



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The Socio-Economic Impact of the Railway

Yusuf, S.T.

Citation

Yusuf, S. T. (2015, January 20). *The Socio-Economic Impact of the Railway*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32000>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32000>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/32000> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Yusuf, Shehu Tijjani

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

Issue Date: 2015-01-20

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Archives

Kano State History and Culture Bureau, Nigeria.

National Archives Kaduna, Nigeria.

Public Record Office (PRO), London.

2. Government records

Correspondence Relating to Railway Construction in Nigeria, (London: HMSO, 1905).

Dupigny, E. G. M. (1920), *Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, (London: Waterlow), 1-49.

Dupigny, E. G. M. (1920), *Gazetteer of Nupe Province*, (London: Waterlow), 23-75.

Further Correspondence Relating to Railway Construction in Nigeria, (London: HMSO, 1909).

Nigeria Annual Reports 1912–1938.

Northern Nigerian Annual Reports 1900–1913.

3. Newspapers and magazines

The Engineer, 17 September 1909.

The Graphic Newspaper, 25 July 1908.

The Nigerian Pioneer, 31 December 1915.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, xxv, 1909.

4. Photo collections

The Engineer, 17 September 1909.

The Graphic Newspaper, 25 July 1908.

Ijaw Nation. Available at: <http://www.unitedijaw.com/amalgamation.htm#Notes> [accessed on 3 September 2013].

Live Auctioneer. Available at: <http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/1985580> [accessed on 12 February 2013].

Naija.com, the Internet Newspaper for Young Nigerians. Available at:

<http://www.ynaija.com/photos-whenwewerekings-a-bit-of-nigerias-history-in-pictures/amalgamation-day-on-tinubu-st-in-1914-in-lagos/> [accessed on 10 November 2013].

National Archives London.

The Nigerian Nostalgia 1960–1980 Project.

http://www.facebook.com/NigerianNostalgiaProject?refsrc=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2Fsearch%26_rdr [accessed in 12 November 2012).

5. Internet sources

Akinwumi, O. (2000), “Women Entrepreneurs in Nigeria: Notes on the Yoruba ‘Alajapa’ and ‘Alarobo’”, *Africa Updates News Letter, Nigerian Culture and Society*, (Summer 2000): vol. VII, Issue 3. Available at: <http://web.ccsu.edu/afstudy/upd7-3.htm> [accessed on 10 June 2013].

Fritscher, L. (2011), “The Psychology of Fear: Understanding the Dynamic of Fear Response”. Available at: About.Com Phobia, <http://phobias.about.com/od/introductiontophobias/a/psychologyfear.htm> [accessed on 6 December 2012].

Gahan, E. J. B. (1952), “Notes on Re-laying and Maintenance, Nigerian Railway”, *Civil Engineering Problems in the Colonies*, 16-20. Available at: <http://www.icevirtuallibrary.com/content/book/102095> [accessed on 11 March 2012].

Lee, Y. S. T. L. Smith-Jackson, G. H. Kwon (2009), “Domestication of Technology Theory: Conceptual Framework of User Experience”. Available at: http://goodgestreet.com/CHI09/submissions/YS_Lee.pdf [accessed on 4 March 2013].

UK Parliament/Hansard 1803-2005. Available at:

<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/index.html> [accessed on 15 March 2012].

6. Published materials

6.1 Books

Adas, M. (1989), *Machines as the Measure of Men, Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

