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CHAPTER II

Exchange and Marketing Among the Hausa

by M. G. Smith

THE HAUSA, THEIR HABITAT AND HISTORY

The Hausa are a mixed Negroid people, several million strong, most of whom live in northern Nigeria between latitudes 10½° and 13½° North, and longitudes 4° and 10° East. The term Hausa isolates a linguistic and cultural population of mixed origins which is organized in several states. Hausa are Muhammedans of this area whose native tongue is Hausa. These Muhammedans share a common religion and patterns of social, economic and political organization. Their organization is explicitly hierarchic, the primary groupings being large states, most of which formerly belonged to the Fulani Empire of Sokoto; secondary groupings are major subdivisions of these states, which were formerly fiefs, but are now known as districts; and these are themselves subdivided into a number of village-areas, each under its own chief and having as components a number of wards and hamlets. The capital of each Hausa state is a large walled town of considerable age, and this is the economic, political and cultural center of the kingdom. Official titles are basic to the political system, and relations between commoners and their rulers are regulated by rank. Among officials also, seniority by rank regulates relations. Thus village chiefs are subordinate to the district-chief; and all senior officials are directly subordinate to the emir. This autocratic hierarchy formerly had at its apex the Sultan of Sokoto, the Sarkin Musulmi or Commander of the Faithful. As simplified and systematized by the British, it has proven its value as an instrument of native administration.

The Hausa population consists mainly of two ethnic groups, the Fulani, and the Habe or original Hausa. Fulani conquered the Hausa states in 1804–10, during a Holy War or jihad declared by their leader, Shehu dan Fodio, the founder of the dynasty of the Sultans of Sokoto. The Shehu’s jihad aimed at the purification of Islam in Hausaland and ended in the overthrow of the Hausa states. Some Hausa rulers who escaped from the Fulani established themselves elsewhere and continued to fight until the British under Lugard occupied northern Nigeria at the start of this century. The Hausa
had already practiced a form of Islam for centuries before the *Jihad* of 1804; but it was probably impure. After the conquest, Fulani established themselves as the ruling class of these states, and proceeded to expand their empire into areas such as Adamawa or Nupe which lay outside the boundary of Hausaland. The Fulani term for their subjects, Habe, was applied to free Hausa, to non-Hausa, and to slaves indiscriminately. However, as time passed, those Fulani who had established themselves as rulers of the conquered states came to share a greater cultural community with the populations over whom they ruled than with their nomad cousins, the pastoral Fulani. Settled Fulani now speak Nupe at Bida and Hausa at Zaria as their native tongues, while their pastoral cousins, many of whom are still pagan, do not. Thus, the settled Fulani of Hausaland now belong to the general Hausa population together with their Habe subjects, and both groups are distinguished from others with which they are linked by descent but which either practice paganism or differ in language and culture.

The influence of habitat on Hausa culture and economy is historical as well as immediate. Hausaland falls fully within the savannah and orchard bush country of the north Sudanic climatic zone. Rainfall is low, averaging 35 to 40 inches per annum for most of this region, and confined to the period between May and September. The rainy season (*damina*) is followed by the harvest (*kaka*), which lasts from October to December and gives way to the cold dry season of the harmattan known as *rani*, itself followed by *bawara*, the period of intense drought and heat which heralds the rains. This regular seasonal cycle governs the annual round of Hausa activities. In its influence on farm and forest, it also affects their content.

The basic Hausa pursuit is farming, and their food staples are grains, such as sorghum, millets, maize and upland or marsh rice. In addition they cultivate a number of roots—sweet potatoes, cassava, and where conditions permit, coco-yams or yams. Other standard food crops include cow-peas, chili and other peppers, okra, onions, squash, maniok, and sugar cane. The typical field combines two or more of these crops interplanted, onions, sugar cane, tobacco and rice which are the principal marsh-crops being generally planted as pure stands. Besides these food crops Hausa traditionally cultivate groundnuts and cotton, indigo, and gourds of various sorts. Nowadays their main export crops are groundnuts and cotton; indigo, sugar cane, onions, grains or tobacco are marketed within Nigeria or adjoining French territory.

From the surrounding orchard bush, the Hausa extract sheanuts, locust-bean, silk-cotton, raffia, damson, guava-percha, baobab, dates, deleb palm, timber and a variety of herbs and grasses which are used for food, tanning, dyeing, building, oil and ink, thatch, mat-making and basketry. They also grow certain fruit trees, such as mangos, paw-paw, and limes, and gather some honey, fish and wild game. Until 1900, they mined and smelted iron and tin for their own use. They also extracted potash and some salt in certain areas. Clay is available for pottery, and the local laterite is used for building compound or city walls. In addition, the Hausa savannas support large herds of Fulani cattle which provide the meat and dairy supplies Hausa need but do not themselves produce, together with much-valued manure for their farms. The Hausa themselves show little interest in cattle or camels, but rear goats, sheep, poultry, and asses. They hold the horse in special esteem for its own sake as well as its value in war.

Regional and seasonal differences in the quantities of many of the products which Hausa use regularly make for temporary local shortages and surpluses alike, and so emphasize the importance of distributive trade. The traditional centers of this distributive system were the state capitals, its main organ was the market, and its arteries were the trade-routes along which the *futake* (long-distance traders) moved in caravans. Nowadays, the railway and motor road have established a new distributive geography, which European banks and firms, telephones, telegraph, advertisement and corporations of various types both service and complicate. The Hausa economy now has many strong links with markets in Europe and in southern Nigeria. Before this century its closest relations were with the neighboring peoples of the Sahara and western Sudan, who have been the channels through which Islam and other Eastern elements found their way to Hausaland.

Hausa history is a story of immigration and conquest. Lying in the open savannas of the western Sudan, for centuries this country has attracted traveler and invader alike. The traditional Hausa myth of origin refers to an immigration from Bornu which introduced new cultural elements and replaced the indigenous ritual chiefs by more effective rulers. From these immigrants, the seven Hausa states of Kano, Rano, Katsina, Zaria, Biram, Gobir, and Daura trace their common descent. However, these states were mutually independent and frequently fought one another. For centuries they were tributary to the large Kanuri Empire of Bornu whose center lay near Lake Chad; and at various periods some of the western Hausa kingdoms were overrun by armies from Songhai near Timbuktu, and from Kebbi near Sokoto. The Jukun, whose capital lay at Wukari on the Benue, also overran Kano and Zaria in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Fulani entered Hausa territory from the west centuries.
before they became its masters. The Tuareg and desert climate between them set the northern limits of Hausa settlement; and the Tuareg with their camel teams were the great carriers of the desert trade, bringing salt, horses, metals and luxury goods to be exchanged for slaves, cotton, leather, and grain. Merchants, many of whom were Arabs, found this trade with the populous Hausa capitals attractive for its profits and for the supplies of desert necessities which it provided. The Hausa chiefs sought to protect these trade routes by patrols from fortified towns sited at stageposts, ten to fifteen miles apart. Markets sprang up at these rural centers linked with the capitals by this long distance trade, which was busiest during the long dry season. With the merchants and invaders came the missionaries of Islam, bringing new ideas, techniques, articles, languages, religions, laws and social institutions. The country had no natural frontiers and served this movement like a highway. Tied to their farms and villages by their social and economic organization, Hausa depended on more mobile peoples to bring the meat and salt which they needed, and learned to welcome immigrants, especially Muslims.

Islam reached Hausa in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, coming from the northwest. At first it spread peacefully and somewhat erratically, the chiefs adopting it in some states, the commoners in others. For some time the home of Hausa Islam lay in Katsina, one of the main southern termini of the desert trade; but the Arab and Tuareg merchants whose movements reflected the fortunes of trade carried Islam wherever they settled, and the economic rise of Kano duly attracted them there. The Kano Chronicle, which is the fullest history of any Hausa state available, gives a useful and substantially accurate record of these developments which, with allowances for local differences, is broadly true of Hausaland (Palmer 1908).

The Chronicle starts with an account of the ritual chiefship of the Hausa-speaking pagans of Kano before Bagauda conquered it.

The Chronicle starts with an account of the chiefship of the blind. Gijigiji was the blacksmith; Bugazau was the brewer, Hamburki doctor all sickness; Danbununia, the watchman of the town at night, was the progenitor of the Kurmawa. Tsoron Maje was the Chief of the Youths, and Jandodo was chief of the drummers. Besides these there was Maguji who begot the Maguawa [pagan Hausa], and was the miner and smelter among them. Again there was Asanni, the forefather of the minstrels and chief of the drummers. Bakonyaki was the archer. Awar, the father of the minstrels and chief of the drummers. Bakonyaki was the archer. Awar, grandfather of the Awrava, worked salt of Awar. He was the Sarkin Ruwa [Chief of the Water] of the whole country. In all these there were eleven of these pagan chiefs, and each was the head of a large clan. They were the original stock of Kano. (Palmer 1908 : 65)

Thus, the Hausa conceive the political association of hereditary occupational groups under titled heads having defined roles as the origin of their society. The senior chief was priest of the god, Tchumbuburai, who was their common protector and oracle. The myth lists mining, smelting, archery, music, brewing, medicine and salt-working as indigenous Hausa crafts, thus suggesting that weaving, dyeing, leatherwork and other current specialties were developed or acquired subsequently. For our purpose, it is important to note that the social organization outlined by this myth entails some system by which these occupationally-differentiated clans regularly exchanged their special products peacefully. Another system of ceremonial transfers for ritual and kinship occasions is also implied by this account. Thus, whether these exchanges involved gifts, labor, barter, or currency, the Hausa myth of origin itself assumes some form of internal exchange and occupational specialization; and to the best of my knowledge there is no Hausa myth dealing with the origin of market institutions per se, although certain spirits (bori) such as Inna (the Mother) show active interest in markets.

