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Title: The socio-economic impact of the railway in Northern Nigeria : a study in transformation of the rural communities along the rail line between Kano and Zaria, 1908–1970s

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CHAPTER 3: PERCEPTION, APPROPRIATION AND DOMESTICATION OF TRANSPORT INNOVATION

For the first few months or so that the weekly trains were running to Kano, natives from the city and the surrounding villages displayed curiosity concerning the locomotive to the degree of assembling in a crowd on the track at the railhead [...].

John R. Raphael, *Through Unknown Nigeria*.

Wakar Jirgin kasa (Train Song)

Jirgin kasa sarkin aiki

The train, the indefatigable creature,

Aikinshi yafi Jakkai dubbai

It does more than a thousand donkeys do;

Jirgi mai zuwa Kano daga Kurmi

The train that goes to Kano from Lagos,

Jirgi maje Ilori da Bidda

The train that goes to Ilorin and Bida,

Jirgin Ilori yaje Lakwaja

The train goes to Lokoja from Ilorin,

Jirgin Kaduna yazo Zazzau

The train came to Zazzau (Zaria) from Kaduna.

Jirgin dakon gyada dana kirgi

The train carried groundnuts and hide and skins;

Jirgi yazo Likoro ranar jibi

The train comes to Likoro on market days.

Jirgi dakata Likoro kai mana aiki

Train, stop and carry passengers and load at Likoro.

Jirgi mai kama da dakin sarki

The train that looks like a king's palace;

Sarkin Likoro ya shiga Jirgi

The chief of Likoro entered the train;

Sarkin Kudan yace abin mamaki

The chief of Kudan says it was wonderful;

Da jirgin sarakuna dana soja

There are royal and military trains.

(Collected from Hajiya Aishatu Dede-Likoro)

3.1 Introduction

With the completion and opening of the railway to traffic, expectations were high that it would transform the Northern Territories from their ‘backwardness’. Most importantly, it was envisaged that the railway would activate agricultural production and trade and open up the country to British trade and finance. However, the arrival of the first train that would usher in this development was marked by mixed reactions from the local communities, because they did not understand what the railway and its uses were. As soon as they familiarized themselves with it and understood its benefits, they quickly apprehended and integrated it into daily life.

This chapter analyses how the railway was perceived, appropriated, and domesticated into daily life. The chapter argues that the initial encounter with the locomotive was marked by fear and awe, because people did not comprehend what it was all about; but as familiarity increased, they quickly apprehended and integrated it to transform their lives. Also, it is argued that the railway and its associated technologies were means of representing and signifying the symbolic meaning of British rule and civilization as technological achievements to Nigerians.

3.2 Fears, wonders, marvels and the locomotive

The completion of the railway and its associated effects have attracted a fair amount of attention in the literature. The general consensus is that the railway had enormous effects on the socio-economic and cultural landscapes of Northern Nigeria, especially for those living along the rail line. The railway shortened travel time and facilitated the movement of people, goods, food, and ideas, and it made British control very effective, both administratively and economically. However, despite the sustained attention in the literature to the railway’s effects, it is taken for granted that Nigerians apprehended the new transport system almost immediately. Such analyses also ignore how Nigerians’ initiative resulted in a new concept of travelling that shaped everyday life. This gap in the literature is partly due to the materials

available to writers at the time they wrote. Another reason, as Collin Divall and George Revill suggested, is that transport specialists rarely conceive of a railway as technology, despite its semiotic aspects.¹ Using old and new sources, some of which have not been considered in previous analyses, I will demonstrate that northerners first encountered the railway technology with mixed reactions of fear and wonder, owing to their lack of familiarity with Western technology.

When I asked old men what they remembered or heard about how people encountered the locomotives and trains, their response was that they were perceived with mixed reactions, because they did not understand what they were all about. A. O. Anjorin pointed out that “it took some time before [the northerners] began to make use of the new transport system after their completion [...]. This according to him was due partly to the natural human suspicion against innovations, especially drastic ones.”² Comparative studies elsewhere indicate that Africans encountered Western technologies such as motor cars, airplanes, electricity, cinema, and even telescopes with mixed reactions.³ Michael Adas asserted that no technology unleashed such terror and awe on Africans as the locomotives.⁴ Even in Europe and the United States of America, where the locomotive comes from, its arrival there was marked by a new type of fear and apprehension.⁵

To understand why the new transport unleashed terror and awe on people, it is useful to think of the locomotive and train as the colonial technological sublime. As stated in the previous chapter, the colonial sublime is a mixed reaction the mind experiences when confronted by grand, man-made objects which it cannot comprehend. The colonial sublime works only when compared with other things.⁶ Brian Larkin argued that one of the goals for using infrastructural technologies under the colonial regime was to demonstrate power and instil total submission.⁷ In this regards, the built space of the locomotive and trains, the ability to move over tracks, and the speed and sound were some of the ways the sublime was

¹ C. Divall and G. Revill, “Cultures of Transport”, 104.

² See Anjorin, “Cotton Industry”, 120.

³ See for instance W. G. Nkwi, *Kfaang and Technologies: Towards a Social History of Mobility in Kom, Cameroon, 1928-1998*, (Leiden: ASC, 2011), 79; Adas, *Machines as the Measure*; J. Cary, *Mr Johnson*, (New York: New Directions, 1939); Larkin, *Signal and Noise*, 40-43.

⁴ Adas, *Machines as the Measure*, 223.

⁵ W. Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey, the Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century*, (The University of California Press, 1986/1977); Nye, *American Technological Sublime*, 54; Adas, *Machines as the Measure*, 223; Larkin, *Signal and Noise*, 40.

⁶ See Larkin, *Signal and Noise*, 15-40.