- Africanus, L. (1896), *History and Description of Africa*, (3 vols), (London, 1896).
- Anthony, D. (2002), *Poison and Medicine: Ethnicity, Power, and Violence in a Nigerian City, 1966 to 1986*, (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann).
- Ayandele, E. A. (1979), *Nigerian Historical Studies*, (London: FrankCass).
- Bako, A. (2006), *Sabon Gari: A History of Immigrants and Inter-Group Relations in the 20th Century*, (Sokoto: Usmanu Danfodio University Press).
- Barth, H. (1857–8), *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, (5 vols.), (London).
- Bauer, P. T. (1954), *West African Trade: A Study of Competition, Oligopoly and Monopoly in a Changing Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 263-280.
- Busari, A. (2004), *Sugar-Cane and Sugar Industry in Nigeria: The Bitter-Sweet Lessons*, (Ibadan: Spectrum Books).
- Callaway, B. J. (1987), *Muslim Hausa Women in Nigeria: Tradition and Change*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press).
- Carland, J. M. (1985), *The Colonial Office and Nigeria, 1895-1914*, (Stanford: Calif Hoover Institute Press).
- Christellow, A. (1994), *Thus Ruled Abbas: Selected Cases from the Records of the Emir of Kano Judicial Council*, (East Lansing: Michigan University Press).
- Collier, P. (2007), *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Falling and What Can be Done About It*, (New York: Oxford Press).
- Crampton, E. P. T. (1975), *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, (London: Cassell Ltd).
- Crichton, M. (1975), *The Great Train Robbery*, (Knopf: Doubleday Publishing Group).
- Dusgate, R. H. (1985), *The Conquest of Northern Nigeria*, (London: Frankcass).
- Ekundare, R. O. (1973), *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860–1960*, (London: Methuen and Co).
- Ezenwe, U. et al. (2001), *Technological Capability in the Nigerian Leather Industry: A Firm-Level Case Study*, (Kenya: African Technology Policy Studies Network), 5.
- Fadipe, N. A. (1970), *The Sociology of Yoruba*, (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press), 90-1.
- Falola, T. (2009), *Colonialism and Violence in Nigeria*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
- Falola, T. and M. H. Heaton (2008), *A History of Nigeria*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Falola, T. (2004), *A Mouth Sweeter than Salt: an African Memoir*, (USA: University of Michigan Press).

- Fika, A. M. (1978), *The Kano Civil War and the British Over-rule 1882–1940*, (Ibadan: Oxford Press).
- Glover, P. E. (1961), *The Tsetse Problem in Northern Nigeria*, (Nairobi: Patwa News Agency).
- Herbert, E. W. (1993), *Iron, Gender and Power: Ritual of Transformation in African Societies*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
- Hill, P. (1977), *Population, Prosperity and Poverty: Rural Kano, 1900–1970*, (London: Cambridge Press).
- Hiskett, M. (1975), *A History of Hausa Islamic Verse*, (London: SOAS).
- Hogendorn, J. S. (1978), *Nigerian Groundnut Export: Origins and Early Development*, (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University).
- Hopkins, A. G. (1973), *An Economic History of West Africa*, (London: Heinemann), 244-253.
- Hugen, B. (2011), *The Great Train Robbery: Making Heist*, (Mankao: Congress Publishing Books).
- Isaacman, A. and R. Robert (1995), (eds) *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa*, (Portsmouth: Heinemann).
- Jaekel, F. (1997), *The History of the Nigerian Railway: Network and Infrastructures*, vol. 2, (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited).
- Jaekel, F. (1997), *The History of the Nigerian Railway; Organisation, Structure and Related Matters*, vol. 3, (Ibadan: Spectrum Books).
- Jaggar, J. P. (1994), *The Blacksmiths of Kano City*, (Cologne: Rodiger Koppe Verlag).
- Kane, O. O. (2012), *Non-Europhone Intellectuals*, (Dakar: Codesria).
- Larkin, B. (2008), *Signal and Noise: Media Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria*, (Durham: Duke University Press).
- Lindsay, L. A. (2003), *Working with Gender: Wage Labour and Social Change in Southern Nigeria*, (Portsmouth).
- Little, K. (1973), *African Women in Town: Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lovejoy, P. E. and J. S. Hogendorn (1993), *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria 1897–1936*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lugard, F. D. (1922), *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, (London: William Blackwood and Sons).
- Mabogunje, A. (1968), *Urbanization in Nigeria*, (London: University of London).

- Magbeafulu, M. C. (2003), *Migration and the Economy: Igbo Migration and the Nigerian Economy 1900 to 1975*, (New York: iUniverse Inc).
- Mani, A. (1978), *Zuwan Turawa Najeria ta Arewa*, (Zaria: NNPC).
- Monson, J. (2009), *Africa's Freedom Railway: How Chinese Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania*, (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press).
- Morel, E. D. (1912) *Nigeria: Its People and Its Problems*, (London: Faber).
- Mukoshy, M. D. et al. (2006), *Bargon Hikima; Diwanin Wakokin Alhaji (Dr.) Muhammadu Bello Gidadawa*, (Sakkwato: Usmanu Dan Fodio University Press).
- Nadabo, Y. (2010/1998), *Tarihin Garin Kaduna: Hedkwataer Arewa*, (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press).
- Nkwi, W. G. (2011), *Kfaang and Technologies: Towards a Social History of Mobility in Kom, Cameroon, 1928–1998*, (Leiden: ASC).
- Northern Nigerian Publishing Company (1980), *Wakokin Aliyu Dan Sidi Sarkin Zazzau*, (Zaria: NNPC).
- Nye, D. (1999), *The American Technological Sublime*, (USA: MIT).
- Ochonu, M. E. (2009), *Colonial Meltdown: Northern Nigeria in the Great Depression*, (Athens: Ohio University Press).
- Ogundipe, P. A. (2012), *Up-Country Girl: A Personal Journey and Truthful Portrayal of African Culture*, (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse).
- Ogunremi, G. O. (1982), *Counting the Camels: The Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, (New York: Nok).
- Olaniyi, R. O. (2008), *Diaspora is Not Like Home: A Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano, 1912–1999*, (Europa: Lincom).
- Onyekwere, M. U. (2011), *Igbo Idioms*, (London: AuthorHouse).
- Pedraza, H. J. (1960), *Borrioboala-Gha: The Story of Lokoja the first British Settlement in Nigeria*, (London: Oxford Press).
- Pirie, G. H. (1982), *Aspects of Political-Economy of Railways in Southern Africa*, (Johannesburg: Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Witwatersrand).
- Raphael, J. R. (1914), *Through Unknown Nigeria*, (London: T. Werner).
- Richards J. and J. M. Mackenzie, (1986), *The Railway Station: A Social History*, (Oxford: OUP).
- Rogers, B. (1980), *The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies*, (London: Rutledge).

