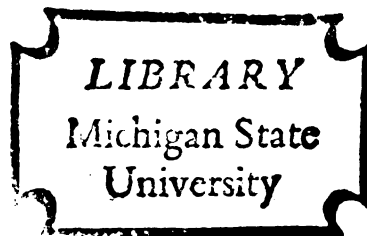


THE NIGER-NIGERIA BORDERLANDS:  
A POLITICO-GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF  
BOUNDARY INFLUENCE UPON THE HAUSA

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
DERRICK J. THOM  
1970



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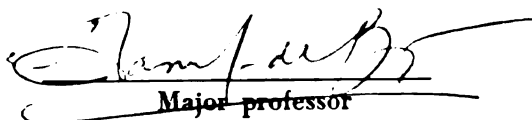
THE NIGER-NIGERIA BORDERLANDS:  
A POLITICO-GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS  
OF BOUNDARY INFLUENCE UPON THE HAUSA

presented by

Derrick James Thom

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Geography

  
Major professor

Date December 17, 1969





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## ABSTRACT

### THE NIGER-NIGERIA BORDERLANDS : A POLITICO-GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF BOUNDARY INFLUENCE UPON THE HAUSA

By

Derrick James Thom

There have been few case studies of boundaries in Africa and virtually none dealing with the impact of a superimposed boundary upon the spatial organization of an indigenous population. The thesis, a study in Political Geography, considers the problem of the influence of the Niger-Nigeria boundary upon the Hausa population inhabiting the borderland region where the indigenous peoples have apparently been divided by the imposed territorial framework.

The work is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One presents a brief introduction to boundary studies in political geography and a survey of boundary definition in Africa. The second chapter is largely theoretical and proposes a paradigm for the analysis of superimposed and colonial boundaries. This paradigm demonstrates a time-space relationship. By proceeding through time the political processes operating during a specific time period produce certain spatial patterns. Three time periods are recognized: the pre-colonial period, when traditional patterns were prevalent; the colonial period, when imposed patterns were introduced; and the post-colonial period, when contemporary patterns emerged. By analyzing the evolution of patterns through time

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Chapter Three is largely  
concerned with the  
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and the geography of the  
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The remaining chapters  
develop a framework proposed  
in the introduction. Chapter Four  
examines the pre-colonial  
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the adjustment to boundary imposition can be determined. Adjustment to the introduction of a European boundary produced a spatial reorganization of population and settlement patterns and brought about the emergence of new patterns of movement and circulation.

Chapter Three is largely factual and delimits the area of the borderlands under consideration. This chapter also discusses the physical geography of the borderlands and sets the stage for the study of man's activities within the area.

The remaining chapters are devoted to the application of the conceptual framework proposed in Chapter Two, to the Niger-Nigeria borderlands. Chapter Four deals with the historical background and reconstructs the pre-colonial traditional patterns. Special attention is focused upon the distribution of Hausa groups, the political areal functional organization, and the traditional patterns of trade and circulation. It was discovered from this analysis that as a result of inter-State wars a depopulated frontier of separation between opposing States was created. This frontier of separation later played a significant role in the final boundary negotiations between Britain and France at the beginning of the 20th Century.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the events leading to European domination of the borderlands, an analysis of the evolution of the boundary, and an analysis of the resulting spatial reorganization necessitated by boundary imposition. Following 16 years of boundary negotiation between Britain and France, during which time three boundaries were defined and delimited, the Niger-Nigeria boundary evolved from a straight line geometric boundary to an anthropogeographic boundary which took into consideration the cultural landscape. The boundary finally

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agreed upon followed the frontier of separation and was in fact an antecedent rather than a superimposed boundary.

The result of European expansion into Hausaland modified the traditional patterns and produced imposed patterns that necessitated a spatial reorganization. This spatial reorganization is discussed in terms of population migration, settlement, political areal functional organization, circulation and trade. From this analysis it was concluded that the present-day appearance of boundary superimposition is the result of population migration following the demarcation of the boundary. Traditional external trade was reoriented to the south and the trans-Saharan trade declined. By contrast the establishment of new border markets produced patterns of local trade that had not existed prior to the demarcation of the boundary.

Chapter Six focuses upon the contemporary patterns within the Maradi-Zinder-Katsina region. The present-day cross-boundary movement of population and vehicles reveals that the patterns established during the colonial period have intensified and become more firmly entrenched in the cultural landscape. The problems of Niger as a landlocked State are also analyzed in this chapter. The final chapter briefly summarizes the findings and conclusions of the research undertaken.

The Niger-Nigeria boundary has been established for over 60 years and has produced no conflict. It is a boundary that can be considered "stable" as a result of its historical antecedents. [ The freedom of movement at the local level has meant that the boundary has not functioned as a barrier. ] The stability of the borderlands, however, is tied to the maintenance of the status quo. Any attempt to inhibit local commercial activity will in all probability create considerable

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dislocation within the Niger borderlands and a loss of revenue to the Nigerian borderlands. The migration of population from Niger during the colonial period has produced a fairly homogenous population within the borderlands. Family ties across the boundary still remain strong and any major attempt to inhibit the freedom of movement could only have serious repercussions.

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By

Derrick James Thom

A THESIS

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the many people who have provided information and assistance in the preparation and completion of this thesis. The author is especially appreciative of the cooperation of public officials in Nigeria and Niger, for their assistance in allowing the author access to material that otherwise would have been unobtainable.

Particular mention should be made of Dr. Harm J. deBlij, who has encouraged and inspired the author to undertake this study. He, as Chairman of the Supervisory Committee, has supervised, criticized and offered many helpful suggestions which have aided the author. His help is duly acknowledged and appreciated. Dr. John Hunter, Dr. Daniel Jacobson and Dr. James Hooker, all members of the thesis committee have likewise offered suggestions and criticisms that have been appreciated.

Of all persons who have given their support the author is most deeply indebted to his wife, Elizabeth, whose untiring efforts in typing and preparing the various drafts and the final manuscript, are greatly appreciated. Without her cooperation and support this study could not have been completed.

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REVIEWS

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<sup>1</sup>For a review of  
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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

An active interest in boundary studies has been shown by jurists, members of the military and statesmen, as well as by geographers, historians and political scientists. For the lawyer a boundary marks the limit of a judicial system, while for the soldier it is the ultimate line of military defense, and for the politician it represents the limit of national administration.<sup>1</sup> Research in this area by geographers, historians and political scientists has generally been either theoretical or particularistic. Such contributions have aided in understanding more fully the nature and functions of political boundaries in practice.<sup>2</sup>

Boundary studies have long been a feature of research in political geography, but while geographers have studied boundaries their approach has been quite general, emphasizing the morphological and empirical rather than the genetic and the functional. Some studies do, however, exist which deal with the genetic and functional characteristics of boundaries. Lössch, for example, analyzed the influence

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<sup>1</sup>For a review of the contributions made to the study of boundary problems see: J. R. V. Prescott, The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965).

<sup>2</sup>One practical study undertaken by a geographer that has been widely used in the search for solutions to the wide variety of boundary problems which exist is: Stephen B. Jones, Boundary Making: A Handbook for Statesmen, Treaty Editors and Boundary Commissioners (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1945).

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<sup>1</sup> August Lösch, The  
University Press, 1955.

<sup>2</sup> J. Ross MacKay, "Canada," Canadian Geographical

<sup>3</sup> Lord Curzon of Kedworth, 1907.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Holdich, 1916.

<sup>5</sup> J. B. Fawcett, Clarendon Press

<sup>6</sup> W. Lyde, Some  
London: A and C

of international boundaries on the flow of commodities.<sup>3</sup> In another study, J. Ross MacKay measured the barrier effect of international and internal boundaries of human interaction in eastern Canada.<sup>4</sup> Such studies as these, however, have been the exception rather than the rule.

### Background

Boundaries have a variety of functions, some obvious, others hidden and indirect; and a number of approaches have been employed by geographers to identify and categorize their effects. Studies of boundaries initially were greatly influenced by the school of natural law and its adversaries. Curzon,<sup>5</sup> Holdich,<sup>6</sup> and Fawcett,<sup>7</sup> among others, express the general attitudes of their generation on the nature and function of boundaries. "Good" boundaries were those that acted as barriers against foreign invasion; thus "natural" or physiographic boundaries were deemed the most desirable. In opposition to these ideas were those of Lyde, who viewed boundaries as salutary zones of contact, where people met and mingled.<sup>8</sup> This debate, with its rather subjective foundations, permeated boundary studies until the 1930's

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<sup>3</sup>August Lösch, The Economics of Location (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954).

<sup>4</sup>J. Ross MacKay, "The Interactance Hypothesis and Boundaries in Canada," Canadian Geographer, 11 (1958), p. 1-8.

<sup>5</sup>Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Frontiers, The Roman Lectures, Oxford, 1907.

<sup>6</sup>T. H. Holdich, Political Frontiers and Boundary Making, (London, 1916).

<sup>7</sup>C. B. Fawcett, Frontiers. A Study in Political Geography, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918).

<sup>8</sup>L. W. Lyde, Some Frontiers of Tomorrow: An Aspiration for Europe (London: A and C Black, 1915).

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Attempts by geographers to classify boundaries resulted in a morphological and a genetic approach. An ordering based on morphological criteria produced such groups as physiographic boundaries (i.e., a boundary following mountains, rivers, deserts, etc.), anthropogeographic boundaries (i.e., a boundary following ethnic, linguistic or religious lines), and geometric boundaries (i.e., straight line or arcuate boundaries). In 1936, Hartshorne proposed a genetic approach, based upon the degree of development of the cultural landscape at the time the boundary was established.<sup>9</sup> Thus, an antecedent boundary is a boundary that has preceded the development of most of the features of the cultural landscape; whereas a subsequent boundary is established following the occupation and settlement of a region. A superimposed boundary is one imposed upon an existing cultural landscape, and a relic boundary is one that no longer exists but whose effects can still be recognized in certain elements of the cultural landscape.

In 1945, Stephen B. Jones published a significant work dealing with the techniques of boundary making.<sup>10</sup> This work stressed the unique character of every boundary and prescribed separate and individual study for each case. A recent survey of case studies undertaken shows that these have focused upon the developed world, almost to the exclusion of the emerging states such as those of

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<sup>9</sup>Richard Hartshorne, "Suggestions on the Terminology of Political Boundaries," Abstract, Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 26 (March, 1936), p. 56.

<sup>10</sup>Jones, op. cit.

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Stephen B. Jones  
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Africa.<sup>11</sup> The lack of work done on political boundaries in the "underdeveloped" world is also noted by Jones who makes an appeal to political geographers to do field work in these areas.<sup>12</sup>

### African Boundaries

The present boundaries of Africa are almost entirely the product of European spheres of influence and administration. Prior to European intrusion an area framework was developing in Africa among the indigenous populations. African tribes and empires were not politically unsophisticated. While much of the tribal territories were unoccupied the frontiers of territories were guarded against intrusion; thus these territories were defined and recognized by the indigenes, if not by the Europeans. The impact of the European and the European boundary framework often ran counter to what was developing indigenously, thereby causing friction and opposition. At the time the European powers divided Africa little attention was paid to tribal frontiers.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Julian V. Minghi, "Boundary Studies in Political Geography," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 53 (1963), pp. 407-428.

The cases undertaken have been classified into one of the following categories:

- (a) Studies of disputed areas.
- (b) Studies of the effect of boundary change.
- (c) Studies of the evolution of boundaries.
- (d) Studies of boundary delimitation and demarcation.
- (e) Studies of exclaves and tiny states.
- (f) Studies of off-shore boundaries
- (g) Studies of boundaries in disputes over natural resources.
- (h) Studies of internal boundaries.

<sup>12</sup>Stephen B. Jones, "Boundary Concepts in the Setting of Place and Time," Annals, Association of American Geographers Vol. 49 (Sept. 1959), p. 243.

<sup>13</sup>Political geographers have attempted to distinguish between frontiers and boundaries. While in the past these words have been used synonymously, they now have taken on a more precise and different meaning. The boundary represents "a line or rather a vertical plane

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Because of the desire for prestige and power, through the effort of patriotic individuals and most certainly through the lack of geographic knowledge, boundaries between European spheres of influence were defined and delimited as geometric, or elsewhere, following known physiographic lines. Only in rare instances were ethnic transition zones adopted as boundaries by the European powers in delimiting their colonial acquisitions.

The physical environment of Africa is not conducive to establishing physiographic boundaries since there are few linear mountain ranges. However, other physical features such as rivers and drainage area divides have been adopted. Streams and rivers were commonly used as colonial dividing lines. For instance, the Senegal River forms the boundary between Senegal and Mauritania, and the Zambezi River forms the boundary between Rhodesia and Zambia. Other rivers such as the Ruvuma, Cunene, Orange and Congo have been used, in part, as boundaries. The adoption of rivers as boundaries create many problems, among which is the regulation of navigation, irrigation, fisheries, dams, power, and water pollution. The desire on the part of European powers to extend their African territories to acquire access to a river has produced a number of States with prorptions and peculiar shapes. The most noted example is the Caprivi Strip proraption of South West Africa where Germany demanded access to the Zambezi River.<sup>14</sup> The southward extension of Malawi is the result of the British claims to territory along the lower reaches of the Shire River in order to have

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that cuts through the air-space, soil and subsoil of adjacent states." A frontier, however, is a zone with spatial characteristics extending horizontally. See Harm J. deBlj, Systematic Political Geography (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967). Also L.K.D. Kristoff, "The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 49 (1959), p. 269.

<sup>14</sup>deBlj, 1967 Ibid., p. 362.

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access to the Zambezi River.<sup>15</sup> Where drainage area divides have been adopted, difficulties have been created in some areas where the divide is located in a region of low relief, as for example, the boundary between the Central African Republic and the Sudan which is based primarily on the divide between the Congo (Ubangi) and Nile river systems.

A geometric boundary is another type of boundary that has been extensively adopted in Africa. Many of these boundaries pass through uninhabited areas, such as deserts and lakes, as in the straight line boundary between Niger and Algeria located in the Sahara. Occasionally a geometric boundary passes through a populated area such as the boundary between Togo and Dahomey. The apparent disregard for tribal frontiers and boundaries is well illustrated in Figure 1, which shows boundaries cutting through major ethnic groups of Nigeria.

The imposition by Europeans of a territorial framework upon established patterns of occupation, whether sedentary or shifting, created in certain instances cultural dislocation and social change. With this imposition a new pattern of life was etched on the landscape and with the passing of time the boundaries have entrenched themselves deeply into the cultural landscape. Because political boundaries were imposed upon existing patterns of occupation spatial reorganization occurred.

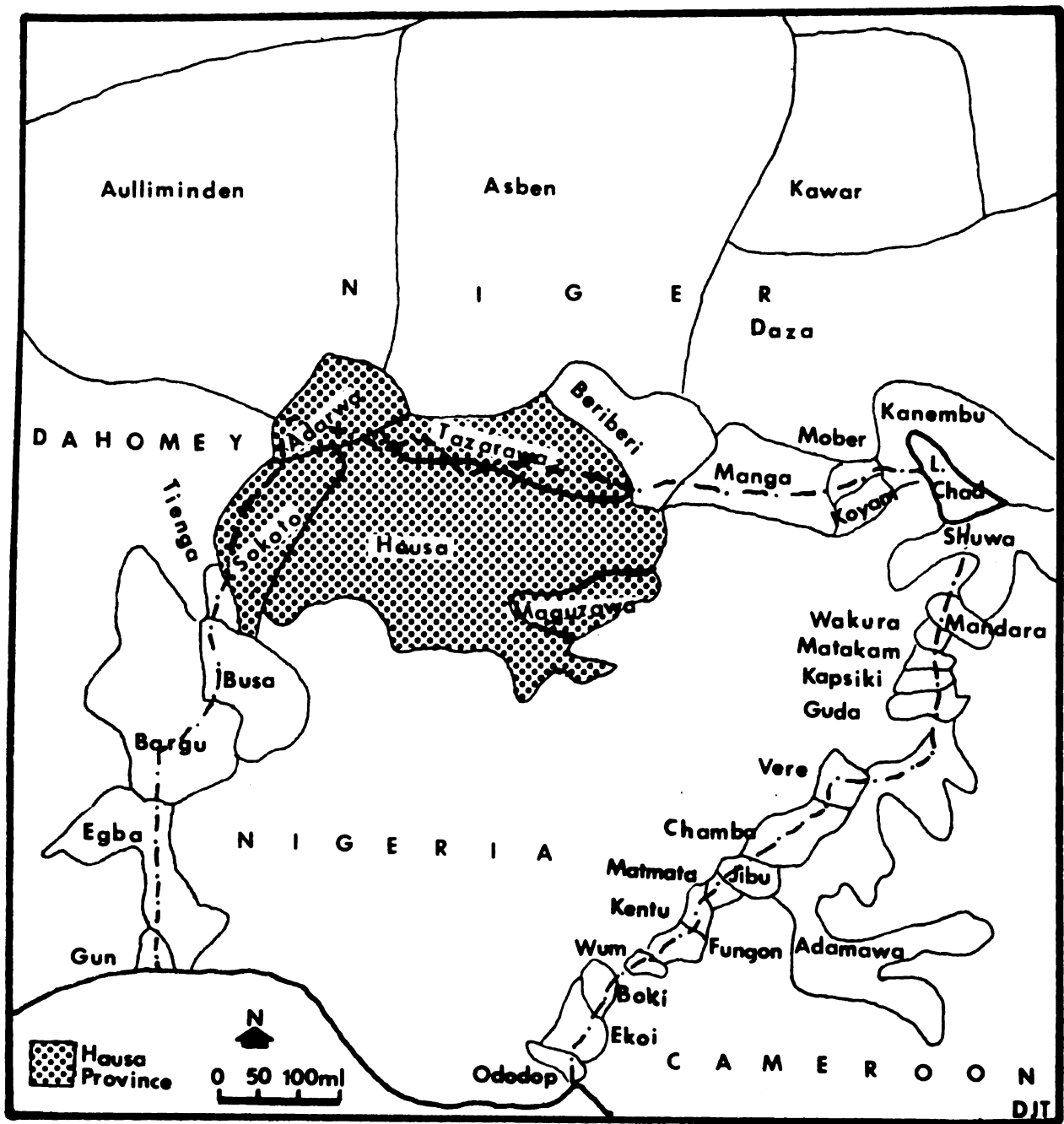
Experience and education under the colonial powers prepared the territories, to varying degrees, for a different kind of independence from that which existed prior to the European invasion. The rapid change from colonial status to independence over the last decade has

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<sup>15</sup>Robert D. Hodgson and E. A. Stoneman, The Changing Map of Africa (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964), p. 68.



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**TRIBAL TERRITORIES of NIGERIA  
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reshaped the political map of Africa. Boundaries established and held in place by the European powers have attained a permanence that has persisted even after the expulsion of the colonial powers. Thus, the area framework imposed upon the indigenous tribal societies has changed very little since the advent of independence.<sup>16</sup>

The dynamic nature of Africa's political climate has produced a set of entirely new circumstances among which is the introduction of new stresses on the familiar boundary framework of the continent. Intense nationalism leads to a jealous guarding of national territories. The potential for boundary friction and disputes will increase as some of the new nations attempt to demarcate their boundaries. Landlocked States desiring an access to the sea will possibly create considerable stress upon the present boundary framework.

Present-day Africa is in some respects analogous to Latin America shortly after 1820. Colonial domination in Latin America created administrative units that were ill-defined; some were landlocked. The consolidation of national territories, and the search for secure access to the oceans led to struggles over frontier areas and intermittent armed hostilities. Friction between Brazil and Argentine over the La Plata region spawned Uruguay and Paraguay as buffer States.

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<sup>16</sup>In only a few instances has there been a transfer of territory and redrawing of political boundaries. British Togoland and the southern part of the British Cameroons, by plebiscite voted to join Ghana and Cameroun, respectively. The British-Italian Somaliland union and the Tanganyika-Zanzibar union are two other cases. With these few exceptions all the emerging States of Africa bear the imprint of their colonial status in their size, shape, and political institutions. Attempts to establish new nations by fragmenting the colonial framework have been met with armed resistance and civil war; for example, the ill-fated Biafra that attempted to secede from Nigeria.

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Imprecise definition or contradictory definition between Chile and Argentine produced wars that lasted into the 20th Century.<sup>17</sup> Friction between Chile and Bolivia throughout the 19th Century was in part attributed to the loss of Bolivia's access to the Pacific.

Certainly Africa has the potential for boundary conflicts and disputes. No other continent has a greater number of landlocked States. Before independence disputes arose between Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo over the nature of boundary definition through mineral rich areas in the Katanga region. Since independence some boundary disputes have intensified to the point where open conflict occurs; for example the Somali-Kenya boundary dispute presently being negotiated has created a depopulated borderland due to the armed hostilities. While it is impossible to predict accurately Africa's future, the analogy with Latin America is striking. However there are some important differences. Latin America had been under European control for a period of almost three centuries and the boundaries resulted from the fragmentation of the Vice-Royalties, the main colonial administrative units. The result of three centuries of European occupation drastically changed the ethnic make-up of Latin America such that the indigenous population in most States form a minority group. These conditions do not prevail in Africa, for no State has a European or mixed majority. A period of approximately 60 years colonial domination has not diminished significantly the indigenous tribal affiliations and loyalties. Finally the situation in Africa is further aggravated by international boundaries dividing indigenous groups, thereby creating a threat of irredentism--a threat that was largely absent in Latin America.

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<sup>17</sup>A. R. Hinks, "Notes on the Techniques of Boundary Delimitation," Geographical Journal, Vol. 58, pp. 417-43.

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18. J. H. Greenberg,  
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19. J. H. Greenberg and  
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The nature of the borderlands is one of many variables to be considered in determining whether the existing area framework will persist or whether new boundaries will be prescribed. Since the boundary located within the borderlands is theoretically the point of contact between differing judicial, economic and social systems, an analysis of the spatial interaction within the borderlands will reveal the stability of the boundary.

#### STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Although the peoples of Africa speak hundreds of languages and language is one of the keystones of national existence, there are some languages of regional significance in Africa which have historical and national strength. One of these is Swahili that is important in East Africa, another is Hausa in West Africa. Hausa is one of the major languages of West Africa and is classified as a member of the Chadic group of the Afro-Asiatic family of languages.<sup>18</sup> The majority of Hausa speaking peoples (numbering over six million) reside in Northern Nigeria and southern Niger. (See Figure 1.) The Hausa peoples are not a homogenous ethnic group but rather a diverse population united only in a common language.<sup>19</sup> In the past the Hausa exerted considerable influence over much of West Africa as itinerant traders and merchants. This influence is reflected in the fact that the Hausa language is often regarded as a lingua franca of the Sudan region of West Africa and is spoken as a second language by as many as ten million people.

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<sup>18</sup>J. H. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1963).

<sup>19</sup>S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 82.

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The core area of the Hausa speaking peoples is made up of the seven Emirates of Northern Nigeria.<sup>20</sup> While these States frequently warred with one another, even after the Fulani conquest in the early 19th Century, there were established patterns of trade that had developed. The Hausa States gained early prominence due to their advantageous location at the terminus of the trans-Saharan trade route that flourished in the pre-European era. The result of European intrusion, colonial rule and differential modernization has diminished the influence of the Hausa and apparently divided them.