⁷ Ibid. 36.

produced as a spectacle of colonial rule- to instil feelings of total submission. As informants generally commented, the trains' movement and speed shook their houses to their very foundations.⁸ The sound and speed were novel experiences which the mind was not accustomed to. Of course, reactions differed from individual to individual, depending on their understanding. As some informants pointed out, some people ran into the bush, and even animals scampered into the bush on the approach of the locomotive.⁹ The psychologist Lisa Fritscher pointed out that when the human body is terrified, it responds in different ways, one of which is "fight or flight".¹⁰ The archival record also suggests that not everybody ran; some stayed but decided not to have anything to do with the locomotive. As one annual report indicates, even the "mighty and the powerful" were terrified of the locomotive. When invited to take a train ride by the Resident, during the opening of the Ilorin section of the railway in 1908, the Emir declined the offer as he was terrified.¹¹ Larkin argued that "the colonial sublime is about Europeans' tactile symbolic efforts to make technology mean".¹² For many rural dwellers, the ambivalence toward the locomotive was both fear and awe. Evidence from elsewhere in Nigeria and Africa also reveals that tension, anxiety, apprehension, and in some cases tragedy, marked responses to the introduction of the locomotive.¹³

While some reacted with a sense of fear and terror, others responded with a sense of wonder and awe. The fantastic tales of how northerners marvelled at the locomotives have been documented in travel accounts of Europeans. John R. Raphael, referred to in the

⁸ Interviews with Malam Hamza Zawachiki, Malam Ali Zubairu, and Malam Ibrahim Alhassan, Zawachiki, 19 May 2012; and with Alhaji Mohammad Abubakar, Leiden, 15 August 2012.

⁹ Interview with Malam Hamza Zawachiki, Malam Ali Zubairu, and Malam Ibrahim Alhassan, Zawachiki, 19 May 2012; and with Alhaji Yakubu Likoro, Likoro, 11 July 2012.

¹⁰ L. Fritscher, "The Psychology of Fear: Understanding the Dynamic of Fear Response", 2011. About.Com Phobia, <http://phobias.about.com/od/introductiontophobias/a/psychologyfear.htm> [accessed on 15 March 2012].

¹¹ Colonial Report-Annual, Northern Nigeria Report for 1908. Also see Tamuno, "Railway I", 279-292, 292.

¹² Larkin, *Signal and Noise*, 42.

¹³ For instance, Innocent Uzoechi reports that during the construction of the Eastern Railway, an Igbo chief protested against the line being constructed through his village for fear that it would take away the women. Since he could not stop the construction work, however, he promised to stop the train.¹³ Mark Uzomba Oyekwere provides a tragic account of what happened afterwards. On the day the locomotive was to pass through his village, the chief stood on the track warning the locomotive to stop. As the locomotive pushed forward, it horned and blared warnings to the chief to get off the track. Despite appeals from his subjects, the chief declined to step aside. The train did not stop, however; it ran over him, and his body was recovered from the track. The chief thought the driver would respect him because he was a chief. But the locomotive is no respecter of persons or status, for it has no destination other than the next station. The chief's apprehension derived from the fear of the unknown which the locomotive was capable of generating. The locomotive, as the narrative suggests, would undermine men's control over women and break down family ties. See Uzoechi, "Social and Political Impact"; M. U. Onyekwere, *Igbo Idioms*, (London, 2011), 256; also see K. P. Vickery, "Railways, Railway Culture, and Industrial Work Discipline in the Rhodesias", in: Robert Ross, Marja Hinfelaar and Iva Pesa (eds), *The Objects of Life in Central Africa: History of Consumption and Social Change 1840-1980*, (London: Brill, 2013).

previous chapter, was in Nigeria in 1911 when the railway was still novel. He wrote that northerners reacted to the locomotive with awe and anxiety. Raphael's account may be accepted as primary evidence, as it is an eye-witness account. The railway, as Raphael represented it, was the epitome of modernity, progress, and development. He writes: "[for] the first few months or so that the weekly train were running to Kano, natives from the city and the surrounding villages" on the railway displayed curiosity at the locomotive. They assembled themselves on the track in large numbers, "to gaze again and again at the engine", examining it from every angle, "quite polite and giving no trouble to the officials [...], some lying on the ground to look [...] beneath the phenomenal thing".¹⁴ This tale about Nigerians' reactions to locomotives suggests, as Louise White pointed out, "popular ideas about the interaction between culture and technology, between bodies and machines".¹⁵

No one displayed as much curiosity about the locomotive as Aliyu Dansidi himself, the British-appointed Emir of Zaria, mentioned in the previous chapter for his role in the railway's construction. Dansidi's reaction was one of wonder and awe. Raphael writes that Dansidi was in the habit of enquiring what quantity of fuel wood the locomotive consumed and what quantity of water it drank. He regarded the locomotive as a living creature. The sound of the locomotive dazzled him, so much so that its whistle and shriek was kept to its loudest for his pleasure for several minutes.¹⁶ Comparative accounts elsewhere in Nigeria also reveal that wonder and awe were some of the reactions to the locomotive. As Toyin Falola writes of his own encounter with the steam engine: "I saw the train for the first time. Coaches upon coaches, moving slowly, [...] I thought it looked like a snake. As it moved away, I marveled. Then [I went] to the rail lines, to touch them, to feel the heat."¹⁷ For some, however, the locomotive was nothing but magic in the hand of the British. As one Colonial Officer, Major A. J. N. Tremearne, writes, the locomotives were the "great juju" in Northern Nigeria.¹⁸ In other words, it was the white man's magic. Michael Adas writes that whenever Africans cannot comprehend something, they resort to superstitious notions.¹⁹ Contrary to the

¹⁴ Raphael, *Through Unknown Nigeria*, 301.

¹⁵ L. White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumour and History in Colonial Africa*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 132.

¹⁶ Ibid. 300.

¹⁷ T. Falola, *A Mouth Sweeter than Salt: An African Memoir*, (USA: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 61.

¹⁸ Raphael, *Through Unknown Nigeria*; A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Tailed Head Hunter of Nigeria: An Account of an Official Seven Years Experiences in Northern Nigeria Pagan Belt and a Description of the Manners Habits and Customs of the Native Tribes*, (London: Seelay Services and Co, 1912), 311.

¹⁹ Adas, *Machines as the Measure*, 3.

well-established claim that appropriation of the train was sudden, the decision to appropriate or even touch the train for many was something planned over time.²⁰

The colonial administration was aware of the reactions to their locomotive. They were, as Michael Adas writes, delighted at the terror and awe their technology unleashed.²¹ The railway and its associated technologies were, as Ian Keer argued, “part of the process of representing, and [...] signifying what it was the railways were or hope to be.”²² The railway symbolized the coming of the industrial age and emblemized the material side of colonialism. It was the most effective means of extending the path of civilization. As a way of displaying their technological achievement and to familiarize northerners with the locomotive, the authority organized “rituals” in the form of grand opening ceremonies, where important personalities and some members of the public were treated to a train ride. Although people had grown used to construction or work trains, traffic trains were another matter.²³

The authority also invited as many people as possible to impress them with the transport system. The ceremonies had their own codified genres—military parades, decoration of stations, running of special trains, Durbar,²⁴ firework displays, and speeches—with which the colonial authority encouraged people to use the train.²⁵ Under colonial rule, grand openings of infrastructure were visual spectacles and political rituals, where the aesthetics of colonialism and its technological achievements were displayed.²⁶ The authority was also precise in recording numbers; they invited as many people as possible. At the opening of the arrival of the first passenger train to Kano in 1912, there were no fewer than 2,734 passengers. The Emir and his chiefs, the Emir of Katsina, government officials, and

²⁰ Falola, *Sweeter than Salt*; Vickery, “Railways, Railway Culture”, 26.