The Kano Chronicle simply records that “It was Dagaci who made the market at Karabka” (Palmer 1908 : 75) in Kano city during the reign of Abdulahi Burja, 1438-52, several decades after Islam had been introduced. Dagaci was an immigrant noble from Bornu; and it is not clear whether his was the first market at Kano or merely a new one. The details of commercial history given in the Chronicle are indeed prosaic; but together with the record of new elements and activities, they present a useful picture of parallel economic and political growth.

Work began on the walls of Kano city before 1134 A.D. Tribute was collected and shields were in use by the end of that century, and early in the thirteenth century, the ruler “collected a land tax of one-eighth of the crop from all husbandmen.” (Palmer 1908 : 67) Then followed a hundred years of struggle between the people and their rulers who traced descent from an Eastern immigrant. By 1370, the king had adopted Islam and obtained Muslim aid in this conflict. Chain mail, cotton armor and iron helmets were in use by 1410, and muskets from Bornu and eunuchs and kolas from Zaria were introduced by 1440. Camels became available by 1450, when the market at Karabka was built, Fulani missionaries came soon after, and by 1500, the “Tuareg came to Gobir (that is, Adar) and salt became common in Hausaland . . . Merchants from Gwanja (Zabarmarla) began coming to Katsina; Beriberi came in large numbers and a colony of Arabs arrived.” (Palmer 1908 : 11) At this time, too, the great Kano ruler, Muhammad Runafa, rebuilt and extended the city walls. He also es-
tablished another market at Kurni in Kano city which still flourishes.

Thus, the growth of important city markets is clearly linked with the spread of foreign contacts, initially east to Bornu, then north and westwards to the desert. At this time, cloth, salt, and metal goods such as arrowheads or knives served as currency, along with slaves and horses for large values. These items passed in tax and tribute as well as trade. "In Sharefa’s time, cowries first came to Hausaland," (Palmer 1908 : 90) that is, between 1703 and 1731, soon to be followed by silver coins known as thalers which were manufactured in Europe for export to the Sahara and western Sudan, Thalers and cowries then formed a common currency.

At first the Kano rulers seem to have left its markets in peace, but early in the eighteenth century, Muhammad Sharefa began to collect taxes there, and in the next reign, "the market was nearly killed, the Arabs left the town and went to Katsina, and most of the poorer people ... fled to the country." (Palmer 1908 : 90) Kano’s commercial decline brought Katsina prosperity, but the long wars, first between Katsina and Gobir, and then between the Fulani state of Katsina and the Habe state of Maradi, caused the Arab merchants to move back to Kano, and when Dr. Barth visited the country in 1851 he found Katsina ruined and Kano more prosperous than ever (Barth 1857 : I, 278-80, 296).

The record indicates that exchange by gift and barter among occupationally-specialized clans preceded markets, and that the markets emerged with the large-scale caravan traffic before the development of a uniform currency such as the cowrie. When cowries and thalers became available, the trading area expanded, and with the establishment of the Fulani Empire, it expanded further still. Under the Fulani system of tribute, large surpluses of slaves, horses, cloth and other Hausa products accumulated annually at Sokoto; and in the view of Major Burdon, the first British Resident at Sokoto, the two main markets of Hausaland in the last century were Kano, the great commercial entrepot of Central Negroland (Barth 1857 : I, 296) and Jega where the Sokoto surpluses were put up for sale. Burdon remarks first on "The slave trade, for which Jega, a neutral market open to Kebbawa, Maradawa and Fulani, had been the centre, not only for this province (Sokoto), but also for Nupe, Lagos, Borgu and French territory ... The importance of this market is I believe little less than that of Kano. It is the meeting place of caravans from Kano to Gambaga and south to Lagos. The market is full of Accra and Yoruba traders, and it collects and distributes all the commerce of Adar, Asben, Kebbi and Zamfara. The main roads leading to it are from Yelwa and Illo on the south, from Yelu on the West, and from Bakura on the East. There is no through caravan route to the North, the routes there being merely lines of distribution." Like Jega, the Kano market in the last century was also a center of slave trade, and Barth estimated its annual turnover of slaves at 5,000 in his attempt to calculate its yearly trade (Barth 1857 : I, 300-309).

**Communities and Their Markets**

This general background provides the context within which Hausa communities live and practice various types of exchange. These local units reveal in simplified miniature the effects which history and environment together have had on Hausa culture and society as a whole. For with economic expansion and prosperity came an increase in occupational diversity, and although male occupations have tended to remain hereditary, their original status equivalence has given way to hierarchic rankings which broadly correspond with social and economic position. During the last century craftsmen were organized in units under local craft-leaders, who received official recognition and were responsible for collecting tax or organizing such services or supplies as the chief required. To a lesser extent, these senior craftsmen were also responsible for controlling the quality and price of the goods marketed locally. An occupational structure reminiscent of guilds resulted, and, if membership were hereditary, apprenticeship began in childhood. Brokers, commission agents and jatake learned their occupation (sanaa) likewise, but were less bound by hereditary rules. Joking relations, zumunta (quasi-kinship), bondfriendship and periodic craft rituals may be survivals of pre-Islamic social customs. Many other ancient principles still persist within the systems of exchange, as we shall see.

Hausa communities are easy to identify. Each rural community has its own chief, priest (imam), mosque, Beiram prayer-ground, titles, boundary, and market place where markets are held at set times. Subdivisions of these communities lack separate chiefs, prayer­grounds and markets, and may lack fixed boundaries also. Traditionally, the center of a rural community was a walled town, at which the chief, imam, and market were found. Even today, when population or other changes lead the authorities to establish a new village and village-chief, one of his first tasks is to promote the development of a regular market at his headquarters. If this fails and another settlement in his area has a viable market, the chief will go to live there. Likewise, when the capital of an old village area declines and the

market dies, the chief will select a new headquarters where the market is likely to flourish. I can recall no Hausa community having an officially recognized chief which lacked a market at its center, even if it meets but once a week.

The Hausa market (kasuwa) is an officially recognized and controlled gathering which meets at a particular place on fixed days and has a fixed organization and form. In these respects the kasuwa differs sharply from small ad hoc groups of petty traders and peddlers who collect at their leisure under shade trees or by building sites in the village during the afternoons. These informal groups of vendors are known as yara, and lack official recognition or control. Yara only serve retail trade, and offer little scope to commission agents or craftsmen who wish to market their products.

To establish a new market, the first step is to bring the local yara together at least once weekly in some open space at which crude sheds can be erected. This weekly meeting should be called on a day when there is no market meeting nearby. If it attracts attendance from other communities, the village-chief will then be urged to set up the market officially. For this he needs approval from his immediate superior, nowadays, the District Head, or formerly, the fief-holder. In this negotiation, the proximity of nearby markets and the days on which they meet are carefully considered, and the village chiefs concerned may be consulted to secure their support and to arrange that they should encourage their people to visit the new market. If this actually lies at the District Headquarters or capital of the chief, the senior official is popularly credited with responsibility and initiative for the new market, although the village-chief is directly in charge.

As the new market begins its life, and the layout of sheds indicates permanence, its attendance may fluctuate, and its future be in doubt. Its development requires organization, just as its failure invites ritual action. As representatives of Islam, neither the village-chief nor his superior can properly do more than call on Allah to prosper the new market and the local Muslim community. This is done through the local mallams or clerics whose sanctity (baraka) give their prayers special power. They may instruct the chief to distribute alms or to take certain other actions required by Allah, such as Islamic sacrifice. These Muslim rites are usually supplemented by others, which the local devotees of the ancient Hausa cult of spirit-possession (bori) carry out independently to propitiate those spirits (iskoki, s. iska) especially Inna, whose support is essential for success. The aim of these bori rituals is to settle one or more benevolent spirits on or near the market site (See Mary Smith 1954: 218–221). For fear of alienating the people whose support is also essential to the market’s success, the chiefs who represent Islam officially dare not obstruct these pagan rites. Moreover, the gathering of bori adepts from far and near ensures favorable publicity for the new market. Bori rituals may also be held when the village moves to a new site, or when the market changes its site within the village. Such changes of site have been mainly due to European activities.