- Schivelbusch, W. (1986/1977), *The Railway Journey, the Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century*, (Berkeley: The University of California Press).
- Shenton, R. (1986), *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria*, (London: James Currey).
- Smith, M. G. (1997), *Government in Kano: 1350–1950*, (London: West View Press).
- Smith, M. G. (1955), *The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria*, (London: HMSO).
- Soyinka, W. (1986), *A Voyage around Essay*, (USA: Heinemann).
- Staundinger, P. (1990), *In the Heart of the Hausa States*, (Athens: Ohio).
- Tremearne, A. J. N. (1912), *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).
- Tsey, K. (2013), *From Head Loading to the Iron Horse: Railway Building in Colonial Ghana and the Origins of Tropical Development*, (Mankon: Langa Research and Publishing CIG).
- Udo, R. K. (1970), *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*, (Berkeley: California Press).
- Umar, M. S. (2006), *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigerian to British Colonial Rule*, (Leiden: Brill).
- Umiunu, F. G. I. and A. G. Onokerhoraye (1995), *Transportation and the Nigerian Space Economy*, (Benin: University of Benin).
- Watts, M. (1983), *Silent Violence: Food Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- White, L. (2000), *Speaking with Vampire: Rumour and History in Colonial Africa*, (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Yusuf, S. T. (2010), *The Impact of the Railway on Kano Emirate, c. 1903–1960s: The Case of Madobi and Kwankwaso Towns*, (Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing).

6.2 Articles

- Adamu, A. (2001), Government and Food Distribution in Zaria, 1902-1966”, *FAIS Journal of Humanities*, 1/4, 145-156.
- Adebayo, A. G. (1992), “The Production and Export of Hides and Skins in Colonial Northern Nigeria, 1900-1945”, *The Journal of African History*, 33/2, 273-300.
- Aderinto, S. (2006), “Colonialism and Prostitution in Africa”, in: M. H. Ditmore (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work*, Vol 1 (UK: Greenwood Press), 110-112.

- Aguiar, M. (2008), "Making Modernity Inside the Technological Space of the Railway", *Cultural Critique*, 68, 66-85.
- Anjorin, A. O. (1980), "Cotton Industry in Northern Nigeria during the Colonial Era", in: I. A. Akinjogbin and S. Osoba (eds), *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*, (Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press).
- Apter, A. (2002), "On Imperial Spectacle: The Dialectics of Seeing in Colonial Nigeria", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44/3, 564-96.
- Arango, A. (2000), "Explaining Migration: A Critical View", *International Social Science Journal*, 52/165, 287-288.
- Austen, R. A. (1986), "Social Bandits and Other Heroic Criminals: Western Models of Resistance and their Relevance for Africa", in: D. Crummey (ed.), *Banditry Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa*, (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann), 89-108.
- Austin, G. (2008), "Resources, Techniques and Strategies South of the Sahara: Revising the Factor Endowments Perspectives on African Economic Development, 1500-2000", *Economic History Review*, 61/3, 587-624.
- Ayoola, T. A. (2012), "The Price of 'Modernity'? Western Railroad Technology and the 1918 Influenza Pandemic in Nigeria", in: T. Falola and E. Brownell (eds), *Colonial Environment, Domestication, Medicine and Technology*, (New York: Routledge), 148-169.
- Ayoola, T. A. (2006), "The Political Economy of Railway Construction in Nigeria: The Bornu Railway Extension", *Lagos Historical Review*, 6, 148-171.
- Baikie W. B. and J. Kirk (1867), "Notes of a Journey from Bida in Nupe, to Kano in Hausa, Performed in 1862", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 37, 92-108.
- Bako, A. (2005), "Colonial Rule and Residential Segregation: The Sabon Gari Settlements Reconsidered", in: A. M. Yakubu, I. M. Jumare and A. G. Saeed (eds), *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, (Kaduna: Arewa House), 469-477.
- Barkindo, B. M. (1983), "The Gates of Kano City; A Historical Survey", in: B. M. Barkindo (eds), *Studies in the History of Kano*, (Ibadan: Heinemann Books), 1-30, 12-4.
- Barnes, E. A. (1995), "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, 412-441.
- Bell, H. H. (1911), "Recent Progress in Northern Nigeria", *Journal of the African Society*, X/XL, 377-391.

