-117

The British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) was another organization that influenced the construction of railway and roads from Zaria to Jos through the District in 1912 to enable them have access and to provide new cotton seeds to farmers for the production of commodities needed in Europe.

In addition, the groundnuts boom of 1913 which led to the neglect of food crop production by the peasantry also facilitated the construction of the Bauchi Light Rail line across the area of study. We did mention in chapter four of this dissertation that about thirteen thousand six hundred and eighty (13,680) tons of groundnut were transported from Kudu to Europe from 1937-1957.

Another colonial agent that facilitated the construction of the railway and roads were British trading companies which gave impetus to cotton and groundnuts production in the District. The cotton, groundnuts and the mining companies were eager to have access and to control the local markets in the area of study. They assisted in different ways in the construction of motor-able roads conceived as feeder roads which, for instance, contributed to the production of raw materials, movement of labourers and traders within and without the District environment.

Rodney notes that:

*Roads and railways had a clear geographical distribution which was based on the needs of particular regions to be opened up to import – export activities, for movement of troops or for conquest and oppression of the colonized. Means of communication were not constructed in the colonial period so that Africans could visit their friends. All roads and railways led down to the sea. They were built to extract gold or manganese or coffee or cotton. They were built to make business possible*

*for the timber companies, trading companies and agricultural concession firms and for white settlers*<sup>294</sup>.

The truth is that railways were not constructed to serve the interest of the colonized. They were built to make business possible for the trading companies and agricultural concession firms, and for the movement of the colonial officials. This is why all rail lines led down to the sea.

Of all colonial projects, the impact the transport sector created on the economy of the area of study particularly in the area of recruitment of labour to work on the railway construction was more severe. Apart from the problem of low wages and death risk, there were frequent food shortages, hunger, temporary couple divorce, famine and other social tribulations. Therefore, the colonial state policies on roads and railway construction were meant to underdevelop the economy of the area of study.

#### **6.4 Colonial Trading Activities**

One of the ways Africa was penetrated and conquered by the European nations was through trade relations. The availability of groundnuts and cotton attracted the British traders into Kudu area. These raw materials were exchanged with the British manufactured goods; though the exchange was not equal. Kudu District was made to be producers of raw materials and consumers of the British manufactured goods. The nature of the unbalanced trade relations will be discussed in details as we examine the role played by the colonial trading companies and marketing boards in the area of study.

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<sup>294</sup> R. Walter *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, pp.251-252, also in M.A. Mamman, "British Colonial Labour Forced...p.107

### **a) Colonial Trading Companies**

The British conquest and domination of Kudu area laid a solid foundation for the activities of the various British trading companies and marketing boards that operated in the District. Rodney observes that;

*The colonial office worked hand in hand with governors in Africa to carry out a number of functions; the principal ones being as follows;*

*a) To protect national interest against competition from other capitalists;*

*b) To arbitrate the conflicts between their own capitalists;*

*c) To guarantee optimum conditions under which private companies could exploit Africa. That company shareholders not only lobbied parliament, but actually controlled the administration itself. Most of them received government Aid in keeping prices down in Africa and in securing forced labour where necessary<sup>295</sup>.*

To achieve these objectives the colonial state created different apparatus that compelled the people into export production to meet the needs of the trading companies and marketing boards in Kudu District. This marked the beginning of the new relations of production between the natives and the British. These were the major trading companies that operated in the area of study:

a) The African and Eastern Trading Company Corporations

b) John Holt & Company Ltd

c) The Niger Company

d) G.B. Ollivant & Company Ltd

d) Paterson Zacheson and Company Limited, and

e) W.B. MacIven & Company Ltd.

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<sup>295</sup> R. Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, p.196-197 and pp.204-205.

The agents representing the companies worked with local middlemen traders to ensuring smooth trade in Kudu District. The colonial records identified among others Mallam Ladan and Mallam Machido as the Middlemen traders that guided the British traders into the nooks and crannies of Kudu District<sup>296</sup>. The local traders facilitated the sales/consumption of the British imported manufactured goods such as clothes, cement, cooking utensils, salt and so on by the peasants in the District of study. The local traders in conjunction with the British traders made possible the exportation of raw materials such as cotton, groundnuts, hides, and beeswax into Britain for the development of the British industries. The nature of this kind of exchange was unequal, because the communities in the area of study were made to be producers of raw materials and consumers of foreign goods.

The companies and their agents' primary duty were to promote the development of export raw materials to the colonial state headquarters and the importation of consumable goods into the area of study. This was one of the steps that led to the gradual incorporation of the area of study into the capitalist world economy. The Niger Company spear headed the commercial dealings in Kudu District until 1915, followed by John Holt and others listed above who penetrated and dominated the commercial affairs in the area.

To be able to maximize competition and curb rivalry, the companies under the leadership of the Royal Niger Company imposed severe conditions under which trade could be carried out in the area, which made it difficult for other rival companies to operate at profit. Among these measures was the fixing of arbitrary prices on commodities for

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<sup>296</sup> E. J. Arnett *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, p.25

export which were acquired from the territories under its control. They also issued a set of regulations imposing heavy custom duties and other trade restrictions.

Finally, the custom duties imposed on commodities purchased by the rival firms were to be paid for in English currency<sup>297</sup>. No other currency was to be accepted in any business apart from the British currency. This was technically planned to favour the growth of the British industries and to stop other European traders intruding into the District for any business. The British firms acquired large portions of lands for the establishment of companies at the expense of the farmer's development. The table below is the graphic explanation of the sizes of lands acquired by the listed foreign companies.