Official organization of the market takes the form of appointing supervisors, who vary in title and function from village to village and from period to period. There is generally a Magajin Kasuwa in charge of the market and directly responsible to the village chief, a Sarkin Pawa or head of the butchers, a Sarkin Awo or Korama who is a woman in charge of all who sell grain by measure in the market, a Sarkin Makera who supervises blacksmiths, and usually a Sarkin Dillalai in charge of the local brokers and commission agents. If the market lies on a roadway with frequent traffic, there will also be a Sarkin Tasha in charge of the “station” where this transport is concentrated. In the last century, the Sarkin Zango, in charge of the caravans had a similar role. These market officials are rarely given official stipends, but do not find their duties unrewarding.

These official appointments indicate the oldest and most important marketing interests among the Hausa, namely, meat, grain, cloth, and metal goods. Vendors who sell salt or kola nuts have no appointed heads; but the Magajiya, chief of the local prostitutes (the main devotees of bori), has an important informal voice in market affairs. The Sarkin Pawa is also especially important, since no Hausa market is complete without an ample supply of fresh meat for sale; and beef, the preferred form of meat, is only available from Fulani nomads. The Sarkin Pawa is always responsible for the market meat supplies, and in many areas he was put in charge of the market as a whole, responsible to the local chief, whom he supplied with free meat and with certain traditional levies from market vendors. The Sarkin Pawa also controls the rotation of killings among butchers, and nowadays supervises the removal of the hide as well. Slaughtering follows Muhammadan convention, and is the work of another market official with some Islamic knowledge, the Sarkin Yanka. The chief drummer, Sarkin Makada, is employed to drum messages detailing the next days’ kill on the eve of the market, and does so on the large talking drum, formerly used in war. The Sarkin Pawa spends much of his time negotiating the purchase of cattle, which the nomad Fulani are very loath to sell, especially on credit. Since meat marketing involves both large cash outlays and risk of loss due to spoilage, the Sarkin Pawa also organizes cooperation among local butchers to sell supplies quickly. In some Hausa emirates, the Sarkin Pawa was also em-
powered to appoint the Korama or Sarkin Awo in charge of the
grain-sellers, receiving a gift of grain from her each market day.

The chief of the grain sellers was responsible for maintenance of
fair measures and prices. Until 1900, Hausa grain was not
sold by constant measures and even today in certain areas near the
French border, grain is still sold in the old way. The purchaser says
how much grain he wishes to buy, and the vendor pours out threshed
grain to this value, bargaining over their differing estimates. Nowa­
days this method has given way to the use of standard measures such
as the mutu, a metal bowl of standard capacity, the weight of which
varies with the contents.

The control exercised by the Sarkin Dillalai over market brokers
was rather less well-defined; he was called on by the local chief to
value articles or to track down local thefts. In the last century com­
mmission agents were more highly specialized than at present, some
dealing with slaves only, others with horses and camels, while others
dealt with cloth or objects of small value. Nowadays, the main articles
sold on commission are cloth, meat, threshed grain and kola nuts; but
talla (retailing of kolas or kerosene and the like on commission) is
mainly left to young folk, who learn their market skills in childhood.
Commission agents and brokers are the Hausa market specialists who
have the most detailed and extensive knowledge of market prices and
conditions. They sell articles to which reserve prices may or may not
attach, keeping a commission of roughly 10 per cent, or all in excess
of the reserve price. In the larger towns they have recently taken
interest in the sale of second-hand vehicles, and sometimes arrange
loans for purchasers, thereby receiving another commission. Their
devotion to marketing provides a valuable service for occasional
sellers and purchasers alike.

Besides the market offices mentioned above, which are still in
general use, there were certain others which have now lapsed. Thus
in nineteenth century Katsina, the Sarkin Ta'farki was charged with
collection of caravan tolls. In Kano and Sokoto, caravans were not
officially subject to toll. In Sokoto, the official directly in charge of
market was the Loum, and the judge who settled market disputes
was the Mulututsib. Many minor officials, including some royal
slaves, also collected periodic levies (\'al\'ada, customs) in the city
markets of Daura, Katsina, and other capitals, and these levies were
subject to varying degrees of abuse. Their incidence affected the
relative success of rival markets, and in an earlier day these customs
evoked the wrath of Shehu dan Fodio who forbade them. 

The layout of a Hausa market is deceptively simple. It seems an
orderly arrangement of vendors grouped by commodities: butchers
remain together, as do grain-sellers, haberdashers, pot-sellers, black­
smiths, leatherworkers, machine tailors, sellers of processed foods,
woodworkers and the like. Though those who sell kolas and cloth
also occupy special places, many hawk their wares around the market.
The throng is in continuous movement, as individuals exchange infor­
information and opinions. Traditionally, chiefs announced their gen­
eral orders or important decisions in the market by special town
criers, and it was also the scene of official executions. Nowadays village
chiefs may visit the market in order to collect tax, and to discharge
other business; otherwise they do not attend.

Nomad Fulani men stay to one side in a group, waiting to be
approached by local men who want the herds to manure their farms.
The Fulani herdswomen who sell milk and butter form another
distinct group. Nowadays some politicians try to use markets for
speech-making, but emirate administrations oppose this. As the
largest recurrent form of meeting, markets are the most important
communication channels among the Hausa, except in large towns
where radio and newspapers are now widespread. Accordingly, Hausa
rulers take a political as well as an economic interest in markets. To
the peasants, markets are legitimate occasions for courtship, entre­
tainment, and relaxation, as well as trade. The market brings to
gether the men of neighboring communities under conditions which
minimize the ceremonial of status. Native authorities may use these
gatherings for communication. Young men attend for the maidens'
dance with which the market concludes. Strangers and mallams find
the market an occasion for making useful contacts or strengthening
those already established; and, in the larger towns, the market
provides an important source of employment for migrant laborers and
porters.

In the last century, the principal markets lay along trade routes.
As new roads and railway have redrawn the communications map,
many old market-towns have died out, and many new market-towns
have sprung up. Gusau, Funtua, Ceralli and Kake are among these
new towns. The Anglo-French international boundary has also stimu­
ulated the development of new towns and markets near it, as, for
instance, at Jibiya in Katsina. Large Hausa markets are especially
sensitive to changes in trade routes. In the last century, key towns on
these routes were fortified and garrisoned, and caravans were pro­
tected by officials in return for tolls. Nowadays such arrangements are
unnecessary, and population increase has woven closer relations be­
tween markets in neighboring rural communities.

(2) Shehu Usman dan Fodio, unpublished, c. 1812. Bayan wilayati alhalil Islami wa
bayana wilayati alhalil kufuri.
Market days rotate so that every day a market meets in one or other of a group of adjacent communities. When market days clash, the larger market stifles the weaker by taking its trade; and for this reason care is taken to reduce these clashes as far as possible, especially since the 'yan-kasuwa (traders) and dillalai of each community attend neighboring markets also. Such linkages serve to stabilize price levels in neighboring markets, and to redistribute supplies among them; but the further one moves from any center, the more variable are price and supply.

Communities which have weekly or bi-weekly markets differ from those in which the market meets every day; and it is useful to regard this as a criterion differentiating village and town (Smith 1955 : 143 ff.). Markets which meet daily have a composition, turnover, volume, complexity, and range of commodities which differ in kind as well as degree from those which meet only once or twice a week. The daily market acts as the major distributive center for the surrounding country, and exercises corresponding influence on dependent rural markets; but these daily markets are themselves dependent in greater or less degree on others which are larger and further away. The capital of an emirate is usually the site of a primary market, and is itself linked with other units at Lagos, Ibadan, or Port Harcourt, which are in direct contact with the world market. The emirate capitals and these larger commercial centers have several daily markets each, and often, a regular night market as well. They also contain the local headquarters of large-scale traders, including expatriate firms; and they normally lie at the center of the local communication and transport systems. In short, as an index of rural-urban difference, Hausa market organization distinguishes the large towns from the rural villages. It also serves to distinguish smaller towns which have a single daily market and which exhibit rural and urban features simultaneously.

CUSTOMARY EXCHANGE

Though markets provide the main organizational mechanism for exchange among Hausa, they are by no means the only one; moreover, markets are influenced in various ways by other patterns of exchange. I shall therefore describe the exchanges which occur outside of markets, and shall try to indicate their relative volume, before proceeding to examine Hausa market economics directly.

Hausa combine their dependence on subsistence agriculture with production for exchange. The domestic unit, based on polygynous marriage and agnation, subsists on its own farm produce, and depends on its own exchange production for the money with which to purchase the goods and services it needs. Since wives are restricted to compounds, men shoulder the main burden of farmwork, and they are also responsible for providing the household supplies, which they do, either individually or in association with close agnates. Women have marginal subsistence commitments, and produce mainly for exchange; their specialties are food-processing, weaving, spinning, rearing small stock, and various forms of petty local trade. Men grow cash crops, trade, and pursue a variety of crafts which include services, such as praise-singing or barber-doctoring, or such activities as smithing, dyeing, or weaving. Young men in economic difficulties may attach themselves to influential persons as menial clients, and are rewarded with accommodation, clothing, food, a farm, and, in due course, a wife. In rural areas, wage-labor (kodago) is still rare, although increasing, perhaps due to the prevalence and advantages of menial clientele. In the towns, a higher ratio of young men depend on ad hoc wage-labor for their cash incomes (Smith 1955 : 155, 175-7, 223-4). Such persons are generally wireless immigrants. Among Hausa peasants, the purpose of production is the subsistence of the domestic family; and the division of labor within this unit broadly defines the form such production will take; likewise, subsistence of the domestic family defines the minimum acceptable levels of production. Thus, only those men who lack domestic families or cannot otherwise maintain them engage in wage-labor or menial clientele. The kinship structure, which is so closely related to Hausa economic organization, is also expressed in nonmarket spheres of customary exchange.