The focus of this study is upon the Niger-Nigeria borderlands and the effect that the boundary has had upon the spatial organization of the Hausa. It is the purpose of this study to develop a paradigm for the analysis of superimposed and colonial boundaries and the effect they have had upon the indigenous populations. Utilizing the suggested paradigm a study of the Niger-Nigeria borderlands is undertaken.

#### METHOD OF APPROACH

Boundary studies presently available reveal a limited methodological orientation, and a methodology of boundary research cannot be said to exist as such. All of the methods of data acquisition hitherto developed have been used; the research commenced with a period of intensive library research. This research for primary data was conducted first in the Public Records Office, Commonwealth Library,

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<sup>20</sup>The seven original Emirates of Northern Nigeria (or Hausa Bakwai) are the Emirates of Daura, Katsina, Gobir, Kano, Rano and Zaria. There is some conjecture about the seventh Emirate, however, the Emirate of Biram is most frequently referred to as one of the original Hausa States. Ibid.

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In Paris, France, the following repositories were visited: The Bibliotheque Nationale, Bibliothèque Africaine et Malagache, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères-Service des Archives et de la Documentation, Ministère de la France D'Outre Mer, and the Ministère de la Co-operation. In Dakar, Senegal, data were gathered at the Archives Nationales, and also the National Archives in Ibadan and Kaduna, Nigeria, were researched. Finally, the Centre d'Etudes Nigerienne in Niamey, Niger, was visited.

Field research for the study was limited primarily to the international boundary bordering Katsina Province, Nigeria. The techniques used included direct observation, interviewing and surveys. In addition large-scale maps were used to record present-day patterns of trade and migration, the involvement of cross-boundary villages and towns in the system of periodic markets, observable traffic goods flow across the border and other features of the boundary region. Nigerian customs records showing the movement of traffic were also used to determine the magnitude and reasons for cross-boundary movement.

### Organization of the Study

The primary objective of this thesis is an analysis of the Niger-Nigeria borderlands and the influence the boundary has had upon the indigenous population within the frontier zone. The study is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter is a brief introduction to boundary studies in political geography, a summary statement on African boundaries and the statement of problem. Chapter Two will introduce a model for the analysis of colonial and superimposed boundaries. The third chapter will focus on an introduction to the

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Niger-Nigeria borderlands and will delimit the area under consideration. This chapter will include a discussion of the physical geography of the borderlands and will set the stage for a study of man's activities within the area. Chapter Four will deal with the historical background and reconstruct the pre-colonial traditional patterns. Special emphasis will be focused upon the distribution of ethnic groups, the political areal functional organization and the traditional patterns of trade and circulation. Chapter Five will deal with the events leading to the European domination of the borderlands. An analysis of the evolution of the boundary will be made in order to assess the nature of the boundary and degree of stress upon the borderland inhabitants. The resulting spatial reorganization caused by the boundary and differing colonial administrations will be discussed in terms of population migration, settlement patterns, circulation and trade. The sixth chapter will focus upon the contemporary patterns within the Maradi-Zinder-Katsina region. The cross-boundary movement of population and vehicles will be surveyed and interpreted. The problem of access to the ocean in relationship to Niger will also be discussed in this chapter. Finally, Chapter Seven summarizes the findings and conclusions of the research undertaken.

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## CHAPTER II

### A PARADIGM FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SUPERIMPOSED BOUNDARIES

#### INTRODUCTION

A general lack of theory in boundary studies exists. Theories that do exist apply principally to the industrially developed areas of the world where most case studies have been done. It is not at all certain that the existing stresses or the solutions to boundary problems in the developed world are relevant in the developing world. A theoretical framework is needed for the study of nations in the "underdeveloped" world where boundaries have been superimposed or are the product of outside influences. What is undertaken in this study is the development of a paradigm for the analysis of superimposed boundaries, a paradigm that takes into consideration variables peculiar to former colonial countries where the European concepts of territoriality have been imposed upon alien indigenous populations.

The suggested paradigm demonstrates a time-space relationship. By proceeding through time the political processes at play during a specific period produce certain spatial patterns. Three time periods are recognized: the traditional or pre-colonial period, the period of colonial domination, and the post-colonial period. Colonial policies and boundary imposition created conflicts involving social change and cultural dislocation. The resolution of such conflicts lay in a spatial

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reorganization producing new patterns of circulation, political organization and economic ties. Since the post-colonial period began the nations have been faced with internal problems.<sup>1</sup> Once internal problems are resolved attention might possibly be turned to the borderlands where boundary redemarcation will be undertaken with the potentiality for boundary disputes.

#### PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD: TRADITIONAL PATTERNS

In order to determine the influence of a superimposed boundary upon an indigenous population it is necessary to reconstruct the pre-existing patterns. The traditional patterns are viewed as a product of the unit of organization (i.e., the social, political and economic structure of the traditional society) and the pattern of circulation (i.e., the flow of goods, people, ideas and their spatial interaction).

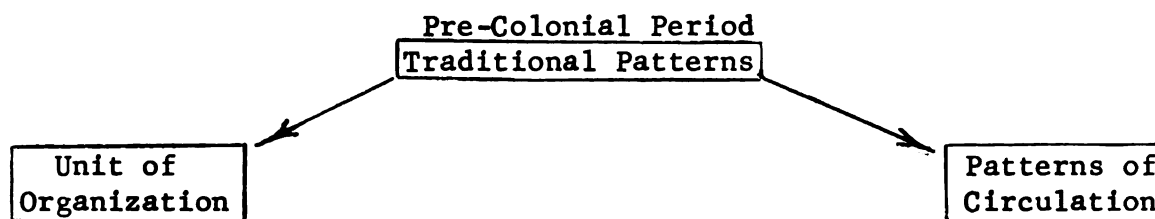


Figure 2

#### PRE-COLONIAL PATTERNS

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<sup>1</sup>The problem of redrawing internal boundaries has in some instances proven to be a much greater threat to peace and stability than the problem of international boundaries. Nigeria's search for a more equitable solution to its problems of unification resulted in the redrawing of its internal boundaries. The dividing of the Eastern region into three states in effect precipitated Nigeria's civil war.

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### Unit of Organization

Boundaries in the European concept of territoriality represent the outer limits of a State's sovereignty.<sup>2</sup> Yet frequently the European concept of territoriality was in conflict with traditional ideas of the indigenous cultures where the European had intruded. In many cases traditional societies did not establish precise boundaries. In fact, the demarcation of exact boundaries, with a few exceptions, is a European phenomenon and was not possible until the sciences of geodesy, surveying and cartography had developed sufficiently to demarcate such boundaries on the landscape. For boundaries to be precisely fixed, the adjacent countries were technically limiting the extent of their sovereignty and reciprocally agreed to the recognition of the other country's authority within the limits of their defined territory. In the European concept of territoriality, the territory is a well defined area of the earth's surface with specific boundaries.

While all groups of people recognize a portion of the earth's surface as belonging to their particular group and consequently guard it against trespassing, not all territory is so well defined and demarcated as it is in the European sphere.<sup>3</sup> The most common form of territorial expression has been where the two opposing groups or States have been separated by a zone or frontier. This form was quite common in Africa and with the spread of colonialism these indigenous

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<sup>2</sup>A. O. Cukwurah, The Settlement of Boundary Disputes in International Law (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).

<sup>3</sup>For discussion on the territorial imperative see Robert Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1966).

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Within the territory, whether bounded by precisely determined boundaries or zones of separation, each society carries out the functions of government. The study of traditional political activities in terms of areas, functions and organizations,<sup>4</sup> becomes important in the determination of the influence of colonial boundaries upon traditional political organization within borderland areas. Depending upon the size of the territory there is usually a hierarchy of political organizations which has jurisdiction over certain areas of the territory and delegated powers from the central government.

Quite often the traditional political areal functional organization remained intact and was adopted by the colonial power to control colonial acquisitions. Such was the case in Northern Nigeria with the adoption of "indirect rule" by the British. Even the French adopted a similar policy in southern Niger although the impress of colonial authority was more clearly evident in French territories.

The economic organization of the traditional society is also a vital part of the unit of organization. How the society is organized in terms of land, labor and production are important considerations in determining the effects of a superimposed boundary upon the economic life of the borderland inhabitants. Discussion of such economic activities leads to a consideration of traditional markets and trade, which are variables of significance in the patterns of circulation.

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<sup>4</sup>Robert H. Brown, Political Areal Functional Organization (Chicago: Department of Geography, University of Chicago, 1957), Research Paper #51, p. 1.

# Types of Circulation

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geography, Vol. X

### Patterns of Circulation

The movement of people and goods within the traditional unit of organization must be considered since the imposition of a boundary can quite often hinder this movement. The movement of people can be viewed in terms of voluntary or forced movement. Voluntary movement is the movement of people engaged in economic activity either locally or extraterritorially, or perhaps the migration of indigenous nomadic groups. Forced movement of people is the captivity and relocation of populations through slave-raiding. Since slavery was an important institution in many societies, the expansion of colonial rule brought a halt to this activity and quite often had serious repercussions.

The construction of trade patterns and the goods exchanged must be attempted in order to ascertain how colonial boundaries and colonial domination interrupted these patterns, if at all. There is an interdependence between the unit of organization and the patterns of circulation. The unit of organization, through the political and economic functions, influences the patterns of circulation. Likewise the patterns of circulation or movement can have an influence upon the unit of organization.<sup>5</sup> Since very few, if any, societies are

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<sup>5</sup>The concept of circulation or the movement factor in relationship to its influence upon the political partitioning of the world was first suggested by Jean Gottman. The French world circulation involves much more than the simple movement of goods and people but also the movement over space of ideas, innovations, capital, messages, etc., that can bring about either change or stability within the State. See Jean Gottman, La Politique des Etats et Leur Geographie (Paris: Armand Colin, 1952), Chapter 8.

See also Jean Gottman, "Political Partitioning of Our World: An Attempt at Analysis," World Politics, Vol. IV (1952), pp. 512-519.

In another work that sought to establish a systematic basis for political geography, Stephen B. Jones identified movement as one of the key factors in any political decision. See Stephen B. Jones, "A Unified Field Theory of Political Geography," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. XLIV (1954), pp. 111-123.

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#### COLONIAL

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<sup>6</sup>J. R. V. Prescott  
published Ph.D. Thesi

completely isolated, culture contacts can produce changes in the unit of organization.

#### COLONIAL PERIOD: IMPOSED PATTERNS

The establishment of the traditional spatial patterns was the result of the gradual evolution over centuries of time. As already mentioned, precise boundaries were not the most common form of territorial demarcations. Instead, traditional units of organization were most frequently separated by indigenous frontiers. The arrival of the European with his concepts of territoriality and the necessity for the demarcation of boundaries produced an unconformity in the gradual evolution of indigenous frontiers.<sup>6</sup> It is possible to assume that had the traditional units of organization been permitted to evolve, the indigenous frontiers may have given way to the establishment of boundaries. Indeed several of the African States were moving in this direction prior to the European intrusion.

Moving through time to the colonial period, the pre-existing patterns, to a limited degree, influenced the decision-making of the colonial powers in defining a boundary. Decisions were made in regard to the nature, rate of development, and functions of the boundary. (See Figure 3.) Ideally in order to establish the "best" boundary, political, economic, social and ethnic interests of the indigenes should have been considered; but in many instances these factors were ignored or unknown, and the colonial powers were obliged to integrate diverse ethnic groups into a territorial framework of their own design.

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<sup>6</sup>J. R. V. Prescott, The Evolution of Nigeria's Boundaries, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, London, 1961, p. 26.

Pre-Confidential Period

Traditional Patterns

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Imposed Patterns

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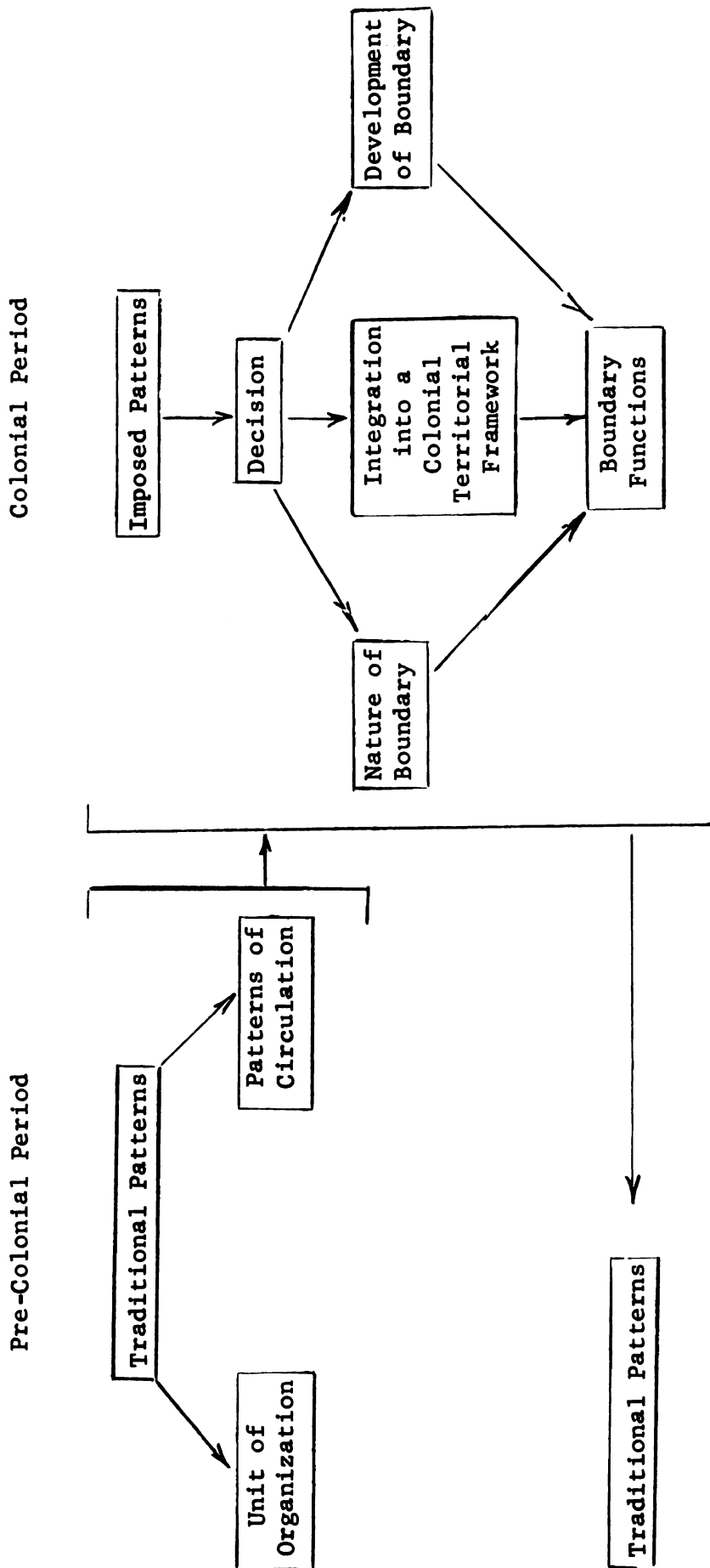


Figure 3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND IMPOSED PATTERNS

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### Decision-Making Environment

An analysis of the reasons that led to the establishment of colonial boundaries, and the conditions under which each boundary was established, are important in understanding the present-day territorial framework. The most obvious reason for the establishment of boundaries was to reduce the threat of conflict. Diplomatic correspondence, boundary proposals and counter-proposals reveal the keen competition between the European powers in attempting to acquire as much territory as possible at the expense of their rival.

Nature of the boundary. Decisions between colonial powers were reached in regard to the nature of the boundary to be adopted. By nature of the boundary is meant the criteria to be used in defining the boundary. Thus colonial powers had to decide on whether to define the boundary in terms of physiographic, anthropogeographic or geometric factors. In many instances these decisions were made at conference tables in metropolitan capitals far removed from the areas involved and all too often with very little information on the local conditions. Quite often the initial allocation of territory was decided in terms of geometric lines in which rival European powers had a sphere of influence on their side of the boundary.

The geometric nature of these primary boundaries reflected the desire of the European powers to reach a speedy settlement. Until States had secured firm title to lands it was difficult to encourage the metropolitan governments or traders to invest in the exploitation of the resources of the colony.<sup>7</sup> As additional information became

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

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Survey Demarcation C  
1914, p. 649.

available periodic adjustments and transfer of territory occurred before the final territorial framework was established.

Development of the boundary. The development of the boundary refers to its evolution through the stages of definition, delimitation and demarcation. The initial stage of boundary development is to describe and define it verbally by treaty. Following the definition by treaty the boundary is then delimited on a map of the largest scale available.<sup>8</sup> The haphazard way of defining and delimiting the initial boundaries in Africa is well illustrated in the following remarks by Sir Claude MacDonald on the delimitation of the Anglo-German boundary between Nigeria and Cameroun:

In those days we just took a blue pencil and a rule, and we put it down at Old Calabar, and drew that blue line up at Yola. . . . This was in 1889, and the same year I was sent by my old chief, the late Lord Salisbury . . . as far as Yola. I recollect thinking, when I was sitting with the Emir, surrounded by his tribe, that it was a very good thing that he did not know that I, with a blue pencil had drawn a line through his territory. The following year I was sent to Berlin to endeavour to get from the German authorities some sort of modification or rectification of the blue line . . . the instructions I received was to grab as much as I could. I was also provided . . . with the only map . . . a naval chart! It had all the soundings of the sea very carefully marked out, but the whole of the sheet was white! There was certainly one thing there and that was a beautiful river called the Akpayaff which started near the Calabar River and meandered for about 800 miles on the map. It was about the size of the Amazon, and the idea was that that was to be the boundary. . . . When we came to close quarters with the Akpayaff river we found there was no such river. There was a river, but so far from being 700 miles long it was only about 3 1/2.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Harm J. deBlij, Systematic Political Geography (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), p. 203.

<sup>9</sup>W. V. Nugent, "Geographical Results of the Nigeria-Kamerun Boundary Demarcation Commission of 1912-1913," Geographical Journal, Vol. 43, 1914, p. 649.

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As this quotation so well illustrates cartographic representation was generally inadequate to allow governments to agree on clear boundary delimitations. Invariably when the boundary commission arrived in the area to survey the boundary and establish boundary monuments imaginary features proved to be non-existent and caused subsequent boundary negotiations to be extremely complicated. When boundaries are demarcated a description of the precise location of the boundary markers is compiled. A necessary part of demarcation is the provision for periodic boundary inspection and maintenance.<sup>10</sup> The maintenance of boundary monuments in Africa has proven to be extremely difficult not only due to rapid deterioration by climate but also by destruction by wild animals and the general disregard for boundary markers by the indigenous population.<sup>11</sup>

Boundary functions. All international boundaries serve at least one function--to mark the extent of a State's sovereignty. In the case of superimposed boundaries in Africa, these boundaries served to delimit the extent of colonial jurisdiction. Initially boundaries

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<sup>10</sup>For an example see Appendix E which gives a precise description of the location of every boundary monument of the Niger-Nigerian boundary and also provides for periodic inspection.

<sup>11</sup>A recent compilation of boundary demarcation in Africa indicates that as a general rule those states that had rival colonial powers adjacent to them have at one time had their boundaries demarcated. However, where a boundary was established simply to facilitate colonial administration by a single colonial power, boundary demarcation was not thought necessary and such boundaries have only been delimited. For example, all the new States of Former French West Africa, where their countries are adjacent to each other boundaries are delimited (e.g., Niger-Mali). See Anthony S. Reyner, "Length and Status of International Boundaries in Africa," African Studies Bulletin, Vol. X, 1967, p. 6.

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were established by the colonial powers to lay claim to firm title of the land so that the colonial power could trade and control the area without the threat of competition from other European powers. Quite often colonial boundaries served only a single function--to designate the extent of colonial jurisdiction and thus to separate colonial powers. When the boundary served only this one function there was usually very little interference in the lives of the people in the borderland areas. As the boundary took on additional functions such as defense and commercial functions, a barrier effect was established. Different laws relating to tariffs, land ownership and taxation could cause considerable stress to the borderland inhabitants way of life and bring about social change and cultural dislocation.

The stress continuum of boundary imposition. The degree of stress upon the traditional patterns is dependent upon four main factors. The nature of the boundary, the number of functions applied at the boundary, the colonial policies adopted in the borderlands and the cohesiveness of the ethnic group through which the boundary has been drawn.

A continuum illustrating the degree of stress resulting from the superimposition of a boundary can be constructed. Maximum stress producing conflict would be where the tribal territory was divided by a colonial boundary and where multi-boundary functions were enforced by the colonial powers. (See Figure 4.)

Such a boundary, established without regard for traditional patterns would produce severe dislocation. A boundary that would not have such drastic consequences would involve a colonial boundary dividing a tribal group and functioning solely in an administrative



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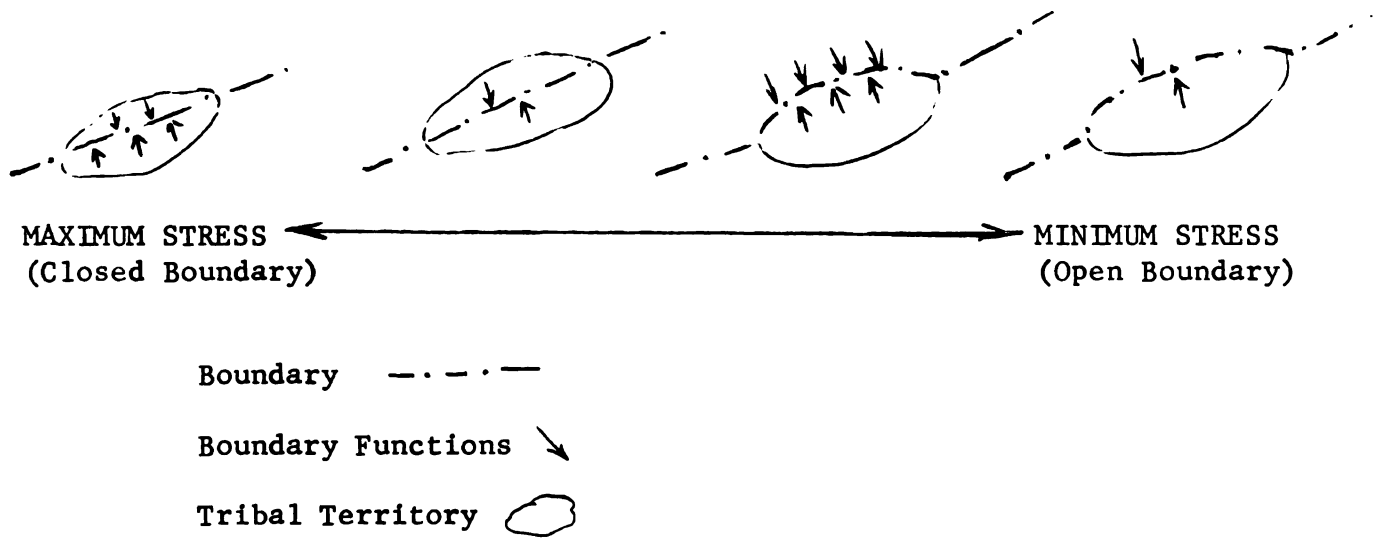


Figure 4

## STRESS CONTINUUM OF BOUNDARY SUPERIMPOSITION

manner to separate colonial powers. The division of a tribal group by two different colonial powers would produce considerable stress despite the boundary's single function. In this instance the differing colonial policies adopted within the borderlands and the cohesiveness of the group are vital factors in determining the degree of stress and threat of conflict. Sometimes differences in colonial labor practices, taxes and tariffs can encourage the movement of people and goods from one side of the boundary to the other, leading the territory from which the flight is occurring to apply measures to arrest the depopulation of its borderlands. By policing the boundary and establishing customs points the boundary takes on additional functions producing a situation of maximum stress.

