

THE RECEPTION OF COLONIAL RULE IN KAMBARILAND, 1890S-1960

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ABSTRACT: *Right from the late 1890s, different colonial powers began to send their expeditions to Kambariland, aimed at dominating the Kambari economic affairs. In respect of their common mission, the European powers therefore, signed a considerable number of commercial treaties with the Kambari rulers within the area of eastern and western banks of Mashivo (River Niger, in Kambari language). Consequentially, the European contacts with the Kambari led to the imposition of colonial policies that later brought about some dramatic changes on the social, political and economic life of the Kambari. By the end of colonial rule in 1960, despite their attachment to their culture, some of the Kambari succumbed to the colonial rule and adopted the European ways of life. This paper has made an overview of the activities of the European powers in Kambariland, and it shows how the European conquest affected the political, economic and social life of the Kambari, particularly among the Akimba group of the Kambari people. Due to the scarcity of documented materials, oral information was systematically used in reconstructing the history of European contacts with the Kambari.*

KEYWORDS: The Kambari People, Colonial Rule in Kambariland, Impact of Colonial Rule on the Kambari

INTRODUCTION

The Kambariland

According to Adamu, one of the ancient kingdoms which perhaps existed near the Hausaland by 1200 A.D. was the Kambari kingdom called Maginga with old Agwara as its capital. The political history of Yauri shows that when Hausa people began to establish their rule in the Yauri area towards the end of the 14th century, they found the Kambari chieftaincy of Maginga, which they later dominated to date. The territory which stretched for more than fifty kilometres was located on the east bank of River Niger in the present Yauri and Kontagora Emirates of Kebbi and Niger States of Nigeria. The Kambari built three principal towns, namely old Agwara their administrative headquarters, Macupa their commercial centre and Sawuni the seat of their chief priest. The only non-Kambari people living in the territory were Hausa people who were concentrated in two towns only, namely Birnin Yauri and Ngaski.¹ The word Kambari is the name by which the people choose to identify themselves with. They consist of six sub-groups of Awunci, Akimba, Agadi, Abadi (Avadi), Agaushi, and Ashen. However, this paper has given emphasis on the Akimba and their seven traditional homes of Wara, Libata, Dakamala, Gwazali, Kure, Karoliya and Kwakwaran.

Early European Contact with the Kambari Territory

The presence of Europeans, particularly the British and the French, in the Niger-bend area has been documented in several sources such as Temple, Adeleye, Obaro, Flint etc. On the whole, the sources have shown that the Europeans were mostly concerned with commercial activities²

until the time when the charter of the Royal Niger Company was abrogated. From the late 1890s therefore both the French and the British started sending expeditions to Kambariland and resulted in Anglo-French rivalries.³

The Anglo-French rivalries in the Niger-bend reached its peak in 1895, with the arrival of Lieutenant Toutee in Borgu. He was instructed to extend French relations with the populations of the Middle Niger- '*Principalement dans les régions où les efforts de nos voisins Anglais et Allemands tendrent à nous devancer*'. In respect of his mission, he therefore struggled to relate with many surrounding communities where he eventually succeeded in signing some commercial treaties with Yauri on 6th January 1895 and later with many areas along the eastern and western banks of the River Niger, notably, Ganekasaye, Bussa, Yumu, Wara, Libata, and Kwakwaran amongst others.⁴

In spite of the efforts to secure the political and economic control of the area, the French had to finally withdraw, leaving the British who took over the general control of the Kambariland. The British had officially hoisted their flag at Lokoja on 1st January 1900 in an attempt to extend their rule over the vast areas of Nigeria.

The British Conquest of Kontagora and its aftermath to the Kambari People

To enable us have a better understanding of the theme of this paper, it becomes imperative to analyse the British conquest of Kontagora which took place on the 13th January 1901.⁵ It is important to note at this point that Kambariland was badly ravaged by the Nagwamatse family at the time of the colonial conquest. In order to justify their conquest on Kontagora, the Europeans claimed that Ibrahim Nagwamatse was depopulating the vast area by engaging in slave raids and slave trade, consequent upon which the lands were almost left uncultivated.⁶