- Bristwistle, C. A. (1908), "Cotton Growing and Nigeria", *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, Part II, vol. XXXIV, 104-107.
- Byfield, J. (1996), "Women, Marriage, Divorce and the Emerging Colonial State in Abeokuta (Nigeria) 1892-1904", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 30/1: 32-51.
- Callaway, A. (1967), "From Traditional Craft to Modern Industries", in: P. C. Lloyd, A. L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (eds), *The City of Ibadan: A Symposium on its Structure and Development*, (London: Cambridge University), 153-171.
- Callebert, R. (2012), "Cleaning the Wharves: Pilferage, Bribery, and Social Connections on the Durban Docks in the 1950s", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 46/1, 23-38.
- Carey, M. A. French and E. O'Brien (2012), "Unintended Effects of Technology on Climate Change Adaptation: An Historical Analysis of Water Conflict Below Andean Glaciers", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 38, 181-191.
- Christellow, A. (1987), "Property and Theft in Kano at the Dawn of the Groundnut Boom", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, XX, 237-243.
- Cline-Cole, R. A. (1994), "Political Economy, Fuel Wood Relations and Vegetation Conservation: Kasar Kano, Northern Nigeria, 1850-1915", *Forest and Conservation History*, 38/2, 67-78.
- Crummey, D. (1986), "The Great Beast", in: D. Crummey (ed.), *Banditry Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa*, (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann), 1-29.
- Davies, N. (1990), "Sugar-Cane: Crop Production and Pest Control", in: A. Speedy (ed.), *Developing World Agriculture*, (London: Macmillan Publishers).
- Divall, C. and G. Revill (2005), "Culture, Representation and Technology", *Journal of Transport History*, 3rd Series, 6/1, 99-111.
- Duggan, E. de C. (1922), "The Cotton Growing Industry of Nigeria", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 21/83, 199-207.
- Falola, T. (1995), "Money and Informal Credit Institutions in Colonial Western Nigeria", in: J. I. Guyer, *Money Matters, Instability, Values and Social Payments in Modern History of West African Communities*, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 162-107.
- Falola, T. (1995), "Theft in Colonial Southwestern Nigeria", *Africa*, 50/1: 1-24.
- Forde, D. (1946), "The North: the Hausa", in: M. Perham (ed.), *The Native Economies of Nigeria*, vol. 1, (London: Faber), 119-79.
- Forde, D. (1946), "The Rural Economy", in: M. Perham (ed.), *The Native Economies of Nigeria*, vol. 1, (London: Faber), 125-140.