In both these instances a geometric boundary would have the most severe consequences since a boundary of this type has less chance

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of conforming to traditional patterns of movement and circulation. If on the other hand the boundary were to follow physical features such as a river or a mountain range (assuming that the tribal territory extended across the river or mountain) the interruption would not be quite so severe since these features can form an interruption to the patterns of circulation.

Where the colonial powers have taken into consideration indigenous frontiers and boundaries, and established a boundary to conform with the traditional territorial limits, the resulting stress and dislocation has not been as great. More problems are created where the boundary has more functions than where the boundary has fewer functions. In the case of the latter, a situation of minimum stress is created. However, here again differing colonial policies can create problems and each boundary has to be viewed in terms of its own unique characteristics and circumstances.

#### Resolution of Stress

The superimposition of a boundary creates varying degrees of stress. The degree of stress is dependent upon the combination of the various factors already discussed, the nature of the boundary, its function, colonial policies and group cohesiveness. The resolution of stress lies in a spatial reorganization and sociation.<sup>12</sup> (See Figure 5.) Without a change in the attitudes and the acceptance of new ideas spatial reorganization would not have been possible.

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<sup>12</sup>Sociation is the amalgamation of new ideas and beliefs which are combined with the older ones. (See Fred G. Burke, Africa's Quest for Order (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 1-7.

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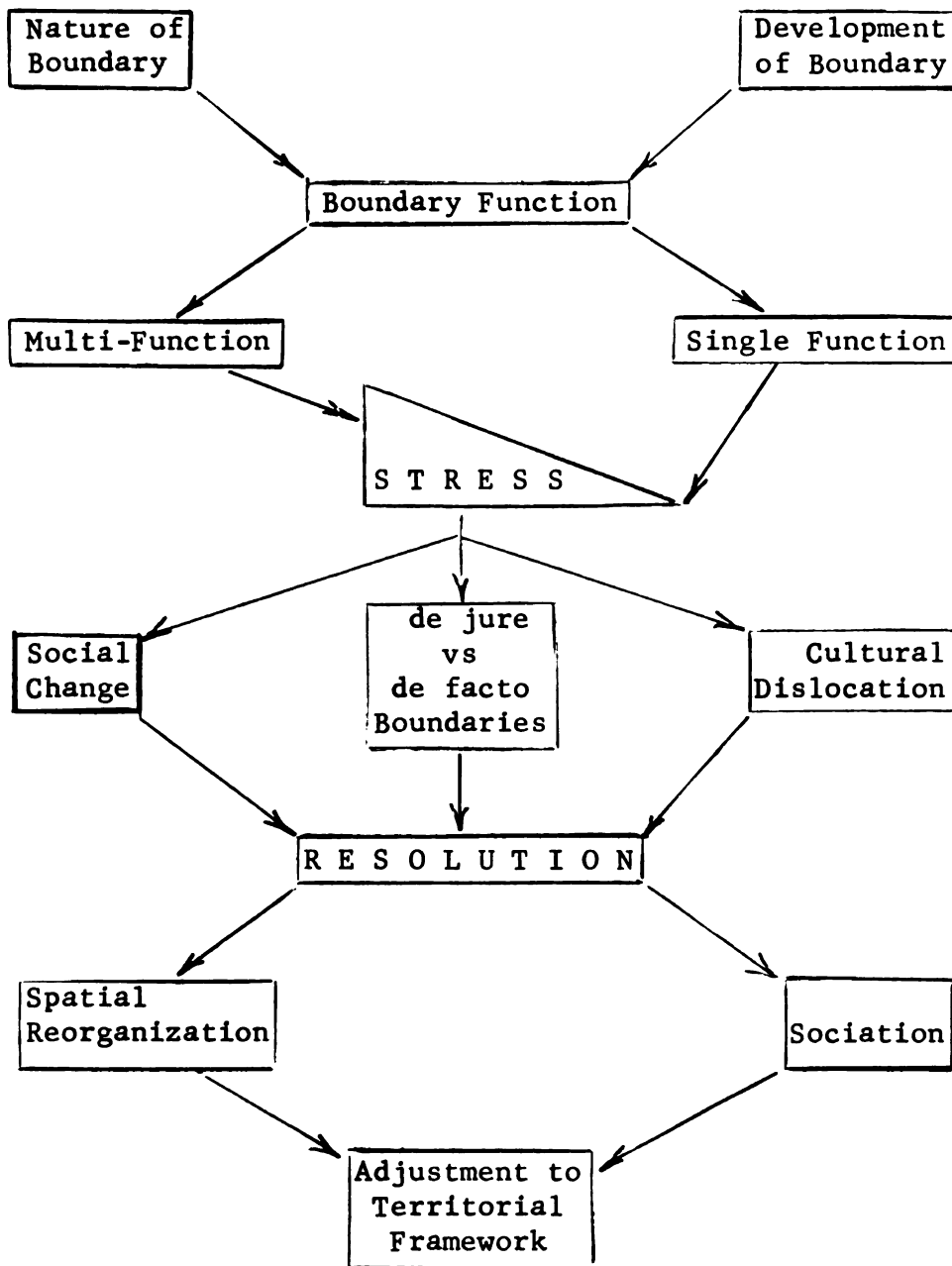


Figure 5

THE RESOLUTION OF STRESS  
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Where the stress has been so great that open conflict develops, the conflict is usually resolved through agreement or compromise between the colonial powers and the borderland inhabitants or through subordination. Compromise or agreement represents an adjustment of the boundary and a coordinated effort to find an equitable boundary solution. More often, opposition to colonial boundaries was met with force and total subordination of the indigenous borderland inhabitants.

### Spatial Reorganization

In order to adjust to the stress of colonial domination the indigenous populations were compelled to reorganize spatially. This was, and remains, especially true in the borderland areas where the boundary created additional stress to an already difficult situation. Spatial reorganization in the borderlands is expressed in various ways, through migration, reorganization of settlement and agricultural patterns, reorientation of trade and circulation patterns and reorganization of the political structure.

Migration. The movement of peoples is a common occurrence when a boundary is demarcated on the landscape. The reasons for migrating vary. Initially when a boundary is superimposed the reason for moving from one side of the boundary to the other may be because of strong family or group ties. Should inequities occur in the borderland area as a result of differing colonial policies, people will move to the side where conditions are most favorable. With the passage of time should one side of the boundary develop economically there might be a movement in search of employment, thus differential modernization can play a role in the decision to migrate.

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Regardless of the reasons for migrating, optional transfer has been the most common form of cross boundary migration. Usually colonial powers made provisions in boundary treaties and agreements that individuals finding themselves in the immediate vicinity of the boundary could choose on which side of the boundary they wished to live. Only in rare instances did colonial powers resort to compulsory transfer. (See Appendix D.)

Settlement patterns. The migration of peoples in borderland areas as a result of boundary superimposition resulted in changes in settlement patterns. Whether a State's frontier was depopulated through migration or gained in population by immigration, reorganization of settlement patterns resulted. Changes in settlement patterns were also brought about by the abolition of slave raiding and ethnic conflict due to an imposed Pax Coloniale.

Urban areas within the borderlands began to take on additional functions. Where cities and towns were located on major routes that led into adjacent territory, colonial powers frequently established customs control points in the urban areas lying close to the boundary.

Economic reorganization. As the colonial powers gained control of their newly acquired possessions they tended to favor an area of the territory by establishing an administrative center within that area. Whether the colonial power created a new administrative center or adopted an existing traditional city as its headquarters, the result was the same--the administrative center became a nucleus for a core area and a focus for economic activity.

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or intensification of a money economy: the need for money to pay taxes resulted in the growing of cash crops, thereby modifying the traditional patterns of agriculture. The eventual result was an economic reorganization and reorientation of activities toward the colonial core areas.

Initially colonies were regarded by their owners as potential markets and the various commercial houses of the colonial powers were active in exploiting colonial subjects. It was not long after European control was exerted that European manufactured goods were in demand in the traditional markets. The development of modern transportation networks--specifically rail and road communications--further disrupted the traditional patterns and brought about changes in economic organization. These developments enabled the outlying borderlands to become tied to the emerging colonial core areas and assisted in integrating the borderlands into the new colonial framework.

Political reorganization. The imposition of colonial rule resulted in changes in the traditional political structure. The degree of change was dependent upon the colonial policy adopted. The most common form adopted by the British government is referred to as "indirect rule" whereby the British ruled through the existing local institutions and forms of government. Such a system of government produced very little disruption in the traditional political and functional organization.

By contrast the French colonial policies of assimilation and association were quite often intolerant of local institutions. Traditional States were often purposefully divided by the French and the traditional rulers became an extension of colonial organization.

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#### Emergence of Colonial Patterns

As a result of the adjustment, through sociation and spatial reorganization, to the stress created by the imposition of colonial rule and colonial boundaries; distinctive colonial patterns began to be imprinted upon the landscape. The overall effect of the decision and differing colonial policies within the borderlands created new spatial patterns that tended to diminish the significance of the traditional patterns and form the basis for the contemporary patterns within the colonial territorial framework. (See Figure 6.)

#### POST-COLONIAL PERIOD: CONTEMPORARY PATTERNS

The post-colonial period has been marked by the increasing pressure of the political force of nationalism. Nationalism acts as a centripetal force that integrates the diverse ethnic groups. The lack of a spirit of nationalism produces centrifugal forces, usually tribal affiliations, that undermine the territorial framework left by the colonial powers. (See Figure 6.) Colonial decisions as to the location of boundaries have been accepted through consensus both internally and externally, presenting the new nations with a territorial framework within which to develop.<sup>13</sup> With the advent of independence the boundaries have become more meaningful, colonial boundaries must now function as international boundaries and have taken on additional functions.

Through the enforcement of boundary functions the impact upon

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<sup>13</sup>External consensus is the recognition of other nations of the inheritance by the newly independent nations of the colonial territorial framework. The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) for example, agreed to the acceptance of boundaries in Africa as defined by the colonial powers.

Pre-Conferral Period

Conferral Period

Post-Conferral Period

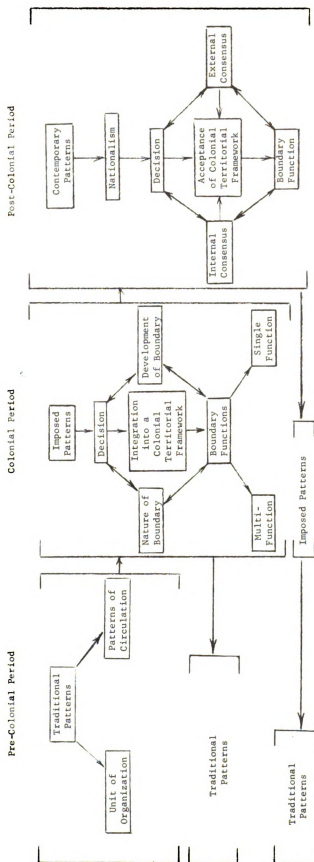


Figure 6

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the borderlands can be either positive or negative. Positively it will integrate the state with the potential for becoming a Nation-State. The negative aspect would be the alienation of the borderlands producing irredentism. (See Figure 7.) The sum total of decisions and policies during the post-colonial period has produced new patterns that tend to diminish the earlier colonial patterns and further erase the traditional patterns.

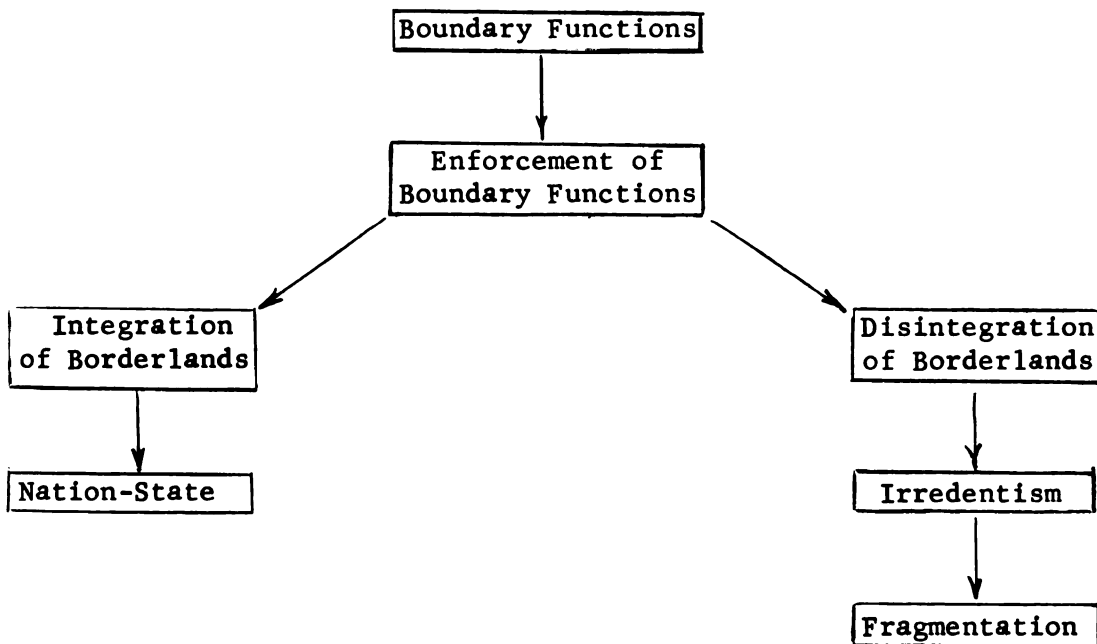


Figure 7

#### ENFORCEMENT OF BOUNDARY FUNCTIONS

The proposed theoretical framework is an attempt to analyze the influence of a superimposed or colonial boundary upon an indigenous population. An attempt has been made to show the most significant variables in modifying the traditional patterns during the colonial period when patterns were imposed. These variables include the decision-making environment when the nature, rate of development and functions

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The focus of this study is upon the Niger-Nigeria borderlands; however, the proposed paradigm has some universality and can be applied to other areas where superimposed boundaries exist. While each boundary has its own particular characteristics, the similarities and generalizations have been drawn together to formulate the proposed paradigm.

## CHAPTER III

### THE NIGER-NIGERIA BORDERLANDS

#### INTRODUCTION

##### Delimitation of the Borderlands

The Niger-Nigeria boundary is approximately 1,036 miles long, and extends from the Niger River at Dole in the west, to Lake Chad in the east. (See Figure 8.) The boundary line between Niger and Nigeria commences at the left bank of the Niger River and strikes north for approximately 60 miles and then turns in a northeasterly direction for 75 miles before turning due east at 13° 13' north latitude.<sup>1</sup> The line then continues in an easterly direction between the 13th and 14th parallels, until it reaches a point 140 miles upstream on the Komadougou Yobe River. The boundary then follows the river to Bosso on the shore of Lake Chad, and extends 21 miles due east into the Lake to Binger Island.<sup>2</sup> The boundary lies approximately 46 miles north of Sokoto, 4 miles south of Birni n'Konni, 15 miles north of Katsina, and 27 miles south of Maradi. Zinder is

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<sup>1</sup>Sir E. Hertslet, The Map of Africa by Treaty (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1908). For a precise description of the boundary see Appendix E..

<sup>2</sup>Historical Section of the Foreign Office, Partition of Africa: British Possessions (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), Vol. XV, #94, p. 1.

Naval Intelligence Handbook, French West Africa (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 348.

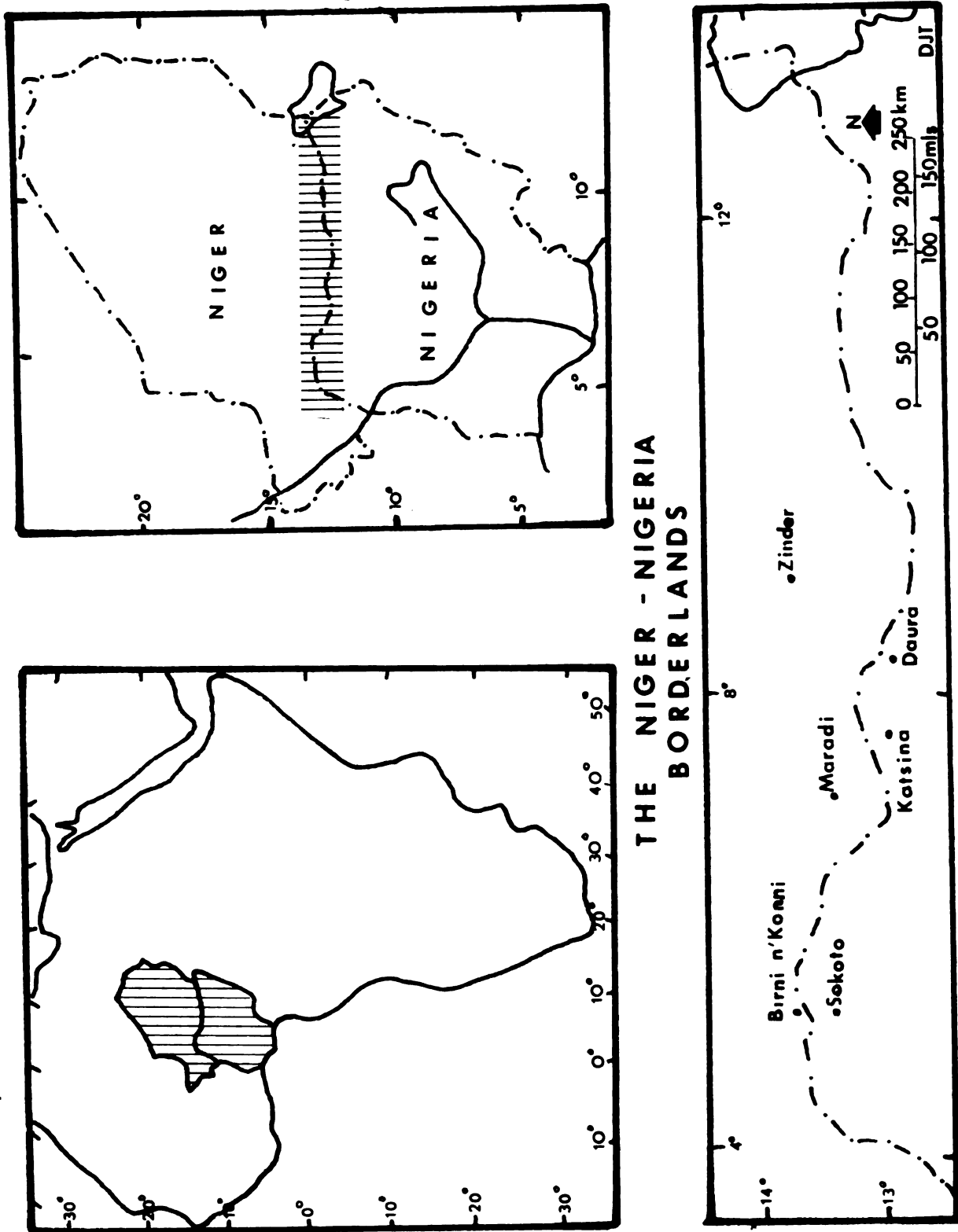


Figure 8

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located 65 miles north of the boundary. The railheads of the Nigerian railroad at Kaura Namoda and Nguru are located 40 miles south and 27 miles south of Niger, respectively.

The borderlands, as defined by this study, are limited to those areas adjacent to the boundary within the Katsina-Magaria-Zinder-Maradi quadrangle. The reasons for limiting the study to this portion of the boundary are several. First, the area along the frontier has the densest population. In the borderland areas of Sokoto and Bornu Provinces, the population is relatively sparse; consequently, less pressure is applied at the boundary in these areas. Second, this area is important for agricultural production, especially the Maradi-Zinder area which produces a large portion of Niger's only export crop--groundnuts. Niger's primary access to the ocean is through Nigeria; consequently, there is considerable cross-boundary movement in this area. Finally because of the population density and export of Niger's cash crop this portion of the boundary is the most closely controlled. Only two customs control points, Kamba and Illela, are located along the international boundary of Sokoto Province, a distance of approximately 360 miles. Along the international boundary of Katsina Province, the three customs control points which have been established within a distance of 110 miles are Jibiya, Kongolom and Zango. For the remaining 660 miles, Nigeria has established only one other customs station, Babban Mutum in Kano Province, located 37 miles east of Zango.

Fieldwork in Nigeria focused on the northern districts of Katsina Province, the districts of Jibiya, Kaita, Mashi, Maiaduwa, Zango, Baure, Daura and Magajin Gari. In Niger the arrondissements of Maradi and Tessaoua of the department of Maradi and the arrondissements

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While fieldwork was conducted primarily in this one area of the borderlands, it is difficult to discuss this area in isolation from adjacent areas. The area of concentration will be placed in the context of the entire Niger-Nigeria boundary; the central concern of the study, however, will be the impact of the boundary upon the Hausa peoples living in the areas adjacent to Katsina Province.

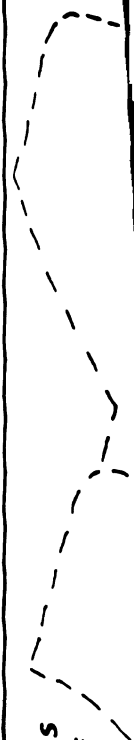
### Physical Landscape

The area through which the Niger-Nigeria boundary runs in the Sudan of West Africa is noted for the uniformity of its physical landscape and climate. Despite this uniformity, an analysis of the borderlands in the microcosm reveals a series of regions, differing in minor aspects. The Niger-Nigeria borderlands can be divided into the following regions from west to east:

1. The Region of the Dallols.
2. The Sokoto Plains.
3. The Plains of Gobir and Maradi.
4. The Granite Plains of Katsina and Damagerim.
5. The Chad Basin. (See Figure 10.)