In January 1901, after the battle of Ilorin, the colonial forces under Colonel Kemball marched to meet the forces of Nagwamatse, which was estimated as consisting of 50,000 men, some with local guns, bows and arrows and spears. The expedition was not mounted by just the constabulary troops but by those of the better equipped and trained West Africa Frontier Forces (WAFF). Instead of going to Kontagora straight, it was decided to circle around it from the west taking along reinforcements from the upriver garrisons and then cutting Ibrahim's escape routes towards Sokoto in the north before attacking the town itself. As this meant a march over 150 miles (240 kilometers), the combined fighting strength of the force was restricted to some 450 soldiers, two 75 millimeter guns and three machine guns.⁷

On January 17th 1901, after a short skirmish battle, the town of Udara was captured and the army of Nagwamatse comprised soldiers from Ibeto, Auna and Rijau were succumbed due to the ravages of the maxim guns in which they had no answer to. On 18th January 1901, Ibrahim Nagwamatse left Kontagora for self exile to Zaria and the town was set ablaze.⁸

Right from the successful declaration of this conquest, the British colonial government started to impose its social, political and economic policies that brought about some dramatic changes in the area.

Early Christian Missions and Evangelism in Kambariland

Christianity was introduced into the Nigerian area somewhere around 1841, when the British Government sent out an elaborate expedition to the area of the Benue and Niger Rivers in what is now called Nigeria.⁹ The main pioneers of this enterprise were Reverend Samuel Ajayi

Crowther and Doctor William Balfour Baikie, who later led the expedition of 1857, to the Niger area.¹⁰ Between 1875 and 1893, Crowther luckily won the confidence of the Emir of Bida who permitted missionary activities to start in his kingdom. In their effort to expand the gospel mission to Kambariland, the missionaries in 1893 established their mission centre at Kontagora but failed to win any convert in the targeted area.¹¹

In 1923, Mr. Shark, the Director of an Agency called United Missionary Society (UMS) opened another mission in Kontagora and sent Paul Ummel to Salka with the directives of converting the Avadi group of Kambari. But before the centre took off the Nigerian Government had quickly closed the centre because it was not formally informed. But the agency was permitted in later years to open stations in Kontagora and Salka. However, the station at Salka was closed down due to shortage of staff that faced the agency and more so, people of Avadi became difficult to convert due to their strong attachment to their traditional beliefs.¹²

In 1935, the station at Salka was re-opened when a new missionary group under the guide of Reverend Russel L. Sloat arrived and it was not until in 1946 when Reverend and Mrs. Arthur Reifel succeeded in converting only two families in Salka. Similarly, another station was opened in Zuru targeting the Dakarkari ethnic group. In 1951, a vernacular Bible Training School built classes and began to teach Christian faith in Hausa language which served as trade language of the Kambari in Salka, and some converts from Zuru and Salka were fully enrolled who were equally used in 1954 in spreading the gospel messages in all the corners of the Kambari territory. Besides winning people's minds, they were instructed to build churches wherever they reached. It was the products of this mission that began to operate its station in Agwara on the west bank of the River Niger aimed at converting the Awunci group but did not initially succeed until when a Dakarkari evangelist, Reverend Audu Dabai, was sent there. Many converts were said to be recorded among the Kambari Awunci of Agwara.¹³

In the early 1960s to the 1970s there was massive flow of other Christian denominations such as the United Missionary Church of Africa (UMCA), Evangelical Church of Africa (ECWA), Assemblies of God, Cherubim, Seraphim, Baptist, SUM-CRC, COCIN, Deeper Life, The Assemblies of God, Grace Foundation, The Roman Catholic and Christian Missionary Foundation who were very active in the Kambari area. They established their stations and built churches in different parts of Kambariland. In the early 1960s, the Baptist Church went to Bussa area and started targeting the Kambari in 1972. The ECWA went to Luma area in the late 1970s and SUM-CRC were said to have started their work in Agadi at Idaci village in the late 1987. To date all the Christian denominations mentioned have some Kambari converts in them.¹⁴

However, several of my Akimba informants¹⁵ have argued that Christianity had little influence among the Akimba. Evidence shows that 99% of the Akimba were Muslims except 1% renowned Christian family (popularly known as the family Musa Langalanga) who originated from the defunct Kakwaran (now Langwam) village. The family as at present was based in *Unguwar Misho*, in Auna town of Magama Local Government Area. It was confirmed by the head of the family, Malam Musa Samuel that he was initially a Muslim but later converted to Christianity in the 1950s at Auna.¹⁶

Political Changes in Akimba Territory under Colonial Rule

Like in other parts of the country, the British colonialists adopted the Indirect Rule system and extended it to both Yauri and Maginga kingdoms. Existing political structures were therefore left intact to conform with the basic principles of the Indirect rule system.¹⁷ But certain administrative reforms had to be made in order for the system to function smoothly.

