

THE CATTLE INDUSTRY
IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1900-1939

Florence Adebisi Bankole Okediji

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In Memoriam

Florence Adebisi Bankole Okediji
1936-1972

Cover photograph of Zebu cattle and drover by Mary C. Brooks

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FOREWORD

Florence Adebisi Bankole Okediji was born in Lagos, Nigeria on February 12, 1936, the daughter of Reverend and Mrs. George A. Bankole. She attended Baptist Women's Teacher Training College, Idi-Aba, in Abeokuta, Nigeria, and Wayland Baptist College in Plainview, Texas, U. S. A., where she received her B.A., Magna Cum Laude, in 1961. While at Wayland College, she held the Region I Scholarship of Alpha Chi National Scholastic Society and was a member of Alpha Chi and of Phi Alpha Theta. She received a Freshman Award and was on the Dean's Honor List; she also belonged to the International Relations Club and was cited in Who's Who Among Students at American Universities and Colleges. She subsequently earned her M.A. (1963) and Ph.D. (1972) degrees at Indiana University.

In 1964, she joined the staff of the University of Ife, where she was a Temporary Assistant Lecturer in Economics (1964-65) and Assistant Lecturer in History (1965-67). From 1967 to 1970, she was a Research Fellow in the Department of History, University of Ibadan, and also served on the West African Examinations Council. At the time of her death, on December 17, 1972, she was Assistant Professor of History at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. Okediji is survived by her parents, now residing in Ijebu Ode; her husband, Professor Francis Olu. Okediji, Head of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan; and her children, Olutade Adeyi (born January 15, 1963 in Bloomington, Indiana), Olufunmilade (born July 20, 1966 in Ibadan, Nigeria) and Iyatokunbo Ajike (born December 4, 1972 in Nashville, Tennessee).

The following text is Chapter VI of Dr. Okediji's Ph.D. dissertation, An Economic History of Hausa-Fulani Emirates of Northern Nigeria: 1900-1939, plus a map of cattle trade routes, excerpts from a section entitled "Oral Field Evidence", and the questionnaire which she used in interviewing Hausa cattle traders. Chapter VI is reproduced without alteration, except for a few minor textual clarifications; i. e., brief references to works cited earlier in the dissertation have been replaced by complete citations. Sara S. Berry and George E. Brooks prepared the manuscript for publication.

The African Studies Program prepared this publication to honor Florence Okediji as a scholar and a graduate of the Program. Copies will be distributed to her friends in the United States, Nigeria, and Britain, and to the leading African Studies programs and centers in the United States, West Africa and Britain.

J. Gus Liebenow
Director, 1961-1971

Patrick O'Meara
Director, 1971 -

THE CATTLE INDUSTRY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1900-1939

The cattle industry constituted an important sector of the Hausa-Fulani economy. Its economic development was fostered mainly through the activities of indigenous cattle dealers and herders in response to improved market opportunities.

Of the different species of cattle in the Hausa-Fulani emirates the Zebu is by far the most predominant breed. Although general information as regards the introduction of the various types of cattle has not been adequately studied, it seems that the Zebu reached the Western Sudan by way of North Africa. As the Berbers penetrated into the Tukulor empire from about the eleventh century, their Zebu cattle infiltrated into the areas less populated by the sedentary cultivators.¹ Favourable conditions allowed the Zebu cattle to flourish and gradually replace the humpless cattle which were the earliest to arrive in the Western Sudan.² The ecological conditions of most of the Western Sudan also encouraged some degree of dispersal. So as the pastoral populations (notably the Fulani) prospered there was rapid population increase and a continuous demographic pressure for new grazing land. Hence, the pastoral Fulani spread eastward, where more land was available.

The movement of the pastoral Fulani with their Zebu cattle penetrated into the Hausa country by the fifteenth century.³ Their subsequent important concentrations are found in Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, Bauchi Plateau and Zaria. One of the earliest references to the cattle population in the Hausa emirates was in the sixteenth century by Leo Africanus, who referred to the kingdoms as very rich in cattle and that some of the inhabitants dwelling in villages were herdsmen.⁴

The Fulani groups formed a minority under the Habe rulers but with the victory of the Holy War, their status changed from subject peoples to that of the ruling class. The key positions in the administration were held by the "Town Fulani" who had settled among the Habe. In contrast, the pastoralists were largely interested in their cattle and they lived in large bush encampments away from the towns. As a part of a ruling elite the pastoralists were allowed to own slaves and from the booty of war and the tribute from the conquered areas slaves were available in great numbers.⁵ This privilege modified the socio-economic relations of the pastoral Fulani. Many of them chose to live within the towns and welcomed the opportunity of enjoying the greater com-

fort of sedentary living and having slaves to lighten their burdens. The herds were kept near the towns under the charge of trusted slaves, who had other slave herdsmen to assist them if the cattle herds were numerous. The use of slaves probably encouraged the acquisition of large numbers of cattle. For instance, Barth was particularly impressed by the presence of large cattle populations in the Hausa emirates; he wrote, "water pits are not wanting in any of the large towns and villages of the country; and a numerous herd of cattle met our view beyond each village."⁶ With the slaves occupied both in farming and in tending cattle, large-scale ownership of cattle was a natural phenomenon.

It is important to stress that the ownership of cattle continued to be an important item in prestige ranking. The maintenance of pastoral values persisted. The needs of the cattle basically determined the size and the distribution of Fulani settlements and also influenced the nature of the relationships which obtained between them and the other ethnic groups. Most Fulani informants stressed that cattle ownership was a symbol of group solidarity within the plural society and its cohesion transcended both kinship and clanship organization.⁷

The traditional centre for distribution and exchange in Hausa-Fulani communities was the market. As indicated in Chapter I, a market is an officially recognized and controlled gathering which has a fixed organization and form. One of the most important developments after the Jihad was that markets began to multiply and a much wider range of goods was available.⁸ The pastoral Fulani who were now living in dispersed homesteads throughout the countryside looked to the markets not only as important social centres but also as a means of trade. The women sold their milk and butter. The men apart from gathering necessary information on grazing conditions for animals, bargained some beasts for household needs or for fulfilling necessary requirements for social engagements.⁹

Referring to the market-place at Kano, Barth observed that cattle marketing was an integrated part of market business in the Hausa states for centuries. He was so impressed by the size and the organization of the city market that he wrote, "on the northern margin of the Jakara is the market place, forming a large quadrangle, mostly consisting of sheds built in regular rows like streets, but the western most part of it forms the cattle market, where numbers of cattle are in an immense quantity for sale."¹⁰ At Sokoto, he estimated that about three hundred head of cattle were slaughtered on a single market day.¹¹ If three hundred animals was the approximate figure for Sokoto city, certainly the slaughtered animals for other cities such as Zaria, Katsina and Kano would be of the same range or even more.