- Freund, W. (1986), "Theft and Social Protest Among the Tin Miners of Northern Nigeria", *Radical History Review*, 26, 68-86.
- Goucher, C. L. (1981), "Iron is Iron Till It Is Rust: Trade and Ecology in the Decline of West Africa Iron Smelting", *The Journal of African History*, 220/2, 179-189.
- Hannerz, U. (1979), "Town and Country in Southern Zaria: A View from Kafanchan", in: A. Southall (ed.), *Small Urban Centers in Rural Development in Africa*, (Madison: African Studies Program), 226-240.
- Heap, S. (2002), "Transport Liquor in Colonial Nigeria", *The Journal of Transport History*, 21/1, 28-52.
- Heap, S. (1998), "'We think Prohibition is Farce...': Drinking in the Alcohol Prohibited Zone of Colonial Northern Nigeria", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 31, 23-51.
- Hogendorn, J. S. (1995), "The Cotton Campaign in Northern Nigeria, 1902-1914: An Example of a Public/Private Planning Failure in Agriculture in Agriculture", in: A. Isaacman and R. Roberts (eds), *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa*, (Portsmouth: Heinemann), 50-70
- Hogendorn, J. S. (1977), "The Economic of Slave Use on Two 'Plantations' in the Zaria Emirate of Sokoto Caliphate", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 10/3, 369-83.
- Hogendorn, J. S. (1970), "The Origin of Groundnut Trade in Northern Nigeria", in: C. Eicher and C. Liedholm (eds), *Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy* (East Lansing: Michigan University Press), 31-51.
- Ijewere, M. O. (1973), "The Impact of Nigerian Railways on Agricultural Development", *The Nigerian Geographical Journal*, 2 (Dec.), 137-143.
- Kerr, I. J. (2003), "Representation and Representations of the Railways of Colonial and Post-Colonial South Asia", *Modern Asian Studies*, 287-326.
- Korieh, C. J. (2010), "'May It Please Your Honor': Letter of Petition As Historical Evidence in an African Colonial Context", *History in Africa*, 37, 83-106.
- Last, M. (1998), "*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), *Africa Journal of International Africa Institute*, 68/4, 606-7.
- Lenninham, L. (1982), "Rights in Men and Rights in Land: Slavery, Wage Labour and Small holder Agriculture in Northern Nigeria", *Slavery and Abolition*, 3/2, 11-39.

- Lindsay, L. (2003), "Money, Marriage and Masculinity on the Colonial Nigerian Railway", in: L. A. Lindsay and S. F. Mescher (eds), *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa*, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 138-155.
- Lovejoy, P. E. (1978), "Plantation in the Economy of Slave Caliphate", *The Journal of African History*, 19/3, 341-368.
- Mason, M. (1978), "Working on the Railway: Forced Labour in Northern Nigeria, 1907-1912", in: R. Cohen, J. Copan and P. C. W. Gutkind, *African labour History*, (Beverly Hills: Sage), 56-79.
- Moitt, B. (2001), "From Pack Animals to Railways: Transport and the Expansion of Peanut Production and Trade in Senegal, 1840-1940", *Revue Francaise d'histoire d'outre-mer*, 88/1, 241-67.
- Moitt, B. (1989), "Slavery and Emancipation in Senegal's Peanut Basin: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 22/1, 27-50.
- Mortimore, M. J. (1970), "Settlement Evolution and Land Use", in: M. J. Mortimore, *Zaria and Its Region: A Nigerian Savannah City and Its Environs*, (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University), Occasional Paper No. 4, 102-122.
- Myint, H. (1958), "The Classical Theory of International Trade and the Underdeveloped Countries", *Economic Journal*, 68, 317-337.
- Nash, T. A. (1958), "The Tsetse Fly and the Trypanosome", *The New Scientist*, June, 21-34.
- "Notes on Railway Construction", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 12/47: (1913), 290-95.
- Nworah, K. D. (1971), "The West African Operations of the British Cotton Growing Association, 1904-1914", *African Historical Studies*, 4/2, 315-330.
- O'Hear, A. (1987), "Craft Industries in Ilorin: Dependency or Independence?", *African Affairs*, 86/345, (Oct. 1987), 505-522, 517-20.
- Oilfield, A. G. (1936), "The Native Railway Workers in Nigeria", *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 9/3, 379-402.
- Olukoju, A. (2004), "Nigerian Cities in Historical Perspective", in: T. Falola and S. J. Salm (eds), *Nigerian Cities*, (Trenton-NJ: African World Press), 11-46.
- Olusanya, G. (1967), "The Sabon-Gari System in Northern States of Nigeria", *Nigerian Magazine*, 94, 214-248.