**Table 6.1: Showing the sizes of lands acquired by the Foreign Trading Companies in Kudaru District, 1921-1950<sup>298</sup>.**

S/n	Name of companies	Size of land acquired in sq. Miles/ km
1.	The Niger Company	43.05 miles ( 932 kilometres)
2.	John Holt Company Ltd.	150.20 miles (592 kilometres)
3.	G.B. Ollivant and Company Ltd.	36.33 miles (109 kilometres)
4.	W.B. MacIven & Company Ltd	98.10 miles (234 kilometres)
5	Peterson Zachson and Company Limited	35.15 miles ( 105 kilometres)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>362.83 (1,972)</b>

The table above indicates the sizes of lands occupied by the Foreign Trading Companies in the area of study. By implication these companies acquired large portions of lands in

<sup>297</sup> N. David, *Trade without Rulers*, London, Clarendon press, 1978, pp.2-5, see F. Pedler, *The Icon and the Unicorn in Africa. The United African Company 1887 – 1931*, London, Oxford University Press, 1974 p125

<sup>298</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/C.2467 Kudaru District Records and Accounts, 1921-1950, pp.32-39



the District for the development of the colonial state projects at the expense of the natives.

The lopsided activities of these companies as exporters of raw materials and importers of manufactured goods into Kudu District dislocated the economy of the area of study from being a self sustaining economy to that of a dependent economy. The trading companies used the Native Authority to appropriate surplus from Kudu District, through their monopoly of the purchase of primary commodities at prices below the world market value, and the sale of cheap manufactured goods at exorbitant rates to the natives using the marketing boards.

#### **b) Colonial Marketing Boards 1912-1960**

The establishment of the marketing boards was one of the most important aspects of the colonial economy particularly after the Second World War. The world wars created scarcity of raw materials needed to feed the colonial state industries, insecurity as well as food scarcity. The experience after the wars showed that there was need for statutory marketing boards for the support of products which were facing challenges. The following were some of the marketing boards operated in the area of study: The West African Currency Board (WACB) founded in 1912, Groundnuts Marketing Board (GMB) established in 1949 and Cotton Marketing Board (CMB) founded in 1949<sup>299</sup>.

The main functions of the marketing boards were to fix prices for the main export crops and to issue license to merchants. Prices of cotton and groundnuts were determined by the

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<sup>299</sup> H. Alan, "Crop Marketing Boards and Transport Policy in Nigeria 1950-1964", *Journal of Transport Economics and Policy*, 1970, pp24-27; see NAK/ZARPROF/File No.20, Cotton and Groundnuts, 1939-1950; NAK/ZARPROF/4708A British Cotton Growing Association, file No. ZG.1738/49, p.17, NAK/ZARPROF/File No. 3762/S.2, Nigerian Groundnuts Marketing Ordinance, 1953-1956, p.12.

company agents in their favour. The Currency board was regulating the deposit of pound sterling, payment of bank interest and exchange charges. The board depended seriously on agricultural export surpluses particularly on cotton and groundnuts from the District.

Consequently, it left the entire District economy open to serious challenges of underdevelopment. Money was made available when there was good harvest, and the reverse was the case when there was poor harvest<sup>300</sup>. Apart from cotton and groundnuts, hides were exported to Europe and the inward goods were hardwares, timber, rice, provisions, corrugated iron, cotton goods, cement, and salt and so on. There was no balance in the exchange of goods and services because the import goods were consumable, while the export goods were developing the European industries. The cultivation of groundnuts and cotton were done by the farmers, but the processing was done in Europe by the European firms and the marketing was controlled by the marketing boards on ground.

It is difficult to quantify the impact of the colonial trading companies and marketing boards on the economy of Kudu District. However, the colonial trading companies and marketing boards were seen to be the exporters of primary commodities and importers of manufactured goods and they constituted the most important capitalist agency for the exploitation and underdevelopment of the area of study. Some of these companies like the Niger Company and John Holt Ltd were the harbingers of European imperialism, and therefore, were very familiar with the economic terrain of Kudu area. This advantage placed them in a position to exploit its weaknesses in terms of the rate of surplus appropriation and underdevelopment of the area of study.

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<sup>300</sup> J.S. Philip, "Making Money in Northern Nigeria..." p.279-281

The introduction of the British currency as the medium of exchange was an important stride that incorporated and subordinated the area of study's economy into the world capitalist system till date. The principal means by which the colonial trading companies and their agents appropriated surplus from the area of study, was through their monopoly of the purchase of primary commodities at prices much below their world market value, and the sale of cheap manufactured goods at exorbitant rates to the peasants. The trading firms and the marketing boards' attitudes weakened the indigenous commercial activities and bargaining power vis-à-vis the European firms<sup>301</sup>.

The level of surplus appropriation through unequal exchange perpetuated by the trading companies and the marketing boards technically prevented savings that would have encouraged capital formation. They created a situation where per capita income among the peasants was very low. Below is an example of local prices of produce in Kudaru District as determined by the marketing boards.

**Table 6.2: Showing some of the Local Prices of Produce in Kudaru District, 1923<sup>302</sup>**

Produce	Unit of Measurement	Average Weight in lbs	Minimum and Maximum Prices	Average Mean Price
Dawa (G/Corn)	Bundle	65	3d to 7d	1/1d
Gero (Millet)	“	40	2d to 4d	9d
Maize	Bunch of 100 heads	40	$\frac{1}{2}$ d “ $\frac{1}{2}$ d	$0\frac{1}{2}$ d
Cotton	Basket	30	10d “ 1/-	8/-(per ‘kororo’)
Groundnuts	“	40	10d “ 1/-	2/-
Doya (Yam)	“	60	1d “ 3d	$\frac{1}{4}$
Cassava	“	50	1d “ $\frac{1}{2}$ d	7d

<sup>301</sup> M. Hamman, “Consolidation of Underdevelopment...” p.168

<sup>302</sup> NAKZARPROF 1707 Annual Assessment Report Kudaru District by Banicot (A.D.O), June 1923, p.13