Apart from meeting the demand for local consumption, export services of live animals operated to the Western Sudan. Although early accounts made no references to the volume of exports of animals to the

Western Sudan, cattle were recognized as an important item in exchange for kola nuts. One of the earliest accounts of the Salaga market was that given in 1822 by a former Kano natron trader, who referred to the arrival of the Hausa caravans with important products such as cattle and cloth in exchange for kola and salt supplied by Asante traders.¹² In addition to this evidence, early reports on Hausa traders to Gwanja in the last decade of the nineteenth century mentioned livestock as one of the principal commodities they sold in the markets west of Sokoto emirate.¹³ These findings correspond to Hogendorn's suggestion that most of the capital used by the Hausa traders in the groundnut trade boom of 1912-13 was made from long-distance business in livestock.¹⁴

As regards the cattle trade to southern Nigeria, the largest single centre for northern cattle surplus, reference to such exchange was mentioned as early as 1824 when Clapperton visited Sokoto. He noted that livestock were driven across the river Niger in great number to the coast.¹⁵ In 1857 the Rev. Samuel Crowther, after his third voyage up the Niger, also remarked that cattle are one of the many goods traded from Hausa country to Yoruba-land through Nupe country.¹⁶ The supply of animals to the southern markets continued during the nineteenth century. According to Alhaji Mohamman Dan Gado of Sokoto, said to be the oldest caravan cattle dealer to the south, Ilorin was the great entrepôt for trade before the British occupation. It was the meeting place of the routes from Kano and Zaria and the line through Sokoto, Jega, Yelwa, Ilo, Bussa, Nikki and Yashikera.¹⁷ Although there were variations in the narration of the informants as regards trade relations at Ilorin the majority of them said that most of the Yoruba purchasers were Ijebus and they extended credit to Hausa dealers. The selling and buying transactions were done through the resident Hausa middlemen. The commodities which the cattle traders took away were brought by Yoruba traders from the coast. Prominent among the commodities was imported salt. The traders in Kano or Sokoto collected information about trading conditions in Ilorin through the Hausa middlemen and the volume of supply depended on market conditions. An old informant in Zaria, Sharif Garba Dan Kati, emphasized that market prices dictated the volume of supply and added that "if the market is good, that is if the prices offered are profitable, we always bring more cattle but if it is the reverse we exercise caution."¹⁸ Unfortunately it is very difficult to estimate the number of the traders involved in the trade but what should be emphasized is the fact that the supply did fulfill part of the demand in Southern Nigeria for beef-meat.

From the foregoing discussion it can be maintained that the pastoral Fulani derived part of their income from the sale of cattle and demonstrated more flexibility in their economic adjustment than is generally believed.¹⁹

About the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there were re-

ports of unstable political conditions in the emirates. R. A. Adeleye interprets these internal tensions as revolts against the Caliph's authority.²⁰ The economic aspects of these revolts, which Adeleye did not investigate, were just as important as the political aspects. From the pastoralists' point of view, the insecurity of the times compelled them to live near walled villages which restricted the movement of cattle. Herds were concentrated at a series of walled-clan-villages located at intervals from five to fifteen or more miles from each other were a common sight in Sokoto and Kano emirates.²¹ Cattle grazed on the edge of the bush near the village and I was informed that in those days the pastoralists tolerated the unfavourable conditions of pasturage not because there was a shortage of grass and water but because the herdsmen were afraid to take their cattle far from the village.²²

The widespread insecurity and consequent confinement of cattle within the precincts of villages contributed to the severity of the rinderpest epidemic of 1887 to 1901. According to modern accounts some cattle owners lost the majority of their animals in the great outbreak.²³ Informants told stories of cattle owners who, having lost all or nearly all their cattle, became demented. Some herd owners exchanged their slaves in order to obtain calves. An informant remarked, "so great was the demand for cattle locally that it was common in many places to offer large prices for an unborn calf."²⁴ It would seem then that the pastoralists were just beginning to recover from the epidemic when the British occupied the emirates.

British Policy

The establishment of British rule modified the pattern of life of the pastoral Fulani. The relative peace and security which followed the British occupation encouraged the pastoral Fulani to move out of their fortified and over-crowded villages to the grazing areas which were formerly denied them. "Nowadays," said a siwalbe, "we have nothing to fear but hyenas and snakes."²⁵

Another major change was in relation to cattle ownership. As indicated already, after the Jihad the pastoral Fulani were allowed to own slaves which encouraged the ownership of large herds of animals. In Kano, Sokoto and Zaria emirates large herds of several hundred head of cattle in single ownership were quite common in the nineteenth century.²⁶ With the British occupation, the slaves were emancipated and slave traffic was suppressed. Such a policy put the pastoralists in a difficult economic position due to shortage of labour. The pastoral Fulani until then had relied for their subsistence on the crops grown by their slaves. It was partly on account of the new conditions that the principal methods of cattle raising in the emirates were modified.

Referring to the emancipation of slaves, the majority of the in-

formants believed that many pastoralists with large herds chose to move away from their traditional villages and took to nomadic life rather than to stay and be impoverished by lack of labour.²⁷ Others with few cattle moved but left a segment of their household behind to farm and the proportion of the income derived from crop growing depended upon the size of the family and the number of beasts.²⁸ Still other herd owners with fewer cattle were obliged to stay near their traditional villages. Since their herds were not large enough to support members of their households, they began to farm, gaining only a fraction of their subsistence from their cattle. In this context the cattle raisers in the emirates fall into three main categories, namely, the settled cattle raisers, semi-settled raisers and nomads.

From various observations, it appears that the majority of the cattle population were owned by nomadic and semi-nomadic herdsmen.²⁹ The settled cattle raisers provided a small minority of the total cattle breeding in the emirates. In most cases they settled in large towns such as Sokoto, Kano, Katsina, Zaria and in large villages in the densely populated districts. The size of their herds was small but they considered breeding of cattle as an investment and a symbol of their social status. Grove³⁰ and Luning³¹ have described their activities in the province of Katsina and it is probable that such a pattern could also be studied in the province of Kano and in parts of Sokoto.

Soon after the emancipation of the slaves, the first concern of the British was to turn the pastoral Fulani into a fiscal asset. The administration left the pastoral Fulani to raise as many cattle as they could in their own way but they were required to pay tax upon them.³² To the British, the raising of cattle was not for traditional status or prestige but an adjunct to the protectorate revenue. The nomadic Fulani who owned the majority of the cattle still maintained their stock by traditional methods in which they relied for the most part on the free use of bush pasture land and water supplies.

The cattle population of the northern emirates at the time of the British occupation was estimated between three and four and a half million. The estimation was based on the distribution of cattle for the 1906 Revenue Report.³³ The figures of the report were obtained from cattle tax returns (Jangali) which were based on the assessment of native administration officials. It is possible that the figures were an underestimate because of the movements of the pastoral Fulani at the time and the evasion of Jangali. Despite this limitation the figure indicates that potentially the cattle herds of the emirates could form the basis for a large economic production of beef.

As early as 1901, positive comments and observations were made about the possibility of an immediate development of cattle trade on commercial lines. The caravan revenue reports of the protectorate trade between 1901 and 1905 reported that the bulk of the beef consumed

in the southern provinces came from the Hausa-Fulani emirates.³⁴ Lieutenant Hern of the Lagos Regiment in charge of the detachment at Shaki estimated that in the caravan season of, say, seven months of 1904 about 1,500 head of cattle passed through the Ilesha-Shaki route to Lagos.³⁵

Governor W. Egerton of Lagos, in his confidential report of 1905 for the abolition of the Caravan Tolls, confirmed the dependency of the southern provinces on the importation of animals from the emirates. He noted, for instance, that by 1905 there was a scarcity of meat for local requirements, especially in the Lagos area, because of the reduction in supply by Hausa traders as a result of toll regulations.³⁶ He concluded his report with the assertion that "there is a possible large expansion in the cattle trade if encouraged since the demand has already been established."³⁷

Another positive report on the development of the cattle industry was expressed in November of 1906 by the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool. In a letter to the Governor of Northern Nigeria, Thomas Barker, the Secretary of the Chamber, referred to the promising future of the cattle trade in the emirates. He also announced the desire of the African Trade Section of the Chamber to develop the trade if the Protectorate Government would give necessary information and guidance.³⁸

Some British officials in the emirates made assertions about the prospects of the trade. In the Annual Report of Sokoto Province for the year 1909, Resident Burdon recorded his observation that cattle was the staple export and expressed his opinion that the development of the trade would be "the great economic future of the province."³⁹ The following year Mr. Gowers in his report for the same province emphasized that "high proceeds would be made for the sale of cattle if properly developed."⁴⁰ Subsequently, the cattle trade was almost entirely ignored in the official reports and the possibility of establishing the trade in the emirates does not seem to have excited anyone.