The Region of the Dallols. This region is located mainly in Niger, just east of the Niger River and was of significance in the early negotiations for the establishment of a boundary between the French and the British. A dallol is a relic dry river valley that has cut into the level plains, and was, during earlier Quaternary times,

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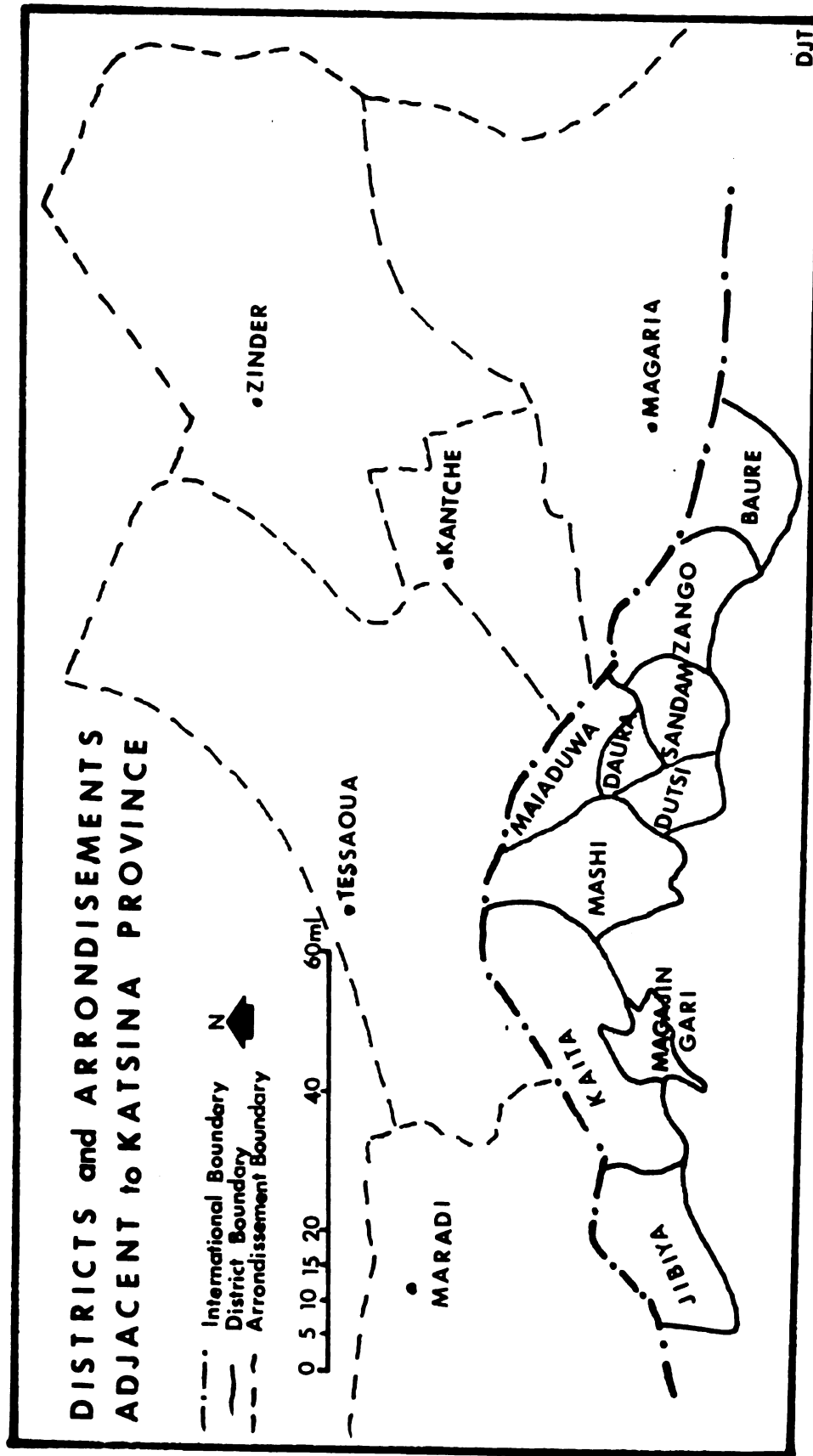


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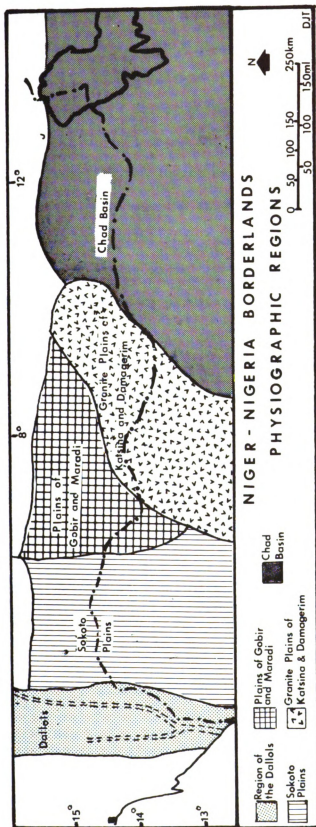


Figure 10

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<sup>3</sup>R. J. Harr  
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<sup>4</sup>Archives N  
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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p.

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an important tributary of the Niger River.<sup>3</sup> There are two important dallols in this region, the Dallol Maouri and Dallol Foga, which are parallel fossil valleys running in a general north-south direction and joining in the vicinity of the village of Gajita, approximately 30 miles (48 kilometres) before entering the Niger River.<sup>4</sup> A third dallol, the Dallol Bosso, is located outside the borderland area.

The Dallol Maouri is the longer of the two dallols, rising in the desert at Azaoua, 160 miles (250 kilometres) north of Dogondoutchi and Mantakari. While the Dallol Foga is much shorter (about 115 miles) it conserves water in a string of salt pools long after the rainy season when there is not a trace of water in the Dallol Maouri after October.<sup>5</sup>

These dallols descending from Aïr and Adar des Iforas, cut the plateau of early Tertiary sedimentary rock (referred to as continental terminal) into numerous scablands of latosolic soils.<sup>6</sup> (See Figure 11.) To the east and west of the dallols minor tributary valleys further

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<sup>3</sup>R. J. Harrison Church, West Africa (London: Longman's, Green and Co., Ltd., 1961), p. 266.

<sup>4</sup>Archives Nationales, Dakar: Government Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française (3.F.13.) Délimitation de la Nigeria-Mission Tího 1907-1908, #21, Rapport #3 du Capitaine Tího à M. le Ministre des Colonies, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>6</sup>Pierre Donaint, Le Niger (Niamey: Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1965), p. 15.

The Continental Terminal is defined by Raymond Furon, The Geology of Africa (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1963), p. 201, as "continental beds deposited after the retreat of the phosphate rich sea (and) have a maximum thickness of about 50 metres. They include argillites, ferruginous oolites, sandstones and sands covered with a ferruginous duricrust."

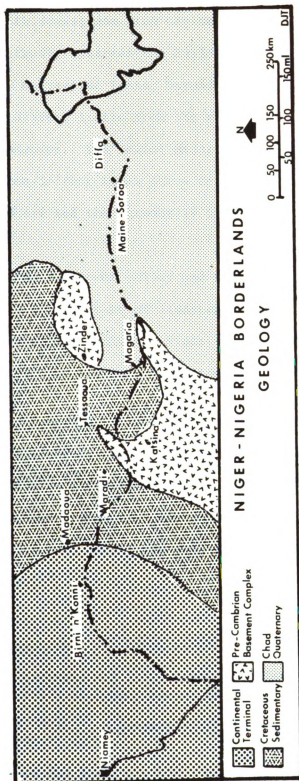


Figure 11

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dissect the terrain. These secondary valleys are fertile and have been utilized for indigenous agriculture.

The width downstream from Gajita is two to three miles (three to five kilometres); upstream the Dallol Foga narrows rapidly to barely 300 yards (400 metres) at Tessa; beyond Tessa the Dallol Foga continues to narrow and differs little from the small valleys that meander across the landscape. The Dallol Maouri on the other hand maintains a width of three to four miles (five to six kilometres) until it is north of Mantakari and then gradually narrows to its source in the region of Afr.<sup>7</sup>

In Nigeria the lower valley and tributary valleys of the Sokoto River produce a similar type of landscape that is found in the neighboring borderland region of Niger. Wide flood plains bounded by steep sides 100 to 200 feet high produce a typical dallol landscape.<sup>8</sup>

The Sokoto Basin. To the east of the region of the dallols is located the monotonously flat plains of the Sokoto Basin. This entire area is a basin of sedimentation and is part of the much larger Chad Basin.<sup>9</sup> These sedimentary rocks are made up of early Cretaceous deposits of limestone, shales and sandstones, and Tertiary deposits of sand and clay.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Mission Tilho, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>8</sup>L. M. Buchanan and J. C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria (London: University of London Press, Ltd.), p. 20.

<sup>9</sup>Harm J. deBlij, A Geography of Sub-Saharan Africa (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Buchanan and Pugh, op. cit., p. 3, 8.

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The monotony of this flat plain is broken north of the international boundary where a hilly region, north of Birni n'Konni is located. In this area the landscape is dotted with small ranges and peaks with the local relief rarely exceeding 240 to 300 feet (70 to 100 metres). In altitude the entire region is relatively uniform, being inclined in a northerly direction. The altitude at Sokoto is 1,000 feet (300 metres), Birni n'Konni is approximately 900 feet (270 metres), Illela is 1,032 feet (313 metres), and Tahoua is 1,250 feet (380 metres). Most of the streams and their tributaries, including the Sokoto River north of Sokoto, are intermittent with water flowing in their valleys for three months in the year.<sup>11</sup> During the rainy season playa lakes are formed at such places at Kalmalo, Sokkoey, Kourfea, Dossey and Kaffee.<sup>12</sup>

The Plains of Gobir and Maradi. To the east of the region of the Sokoto Plains, east of Madaoua extending as far as Tessaoua, there is an extensive sandy plain.<sup>13</sup> The plains are, for the most part, uninhabited except for the population concentrations located in the valleys or goulbis.<sup>14</sup> Within the region of the borderlands the topography, consisting primarily of upper Cretaceous sediments, has been cut by many wide valleys, the most prominent of which are the Goulbi n'Maradi and Goulbi n'Kaba.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>12</sup>Mission Tilho, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>13</sup>Harrison Church, op. cit., p. 266-267.

<sup>14</sup>A goulbi is the local name for seasonal rivers that cut into the plains of Gobir and Maradi. The word goulbi has gained acceptance in French geographical literature dealing with this area and will be used in this study.

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The Goulbi n'Maradi rises in Nigeria southwest of Katsina and flows north into Niger. North of the town of Maradi, the goulbi turns in an arc and recrosses the boundary just northeast of Sabon-Birni. North of Sabon-Birni the Goulbi n'Maradi joins Goulbi n'Bunsuru of Nigeria and forms the Rima River.<sup>15</sup> Further downstream the Goulbi n'Kaba joins the Rima River after rising in the region north of Tessaoua, Niger. The Goulbi n'Kaba flows in an arc (50 kilometres) north of the town of Maradi and crosses the international boundary in the vicinity of Kourauma.

With the exception of the goulbis and their tributaries which dissect the plains, the Plains of Gobir and Maradi are monotonously flat with a gentle incline from the northeast to the southwest. Maradi is at an elevation of 1,220 feet (370 metres) and Tessaoua 1,320 feet (400 metres), indicating this gentle incline.

The Granite Plains of Katsina and Damagarim. The southern limit of the plains of Maradi and Gobir is the granitic outcroppings in the region of Katsina. These outcroppings extend north to Zinder and Gouré, in the region known as Damagarim. These outcroppings of the Basement Complex are the first and only outcropping to occur in the borderlands region.

This area represents a northern extension of the High Plains of Hausaland of Nigeria, and is an area of uplift consisting of granites, schists, gneiss and quartzite.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Donaint, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>16</sup>Buchanan and Pugh, op. cit., p. 18.  
Furon, op. cit., p. 205.

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The surface is generally flat with crystalline rocks being exposed from beneath the Cretaceous sediments and sands.<sup>17</sup>

The granite plateau is cut by numerous valleys many of them without water even during the wet season. The altitude of these granite plains is 1,420 to 1,580 feet (430 to 480 metres) and is higher than the surrounding regions. These granite plains form a water divide between the Niger River system and the inland drainage basin of Lake Chad. To the west of a line drawn just east of Tessaoua, Niger, to Mashi, Nigeria, the waters of the rivers ultimately drain into the Niger River. East of the line, rivers such as the Hadejia, form tributaries to the Komadougou Yobe River which eventually drains into Lake Chad.<sup>18</sup>

The Chad Basin. East of the Granite Plains of Katsina and Damagarim is an extensive lowland plains area that forms part of the inland drainage area of Lake Chad. This depressed basin consists of a vast featureless plain composed primarily of Quaternary lacustrine deposits.<sup>19</sup> Moving north from Nigeria into Niger this featureless plain is broken by a series of sand dunes in the region of Hadejia, Nigeria, and Manga, Niger.<sup>20</sup> The formations of lacustrine origin have been covered by these sand dunes which have become fixed by vegetation. These sand dunes are long narrow ridges, 40 to 100 feet high (12 to 30 metres) 300 to 400 yards wide (280 to 370 metres) and vary in

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<sup>17</sup>Donaint, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>18</sup>Mission Tilho, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>19</sup>Donaint, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>20</sup>Buchanan and Pugh, op. cit., p. 20.  
Donaint, op. cit., p. 16.

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The principal rivers of the area are the Hadejia and Katagum which rise in southern Katsina and southern Kano Province, respectively. (See Figure 12.) Beyond the town of Hadejia, the Hadejia River flows through a network of swamps and is joined by the Katagum River. The river then enters the Komadougou Yobe River which forms part of the international boundary.<sup>22</sup>

### Climate

The climate, even more than the physiography of the Niger-Nigeria borderlands, is monotonously uniform. The borderlands lie within the same latitudes extending in an east-west, rather than a north-south direction; consequently, the region is homogenous in terms of temperature and precipitation. Slight differences occur north of the boundary where temperatures are higher and rainfall decreases as the southern fringes of the Sahara are approached. Located between 13° north and 14° north latitude the borderlands climate is tropical and is characterized by high temperatures with little annual range. The region is also characterized by a long dry season lasting seven to eight months with only a brief rainy season.

The rainy season lasts from June to September with a maximum of rain occurring during the month of August. (See Figure 13.)

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

Naval Intelligence Division Handbook, op. cit., p. 350.

<sup>22</sup>W. F. Gowers, Provincial Gazetteers 1920-21, Nigerian Northern Provinces: Kano Province (London: Waterlow and Sons, Ltd., 1921), p. 1.

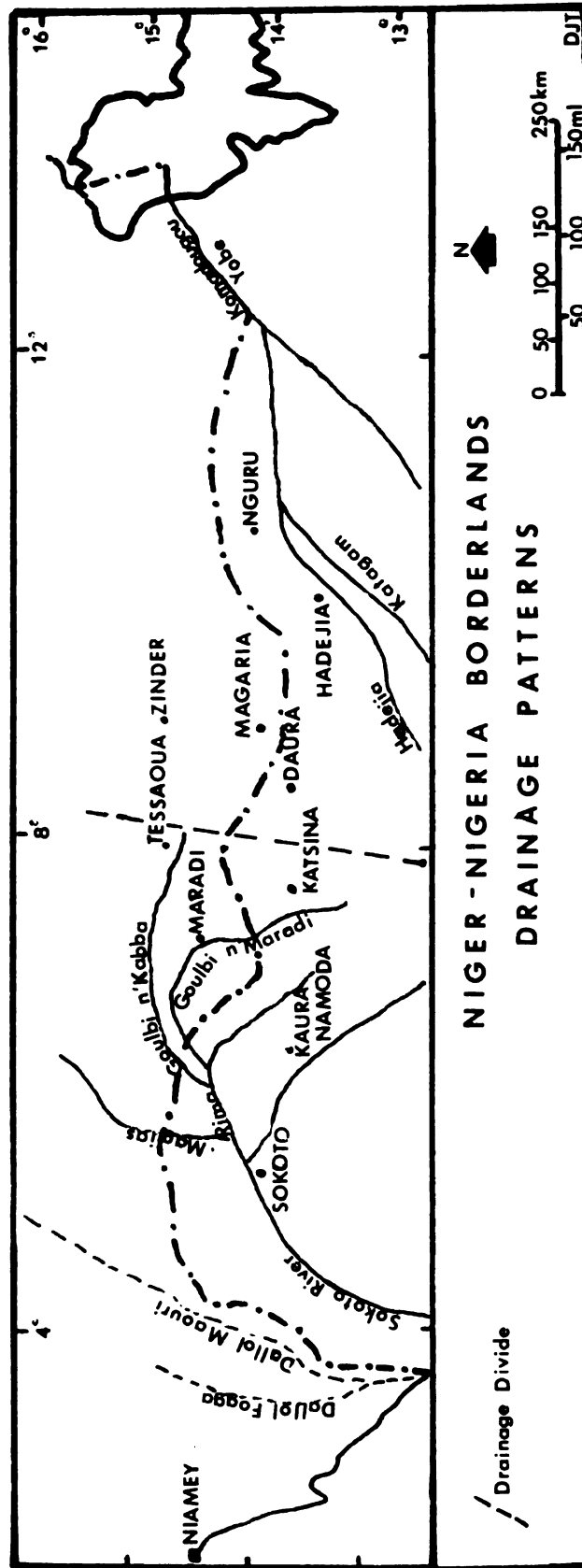


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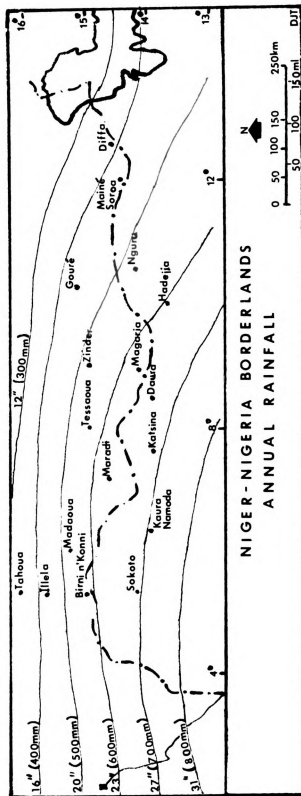


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During the high sun period a low pressure system is created in the Sahara as a result of the heating of the interior of the continent. A monsoon effect is created by the importation of air masses from the high pressure cell lying in the Atlantic Ocean to the south. The zone of convergence between the two differing air masses (maritime tropical from the south and continental tropical from the north) results in the Inter-Tropical Front.<sup>23</sup> The forced rising of the moist maritime air causes rainfall during the high sun period. For the remainder of the year the borderlands is influenced by the Harmattan, dry winds which blow in a north-easterly direction from the Sahara and are most intense during the dry season.

The Niger-Nigeria borderlands, located on the southern fringes of the Sahara Desert, lies just south of one of the hottest regions on the earth. The temperatures of the borderlands are characterized by a double maximum. The minimum monthly temperatures are reached during the months of December and January, gradually rising to a maximum in April and May just prior to the summer rains. During the rainy season temperatures drop slightly and rise again to another high in October following the rains.

Typically for this part of the world, the average monthly temperatures do not exhibit extremes in annual range between the maximum and minimum. The average monthly maximum temperature for the borderlands during the dry season is between 80°F and 85°F, while during the wet season when temperatures are at a minimum the average

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<sup>23</sup>deBlij, 1964, op. cit., p. 38.

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monthly temperature is between 75°F and 80°F. The annual temperature range is only 5°F to 10°F. By contrast the diurnal temperature range is more extreme, between 40°F and 50°F in the dry season and 20°F and 30°F in the wet season.

The region of the borderlands is classified as lying within the climatic region known as the Southern Sahel which lies between 12° north and 15° north latitude.<sup>24</sup> The northern limit of the Southern Sahel is the 15 inch (350 mm) isohyet. North of this line lies the zone of the Northern Sahel, a region where pastoralism is the dominant human activity. This zone begins approximately 110 miles (175 km) north of the Niger-Nigeria boundary. The southern limit of the Southern Sahel is the 30 inch (750 mm) isohyet. (See Figure 13.) This region is a zone of sedentary cultivation where the majority of Niger's population is located.<sup>25</sup> It also represents the northern zone where agriculture is possible without irrigation or use of groundwater.<sup>26</sup>

The rapid decrease in rainfall north of the Niger-Nigeria boundary restricts settlement. Consequently, Niger is a country dominated by desert conditions and it is within the southern borderlands that the main concentration of Niger's population is located. North of the Southern Sahel zone there are only isolated oases of settlement. As a result of its location bordering the Sahara, Niger's southern borderlands is in effect the "core" area

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<sup>24</sup>Harrison Church, op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>25</sup>Donaint, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>26</sup>Harrison Church, loc. cit.

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of Niger, dominating the country in terms of economic and population concentration. This zone for Niger is its core area, however conditions south of the boundary are better in terms of availability of water and fertility of soil yet the Sahel zone of Nigeria is one of the least productive regions of that State.

**Abstract**

In the evolution of the world's great empires, the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the steppe have played a rôle of increasing importance. In the early stages of civilization, the nomads were the conquerors of the settled peoples, and their conquests were the first step towards the formation of the great empires. In the later stages, the nomads were the conquerors of the settled peoples, and their conquests were the first step towards the formation of the great empires.

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## CHAPTER IV

### PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD: TRADITIONAL PATTERNS

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

##### Early Development

In the evolution of the peoples of the Western Sudan several notable civilizations and empires have risen and fallen. A succession of ethnic groups gained ascendancy over their neighbors only to be overthrown after a few years of dominance. Economic factors resulting from the establishment of contact with North Africa through the trans-Saharan trade routes contributed to the emergence of the Sudanic Empires. In order to maintain the trade routes military power was a necessity.

The first great kingdom to develop based upon trans-Saharan trade and military power was the Ghana Empire which began to emerge in the 3rd Century A.D. The nucleus of the Ghana Empire was the Mande-speaking Soninke who inhabited the region between the upper Niger and Senegal Rivers in the southeast of present-day Mauritania. The power of the Ghana Empire lasted until the 12th Century when it began to disintegrate as a result of persistent Almoravid jihads, or Moslem holy wars, that attempted to bring Islam to the pagan empire.

With the decline of the Ghana Empire, the principal trade routes shifted to the east and the Mandingo Empire of Mali emerged. After two centuries of domination, the Mali Empire began to break up and

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another shift to the east of the major trade routes resulted when the Songhai, located astride the Middle Niger, emerged as the dominant power. Through military force a semblance of peace was restored to the savanna and the trans-Saharan trade, centered on Timbuctu and Gao, flourished as important termini of the Taodeni Trail.<sup>1</sup> In addition to becoming a center of commercial and strategic importance, Timbuctu also became a center for Islamic learning.

The expansion of the Songhai brought such diverse ethnic groups as the Mandingoes and Fulani in the west, and the Berbers in the north, under Songhai control. Expansion to the east brought the Songhai in contact with the Hausa speaking peoples who were forced to pay tribute. By the 16th Century the Songhai had overextended their ability to control the Empire. Revolts in various outposts and a Moroccan invasion disrupted the trans-Saharan trade resulting in the decline of military and economic power of the Songhai. The appearance of Europeans along the Guinea Coast at about the same time accelerated the decline of the economic power of the Songhai and diminished the significance of the Saharan trade.

With the decline of the Songhai Empire, a further shift to the east of the major trans-Saharan trade route resulted in the increasing use of the Ghadames Trail from Tripoli to the Hausa cities of Kano and Katsina. This shift in trade routes to Hausaland brought prosperity and cultural enrichment to the Hausa.

The origin of the Hausa speaking peoples is unknown, but it is generally believed to relate to the migration of various groups into

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<sup>1</sup>George Peter Murdock, Africa: Its People and Their Culture History (New York: MacGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1959), p. 129.