Produce	Unit of measurement	Average weight in lbs	Minimum and maximum prices	Average mean prices
Dankali (potatoes)	“	45	1d “ $\frac{11}{2}$ d	10d
Rizga	“	50	$\frac{1}{2}$ d “ 2d	10d
Gwaza (cocoayam)	“	60	$\frac{1}{2}$ d “ 3d	-
Beans (in pod) (shelled)	“	40	2d “ 3d	9d
	“	-	6a “ 9d	-
Sugar-Cane	Bundle of 100 canes	70	72a “ 11d	
Rice (in husk) (Husked)	Basket	60	6d “ $\frac{1}{3}$ 6/- “ $\frac{2}{6}$	
Onions	“	-	9d	
Tobacco	“	35	4d “ 9d	
Pepper	“	-	6d	2/-
Indigo	“	35	2d “ 6d	9d
Kubewa (dried okro)	“	-	6d	1/6
Kuka	“	25	4d “ 6d	9d
Dorowa (leaves)	Bundle	60	3d “ 9d	1/6

**Source:** NAKZARPROF 1707 Annual Assessment Report Kudaru District by Banicot (A.D.O), June 1923, p.13

## 6.5 Colonial Resettlement Scheme Policy

Resettlement scheme, be it voluntary or involuntary has been defined as a situation in which people are moved away or allowed to move away from their previous habitat to another place. It should be noted that resettlement scheme is quite different from other types of displacements of people from one area to another. Resettlement usually makes

some attempt to rehabilitate the people removed and to provide reparation for the losses that they might have incurred<sup>303</sup>.

There are many reasons for resettlement; some could be due to construction of roads or dams, natural disaster, to discourage rural-urban migration or for agricultural projects. Majority of the communities' settlement patterns in Kudaru area before the colonial occupation of the area were the hilly related pattern. Only a few of the communities settled at the valley of the hills.

An informant says that it was not easy for invaders to subdue the hilly related settlements because of the impregnable hills that surrounded the settlement. That it was not an easy task for enemies to get into the rugged terrain. He further argues that any abnormal situation the people normally took refuge in caves and crevices at the sighting of enemies in which a horn was normally blown as an alarm for everyone to prepare for war or run to a safe place. In these caves granaries were built for storing food that could last for years<sup>304</sup>.

In spite of the bad terrain, the hilly related settlements were subdued by the colonial military might led by Arnett in 1907 and 1908. Arnett argues that the hills of Kudaru were tsetse fly infested homes, as such the people must move to the valley side for safety and development of agricultural export commodities<sup>305</sup>. Arnett's statement and action justifies the British reason behind the resettlement scheme in the area of study. An example of such exercise took place in Ganawuri area of Jos Division, where the

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<sup>303</sup> W. Kwapzem, History of Resettlement Scheme in Shendam (Lowland) Division 1948-1975, B.A History Project, University of Jos, 2009, p63

<sup>304</sup> Interview with James Atuma, 69 years a farmer from Danbara village on the 22/12/18 by 10:28 am

<sup>305</sup> Y. Simon, *The National Question...* p.77

Ganawuri people were moved en-masse from their beautiful but tsetse fly infested homes in the hills to a much safer place<sup>306</sup>. Likewise, the Anchau Rural Development and Resettlement scheme which involved the transfer of about five thousand (5,000) people to Zaria District was also meant to rescue the people from their tsetse fly infested area<sup>307</sup>.

By implication, the Kudaru resettlement scheme met the need of both the people and the colonial government. For instance, the scheme provided the migrants from the hills down the valley with cultivable land. At the same time, it met one of the British objectives of establishing an agricultural society, which was able to produce cash crops for shipment to Europe and food crops such as maize, millet, guinea corn and yams which were exported to Jos to feed tin miners without much stress. The scheme created a room for social integration between and among the various communities that settled in their new environment. Therefore, the scheme was purely an agricultural development and very little of social welfare programme.

## **6.6 Colonial Forest Reserved Policy, 1915 - 1960**

The creation of forest reserve was another area that generated funds for the colonial state in the area of study. The only effective method of conserving forest is by the creation of forest reserves. This was much easier in the Northern Provinces where land was vested in

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<sup>306</sup> E. Isichei, *Studies in the History of Plateau State of Nigeria*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1982, p.263

<sup>307</sup> I. Nabibi, "Colonial Economy of Jema'a Division... p.281

the governor as trustee for the people. In recognition of this power, Thompson (Director of Forest) says, “without this power, forest administration becomes a dead letter”<sup>308</sup>.

Lugard claims that the objectives for the creation, maintenance, and proper protection of larger forest reserves was to ensure continuous supply of forest produce for public requirement; local and foreign markets (by which revenue may be realized), and for the needs of the native population, including materials for building canoes and agricultural implements, firewood, fibres, and so on<sup>309</sup>. Based on this claims, in 1915 about 60 acres was used for planting teak specie in Zaria. Large areas of lands were declared colonial forest reserve: one near Kaduna which covered about 200 square miles, and the other covered the Districts of Kudu and Soba about 600 square miles<sup>310</sup>.

To encourage this project the colonial state introduced the Forestry Ordinance Regulations Act of 1916 which defined boundaries of forest reserves. Other rights and prohibitions attached to it were clearly stated in the Ordinance. Forest officials were appointed. In 1917 a Forest School was established in Zaria and the sum of £457 was set aside for forest control purposes. Sarkin Gandun Daji with (19) subordinates were appointed to look after the forests in the province. Among the (19) subordinates, the *Galadiman Daji* Mallam Boyi was in charge of the Forest Reserve in Kudu District on a salary of £30 per annum<sup>311</sup>.

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<sup>308</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*...p.435.