²¹ Adas, *Machines as the Measure*, 223.

²² I. J. Kerr, “Representation and Representations of the Railways of Colonial and Post-Colonial South Asia”, *Modern Asian Studies*, 37/2, 2003, 287-326, 291.

²³ NAK SNP7/2227/1912, 21.

²⁴ A durbar is a classical form of entertainment with a colourful procession on horseback, carried out by Emirs and their chiefs and horsemen to show off their eminence and the grandeur of their monarch. The procession is marked by a parade and stud in which the Emir’s chiefs pay homage to the Emir as a public display of loyalty. It is often mistakenly thought that durbar is a festival, but it is not. Durbar is a colonial creation, borrowed from India and integrated into the culture of the Muslim emirates of Northern Nigeria. The procession is also organized to honour a very important visitor or mark an important event, as was the case with the opening of the railway in Kano in 1912 and Lugard’s visit to Kano that same year. Durbar is also organized annually to mark Muslim festivals.

²⁵ “Notes on Railway Construction”, *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 12/47, (1913): 290-95, 291; Nadabo, *Tarihin Garin Kaduna*, 110-1.

²⁶ Larkin, *Signal and Noise*, 19; A. Apter, “On Imperial Spectacle: The Dialectics of Seeing in Colonial Nigeria”, *Comparative Studies Society and History*, 44/3, (2002): 564-96, 572-3

important members of the community, as well as students of the Nassarawa School were treated to a free ride to Challawa—a distance of about 12 miles—there and back. A few months earlier, the Emir of Zaria and his chiefs were treated to a similar ride at the opening ceremony of the rail line in Zaria.²⁷

The ceremonies symbolized the triumph of British imperialism and their technological achievements. To the colonial authority, the rides represented a public display that the emirs and their chiefs recognized the importance of technological advancement. Engineered into the locomotive was a sort of authority located in the technology as evidence of progress. The railway became the epitome of modernity and advancement. It represented, as Christiane Reichart-Burikukiye writes, “colonial values and imperial power, the vehicle that transferred those values and power”.²⁸ Not only did the train ride offer the emirs and others aboard the train a new way of travel, it also created new perceptions, thoughts, and expectations. As Schivelbusch notes, train travel was like being shot through the landscape. It created conditions that ‘mechanized’ travellers’ perceptions, while also offering them a new view of the landscape from inside a train. They did not feel the landscape as they did on donkey and horseback.²⁹

I would also argue that the initial ride had its own novel experience, which was an admixture of anxiety, thrill, and sensation. Raphael documents the experience of the chiefs on the train ride: after the initial uneasiness, they were thrilled at being transported at what was then a speed of 20 miles an hour, which was novel by local standards. When the chiefs were asked whether the sensation of riding on a train was not better than travelling in the saddle, they replied: “Certainly not, as the horse did not spit hot sparks at a man on his back or behind him.”³⁰ A Hausa train song, *Wakar Jirgin Kasa*, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, which probably depicts the train ride in Zaria Emirate, illustrates the sheer wonder of the train. As the song indicates, the local chiefs marvelled at the ride: *sarkin Kudan yace abin mamaki*, “the chief of Kudan says the ride was wonderful.”³¹ Train travel was different and faster than travelling in the saddle. Travelling at a speed of 20 miles an hour was indeed a

²⁷ “Notes on Railway Construction”; NAK 975/1912, Zaria Province Report, Annual, 1911; Tamuno, “Railway II”, 31-43, 34.

²⁸ C. Reichart-Burikukiye, “The Railway in Colonial East Africa: Colonial Iconography in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa”, in: Toyin Falola and Emily Brownell (eds), *Landscape, Environment and Technology in Colonial and Post Africa*, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 64, 69.

²⁹ Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 53-5.

³⁰ Raphael, *Through Unknown Nigeria*, 302.

³¹ Collected from Hajiya Aishatu Abdussalam (Dede), Likoro, 23 August 2012.

novel experience when compared with what had gone before. As the song indicates, the train was also less tiring compared with donkey and horse. Another Hausa railway poem, *Wakar Reluwe*, dated 12 February 1929, composed by a railway worker, Alhaji Bello Yahaya Gidadawa, also depicts the sheer wonders of the locomotive. As the song indicate, “there is wonder in the way the train moves”. “It combined both the train and the track, and works in a straight line, with the track responding to its rhythm.”³²

A pupil of the Nassarawa School on the train, an elderly man from Bornu (who had been persuaded with difficulty to board the train), was asked what he thought of it. After thanking the railway officials “for so much education given in so short a period,” he replied that he could only express himself better by writing a book. When reminded that some of them (the officials) might not live to read his book and so he should mention one thing that impressed him, he answered after a long silence: “the fact that the engine drank more water than a thousand elephants!”³³ The old man’s reaction was an admixture of anxiety and wonder.³⁴ The colonial authority ensured that they impressed the people with their new transport system. Most people found their first train rides quite uncomfortable. Besides the blasts from the train and the spit of hot sparks from the engine, the train movement was jerky. Raphael writes that the early trains were without cover and without seats, and passengers provided their own camp chairs.³⁵

However, the sublime is only temporary; and after the initial incomprehension, people soon discovered the railway’s benefits and quickly apprehended and integrated it into their daily lives. David Nye argued that a technology does not endorse human limitations; it shows a split between those who understand and those who do not. The weakness of technology is that as familiarity to it increases, it loses its novelty and is quickly appropriated and domesticated into daily life.³⁶ Appropriation itself is a process, where users interact with the technology to transform their understanding of it. As Reichart-Burikukiye notes:

³² D. M. Mukoshy et al., *Bargon Hikima; Diwanin Wakokin Alhaji (Dr.) Muhammadu Bello Gidadawa*, (Sakkwato: Usmanu Dan Fodio University Press, 2006), 114-5.