Hausa practice gift-exchanges in set kinship contexts such as childbirth, naming, circumcision, marriage and death, and in others which establish special social relations such as bond-friendship or clientage. Islam provides another frame for transfers and exchange at fixed festivals, such as Id-el-Fitr, Id-el-Kabir, or on the tenth day of Muharram. Islamic practice also enjoins distributions of grain at the end of the Fast, and the transfer of grain-tithes (zakka) at harvests. Religious alms are distributed in expiation or propitiation. The Islamic emphasis on charity is perhaps most clearly expressed among Hausa in the institution of Koranic schools, in which both teacher and pupils depend for their subsistence largely on alms from neighbors. Sadaka (alms) is also institutionalized as a form of marriage, the bride being given to her husband without any return in honor of the Prophet.

We have here a complex of exchanges which derive from religion and kinship, and which are explicitly noncommercial. The exchanges

(3) For examples see Mary Smith, 1954 : 51-3, 191-206.
which normally precede and accompany marriage are also of a customary rather than a commercial kind. Taken together, these customary transfers form a separate system and express certain interdependent values, especially those of religion, kinship, and community. These values are not insulated from Hausa commerce. Kinship and religion provide frames of reference in which customary and commercial exchanges are both consistent and complementary. So too with the political system, which itself involves another set of transfers. Some political transfers, such as tribute or tax, are obligatory and enforceable. Others, such as gifts (gaisuwaa), express relations of patronage and dependence inherent in Hausa political organization. In other contexts, such as the Sallah festivals or accession to office, gifts are transferred ceremonially to declare or to strengthen solidarity.

Political, religious, and kinship exchanges usually have ceremonial features, and their volume is difficult to quantify. My study of Zaria rural economy in 1950 showed that, of the cash expenditures of ninety households, Sallah expenses represented 4.1 per cent, gifts to or on behalf of women 4.25 per cent, other cash gifts 2.25 per cent, and tax, which was then quite low, 2.6 per cent. Of the average annual cash income of these households, gifts received was 2.9 per cent. Of their average annual kind incomes only, gifts accounted for 6.4 per cent; but of the average kind outgoings of £2.31 per household per annum, the zakka (grain tithe) had an average value of £1.34, and other ceremonial outlays, chiefly for kinship events, averaged £0.96 per annum. The tendency is for these proportions to increase together with income. Thus one District-Head, budgeted as CB, reported a gross income of £624, but paid a total of £13.55 in tax for himself and his retainers, gave £31 in cash to various people, another £20.2 to praise-singers and drummers, and spent £82 on kinship ceremonials, most of it on his marriage. Excluding his Sallah donations and all other gifts he may have made, the outlays listed above are almost one-fourth of gross reported income, that is, approximately twice as high as the average ratio among his subjects.

To exclude these noncommercial transfers from a discussion of Hausa exchange would do violence to the Hausa system, and could seriously mislead its analysis. This Hausa exchange system consists of two sectors, the commercial and the customary. The latter surrounds and sanctions the former, and also serves to modify the effect of strictly commercial activities on Hausa society by redistributing portions of income in channels provided by the key Hausa institutions of marriage, family and kinship, religion, government, bond-

friendship and clientage. Both the customary and the commercial exchanges assume reciprocity and involve goods or services; but customary transactions differ from market exchange in that they are induced by social obligations rather than the pursuit of material self-gain, they do not usually specify the equivalent return or period of delivery, and also in that they often transfer material for non-material goods such as political patronage, expiation, or kinship solidarity.

This system of customary exchange colors Hausa attitudes to wealth and its pursuit. As income increases so do an individual's social obligations within this customary exchange system. Only by giving can he discharge his social role with honor. Thus the richer or more prominent an individual, the greater is his absolute and relative outlay on these institutional transactions. In this way, customary exchange marks wealth and its pursuit as legitimate at the same time that it demonstrates status and affirms prestige. The generosity of wealthy men evokes admiration for wealth and emulation in its pursuit. It also leads Hausa to set high value on the freedom to pursue wealth, within limits set by Islam on the one hand and by customary norms on the other. Thus Hausa admire industry and commercial skill for the wealth and status they bring and for the generosity and display by which this wealth and status is demonstrated. The prominent man has many dependents and makes generous outlays, and his means of obtaining his income is socially legitimized thereby. Miserable have small hope of fortune among the Hausa since they violate these norms and suffer isolation, ridicule, and ostracism in consequence.

The Hausa praise-singers (maroka) are institutionalized spokesmen of these social values (Smith 1957). The Islamic emphasis on charity among Muslims supports these attitudes, and provides religious outlets and sanctions.

The pressure of these demands on Hausa traders stimulates them to increased exertion. No margin of profit is too great or too small for their notice; no type of exchange is unsuitable providing it gives a good return and is not forbidden by Islam. With this ethic the Hausa are indefatigable traders, having a special flair for bargaining. They are willing to take high risks for the chance of commensurate profit. This description is less applicable to rural traders than to urban traders and jatake, since rural demand has a fairly fixed structure, the units and values of which are quite well-known. It is thus the urban merchant who exemplifies Hausa economic values most fully, especially the general trader. Such men have many contacts with firms, with officials, and with various rural communities. They must also be wealthy to engage in general trade; and this wealth is expressed

(4) Cash values are given in decimals of sterling pounds here for the convenience of reader and writer alike.
as well by the number of their dependents, as by the generosity which they display. In short, the rich man has to pursue wealth single-mindedly and to display it freely.

The social solidarity which these customary exchanges promote is not all unproductive materially (Smith 1957b). Gifts are indirect investments in social relations of varying function and form. Some of these relations, such as kinship, provide the matrix within which subsistence production is carried out cooperatively; but exchanges between bond-friends, or between client and patron may also underlie economic cooperation, and Islamic norms provide the basis for the maintenance of the Koran schools. Among women, institutionalized gift-giving is essential for discharge of their relatively heavy periodic ceremonial obligations. And among both sexes, these obligations belong to differing levels of Hausa society and cultural history.

**COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE OUTSIDE MARKETS**

Hausa commercial transactions are not confined to markets. Important towns have European canteens, Hausa *fatake* trade *en route*, Fulani women hawk milk and butter through the villages daily, and young girls peddle processed foods and other small articles between compounds. Craftsmen ply their craft and transact business at their work place between market days; sylvan produce is brought in for sale daily; and vendors retail kolas, soap, perfume, kerosene, matches and the like at set places most of the time. As their daily diaries show, Hausa business hours are their waking hours; and in rural areas, the volume of commercial exchange which takes place on the days between markets bears comparison with that which takes place on market days.

Some craftsmen, such as builders or well-diggers, can scarcely sell their services in a market place. Others, such as barbers, clerics, or dyers, can conveniently sell theirs outside it. Purdah wives may not attend market, but spin, weave, or process oil and foodstuffs at home, retailing these through junior kin or through commission agents. Special conditions apply to those transactions which take place between markets. The article or service and its price must be fairly and openly displayed in for sale; and vendors retail kolas, soap, perfume, kerosene, matches and the like at set places most of the time. As their daily diaries show, Hausa business hours are their waking hours; and in rural areas, the volume of commercial exchange which takes place on the days between markets bears comparison with that which takes place on market days.

In large towns, this informal marketing has less significance, since the market meets daily and attracts most of this internal trade. In the towns also trade is more important than in the country, both because urban households acquire less of their necessities from their own subsistence production, and because average incomes tend to be higher. Thus incomes from market exchange outstrip craft incomes in Hausa towns, in rural areas they are more nearly equal. As we have seen, internal exchange may have begun among the Hausa with the transfer of special craft skills and products among hereditary occupational groups. The context of these transfers was the local community; and even today, local units rely for their basic requirements on the skills of their craftsmen and restrict their demands to traditional forms. In the towns, this traditional demand structure and economy is more exposed to new influences.

European stores and depots are the largest trading ventures located at Hausa towns. Shops operated by Europeans or Syrians are called canteens, and many Hausa merchants now have their own canteens also. The Hausa demand for such foreign products as cloth, salt, bicycles, pressure lamps, iron beds, pots, basins, etc., is large and increasing. These articles are imported in bulk by expatriate firms of which the largest is the United Africa Company. To reduce their overheads and maximize adaptability, the UAC and other expatriate firms concentrate on the lucrative wholesale trade while leaving retail business in the hands of Syrian or native traders. By setting their prices slightly above those of the native traders, the firms protect their chief customers, the Syrian and native traders, but also put these in competition with one another. Syrian traders use their canteens as a base, but do not confine their trading thereto.