- Onyewu, S. (2002), "Deceived by African Cotton: The British Cotton Growing Association and the Demise of the Lancashire Textile Industry", *African Economic History*, 28, 89-121.
- Oshin, O. (2004/2003), "Railway and Urbanization", in: T. Falola and S. J. Salm (eds) *Nigerian Cities*, (Trenton-NJ: African World Press), 101-126.
- Oshin, O. (1988), "Developing the Infrastructure of Exploitation: The Example of Colonial Transport on the Bauchi Tin Fields, 1902–1914", *Trans African Journal of History*, 17, 123-138.
- Oyemakinde, W. (1979), "The Railway Workers and Modernization in Colonial Nigeria", *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 10/1, 113-124.
- Oyemakinde, W. (1974), "Railway Construction and Operation in Nigeria, 1895-1911: Labour Problems and Socio-Economic Impact", *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, VII/2, 303-323.
- Pole, L. M. (1982), "Decline or Survival? Iron Production in West Africa from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries", *Journal of African History*, 23/4, 503-513.
- Ratcliffe, B. M. (1982), "Cotton Imperialism: Merchants and Cotton Cultivation in West Africa in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", *African Economic History*, 11, 87-113.
- Reichart-Burikukiye, C. (2011), "The Railway in Colonial East Africa: Colonial Iconography in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa", in: T. Falola and E. Brownell (eds), *Landscape, Environment and Technology in Colonial and Post Africa*, (New York: Routledge).
- Robinson, R. E. (1991), "Introduction": Railway Imperialism", in: C. Davies and K. E. Wilburn, Jr (eds), *Railway Imperialism*, (New York: Green Word Press), 1-6.
- Rogers, R. A. (1994), "Hausa Blacksmiths and the Great Train Robbery: Iron Theft and the Moral Economy of technological Change in Northern Nigeria, 1910-1935", in: R. W. Harms, J. C. Miller, D. S. Newbury and M. D. Wagner (eds), *Paths Towards the Past: A Historical Essays in Honor of Jan Vansina*, (Atlanta GA: African Studies Association Press), 371-393.
- Salau, A. T. and J. M. Baba (1984), "The Spatial Impact of the Relocation of a Section of the Zaria-Kano Road: A Study of Changes and Development in Rural Zaria", *Applied Geography*, 4, 283-292.
- Salau, M. B. (2010), "The Role of Slave Labour in Groundnut Production in Early Colonial Kano", *Journal of African History*, 51, 147-65

- Shea, P. J. (1974/1977), "Economics of Scale and the Indigo Dyeing Industry of Pre-Colonial Kano", *Kano Studies*, 1/2, 55-61.
- Shelford, F. (1907), "Ten Year's Progress in West Africa", 6/24, *The Royal African Society*, 341-49, 348.
- Shenton, B. and M. Watts (1979), "Capitalism and Hunger in Northern Nigeria", *Review of African Political Economy*, 15/16, 13-30.
- Swantz, M. L. (1995), "Women Entrepreneurs in Tanzania: A Path to Sustainable Livelihood", in: *Small Global Employment, vol. 1, Development: Journal of the Society for International Development*, 55-60.
- Tamuno, N. T. (1965), "Genesis of the Nigerian Railway II", *Nigerian Magazine*, March, 84, 31-43.
- Tamuno, N. T. (1963), "Genesis of the Railway I", *Nigerian Magazine*, 83, 279-292.
- Ubah, C. N. (1991), "Suppression of the Slave Trade in the Nigerian Emirates", *Journal of African History*, 32: (1991), 447-470.
- Ubah, C. N. (1976), "Christian Missionaries in Muslim Emirates of Nigeria, 1900-1928", *Journal of African Studies*, 3/3, 351-371.
- Udo, R. K. (1978), "Internal Migrations and Development", in: J. S. Ogun Toyinbo, O. O. Areola and M. Filani, *A Geography of Nigerian Development*, (Nigeria: Heinemann, Books), 124-137.
- Umiunu, F. G. I. (1981), "The Role of Transportation in Nation Building; the case of the Nigerian Railways...", *Nigerian Magazine*, 3-15.
- Usman, A. F. and A. Bako (2006), "Yoruba-Hausa Relations in Gusau During the 20th Century", in: O. Akinwumi, O. Ochayi Okpeh, Jr and G. D. Je'adayibe (eds), *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (Makurdi: Aboki), 671-680.
- Vickery, K. P. (2013), "Railways, Railway Culture, and Industrial Work Discipline" in the Rhodesia", in: R. Ross, M. Hinfelaar and I. Pesa (eds), *The Objects of Life in Central Africa: History of Consumption and Social Change 1840-1980*, (London: Brill).
- Watts, M. (1987), "Brittle Trade: A Political Economy of Food Supply in Kano", in: J. I. Guyer (eds), *Feeding African Cities: Studies in Regional Social History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Wiseman, J. A. (1979), "Structural and Ideological Tension in a Rural Hausa Village", *African Studies Review*, 22/2, 1-11.

- Yusuf, S. T. (2012), “Stealing from the Railways: Blacksmiths, Colonialism and Innovation in Northern Nigeria”, in: J.-B. Gewald, A. Leliveld and I. Pesa (eds), *Transforming Innovations in Africa: Explorative Studies on Appropriation in African Societies*, (Leiden: Brill), 275-296.
- Yusuf, S. T. (2012), “Toward New Approaches to Nigeria’s Railway History the Rural and Agricultural Alternatives”, in: S. Aderinto and P. Osifodunrin, *The Third Wave of Historical Scholarship on Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Ayodeji Olukoju*, (New Castle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing), 207-223.
- Yusuf, S. T. (2011), “The Incidences of Thefts of Railway Metals in Colonial Northern Nigeria”, *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 2/2.4, 1-23.
- Zukerman, M. E. (1970), “Nigerian Crisis: Economic Impact on the North”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 8/1, 37-54.