³³ Raphael, *Through Unknown Nigeria*, 302-3.

³⁴ A comparative example from western Nigeria also indicates that wonder and awe were generally a reaction to train rides. Nigerian Noble Laureate Wole Soyinka, in his book *Isara*, provides an account of his father’s experience in the 1920s. Soyinka writes that, besides the speed and the contrapuntal sound of the train movement (“*faka fiki faka fiki*”) that dazzled him, his father marvelled at the steel and the fat wooden sleepers of the railway. Everything about it was so excessive, he continued to marvel and marvel: “This was THE WORLD. The railway denizens are different from the rest of humanity.” See W. Soyinka: *A Voyage Around Essay*, (USA: 1986), 12-21; also, L. A. Lindsay, *Working with Gender: Wage Labour and Social Change in Southern Nigeria*, (Portsmouth, 2003), 8.

³⁵ Raphael, *Through Unknown Nigeria*, 44-5.

³⁶ Nye, *American Technological Sublime*, 60

“consumption means integration into daily life experience”.³⁷ After all, the success of any technology depends on its penetration and acceptability; hence, consumption justifies the act of producing the railway.

3.3 From appropriation to domestication

The inhabitants of the studied communities were not victims of change or passive receivers of transport advancement; they were involved in its development during construction, and now that it was completed they were also involved in its development by appropriating it. Lee, Smith-Jackson, and Kwon have argued that appropriation is the first stage in domesticating technology. This involves bringing the technology from the public realm into the private realm—to understand it better.³⁸ The French sociologist Michel de Certeau pointed out that to appropriate a product or object is itself production and a mode of exercising power and strategies.³⁹ In the case of Nigeria, it was also about developing initiatives which shaped the use of the railway. This need be emphasized, because the railway was not intended for Nigerians’ benefit; but somehow they appropriated it, while also contributing to its development.

One of the many ways in which people appropriated the railway was by travelling to the city and the interior. The new transport connected them to the interior and beyond more cheaply and faster than was previously possible. As the *Wakar Jirgin Kasa* suggests, people travelled as far as Lagos. The railway allowed them to participate in the worldwide cultural interaction called globalization. The railway brought a radical reduction in travel time and space among and between communities and beyond. A journey from Zaria to Kano (about 90 miles), which previously took between three to four days, was achieved in less than three hours by train at that time.⁴⁰ In a similar manner, a journey from either of the communities to Lagos, which previously took three weeks on foot and by animal transport, was achieved in a little over three days, a time which would have sounded like a romantic tale in pre-colonial times.⁴¹ The train offered people the opportunity to travel at what was then a greater speed of

³⁷ Reichart-Burikukiye, “Colonial Iconography”, 70.

³⁸ Y. S. Lee, T. L. Smith-Jackson and G. H. Kwon, *Domestication of Technology Theory: Conceptual Framework of User Experience*, (2009), 2. Available at: http://goodgestreet.com/CHI09/submissions/YS_Lee.pdf. [accessed on 12 July 2012].

³⁹ Cited in *ibid*.

⁴⁰ A. Mani, *Zuwan Turawa Najeria ta Arewa*, (Zaria: NNPC, 1978).

⁴¹ The Nigerian Pioneer, Friday, 31 December 1915, 9; Bell, “Recent Progress”, 390.

20 miles an hour, at first, and later at 45 miles an hour-without efforts of theirs.⁴² The communities also learned to adjust to living along the line, given the sound and sparks and the danger of accident.

The railway increased the communities' mobility and integrated them more into the national economy than was previously possible. It also made British control of the communities much easier. With a warrant ticket, the European District Officers (DOs) could inspect distant districts and villages more frequently than was previously possible.⁴³ In those days, the DOs usually sent word of mouth to district and village heads of their pending visit through the station masters, but the records do not suggest the communities were regularly assessed.

The train differed from the saddle by virtue of its mechanization of motive power. Compared with what went before, it combined the train, the route, and the station under one single machine ensemble called railway.⁴⁴ The train transformed the experience of travelling, by making it a lot easier and safer, while it also made the possession of money a precondition for travelling. Travel was divided based on status and race. Nigerians travelled third class, while Europeans travelled first and second class. When the train initially began operation, there was no third-class service, evidence that it was not meant for Nigerians' use.⁴⁵ During the planning of the railway, only a once-a-week passenger train from Lagos to Kano was thought to be adequate. Within a short time after its inauguration, there was a high demand for rail service from Nigerians, necessitating the introduction of a third-class service in 1912. By 1914, the once-a-week train was found to be inadequate, necessitating the expansion of passenger services. Contrary to the claim that the fare discouraged the locals from using the train, the fare for third class was just one farthing from the start, while the second class was 7 shillings and 7 pence, reduced to 7 shillings and 3 pence upon the commencement of a third-class service. Raphael noted that the demand for third class exceeded the available spaces. The third class was to become the main income earner for passenger freight.⁴⁶ As the Colonial Annual Report for 1912 indicates, the trains carried 84,819 passengers on all classes of travel in 1912, with 1,672 travelling first class, 421 second class, and 82,726 third class.⁴⁷

⁴² Uzoechi, "Social and Political Impact", 171.

⁴³ NAK ZarProf Railway Warrant Issue of Railway Transport by NB.A. Staff.

⁴⁴ Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 29.

⁴⁵ Colonial Annual Report-Annual: Northern Nigeria, Report for 1912, 28.

⁴⁶ Raphael, *Through Unknown Nigeria*, 48-9.

⁴⁷ Colonial Annual Report for 1912, 28.

Until 1918, there was no night journey on the system.⁴⁸ The trains were slow and characterized by frequent breakdowns, washouts, derailments, and accidents.⁴⁹ From the end of World War I onwards, the trains were slow and broke down owing to technical problems (this was the beginning of the problems of the Nigerian Railway). R. O. Ekundare and J. R. Raphael wrote that the early trains were slow due to the single track and the fact that most of the engines and coaches were second-hand or cast-offs from British railways.⁵⁰

The train democratized travelling for the communities. As oral and archival sources show, the train made rural–urban and rural–rural movement possible. With two “local” or “unlimited” passenger trains daily both ways from Kano and Zaria, and once-, and later thrice-a-week “express” or “limited” trains from the south, villagers shifted locations very easily. The local trains stopped at all stations without exception, while the limited trains stopped only at the larger stations. The former ran between Kano and Zaria, while the latter went as far as Lagos and Port Harcourt in the South. On the days the passenger trains were departing, the stations were always filled with passengers waiting to board a train either to the city or one of the nearest villages, markets, or some distant location. Passengers boarded the daily train to Zaria or Kano and came back the same day, in the same manner as city dwellers visited non-city communities.⁵¹ The limited trains, on the other hand, stopped only at the important stations such as Madobi, Gimi, and Dangora, owing partly to the southbound passengers’ being mostly local traders and southerners from the locality. The local trains were very important to the communities’ development, because they stopped daily at all the stations without exception. However, centres such as Madobi, Gimi, and Dangora became popular and expanded, partly because of the southbound passenger traffic and the concentration of commercial firms there.