The important Southern traders in Hausaland are mainly Yoruba women, few of whom run canteens. The Yoruba women are well thought of by European traders, and tend to confine their activities to selling. In 1950, some of the Yoruba women trading in Zaria city and its environs had an average monthly turnover of £2000, and as credit-risks they had few Hausa rivals.

Hausa merchants, very few of whom are Fulani, usually take their goods on credit from expatriate firms. Interest on the loan may be added to the cost of stock; the total is repayable at a certain date in cash or kind. Firms which deal in export staples such as hides and skins, shea-nuts or gutta-percha, may accept repayments in these articles, purchasing them at prevailing rates; but the Hausa trader must repay his advance to receive further credit from the firm. To reduce the burden of interest cost the Hausa trader is tempted to purchase local produce for export with which to repay his debt in kind; such a procedure allows him to get a double return from the money
and thus to reduce the interest burden. To this end, he may allocate so many bags of salt, rolls of cloth, etc., on credit to his customers and agents, requiring hides and skins, or shea-nuts in repayment. His agents then dispose of their stock in rural markets, where they also purchase the products with which to repay the advance. In this way, credit is basic to Hausa wholesale trading. Moreover, the larger the quantities involved, the lower the profit ratio. The highest profit margins attach to petty retail trade.

The Hausa merchant, seeking rapid purchase and sale, is also tempted to do business in commodities such as grain which are important in local trade but not dealt in by the firms. If he is in debt to the firms, the Hausa merchant who buys these local items may be unable to repay when the loan is due. A delicate balance must thus be maintained between the export-import trade and the Nigerian market exchanges, if these are to be successfully combined.

The merchant who decides to invest in grain crops seeks to buy these in the field as futures at knockdown rates before the harvest, and to hoard and sell dear at high prices during the following hungry season, May to August. For this end, grain, skins or locust-bean bought in Hausa enclaves among pagans may be marketed in Kano, Sokoto or Zinder six months later. Conversely, cloth or natron produced in Kano may be sold in pagan markets several hundred miles away. Hausa rulers whose subjects face prospects of famine may prohibit removal of foodstuffs from their emirates; but the larger local merchants have trading bases or contacts in two or more emirates, and can therefore move in supplies. Even administrative boundaries, such as the Anglo-French one, offer little obstruction to this regional trade.

Standing crops sold as futures include cash crops such as cotton, groundnuts and tobacco, as well as subsistence cereals. Farmers in need of ready cash for tax, marriage or court expenses, etc., may have no real alternative but to sell their crop futures. Payment may be made in cash or kind, but in either case the farmer obtains about half the harvest value of the crop, and has no further cultivation responsibilities. When peasants are economically hard-pressed, this traffic may give rise to alarm, and for the past twenty-five years the government of northern Nigeria has tried in various ways to reduce futures transactions. Tax-collection has been delayed. Statutory marketing boards have been established to control the major exports, cotton and groundnuts; and the unfluctuating prices offered for these have to some extent reduced the peasants' incentive to sell their futures. More recently, Government sponsored cooperatives advance loans to rural folk; but it seems likely that some of this money may be used to purchase crop futures also. Not so long ago, native officials charged with annual purchase of grain in bulk for emirate hospitals, prisons and schools, enjoyed excellent opportunities for enriching themselves and for helping merchants in this trade. Their position vis-à-vis the local cooperative societies nowadays may be somewhat similar; and in certain tobacco-farming districts, local chiefs have used the early collection of tax as a means of acquiring futures. Since the Hausa merchants and officials are the main links between the rural markets in which the peasants trade, and the larger city markets which handle the intra-Nigerian and overseas commerce, and since neither of these markets is ever static for long, the Hausa peasants are subject to changing economic pressures mediated by officials and traders. The greater rewards to be derived from trade in local staples and futures tempt Syrian merchants as well as Hausa to invest therein, although this may hold up repayment of outstanding loans.

One route by which Hausa traders acquire wealth and prominence is through this trade in local staples. From small beginnings with grain, the crop-trader with sufficient cash, credit or fortune, may extend his business to cash crops, which may be sold direct to the firms in bulk, or may be bought with money supplied by them. The trader acting either as an agent or a principal. In either case the step forward to general trade in European and other Hausa products is short and simple, providing that the firms advance goods on credit. The competition between these expatriate companies encourages each to support reliable local traders whose business seems likely to expand. The scale and variety of the trader's sales volume largely determines whether he remains in the country or moves to some town, where European canteens, railway and good roads are available. His over-involvement in the purchase of local staples, farms, or houses may lead the firms to withdraw their support when his debts are overdue.

The other route by which Hausa become general traders is ~atauci, the long-distance trading expeditions which Hausa learned from Arabs and Tuareg, and on which their fortunes formerly depended. Hausa ~atake begin as assistants of principals who are their kins or patrons, and they gradually acquire sufficient knowledge of routes and markets to engage in this trade on their own account, with such capital as they have. Nowadays the principal ~atauci traffic is with southern Nigeria, Hausa moving cattle, groundnuts, cotton, locust-bean, Hausa cloth and other products southward, and returning with kolas, ginger, Yoruba cloth and such European manufactures as are cheaper at southern markets. This trade is pursued by road, rail, or on foot, and has several southern foci, such as Lagos, Ibadan, Ogbo-
The successful long-distance trader eventually establishes sufficient business to be able to retain an agent at the southern market, while he himself remains mainly at his northern headquarters, purchasing stocks to be sent south, and pursuing trade in local staples. Some Yoruba banks provide short-term loans at high interest to cover some transport charges in this traffic. The successful Hausa trader is also likely to purchase his own lorries, and to run his own transport service near his base. His imports such as kolas are distributed to regular customers on part credit. His clients scout Fulani cattle-camps for beasts to send south. Their principal may then start to trade in European products in order to reduce his dependence on the jatauci traffic; alternatively he may invest in Hausa staples such as groundnuts and grain; or he may combine both activities. The number and scatter of the merchant’s agents increase with the volume and variety of his trade, and so does his dependence on their integrity and skill. This dependence influences merchants to favor certain categories of close kin as their agents, since certain kinship relations carry mutual affection and trust (amuna).

We can now give a partial answer to the common question, why is it so rare for trading organizations to survive the deaths of their founders among the Hausa. Firstly, as we have seen, the merchant is expected to spend freely in contexts of religious, social, kinship and political obligations. Secondly his trade fortune depends on credit opportunities, on good relations with expatriate firms, and on a stable group of reliable clients. Thirdly, under Muslim law, his estate is subdivided on inheritance. Only the very large trader, such as Alhassan dan Tata of Kano, is likely to leave sufficient wealth to allow his trading unit to survive the division of his estate; Alhassan was further fortunate in having several sons whose interests in the inheritance made them reliable agents. His uniqueness lay in the application of bookkeeping and other organizational techniques learned in the Gold Coast to the large and complex trading establishment he built up at Kano from small beginnings. Hausa use of Arabic scripts complicates these routine functions. Only in the past twenty years have Hausa traders found themselves facing new problems of organization and investment, and initially their response has tended to follow traditional lines of social exchange and religious donations. Until 1900, the rich merchant usually invested in slaves; nowadays, merchants have begun to pool resources and undertake new forms of production jointly, such as the groundnut processing at Kano. They have also organized local traders’ associations which present their views to the native administrations.

The statutory marketing boards which now control the export of Hausa groundnuts and cotton abroad have limited the trading opportunities of Hausa merchants and expatriate firms in these fields. These boards fix local prices for various grades of the crop whose export they monopolize, gazetting purchase points, and licensing buying agents. Among their buying agents are expatriate firms and Hausa merchants, who receive a commission for their services. The Marketing Boards were established after the great depression had dislocated Hausa economic development in the 1930’s. They were designed to protect native farmers from further violent price fluctuations of the world market—first, by building up large cash reserves through the control of local crop prices, and second, by securing better prices through bulk sales abroad. Since their establishment the boards have built up large reserves for which there now seems to be little immediate need as price stabilizers. Some of these reserves have therefore been diverted to local developments, such as roads, which serve crop production and removal. The boards have proven their value, and also enjoy government approval as sources of loans for economic development. They are therefore likely to continue.

Tobacco is grown in northwestern Hausaland for sale to the British-American Tobacco Co., which processes and distributes it locally from various plants. Cultivation of American leaf tobacco by the Hausa is the result of this firm's enterprise; and the process is guided and supervised by their field staff. At current rates, tobacco offers the Hausa farmer a greater cash reward than any other crop. In the 1959 season, local prices were 1/8d. per lb. Grade A, 1/- Grade B, and 5d. Grade C; and at Shinkafi in Sokoto, the Company’s agent reckoned that more than two-thirds of the leaf bought was Grade A, as against 5 per cent Grade C. Judging from these data, one can see how it is possible for Hausa to gross £50 or more per acre of tobacco, although £20 may be closer to the actual average. Even this low figure is probably twice as high as the average return per acre from cotton, groundnuts or sugar cane. However, it is true that of all crops grown by Hausa, tobacco is the most difficult; and it is all bought by the firm which has fostered its production. This arrangement is backed and supervised by the regional government whose agents attend the gazetted tobacco markets.