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the area and their subsequent assimilation with the original inhabitants in the area now occupied by the Hausa.<sup>2</sup>

As near as can be ascertained the Hausa people originated about the 8th Century A.D., through the fusion of immigrants coming from the north and east and the local sedentary population. These immigrants entered Hausaland from Aïr and Bornu and appear to have been of Semitic origin. They became a ruling class whose identity was rapidly lost through the assimilation by marriage and integration of the local customs. The intrusion of these immigrants resulted in the formation of the Hausa States.

These Hausa States were at no time unified and only on rare occasions did loose confederations emerge in response to a common enemy. For the most part the history of the Hausa is one of continual interstate wars and feuds resulting in the frequent domination of outside powers, as for example the Songhai and Bornu.

Prior to the 16th Century the history of the Hausa States is

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<sup>2</sup>In an attempt to attribute the Hausa to a common origin local tradition relates the legendary slaying of the snake at the well of Daura by Bayajidda, an immigrant from Baghdad. As a reward for the stranger's heroism, Bayajidda married the Queen of Daura and from this marriage seven sons were born; each son founding a dynasty from whence sprang the Hausa Bakwai or the Seven Original Hausa States: Daura, Biram, Katsina, Zaria, Kano, Rano and Gobir. In an attempt to explain the diffusion of the Hausa language and institutions the Banza Bakwai or Illegitimate Seven are recognized in the States of Zamfara, Kebbi, Gwari, Nupe, Yoruba (Ilorin) and Kwararafa (Junkun).

See S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 145-146.

Also see C. C. Ifensia, "States of the Central Sudan," (i) Kanem and Bornu (ii) The Hausa States," in J. F. Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie, A Thousand Years of West African History (London: Ibadan University Press and Nelson, 1965), pp. 90-93.

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<sup>3</sup> Ifemsia,

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not well known; however, by this time the States had emerged as separate entities. Gobir developed between the 8th and 12th Centuries when an alien aristocracy under pressure from desert Tuareg migrated from Bilma and Asben. Continued pressures from the nomadic tribes to the north resulted in the intrusion into territory occupied by indigenous Zamfarawa and Katsinawa (i.e., people of Zamfara and Katsina.)<sup>3</sup>

The town of Katsina was founded in the 12th Century and gradually rose to prominence as a great entrepôt between 1600 and 1800. The rise of Katsina as a great commercial center can be attributed to two important factors relating to the site and situation of the city. First the site of the city on the divide between the Niger and Chad Basin drainage areas provided ease of access during the wet season.<sup>4</sup> Second, the location of Katsina within the zone of exchange between the forest lands to the south and the Mediterranean lands to the north gave Katsina a position of nodality on the trans-Saharan trade routes. The rise of Katsina as a commercial center did not come about without a considerable struggle. During the 14th and 15th Centuries the Hausa States were perpetually at war with one another. These interstate wars continued into the 16th Century, the bitterest struggle being between Kano and Katsina over control of the terminal points of the trans-Saharan trade. The war between Kano and Katsina reached a peak with the decline of the Songhai Empire when trade was diverted from Timbuctu to the Ghadames Trail which ended at Katsina and Kano.

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<sup>3</sup>Ifemsia, op. cit., p. 94.

<sup>4</sup>A. T. Grove, Land and Population in Katsina Province with Special Reference to Bundawa Village in Dan Yusufu District (Kaduna: Government Printer), p. 4.

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During the 16th Century the State of Kebbi accrued sufficient military power under the leadership of Kanta to gain ascendancy over Afir, Gobir, Katsina, Kano, Daura and Zaria. Through "indirect rule" the subject rulers were permitted to remain in their positions. For a period of almost 50 years under the strong direction of the ruler of Kebbi, Hausaland was relatively free from interstate wars. Following the death of Kanta, the power of Kebbi began to decline and the other Hausa States began to reassert their independence.<sup>5</sup>

In the 17th Century, Bornu, located to the east of the Hausa States, became the most powerful State in the Western Sudan and exacted tribute from the Hausa States. At this time invasions from the south by the Kwararafa caused a weakening of Kano. Katsina avoided these invasions through the protection of Bornu and thereby remained free of Kwararafa domination. Perhaps as a result of Kano's subjugation, Katsina became one of the leading cities of the Western Sudan renowned not only for its commercial activities but also for its educational facilities. It was during the 18th Century that Katsina rose to the peak of its power.

It was also during the 18th Century that Gobir rose to prominence as a dominant Hausa State. For a long time Gobir, located on the fringes of the Sahara, had acted as a buffer between hostile nomadic desert groups, such as the Tuareg, and the other Hausa States. As a result of the constant attacks and pressures from the north the Gobirawa developed an efficient military power.. Toward the end of

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<sup>5</sup>Hogben and Kirk-Greene, op. cit., pp. 238-253.  
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<sup>6</sup> Boubou Ha  
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<sup>7</sup> J. Spencer  
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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.

the 18th Century the power of Gobir began to decline as a result of the revolts in Zamfara and the constant raiding of Katsina.<sup>6</sup> (See Figure 14.)

For a long time the Hausa States had been dominated by outside powers that exacted tribute. During the 18th Century the Hausa States progressively released themselves from these outside influences. Their capitals, especially Katsina and Kano, were in constant contact with the Arab Mediterranean ports. As a result of the trans-Saharan traffic great commercial cities of several thousand inhabitants dominating extensive areas began to assert themselves.

#### Fulani Conquest of Hausaland

It was through peaceful penetration along the trade routes that Islam came to the Sudan. At first it was a religion of the ruling elite and commercial class resulting in the strengthening of cultural and commercial links across the Sahara. It was not until the 14th Century that Islam was accepted by the Hausa rulers, penetrating from the west through contact with the Songhai Empire.<sup>7</sup> As late as the 17th Century the majority of the Hausa were not Muslim and as Trimmingham points out that

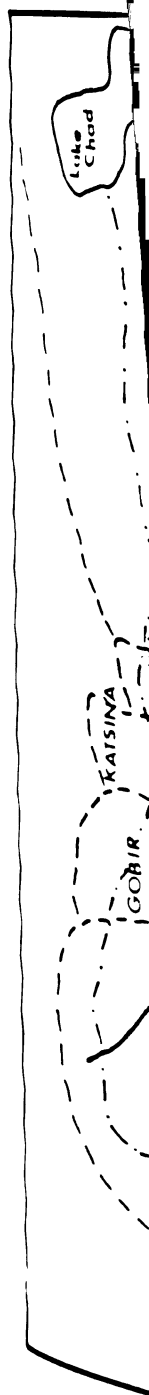
. . . Islam adopted parallel to the city, dynastic and local cults. Islam's influence was negligible outside the heterogeneous commercial communities. On the other hand its cultural and especially linguistic influence was considerable.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Boubou Hama, Histoire du Gobir et de Sokoto, (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1967), p. 12.

<sup>7</sup>J. Spencer Trimmingham, A History of Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 32.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 107.



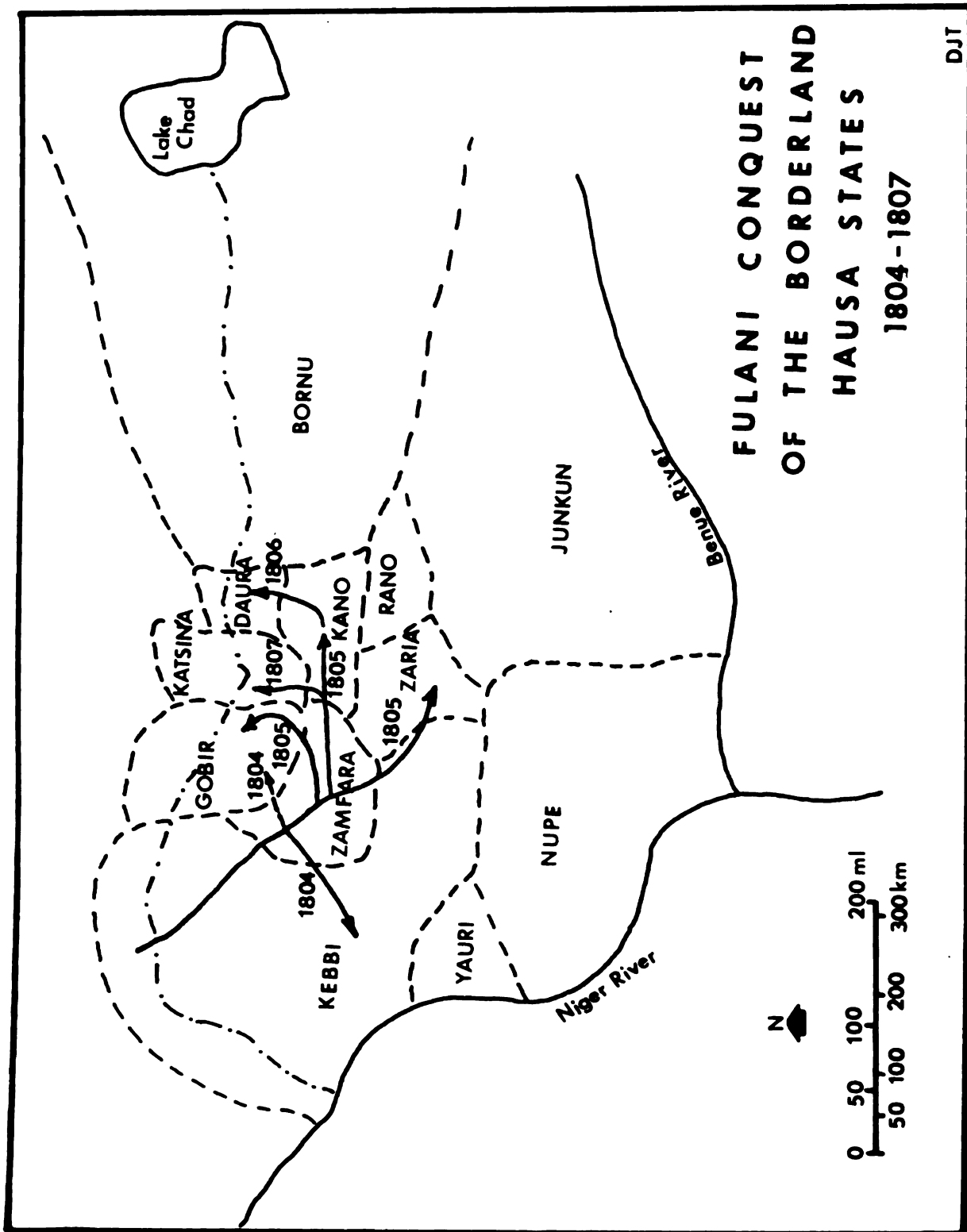


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It was not until the end of the 18th Century and the early 19th Century that Islam penetrated all segments of Hausa society. The process of Islamization was accelerated by the Fulani jihad that overthrew the ruling Hausa (or Habe) chiefs.<sup>9</sup>

The jihad was prompted by the conditions of Islam within Hausaland at the commencement of the 19th Century. Usman dan Fodio, a Fulani religious leader from the region of Konni, had gained considerable support for his orthodox views of Islam. In Gobir, Usman, or the Shehu, and his followers were persecuted and forced to flee and retreat to Konni. At Konni, Usman dan Fodio, a Torokawa Fulani, united with the Sullebawa Fulani, another important sedentary Fulani group located in Kebbi.<sup>10</sup> From this union the Shehu proclaimed a jihad against the corrupt Muslim States of Hausaland.

By 1804 the Fulani forces, supported by many Hausa, moved on the capital of Gobir at Alkalawa; however, the Gobirawa supported by the Tuareg, repelled this initial thrust and forced the Shehu to retreat to Zamfara. From Sabon Birni in Zamfara, the Fulani forces successfully carried out a campaign against Kebbi and Gwandu.<sup>11</sup>

In 1805, another expedition was launched against Gobir. This time the Fulani were successful and this event became a turning point in the military history of the jihad. An alliance between Kano,

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<sup>9</sup>Hogben and Kirke-Greene, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>10</sup>The Torokawa Fulani is a sedentary branch of the Fulani located in the region of Konni. The Torokawa reputedly have a high proportion of Arab blood. The Sullebawa of Kebbi, another sedentary Fulani group, has a mixture of Mandingo blood.

<sup>11</sup>J. O. Junwick, "The Nineteenth Century Jihads," in F. F. Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie, A Thousand Years of West African History (London: University of Ibadan and Nelson, 1965), p. 269.

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Katsina and Daura seeking support from Bornu failed when the Fulani defeated an army sent from Bornu to aid the Hausa States. With this defeat Kano rapidly succumbed to the Fulani army. It has been postulated that the lack of resistance on the part of Kano was in order to preserve its position and maintain stability of the trade route. The violent opposition on the part of the Katsinawa certainly did much to bring about the decline of Katsina as an important trade center as the trade was diverted to Kano by way of Zinder.<sup>12</sup>

By 1810 the military campaigns were successful in conquering all of Hausaland, and the Fulani Empire stretched from Libtako in the west, to Adamawa in the east, and south to the confluence of the Niger-Benue Rivers. Expansion to the east was arrested by the Bornu Empire. The success of the Fulani conquest was in part attributed to the support of many Hausa who joined in the war of liberation to overthrow the corrupt Hausa administration.<sup>13</sup>

The Fulani jihad had profound effects upon the conditions of Hausaland. In addition to the replacement of indigenous Habe leaders by a Fulani ruling elite there was also a significant displacement of Hausa population. The Habe leaders of Gobir, Katsina, and Daura, rather than face total defeat at the hands of the Fulani, migrated north with a significant number of followers and established themselves

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<sup>12</sup>A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, British Nigeria (London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1902), p. 172.

Also see Burdon, "Fulani Emirates of Northern Nigeria," Geography Journal, 1904, p. 636.

<sup>13</sup>Samuel N. Nwabara, "The Fulani Conquest and Rule of the Hausa Kingdom of Northern Nigeria (1804-1900)" Journal de la Société des Africanistes Vol. 33, 1963, p. 235.

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<sup>14</sup>Guy M  
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outside Fulani jurisdiction. From centers in Tsibiri, Maradi, and Zango, these leaders attempted to reconquer their lost territories and conserve their control of the caravan routes.

During this period, life in the Hausa States was very unsettled. The descendants of the Habe leader of Katsina continued to harass the Fulani, first from Dankama and later from Maradi. Initially the region of the Goulbi n'Maradi was overrun by the Fulani. An uprising overthrew Fulani domination and the Habe leaders of Katsina and Gobir were called to install themselves with their followers in Maradi. Shortly after, the Gobirawa moved out of Maradi and established a new capital of Tsibiri, a short distance from Maradi.<sup>14</sup>

The establishment of the Hausa in Maradi and Tsibiri resulted in a greater concentration of population as loyal Katsinawa and Gobirawa migrated into the region. The towns of Maradi and Tsibiri became important military bases and a stepping stone for the conquest of lost territories. Assisted by neighboring Tuareg and Fulani from the north, the region north of Katsina became a war zone for almost a century.

Despite a common enemy, the Katsinawa and Gobirawa in exile developed internal problems and produced a further fragmentation as a Katsinawa prince established a base of power at Tessaoua and a Gobirawa prince established another capital at Sabon Birni.<sup>15</sup>

For almost a century the struggle between Fulani-dominated

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<sup>14</sup>Guy Mainet and Guy Nicolas, La Vallée du Goulbi de Maradi, Documents des Etudes Nigériennes #16 (Bordeaux: Institut Fondamental de l'Afrique Noire, Centre Nigérien de Recherche Scientifique, 1964), p. 20.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

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Katsina and Gobir against the descendants of the traditional Habe rulers persisted, bringing devastation and depopulation to the area. These protracted wars interrupted commerce and the functions of Katsina more and more were assumed by Kano. In 1835, dan Mari a descendant of the Habe leaders of Maradi, attempted to regain Katsina. He entered from the west and received considerable aid from the people of Ruma; however, when the attack was finally repelled by the Fulani, drastic measures were taken against the Rumawa. The entire region was purposely depopulated and remained so for the remainder of the 19th Century.<sup>16</sup>

Following the Fulani conquest of Daura, the State was divided into three, centered on the towns of Daura, Baure (located 36 miles southeast of Daura) and Zango (12 miles east of Daura). The Habe dynasty was successful in re-establishing itself in Daura Zango. However, the fragmentation of the State of Daura had weakened Daura considerably and these small fragmented States found themselves located in the unenviable position as buffer states between Kano Emirate to the south and Damagarim to the north. During the 19th Century, Damagarim remained a vassal of Bornu. With assistance from Bornu, Daura Zango and Daura Baure fell under the hegemony of Damagarim. Toward the end of the 19th Century the Hausa succeeded in freeing Daura Zango and Daura Baure from Damagarim and united themselves under the Sarkin (chief) Zango.<sup>17</sup> Despite the reassertion of the Habe

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<sup>16</sup>W. F. Gowers, Provincial Gazetteers 1920-21, Nigerian Northern Provinces: Kano Province (London: Waterlow and Sons, Ltd., 1921), p. 19.

<sup>17</sup>Government of the Federation of Nigeria-National Archives, Kaduna, Anglo-French Boundaries, File #1655, Vol. II, June 9, 1907, H. R. Palmer to Major O'Shee.

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dynasty at Zango almost two thirds of the former State of Daura remained under the hegemony of Damagarim and the Fulani dynasty was still in control of Daura and its environs.

The entire area during this period was in a state of flux and the political upheaval prepared the area for the relatively easy conquest by the European at the end of the 19th Century. The instability of the area, the frequent forced movement and migration of population during the 19th Century resulted in the fragmentation and redistribution of Hausa groups.

#### Distribution of Indigenous Hausa Groups

The vast territory conquered by the Fulani was made up of a great number of indigenous Hausa groups. The Fulani jihad resulted in a redistribution and relocation of peoples within the borderlands under consideration in this study. Fragmentation of the Northern Hausa States of Daura, Katsina, and Gobir resulted when Habe leaders fled north and continued their struggle against the Fulani. Despite resistance in the north, the jihad was largely successful in bringing Islam to the peoples that fell under the hegemony of Sokoto.

In 1812, Usman dan Fodio divided the Empire between his son Muhammed Bello and his brother Abdullah. The capitals of these two divisions were located at Sokoto and Gando.

The Emir of Sokoto received the hereditary title of Sarkin Musulimi and assumed the responsibility of religious supremacy over the vast territory conquered by Usman dan Fodio. From a political point of view the Emir of Gando was independent of Sokoto yet was under the jurisdiction of the Emir of Sokoto in terms of religion. The only

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19. *Ibid.*,

20. *Ibid.*,

political bond between Sokoto and Gando was for the purpose of mutual defense or expansion of the Empire.<sup>18</sup>

The Emir of Sokoto gained jurisdiction over the territory between the Sokoto River and Bornu, south to the Benue River. The States that were subject to Sokoto were Kebbi (that is, that portion of Kebbi surrounding Sokoto), Zamfara, Konni, Maradi, Gobir, Katsina, Kazaure, Daura, Kano, Hadejia, Katagum, Messaou, Djermare, Bauchi and Gombe. (See Figure 15.) Later, through the conquest of pagans, Muri and Adamawa were added. Among these States, Gobir and Maradi never remained under Fulani domination, and the State of Kebbi also resisted Sokoto domination and remained independent until 1892.<sup>19</sup>

The Emir of Gando received the territories of Yaouri, Nupe, Illorin, Maouri (Arewa) and Djerma. On the right bank of the Niger River, Gando's influence extended to Say and Libtako. Among the territories that fell under the hegemony of Gando, Djerma and Maouri would never recognize the domination of the Emir of Gando and through an alliance with Kebbi, centered on Argungu, they opposed Fulani rule until the fall of Kebbi in 1892.<sup>20</sup>

The principal Hausa groups lying within the borderlands of present-day Niger-Nigeria at the time of European penetration from west to east, were the Kiengwa with the Sarkin (or chief) residing at

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<sup>18</sup>Mémoires et Documents, Afrique Possessions Anglaises de la Côte Occidentale, -8, 1893-1894, Tome 131 le 3 Mai 1893, le Commandant Monteil à Monsieur le Sous Secrétaire d'Etat aux Colonies (Rapport sur le tracé de la ligne d'influence Franco-Anglaise), p. 84.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

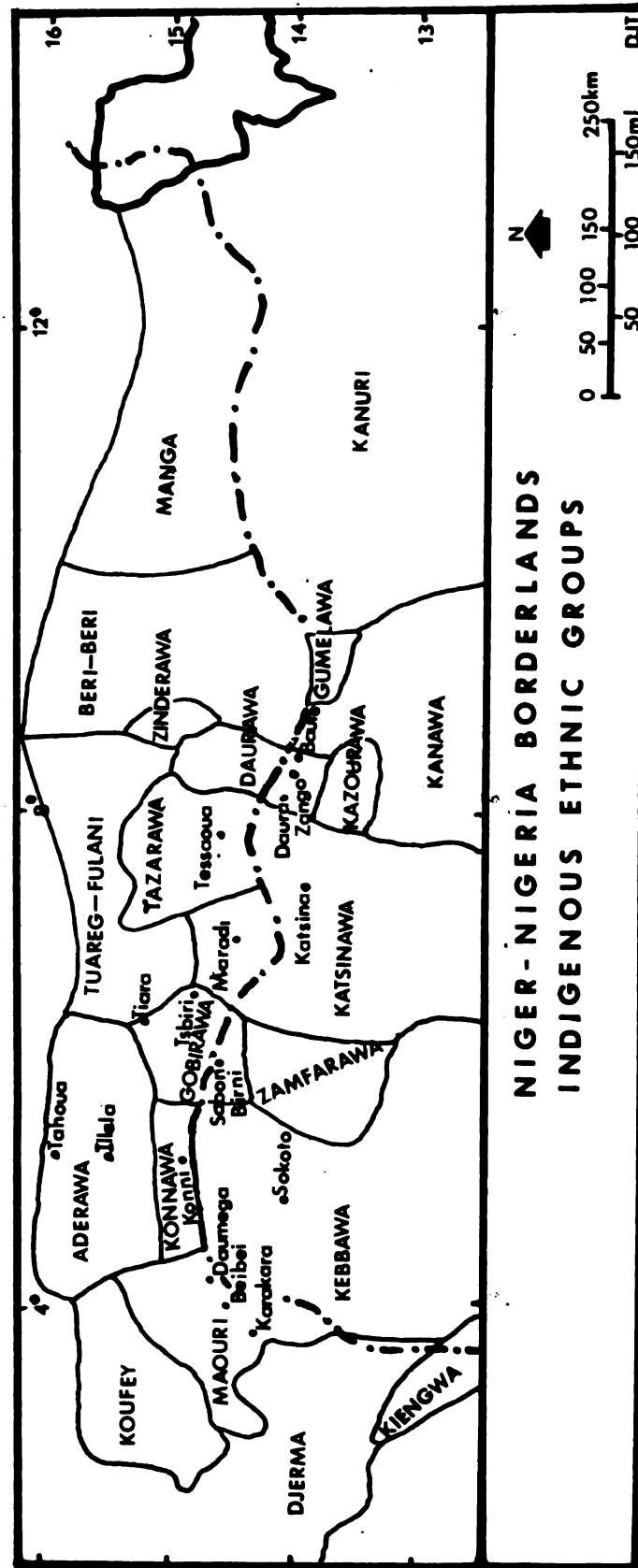


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Kiengakoe, and the Maouri (or Arewa) divided into four groups with chiefs residing at Karakara, Beibei, Daumega and Matankari. These two groups, as previously mentioned, recognized the suzerainty of the Emir of Argungu. (See Figure 15.)