As Table 3.1 on outbound passengers indicates, the communities were among the important passengers stations in terms of generating revenue (note that the table is not exhaustive, as it does not cover the entire period covered in the study). As the table shows, Faiki, which though not part of the studied communities (it was closed at the opening of Dangora station), was the most important station before its closure. Unfortunately, the records do not indicate the motivation and destination of travellers or the traffic volumes for

⁴⁸ F. Jaekel, *The History of Nigerian Railway; Organisation, Structure and Related Matters*, vol. 3, (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1997), 148.

⁴⁹ Jaekel, *Nigerian Railway*, vol. 3, 148; NAK SNP7/2227/1912 Baro Kano Report, 7, 16,

⁵⁰ R. O. Ekundare, *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960*, (London: Methuen and Co, 1973), 141; Raphael, *Through Unknown Nigeria*, 48.

⁵¹ KSHCBAcc. No. 68, Kura Inspection Notes.

both trains. As the records show, Madobi, Gimi, Dangora, and Challawa were the important stations as far as passenger traffic was concerned. They were the most important stations not only between Kano and Zaria, but also between Kano and Baro (with the exception of Zaria and Kaduna). But Madobi was the most important station between Kano and Zaria, followed by Gimi and Dangora, partly due to the southbound passenger freight.

Table 3.1 Passenger traffic, 1916-1939

Stations	1916				1917		1918		1919		1923		1939	
	Inward		Outward		Outward		Outward		Outward		Outward		Outward	
	No	£	No	£	No	£	No	£	No	£	No	£	No	£
Likoro	593	19	687	43	986	94	1191	182	1678	230	591	133	5873	168
G/Dabosa	2713	1 07	3372	105	3826	261	2987	386	5962	670	2337	359	22851	1101
Anchau	597	21	1018	36	1298	70	1056	127	2183	203	888	120	8162	249
Faiki	7708	559	4814	128	4440	442	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Dangora	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3116	557	5835	869	2018	493	16112	673
Yako	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	516	97	16150	692
Madobi	4470	291	4078	273	3978	343	2498	353	4786	575	1229	238	19149	865
K/kwaso	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	198	25	5976	290
Challawa	822	37	1688	293	2735	866	1619	787	2363	589	737	210	11045	356

Note: n.a. = not available

Source: These figures were collated from records of the Railway Department for the period covered in the table.

The arrival of the passenger train was always the most important event that galvanized the communities along the rail line into action. In those days, the trains were usually greeted or cheered by songs (such as the *Wakar Jirgin Kasa* above) and mimicking, which are evidence of familiarity with the locomotive.⁵² It was common for people to stand by the track to welcome or bid the passengers farewell. These were railway enthusiasts, who

⁵² In those days, it was common for people to gather at the rail track on the arrival and departure of a train, to sing and mimic the sound the locomotive made. In 1931, the Resident of Kano Province, H. O. Lindsell, called such people riff-raff and even threatened to deal with them (KSHCB File Kano Province Annual Report for 1930). Murray Last provides examples of such mimicry: when the train departed from Kaduna, it said *kafanchan, kafanchan*; as it struggled up the incline, it said *Bukuru, Jos, Bukuru, Jos*. However, when it crossed the bridge, both the engine and the bridge said *gadar amana gadar amana* ("truce bridge, truce bridge"). After it had crossed the bridge, it puffed and said loudly, *babu amana, babu amana* ("no truce, no truce"). This was probably the Kaduna–PortHarcourt Express train. See M. Last, *The History of the Nigerian Railway*, by Francis Jaekel, Review of "The History of the Nigerian Railway, vol. 1, 2 and 3" (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1997), *African Journal of International African Institute*, 68/4, 1998, 606-7.

took pleasure in trains. “We were always happy” was one of the common responses to the fascination with trains.⁵³ For as the Hausa poet, Alhaji Gidadawa (mentioned earlier), says in his *Wakar Reluwe*: “Praise be to God [...] for including the Hausa among the users of train.”⁵⁴ The passenger trains gave meaning to their lives. For many farmers, traders, and industrialists, the trains’ arrival was always an opportunity to make some quick sales of items they based their livelihoods on. It became, as Jamie Monson writes, “a resource around which [they] structured their material survival.”⁵⁵ People from the communities and far away always brought their goods to sell at the stations. The station became a sort of market—the point of entry and exit for people, goods, food, and ideas. Informants commented that: “Whenever the train arrived, the stations were always busy like market days.” “You see people rushing to sell their goods.”⁵⁶

People also learned to adjust to passengers’ demands for their products, which in turn made them expand and optimize their markets. The common products on sale at the stations were agricultural products (largely food crops) and products of local crafts, as well as cooked food. Owing to ecological differences, the crops on sale differed between stations. For instance, tuber crops like yam and potatoes were common at Gimi, Likoro, and Auchan stations. An informant from Saulawa recalled that, as a child, he preferred to sell to passengers aboard the limited train because, according to him, he always sold above the normal price. “Whatever profit I made, I pocketed it.” The passenger train itself was, as one Yoruba woman pointed out, a mobile shop for itinerant traders on the train to sell as the train halted.⁵⁷ When they sold their goods, they were paid in cash, which also facilitated the circulation of the colonial currency. However, vendors needed a permit to sell on platforms. It was difficult for the authorities to control illegal hawkers, as the stations were not fenced. Although the local police (*yandoka*) were always on hand to prevent illegal hawking, an informant commented that vendors without a permit always bribed their way to the platform.⁵⁸ Due to the modernizing effects of trade and cash, some of the locals began to

⁵³ Interview with Malam Badamasi na Ahmadu, Auchan, 6 April 2011.