The lack of a positive programme to develop the cattle trade despite the favourable comments might be explained as follows. After the occupation of Sokoto in 1904, the main concentration of the administration was on revenue collection. With the Land Revenue Proclamation of 1906, the cattle tax was also subjected to administrative regulation. Measures as regards the categories of animals to be included for taxation were not settled until 1911.⁴¹

The attitude of the administration towards the pastoral Fulani precluded any innovation for expansion of the trade. There was a widespread belief that the pastoral Fulani were susceptible to no economic inducement. It was easily assumed that nomadic cattle ownership was among the many things that were part of the ageless and unalterable pattern of African life.⁴² Associated with this belief was the view that direct financial inducement could not be offered. The idea was that

ownership of large herds of cattle was an impediment to this form of gain. No effort was made to induce the pastoral Fulani to settle and be integrated into a farm economy. Consequently the evolutionary process of inducing the pastoral cattle raisers to develop the export trade was not encouraged and the expansion of the trade on a large scale was left entirely to the indigenous people.

Perhaps an exception to the early disinterested attitude of the British administration to the cattle problem was the creation of a veterinary division in the Department of Agriculture after the rinderpest epidemic of 1913. This epidemic was the first widespread attack of disease since the establishment of Britain's effective control of the territory, and the losses of cattle were calculated to be about 100,000.⁴³ As a result of the experience, the director of Agriculture, Mr. Lamb, requested a veterinary division within his department. In 1914, a veterinary division was attached to the Department of Agriculture with a staff of two officers. One of them was Mr. F. R. Brandt, who was transferred from East Africa. He became the Chief Veterinary Officer for the Northern Provinces in the same year.⁴⁴

Soon after his arrival in the country, Brandt made an extensive tour of the provinces. In 1915, he submitted a report of his tour in which he estimated the cattle population at about three million. Although he mentioned the cattle trade between the emirates and the south, the report concentrated on the genetics of animals. He remarked that there was excessive in-breeding among cattle and this had caused low productivity of calves and milk. He recommended that research facilities were necessary for the study of diseases which had reduced many breeds and for improving the general conditions of cattle in order to acquire resistance to diseases.⁴⁵ The Government accepted the report but no fund was appropriated for any effective organization to deal with these needs for improvement of animal health. The division was only an advisory branch of the Agricultural Department for about six years.

Though Brandt was correct in suggesting the need for the improvement of animal health, the concentration of the report on genetics illustrates the virtually complete lack of knowledge on the part of the administration of the activities of the cattle traders who at the close of World War I had established the process of inducing the pastoral Fulani to sell increasing proportions of their animals.

The Start of the Cattle Trade

From the first decade of the twentieth century there had been increasing demand for cattle, particularly from the Yoruba areas from Ilorin southward to Lagos. There were a number of reasons for the demand. One was the expansion of trade, especially of export products. The old exports, such as palm products, acquired new dimensions. The

value of palm kernel exports increased between 1902 and 1908 from £1,275,000 to £1,425,000 while that of palm oil during the same period grew from £958,000 to £1,155,000.⁴⁶ The new crops, particularly cocoa, became a significant source of income and wealth. In 1900, the value of cocoa in export trade was only £9,000 but by 1915 it rose to £314,000.⁴⁷ The development of the railway brought about greater mobility and social communication than had previously been possible. The Lagos to Ibadan line was opened in 1901 and was extended to Oshogbo by 1906. It reached Kano in 1912. The extension of the line facilitated the growth of an internal exchange economy on a scale transcending the past several decades.

Another factor was the growth of population. Although the population census cannot be taken as completely reliable, the general trend had been a steady increase. With more people in the cities and the indications that farm incomes were rising, the demand for beef meat increased steadily.

It is not possible to give a detailed analysis of the number of animals imported during this period because of the scanty data on the subject. However, useful hints collected both from records and from informants suggested a growing number. Maigida Bawa, a well known kola nut dealer in Kano, recalled that before World War I, Lagos was a prominent market for cattle business and the demand seemed "unexhaustible".⁴⁸ A report in 1912 estimated that between 1908 and 1910 a total number of about 45,000 animals trekked from Ilorin southwards to Ibadan, Abeokuta and Lagos.⁴⁹ According to Abner Cohen, the scale of the cattle trade in the city of Ibadan had reached a significant level by 1913, when an order was issued by the Bale-in-Council to impose a tax on the number of cattle accommodated in various compounds at the rate of two shillings a head a year.⁵⁰

There is insufficient information on cattle prices to warrant a detailed analysis. Cattle are sold more cheaply in Kano market than in the southern markets. The general opinion expressed by the majority of the informants was that the southern demand was sufficiently strong to make the difference between prices in Kano and the southern market prices profitable after allowing for travel expenses and marketing obligations.⁵¹ With the demand for cattle steadily increasing the Hausa traders stepped in to supply it. But the success of their enterprise depended on co-operation from the pastoral Fulani who owned the majority of the animals. The process by which the supply was developed indicated the perceptiveness and enterprising ability of the Hausa traders and Fulani herders.

The simplest method used for inducing the pastoral Fulani was propaganda with no governmental involvement. The main avenue for reaching the cattle owners was through the services of Hausa traders who had the working capital to establish a cattle business. From the

available oral evidence it can be suggested that Alhaji Nabegu of Kano was among the earliest traders to organize a cattle trade with non-settled cattle owners based on the clientage system.⁵² Nabegu was born of trading parents. Informants agreed that his father financed several expeditions to Gonja for kola nuts. It is likely that Nabegu joined in some of these expeditions to Gonja on behalf of his father. After some years in his father's business, Nabegu established his own business in 1911. He concentrated on the kola trade, although he sold cloth and cattle as a sideline. One of his agents, Alhaji Maikudi, who supplied some information on Nabegu, recalled that it was after a kola trip from Kano to Lagos, Accra, and Kumasi that his patron established his cattle trade.⁵³ It is possible that Nabegu observed the new commercial opportunities that trade in cattle could offer if one organized a constant supply line. His headquarters was at Kano and he employed agents. Though a number of informants thought that they remembered the approximate number of his agents at the time, their estimates were conflicting; eight, twelve and twenty were mentioned. The first figure was probably more realistic at the start of the trade, because of the initial capital outlay.

Another merchant who probably participated in the early trade is Mallam Abdu Angala of Kano city, a very old man who refused to give any information on his early background except that "as a young man he wanted to make himself rich and therefore chose cattle trade as a way out."⁵⁴ Fortunately, when he described the growth of indigenous business houses in Kano for the writer, it was discovered that Angala was an itinerant trader of European goods for Arabs from Tripoli. It is possible that he derived his capital and commercial connections from his early contacts with the Arabs. According to him, he started his cattle business with about five agents.

The method of increasing the supply of cattle can be traced through the activities of the agents of Nabegu and Angala. Though these men established their headquarters in Kano, it is reasonable to suggest from the fragmentary evidence available that cattle dealers in other emirates, namely Sokoto and Zaria, followed more or less the same policy.⁵⁵ Abdu Angala told the writer that during the wet season of 1912 he sent his agents to the Fulani camps around Kano. The wet season was chosen on account of its many advantages. It was the period when the cattle tax was collected and movements of cattle raisers were minimal. Concentration of cattle was possible due to good grazing conditions in most of the northern areas. Besides, it was the time for social engagements and celebrations. It would thus appear that the wet season was the period when pastoral Fulani were most inclined to sell some of their animals.

On such visits the agents carried with them inducement goods, namely salt, foodstuffs, luxury goods such as beads and cloth and, of

course, cash.⁵⁶ The general procedure was to visit the adults at the camps just before the herds were taken to the pastures. According to Alhaji Maikudi, it was usual to reach Fulani camps as early as seven o'clock in the morning. Evening buying was also typical. During such visits the agents induced the cattle owners to purchase some of the products in exchange for their animals. The informants agreed that during the time of advertising they made it a point of duty to impress on the cattle owners that it was only through the sale of their animals that they could acquire the "good things of life." Since the majority of the typical non-settled cattle owners despised farm work, bringing foodstuffs to their doors appealed to them. The saying among the nomadic cattle raisers that "I have never used a hoe and God willing, I never shall"⁵⁷ indicates that it would only be through misfortune and loss of cattle that the necessity to farm would arise. Foodstuffs thus constituted an important source of inducement.