For easy administrative purposes, the Northern Protectorate was divided into Provinces, each headed by a Resident. The provinces were in turn subdivided into Native Authority (N.A.) areas conferred with executive, legislative and judicial powers under Emirs and Chiefs. The Native Authorities were in turn subdivided into districts, each under a District Officer (D.O.) sent to control them. Under this new political system, Ngaski District was placed under Kontagora Province.¹⁸ Divisional Officers were appointed to implement the colonial policies at the grassroots level. Those officers also gave directives to the Chiefs or Village Heads. Politically, therefore, the powers of the *Magonos* (Kambari, Chiefs) were haphazardly relegated to being mere agents of colonial administration. They were not accorded the necessary respect by the society because they were seen as agents of Europeans.¹⁹

For administrative purposes, the colonial government merged the Maginga Kingdom with Yauri Kingdom in 1913 to form what was now known as Yauri Emirate. From this time, all the kings (*Sarakuna*) of Ngaski District, including the *Wakilai* (representatives) of Akimba towns and villages paid the annual *Gaisuwar Sallah* homage to the Emir of Yauri as the overlord in the emirate. However, Ngaski town remained the centre of British colonial activities until in 1951 when the seat of the Ngaski District Head was transferred to Wara.²⁰

Economic Changes in Akimba Territory under Colonial Rule

According to Rodney, the primary motive for the colonization of the less developed countries by the Europeans was mainly to give material support to the industrial revolution that sprang up in Europe in the 19th century.²¹ Thus, the European industries needed areas where they would monopolise the supply of raw materials, markets for the finished goods as well as areas to invest the surpluses. The colonial government therefore introduced policies and strategies aimed at re-orienting the economic system for proper exploitation.²²

In order to meet the demand for raw materials, the colonial government monetised²³ the economy and introduced taxes that were paid in currencies and not in kind as hitherto was the case. The imposition of taxes implied that the people had to sell their agricultural products to the colonialists in order to obtain European currency to pay their taxes and these agricultural products must be the crops needed by the European. In 1913, when Mr. Shaw of the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) visited Yelwa and its environs, he was impressed with the agricultural potentialities of the area and its surroundings. As a result, he recommended the growing of cotton, rice and sugarcane on commercial scale in the Emirate.²⁴

Hence, Akimba peasant farmers were compelled to produce cash crops such as cotton, groundnut and rice²⁵ at the expense of food crops. The repercussion of this was that the Akimba peasant farmers perpetually served the colonial interest as they were forced to produce more whenever there is increase in taxes. Several Akimba peasants were also forced to work in farms established by the British if failed to pay their taxes.²⁶ There is no doubt that the colonial economic policy negatively affected the Akimba society. The subsistence agriculture could no longer be sustained as the farms were pushed into cash instead of food crops production. In order for the farmers to sell their produce easily, cotton and groundnut selling centers were

established. Such centers were first established in Wara in the 1920s and thereafter in other Akimba areas.²⁷

The colonial government enacted certain changes as land and public funds in order for the revenue of the colonial government to increase.²⁸ The new land ordinance (1904) necessitated the introduction of land tax (*Kudin Kasa*). The 1911 proclamation also created native treasury (*Beit al-Mal*) as institution where public funds should be kept. Under this system, the Emirs and their officials became employees of the N.As and were all placed on fixed salaries.²⁹ However, the changes in the taxation system transformed the functions of the emirs and village heads. With the abolition of occupational taxes and tolls on trade the traditional rulers lost control over the economy of the emirates as the right to promote or discourage certain trades and the right to regulate the inflow or outflow of special commodities was no longer theirs.³⁰