⁵⁴ *Ina gode Allahu mai yau da gobe*

Da yas sanya Hausa cikin Reluwe.

See for examples, O. O. Kane, *Non-Europhone Intellectuals*, (Dakar: Codesria, 2012), 26. Also see Mukoshy et al., *Bargon Hikima*, 114.

⁵⁵ Monson, *African’s Freedom Railway*, 95.

⁵⁶ Interviews with Alhaji Bello Yakubu Daburau, Alhaji Ilyasu Lawan, Mal Rabo Nasidi, Malam Yahaya Dabo, Daburau, 13 March 2011. Interview with Malam Garba Adamu, Bature, Yako, 15 March 2011.

⁵⁷ Interview with Malama Bayarabiya (not his real name), a Yoruba and trader, Yako, 12 March 2011.

⁵⁸ Interview with Malam Yakubu Ismail, Kura, 14 April 2011.

move out of the walled towns to the rail line.⁵⁹ They also had to adjust to living on the rail line, because of the noise and sparks from the engine and the danger of accident.⁶⁰

Entrepreneurs used the train to bolster their economic activities. With the train, they could do more business and expand their businesses more than was possible by caravans. Transporting goods by train was also safer, unlike the caravan. In order to attract traffic from the traders, special rates were introduced on some export crops and local commodities.⁶¹ Having discovered the advantages and comfort of transporting their goods at a low rate, entrepreneurs reoriented their businesses to the railway, which eventually resulted in the phasing out of the traditional transport systems for long-distance trade. The annual report for 1912 mentioned a decline in pack animals and carriers for sending goods.⁶² John Raphael wrote that: “[b]y [...] using the railway they could do much business in one day with less marching [than] they formerly did.”⁶³ The kola traders were the first to re-orient their trade to the rail. A once-a-week kola train with three passenger vehicles was made available for their use.⁶⁴ Unlike the old caravan system, the train carried bulky goods at cheaper rates and was very fast. As the *Wakar Jirgin Kasa* indicates, the train was not only less tiring, it also carried more than a thousand donkeys did. The popular Hausa praise of the locomotive, *kadau mutun kadau kayansa*, better explains the steam engine’s capacity to carry passengers and loads at the same time. In order to intensively use the system to capacity, feeder roads were built across the locality to connect remote areas to the railway, but care was taken to ensure they did not compete with the line.⁶⁵ The feeder roads also created opportunity for donkey transporters, who quickly circumvented it by charging higher for their service, although short-distance traffic was all they could capture.

Although traders travelled along with their goods on the passenger trains, there was a limit to their baggage allowance and what they could carry. When it exceeded the minimum weight, they had to pay higher; otherwise they could cargo or parcel it. And where large quantities were involved, they had to hire a wagon or join together to hire one. The train

⁵⁹ Colonial Annual Report-Annual: Northern Nigeria, Report for 1910–1911, 5.

⁶⁰ NAK ZarProf 950/1911.

⁶¹ Colonial Report-Annual, Nigeria Report for 1913, 26; Oyewuanyi, “Railway Development”, 91.

⁶² Colonial Report-Annual, Northern Nigeria Report for 1912, 22.

⁶³ Raphael, *Through Unknown Nigeria*, 49.

⁶⁴ Hogendorn, *Nigerian Groundnut*, 83, 106.

⁶⁵ NAK SNP 7/2227/1912 Baro Kano Report; Public Record Office [Hereafter referred to as PRO] PRO 657Annual Report Nigerian Railway Administration Report for the Year Ending 31 March 1923, 17.

carried cargo that previously would have been very difficult to transport.⁶⁶ As Jamie Monson notes, “the parcels were [...] key components of the multi-spatial livelihoods [...] fashioned by [rural dwellers].”⁶⁷ On the days a goods or freight train arrived, it was always filled with goods belonging to commercial firms and local traders. European manufactured goods and agricultural products, especially food crops and fruits from the South, were some of the products brought by the trains. Kola was also one of the conspicuous commodities transported. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the communities housed numerous long-distance traders, many of whom reinvested proceeds from their businesses in kola and other important commodities that could be sold back at home. Over time, the communities became distribution points for kola and other consumable goods across the North. An informant, Alhaji Yakubu Likoro, pointed out that on the days the freight train arrived with kola, the station was always a beehive of activity with labourers offloading goods from the train. It was said that owing to the volume of kola one Alhaji Yakubu Likoro (since deceased) always imported, he requested the railway authority to extend the track to his house.⁶⁸ Informants at Dangora also noted that on the day the kola train was due to arrive, kola traders from the town and neighbouring villages as far as Faiki and Rogo always came on donkeys to collect their consignments or buy from one of the importers.⁶⁹

The railway also fostered trade relations between traders and industrialists in the railway corridor with others elsewhere in the country. The railway facilitated much greater collaboration in their economic activities than was previously possible. With accessible transport, they sent goods to their business associates at some of the main stations or markets along the rail line, where there was always a market for such products. This contact also provided information on changes in price trends and demand. Informants pointed out that as a result of the collaboration, traders from Southern Nigeria, particularly the Yoruba and Igbo, always came to buy local staple foods, such as locust beans, shea nuts, pepper, and sugar cane, as well as livestock and products of the local industries, bringing with them products from the South. The trade in these products expanded and found ready markets across the country, owing to the low freight rate (see the tables in Appendix 1). As Remy Onyewuenyi

⁶⁶ Colonial Report Nigeria 1913, 25-6; NAK SNP 72322/1912, Construction and Open Lines, 23; interviews with Malam Adamu Zaki, Malam Chindo Mohammed, Malam Yusuf Inusa Dan Madaki, Malam Idi Inusa, Malam Hussain Abdu, Yakum Dan Baure, 10 April 2011.

⁶⁷ Monson, *Africa's Freedom Railway*, 106-7.

⁶⁸ Interview with Alhaji Yakubu Likoro, Likoro, 15 April 2011.