The second method was to recruit the services of heads of hamlets, villages or districts where the herds of the cattle owners were grazed. These heads were very influential in their communities. Alhaji Atiku Maibake indicated that the cattle-owners' relationship with the head of a village could be governed by marriage or it could be based on political considerations.⁵⁸ The headman could use his influence in suggesting areas of large concentration of cattle camps and their owners to the agents.

The usual practice for inducing such information was to take presents to these headmen. Maikudi recalled that during his visits to Danbatta, Guru, Wudil, he had items such as kola and salt as gifts for the headmen in these areas. Other informants mentioned that "dashes" of money were often offered.⁵⁹

From the head of the village or hamlet, the location of four to six camps of cattle-owners with large herds would be obtained by the agent. The agent and his assistants would go to these camps with their inducement goods. The usual advertising and speech making would be performed at each camp. Informants said that the use of cash was often stressed with emphasis on the payment of Jangali.

Persuasion was also a keynote in the business. Mallam Maile, an agent of Nabegu, emphasized this technique, which was confirmed by other informants. Maile noted that although non-settled cattle-owners were always reluctant to sell many animals at a time, the hesitation was not an outright refusal of the merchandise offered. The traders always succeeded in convincing the cattle-owners to exchange some of their animals for cash and goods after repeated persuasion and concessions during bargaining.

It is difficult to appreciate the tremendous work involved in getting herds together during this early period. Abdu Angala stated that a campaign could take three to eight weeks. During the period, an agent

and his clients would purchase animals, ranging from about thirty to over eighty in number. After exhausting their cash and goods the agent, with the help of drovers (usually Fulani boys), would drive the beasts to Kano where the merchant would then form his own herds of cattle. The size of the herds depended greatly on the amount of cash available and the number and the success of the agents in their purchases.

On the question of capital the writer, despite much effort, was unable to get informants to disclose their financial assets. The reluctance might be due to the fact that they could not estimate their financial worth due to lack of records. A corollary to this situation is the deep rooted clientage system which was based on trust and loyalty at all levels. Under normal circumstances little attention was paid to keeping of accounts. But, despite this limitation, the description of the process of trade suggests that substantial capital was tied up in this venture.

The agents of Nabegu maintained that the greater part of the kola and salt used for dashes was purchased without credit.⁶¹ There was disagreement as to the financing of the inducement goods which were taken to the Fulani camps. Some informants in Kano believed that Angala had advanced arrangements with some firms which supplied the merchandise.⁶² This might be on credit or with some cash deposits. It is not unlikely that Angala did his business on such arrangements given his early connections with the Arab merchants.

In the case of Nabegu, memories were badly jumbled on this score. Maikudi thought that the merchandise his patron supplied to the agents was purchased from European firms on a cash basis. Other informants suggested that goods were bought on credit.⁶³ Since several middlemen in Kano thought that Nabegu's men ranged farther afield and were more effective than the others, it is possible that he had substantial capital. By the same token, the capital involved in other aspects of the trade might have reduced the cash available for merchandise purchases. Thus, it seems likely that some merchandise could have been supplied on credit and Maikudi's view might have been influenced by the preponderance of his patron's operations. Whatever the mechanics of the financing might have been, the important point to remember is that the network of traders under the direction of their patrons provided an avenue for reaching the cattle owners.

The effort of the merchants and their men in establishing a regular supply of animals from non-settled Fulani were soon rewarded at Kano. A report of the Jangali Assessment of 1915 stated that the supply of cattle to Kano had increased in number compared with previous years.⁶⁴ The supply for local markets was particularly noted because animals considered unfit for the long journey to the south were sold to local butchers. Alhaji Sarkin Pawa Naduni, the head of the butchers in Kano city until 1966, recalled that it was on record that during World War I there was an increase in the number of butchers in the city.⁶⁵

The rise in number of butchers could be attributed to the new system of cattle supply. But Naduni was not clear on the specific roles that the butchers performed at this early stage of the trade.

The emergence of Wudil, the largest cattle market in Kano State, was an obvious result of the activities of the early merchants and their agents. According to Alhaji Lawal Bida, the Native Authority Officer in charge of the control post in Kano, the Wudil cattle market began about 1915 as a small venture located on a cross-road where Fulani cattle-owners brought some animals to meet their regular cattle buyers during the off season.⁶⁶ Other informants in Kano confirmed this information, adding also that in later years animals sold at Wudil came beyond the Kano emirate.⁶⁷ Although the focus is not on the development of Wudil, its importance in the cattle trade cannot be overemphasized; it has been one of the main distributive centres for cattle since the beginning of the trade and today it is an important centre for trading cattle.

Of course, the exertions of the agents were first limited to an area within a radius of about thirty to sixty miles from Kano, but the effectiveness of the techniques described above provided opportunities for extending the supply line to various Fulani camps.

The new process of marketing of animals through the services of the cattle traders and their agents was also corroborated by other evidence from the consuming centres of the south. As was noted earlier, with rising income in Yorubaland, the demand for beef increased rapidly. Previously, when cattle dealers had a few animals to sell they trekked down with them and sold the beasts to Yoruba traders or butchers. Following the organization of the cattle supply through agents, the cattle dealers were faced with the problem of distributing their animals in the south since they found it difficult to leave their headquarters. Furthermore, with a big supply available, the dealers could not follow the various drovers to the consuming centres, and it became necessary to establish a type of marketing organization at the consuming centres. It seems that the settlement of Hausa migrant butchers and clients in the major Yoruba cities was a response to such a need.

Two pieces of evidence can be cited to justify this proposition. First, informants in Kano spoke of early Hausa settlement at Sabo, Lagos, as a response to meet the problem of marketing the big supply of animals in the south.⁶⁸ This information was confirmed by the reference made to the origins of the Hausa settlement in Lagos in a special appeal made for reduction of the cattle tax in 1932. In the appeal, it was emphasized that as a result of the development of increasing trade in cattle to Lagos from about World War I, it was necessary for more Hausa traders to reside permanently in Lagos and take up the marketing of animals in the Lagos area.⁶⁹

Secondly, in 1916 a separate settlement for Hausa traders was

established at Sabo in Ibadan. One of the reasons for the settlement was the increasing number of Hausa migrants into the different parts of the city between 1910 and 1916. From Cohen's evidence these migrants were mainly engaged in cattle trade.⁷⁰ The rise in the number of Hausa migrants coincided with the changes in the purchasing of animals in the emirates. Thus, it is likely that Hausa settlements in the Yoruba cities reflected the new process of cattle supply from the cattle breeding emirates. The migrants performed the services necessary for maintaining the trade on a large scale.

There were significant changes in the pattern of life of the pastoral Fulani following the establishment of the British administration and the start of cattle trade. The relative peace and security encouraged the development of established orbits of transhumance (seasonal movements of cattle).⁷¹ Although factors such as expansion of farmlands and population had influenced the widening of orbits, the annual movements were characterized by some periodic regularity. These rhythmic movements are said to be governed by the moon and, in a calendar year, the annual treks consisted of five periods. These observations confirmed in many ways the findings of Hopen on pastoral life in the Gwandu emirate.⁷² The movements commenced with the wet season which began in early July and ended in September. Soon after the commencement of the rains, the pastoralists would leave the dry season grazing grounds and would move in a northerly direction to the wet season quarters. In most cases no cattle can be found on tilled land or southern zones where risks of tsetse flies could be very high.