<sup>309</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*...pp.435-436

<sup>310</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*, p.436. NAK/ZARPROF/904: Government Forest Reserves in Zaria Province, 1915-1939, pp.4-5

<sup>311</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/474 Kudu Notes...p.8

By 1918, Galma River forest reserve and Kogin Karami forest reserve were placed under the Native Administration Forest Reserve<sup>312</sup>. During tours, the forestry officer, political officer, and the Native Authority worked together to enforce the forestry ordinance. They were to ensure that forest reserves were fully protected and trees in unreserved areas were not felled without license or permit. Lugard observes that...“each District Chief was responsible for all forest affairs in his District”<sup>313</sup>.

One of the major implications of the colonial policy on forest reserves was the complete alienation of the people of Kudu District from having access to their forest reserves. This also affected negatively the pastoral cattle rearing from having access to grazing lands. Hunters were restricted and denied their means of protein. The forest reserve policy facilitated the underdevelopment of the economy of the area of study.

## **6.7 Colonial Policy on Education**

On the 8<sup>th</sup> May, 1914, a Provincial Primary School was opened in Zaria City by the Resident officer H.S. Goldsmith, with (50) boys and (6) mallams. G.O. Pauer was Superintendent in charge of the school<sup>314</sup>. Kudu District had four elementary schools at the following towns; Kubau, Dutsan Wai, Maigamo, and Bissalla. Shirley states that the

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<sup>312</sup> NAK/ZARPROF/No.112/240; Memorandum by the Forest Reserve Officer: Forest Reserve at Kudu District-Zaria Province, 1921, p.23, see NAK/ZARPROF/File No.1784/8: Kogin Karami Forest Reserve, 1922, p.4.

<sup>313</sup> F.L. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*...p.446, see NAK/ZARPROF/C.254 Forestry Department Matters 1957, p.6

<sup>314</sup> E.J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*...1920, pp. 24&34



first elementary school was established at Kubau in 1929, and was later moved to Dutsan Wai in 1930<sup>315</sup>. The school started with (20) pupils drawn mainly from Dutsan Wai, though the Village Heads of Dan Maliki, Damo, Leren-Dutsi and Kubau had sons in attendance. Shirley maintains that the school had two classes in which the same subjects were taught viz; Reading, Writing, Arithmetics, Geography, History and Hygiene. While Religious instruction and the Ajami script was taught by the Arabic teacher, the enrolment age was (8) years. Shirley mentions Mallam Ladan as the officer in charge of the school assisted by Mallam Muhammadu, and Momadu was the Arabic and religious instructor<sup>316</sup>.

Another elementary school was established at Maiyamma (Bissalla town) in 1940, with (15) pupils in attendance, among were; Dan'azumi Kudaru, Musa Gullah, Tafarki Daniel, Yunusa Muhammad, Dodo Nuhu, Dantata Shuaibu<sup>317</sup>. Similar school was established at Maigamo in 1942, an informant states that only (12) pupils were enrolled, 10 boys and 2 girls. He mentions some of the pupils' names; Ibrahim Hashimu, Usman Hashimu, Ibrahim Roro, Tela Barau, Kenneth Danladi, La'azarus Soni; and the girls were Barmani Nuhu and Maryamu Ibrahim. He stresses that most of the males came back as teachers in the school, but the females did not go beyond standard three<sup>318</sup>. An informant who graduated from Bissalla Primary School in 1955 argues that all the elementary schools established in Kudaru District were limited to standard one to three (I-III); that only promising pupils were able to proceed to either Lere or Zaria Middle schools to complete

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<sup>315</sup> NAK/ZARPROF 474, Kudaru District Notes by W.R. Shirley (A.D.O), 1932, P.15

<sup>316</sup> NAK/ZARPROF 474, Kudaru District Notes by W.R. Shirley (A.D.O), 1932, Pp. 9 & 15

<sup>317</sup> U.M. Yunusa, Akurmi Education and the Challenges of Modern Times in *The Akurmi People of Central Nigeria: Their Heritage and Hope...* 2014, pp242-243

<sup>318</sup> Interview with Kenneth Danladi, 70 years, Rtd civil servant at his residence Kaduna, on 28/11/16 by 4:00pm

their standard four to seven (IV-VII) education. He says graduates of standard three and standard seven were given automatic employment based on their qualifications<sup>319</sup>. It is important to state that colonial education played a crucial role in the emergence of indigenous classes who were employed as clerks, artisans, technicians, and as scribes. These classes of people facilitated the exploitation of the resources that abound in Kudu District.

On the other side, colonialism contributed positively to the development of Kudu District through western education that we are enjoying today; established health centers to improve our health condition; constructed roads and bridges to improve our intergroup relations. Colonialism also increased the pace of development of towns like Kudu, Dutsin Wai, Zuntu, Bissalla, Rumaya, and Maigamo as commercial centers. These are some of the good parts of colonialism.

## **6.8 Conclusion**

In this chapter we argued that labour power is one of the strongest elements that can create value and cause significant change in the society. In the pre-colonial Kudu area, forced and unpaid labour was used to cultivate large farms owned by the ruling class. The British Labour Ordinance of 1929 and 1933 introduced compulsory paid labour and compulsory unpaid labour policy. The compulsory unpaid labour was labour provided by the natives in public works like the maintenance of roads, construction of wells and so on.

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<sup>319</sup> Interview with Umaru Yunusa 75 years , Politician, at his residence Kaduna on 2/3/19 by 7:0 pm

While, the compulsory paid labour, was labour provided in the railway construction, cash crops production and in mining operations and so on.

We observed that the labourers recruited were young, strong and healthy adult males of not less than eighteen (18) years and not more than forty-five (45) years to work on the colonial projects. Consequently, the exercise led to forced migrations, loss of lives, hunger, poverty and famine in the area of study.

We stated that one of the reasons for the occupation of the area of study was the discovery of mineral resources like tin ore, iron and columbite in 1910. We argued that places where mineral resources were found 70% of the workforce were engaged in mining activities. We listed some of the foreign companies that held mining grants in the area of study. We concluded that the colonial mining policy legislation dislocated the indigenous knowledge of tin mining and iron smelting. In addition, some of the labourers who were involved in this project were physically and psychologically affected. Some died, some were deformed in the process of constructions, cutting or digging.