⁶⁹ Interviews with Malam Garba Adamu Katsina (a.k.a. *e don don-ta nuna*), Malam Miko Barau, Malam Sule Makam, Dangora, 30 May 2011.

noted, the low freight rate was introduced to make products from the North accessible to markets across the country.⁷⁰ For instance, the popular Makarfi sugar cane and Gimi brown sugar (*mazarkwaila*) reached their widest markets as a result of the railway. In the 1930s and 1950s, the sugar cane was exported as far as Lagos and Port Harcourt, while the brown sugar found ready markets in Kano, Zaria, and far away Sokoto, Maiduguri, and Nguru⁷¹ (see Chapter 4). Cow butter and ghee (*man shanu*) were transported to the United African Company (UAC) ghee factory at Zaria from Gimi.⁷² In a similar manner, the popular Bida soap (*sabulun sallo*) made inroads into the localities through the railway.⁷³ Textiles from Madobi and Gimi were transported to Plateau and faraway Bornu and French Niger.⁷⁴ As the tables in Appendix 1 illustrate, Gimi, Madobi, Dangora, and Challawa were the most important freight stations. Although the tables do not exhaustively cover the entire period covered in the study, it is clear the railway had enormous effects on internal trade as well as foodstuffs trade between the North and South.⁷⁵

It is important to note that prior to the construction of the railway, contact between the North and the South was quite limited. The railway not only made it possible; it facilitated the union of the two parts of the country. As Oshin, F. Umiunu, and A. Onokerhoraye have argued, the railways facilitated inter-regional trade in non-export and domestic products between the North and the South. Each region exchanged its most characteristic products for those of other regions.⁷⁶ Ann O'Hear's study of Ilorin crafts indicates that the Ilorin black soup pots reached their widest markets across the country and beyond owing to the cheap transport facility.⁷⁷ As Simon Heap also pointed out, European liquors from the South made

⁷⁰ R. N. Onyewuenyi, "Railway Development and Growth of Export Agriculture in Nigeria During the 1900–1950s", (Master's Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1981), 91.

⁷¹ NAK ZarProf 3296 vol. Sugar Production 1943-54.

⁷² NAK ZarProf 5280 Makarfi District.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ KSHCB Acc. No. 68 Kura Inspection Note; NAK ZarProf 5280 Makarfi District Note Book 1943. Not only did the railway facilitate inter-regional trade, it also facilitated long-distance trade beyond Nigerian borders in French Niger. Informants note that Tuareg traders from Agadez in French Niger always brought cloth for dyeing at Kura. The Tuareg came by train by way of Gusau (connected by railway in the 1920s) and took the train to Zaria and thence to Kwankwaso, whence they trekked to Kura. After completing their business, they took the train back to Gusau the same way they had come and then rode on camel back to Agades (interviews with Alhaji Yakubu Daburau, Alhaji Ilyasu Lawan, and Malam Yahya Dabi, the village head of Daburau, Daburau-Kwankwaso, 13 March 2011).

⁷⁵ Colonial Report-Annual, Northern Nigeria Report for 1911, 28.

⁷⁶ Oshin, "Railways and Urbanization", 115 and 119; F. G. I. Umiunu and A. G. Onokerhoraye, *Transportation and the Nigerian Space Economy*, Benin, University of Benin, 1995), 175-77; F. G. I. Umiunu, "The Role of Transportation in Nation Building; the case of the Nigerian Railways...", *Nigerian Magazine*, (1981): 3-15.

⁷⁷ A. O'Hear, "Craft Industries in Ilorin: Dependency or Independence?" *African Affairs*, 86/345, (Oct. 1987): 505-522, 517-20.

inroads into the North, despite the prohibition in Islam.⁷⁸ The railway not only transported people and goods but also ideas, culture, and civilization from one region to another. It played an even greater role in the creation of Nigerian national identity and integration. As I have indicated elsewhere in Chapter 2, part of the logic for amalgamating the railways and administration of the two regions, in 1912 and 1914 respectively, was to break down barriers that might undermine national integration.

The stations, with their relatively elaborate structures, became the communities' gateway to the outside world and a central focus of village life. For many villagers, going to the station was synonymous with going to the city, and it was something they planned. The station became something to be appropriated as a marker of modernity. Going to the station or travelling by train became a sign of becoming modern, a marker of "eye opening" which distinguished the men from the boys. As informants generally noted, going to the station and travelling by train in those days were something to boast about. Those who had not been to the station or entered the train were considered backward. Falola writes that: "It was shameful for one to declare that he had been led to the station like a goat."⁷⁹

For many rural dwellers, the stations were places for dissemination of news and information. Most of the stations had a newsstand and postal and limited telephone and telegram facilities. In those days, these facilities were markers of modernity. Villages without them were considered backward. According to Alhaji Usman Abdurrahim Madobi, "in those days, when banking was not popular, we sent and received money and mails through the post office. A village without a postal agency was as good as a person without a cell phone nowadays."⁸⁰ Their counterparts in Kwankwaso without a postal facility lamented the inconvenience of having to trek to send and receive mail from Madobi. Informants pointed that "when the postal facility in the town was closed down, they suffered having to go to Madobi to post and send money orders".⁸¹ The station was also an avenue through which the locals learned of happenings in the country. Informants in Bagardi stated that "in those days, they always trekked the long distance to Likoro station to confirm about the sighting of the moon for the Ramadan fasting."⁸²

⁷⁸ S. Heap, "'We think Prohibition is Farce...': Drinking in the Alcohol Prohibited Zone of Colonial Northern Nigeria", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 31, (1998): 23-51.

⁷⁹ Falola, *Sweeter than Salt*, 62.

⁸⁰ Interview with Alhaji Usman Abdurrahim Madobi, NNDC Quarters Sharada, Kano, 6 January 2006.

⁸¹ Interviews with Alhajis Ilyasu Lawan, Bello Daburau, and Malam Yahaya Dabo (village head of Daburau), Daburau, 13 March 2011.

⁸² Interviews with Malams Haruna Balarabe and Adamu Usman, Bagardi, 7 April 2011.

There was another way the people used the railway, in addition to using it to send and receive goods. The railway offered them employment and the experience of modernity in the form of wage labour. Although opposition to white man's work was popular at the beginning, the need for cash to pay tax pushed many into railway work. Informants generally pointed out that they took railway jobs because of "the steady income and prestige associated with the job". The majority of them worked as permanent way workers or labourers, or as porters and guards. The work provided them a steady income to become independent. Despite their low status in the railway hierarchy, they were harbingers of industrial culture and modernity in the localities. Many who are now retired can still be found in groups around the stations, reminiscing about the good old days. Many of them lament the present state of the railway and how they had been abandoned by the government. "No gratuity, no pension" was their common complaint.