The wet season is followed by the hot season after the rains, from October to December. During this period, cattle were moved southwards by slow stages, the object being to take advantage of stubble grazing on farms after the crops were harvested. Some form of social relations seems to guide the pattern of stubble grazing. According to Fulani herders, fields belonging to headmen of districts or villages with whom attachments had been formed were first visited and thereby supplied with manure. Afterwards the herders would disperse to other farms.⁷³ The manner of grazing often needed control and vigilance on the part of the cultivators. In southern Katsina, for instance, Hausa farmers complained that at this period, they experienced difficulties in keeping cattle off the fields until the crops were harvested.⁷⁴ Though no fixed fee is charged for keeping the cattle on farms, herd owners stated that they would normally receive some corn for their domestic needs when they kraalled on farms.

The third period is the harmattan season which lasts from December until February. The trek to the dry season grazing areas continued, and keeping of cattle on the farm lands during the night was often practised. But as the grazing conditions deteriorated pastoralists would abandon the possibility of gaining an income from manuring and would

give priority to seeking out the best pasture.

The harmattan season is followed by the hot season in March and April. By the time of the hot season most cattle-owners had chosen their grazing areas in the vicinity of rivers where watering facilities were available. They generally remained there until the rains commenced. At this season grass and water are very short and the condition was further complicated by the fires often started by farmers, bowmen seeking game and honey seekers. Pastoralists complained that Hausa farmers burnt dry grass with no due consideration for their cattle. The cultivators for their part had considered it necessary to burn left-over stubble and upland grasses to make pre-planting cultivation easier. The result of the fires has been to increase upland erosion. In addition hundreds of square miles of pasture land were destroyed precisely when they were urgently needed.

The last period is the stormy season of May and June. Stormy showers are followed by fresh grass shoots. Herds would start to seek fodder beyond the river valleys northwards. This was the time of the greatest mobility because any local shower could cause a change in the route. According to informants this period was characterized by the greatest dispersal of cattle throughout the emirates.⁷⁵

Transhumance had a significant influence on the social life of the pastoral Fulani. It was characteristic for the cattle raising Fulani that clans formed the most closely organized group, but with the subsequent changes and facilities for constant movement recent generations have broken these ties. The elderly informants who observed the process of change through the years said, "The clan is no longer important."⁷⁶ The clan has now been replaced by a smaller lineage group which also could include in-laws and friends from other clans.

It was also observed that pastoral Fulani no longer laid stress on acknowledging the aristocracy of their clans, but on the immediate group with which they were associated. For instance, individual lineage groups belonging to different Fulani clans who decided to stay in a certain grazing area would acknowledge the headman of the settled groups of that district by paying taxes and by presenting gifts. The headman in turn would honour the leader of all the groups. The new social relations of the pastoral Fulani were an adjustment for defending their grazing rights against intruding herdsmen.

Another important development was the increasing importance of village economic organization. In the traditional seasonal movements the pastoral Fulani never owned and were rarely responsible for, or never had exclusive rights to, specific forms of use of any orbit. A change in such conditions became apparent following the reorganization of the emirates into administrative units. As indicated earlier, fiscal considerations dominated administrative policy towards the pastoral Fulani and the collection of the cattle tax required some modifications

so as to make the procedure adaptable to pastoral Fulani society. Village headships were established and the Fulani chiefs appointed were utilized for the attainment of administrative ends.⁷⁷

There was a broad identity of interest under the new conditions. Under the old system the pastoral Fulani were crowded together for security reasons and no particular authority was established over the areas of seasonal movements. However, the new system for administrative purposes allowed the transhumance orbits to be under the control of heads of hamlets, villages and districts. This change was significant since it meant the pastoral Fulani were subjected to the heads of the areas where they grazed. The change, which was recognized and accepted by the pastoral Fulani, enhanced their status among the entire population. The village area with its sedentary agriculturalists became directly necessary to the subsistence of the pastoralists since they played a complementary role in the exchange of dairy surplus and cattle. The existence of the commitments of pastoral Fulani to marketing facilities served as the basis for development of the cattle business.

Trade After the War

A major development in the cattle business in the period between the two wars was the expansion of trade which led to the development of trade in cattle. After the First World War the activities of the Hausa traders and their clients extended beyond their immediate emirates. Extensive networks of cattle routes were made in Sokoto, Bornu and Katsina provinces. Informants in Kano told the writer that they went to places such as Guru, Azare, Potiskum, Damaturu, Kari and Gusuu. It was also maintained that Nabegu's agents and clients had an extensive network in Katsina province covering Bugasawa, Ladanawa, Ilale and Makera. The main incentive for expansion was the demand for beef meat from the south, especially in Yorubaland. Although there are no figures to represent the annual slaughterings in export figures, the absence of such statistical data should not minimize the importance of the growing rise in demand. Other sources apart from statistical information show that there was expansion of trade. The Lagos Census Report of 1931 records that in 1921 there were about 1,917 Hausa traders in Lagos Colony. By 1931, the number had increased to 4,494, and half of the total provided services in connection with the cattle trade.⁷⁸ It is evident that the economic benefits from the trade contributed to the increasing numbers of Hausa immigrants.

In Ibadan the power structure of Sabo during the period also confirmed the economic importance of the cattle trade. The position of the chief of the cattle market was associated with a great deal of power because the economy of Sabo was based principally on cattle and butchering. In fact, until 1930 when the positions were separated, the chief of

the Hausa Quarter was at the same time the chief of the cattle market.⁷⁹ Thus the strategic economic and political position of the chief of the cattle market in Sabo was a reflection of the increasing trade.

The really large exports of cattle such as we are accustomed to at present commenced from the period of the development of imports of slaughter stock from the neighbouring countries. The most important sources were (and still are) the Niger Republic and Chad.⁸⁰ The slaughter stock from these neighbouring countries are referred to as trade cattle. The majority of the imports from Niger Republic crossed the frontiers of Sokoto and Katsina provinces, while cattle from Chad after crossing the frontiers of Bornu moved westwards to Kano.

It is not exactly clear how the trade started and what form it took at its early stages. The difficulty in getting information about the start of the trade was due to the unwillingness of informants to give answers to these questions. The fear that their replies might be used against them in the matter of tax collection was the main barrier to obtaining information on background aspects of the trade.

But from the evidence that we gathered during fieldwork it seems that exactly the same economic incentives of earlier years applied in the new type of trade. It was discovered that some of the informants who engaged in the frontier trade were formerly attached to merchants that participated in the cattle trade concentrating on local herds. From this observation, it can be suggested that the compensation for services from the cattle traders to the agents contributed to the extension of trade to the frontiers.

In the hierarchy of merchant, agent and sub-agent, methods of compensation were worked out on an informal basis. There was no system of paid agents at this period. But after the start of the trade a principle of rewards for success in buying seemed to have developed rapidly. It was reported by informants that the principle of rewards had a substantial effect in increasing the enthusiasm of the agents.⁸¹ "Dashes" in the form of money, salt, cloth and even young calves were given for superior performance though not apparently on a fixed ratio.

Reading other studies on clientage relationships, we find that in the system increased earnings could be made by being skillful in the art of bargaining.⁸² This seems to be the way agents' income from the cattle business was derived. Thus, after receiving a cash advance, he would attempt to buy at a lower price than his patron had foreseen and pocket the difference. This helps to explain the extension of trade as far as the frontiers where a good bargain could be made. For instance, Mallam Yaro, a former agent of Nabegu, became an independent trader who dealt with imports from the frontiers. Although he did not disclose the reason why he set up his own business, it can be suggested that he was excited by opportunities available in tapping the supply of the frontiers. He might have observed such a possibility when in the

service of his patron.⁸³

According to Alhaji Mande of Zaria, a wealthy cattle dealer, the independent traders simply went to the frontier posts and let it be known that they were prepared to buy animals at certain prices.⁸⁴ The prices offered were not disclosed, but assuming that these traders were looking for good bargains one can certainly guess that the prices they offered were much less than what they would have offered at home. Furthermore, there seemed to have been no fanfare, and no cases of inducement techniques were reported. The major frontier posts at the time were Ilela, Wauro, Sabon Birni, Jibiya, Babura, Gajibo, Geidam and Dankama.