We argued that provision of infrastructure like roads and rail lines were constructed to open and link areas of agricultural produce like cotton, groundnuts, and mineral resources. The natives were conscripted into public works without payment. The labourers provided for the construction of the Bauchi Light Rail line across the District were paid low wages for jobs that were energy sapping and dangerous to life. We concluded that the period from 1907-1960 was purely used in consolidating and maintaining the existing roads and railway to facilitate the speed of colonial trade and underdevelopment of the area of study.

One of the ways the British penetrated and occupied Kudu area was through trade relations pioneered by the British companies and marketing boards. We argued that the British created different apparatus that compelled the natives into export production to meet the need of the trading companies and marketing boards. The primary duty of these companies and their agents was to promote the consumption of the British goods and the production of raw materials for the development of industries in Europe.

The appropriation of surplus from Kudu District by these companies through monopoly of the purchase of primary goods at prices below the world market value, and the sale of the British goods at exorbitant rates to the natives using marketing boards dislocated the economy of the District. The trading firms and the marketing boards' attitudes weakened the indigenous commercial activities and bargaining power vis-a-vis the European firms. This method technically made it impossible for the natives to save money for future development.

The resettlement scheme in Kudu District was to encourage the production of export crops such as cotton, groundnuts, and grain crops which colonial state used in feeding the miners in Jos mining areas. The colonial state used military power to force the natives to relocate down the valley to produce export commodities. However, the scheme on the other side encouraged social integration between and amongst the communities in the area of study.

The creation of forest reserves was another area that generated funds for the consolidation of colonial economy in Kudu District. The Forestry Ordinance Regulation Acts of 1916 and 1917 declared a large portion of land mass which covered the Districts of Kudu and

Soba about 600 square miles as colonial state forest reserve. Kogin Karami forest reserve was also created in 1921; it covered about five (5) miles from Kударu town to Dan'Alhaji town. The forest reserves policy was a deliberate attempt to alienate the peasants from having access to their forest reserves. This also affected the pastoral cattle rearing from having access to grazing lands and hunters were restricted and denied their means of protein.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### GENERAL CONCLUSION AND THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

This study focused on Economic History of Kudu District, Zazzau Emirate under Colonial Domination, 1907-1960. The objective of the study is to critically examine the role the colonial state played in the disarticulation of the pre-colonial economy of Kudu District within the period of study. This was done by looking at the land, the people and the state of the economy of Kudu District prior to colonialism. Ceciro in Arthur Macwick states that, “not to know what took place before you were born is to remain forever a child”<sup>320</sup>.

Chapter one started with the historical background and the geographical location of the area of study. Two figure maps are attached, the first showing Zaria Province as at 1902 and the second showing Kudu District as at 1907. We stated that the problem that led to this research is the growing peasant impoverishment, hunger, and economic underdevelopment of the area of study; which seems to be located from the era of colonialism and post colonial level of corruption in the Country. The data collected, analysed and reinterpreted proved that British administrative policies and actions dislocated the pre-colonial economy of the area of study.

The scope of the research started from the year the District was created (1907) and ended with the political exit of the British administration in 1960. We employed historical methodology for the collection, analysis and reinterpretation of primary, secondary and

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<sup>320</sup> M. Arthur, *The Nature of History*, London, Macmillan, 1984 p.15

tertiary sources. We stated that the area of study is yet to be explored by historical researchers. Therefore, the research is important because it will bring into limelight the basic features of the British administration particularly with regards to the imposition of economic policies on land, labour, taxation, provision of infrastructure and agriculture which have not been discussed by any work in the area of study.

We reviewed literatures which directly or indirectly deal with the economy of Zazzau Emirate, because the focus of our study cannot be understood meaningfully outside the larger context of the economic history of Zazzau Emirate. We concluded that the most relevant theory that would be useful to explain the operations and actions of the colonial economy in the area of study is the underdevelopment and dependency theories.

The second chapter started with the analysis of the dialectical relationship between man and the environment over time and space in the area of study. We argued that environment plays significant role in human and geography of all societies. Carr contends that “environment, society and the individual are inseparable”<sup>321</sup>. We argued that the activities of man are influenced by nature and place of habitation. However, the geography of the area of study was viewed in relation to the climate such as: Rainfall, Temperature, Soil, Vegetation, and Wind among others.

We also discussed the peopling of the area and their tradition of origins. Among such communities are the Kurama, Amo, Rumaya, the Hausa and Fulani people. Much of what the informants stated as regards to their tradition of origins were myth stories. However, we argued that archaeological and linguistic findings provided significant evidence of

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<sup>321</sup> E.H. Carr, *What is History*, p.25

early human existence in the area of study more than the myth theory. Some of these evidences are artefacts such as; terra cotta models, grinding stones, iron tools, pot shed and furnaces to support the fact that people existed in Kudu area which falls within the axis of the Nok culture.

Chapter three examined the pre-colonial socio-cultural, political and economic activities of the various communities that made up the Kudu area. Our discussion of the socio-cultural and political relations demonstrated that the basis of authority lied in the household head, because of his knowledge of the environment and the tradition of the people. Each clan had its values, rules and totemic symbol that differentiated it from other clans in the society. Religion as an ideology played important role in the maintenance of law and order in the society. We argued that the political organization of the people was based on their socio-cultural and religious beliefs. Political authority was rested on the nuclear family. Within each community power was exercised by the council of elders and other age-grades.

We further argued that there were various levels of interactions that existed among the people in Kudu area. Such relationships, be they religious, political, economic or social were born out of the processes of the people's way of reproducing themselves, the production of their means of sustaining human life. We stated that the pre-colonial land tenure system in the area of study was based on the general principles governing land tenure system in Northern Nigeria. The principles state that "all lands in the country were under the chiefs for the members of the tribes to whom the land belong...."<sup>322</sup>.