The imposition of colonial taxes had destructive effect on the Kambari as many of those who could not pay up their taxes fled their houses in the middle of dark nights in search of hiding places where they could hardly be traced by the messengers of the colonialists. Few among the run-away Kambari people as mentioned by Maiyaki, former colonial tax-collector were Magaji, Gata, Acikobi, Bala, Noma, Adamu, Iro, Damisa and Agwaru. This contributed to the dispersals, migrations and wanderings of the Kambari. The imperialist Second World War (1939-1945), which played emphasis on conscripting many of the Kambari youths into the colonial army, had posed serious threats to the Kambari society. Finally some resolved to flee so as to free themselves from such forceful recruitments. No wonder their original homeland remained deserted. These were among other reasons behind the permanent settlements of the Kambari in Niger State today, particularly in Kontagora and Borgu Emirates.³¹

In order to enhance marketing, the British established a marketing Board known as West Africa Cooperative Producers (WACP) Limited, registered in 1928 in Nigeria.³² Apart from marketing West African produce, this organisation was responsible for importing general merchandise from abroad to Nigeria after which the United African Company (UAC) took over the general supply of goods and services and in the 1930s, it opened a branch at Wara, from where the other neighboring Akimba used to go for the purchase of their wants.³³

Social Changes under British Rule

The Akimba experienced some important social changes during the colonial era. Social amenities were provided in the period between 1908 and 1960. Feeder roads were constructed in order for the evacuation of agricultural produce to be eased. Worthy of mentioning here, was the feeder road constructed with communal efforts of the Akimba, Agaushi and Avadi peasants from Wara to Auna, Salka, Ibeto to Kontagora in 1917.³⁴

Prior to the colonial era, the Akimba chiefs (*Magono*) acted as judges. They settled disputes and also presided over other judicial matters affecting their subjects. With the coming of the colonialists, the *Magono*'s judicial powers became interrupted. A grade "c" Native Court was established in Ngaski District with a new judge whose monthly pay was £3 pound. His scribe (Hausa, *Magatakarda*) received £1 pound per month. The court was meant to serve the Akimba and other pagan tribes in the District, who were exempted from attending the judicial council at Yelwa.³⁵

In terms of Western Education, an Elementary School³⁶ was established in Wara in 1946 with 2 classes, primarily aimed at training people to learn how to read and write to enable them serve the interest of colonial state as clerical officers. Similarly, Adult Education classes for

Mondays and Fridays were opened at Wara and Libata in 1952.³⁷ The first intake were children from the Akimba ruling family and influential immigrant groups like the Hausa. Late Mahdi Adamu (1939-2016) from Ngaski was among the first set to have enrolled in Wara Elementary School along with the Kambari in 1946.

Some of the first Akimba intake in the Elementary School established in Wara in 1946

S/No	Name	Place
1	Apeli Dan Araba	Wara
2	Late Sani Aboka	Wara
3	Attahiru Giwa: The current Village Head of Wara, enthroned in 1973 during the reign of Sarkin Maginga Ibrahim Sallau (1973–1976)	Wara
4	Fati	Wara
5	Balki	Wara
6	Tamte	Wara
7	Ali Ahmad Libata	Libata
8	Ibrahim Jika: The current Village Head of Libata. He was appointed in 1989 after he retired from the service of the Nigerian Army.	Libata
9	Late Mamman Tahiru	Libata
9	Late Hussaini	Libata
10	Ibrahim Kana	Libata
11	Fati	Libata
12	Isa Kabirba	Kabirba

The vast majority were children of farmers, traders and craftsmen. Children of some Akimba parents living in villages were enrolled but they refused to stay in school. Malam Bawa Makaman Yauri was the first Headmaster of the school and was succeeded by Malam Haruna Jega (Shettiman Yauri). Other pioneering staff of the school included the following:

- 1 Malam Hassan: He first taught at Middle School Sokoto, E.T.C. Katsina and from 1952 to 1953 he taught at Yelwa Elementary School and was transferred to Wara in 1953. In January 1958, he was sent for 2 years course to H.T.T.C. Katsina.
- 2 Malama Amu: She first taught at G.T.C. Sokoto and later transferred to Wara Elementary School in 1946 when the School was opened. She was the wife of Malam Haruna Jega.
- 3 Malama Balaraba: She was the wife of Malam Hassan and also first taught at G.T.C. Sokoto before she was transferred to Wara in 1958. She was again transferred to J. P. S. Yelwa.
- 4 Malam Bako: He was an Arabic teacher who dwelled in Wara for the rest of his life. He died in October 1999.
- 5 Malam Abdu: He was transferred from J.P.S. Gebbe to Wara in January 1958 in place of Malam Hassan.³⁹