The Aderawa were centered on Illela and Tahoua and the Konnawa on Birni n'Konni. The Gobirawa were divided into three groups at Tsibiri, Sabon Birni, and Tiara. By the end of the 19th Century the Gobirawa stronghold of Tiara was eliminated by attacks from the Kelgress Tuaregs from the north. South of Gobir, the Zamfarawa were under two chiefs located at Sansanne Issa and Zourmi. Following the flight of the Habe leaders of Katsina, the Katsinawa were divided into three groups, those in Katsina dominated by a Fulani elite, and two Habe factions centered on Maradi and Tessaoua. The Daurawa, as previously discussed, were fragmented into three groups, centered around Daura, Zango and Baure. Finally located to the north of Daura the Zinderawa under the jurisdiction of the Emir of Zinder. Because of the high proportion of Beriberi (Kanuri) in Damagarim this territory was a vassal of the Bornu Empire.<sup>21</sup>

After centuries of strife and turmoil this was approximately the distribution of Hausa groups and kingdoms at the end of the 19th Century when European penetration commenced.

### Frontiers of Separation

The interstate wars that had plagued Hausaland for centuries abated in the 19th Century as a result of Fulani domination. Peace,

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<sup>21</sup>Archives Nationales, Dakar (3F13) Délimitation de la Nigeria - Mission Tilho 1907-08, #21, Rapport #3 du Capitaine Tilho à Monsieur le Ministre des Colonies, pp. 32-33

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however, was far from achieved, due to the fact that once consolidation and allegiance of the Fulani Emirs had been obtained, Sokoto and Gando were forced to defend the frontiers of the Empire against outside attacks and intrusions. As a result of these attacks, frontiers of separation emerged.<sup>22</sup> (See Figure 16.)

It was in the borderlands presently under consideration that Habe resistance to the Fulani continued. The westernmost Habe State of Kebbi resisted domination of Gando and an unstable frontier remained until 1892 when Kebbi was finally subdued.<sup>23</sup> Along with the fall of Kebbi, Djerma and Maouri allies of Kebbi fell under the hegemony of Sokoto. For a time the Dallol Maouri served as a frontier between the Maouri and Djerma to the west and the Sokoto Emirate to the east.<sup>24</sup>

East of Kebbi, the Habe States of Gobir and Maradi continued the struggle to regain lost territory. The Fulani devastated a zone between Katsina and Sokoto by destroying such towns as Junkuki, Dankama, and Madawa, creating an effective frontier of separation.<sup>25</sup> Fragmentation of Daura and the sparseness of population along the northern frontier of Kano and the former weaker vassal states of Bornu, such as Hadejia and Katagum, also resulted in a deserted frontier of separation between these weak States and Damagarim.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>For a comprehensive study of all these frontiers see J. R. V. Prescott, "The Evolution of Nigeria's Political Boundaries," (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of London, London, 1961), p. 102-105.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

Also see Monteil Report, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>24</sup>Tilho Report, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>25</sup>Prescott, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 103.



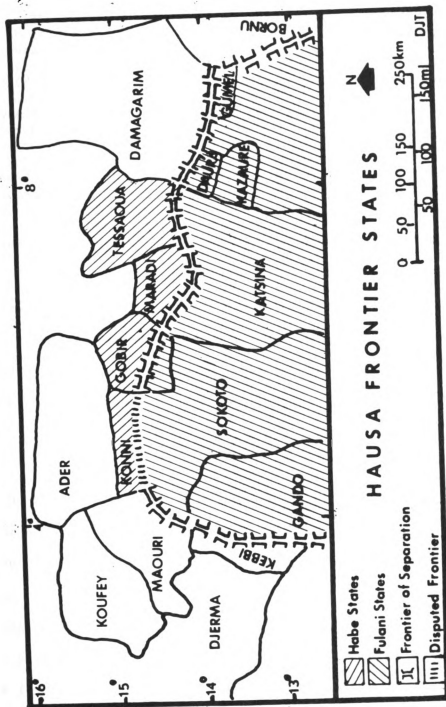


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The zone of separation between Sokoto and Bornu is best summarized by Prescott:

The frontier of separation dividing Bornu from Sokoto can be divided into three parts. North of the River Gana lived Bedde pagans, protected by a forested swampy environment. Armies from both Sokoto and Bornu conducted slave raids against these peoples. Between the River Gana and the Mandara Mountains the forested frontier of separation was defended on the Bornu side by a series of quasi independent marches, which had a long history of resistance to the Fulani. The Mandara Mountains themselves formed the third section of the frontier of separation, between Adamawa and Bornu. This area was occupied by the Marghe pagans against whom the Fulani exerted intermittent pressure. The continued independence of the Marghi was advantageous to Bornu since it prevented possible collision with Adamawa Fulani and discouraged slaves from escaping southward.<sup>27</sup>

Such, then, were the conditions in the borderland regions on the eve of European entrance into the area. This state of affairs persisted down to the time of boundary negotiations between France and Britain and played an important role in the final boundary settlement.

#### HAUSA ORGANIZATION

The Fulani conquest of the Hausa brought little change in the political and economic organization of the Hausa States. With the exception of the replacement of a Hausa ruling elite, a further expansion of Islam, and fragmentation of the northernmost Emirates, conditions remained much the same as during pre-Fulani times. For the most part the Fulani adopted Hausa traditional political and economic institutions.

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

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## Political Areal Functional Organization

Areal organization of the city-state. Early in the history of the Hausa the concept of a city-state arose in which a city's rulers gained control over the population of a territory. The city-states that emerged, even prior to the introduction of Islam, produced a ruling elite, a strong administration and formed the nucleus of the Emirates. The city was the nodal point of the State, and the States name and people more often than not adopted the name of the principal city (e.g., Katsina and Katsinawa).

The form and function of most of the Hausa States is very much the same and the ideal Hausa State can be viewed theoretically as a series of concentric zones radiating from the central walled city or birni. (See Figure 17.) This walled city, as a central place was a commercial, religious, and administrative center. Within the city walls as much as two-thirds of the land was devoted to agriculture; the remainder being devoted to normal uses of a city, such as commercial, residential, and administrative quarters. A significant function of the birni was for defense against attacks from neighbors in which the vast expanse of agricultural land enclosed within the city walls made laying siege to the city extremely difficult.

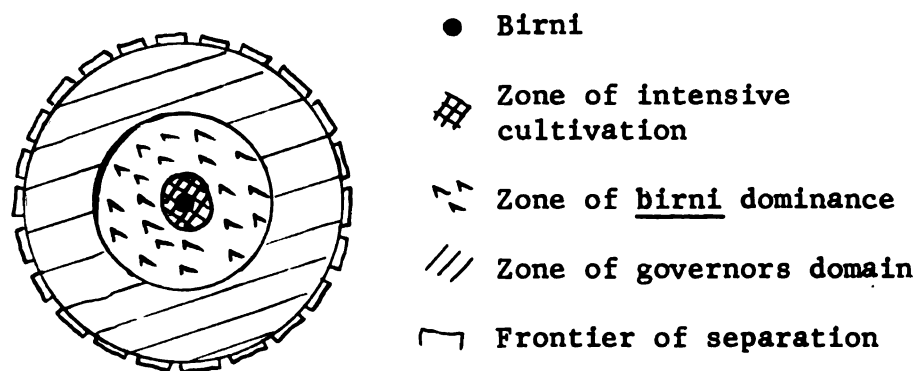


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Immediately surrounding the walls of the city was a zone of intensive agriculture. From this land the city's produce was drawn. Usually this zone of intensive agriculture extended for a distance of no more than three or four miles beyond the city walls. Quite often those who cultivated this land resided in the city, and those farming on the periphery of this zone might reside temporarily on their farms during the growing season.

Lying beyond the zone of intensive cultivation, extending for an indeterminate distance, depending upon the strength of the State, was a zone controlled by the city. The peoples living in this zone resided in hamlets, villages, and small walled towns producing agricultural products and crafts for the city and to which products of the city percolated. The control of this zone was directly from the birni with the inhabitants being subject to direct taxation from the Emir.

A fourth zone, again of indeterminate distance, was one whose population was only loosely bound to the city. This was a zone over which the Emir had gained control through conquest and peoples residing in this region were required to pay tribute. Control of this zone was in the hands of governors appointed by the Emir but who resided within the birni forming part of the Emirs elaborate court. The responsibilities of the Governor lay in collecting the assessed tribute and protecting and safeguarding the trade routes that passed through their territory. The settlements within this zone ranged from hamlets to small walled cities that formed protection from the periodic invasions that this zone experienced.

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the other. This zone was regarded as "no man's land" and was quite often inhabited by pagan (i.e., non-Islamic) Hausa or other groups. This zone was the source region for the States slaves, and during the 19th Century this frontier took on an ideological as well as economic significance, since as pagans they were either to be converted by force or enslaved. It is then little wonder that many of these frontiers of separation were depopulated during the 19th Century.

The Emirate system. The hierarchy of government administration in the Hausa States that emerged after the Fulani conquest was basically the same as that which had evolved over the centuries.

The lowest level and smallest territorial unit was the unguwa or hamlet. The hamlet consisted of isolated compounds or group compounds scattered among the farmlands. The isolated nature of hamlets meant that they were subject to frequent attacks; consequently, the dispersal of hamlets over the landscape diminished with distance from the core of the State. In some instances hamlets were located within the walls of the city. The vast expanse of agricultural lands within the walls resulted in the establishment of these agricultural settlements in order to conserve time and effort.

The basic function of the hamlet was to produce agricultural products and perhaps some crafts for the nearest gari or village. The administration of the hamlet affairs was through an official elected from among the local elders and who was responsible to the village head.

The second level of political areal functional organization was the gari or village. Quite often a gari consisted of no more than a

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collection of hamlets from among which one hamlet was chosen to perform additional functions, essentially becoming a central place. The territory over which the gari had control was known as the village area, the average size being about 29 square miles with a population of about 2,700.<sup>28</sup> The continual interstate warfare that persisted in Hausaland determined the pattern of densely occupied walled settlements that ringed the principal administrative centers of the Hausa States. Because of the necessity of protection hamlets and small villages were in close proximity to walled settlements and a considerable amount of land was unoccupied. As an indication to the number of walled towns within Kano Province an early report showed that some 40 walled towns were to be found within a radius of 30 miles of Kano. In Kano district 170 walled towns and about 450 walled villages were reported.<sup>29</sup>

The third level of political areal functional organization was the district, which was made up of a number of villages and hamlets controlled by a district head who was chosen by, and directly responsible to the Emir. All too often these districts were not contiguous territorial entities. Essentially a district was a personal fief of the district head and was awarded as a reward for services performed; consequently, one district head may control areas far removed from each other.<sup>30</sup> The district head was essentially an absentee landlord

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<sup>28</sup>Gowers, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>29</sup>Sir F. D. Lugard, Colonial Reports - Annual #476, Northern Nigeria 1904 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1905), p. 32.

<sup>30</sup>Sir William Wallace, Colonial Reports - Annual #594, Northern Nigeria 1907-1908 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909), p. 34.

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who resided in the birni and formed part of the Emir's court. Power was delegated by the district head to the village and hamlet heads who were responsible for the maintenance of internal peace and order and the collection of revenue from the village area.<sup>31</sup>

The non-contiguity of districts and the reasons for it is exemplified in the following quotation:

In many cases a village will be found situated in the territory of another district yet independent, especially if the district is Habe and the village Fulani. In other cases the farm lands of a town or village are in another district, in other communities owing allegiance to Gando are to be found in the midst of Sokoto territory. As there is an endless variety in the geographical distribution of these communities so is there also in their tenure and vassalage . . . ascribes this confusion to the fact that two separate races Habe and Fulani, occupy the same country, to former wars by which communities were driven from their houses, but preserved some measure of autonomy, to gifts to favourites by Emirs of one or more communities instead of specified territorial area and to the system of absentee landlordism by which local chiefs acquired more power than their master.<sup>32</sup>

During the Fulani administration taxation was extremely heavy, being based on the Koranic model. Every aspect of Hausa life was taxed and became burdensome to the peasant farmer and trader. The collection of these taxes was in the hands of the subordinate chiefs and led to a tradition of corruption.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Lord F. D. Lugard, Colonial Reports - Annual #516, Northern Nigeria 1905-1906 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1907), p. 9.

Also see Colonial Reports #594, loc. cit.

<sup>33</sup>The variety and forms and taxation is best illustrated in the following quotation from an early colonial report:

- a. Zakka - the tithe on corn.
- b. Kurdin Kasa - land tax, theoretically the tribute of conquered pagans.
- c. Plantation tax - levied on all crops except those under Zakka.
- d. Jangali - cattle tax.
- e. Sokoto Gaisu - a varying sum paid by all other emirates to

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The fourth order of Hausa political areal functional organization was the Province, or the Emirate, which was essentially the Hausa States that fell under the hegemony of the Fulani conquest. In those States that did not fall subject to Sokoto or Gando this was the highest level of organization. The Emir and his court, comprised of relatives, favorites, military personnel, judges, and religious leaders, was the administrative, legislative, and judicial power of the Province. As previously mentioned the Emirate centered on the birni or walled city and was the focal point of administration, trade, and industry. The birni owed its importance and significance to the subjugation and absorption of outlying territory with population and power accruing to it. As the influence of the birni expanded under the direction of a competent leader the complex hierarchical court and system of administration developed.

With the Fulani conquest and the organization of the Empire, Sokoto and Gando gained ascendancy over the various States which became Provinces of the Empire. This dominance by Sokoto and Gando was short lived and while the various Emirates paid tribute to Sokoto or Gando, neither the Emir of Sokoto nor Gando retained political control over the Provinces.<sup>34</sup> However, the religious influence of the Emir of

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Sokoto and Gando; its origin was probably religious and consisted of a share of the Zakka or Kurdin Kasa; in practice it was a levy made by the Emir upon all subordinate chiefs - paid chiefly in horses and slaves.

- f. Kurdin Sarauba - accession duty paid by every chief or office holder, amounted to the selling of offices.
- g. Every form of handicraft was taxed.
- h. Vendors, merchants and traders were taxed.
- i. Death duties - Gado.

Also see Colonial Reports #476, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>34</sup>It should be pointed out that the various Provinces continued to pay tribute to Sokoto until almost the end of the 19th Century. Katsina was required to pay 100 slaves annually and Adamawa 10,000 slaves.

Also see J. C. Anene, "The International Boundaries of Nigeria 1842-1914" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of London, 1959), p.351.

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Sokoto persisted. The confirmation of every new ruler by the Emir of Sokoto from as far north as Agades and as far west as Timbuctoo was required down to the beginning of the 20th Century.<sup>35</sup>

### Economic Organization

The pattern of Hausa economic organization was basically agrarian and despite the densely populated birni with the appearance of a definite urban character, the cities were essentially large walled rural settlements. The traditional Hausa society was basically feudal; consequently, the land was regarded as belonging to the community with the right of occupance vested in the Emir. It was, however, recognized that an individual had hereditary rights to farm and occupy the land so long as he conformed to local laws and customs.<sup>36</sup>

While the majority of the population was engaged in agriculture, many became traders during the dry season, travelling extensively throughout West Africa creating an image of the Hausa as an itinerant trader--an image that persists to the present time.

The prosperity of Hausaland was largely the result of commerce, This prosperity would not have been possible, however, had it not been for the location of Hausaland and the development of important local crafts and industries. Hausa textile industry was of importance and was located in the significant commercial centers. Kano was by far the leader in the production of cloth and one early report estimated that

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<sup>35</sup>Sir F. D. Lugard, Colonial Reports - Annual #409, Northern Nigeria 1902 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903), p. 77.

<sup>36</sup>Historical Section of the Foreign Office, Partition of Africa: British Possessions (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), Vol. XV #94, p. 55.

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Kano clothed two-thirds of the Western Sudan, almost all of the Central Sahara, and east into Bornu.<sup>37</sup> Dyeing, especially indigo, was of great importance and all the major Hausa centers established dye pits, and a trade developed that has persisted down to the present. Leather was another important product of Hausaland and was exported in great quantities to North Africa where it became known in Europe as Moroccan leather.

The commercial aspect of Hausa economic organization resulted in the establishment of patterns of movement and circulation.

### CIRCULATION

The traditional patterns of movement and circulation in Hausaland were directly related to the commercial activities. The people of Hausaland have never been uniquely engaged in subsistence activities but have been involved for centuries in commercial activities of a local, regional and extraterritorial nature.

#### Trans-Saharan Trade

As previously mentioned, the Hausa prospered for centuries because of their advantageous location at the terminus of important trade routes. Complementarity of trade resulted in the important urban centers of Hausaland emerging as entrepôts for the exchange of goods coming from the forest regions of the south and the Mediterranean region of the north. As a result of this interchange the Hausa prospered economically and culturally, yet at the same time competition

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<sup>37</sup>Monteil Report, op. cit., p. 87.

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for dominance of the trade routes was so keen that interstate wars were not infrequent. These war conditions periodically disrupted trade routes and paralyzed the trade centers.

By the end of the 19th Century the resistance of the Habe in Maradi to Fulani domination in Katsina had greatly diminished the significance of Katsina as a trade center. Katsina, once located at the southern terminus of the Ghadames Trail, was the chief market center of Hausaland. Following the Fulani jihad, Kano replaced Katsina as the center of commercial activities, with the route extending to Kano via Zinder by passing Katsina.<sup>38</sup>

At the time the first representatives of the European governments entered the region, Kano was the singularly dominant center of commercial activity in the Western Sudan and was reported to be the "greatest commercial emporium of Africa."<sup>39</sup> While Kano was unquestionably the most dominant commercial center for trans-Saharan trade, other centers of a lower order of commercial activity such as Katsina, Daura, and Zinder continued to prosper by virtue of their location as front ports of Black Africa. These cities were tied to the ports of the Mediterranean such as Algiers, Tunis, and especially Tripoli by the trans-Saharan trails that passed through Agades, Rhat, and Tamanrasset. By virtue of its location Katsina was still able to retain a portion of this lucrative trade although relegated to a lower order than Kano.

The products exchanged at Kano and the other secondary centers

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<sup>38</sup>E. W. Bovill, The Golden Trade of the Moors (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 238.

<sup>39</sup>Sir F. D. Lugard, Colonial Reports - Annual #346, Northern Nigeria 1900 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902), p. 18.

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of commerce were diverse. The imports were chiefly salt from Asben, Manga and Foga, natron from Damagarim, cattle and horses from Sokoto and Bornu, and Kola nuts from the south.<sup>40</sup> The important commercial centers of Hausaland thus were collecting points for slaves, ivory, ostrich feathers, gold, cloth and leather, articles of value to the Arab trader for which there was a demand in the North African countries. In exchange, Arab traders brought a variety of small wares such as perfume, mirrors, needles, thread, sugar, spices, European cotton textiles, metal and arms.<sup>41</sup>

As a result of this trade the important trade centers were points of culture contact where alien traders met. Early colonial reports identified the predominance of four classes of traders that frequented Hausaland. From the north, white Arab traders principally from Tripoli, and Tuareg traders from Asben.<sup>42</sup> The Tuareg were actively engaged in the movement of salt from Bilma to Hausaland although the mines were controlled by the negroïd Tibu of Tibesti.<sup>43</sup> From the southwest, Salaga traders from the hinterland of Ghana and Togo brought kola nuts and a variety of European goods that came from the coastal regions. Finally, the Hausa traders were responsible for the redistribution of goods to local markets and also the exporting of local Hausa crafts and products that were in demand throughout the Western

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<sup>40</sup>Colonial Report #476, op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Colonial Report #409, op. cit., p. 61.

<sup>43</sup>J. C. Anene, "The International Boundaries of Nigeria, 1842-1914," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, London, 1959), p. 348.

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The principal means of transportation for the movement of goods was by camel caravan across the Sahara and donkey caravans throughout Hausaland and to the south. As a result of commercial activities the major administrative centers were connected by a network of routes. The movement of traders through the various territories afforded an additional source of revenue to the chief who required the payment of a toll in order to maintain open access to the trade routes. Frequently trade was hampered by excessive tolls.<sup>45</sup>

Another deterrent and hazard to traders moving to and fro from the south was the belt of pagan tribes located to the south of Hausaland. As a major source of slaves for the Hausa these tribes retaliated by attacking the caravans moving through their territory.<sup>46</sup> Despite the many hazards trans-Saharan and extraterritorial trade flourished such that by the end of the 19th Century, Hausaland contained the principal commercial center of the Western Sudan.

### Local Trade

While extraterritorial trade brought prosperity to Hausaland, local trade likewise flourished in a system of periodic markets. Many of the products available in the large commercial centers filtered down to the small local markets with limited tributary areas. Local

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<sup>44</sup>An example of the redistribution of goods, especially kola nuts, by the Hausa was the exportation of kola nuts from Kano to points as far east as Khartoum.

See Monteil Report, op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>45</sup>Colonial Report #346, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

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These local markets also functioned as points of contact between the local sedentary Hausa population and the pastoral nomadic Fulani groups that migrated back and forth between winter and summer pastures. These Fulani exchanged animal products on the local Hausa markets for grain, tools and a variety of other products. Also as many of the Fulani passed through an area with their herds they were permitted to graze farmland not under cultivation in exchange for the cattle manure. While for the most part there was a peaceful coexistence between the sedentary Hausa and the nomadic cow Fulani this was not always the case and some communities resented the periodic trespass of the Fulani. However, the location of Hausaland on the fringes of the Sahara and the zone of nomadism resulted in the local markets taking on a particular importance as places for exchange between the cultivators and the pastoralists, a function that persists down to this time.<sup>47</sup>

The even distribution of local markets evident throughout most of Hausaland was greatly interrupted in the borderlands area. The major problem being that this was a depopulated frontier of separation between opposing factions. The Fulani eradicated settlements and market towns within the frontier and consequently the pattern of local markets disappeared within the borderlands.

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<sup>47</sup>Nicole Echard, Etude Socio-Economique dans les Vallées de l'Ader Doutchi Majya, Documents des Etudes Nigériennes #15, (Bordeaux: Institut Fondamental de l'Afrique Noire, Centre Nigérienne de Recherche Scientifique, 1964), p. 16.

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## Migration

In addition to the patterns of trade and circulation that had evolved over the centuries within Hausaland there were also significant migrations of population. Voluntary movement in the form of a pilgrimage to Mecca, while temporary, was considerable. The journey during the pre-Colonial era took from three to seven years and followed a route from Kano to Maidugari to Fort Lamy and across the Sudan to Khartoum.<sup>48</sup> This route was also followed by pilgrims from Zinder and other points in present-day Niger.<sup>49</sup> Kano thus became an important starting point for Moslems filling this obligation. Early colonial reports estimated that 5,000 pilgrims annually crossed into Bornu, and while this number may have fluctuated, depending upon the stability and relationship between Bornu and the Hausa states, it does give some idea of the significance of the pilgrimage movement.<sup>50</sup>

Involuntary movement was also evident within the borderlands as peoples were forced to relocate due to frequent incursions and frequent attacks from opposing forces on either side of the frontier of separation. In addition peoples were carried off into slavery further disrupting and depopulating the frontier zone.