The trader, having collected a large herd at the frontier, would break them into small herds for easy travel, and hire drovers to drive them to the major market centres of the emirates, namely Wudil, Kano, Zaria and Sokoto.⁸⁵ The transfer of cattle from the traders to the intermediaries would take place in these centres. The buyers of this class were agents of the big wholesale dealers and independent intermediaries. The bargains between the traders and intermediaries were affected by the local middlemen who would play an active part in the commercial interrelations of all the subsequent buying groups as well.⁸⁶ This traditional distribution of commercial functions developed in order to overcome certain difficulties, which were the common shortage of working capital among traders and the high risks involved in transporting animals over long distances. After the purchases had been arranged by the middlemen, the function of the dealers was to sort out the beasts according to market value. Those beasts which were found suitable were sent to southern markets by foot or trains. The inferior ones were driven to the local cattle markets to be retailed to the resident butchers.⁸⁷

Although increasingly over the years the majority of the exports of animals to the south were stock from the trade cattle, it should be emphasized that the importation of animals from the neighbouring countries did not in any way affect the supplies from the local herds of the emirates. The imports supplemented the local production and the new source of supply was a geographical extension of the trade. Cattle traders bought animals from Niger as well as within Nigeria.

The channels of cattle marketing were not very different from what they are today, including the peculiarities. The difficulty of cattle marketing was brought about mainly by the great distance involved between the production centres and the consuming areas. It was a system which involved cattle from Sokoto in a thirty to thirty-five day trek to the ultimate point of sale or, in an extreme instance, cattle from Kano destined for the Lagos market could be on trek from fifty to sixty days. These movements involved a considerable amount of risk. Indeed, marketing risks fluctuated in proportion to the distance between

the production areas and the market centres. And in order to minimize them the transport route had to be split up into small sections. The whole structure was held together by mutual indebtedness and trust, which in effect linked all trade levels. There were no documents signed and no resort made to the bank or to the civil courts.⁸⁸ This is one of the most intrinsic features of the indigenous system. Though various observers have criticized the waste involved in marketing live animals, no substitute has ever been introduced to replace it and the system has survived to the present.

To sum up, the British occupation of the emirates caused modifications in the pastoral patterns but these were not utilized by the administration to create any incentive for modernizing the system of production. The administration policy avoided any major change which could have integrated the cattle industry with the farming economy. Therefore, the commercialization of the industry was through the initiative of Hausa traders and the response of Fulani cattle owners to them, thus illustrating the economic ingenuity of indigenous traders and herders.

ABBREVIATIONS

Cd.	...	...	...	Command
CSO	...	...	...	Chief Secretary's Office
HMSO	...	...	...	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
NAC	...	...	...	National African Company
NAI	...	...	...	National Archives, Ibadan
NAK	...	...	...	National Archives, Kaduna
NP	...	...	...	Northern Provinces
SNP	...	...	...	Secretariat, Northern Provinces

FOOTNOTES

¹ G. P. Murdock, Africa: Its Peoples and Their Culture History (London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), p. 416.

² Ibid., pp. 19, 415.

³ H. H. Curson and R. W. Thornton, "A Contribution to the Study of African Native Cattle", Onderstepoort Journal of Veterinary Science and Animal Industry, Vol. 7, Number 2 (Oct. 1936), pp. 638, 642-643.

⁴ Leo Africanus, The History and Description of Africa, ed. Robert Brown (3 vols., London: Hakluyt Society, 1859), III, 828-829.

⁵ R. A. Adeleye, "The Overthrow of the Sokoto Caliphate, 1879-1903" (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Ibadan, 1967), p. 180ff.

⁶ H. Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa (London: Frank Cass, 1965), III, 98.

⁷ Alhaji Usuman Manari of Kano was interviewed in March 1968 and supplied information on the Fulani activities before the British occupation. Alhaji Garawa of Zaria was interviewed in March 1968. He was the former representative of cattle dealers in Zaria before he retired in 1957. Headmen in the communities around Zaria were visited in April 1968.

⁸ M. G. Smith, "Exchange and Marketing among the Hausa" in Markets in Africa, ed. P. Bohannon and George Dalton (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1962), pp. 303ff.

⁹ D. T. Stenning, Savannah Nomads (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 102-103.

¹⁰ Barth, Travels and Discoveries, I, 506.

¹¹ Ibid., III, 132.

¹² Ivor Wilks, "The Development of African Trade and Markets in West Africa: Asante Policy towards the Hausa Trade in the Nineteenth

Century, " paper read at the Tenth International African Seminar, December 1969.

13 NAK SNP ACC No. 60 Sokoto Province Monthly Report No. 16, July 1904, paragraph 65 H. R. Hillary to High Commissioner.

14 J. S. Hogendorn, "The Origins of the Groundnut Trade in Northern Nigeria, 1912-1914" (unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1966), pp. 145-150.

15 H. Clapperton, Journal of Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from Bight of Benin to Soccatoo (London: John Murray, 1829), pp. 159-160.

16 S. Crowther and J. C. Taylor, The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger 1857-9 (London: 1859), p. 207.

17 Alhaji Mohamman Dan Gado was interviewed at Sokoto in March 1968. He is a very wealthy man and has retired, but two of his sons organized a wholesale cattle business with the south in 1956. Gado supplied most of the early information on the trade from Sokoto.

18 Sharif Garba Dan Kati was about 82 years when he was interviewed at Zaria in March 1968. He could have kept some records in Arabic but never disclosed this fact. His answers included much useful information for cross checks of other information. He is retired now but does a little trading in kola nuts through one of his sons. He told the writer that he visits the market place almost everyday.

19 Polly Hill, Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1970), pp. 53-140.

20 Adeleye, "The Overthrow of Sokoto Caliphate," p. 105ff.

21 Report on the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee, cd. 5103, p. 117.

22 Alhaji Usuman Mamari of Kano.

23 F. W. de St. Croix, The Fulani of Northern Nigeria (Lagos: Government Printer, 1945), p. 12.

24 Alhaji Garawa of Zaria.

25 A siwalbe at Garko camp, March 30, 1968.

²⁶ Report on the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee, cd. 5103, paragraph 183, p. 69; paragraph 817, p. 92.

²⁷ Alhaji Mamari of Kano and headmen of communities visited northeast of Funtua. Alhaji Mande of Zaria was interviewed March 1968. See below, note 84.

²⁸ In this connection, it may be mentioned that out of 100 families investigated in Gwandu, 66 supplemented their incomes by farming. The crop generally grown is gero (bulrush millet). From the pastoralists' point of view this crop has the advantage of early maturity. Hopen, The Pastoral Fulbe Family, p. 30.

²⁹ Hans Werhahn, et al, The Cattle and Meat Industry in Northern Nigeria (Frankfurt/Main: 1964), pp. 22-24. Based on 1950/52 inoculation figures and supplemented by Provincial Veterinary reports, the following figures of proportion of resident and nomadic raisers are arrived at: approx. 20-25% belong to settled owners; approx. 30-35% belong to semi-nomads or semi-settled; approx. 40-45% belong to nomads.

³⁰ A. T. Grove, Land and Population in Katsina Province (Kaduna: Government Printer, n. d.), pp. 9-12, 41-42.

³¹ H. A. Luning, An Agro-Economic Survey in Katsina Province (Kaduna: Government Printer, n. d.), pp. 46-49.

³² Taxation is discussed in Chapter III of the dissertation.

³³ NAK SNP 77/1907 File No. 4 Appendix I Revenue Report for 1906. Extract for the Annual Report for the Year 1906 by the High Commissioner.

³⁴ NAI CSO 21 Niger Territories Conf. No. 1, Royal Niger Company to Foreign Office, Appendix F.