These set of Hausa-Muslim school teachers played prominent role of instilling educational and religious awareness in the minds of their pupils and their parents. So, the Western established schools gave way toward the spread of Muslim culture in the area. An important factor that greatly assisted in the Kambari's and other tribes' enrolment into Western Education in Ngaski District was the outstanding role of Sarkin Maginga Jibirin (1957-1968) who went out on his way to compel the enrolment of the Kambari people, particularly the Akimba, into elementary school in Wara. According to Malam Garba Wakili, the Village Head of Karoliya, Sarki Jibirin used to go from house to house, encouraging the Akimba parents to send their children to school.⁴⁰ No wonder the Akimba become the most civilized group of the Kambari.

It needs to be noted at this point that as a result of the influence of Western education, several Kambari are now occupying prominent positions not only in Kebbi and Niger States but also at the national and international level.

The colonial government also provided medical facilities to take care of the few colonial officials, local chiefs and other ordinary citizens. A dispensary was built in Wara in 1949 with one Malam Bako as the first Dispenser. The second Dispenser was Malam Audu and was appointed in 1956.⁴¹ The colonial government also made attempts to provide portable drinking water by constructing wells. In 1953, four wells were dug in Ngaski and three at Wara. Other areas with such wells were Macupa with 3 and Makawa with 2. All subsequent developments that followed within the area after the independence in 1960 were along side with that of the colonialists.⁴²

CONCLUSION

The previous discussions on the relationships between the European colonialists and the colonized Kambari were characterized by a combination of collaboration as well as even passive and active resistance. These were however, the frequent situation during the colonial occupation and its rule in Europe, Africa and Asia. Despite the negative outcomes of this contact on the Kambari, which succeeded in destroying the Kambari traditional political and economic settings as well as other long-established heritage, it also, to a certain extent brought about some beneficial changes on the social life of the Kambari society. The Kambari benefitted from the establishment of Western education, medical facilities and provision of portable drinking water, all provided by the British colonial administration.

Acknowledgements

In affectionate reminiscence of late Professor Mahdi Adamu* (Vice-Chancellor Emeritus, 1939-2016)

*I completed the last portion of this work in sorrowful tears, for I lost my mentor, teacher and above all, a father Professor Mahdi Adamu to whom I dedicate this work to. I reserve my sincere gratitude to him for allowing me to use many of his unpublished manuscripts on the history of Kambariland since during my M.A. History study. This enabled me to prepare this piece of work. As a veteran scholar that witnessed the colonial maneuver in the area; he also guided and edited the larger part of this work while on his sick-bed. You left whilst your child was still young! Rest in Peace Sir.