## Interdependence

As a result of its historical antecedents there existed a great deal of interdependence between Hausa organization and the patterns of

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<sup>48</sup>Colonial Report #594, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>49</sup>Archives, Ministère de la France d'Outre Mer, Affaires Politiques, Afrique Occidentale Française, Carton 910, Dossier 1.

<sup>50</sup>Colonial Report #594, loc. cit.

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movement and circulation. Hausa organization, development and prosperity was based upon trade and the role that the principal administrative centers played as entrepôts and front ports of Black Africa, inextricably tied Hausa organization with the patterns of circulation and movement. The prosperity of the Hausa States was dependent on open trade routes and every attempt was made to keep the trans-Saharan trade flowing. While periodically interstate jealousies and quarrels disrupted trade it was never entirely stopped. During the 19th Century trade became a little more difficult primarily due to the division between the Fulani Hausa States and the Habe States yet even during that time Kano and other commercial centers flourished.

By the end of the 19th Century just prior to the European penetration, the frontier of separation was undergoing a period of relative quiet. The stage was thus set for the rapid, yet rather peaceful, European penetration along two fronts, the British from the south and the French from the west along the open country of the Western Sudan.

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## CHAPTER V

### COLONIAL PERIOD: IMPOSED PATTERNS

#### PRELUDE TO EUROPEAN DOMINATION

##### Early European Penetration

For most of the 19th Century the Western Sudan was free from European encroachment and domination. Prior to 1890 the borderlands under consideration and the Western Sudan were explored by only a few European travellers most of whom were either British or German in the employ of Great Britain. From 1822-24 Denham, Oudney, and Clapperton journeyed in the Western Sudan. From 1855-57 Barth and Ouerweg, both Germans in the service of Great Britain, made explorative investigations of Hausaland. It was not until 1891 that another exploration of the area was undertaken, this time by a Frenchman named Monteil. By this time competition and conflict had arisen between the various colonial powers in various parts of West Africa.

The activities of the Europeans in the Western Sudan in the latter half of the 19th Century and especially after the Berlin Conference, 1885, marked a period of persistent acquisition of territory. Lake Chad became a focal point for expansion into the interior by the British, French, and Germans, from footholds on the Guinea and Atlantic coasts.

##### British and French Competition in West Africa

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meeting considerable resistance in the process. The French penetration became one of military conquest as the French encountered resistance from the Tuaregs in the Sudan and the Dahomean Kingdom in Dahomey. These military expeditions had to overcome the greatest difficulties that any colonial power encountered in Africa in the way of armed resistance, transporting supplies and keeping open their lines of communication. The French policy was to expand throughout the Sudan and connect its acquisitions with Equatorial Africa, and to protect the southern borders of Algeria and other North African possessions.<sup>1</sup> The French thus feared British encroachments and their objectives were to thwart British advances into Aïr from the south.

By contrast, the British penetration met with relatively little resistance, perhaps due to the fact that the initial interest was the establishment of trade agreements. The results of the Treaty of Berlin proved fortunate for Great Britain. By the terms of the Treaty, Britain gained sole trading rights in the Niger delta and along the Niger River, providing an excellent means of transportation into the interior. The success of Great Britain in gaining the exclusion of other European powers from the Niger is attributable to the activities of Sir George Taubman Goldie. As early as 1877, Goldie recognized the importance of trade in the Niger delta for Great Britain and formed the United Africa Company. Through Goldie the Company expanded into the National Africa Company, the forerunner of the Royal Niger Company which in 1886 received a Royal Charter with wide powers

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<sup>1</sup>J. R. V. Prescott, 'The Evolution of Nigeria's Political Boundaries,' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of London, London, 1961), p. 106.

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With trade guaranteed on the Niger, the Royal Niger Company pushed leisurely up the Niger expanding its trade and administration through treaties and agreements with the local chiefs. In many instances the representatives of the Royal Niger Company signed agreements beyond the effective administration of the Company and little was accomplished through these initial agreements. The signing of an agreement with the Emir of Sokoto and the King of Boussa by 1888, were two such instances, the prime motive being to thwart French penetration on the navigable Niger. (See Figure 18.) By signing these treaties, Goldie was convinced that Britain had accomplished one of its major aims. A later treaty signed in 1894 by Lord Lugard with Borgu, an indigenous State centered on Nikki west of the Niger River, essentially cut off French penetration through Dahomey to the navigable portion of the Niger River. The treaty with Sokoto, it was believed, guaranteed British rights to within 100 miles of Timbuctoo.<sup>3</sup>

The treaty between the British and Borgu was a safety measure and was specifically intended to arrest French expansion through Dahomey to the navigable Niger. Borgu fell under the hegemony of the Gandu Empire with which the Royal Niger Company already had agreements.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Historical Section of the Foreign Office, Partition of Africa: British Possessions. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), Vol. XV, #94, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints, Confidential #5610 Part I, Correspondence Respecting the Royal Niger Company, #22 Royal Niger Company to Paunceforte, January 11, 1887, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints, Confidential #5945, Further Correspondence Respecting the Royal Niger Company 1889, Part III, #175, Royal Niger Company to Foreign Office, June 17, 1889, p. 137.

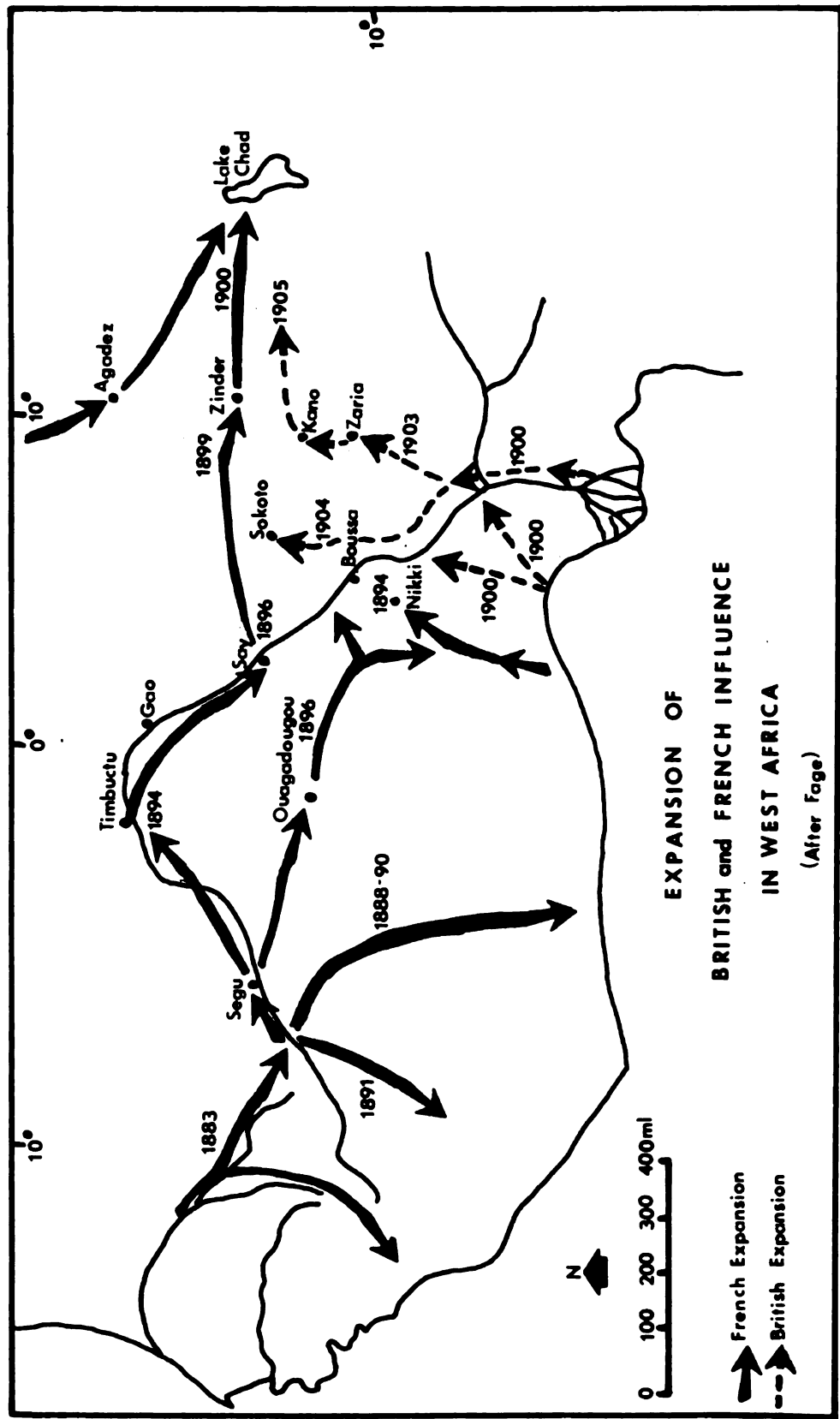


Figure 18

Because of the company's limited resources effective occupation and administration was not extended over Borgu or Sokoto. As a profit making organization, the Royal Niger Company was responsible to its shareholders and the heavy cost of administration inhibited rapid expansion. The Royal Niger Company absorbed 67 percent of the costs of administration and could not overextend its administration beyond receiving adequate profits. Furthermore, the company was explicit in deferring expansion until other powers, specifically France, should endanger British interests.<sup>5</sup>

The British policy in West Africa, and especially in Nigeria, was quite evident and well expressed by Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister, who stated:

To the French the Sahara and the northern caravan routes the sand and the bush and the waterless wastes; to the English Sokoto, Bornu and the splendid route of the navigable Niger and the fertile Benue Valley.<sup>6</sup>

The competition between France and Britain within this area was intense yet by 1888 the British felt their aims in thwarting French expansion in the Sudan had been accomplished. Despite the fact that neither Sokoto nor Borgu were effectively occupied, the signing of the treaties was sufficient and Britain became very complacent in their attitude toward French expansion. Goldie reported to the British Foreign Office that there was no danger of French competition on the Niger because French expansion was halted by the Tuaregs and also by

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<sup>5</sup>Confidential #5945, Ibid., #176, Royal Niger Company to Foreign Office, June 18, 1889, p. 137.

<sup>6</sup>Herbert Adams Gibbons, The New Map of Africa (1900-1916) A History of European Colonial Expansion and Colonial Diplomacy (New York: Century Company, 1916), p. 327.

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. . . which will make it impossible for European influence to extend anywhere between Timbuctoo and the Northern frontier of the Company . . . the position is very satisfactory to the company as it confirms the long held views that generations must elapse before there can be any fear of international complications arising from British and French possessions on the Niger having a common frontier.<sup>7</sup>

Within two years of this statement, France had broken the Tuareg resistance west of Timbuctoo and extended its influence rapidly east, forcing Britain to the conference table in 1890 in order to delimit the two power's sphere of influence. Conflict between the two powers arose chiefly over the western extent of the Sokoto Empire which Britain claimed to be within 100 miles of Timbuctoo. British authorities erroneously ascribed political significance to the religious significance of the Sokoto Empire. For while the Emir of Sokoto was recognized by Timbuctoo as a great religious leader his political influence extended only to the Niger.<sup>8</sup> The French, realizing this, pushed beyond Timbuctoo and threatened the security of Britain within the area.

Furthermore, the French finally subdued the Dahomey Kingdom and began extending its influence into Borgu. All these events occurred within one year of Goldie's statement that generations would elapse before there would be a direct confrontation between the two powers. The encroachments of the French into what the British regarded as their

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<sup>7</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints, Confidential #5753, Part II, Further Correspondence Respecting the Royal Niger Company 1888, #28, Royal Niger Company to Foreign Office, February 10, 1888, p. 48.

<sup>8</sup>J. C. Anene, "The International Boundaries of Nigeria, 1842-1914" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of London, London, 1959), p. 364.



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sphere of influence caused much consternation. With the contact between two powers they were forced to delimit their respective sphere of influence in an ambiance of keen competition, jealousy, and a desire for each to retain the greatest advantage. These decisions were reached in the French capital in 1890 with little knowledge of the natural, social, and political environments through which they were defining the initial boundary.

#### EVOLUTION OF THE BOUNDARY

The acquisition of territory by Great Britain and France brought these two powers in direct contact and resulted in the establishment of boundaries delimiting the sphere of influence of each power, thereby reducing conflict between the two. Four treaties and agreements were necessary in 1890, 1898, 1904, and 1906, before the boundary was eventually demarcated in 1908. An analysis of these agreements reveals the changing attitudes of the colonial powers with the evolution of the boundary from a straight line geometric boundary to one that considered the indigenous political patterns.

#### The Anglo-French Treaty 1890

The rapidity with which the negotiation and settlement by the British and French of the 1890 Agreement indicates an ignorance of the activities of each other within the area and an anxiety to define a primary boundary. (See Appendix A.) The Agreement which defined a straight line boundary appeared to achieve the aims of both powers, providing a sphere of influence excluding the other from further encroachment. By this treaty, France protected her possessions in North Africa and extended its territories to Lake Chad, thereby

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connecting France with her Equatorial possessions. The British had achieved their aims by excluding France from the navigable portion of the Niger River and securing trading rights with the northern Emirates.

The Agreement of 1890 stated:

That the Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognizes the sphere of influence of France to the south of her Mediterranean possessions up to a line from Say on the Niger to Barruwa on Lake Chad, drawn in such a way as to comprise in the sphere of action of the Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the Kingdom of Sokoto: the line to be determined by Commissioners appointed.<sup>9</sup>

The negotiations were neither lengthy nor the results precise for the establishment of a boundary and what resulted was a simple indication of each powers sphere of influence rather than a precise boundary.<sup>10</sup> Neither the British nor the French had penetrated the territory to any great extent prior to the Agreement of 1890 and both were willing to sign the Treaty providing time to consolidate their gains. Britain, by this Agreement, inhibited French expansion and essentially achieved the aim of pushing France into the fringes of the Sahara while guaranteeing the more fertile and populated regions for British domination.<sup>11</sup> (See Figure 19.)

Following the signing of the Treaty, the French sent an

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<sup>9</sup>Sir E. Hertslet, The Map of Africa by Treaty, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1896), Vol. 3, p. 571.

<sup>10</sup>Commandant Rivet, Notice Illustrée sur le Territoire Militaire du Niger et le Bataillon de Tirailleurs de Zinder (Paris: Lavauzelle, 1912), p. 38.

<sup>11</sup>K. Vignes, "La Rivalité d'Influence entre les Puissances Européennes en Afrique Equatoriale et Occidentale depuis l'Acte Général de Berlin jusqu'au Seuil de XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle," Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre Mer, 1961, p. 49.

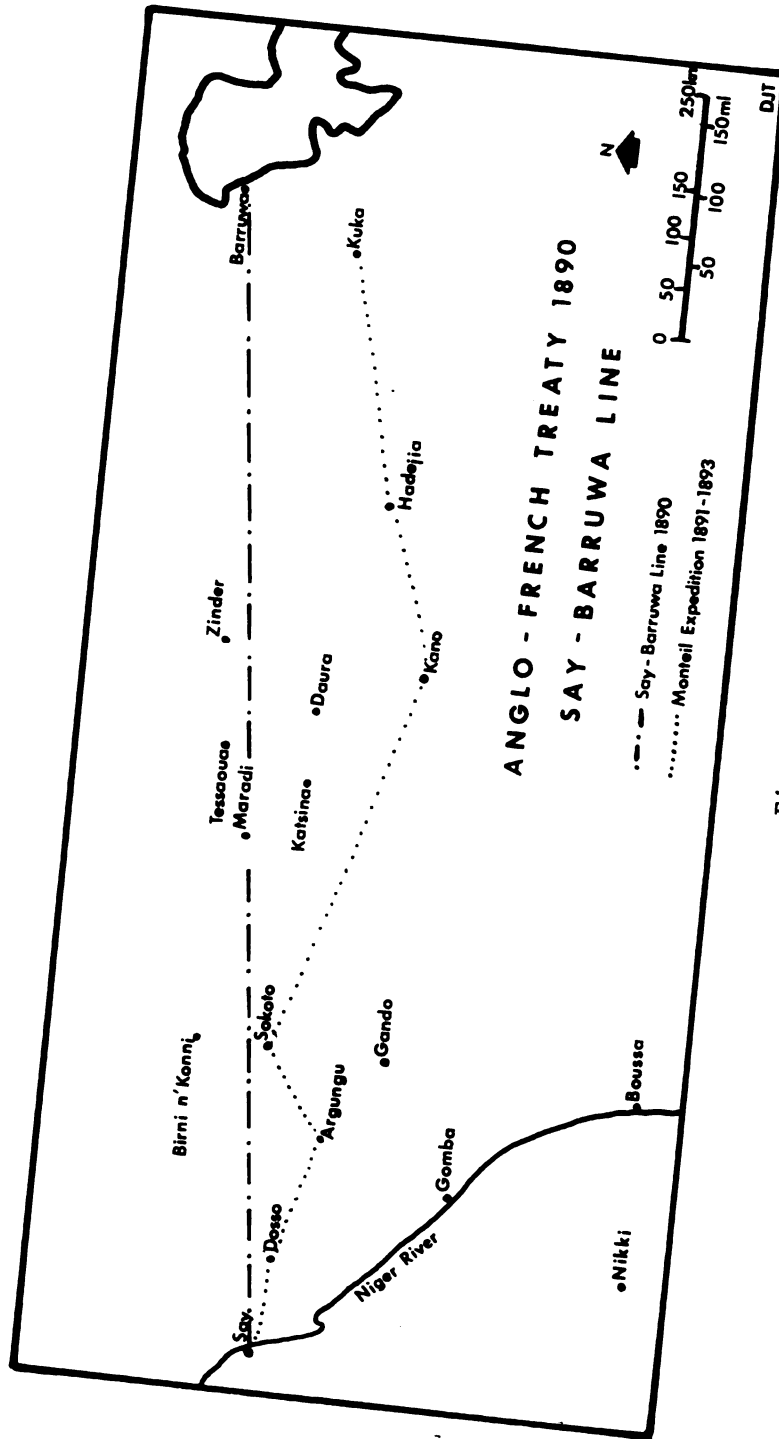


Figure 19

expedition, led by Monteil, by Say on the Niger with the express purpose of exploring the prevailing conditions along the Say-Barruwa line. The resulting data collected by Monteil, who travelled from Say to Kuka in Bornu passing through Argungu, Sokoto and Kano enroute, illustrated the hastiness with which France had signed the 1890 Agreement. While Britain had signed a treaty with Sokoto in 1884 there had been no effective occupation. The treaty with Sokoto was essentially a trade agreement by Britain providing for expansion of trade into the southern provinces of the Fulani Empire.<sup>12</sup> The lack of influence in Sokoto, and the fact that Great Britain had concluded no agreement with Bornu, demonstrated that France had overestimated British control in the area.<sup>13</sup> The expedition of Monteil south of the Say-Barruwa line brought criticism from Great Britain, especially when it was reported that Monteil had signed treaties with Sokoto and Bornu. The overall effect of the Monteil expedition was to produce French dissatisfaction with the Treaty of 1890 and Monteil himself advocated the reopening of negotiations to arrive at a more equitable boundary that would take into consideration the traditional political patterns and commercial routes.<sup>14</sup> Reports of other French expeditions into the area prompted Great Britain into requesting the resumption

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<sup>12</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints, Confidential #6164, Further Correspondence Respecting the Royal Niger Company 1891, Part V, #51, Royal Niger Company to Salisbury, p. 32.

<sup>13</sup>Mémoires et Documents, Afrique Possessions Anglaises de la Côte Occidentale -8, 1893-1894, Tome 131 le 3 Mai 1893, le Commandant Monteil à Monsieur le Sous Secrétaire d'Etat aux Colonies (Rapport sur le tracé de la ligne d'influence Franco-Anglaise), p. 84.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

of the Niger-Lake Chad Boundary Commission.<sup>15</sup>

The period from 1892 to 1898 was one of intensive negotiations between the boundary commissioners of Great Britain and France. Proposals and counter-proposals were offered by both powers in a search for a more satisfactory boundary.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to the discoveries of the Monteil expedition, French dissatisfaction with the Agreement of 1890 was prompted by the wording of the Treaty itself. Since the boundary was to be deflected so as to include "all that fairly belonged to the Kingdom of Sokoto," much of the ensuing debate centered upon the discussions over the extent of Sokoto Empire. The only published views on this subject were those of Barth, who indicated that the northern provinces of the Sokoto Empire included Kebbi, Adar, Gobir, Maradi, Tessaoua, and Kazaure.<sup>17</sup> The British negotiators extended the northern provinces to include Aïr or Asben, Agades and Damergou.<sup>18</sup> By claiming these northern provinces, Britain was literally pushing the French into the wastelands of the Sahara. The British argued that to accept a straight line boundary these northern provinces would be cut off from Sokoto

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<sup>15</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints, Confidential #6364, Papers Relating to West African Negotiations 1889-92, #98, Dufferin to Salisbury, April 8, 1892.

<sup>16</sup>For an excellent summary of the various proposals and counter-proposals, the concessions and disputes that arose between Great Britain and France in attempting to redefine the boundary, see Prescott, 1961, op. cit., pp. 108-115.

<sup>17</sup>H. Barth, Travels in Nigeria 1850-1855 (London: Oxford University Press), II, p. 156.

<sup>18</sup>Confidential #6164, loc. cit.

Also see Foreign Office Confidential Prints, Confidential #6471, Correspondence Respecting the Niger Territories, 1893, #184, Royal Niger Company to Foreign Office, August 2, 1893, p. 152.





and this could only have serious political repercussions.

While the Monteil expedition discredited British claims by emphasizing that Sokoto's influence over these northern provinces was religious and not political, the British obviously did not accept the Monteil report but continued to rely on Barth to support their claims. As a result of the Monteil report the view was expressed by the French that the actual political authority of Sokoto lay south of the Say-Barruwa line and consequently the boundary should be deflected south and not north of the line.<sup>19</sup>

A second factor that caused French dissatisfaction with the 1890 Agreement was the realization that she had apparently ceded all rights to Bornu, an area in which Great Britain had no treaty agreement.<sup>20</sup> Since the treaty was not explicit, either in terms of the extent of the Sokoto Empire or in terms of territories where neither power had agreements beyond Sokoto, the French developed their own interpretation of the Say-Barruwa line. The French viewed the Say-Barruwa line as barring British expansion northward and French expansion southward; however, it did not specifically disbar French expansion from any other direction and acquiring territory not belonging to Sokoto.<sup>21</sup> With this interpretation the treaties signed between

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<sup>19</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints, Confidential #6837, Further Correspondence Respecting the Niger Territories 1896, Part V, #34, Salisbury to Dufferin, February 7, 1896, p. 47.

<sup>20</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints, Confidential #6476, Further Correspondence Respecting the Niger Territories 1894, #36, Rosebery to Dufferin, March 9, 1894, p. 36.