³⁵ NAK SNP ACC NO. 395 M2 papers on the proposed Abolition of Caravan Tolls, Enclosure 2 in despatch No. 179 of 2nd June 1905 to Colonial Secretary. The Toll Receipts Report of 1905 between the north and the south showed that ninety-five percent of the tolls paid on goods from Hausa-Fulani emirates referred to livestock. NAI CSO 21 No. 258. Conf. "Caravan Trade", Acting Governor to S. S. Lagos 12.8.1905.

³⁶ In 1903 Caravan Toll Proclamation was announced in Northern Nigeria. It authorised the collection of tolls on exports to to a maxi-

mum of 15%. Lugard, Collected Annual Reports, p. 181.

³⁷ NAK SNP ACC No. 395 M2 papers on the proposed Abolition of Caravan Tolls Enclosure 1 in despatch No. 179 of 2nd June, 1905, W. Egerton to S. S.

³⁸ NAK SNP 4455/1906 Dairy Cattle, Thomas Baker to Governor N. N. November 1906.

³⁹ NAK SNP 984/1910, Sokoto Province Annual for 1909, paragraph 119, Burdon to H. E.

⁴⁰ NAK SNP 765/1911 Sokoto Province Annual for 1910, paragraph 62, W. Gowers to Secretary N. P.

⁴¹ Vide Chapter III of the dissertation on Taxation.

⁴² NAI CSO 26/2 File No. 14827, Vol. I Cattle Industry in Nigeria, Lagos to S. S. 27. 3. 1914.

⁴³ NAK SNP 1885/1914 Agricultural Department Report Annual 1913, P. H. Lamb to Secretary, Northern Provinces, paragraph 34.

⁴⁴ NAK SNP 487/1915 Agricultural Department Report Annual 1914, Director of Agriculture to Secretary N. P. 18. 3. 1915.

⁴⁵ NAK SNP 1604/1916 Agricultural Department Annual Report for 1915.

⁴⁶ D. Forde and R. Scott, The Native Economies of Nigeria, Vol. I of The Economies of a Tropical Dependency, ed. Margery Perham (London: Faber and Faber, 1946), I, Table I, 8.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Maigida Bawa was interviewed at his residence, Dala, Kano in April 1968. He is considered as one of the oldest men in Kano city. According to him, two of his brothers who are now dead were cattle traders to the south. It is not clear whether he himself traded cattle, but he is quite familiar with the trade to the south. He is known for kola business.

⁴⁹ NAK SNP 7/8 File No. 253 Extracts from Annual Report of Ilorin Province for 1912 to Secretary N. N. 6. 4. 13.

50 Abner Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 104.

51 Informants Angala and Maikudi were interviewed at Kano April 1968. See notes 53 and 54.

52 Alhaji Nabegu died in January 1968. The writer is grateful to Mr. Adamu Mohammed Fika of History Department, Abdullahi Bayero college, Kano for directing me to the traders connected with Nabegu.

53 Alhaji Maikudi of Kano was interviewed in April 1968. He mentioned that he has been in the cattle business for about sixty years. He is probably from a business family because he spoke of cattle trade to Ilorin by his grandfather. Maikudi became a client of Nabegu about 1912-1913.

54 Mallam Abdu Angala was interviewed in April 1968. He has some records but was unwilling to make them available. He is very familiar with indigenous Kano business houses. He has retired but still visits the cattle market in the city.

55 Information from Alhaji Mande of Zaria corroborated the facts the writer obtained from informants at Kano.

56 Alhaji Maikudi, Alhaji Atiku Maibaki, Alhaji Manuwada, and Mallam Maile were interviewed in April 1968. They were prominent agents at the start of the cattle trade but afterward established their own businesses with their own clients.

57 Croix, The Fulani of Northern Nigeria, p. 15.

58 Alhaji Atiku Maibaki has established connections with hamlet heads around Kano. He keeps a house for cattle owners outside Kano.

59 Alhaji Manuwada and Mallam Maile stressed "dashes" of money.

60 Alhaji Maikudi of Kano.

61 Mallam Maile and Alhaji Maikudi.

62 Alhaji Maibaki, Alhaji Garba, and Muhammad Baba Tata were agents of Hausa traders interviewed in April 1968. Baba Gaya, Ibrahim Kano and Alhaji Sule Masukwani were interviewed in March 1968. They are professional middlemen in the cattle trade.

⁶³ Mallam Maile and Alhaji Yaro. Yaro is a very dynamic man. See note 83.

⁶⁴ NAK SNP 518P/1916 Kano Province: Annual Report, paragraph 80 on Jangali Assessment.

⁶⁵ Naduni was head of the butchers for many years. He is an old man and has business connections at Ibadan. He visits the cattle market in order to keep up with the new developments in the trade. He spoke of the use of trains to transport animals to the south as early as 1914. He was interviewed in April 1968.

⁶⁶ Alhaji Lawal Bida is one of the early stock inspector mallams. The training of inspector mallams started in 1920. He helped to arrange my visits to Wudil market, Garko cattle camp and cattle traders at Kano control post. He was interviewed in March 1968.

⁶⁷ Alhaji Maibaki and Alhaji Yaro.

⁶⁸ Alhaji Tukur Gwarzo, the Deputy Veterinary Officer in Kano, was interviewed in March 1968. He mentioned that when he was a stock inspector mallam few of his clients (cattle traders and butchers) left Kano for Lagos from about 1915 onwards. Alhaji Mamari confirmed the information.

⁶⁹ NAI CSO 26/2 File No. 09853 Conf. Native Citizen to the Governor 18.5.1932 signed by Idirisu Nagoyi Sarkin Gambari, on behalf of other Hausas. The copy writer signed his name as J. A. Adebisi.

⁷⁰ Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa, pp. 103-104.

⁷¹ Stenning and Hopen use the expression "transhumance" to describe the regular seasonal movements of cattle which was coined by Vidal de la Blache for the Pyrenees at the beginning of this century. M. Dupire has also used "transhumance" to differentiate between the hazardous treks of desert nomads and the regular fluctuations of herd movements undertaken by the Fulbe.

⁷² C. Edward Hopen, The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandu (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 29-39.

⁷³ Fulani cattle owners interviewed at Garko camp in Kano state. They were unwilling to give their names. The writer and Mallam Sai'du, the local veterinary officer, spent a day at Garko, a rest camp on the trade route to Kano on March 30, 1968.

74 Huasa farmers interviewed on Mixed Farming in August 1968. Their names are included under 'Notes on Sources' in the dissertation.

75 Cattle raisers interviewed at Garko. The information was verified by cattle raisers interviewed at Mainchi, Sokoto Province in August 6, 1968. They did not give their names. The writer is grateful to Alhaji Hamisu Kano, Secretary of the Livestock and Meat Authority, Kaduna for providing a veterinary stock inspector, Mallam Musa to help with the interviews.

76 Fulani headmen interviewed at Mainchi and Dankama in April 1968. I quoted Alhaji Sani Mangawa of Mainchi. Chapter I of the dissertation discusses Hausa and Fulani social organization.

77 Vide Chapter III of the dissertation on Taxation.

78 Census of 1931 (London: Crown Agents, 1932), III, p. 12; VI, p. 15.

79 Cohen, Custom and Politics, pp. 119-122.

80 Annual Report of the Veterinary Department for the year 1933, paragraphs 83-85.

81 Alhaji Angala, Alhaji Mande and Mallam Maile.

82 Hogendorn, "The Origins of the Groundnut Trade," pp. 140-145, 173-175.

83 Alhaji Yaro is an independent cattle trader and he was interviewed at Wudil in March 1968. He is one of the traders who supply trade cattle to Alhaji Mande of Zaria. Yaro has his own clients and it is likely that he gets his supplies from local herds. He is very shrewd. At Wudil market on March 29, 1968, Yaro sold about 200 animals within four hours.