7. Unpublished materials

- Abayomi, S. (1991), “The Consequences of the Construction of Railway on the Economy and Society of Zaria Province, 1902–1945”, (Master’s Thesis, University of Jos).
- Abbott, C. W. (2006), “Home Towns Associations and the Ethnic Unions in the Twentieth Century Nigeria: A Geographical and Historical Interpretation”, (PhD Thesis, University of Iowa).
- Adamu, A. (2001), “The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis c. 1902–1960”, (PhD Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University).
- Aderinto, S. (2010), “Sexualized Nationalism: Lagos and the Politics of Illicit Sexuality in Colonial Nigeria, 1918–1958”, (PhD Thesis, University of Texas).
- Aminu, S. M. (1991), “The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority, c. 1902–1945”, (MA Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria).
- Anjorin, A. O. (1970), “The Politics of the Baro-Kano Railway”, being a Cyclosted Paper presented at the 16th Annual Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, 1-14.
- Audu, B. K. (2000), “The 1909 Gussoro Revolt”, (BA Dissertation, Bayero University, Kano).

- Dottridge, M. B. (1980), "Aspect of Social and Economic Development in Kura District Before the Implementation of the Kano River Project Irrigation Scheme", Series Research Paper No. 7, (Zaria: Centre for Social and Economic Research).
- Folashade, A. (2008), "A History of Likoro 1808–1902", (BA Dissertation, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria).
- Gutkind, A. (1977), "The Development of African Road Transport in Western Nigeria, 1919–1939", (MA Thesis, McGill University).
- Gwadabe, M. M. (2007), "Land, Labour and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: the case of Kumbotso District", (PhD Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria).
- Ibrahim, H. A. (2008), "A History of Makarfi District in Zazzau Emirate", (BA Dissertation, Bayero University, Kano).
- Okediji, F. A. (1972), "An Economic History of Northern Nigeria 1900–1939", (PhD Thesis, Indiana University).
- Oyewuenyi, R. (1981), "Railway Development and the Growth of Export Agriculture in Nigeria the 1900–1950s Period", (Master's Thesis, Ottawa University).
- Soeters, S. (2012), "Tamale 1907–1957: Between Colonial Trade and Colonial Chieftainship", (PhD Thesis, Leiden University).
- Thurston, A. (2009), "Interactions between Northern Nigeria and the Arab World in the Twentieth Century", (MA Thesis, Georgetown University).
- Umaru, S. H. (2010), "A History of Tudun Wada Madobi in Kano Emirate, from c. 1953–2010", (BA Dissertation, Bayero University, Kano).
- Uzoечи, I. F. A. (1985), "The Social and Political Impact of the Eastern Nigerian Railway on the Udi Division 1913-1945", (PhD Dissertation, Kent University).
- Wada, M. (2013), "A History of Modern Health System in Kano", (PhD Thesis, Bayero University, Kano),
- Yusuf, S. T. (2013), "Building the Pioneer Railways: Shaping Landscapes and Building Expertise on the Baro-Kano Railway", being a paper presented at the Conference Shaping Landscapes and Building Expertise: The Role of Imperial Technology in the Making of the 19th and 20th Century World, Lisbon-Portugal, 10th-13th March, 1-19.
- Yusuf, S. T. (2011), "The Great Longing for Railways: How the Baro to Kano Railway Connected Northern Nigeria with Centres of Industrialization", being a paper presented at the 5th International Railway History Association Conference held at the Centre for Urban History of East Central Europe, Lviv-Ukraine, 3rd-5th Nov.

Samenvatting

This thesis examines the social and cultural impact of the railway on the rural communities situated along the rail line between Kano and Zaria in Northern Nigeria, from 1908-1970s. It is a critical re-examination of the history of the railway and its consequences. Using old and new tools of historical analysis, the study argues that the railway was the most important innovation that transformed the communities in to important centers on the rail line. The rail line had many more consequences than previous studies had actually recognized.

The study contributes to our understanding on how the Nigerian communities perceived, appropriated and integrated the railway technology into daily life and how initiatives resulted in the appropriation of the railway. It also contributes to our understanding of how the railway bred criminality and provided platforms for criminals to operate; and also how the railway led to the emergence of new settlements and intermingling of Nigerian cultures along the rail line. These are in addition to re-examining the cash crops production and trade engendered by the railway.