**MARKET OPERATIONS**

The data already presented describe the context of Hausa markets and the conditions which govern them. To examine the marketing process itself, I shall use data gathered in northern Zaria during 1949–50 and in 1959. These data are drawn from studies of markets
and household budgets. Their details cannot be generalized, but the principles which underlie them probably hold with local and seasonal modifications throughout Hausaland. This generality reflects the prevailing uniformities of Hausa social and economic organization, which has its base in household economy and in production for subsistence, market exchange, and customary transactions. These conditions produce a repetitive pattern of activity in households, communities, market areas and emirates. Between them, the regional government and its marketing boards, the expatriate firms and large native traders integrate the rural Hausa economy with other regions of Nigeria and with overseas trade.

The first points to stress in analyzing Hausa market conditions are the differences due to season and situation. Table 31, which sets out quarterly returns for foodstuffs during the year 1958–59 at the markets of Sabon Gari, Zaria city, and Giwa (20 miles off, on the main road to Funtua and Sokoto), illustrates both points quite well. The figures were collected by the staff of the Zaria Agricultural Department, now a section of the Ministry of Natural Resources; they were kindly supplied to me by the Provincial Agricultural Officer.

The main Hausa harvest begins in late November when the guineacorn, rice and groundnuts are ready, and continues until late February by which time cotton, tobacco, late millet, cowpeas and sugar cane are harvested. A secondary harvest occurs in late July or August, when the early millet, maize, and some groundnuts come in. Some crops, such as cassava and sweet potatoes, remain underground until needed; others, such as onions, and tree crops such as baobab and locust-bean, are harvested at different seasons. The annual crop cycle involves simultaneous shortages and abundance of different crops; and the local supply situation changes ceaselessly. Prices follow these movements of supply. Thus, in the market returns for Giwa, the greatest price fluctuations are linked with seasonal differences in the supply of cowpeas, yams, okra, groundnut oil and millet, all local products; and with such community 'imports' as cattle and palm oil. The prices of local and food staples at the Zaria market are steadily higher than at Giwa, but the seasonal movement is less marked, due perhaps to the large stocks concentrated by merchants at the capital. Price differences in these two markets also show the influence of position in the distributive system. Giwa acquires its supplies of salt and palm oil from Zaria city, and in turn sells grains, groundnuts and other local crops to the city market. In both instances, lower prices prevail at the source market. Cattle prices are consistent with this interpretation. Zaria railhead is an important center for the “export” of cattle to southern markets, and attracts Fulani herdsmen. By con-

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**Table 31**

**Prices of Local Foodstuffs in the Markets of Sabon Gari, Zaria, and Giwa, 1958–59**

**Notes:**
- The mdu is the standard grain measure in Zaria province, a bowl the weight of which varies with the grain as well as with the vendor. The average weight of a mdu of guinea-corn is here set at 2.5 lbs., that of early millet at 2 lbs. A bag of grain contains 100 mdu. The portion is a heap of approximately constant size per crop and per market. Prices may thus remain constant while the size of the heap changes, and heaps of the same crop at differing markets may have differing size and price.
such specialists as magicians whose pharmacopoeia it was not useful to quantity, and others such as the ‘yan-koli’ (herbeldashers) whose stocks of antimony, perfume, ginger, aphrodisiacs, beads, bracelets, needles, colored thread, black pepper, potash and mirrors simply delighted me. Omission of Hausa metal goods, leatherwork, or mats and pottery may either be due to evasion of the corden or to the residence of these craftsmen in the village which was the capital of a unit numbering about 6,000 souls.

The two weekly markets of Community E are distinguished as big and little. The big market met on August 7, 1950, the little on August 10. My record shows that the articles brought in for sale on August 10 exceeded those brought in on August 7, by almost £100 worth; but that this excess was almost entirely due to the greater value of cloth-goods brought into market on August 10. Excluding cloth, the earlier market attracted a slightly larger volume of goods from outside the village, including almost twice as much foodstuffs, other than meat. Perhaps the Hausa classification of markets as big or little may rest on the relative quantity of foodstuffs they regularly attract.

In October 1919, I tried to study the volume sold in certain markets in northern Zaria with the assistance of the Provincial Agricultural

Table 31 omits Hausa craft products and most European manufactures; but together these commodities provide much of the goods on sale in local markets. In 1950, I tried to make censuses of all articles brought into certain markets of rural Zaria, and summarize some results in Table 32. To make these two censuses, I cordoned off one market on two consecutive meetings with the assistance of the village chief, and weighed or counted all items brought thereto between 9 A.M. and noon, when people come to market, valuing these items at their current local price. The details of this census have already been published, (Smith 1955: 247). Table 32 gives quantities and values by commodity groups.

This census omits those vendors who lived in the village where the market met, and who thus escaped my cordon on the roads. It also omits grains, spices, and roots crops.
Department, then under Mr. M. G. Gibbon. Mr. Gibbon seconded three of his keenest Hausa assistants and their staff for the project. They were instructed to survey the amount of each commodity brought to market by vendors, and also the amounts which remained with the vendors when they were ready to leave. The difference is assumed to represent sales or other forms of transfer, and was valued at current prices in the market concerned. The details of this study are available elsewhere (Smith 1955:246); Table 33 gives a summary of the volumes and values exchange along lines similar to Table 32.

Before proceeding, let us enter a caveat. These market data vary in their accuracy and completeness. They are indeed the best I could do or arrange in order to study market economics in rural Zaria; but they are perhaps as informative about the difficulties of market surveys as about their composition and volumes.

The Hausa market is a busy milling throng which it is difficult to count and classify, and virtually impossible for the student to arrest or to interview individually. To study Hausa markets we must therefore observe, count, and classify as fully and precisely as we may, converting quantities into values at current prices, and indicating the sources of error explicitly. With these important qualifications, the data presented here are useful.

The compositions and levels of the volume of market goods presented in Table 33 reflect differing market situations. The three markets are more than fifty miles apart, lying in northern Zaria. L stands in the large, densely peopled area adjoining Kano province. A is Giwa, a District Headquarters and a new town with a new market in a sparsely-peopled area. Y is a commercial center on the railway and motor road between Jos and Zaria. In 1949 it contained branches of certain European firms, together with several large Hausa and southern traders, and served as the commercial center for a populous district which included large numbers of agricultural pagans. The market at Y met daily; at L and A, it met twice weekly on set days. A sample economic survey of Y which I made in 1950 indicates that it is more fully urban than rural (Smith 1955:147-56, 222-5). Incomes there were much above the rural levels, especially those derived from trade in local goods, such as kolas, guinea-corn, groundnuts, cowpeas, natron, locust-bean, peppers, timber, and sugar cane, which was grown and processed locally. Southern Nigerians dominated trade in European cloth and products. Most of the local products sold at Y may have been “exported” elsewhere, whereas most of those sold at L and A probably served local needs. Since the market meets daily at Y, the local demand for meat is met by a regular daily slaughtering. At L, where the population is dense and the market meets bi-weekly, several beasts are despatched each market day. At A, with its smaller population and market attendance, this meat demand is much less.

Of the estimated gross sales at L and A, 55 per cent and 63 per cent respectively involve foodstuffs and farm produce, excluding meat; and of these sales, the greater portions are local farm-produce. At Y, these commodities represent 75 per cent of market sales, less than one-twentieth of this being of “foreign” origin. At L and A, wood and meat together represent 43 per cent and 36 per cent of market turnover; at Y they account for only 11.2 per cent. At A, cloth sales are either unrecorded or negligible; at L, they form less than 3 per cent of total market sales, at Y, they are 17.8 per cent. These differing turnover compositions underline the functional distinction between rural and urban markets to which I have already referred.

The difficulties which beset a census of market attendance or turnover increase with market size. A census of attendance in the larger Hausa markets would require careful planning and a fairly large team. Later I shall present the results of two attendance surveys made in the small Giwa market; but first, I wish to assess the significance of market exchanges in the Hausa economy. For this purpose, we can use other approaches and bodies of data.

In 1948, Mr. F. J. Pedler, then District Manager of the United Africa Company at Zaria, estimated the annual per capita net income of Hausa at the capital on the basis of commercial and administrative information available to him (Pedler 1918). Pedler’s estimate ignored subsistence incomes and concentrated on the overseas rather than the internal trade; nonetheless, his per capita cash income average was remarkably close to that which I obtained by different methods and data (Smith 1952). Their correspondence suggests that these two estimates may be reasonably accurate, but since my study included kind as well as cash income and expenditure, I shall use it in the present discussion.

This survey comprehended budgets from ninety households in eight rural Hausa communities of Zaria. These households contained 100 taxpayers and a total of 605 persons, of whom 204 were married women. The average annual income of these taxpayers was estimated at £54.5, of which cash income was £26.77 or 46 per cent, and the remainder was income in kind. With my wife’s help, I estimated an average annual cash income of £5.16 per married woman, or £10.33 per average household.