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<sup>322</sup> NAK/NSP/FILE NO.1703, VOL.1, Agricultural Policy in Northern Province, p.3



Theoretically, there was no private or individual ownership of land. Land was conceived as a corporate property in the area of study.

We argued that agriculture was the major pre-colonial economic activity in the area of study. Agriculture was supplemented by other minor units of the economy such as hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, iron working (smiting), trading, and local craft activities. We noted that pre-colonial taxation existed as a source of income exacted by *Habe* rulers and the Emirs. The reason for taxation was to support the ruling class. We listed the various types of pre-colonial taxations. We concluded that the 1804 Sokoto Jihad integrated the communities in the area of study into a political unit called the Emirate system of administration. The jihad fostered inter-group relations among communities in the area, and lasted up to 1902 when the Sokoto Caliphate was overthrown by British military might. This marked the beginning of the colonial rule in our area of study.

In chapter four we extensively discussed the various means of consolidation of the colonial administrative structures in Zazzau Emirate and Kudu area in particular. We clearly stated that the beginning of the British occupation of the area of study which started with the hoisting of the Union Jack of Great Britain in 1900 at Lokoja. The British West African Frontier Force (WAFF) military squad was used to pacify any resistance to colonial domination. It was this military squad the British used to occupy Zazzau Emirate in 1902.

The issue of insecurity in the Sokoto Caliphate was put forward by the British as one of the major reasons for the occupation of Zazzau Emirate. But an analysis of the British

economic policies in the area of study debunked the issue of insecurity in the Caliphate. In the process for the conquest of Zazzau Emirate, there were resistance particularly from the Zaria warriors. In spite of the various resistances from the Zazzau Emirate, the Emirate was eventually conquered and incorporated into colonial forms of administration and domination. In 1902 the Emirate was declared a Province (Zaria Province) under the leadership of a British Resident Officer.

As soon as the Emirate was declared a Province, the colonial state embarked on administrative reorganization with a view to ensuring smooth political and economic exploitation of the Province. One of the major outcomes of the reorganization was the creation of thirty-two Districts in 1907, which Kudu District was a part; and the transformation of the Fief holders (*Jakadu*) into permanent District Heads. The District Heads were to ensure effective administration of the hinterland of the Province.

We also stated that the District Heads system was accompanied by the Native Courts, Police and Prisons to ensure compliance to colonial policies and smooth administration. The goals and standards of performance of these agencies were determined by British Officials. Even where policy guidelines were clear, theory did not always permeate practice. We concluded that Colonialism was essentially banditry.

We started chapter five with the conceptual clarification of the term ‘colonial economy’. We argued that colonial economy is a description of the unequal economic relations between a colonial power and its dependencies. The structures and operations of the colonial economy laid a foundation for the growth of the indigenous economic malpractices that developed after independence, particularly the material corruption in the

public service. We also observed that the dominant features of the colonial economy were essentially the exploitation and underdevelopment of the colonized nations.

We examined the British land policy in the area of study. We observed that land is an important economic factor of production. In the pre-colonial era, peasants had possession of their lands, means of production and labour power. But, with the occupation of the area of study the British made land proclamation, which placed lands either occupied or not occupied under the control of the colonial state. This proclamation was made clear to the Chiefs and Emirs in the Province. By implication, peasants' lands were confiscated and placed under the colonial state for the development of colonial projects.

To ensure total control of lands and labour, the colonial state monetized the economy. The British currency was the only money recognized for exchange of goods and services. The only way to obtain the currency was to engage in either cash crop production or mining activities.

We argued that taxation was the major instrument deployed by the British to consolidate colonial economy. We stated clearly that pre-colonial taxations and levies existed before colonial domination. The organization, assessment and collection methods of the pre-colonial taxations were not the same with the colonial era. Colonial state introduced direct taxation on every adult male and used the local agencies like the District Heads, Village Heads, the Native Courts, Police, and Prisons to ensure smooth assessment, organization and collection of taxes. We stated that few communities resisted but were over powered by the military might of the colonial state. Taxation was a policy deployed to enforce people to work on cash crop production and mining areas. The tax policy did

not put into consideration the unfortunate, the sick, the burdened and many others. The tax policy led to crime, debt, loss of property, peasants absconding from their families, emigration, and embezzlement of public funds particularly from the war years, 1930s and 1940s.

We argued that the major occupation of the people was agriculture supplemented by local craft industries, fishing and hunting. The cultivation of agricultural commodities particularly cotton and groundnuts constituted the focus of the colonial economy in Kuduru District. The demand for cotton and groundnuts to feed the British industries changed the peasants' production from less food production to more of cash crops production. The entire District was flooded with the British cotton seeds to prevent the use of local varieties by the farmers. The method adopted by the colonial state discouraged the growth of food production, which led to famine and poverty amongst the peasants in the area of study.

In chapter six we argued that labour power is one of the strongest elements that can create value and cause significant change in the society. In the pre-colonial Kuduru area, forced and unpaid labour was used to cultivate large farms owned by the ruling class. The British Labour Ordinance of 1929 and 1933 introduced compulsory paid labour and unpaid labour policy. The compulsory unpaid labour was labour provided by the natives in public works like the maintenance of roads, construction of wells and so on. While, the compulsory paid labour, was labour provided in the railway construction, cash crops production and in mining operations.

We observed that the labourers recruited were young, strong and healthy males of not less than eighteen (18) years and not more than forty-five (45) years to work on the colonial projects. Consequently, the exercise led to forced migrations, loss of lives, hunger and famine in the area of study.