The construction of the railway as the study demonstrates was an imperialist creation to transport cotton from the landlocked Northern region to industrialized Britain. Right from the onset of the British administration in Northern Nigeria, the idea to build the railway came from government and not businessmen or speculators who wanted government guarantees. Chapter two indicates that the idea to build the railway provoked reactions of rivalry and controversy from the Southern Nigerian authorities who perceived the line as a rival railway. The proposal to build the railway conflicted with their agenda of extending the southern railway to landlocked Northern Nigeria. The controversy dragged on for six years, after which the railway was sanctioned for construction in 1908. Contrary to the well established narrative that the reactions to railway construction did not go beyond flight, the chapter demonstrate that fear and awe as well as anti-colonial resistance were the reactions to the railway work, as people were not familiar with the railway technology, including railway construction, but as the familiarity increased and they understood the benefits of working on the railway for wages, they quickly appropriated it to transform their life.

The study also describes how the local inhabitants encountered and perceived the locomotive and train. Contrary to the popular assumption that Nigerians appropriated the railway immediately it was completed, chapter three demonstrate that its appropriation was not immediate, but was something worked out over time. The chapter argues that mixed reactions of fear and awe were the response to the new transport technology, as Nigerians did not understand what it was all about, much less of appropriate it, but as they became familiar

with it and understood its benefits they quickly apprehended it in distinctive ways to transform their life. The colonial authority also educated the people how to intensively use the system. The completion of the railway to traffic almost immediately revolutionized transportation and transformed the experience of travelling. It made the colonial authorities control of the communities much easier administratively and economically. The new transport also increased mobility and connected them to the global economy much more easily than had previously been possible.

As the study also demonstrates, the opening of the railway to traffic almost immediately activated cash crop production and trade. Chapter four argues that the anticipation that the railway would stimulate cotton export failed, because farmers exploited the opportunities provided by the railway to grow crops that were not anticipated during the planning and construction of the line. This was because cotton had always been grown for use in the indigenous textile industry and also because the price offered by the European buyers was much lower than that offered by the Hausa. Nevertheless, cotton export became popular over time. As has been shown, the trade in the cash crops began at the initiatives of the indigenous traders who channeled their money, expertise and network into the trade. Of the many crops that were activated by the steam, groundnut was by far the most popular, because it was easier to grow and could finance tax much more than the others.

The railway also has limitations; it stimulated production in far distant areas, far removed from the line, but it could not intensively exploit the new markets. This was circumvented by professional transporters who exploited it to their own advantage. The colonial authorities also tried to open up such distant areas by bringing them closer to the line of rail through road constructions. Right from the beginning, the colonial authority envisaged a coordinated transport system in which the road would feed the railway of traffic, but efforts were made to ensure it did not compete with the railway. The cash crop trade opened up a lot of opportunities to the locals and outsiders who depended on it for their livelihood.

As the study further demonstrates, the railway led to emergence of new settlements and intermingling of Nigerian cultures along the rail line. It is argued in chapter five that the opportunities to work on the railway and for the commercial firms as well as for trade were the pull which attracted populations to the communities. This in turn made the colonial authorities establish segregated settlements to house the migrants, as a form of control. As the study shows, the migrants concentrated at the main centers with high economic opportunities, thereby contributing to those centres' expansion. Despite the attempts by the colonial authority to control the migrants into rigid compartments, social relations brought them into

direct contact with locals, a development which not only eroded official barriers, but also led to their integration into the communities. The migrants were agents for change in the communities; they were instrumental in the establishment of western education schools and postal facilities as well as the diffusion of southern based foods and technical skills in the localities. However, it was not one-way traffic, as they too also learnt and copied from the hosts. There was a significant decline in the migrant population in the 1970s, due to the civil war, the decline of export trade and the decline of the railway in the 1970s.

The study also further understanding on how the railway engendered criminality and unexpectedly provided a platform for criminals to operate. Chapter six demonstrates that the railway was something of a paradox. It opened new frontiers of opportunities and indirectly endangered many, most especially the indigenous crafts which forced the operators into criminality such as stealing of iron from the rail line and train robbery. The crimes took the colonial authority unaware, despite attempts to combat them they continued unabated, until the decline of the railway in the 1970s. As the chapter argues, the crimes were reactions to the socio-economic disruptions brought by the advent of colonialism and its transport innovation. It also argues that the prevalence of the crimes was due to existence of large markets for stolen goods.