Although the colonial state undermined Islam in Northern Nigeria, its transport infrastructure unexpectedly facilitated and sustained the old contact between Muslims and the Arab world. The study by Alexander Thurston suggested that the railway revolutionized the way *Hajj* pilgrimage was undertaken, as it diverted the pilgrims from the trans-Saharan routes to the rail line, cutting down travel time and cost for those with the means. Thurston pointed out that pilgrims without the means to travel "follow[ed] the tracks which gave them direct route to the Red Sea".⁸³ In a similar manner, the railway facilitated the penetration of Christian missionaries into the communities. The missions all came by the railway, as it helped them spread the Gospel more easily and cheaply. Until the 1930s, not many Christian missionaries were physically established in the North.⁸⁴

Also, for the mobility and opportunities it engendered, the railway unexpectedly spread disease. The public nature of the stations where people mingled and the enclosed nature of the trains provided ideal conditions for the transmission of viruses and diseases. Recent studies indicate that when the worldwide influenza pandemic broke out in 1918, it spread to major centres along the rail lines with consequent heavy mortality rates. Influenza travelled to Nigeria by way of the Lagos coast and then through passengers on trains to the communities along the rail line. Attempts to curtail its spread by examining passengers at

⁸³ A. Thurston, "Interactions Between Northern Nigeria and the Arab World in the Twentieth Century", (MA Thesis, Georgetown University, 2009), 16, 18.

⁸⁴ E. A. Ayandele, *Nigerian Historical Studies*, (London: FrankCass, 1979), 159; E. A. Barnes, "Evangelism Where It is not Wanted: Colonial Administrators and Missionaries in Northern Nigeria During the First Third of the Twentieth Century" *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 25/4, (1995): 412-441; E. P. T. Crompton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, (London: Cassell Ltd, 1975).

stations and on trains and through quarantine failed. When it re-occurred in the 1950s, it again spread through the railways.⁸⁵

The physical appearance of the stations also undermined the cultural importance of the village gates (*kofofi*; sing. *kofa*). In pre-colonial times, gates occupied important positions in Hausa society, as no visitor could come into a community or village without the gate chief's (*sarkin kofa*) knowledge and consent.⁸⁶ When the stations appeared with their elaborate structures, they almost immediately undermined the gates and became the new gateway, where people, goods, and ideas entered and exited under the watchful eyes of the station masters. Not only did the stations undermine the village gates, they also undermined the local architectural forms. With their aesthetically striking designs, which ranged from the fanciful—squat rectangular buildings with arched loggings on four sides and a balustrade at the top—to the simple corrugated iron roofs reinforced with concrete, they were not only the most distinctive architectural sights in the locale; they were also disruptive of indigenous architecture.

In addition, the structures spoke volumes about the importance of a station and a town. They were representations of imperial pride and modernity. As Ian J. Kerr noted, they “represent[ed] a set of attitudes, beliefs and relationships; an attitude of British superiority [...] measured by machines, beliefs in the progressive and civilizing powers of railways, relationships anchored in the fact of colonial rule to which compliance was fostered by grand building.”⁸⁷ Whether built to represent imperialism or not, they were the most imposing structures in the locality, “ready for beholders’ interpretation and reinterpretation; they represented and could be made to re-present. They stood ready for appropriation.”⁸⁸

Finally, with their bustle and elegance, the stations also had their own individual aura. They were a haven for beggars and station loungers. They also had a dark underside and a criminal half-life, which co-existed with their public face. They were magnets for pickpockets, robbers, and prostitutes. This is not to suggest that criminality was colonial in origin—it is much more ancient than that—but the public nature of stations undoubtedly attracted criminals, while the trains provided them with platforms for their activities (as we shall see in Chapter 6).

⁸⁵ Ayoola, “Price of Modernity”; M. Wada, “A History of Modern Health System in Kano”, (PhD Thesis, Bayero University, Kano, 2013), 62-83; KSHCB SNP/12/1924, Kano Province Annual Report File 635.

⁸⁶ B. M. Barkindo, “The Gates of Kano City; A Historical Survey”, in: Bawuro M. Barkindo (ed.) *Studies in the History of Kano*, (Ibadan; Heinemann Books, 1983), 1-30, 12-14.

⁸⁷ Kerr, “Representation and Representations”, 292.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 295.

3.4 Conclusion

As this chapter demonstrates, the railway had enormous effects on the studied communities. The communities encountered and reacted to the locomotive and trains with mixed reactions. Contrary to the established view that the trains were appropriated almost immediately, the chapter demonstrates that appropriation was not as sudden as was previously assumed, because the ambivalence toward the rail line manifested in a mixture of fear and awe. This was the case because many did not understand initially what the rail line was all about, much less its benefits; but as they grew to understand it, they quickly appropriated it in distinctive ways and used it to transform their lives. Part of this process involved the colonial state, which had to educate people how to use the system and what its advantages were.

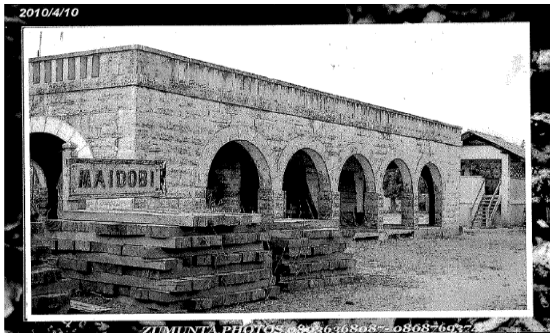
As the chapter also indicates, the communities were not passive recipients of transport advancements: they had been involved in its development during construction, and when it was completed they actively contributed to its development in their capacity as passengers and producers of food and cash crops.

The chapter also shows that the railway and its other structures were means of representing and showing off British technological achievements, superiority, power, and civilization to Nigerians.



Figure 3.1 A First Class passenger sleeping car

Source: The Nigerian Nostalgia 1960–1980 Project



Madobi Station



Gimi Dabosa Station



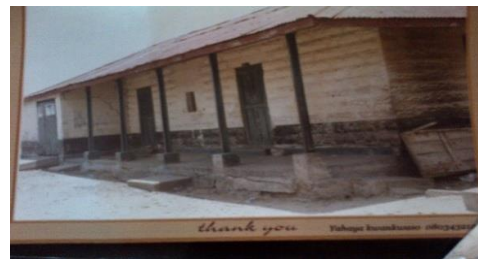
Dangora Station



Railway Guest House, Likoro



Auchan Station



Kwankwaso Station

Figure 3.2 Railway buildings across the study areas

Sources: Personal collections