We stated that one of the reasons for the occupation of the area of study was the discovery of mineral resources like tin ore, iron and columbite in 1910. We argued that places where mineral resources were found 70% of the workforce were engaged in mining activities. We listed some of the foreign companies that held mining grants in the area of study. We concluded that the colonial mining policy legislation dislocated the indigenous knowledge of tin mining and iron smelting. In addition, some of the labourers who were involved in this project were physically and psychologically affected. Some died, some were deformed in the process of constructions, cutting or digging.

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One of the ways the British penetrated and occupied Kudu area was through trade relations with the British companies and marketing boards. We argued that the British

created different apparatus that compelled the natives into export production to meet the need of the trading companies and marketing boards. The primary duty of these companies and their agents was to promote the consumption of the British goods and the production of raw materials for the development of industries in Europe.

The appropriation of surplus from Kudu District by these companies through monopoly of the purchase of primary goods at prices below the world market value, and the sale of the British goods at exorbitant rates to the natives using marketing boards dislocated the economy of the District. The trading firms and the marketing boards' attitudes weakened the indigenous commercial activities and bargaining power vis-a-vis the European firms. This method made it impossible for the natives to save money for future development.

One of the reasons for the idea of the resettlement scheme in Kudu District was to encourage the production of export crops such as cotton, groundnuts, and grain crops which colonial state used in feeding the miners in Jos mining areas. Therefore, the colonial state had to use military power to force the natives to relocate down the valley to produce export commodities. However, the scheme on the other side encouraged social integration between and amongst the communities in the area of study.

The creation of forest reserves was another area that generated funds for the consolidation of colonial economy in Kudu District. The Forestry Ordinance Regulation Acts of 1916 and 1917 declared a large portion of land which covered the Districts of Kudu and Soba about 600 square miles as colonial state forest reserve. Kogi Karami forest reserve was also created in 1921; it covered about five (5) miles from Kudu town to Dan'Alhaji town. The forest reserves policy was a deliberate attempt to alienate the peasants from

having access to their forest reserves. This also affected the pastoral cattle rearing from having access to grazing lands and hunters were restricted and denied their means of protein.

We buttressed the fact that colonial education had economic and social impact on the people in the area of study. Elementary schools were opened in Kubau, Dutsan Wai, Kudaru, Maigamo and Bissalla; first to champion the course of evangelism and second to train clerks and interpreters as well as to teach them rudimentary skills like carpentry and agricultural activities. We also stated the positive role of colonial education as means through which the colonial policies were challenged. Yet colonial education curriculum was meant to meet the needs of the colonialists and not to develop the colonized.

Chapter seven summarizes the nature of the economic history of Kudaru District under the colonial domination 1907-1960. It was noted that the colonial state is mostly responsible for the economic underdevelopment of Kudaru District. David Nyam Ajiji in his work on colonialism graphically summarized the impact of colonialism thus:

*It is an instrument of wholesale destruction, dependency and systematic exploitation producing distorted economies, socio-psychological disorientation, massive poverty and neo-colonial dependency*<sup>323</sup>.

In support of David, Aime Cesaire argues that:

*Between colonizer and colonized, there is room only for forced labour, intimidation, pressure, the police, taxation, theft, rape compulsory crops contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self complacency, brainless elites, degraded masses... I am talking about societies drained of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed, magnificent artistic creations destroyed, extra-ordinary possibilities wiped out.... I am talking about millions of*

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<sup>323</sup> N. A. David, *Colonialism and Inter-group Relations in the Central Nigeria Highlands: The Afizere Story*, Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2011, p.29

*men in whom fear has been cunningly instilled, who have been taught to have an inferiority complex, to tremble, kneel, despair, and to behave like flunkeys*<sup>324</sup>.

The statement above is a description of the historical occurrences that this research work addressed squarely. However, colonialism had very heterogeneous effects, operated through many mechanisms; sometimes encouraged development like the provision of infrastructures such as roads, rail transport, schools, clinics, modern technologies and so on. Sometimes retarded development through repressive policies as discussed above.

However, based on the oral interview conducted and the relevant literature reviewed, the study revealed the following findings: First, that the indigenous economies were not backward or stagnant in contrast to the economies of European industrialized nations. This is because the indigenous economies were built on real and dynamic economic sectors that operated in an integrated system of inter-related industries whose technology, raw materials and skills were sourced locally. This self-sustaining economic system was destroyed by the British through the colonial administrative and economic policies.

The second point is that the communities in Kudu District particularly the Kurama, Amo and Rumaya constituted an important organ of opposition to colonial taxation, even though they were later overpowered by the British military might. This resistance signified that the communities were not docile to external aggression. The research also revealed that Kudu District was one of the colonial created Districts in the South-East of Zaria Province where the dominant population was made up of 'Pagans' or Non-Muslims.

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<sup>324</sup> A. Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1972, pp.21-22



It was one of the Districts in the South-East of Zaria Province that the people suffered double taxation from the hands of the Native Authority. While the adult males paid tax as usual, the 'Pagan' or Non-Muslim women livestock and food crops were confiscated by the N.A to make up for the taxes of their husbands and sons. On the other hand, the Muslim women were exempted from the payment of taxes due to the practice of 'Purdah' which kept the women in seclusion. Finally, the research established that the present economic crises that is bedevilling this Nigeria, which the area of study is a part, is a historical process that started from the colonial era.

Right from the statement of the problem the argument put forward is that the relationship between the polities in the Kudu District and the British imperial power was that of economic exploitation and underdevelopment. The impact is so great that since 1907 the communities in our area of study have not been able to break this yoke of economic dependence imposed on them by the British imperial power. Deliberate and conscious effort should be made by the leadership of this nation and the area of study to exercise independent powers and control over our economic development. Thus, the importance of this study is the fact that it is a pioneering microeconomics research work in this area.