Annual trade and craft outputs of these sample taxpayers averaged £43.8 and £6.84, respectively, the comparative costs being £28.4 and £6.64, and the difference representing incomes in cash or kind retained by these producers together with losses borne by them. The
average annual cash income per taxpayer from the sale of sylvan produc
tion labor was £0.71 and £0.74, respectively; from trade and craft it was £7.12 and £8.22; and from the sale of crops and livestock it was £6.14 and £1.58. Together, craft, trade, and farming brought in an annual average of £22 per taxpayer, or 83 per cent of average cash income. Average cash incomes from trade and craft totalled £15.94, or £0.53 less than the £16.47 which represented the total of average cash incomes from sale of farm produce, in which women have little share, and the annual earning of household wives. Of the £6.14 received by the average taxpayer from crop sales, £4.07 came from cash crops, such as cotton, groundnuts and tobacco, and £0.91 from sugar cane and rice, which were also "exported" from these communities. The exchange activities of married women are almost wholly confined to the villages in which they live; and their husband's incomes from craft and trade were also earned and spent locally. By far the greater part of the net increment in the annual cash income of these rural communities derives from the sale of their farm produce for "export" to other markets. Such sales account for 23 per cent of community income and, with loans or concealed debts such as the sale of crop futures, this probably balances all the net expenditures on "imported" commodities and on tax. My sample taxpayer averages for loans received and for sales of futures were £0.77 and £0.27, respectively, which with crop sales totals £7.18. As against this, average cash income from trade was £7.12 per taxpayer, and average annual cash outlay on "exports" such as tax (£0.7), clothes (£3.25), personal expenses (£1.56), and stimulants, such as kolas, snuff or cigarettes (£1.93), had a total of £7.44.

These figures form equations which are approximate rather than exact. Some of these "export" expenditures may have remained in the villages. Likewise some of the cash income from crop sales may have been purely local. Nonetheless, the equations are useful and revealing. By far the greater part of cash income from farming derives from community "exports:" and by far the greater part of the "export" expenditures listed above does represent a net outward flow from the community. In short, the figures allow us to distinguish broadly between the internal exchange system of these communities and their external trade relations. By this token, women's activities and local craft production belong to the internal exchange system, together with sales of livestock, sylvan produce, labor and processed foodstuffs. External exchanges involve sale of local produce or cash crops in return for money with which to pay for needed "imports." That portion of average community income received from external sales and used to acquire goods from outside the community totaled 13 per

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**Table 34**

Composition of Gwagawa Market on 30 December 1959, and on 23 April 1959

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>1959 Vendors</th>
<th>1959 Vendors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>64 women</td>
<td>22 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet potatoes, cooked</td>
<td>8 men</td>
<td>3 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locust-bean cakes</td>
<td>23 women</td>
<td>17 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okra</td>
<td>5 men, 8 men</td>
<td>4 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country peppers</td>
<td>3 men, 3 men</td>
<td>5 men, 5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seed cotton</td>
<td>5 men</td>
<td>5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leatherworkers</td>
<td>4 men</td>
<td>5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloth-sellers</td>
<td>6 men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausi blankets on commission</td>
<td>16 men</td>
<td>15 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's clothes on commission</td>
<td>12 men</td>
<td>8 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butchers</td>
<td>12 men</td>
<td>8 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundnut oil</td>
<td>7 women</td>
<td>23 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>9 men</td>
<td>12 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chewing tobacco</td>
<td>17 men</td>
<td>4 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>12 men</td>
<td>8 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reed-mats (assebi)</td>
<td>9 men</td>
<td>9 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fara brown-sugar</td>
<td>10 men</td>
<td>17 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beleb palm-fruit</td>
<td>9 men, 3 men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooked cassava</td>
<td>4 men, 15 men</td>
<td>3 women, 5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jassava, uncooked</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden mortars</td>
<td>2 men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomatoes</td>
<td>3 men</td>
<td>9 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citrus</td>
<td>3 men</td>
<td>5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo traders</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faux (grain-cakes)</td>
<td></td>
<td>22 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorated calabashes</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa brooms</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking water</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roe-handles, woodwork</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pots</td>
<td>2 men</td>
<td>4 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablution pots</td>
<td>3 men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allewae</td>
<td>2 men</td>
<td>4 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa thread</td>
<td>30 men</td>
<td>30 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundnut cake</td>
<td>14 men</td>
<td>15 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novel</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onions</td>
<td>5 men</td>
<td>13 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolas (independent)</td>
<td>9 men</td>
<td>13 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolas (on commission)</td>
<td>21 men</td>
<td>27 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mats</td>
<td>7 men</td>
<td>11 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbers</td>
<td>16 men</td>
<td>9 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halasertas-hery (koli)</td>
<td>9 men</td>
<td>9 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfume</td>
<td>12 men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosi (beancakes)</td>
<td>17 women</td>
<td>22 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goli (squash)</td>
<td>3 men</td>
<td>5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baskets</td>
<td>3 men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine tailors</td>
<td>3 men</td>
<td>7 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grainsellers</td>
<td></td>
<td>9 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palm oil</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basins, plates</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangoes</td>
<td></td>
<td>11 men,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Hausa hoes</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooked groundnuts</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusa (grain-chaff)</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowls, eggs</td>
<td></td>
<td>25 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) All were nomad Fulani women. (b) Fura, spiced balls of flour-paste, eaten as the midday snack. (c) Allewae, a sweetmeat made of honey, rice, and the black damson. (d) Kolas, independent: in 1959, these were seated at tables and also sold soap, perfume, and some cigarettes. Hence perfume-sellers are not registered separately in 1959.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cent. A further 46 per cent of the community incomes was acquired by the producers without entering into any form of exchange, that is to say, it was subsistence income in kind; and of the remaining 41 per cent of the community income which were locally derived and exchanged, approximately one-fourth, or 10 per cent of gross annual income, was transferred in the system of customary exchanges already described. Thus, 31 per cent of their incomes was derived through commercial exchanges within these communities. Allowing for differences of season and locality, these proportions probably hold for most Hausa village economies today also. The differences between Hausa rural and urban conditions already mentioned render it unlikely that these ratios describe the economy of the towns.

To determine how far this rural economy is currently changing, we need to know such things as the composition and amounts of income and output, the ratios of income derived from subsistence, from local marketing, and from external trade; and data which indicate occupational categories. Lacking these data, I can only offer indirect evidence from Giwa. There I had carried out a census of market vendors in December 1949, which I was able to repeat in April 1959. When compared, these attendance surveys reveal certain differences over and above seasonal changes or the departure of nomad Fulani from the area. The Giwa market prices for 1958–59 already quoted also differ from those of 1948–49 in detail rather than substance.

On the market-day studied in 1949, two bulls were slaughtered at Giwa and two goats and three sheep were on sale alive. Three bicycles were available for hire also. On April 23, 1959, one bull and several goats were slaughtered, and six goats were on sale alive. On this occasion more than 120 bicycles were counted, and of these five were put up for sale. On that day there were fifteen large Hausa baskets of threshed guinea-corn, thirteen of early millet (gero), and ten of locust-bean flour (kalawa) available for sale by measure. These baskets were the large Hausa containers holding 100 mudu each. The five men then selling chillies each had a smaller basket with a capacity of 15 to 20 mudu. The seven Ibo traders then in the market sat at tables which displayed cotton vests, powder, canvas shoes, vaseline, bicycle parts, torches, and other European products.

Before analyzing or comparing these surveys, let us note their deficiencies. First, they contain errors of recording or reporting, of which the omission of grain sellers in the earlier survey and of barbers in the latter are the most obvious. Second, they deal only with market vendors and not with total market attendance. Third, their differing seasonal incidence complicates comparison by introducing the factor of seasonal variations. Bearing these qualifications in mind, we can still learn something from their comparison.

In December 1949, the Giwa market contained 363 male vendors, and 185 females, of whom 61 were nomad Fulani women selling milk and butter. To this total of 548 vendors, we can add 45 maidens, dressed for the dance which traditionally follows the market, and 70 youths whose only interest seemed to be in the girls. This gives a minimum attendance of 363 for that market day; and of the 548 vendors, 464 were Hausa, mainly drawn from Giwa and its environs. My occupational census of these settlements in 1949 yielded a total of 292 adult males and 421 adult women, exclusive of native officials and their families, who rarely attend the market. Of these 292 men, 37 derived their total incomes from farming, and only 8 derived no part of their income therefrom. It is therefore likely that the majority of the 235 local men who had some craft or trade specialization were among the 363 male vendors in the market on the day of my survey.

By contrast, even if all 121 Hausa women then selling in the market were drawn from the area of my occupational census, they would represent only 3/10ths of its adult female population. The remainder would be wives who had not yet reached the menopause, and who were thus bound by purdah in varying degrees.

On April 23, 1959, the market contained 534 vendors, 378 of these being male, and 156 female. Of these female vendors, 25 were nomad Fulani, and 131 were Hausa women—that is only 10 more than in 1949. Although the 1959 total of vendors is 14 less than in 1949, it includes an increase of 15 male Hausa vendors also, and owes its reduction almost entirely to the withdrawal of certain nomad Fulani from the environs of Giwa. In short, it seems likely that the small increase in the number of male and female Hausa selling in the latter market may represent local population growth and some expansion in the market itself rather than any major change in its composition or its relation to the local population whose occupational distribution I studied earlier.