REFERENCES

- [1] See Adamu, M. (1982) "The Hausa and the other Peoples of Northern Nigeria, 1200-1600 A.D.", in *Studies in Nigerian Culture*, Okita et al (eds), Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University, 2:1, p.71.
- [2] The reason behind their initial race was highly economical due to the abundance of economic resources in Kontagora Province. For instance, there was great quantity of iron ore near Ibeto, close to Kontagora town, where a considerable smelting industry was carried on. Gold was found between Bussa and Wawa on the Kiama road and in Kontagora town and neighbourhood. Wolfram (used for hardening steel) was found in considerable quantities west of Kontagora town. Tin was found on the Rafin Rudar in Borgu and the province was well timbered and rich in sylvan products: palm oil, shea-butter, gum, kola, *ramma*, bananas, tamarind and some rubber. Additionally, large quantities of Shea-nuts were exported to Europe for conversion into ointment, candles and soap. See: Temple, O. (1965) "The Economy of Kontagora Province" in Temple C.L., *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, London, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, p. 487.
- [3] Adeleye, R. A., (1971) *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies*, London, Longman Group Ltd., Pp.172-173.
- [4] Other version show that, Lugard left Liverpool for the Niger in July 1894 and in the same month Captain H.A. Decoeur left France for Dahomey to take the overland route for *Borgu*. Lugard had 280 porters, to be protected by 40 soldiers and Decoeur had 290 men, half were well-trained Senegalese tirailleurs. In contrast Decoeur was ordered not to simply make treaties in Borgu but to leave garrisons in occupation of the places he visited to establish rudiments of an administration. See: Flint, E.J. (1960). *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria*, London, Oxford University Press, p. 222. Also see Crowther, M. (1962) *The Story of Nigeria*, London, Faber & Faber Ltd, 1962, Pp. 158- 159.
- [5] According to the colonial evidences, the attack on Kontagora was led by Lieutenant Colonel Kemball with a total of 2 officials, 3 N.O.Os, 323 other ranks, 3 machine guns and 2 mini guns along with him. Obaro, I., *The fall of Nigeria*, Longman, London, p. 301.
- [6] *Ibid.* p. 98.
- [7] Marjomaa, R. (1998) *War on the Savannah: The Military Collapse of the Sokoto Caliphate under the invasion of the British Empire, 1897-1903*, Saarijarvi, Gummerus Oy, p. 162. In 1896, a detachment of British troops from Jebba established a post at Yelwa and in 1901 the Kontagora expeditionary forces assembled at Ngaski and marched on Kontagora. Yelwa was abandoned as a military station in 1903. See: Kirk-Green, A.H.M. (1972) *Gazetteers of Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, vol.I, London, Frank Cass Publishers, revised ed., 1972, p. 19.
- [8] Hamilton, B. (1959) *Gazetteer of Kontagora Province*, Frank Cass, London, Para 41, p. 30.
- [9] On the expedition were group of British civil servants, scientists (including botanists and agriculturists), medical personnel, missionaries, and school teachers. Eluwa, G.I.C. (1985) et al., *Africa and the Wider World since 1800 A.D*, Lagos, Africana-FEP Publishers, p. 45 .
- [10] He employed the services of large number of intelligent young men to serve as interpreters and guides to the expedition.. Obaro, *The Groundwork...* p.350.
- [11] *Ibid.* p. 135. Another mission was opened up again in 1890, with the aid of 12 missionaries known as the Sudan Party whose motive was to ensure the spread of Christianity in the entire northern part of the country. Shortly, the Party arrived at Lokoja,

- under the able leadership of Mr. Graham Wilmot Brooke whose first emphasis was to learn Hausa language so as to ease his mission in the land. He therefore spared 11 hours a day learning the language, eating Hausa food, wearing their clothes and living with them but all in vain as most of his colleagues resigned and he eventually fell a victim of fever and died in 1892, March. Nevertheless, in 1899, Bishop Tugwell continued with the mission to the rest of the areas, including the pagan tribes. *Ibid*.
- [12] Nciniya, D.I. (2005) "The Role of Bible Translation and its Effects in Mission and Evangelism: A case study of Kambari Language Project", Igbaja-Kwara, ECWA Theological Seminary, p. 34.
- [13] However, the evangelical mission faced a problem at *Salka* between 1975 and 1976 following a brief fight among the *magiro* members intensifying their opposition against the missionary activities which according to them, it harmed their traditionalism. *Ibid*. p. 35.
- [14] Nciniya, *The Role...* p. 35. In the 1960s, the Evangelical Linguistic Research began in *Agwara* to ascertain the actual targeted population and similarly in the 1970s, Wycliffe members worked in *Salka*. *Auna* had no such linguistic work until late eighties and *Wara* with her other *Akimba* villages had no such research at all. A language survey, analysis and orthography development was done beginning in 1988, when the Kambari Research Project was initiated in *Salka*, embarking on their open conversion programmes widely. See: Joshua N., "The People", in Kambari Cluster Project Profile- 1&2, www.profile_kambaricluster.pdf, accessed 23/01/2009.
- [15] Attahiru, Majidadi, Yakumashe, Shata, Makashi, and many others
- [16] See Abubakar, M. (2016) "Continuity and Change in the Religious History of the Kambari People, C. 1800-2015", *PhD History Thesis*, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, p. 139. In *Wara* there were churches like Baptist, Catholic and St. Louis Churches that were all run and attended by the immigrants such as the Yoruba, Igbo and other few tribes.
- [17] For detailed information about the Indirect Rule, see: Obaro, *The Fall of...*, p.450-451 & in Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy...*, Pp. 315-316.
- [18] Kontagora Province square miles consist of 10,276 with 74,770 total population. See Kirk-Green, *Gazetteers of Northern...*, p.5.
- [19] Hassan Majidadi, *Op.cit*.
- [20] Ngaski DNB File, 1943, p.2.
- [21] Rodney, W. (1972) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Tanzania, Longman Group, p. 211.
- [22] Crowther, M. (1972). *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, London, Farber & Farber, p. 108.
- [23] West African Currency Board was established in 1912 to ensure the supply of currency in community. British pound and shilling were introduced as legal tender in British West African countries of Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Gold Coast (Ghana). This Board survived virtually intact until the time of independence. See: Hopkins, A.G. (1976) *An Economic History of west Africa*, London, Longman Group Ltd., pp. 207-208.
- [24] DNB/18 *N'Gaski District Assessment Report*, Kontagora, Nigeria.
- [25] Several Agricultural Research Centres were established in different parts of the countries in order to enhance the cultivation of cash crops. Federal Rice Research Stations (FRRS) were opened in Nigeria in 1956 like that of Yelwa, Birnin Kebbi, Bida, Kano, Badeggi, Yandem, and Shendem in Northern Nigeria. Calabar in the East and Effurun and Ibadan in the West. See: Ministry of Agriculture, FRRS Annual Report for 1955-1956, Kaduna, 1956, p. 22.
- [26] In discussions with Wakili Hamidu Libata and Hassan Majidadi at Libata, 26/8/2009.