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## ORAL INTERVIEW

Name	Age	Occupation	Place of interview	Date	Time
John Boyi	68	Rtd civil servant	Kudaru	29/9/17	11:20 am
Mustapha Danjumai	73	Rtd civil servant	Dutsen Wai	4/10/17	3:03 pm
Hassan Abdulkadir	81	Ex-miner	Banki	23/5/17	10:12 am
Sadau Adamu	87	Ex-miner	Kudaru	26/4/18	11:40 am
Shekarau Azaman	87	Ex-miner	Kudaru	10/10/17	6:12 pm
Maiganga Sallau	71	Farmer	Pambeguwa	22/5/17	12:30 pm
Hayyatu Jibril	70	Traditional ruler	Karre	20/5/17	3:00 pm
Hannatu Danjuma	69	Farmer	Kudaru	18/5/17	10:38 am
Adamu Danladi	76	Farmer	Rumaya	15/5/18	3:05 am
Bello Baduku	68	Farmer	Kudaru	15/9/17	10:12 am
Adamu Maganganu	72	Rtd civil servant	Dan'bara	19/10/17	10:00 am
Sabo Yakubu	66	Farmer	Rumaya	30/10/17	11:13 am
Samaila Zatto	67	Rtd civil servant	Kudaru	31/11/17	7:00 pm
John Arosta	69	Rtd Civil servant	Gidan waya	4/5/18	5:02 am
Dauda Adamu	71	Farmer	Maigamo	4/11/17	8:00 am
Danboyi Babale	72	Rtd civil servant	Rumaya	24/5/17	2:10 pm
Peter Yakubu	68	Farmer	Bissalla	21/11/16	11:00 am
Maiwada Ubandoma	73	Farmer	Zuntu	1/12/16	10:32 am
Ibrahim Makama	74	Trader	D/Wai	17/11/16	12:07 pm
Tanimu Ibrahim	65	Blachsmith	Maigamo	12/12/17	9;13 am
Mato Gaiya	68	Fisherman	Maigamo	22/2/18	3:24 pm
Buba Mathew	69	Hunter	F/Rumaya	14/12/18	11:00 am
Maiwada Tagwai	82	Village Head	Maigamo	16/9/17	11:44 am
Adamu Yakubu	85	Farmer	DanBara	19/12/18	4:30 pm
Bitrus Paul	82	Farmer	Payau	26/8/19	5:05 pm

### ORAL INTERVIEW

Name	Age	Occupation	Place of interview	Date	Time
Bala Ibrahim	68	Blacksmith	Dan'Alhaji	1/12/17	10:25 am
Sadau Sanda	65	Rtd civil servant	Bissalla	6/5/17	5:05 pm
Jibril Musa	70	Hunter	Zuntu	1/12/16	11:24 am
Andrew Zakka	73	Trader	Fadan Rumaya	17/11/17	12:09 pm
Wada Mustapha	71	Trader	Dutsen Wai	30/11/16	3:13 pm
Hassan Abdulkadir	81	Ex-miner	Banki	23/5/17	10:12 am
Chiroma Danmaraya	79	Ex-miner	Leren Dutse	23/5/17	3:15 pm
Umaru Bawa	85	Farmer	Karre	15/4/18	9:23 am
Sadau Adamu	87	Ex-miner	Kudaru	26/4/18	11:40 am
Mantau Sallau	69	Farmer	Dutsen Wai	1/5/18	3:10 pm
Maiganga Sallau	71	Farmer	Pambeguwa	22/5/17	12:30 pm
Hayyatu Jibril	70	Traditional ruler	Karre	20/5/17	3:00 pm
Hannatu Danjuma	69	Farmer	Kudaru	18/5/17	10:38 am
John Mato	67	Rtd civil servant	Karre	3/1/17	9:00 am
Kenneth Danladi	70	Rtd civil servant	Kaduna	28/11/16	4:00 pm
Danmaraya Ibrahim	56	Civil servant	Fadan Rumaya	30/10/16	1:00 pm
Gimba Buba	68	Ardo (Sarkin Fulani)	Dan'Alhaji	4/1/17	11:10 am
Usman Ahmed	73	Farmer	Zuntu	13/8/18	11:03 am
Danjuma Haliru	80	Farmer	Kayarda	14/8/18	10:42 am
Abubakar Muhammadu	78	Pastoralist	Kudaru	15/8/18	10:15 am
Agandi Arikku	65	Farmer	Dan'Alhaji	20/1/19	11:02 am
Gaba Yunusa	68	Farmer	Bissalla	15/1/19	4:12 pm
Danjumai Muazu	67	Farmer	Da,'Alhaji	20/1/19	11:53 am
Chinge Dauda	72	Farmer	Bitarana	23/1/19	5:24 pm
Patrick Emmanuel	66	Farmer	Fadan Rumaya	25/1/19	1:10 pm
Umaru Yunusa	75	Politician	Kaduna	2/3/19	7:00 pm
Amono Tafarki	70	Hunter	Maigamo	2/7/19	3:04 pm
Bawa Magaji	69	Village Head	Maigamo	24/3/18	1:12 pm
Paul Dauda	71	Trader	Bissalla	30/5/19	3:00 pm
Wada Zakka	67	Rtd civil servant	Karre	2/1/19	9:15 am
Gaiya Abundu	65	Farmer	Dan Bara	14/4/18	7:20 pm

<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Time</b>
Dangana Amutu	68	Farmer	Kudaru	16/7/19	6:25 pm
Arosta Basuwa	65	Rtd civil servant	Bissalla	27/3/18	12:45 pm
Ladan Sauri	64	Rtd civil servant	Saminaka	9/6/19	8:15 pm
Abubakar Muhammadu	68	Herdsmen	Banki	2/3/19	9:05 am
Kande Ahmadu	64	Trader	Zuntu	18/8/19	12:15 pm
Chirstopher William	68	Rtd civil servant	Gonin gora, Kaduna	5/5/19	6:21

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