In the 1949 market study, the vendors were classified by commodities into forty-five groups; in 1959, they fell into fifty-four commodity groups. Five commodities on sale in the earlier market are absent from the latter. Of these, three (namely, cocoyams, delab palm fruit and baskets), are direct seasonal changes, while a fourth (perfume) is no longer sold as a separate retail line. The 1959 survey lists sixteen trade-lines absent from the earlier study, exclusive of grain sellers, which is an obvious recording error. Of these sixteen new trade-lines, mangoes, tamarind, honey, waina, yams, hoes and
hoe-handles are seasonal, the first five reflecting the cycle of crop supplies, while the two latter anticipate resumption of farming. The sale of cooked groundnuts by women recorded in April 1959 may indicate another seasonal variation or may be a switch of effort by some who found their previous activities unrewarding. It is also likely that the basket sellers of December 1949 include some of those who sold brooms in April 1959, since these two specialties are closely related, and the grasses are too dry for basketry in April. Likewise, the woodworkers selling hoe-handles in the April market may be the same men as sold mortars and pestles in December 1949, this change being seasonal also.

Omitting these cyclical variations, and such movements of vendors from one trade line to another as may also reflect seasonal factors, the commodity composition of the later market differs from the earlier in certain particulars. The 1959 study shows new or increased availability of palm oil, poultry, European metal basins and plates, bicycles, spare parts, torches, shoes, cotton vests and sewing machines, and changes in the distribution of cloth and perfume. Moreover there is a new Ibo trading element and new trade-lines such as grain-chaff and drinking water. These differences seem to represent certain changes in the demand structure of the Giwa population since 1949; but notably, they add to the traditional demand pattern which still keeps the market composition and commodity structure very similar to that of 1949.

Allowing for seasonal influences and for possible errors of recording, the difference in the numbers who sold the same commodity in these two markets might be due to several factors, separately or in combination—for example, migration, generation replacement, or to individual adjustments to market opportunities and risks. Such adjustments are simpler for men than for women, and for traders than for craftsmen. Of the sixty-three trade-lines listed in both surveys, only seven are exclusive to women and only five including grain-selling, are open to both sexes equally. Men dominate the market in the range of their interests as well as in numbers; and it is they who adopt and introduce new commodity-lines. Most of the craft goods are sold in these markets by their producers; and most of the market purchases are made by men who attend as vendors. The Hausa peasant goes to market with something for sale in order that he may get the money with which to purchase his needs. The vendor and the purchaser in the Hausa rural market is the same person; and since Hausa men are charged with the provision of household needs in cash as well as kind, their role is central for the market structure and for the domestic economy alike.

In Table 23, the gross sales of the Giwa market on a certain market-day of October 1949 were estimated at £29.4.4d. This estimate may be combined with the census of vendors in this market on 30 December 1949 to give a very approximate idea of the average sale per vendor at Giwa at that time. For this purpose, we may omit the sixteen barbers present in December, since they sold services rather than commodities; and we may also assume that the meeting studied in December had a sale twice as great as that estimated in October. This would mean that the 532 commodity vendors sold a total volume of goods worth approximately £60 on December 30, 1949. Their average sale would thus be about £0.11 each, of which perhaps 7d or 8d might represent income.

Naturally, this figure for the average sales per vendor is an imprecise estimate and is also open to severe criticisms for the method by which it has been derived. Without in the least underestimating these deficiencies, we can still use it to indicate a problem and to suggest its probable answer. The very low average sales and therefore income from marketing which has just been estimated raises the question why Hausa attend market so regularly and in such numbers, or rather, how can they afford to do so. For instance, our average market-day return of 8d. per vendor is far less attractive than the local rate of 1/6 d. per day for wage-labor which prevailed in 1949. Yet few men at Giwa undertook kadogo (wage-labor) in between market days, preferring to work at their farms or crafts, while few would willingly miss the market.

Stated in this way, the problem admits of only one possible answer. Hausa, especially men, attend market regularly despite its low average return because under present conditions they cannot do otherwise. To obtain the cash with which to pay for goods and services they can neither produce themselves nor easily do without, they have to sell their own products or services and are therefore obliged to visit the market for the dual purpose of selling and buying. Their wives remain in purdah and have few responsibilities to the household economy. Given the Hausa occupational structure and traditional scale of values and wants, the men's dual participation in markets is inevitable and continuous. Of the 292 men living in Giwa and its environs in 1949, only 12 per cent depended solely on farming for their livelihood. Another 58 per cent practiced some other subsidiary occupation, whether craft, trade, or wage-labor, the latter being pursued by 20 men. A further 23 per cent had two subsidiary occupations each, and 7 per cent had three or more each. Of the 421 women who lived in this area, 142 or 34 per cent had one occupation only, 60 per cent had two, and the remaining 6 per cent had
three or more each. The economy of Hausa villages assumes and rests on this pattern of occupational diversity. Of the average income per taxpayer in my 1949-50 budget sample, £26.77 or 46 per cent was cash, £23.32 or 43 per cent was consumed by the producers without entering into any form of exchange, and £5.83 or 11 per cent took the form of goods transacted in customary exchange. The budgets describe a population which produces for home consumption and for market exchange almost equally, the goods and services sold by individuals providing them with the cash to purchase those which they buy. Hence the relatively large number of vendors and trade-lines in the Giwa market despite its low gross sales volume and low profit average.

The social function of Hausa markets is to satisfy this need for commercial exchange within communities which are occupationally diverse in their structure and which depend on production for both subsistence and exchange. The volume and the variety of items exchanged commercially far exceeds those which are transferred as gifts in the ceremonial and customary contexts, which serve religious or social ends since the commercial exchange supplies one-half of the material needs of the average Hausa household.

Excluding farmers who sell their cash-crops in special markets known as floti (plots) under government supervision, and those traders who range between several markets, the vendors in a rural Hausa market are mainly part-time specialists who spend their receipts from sales in the markets at which they trade. The traditional demand structure which influences these spending patterns is illustrated by my 1949-50 budget sample. Of the gross annual cash expenditure of the men in this sample, 12.2 per cent went on clothes, 5.9 per cent and 5.0 per cent on household and personal expenses respectively, 7.9 per cent on stimulants such as kolas or cigarettes, and 48.6 per cent on foodstuffs, processed or other. Clearly, the greater a man's involvement in trade or craft production, the less time can he devote to his farm, and the greater is his dependence on the market for the income with which to maintain his household. Since Hausa occupations are for the most part hereditary, their communities tend to have a stationary occupational composition and a conservative economy. In this rural economy, we can distinguish four sectors or levels of organization; first, the domestic subsistence sector; second, the system of customary exchange; third, the internal commercial system; and finally, the system of external exchange in which the community is involved.

We have seen that a balance obtains between the first sector and the two commercial ones; and outward and inward transfers also tend to balance within each of the three latter sectors. Thus gifts made and received tend to balance; and so do purchases and sales at both the household and community levels; but the internal and external commercial exchanges have to be taken together if the balance of community "imports" and "exports" is to appear. As mentioned above, this equation depends mainly on the value of crops exported for its size. These crop exports are roughly equivalent in value to the net outward payments for local imports; and in the communities which I studied in 1949-50, the value of these external transfers was 13 per cent of annual income, as against 31 per cent derived from the intra-community exchange system.

CONCLUSION

Among the Hausa, economic transactions are complex and varied. In their customary forms they express values drawn from kinship, religion, and political organization which themselves reflect differing stages of Hausa culture history, and differ in their forms, functions, and sanctions. Households are the basic economic units in Hausa communities; they produce for exchange and for subsistence. The commercial exchange system which balances their requirements against their surpluses will simultaneously balance the community's income and expenditure accounts. At this level, we find that rather more than two-thirds of the values of these commercial exchanges are purely local in character, the remainder being external. We have also seen that for the most part craft production serves a local market in rural Hausa communities. The Hausa community, like the household, but rather more so, provides itself with most of the goods and services on which its subsistence depends; and the difference in the subsistence ratios of households on the one hand and of communities on the other is mainly made up by the value of local exchange. This local exchange includes commercial and customary transfers together, but the former has three times the value of the latter. In rural areas, the market, which is the Hausa commercial institution par excellence, is primarily concerned to facilitate and regulate this intra-community commercial exchange, while other agencies such as jataeri, large merchant traders, or floti, the export-crop selling points set up and supervised by government, handle the external traffic. Excluding floti, this was also the way in which exchange was organized and conducted by Hausa before the British arrived; and the system owes its impressive continuity to the diversity of subsistence and exchange production on which Hausa economy is based. Since such integration persists, households continue to supply services and goods to each
other within local communities, the character and techniques for production of these goods tend to remain fixed, and the market continues to satisfy primary functions of internal exchange. The account of Hausa habitat and history with which we began indicates the antiquity of this pattern and the factors which have contributed to its development and stability.