- [27] *Ibid.*
- [28] In 1911, the *Beit-el-mal* (treasury) was started in Kontagora. They were also established at Sakaba and Yelwa. See: Temple, *Notes and Provinces....*, p. 488.
- [29] The Salary of kings in Ngaski District was £ 8 per month. See: Blake, *DNB/18 N'Gaski District Assessment Report*, Kontagora, Nigeria, para 16.
- [30] See: Obaro, *The Groundwork....*, Pp. 456-457.
- [31] In discussion with Malam Jibril Maiyaki Wawa (colonial tax collector, Wawa District, over 80 years), interviewed at Wawa town, 22/12/2012, 2:00-4:20 p.m. One Akimba from Wara, in the name of Sarkin Makera Agwaru and his brother were said to have fled during the conscription of the Second World War. Others followed his footsteps and were never heard of to date. In discussion with Attahiru Giwa.
- [32] Obaro, *The Groundwork....*, p. 550.
- [33] See Kirk-Green, *Gazetteers of Northern....*, p. 28. Also in oral interview with Attahiru Giwa- 15/7/2008.
- [34] Garba Wakili Karoliya, *Op.cit.*
- [35] Blake, Para 20. Kirk-Green reported that such Native Courts were established twice in the district, first on 3rd February 1912 and finally on 6th March 1914. See Kirk-Green, *Gazetteers of..*, p. 5.
- [36] In 1948, 4 classes were extended and in 1957 a second permanent block of 2 additional classes was built and opened in January 1958. See: Blake, *DNB/18 N'Gaski District..*, p.14. The school started with 45 males and 15 females' intake. However, few among them responded from various villages. Similar Western Schools were also opened at Auna in 1944, Duga and Agwara in present Borgu Emirate where most Akimba from Yumu like Na-Allah, Sule and Ibrahim attended. Similar school was opened at Birnin Yauri in 1957, where the enrolment of the Agadi Kambari began.
- [37] *Ibid.*,p.16.
- [38] The list was extracted from the various interviews held with some informants that happened to attend the school in 1946.
- [39] Ngaski DNB File, p. 14.
- [40] Malam Garba Wakili, *Op.cit.* Garba Wakili Karoliya was a good friend of Sarkin Maginga Jibirin. For detail information about Western education in Kambariland, see Abubakar, M. W. (2016) "The Development of Hausa-Muslim Culture in Kambariland under the British Colonial Rule, 1900-1960", *Journal of World Scientific News*: 28, West Pomerania-Darwin, Poland.
- [41] Ngaski DNB File, Pp.17-18.
- [42] See *Ibid.*, p. 20.