84 Alhaji Mande is the representative of cattle dealers in Zaria. He entered the cattle trade at 14 years as a drover. He is a Fulani and keeps in touch with cattle owners around Zaria and Kano. The writer was able to have access to Fulani settlements around Zaria through his help. Alhaji Mande has organized a wholesale system of cattle trade to the south. He has records on post-second world war cattle trade. He claimed that he was among the first cattle dealers to purchase cattle from independent traders who brought animals from the frontier posts. The information was later confirmed by Yaro at Wudil. His early connection with the independent traders (probably) gave him insight into the buying procedure.

85 Alhaji Yaro supplied the information.

86 The middlemen in the cattle markets have their own organization. Commission is charged on every cow sold. The fees varied but high fees are charged in large centres. At Wudil Alhaji Danyaya told the writer that he has been in business as a middleman for 40 years.

87 Alhaji Mande, Alhaji Sani Mangawa and Abdullah Awali -- the last man started business about 1936 and his activities increased after World War II.

88 A study conducted at Ibadan in 1962-63 shows a similar relationship. Abner Cohen, "The Social Organization of Credit in a West African Cattle Market," Africa, XXXV (January 1965), pp. 8-9.

NOTES ON ORAL EVIDENCE

The majority of the dramatis personae involved in the internal economy as producers and traders during the period covered by this study did not keep written records of events but did so in their memories. Since most of the people interviewed do not understand English and Hausa is the prevailing language, the writer employed the services of Hausa-speaking undergraduates of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The assistants who helped me interview cattle traders were Muthtari Ahmad, of Kano, who worked with me in Kano, Zaria and Sokoto, and Mallam Ali-Al-Hakim, who also helped to interview cattle dealers in Zaria and Kano.

The fieldwork for cattle trade was done in March-April 1968. A letter of introduction to prospective informants was obtained through the help of Professor H. F. C. Smith to Mallam Bukar Shaib, then the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Animal and Forest Resources of Northern Nigeria. Mallam Shaib gave me a letter to the officials of the Native Authority of Veterinary division in Kano. I got the necessary list of older traders from these officials. Mallam Ali-Al-Hakim introduced me to cattle dealers in Zaria. Alhaji Hamisu Kano, Secretary of the Meat and Livestock Industry of Northern Nigeria made available assistants to help me at the Fulani settlements in Sokoto province.

In the course of my visits to Fulani camps impromptu answers to questions were recorded. The cattle owners were not willing to give their names and the use of questionnaires would have deterred any co-operation from them. Thus, the questionnaire shown below was administered only to the following informants, most of whom are cattle dealers.

INFORMANTS

1. Angala, Maitama Na Abdu (Mallam), 77 Kabawa, Kano City. Age: 79 years.
2. Anhawa, Zakaruja, 42 Anhawa, Kano. Age: 65 years.
3. Awali, M. Abdullah Yari, 155 Yan' Awali, Kano City. Age: 50 years.

4. Azare, Shehu (Fulani Cattle owner from Azare interviewed at Wudil market, March 29, 1968).

5. Bawa, Maigida, Dala, Sokoto. Age: Over 90 years.

6. Bida, Lawal (Alhaji), Veterinary Division, Ministry of Animal and Forest Resources, Kano. Age: Over 65 years.

7. Danmari Usuman (Alhaji), 782 Danmari, Kano City. Age 70 years.

8. Danyaga (Alhaji), 109 Sharifai, Kano City. Age: 50 years.

9. Gabas, Sule Dan (Alhaji), 119 Masukwani, Kano City. Age: 65 years.

10. Gado, Mohamman Dan (Alhaji), 104 Kabawa, Sokoto. Age: 88 years.

11. Gaya, Babha (Mallam), Wudil. Age: 55 years.

12. Girema, Kanuri (Cattle owner from Nguru interviewed at Wudil market, March 29, 1968).

13. Gwarzo, (Alhaji), N. A. Veterinary Division, Kano. Age: Over 50 years.

14. Kano, M. Ibrahim (Mallam), 140 Kofar, Mazugal, Kano. Age: 65 years.

15. Kati, Sharif Garba Dan, Unguwak Mele, Zaria City. Age: 82 years.

16. Madawa, Sanni (Mallam), Livestock and Meat Authority, Kaduna. Age: 43 years.

17. Maibaki, Atiku (Alhaji), 108 Kofar Wambai, Kano City. Age: Over 60 years.

18. Maikudi, (Alhaji), 116 Masuhwani, Kano City. Age: Over 60 years.

19. Maile (Alhaji), 120 Ankawa, Kano. Age: Over 65 years.

20. Mande, (Alhaji), Plot FIT/Wada, Zaria. Age: 68 years.

21. Mangawa, M. Sanni (Mallam), 144 Bahir Zuwo, Kano City. Age: 60 years.
22. Manuwada, (Alhaji), 14 Yari Uanewa, Kano City. Age: 65 years.
23. Maduni, Sarkin Pawa, Kano. Age: 65 years.
24. Said'u (Mallam), Veterinary Division of Ministry of Animal and Forest Resources, Kano. Age: 55 years.
25. Shaib, Bukar (Mallam), now Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Lagos. Age: Over 50 years.
26. Tata Baba Muhamman, (Alhaji), 203 Kofar Mazugal. Age: 60 years.
27. Tsamage, Gambo Dan (Alhaji), 33 Adakawa, Kano City. Age: 53 years. The business grew after 1940. He has a full time clerk and the head office is at 10 Beirut Street, Kano.
28. Yaro Garba (Alhaji), Sarari near Kano. Age: 60 years.

CATTLE TRADE QUESTIONNAIRE

Background Data

1. Name _____
2. Address _____
3. Age _____
4. Sex _____
5. Nationality: (i) _____ Yoruba
(ii) _____ Hausa
(iii) _____ Fulani
(iv) _____ Kanuri
(v) _____ Others
6. Marital Status: (i) Single _____
(ii) Married _____
7. What is your educational background?
 - (i) Primary _____
 - (ii) Secondary _____
 - (iii) Middle _____
 - (iv) Koranic School _____
 - (v) Crafts School _____
 - (vi) Others _____
8. (a) What was your father's main occupation? _____
(b) Did you help your father in any way in his job? _____
Explain: _____

(c) How old were you when you started to work with your father?

(d) Were you paid by your father for helping him in his work?

(i) Yes _____

(ii) No _____

Tell me more about this: _____

Professional History

9. How did you happen to decide on this occupation? _____

10. How long have you started the business? _____

11. (a) When did you start your business? _____

(b) How much money did you have when you started the business?

12. Where did you get your cattle? _____

13. Who financed the business? _____

14. (a) How did you transport your commodities to the market when you first started your business:

(i) Foot _____

(ii) Railway _____

(ii) Others (Specify) _____

Describe the process: _____

(b) How do you transport them now?

(i) Road _____

(ii) Railway _____

(iii) Others (Specify) _____

Describe the process: _____

Transportation on Foot

15. (a) Were there any toll camps? Yes _____

No _____

(b) If yes, how many? _____

16. How much did you pay on each cow? _____

17. Where did you send your cattle? _____

18. What was the average number of cattle you sent down at a time?

19. How often did you send down the cattle? _____

20. How many drovers did you employ at a time? _____

21. How much did you pay them? _____

Explain: _____

22. How long did it take to complete a cycle? _____

Markets

23. How did you market your cattle?

(a) _____

(b) What particular markets (name location) _____

(c) Why did you market your cattle the way you do? _____

24. Have you changed your markets in the past:

(a) (i) 5 years _____

(ii) 6 - 10 years _____

(iii) 10 - 20 years _____

(b) Why? _____

25. How did you carry out business in these places?

(i) By agents _____

(ii) Others (describe fully, please) _____

26. How much did you buy a cow? _____

27. For how much did you sell a cow? _____

28. What were the major problems of the trade? _____