<sup>21</sup>Archives, Ministère d'Outre Mer, Afrique VI dossier 142, Commission de la Délimitation des Possessions Françaises et Anglaises dans la Région du Niger, 1<sup>ère</sup> Séance le 29 Octobre 1897, p. 13.  
Also see Confidential #6837, op. cit., Dufferin to Salisbury, February 15, 1896, p. 88.

Monteil and Bornu were given legitimacy. Other expeditions, such as that of Lieutenant Mizon, who took advantage of the Niger Navigation Act 1885, which guaranteed freedom of transit and proceeded up the Benue River signing treaties with local chiefs, were also recognized by France. Such activities by the French brought scathing denunciations from Great Britain who claimed violation of their sphere of influence.<sup>22</sup>

The French unilateral interpretation of the Treaty of 1890 caused considerable consternation in Great Britain and is admirably expressed in the following quotation by the Earl of Rosebery:

It is absurd to suppose that Great Britain would have denied France access to the British sphere by a toilsome march across the desert and left her free access to it by a navigable waterway. Common sense excludes such an interpretation. The Agreement in plain terms draws a line of demarcation between the spheres of activity of the two countries. Political action on the part of Great Britain to the north, or France south of the line would be a violation of the formal understanding between the two powers.<sup>23</sup>

Despite British protestations, France continued to interpret the Treaty of 1890 unilaterally, not so much from the point of view that France had legitimate claims, but more as a diplomatic ploy to acquire concessions from Great Britain for the establishment of a more equitable boundary. For a time Britain considered turning Gambia over to France in order that France take a more reasonable view toward the Say-Barruwa line.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Confidential #6164, loc. cit.

<sup>23</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints, Confidential #6572, Further Correspondence Respecting the Niger Territories 1894, #36, Rosebery to Dufferin, March 9, 1894, p. 34.

<sup>24</sup>Confidential #6364, op. cit., #190 Phipps to Anderson, October 23, 1892, pp. 203-204.

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In addition to contesting the extent of the Sokoto Empire and the right of Great Britain in Bornu where no local treaty had been signed, the French also contested the British views of Borgu. The subjugation of the Dahomean Kingdom resulted in France pushing into Borgu where French representatives signed treaties with the local chiefs. During this period the French became exceedingly ambitious and pushed not only for Borgu in its entirety but also for a position on the navigable Niger below the Bussa Falls. The activities of the French in Borgu and especially the establishment of army posts resulted in strained relations between France and Britain. It was at this time that Britain organized the West African Frontier Force under Lugard and a confrontation between the two powers resulted.<sup>25</sup>

While the Borgu situation was not concerned with the Say-Barruwa line, the activities of both the French and British in this area had repercussions in the rectification of the Say-Barruwa line. France, bargaining from a position of strength on the basis of treaties signed by local chiefs in Borgu (although Britain had treaties with both Gando and the King of Borgu at Nikki) and the threatened recognition by France of a treaty between Gando and Germany, forced Great Britain into concessions in West Borgu.<sup>26</sup>

The dangerous situation that was created in Borgu between Britain and France eventually resulted in a compromise and the signing of a new treaty for the establishment of a boundary between the territories of the European powers in West Africa.

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<sup>25</sup>A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, British Nigeria (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1902), p. 207.

<sup>26</sup>Prescott 1961, op. cit., p. 115.

Anglo-French Treaty 1898

By 1898 the British were coming to a realization of the weakness of their claims in regard to the northern extent of the Sokoto Empire. They found that they were unable to prove Sokoto's political hegemony over Gando. While Barth had claimed that Gobir belonged to Sokoto the British discovered the only claim they had was that Usman dan Fodio had resided in this area.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Sokoto's claim to Asben was negligible and was not even included within the hegemony of Sokoto by Barth. All that Britain had to back up their claim was a treaty of 1894 between the Emir of Sokoto and Goldie in which the Emir himself claimed jurisdiction over Asben. Such "proof" was hardly acceptable for a basis of British claims. In addition, no proof was available that Maradi, Tessaoua, or Damergou could fairly be included within the territory of Sokoto.<sup>28</sup> Britain was just becoming aware of conditions within the area, conditions that Monteil had reported on as early as 1892.

While Britain found itself in a very weak bargaining position in respect to the boundary between the Niger River and Lake Chad, it was the prevailing conditions in Borgu that generated the necessity for negotiation on the boundary between Dahomey and Nigeria and, subsequently between the Niger River and Lake Chad. The British feared French intervention in Bornu, south of the Say-Barruwa line on a scale that had occurred in Borgu. In order to alleviate this threat,

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<sup>27</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints, Confidential #7297  
Further Correspondence Respecting the Niger Territories 1898, Part XI,  
 #95, Monson to Salisbury, May 16, 1898, p. 132.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

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Britain recognized French claims to the northern and eastern shores of Lake Chad, if in turn, France recognized the Anglo-German boundary south of Lake Chad.<sup>29</sup>

The Borgu question was finally settled by extending the Dahomean boundary north to Ilo on the Niger. This pushed France above the Bussa Falls and also gave Britain possession of Ilo, an important starting point of the trade route to Gando, Argungu, and Sokoto.<sup>30</sup> From Ilo the boundary followed the median line of the river to the point where the Dallol Maouri entered the Niger River.<sup>31</sup> By this agreement, Great Britain conceded much of western Borgu and gave France two enclaves on the Niger River; one in the delta region at the mouth of the Focados River, and the other upstream at Badjibo, north of Jebba.<sup>32</sup>

Following these concessions Great Britain and France undertook two months of intensive negotiations over the boundary to be established between the Niger River and Lake Chad. Despite bargaining from a position of weakness the final result was assuredly in favor of Great Britain.

The acceptance of a straight line boundary between Say and Barruwa was unacceptable to Great Britain, for such a boundary would pass too close to Sokoto and Wurmu (the capital of the Sokoto Empire). The close proximity of the French to Sokoto brought fears of a

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., #160, Colonial Office to Foreign Office, June 4, 1898, p. 208.

<sup>31</sup>Sir Edward Hertslet, The Map of Africa by Treaty (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909), p. 787.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 791, 812-815.



conspiracy between the French and Sokoto, thus it was suggested by Goldie that the boundary should be kept at a radius of at least 50 miles, and possibly 100 miles, from Sokoto.<sup>33</sup>

It was upon the basis of a proposal made by Great Britain that the final agreement was reached. The initial proposal by Britain suggested following the Dallol Maouri to a point where it intersected the arc of a circle, a radius of 100 miles from the town of Sokoto. Following the arc from north to east until it met the northern boundary of Gobir, this boundary was to be followed eastward to its intersection with 14° north latitude, then along the 14th parallel to Barruwa.<sup>34</sup> Had France accepted this proposal, Britain would have retained Mauri, Adar, Gobir, Maradi, Tessaoua and even Zinder to which Britain had no claim.<sup>35</sup> Britain realized that its claims were weak to most of these areas but nevertheless the proposal was made.

Several counter proposals were made by France; however, the British proved themselves very adept at negotiating. By persistently laying claim to Asben, Britain was able to acquire considerable concession from France in return for giving up their "claims" in Asben.<sup>36</sup>

The final Agreement between Britain and France was signed on June 14, 1898 in Paris. Britain received the arc, a radius of 100 miles from Sokoto, that they initially proposed. (See Appendix B.)

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<sup>33</sup>Confidential #7297, op. cit., #95, Monson to Salisbury, May 16, 1898.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., #98, Monson to Salisbury, May 17, 1898, p. 136.

<sup>35</sup>Prescott, 1961, op. cit., p.119.

<sup>36</sup>op. cit., Confidential #7297, #121 Gosselin and Everett to Monson, May 19, 1898, p. 156.

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The boundary followed the arc until it intersected the 14th parallel, then it struck east along the parallel for 70 miles, from which point the boundary followed south until it intersected the 13° 20' parallel. This parallel formed the boundary for 250 miles then it struck north to the 14th parallel. From the 14th parallel eastward to the intersection with "the median passing 35' east of the centre of the town of Kuka, and thence southward until its intersection with the southern shore of Lake Chad." (See Figure 20.)

The French were willing to sign the agreement since it guaranteed that the northern extension of Sokoto was 100 miles from Sokoto and Britain could no longer claim Asben.<sup>37</sup> Although Britain was bargaining from a position of weakness, she gained considerably from the Agreement. All the major border towns of present day Niger, with the exception of Zinder, fell within the British sphere of influence.

Such a geometric boundary that was defined and delimited by the Agreement of 1898 could hardly conform to the indigenous political organization. Local conditions were given no consideration; consequently, the arc cut deep into Adar, separated Gobir and Tessaoua, and placed Maradi within the British sphere of influence. Finally Damagarim was divided between the two European powers with Zinder being located within the French sphere.

While Britain was negotiating from a point of weakness in terms of treaty claims, the French were also negotiating from a point

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<sup>37</sup>Ministère des Affaires Etrangères - Service des Archives Diplomatique et de la Documentation, Papiers Delcassé, Angleterre I Fachoda 1898, Vol. 13, Hanotaux to Delcasse, Paris, le 21 Juin 1898.



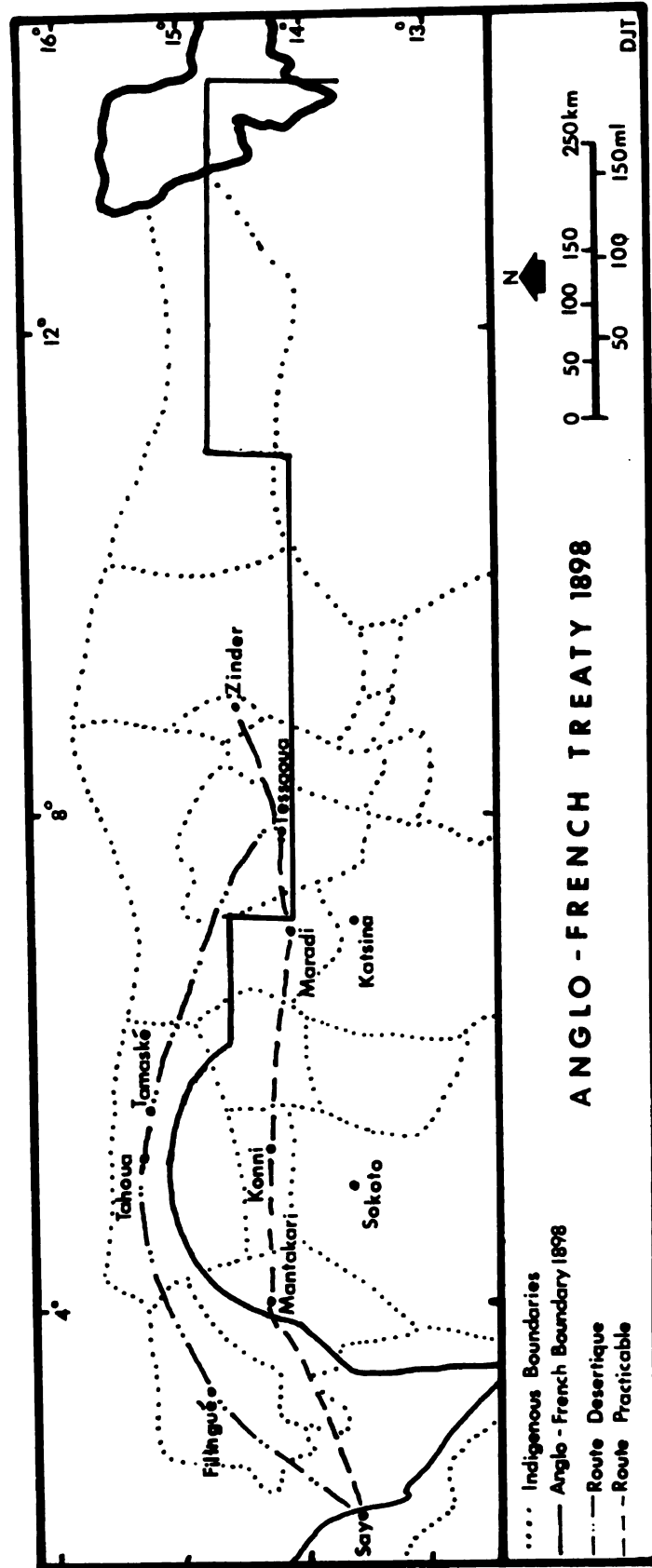


Figure 20



of weakness in terms of geographic ignorance. While the Monteil expedition had revealed information on the traditional political organization, geographic information was lacking. The ill-fated expedition led by Captain Cazemajou 1897-98, was in progress gathering data during the boundary negotiations. When Cazemajou was assassinated by the Emir of Zinder his reports did not reach Paris until after the closure of the Paris negotiations.<sup>38</sup>

At the signing of the 1898 Agreement, France regarded the boundary as an equitable solution; however, it soon became apparent that the Treaty of 1898 pushed the French north of Dogondoutchi and Mantakari into the desert zone of Azaouak. The main aim of French expansion through the West Sudan was to establish an effective liaison between its North African possessions and its Equatorial possessions. By the 1898 Agreement, while contiguity of territory was achieved, it proved valueless since there was no effective communication between Say and Zinder.<sup>39</sup> The Sokoto arc forced the French into the desert areas where a watered route between Say and Zinder was not available. (See Figure 20.)

Following the 1898 Agreement the French territory became the Troisième Territoire Militaire du Niger with headquarters at Zinder. It thus became imperative for communications to be established between Zinder and the Niger River if Zinder were to become the emerging core

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<sup>38</sup>Rivet, op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>39</sup>Archives Nationales Dakar, Gouvernement Général d'Afrique Occidentale Française (3F10) Délimitation de la Nigeria: Mission Mall 1901-03, Commandant Supérieur des Troupes de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, le 21 Décembre 1901.

area of Niger. Two routes were open to French convoys from the Niger to Zinder. One was located within the boundaries of French territory and passed to the north of the arc through Filingué, Tahoua, Tamaské, Tessaoua to Zinder. This was a circuitous and waterless route and was referred to as the route désertique. The most difficult stretch was located between Filingué and Tahoua, a distance of over 150 miles (250 kilometres), an uninhabited waterless wasteland where several convoys met with disaster.<sup>40</sup>

The second route, that had been available to France prior to the 1898 Convention was the route praticable, the well watered route that passed from Say via Mantakari, Birni n'Konni, Maradi, and Tessaoua to Zinder. By the 1898 Agreement, Mantakari, Birni n'Konni and Maradi all fell under British jurisdiction. In order for France to maintain contact with and revictual Zinder it meant relying upon a transit route through British Territory. The French found their reliance on the British irritating, especially the stringent regulations that the British imposed upon French convoys.

While permission was granted to France to pass through British territory, they had to be escorted by a British officer. Furthermore, Britain would only grant permission for a few months of each year, from August to November. Such a short period was insufficient time to revictual Zinder and other posts east of Tahaoua.<sup>41</sup> Periodic requests to lengthen the duration of transit rights were rejected by

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<sup>40</sup>Archives Nationales, Dakar, Gouvernement Général d'Afrique Occidentale Française (3F1) Relations avec la Nigeria #46, "Rapport sur les relations avec les autorités Anglaises (relativement du passage de nos convois en Territoire Britannique)" le 23 Décembre 1902.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.



the British as being too costly to provide escorts and that the British officers were needed elsewhere.<sup>42</sup> Additional restrictions such as the disarming of French convoys upon entering British territory and adequate advance warning when the French wished to move through British territory created extremely strained relations between the two powers.<sup>43</sup>

It became apparent to the French that the situation was intolerable and a movement was soon underway to effect a rectification of the 1898 boundary. The only alternative open to France was to rely upon the British for droit de passage, abandon their posts for two-thirds of the year which was an unthinkable alternative, or violate Britain's territoriality.

The dilemma of France is adequately summarized in a report of Colonel Peroz, one of the early administrators of Niger:

Unfortunately it is quite impossible for me to follow the advice which you tender referring to that of not holding or crossing the territories adjoining our mutual boundary. Perhaps you do not fully take into consideration that in such places as the delimitation of 1898 extends northwards (to British advantage as far as all the country north of the Sokoto and Bornu is concerned), such delimitation forces French territory back onto sterile country, where we cannot mark out to our satisfaction a direction (lit. road) which might suit us. Our stores are bound to follow a line passing from one water supply to the next, which is the method of reaching, with the least difficulty portions most favored by nature of the district under my command. Since this route is fairly close to our mutual undefined frontier it is not feasible for us to alter it. For the latter case would mean that we should have to retire

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<sup>42</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Ibadan, Chief Secretary's Office 1/27/2 Governor of Northern Nigeria to Colonial Office, October 7, 1902.

<sup>43</sup>Archives Nationales, Dakar, Relations avec la Nigeria #46, loc. cit.

farther north into the desert, where especially in the dry season, we should find neither water nor other necessities.<sup>44</sup>

Boundary violations on the part of France were frequent, not only in the area of the arc, but along the entire length of the boundary. Since the boundary had not been demarcated it was difficult to determine the precise location. The British frequently accused the French of occupying towns and establishing posts within British territory. The establishment of a French post at Guidambado caused the British considerable consternation. Tahaoua was yet another town claimed by both the British and the French. When it was discovered that a French post had been established at Tahaoua, a British officer was sent to reside in the town.<sup>45</sup> The aim of the British in claiming Tahaoua was to further dislocate French communications. Had Britain retained Tahaoua the route from Filingué to Zinder would have been an impossible undertaking.<sup>46</sup>

The most flagrant violation by the French was in Bornu, where the British had no effective control. On several occasions the French entered Bornu, deposed local chiefs and levied taxes. On one occasion the French penetrated 150 miles into British territory after one Fad el Allah, a brigand that had been raiding French territory.

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<sup>44</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Ibadan, Chief Secretary's Office 1/27/2 Governor of Northern Nigeria to Colonial Office, April 8, 1902.

<sup>45</sup>Archives Nationales, Dakar, Relations avec la Nigeria #46, loc. cit.

Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Ibadan, Chief Secretary's Office 1/27/2 Governor of Northern Nigeria to Colonial Office, September 16, 1902.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

The French successfully eliminated Fad el Allah and his band then proceeded to levy indemnity and concessions against the people of Bornu.<sup>47</sup>

In 1900 Northern Nigeria became a British Protectorate and the Charter of the Royal Niger Company was revoked. The administration of the Protectorate was thus under the direct supervision of the British government. In 1900 British influence in the northern Emirates was negligible and the British had to undertake a series of campaigns in order to pacify the area. This show of force on the part of the British, especially in the northwest, was to restore confidence in the British since French violation of British territory in the region of the arc had undermined British influence within the area.<sup>48</sup>

The persistent violation of British territoriality tended to undermine British authority over the Hausa and prompted the British to undertake pacification in Sokoto, Kano, Katsina and Bornu. This was accomplished because:

The French point of view apparently is, that so long as the British had taken no effective control in their sphere they were free to enter into what relations they please with the local chiefs and to come to their assistance with armed forces provided they made it appear that they had done so at their invitation.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Sir F. D. Lugard, Colonial Reports - Annual #377 Northern Nigeria, Report for 1901 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903), p. 9.

<sup>48</sup>Sir F. D. Lugard, Colonial Reports - Annual #346 Northern Nigeria, Report for 1900 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902), p. 27.

<sup>49</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Ibadan, Chief Secretary's Office 1/27/2, Governor of Northern Nigeria to Colonial Office, May 17, 1902.

Because of these frequent violations Britain called for the fulfillment of the 1898 Convention that declared a boundary commission was to be provided and the boundary to be demarcated within two years of the ratification of the treaty.<sup>50</sup> This Commission was appointed and was led by Colonel Elliot of Great Britain and Captain Moll of France who carried out the task of demarcating the boundary in 1903. The French took the opportunity to do more than just demarcate the boundary and collected pertinent data of conditions within the borderlands.<sup>51</sup>

The frequent confrontation between Britain and France within the area was certainly enhanced by the British attitude toward a route de passage for French convoys. The British were very much aware of France's dilemma and two points of view were evident. The local administration viewed the situation more from the point of view of security and were against making concessions to the French. Lugard reported his views in the following statement:

. . . that the British government should view this question rather from the standpoint of absolutely vital necessity to France obtaining a route which would connect her Senegal Empire with that of Tchad and Congo, than from the standpoint as to whether the key which we fortunately hold in our hands is of much or little value to ourselves. I added that if (as the French papers seem to indicate) Zinder itself would have to be abandoned if such a route was not obtained the importance of the question far transcends what it first seemed to be, a mere rectification of the frontier for which the abandonment of the enclaves might be adequate compensation. I further emphasized the enormous advantage

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<sup>50</sup>Hertslet, 1909, loc. cit.

<sup>51</sup>Archives Nationales, Dakar. Gouvernement Général d'Afrique Occidentale Française "Moll Report" (3F11) Délimitation de la Nigeria: Mission Moll 1903-04, Capitaine Moll à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française.

it would be to Great Britain to get rid of French occupation of Zinder if such a result should prove to be in our power (a) commercially, so as to prevent the French from forming a cordon around Northern Nigeria and cutting off all trade from the north, (b) politically since the occupation of Zinder by a powerful force is a strong strategic position threatening Kano and Katsena.<sup>52</sup>

The local administration hoped to force the French out of Zinder and retain the boundary of 1898. This view was in direct contrast to the view of the British Foreign Office that saw in this situation an opportunity to force France into a number of concessions in various other parts of the world.

On several occasions negotiations were opened between Britain and France to try to resolve the problems of a route practicable for France in exchange for various concessions. Initially Britain was bargaining from a position of great strength until the French announced that a series of wells had been established around the Sokoto arc thereby facilitating the movement of French convoys through French territory.<sup>53</sup> With this announcement Britain's bargaining position was weakened, but the French were nevertheless interested in obtaining more fertile and habitable territory. With the completion of the demarcation of the boundary in 1903 and the data collected by Captain Moll, the French proposed redefining the boundary

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<sup>52</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Ibadan, Chief Secretary's Office 1/27/2, Governor of Northern Nigeria to Colonial Office, March 1, 1902.

<sup>53</sup>Archives Nationales, Dakar, Gouvernement Général d'Afrique Occidentale Française (3F11) Délimitation de la Nigeria: Convention Franco-Anglaise le 8 Avril 1904 #79, Colonel Aymerich à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française le 6 Juin 1904.

to coincide with the local political frontiers. Thus for the first time in the negotiations thought was being given to the local conditions. Obviously France saw a great advantage in making this suggestion, since France could claim considerable territory to the south of the 1898 boundary, ensuring for itself a route practicable. Initially France was interested in acquiring Maradi and Tessaoua with whom the French had signed treaties in 1900.<sup>54</sup>

Britain refused to entertain the suggestion that if tribal considerations were observed in one portion of the boundary the whole of the boundary should be drawn based on the same criteria. France then proposed using the Sokoto and Rima River to form the boundary, then to follow the boundary of Maradi and Tessaoua.

This suggestion was rejected by Britain but a counter proposal proposed that the boundary should pass 20 kilometres south of Dosso and 15 kilometres north of Birni n'Konni.<sup>55</sup> Subsequent concessions by both Great Britain and France led to the signing of an Agreement in London on April 8, 1904.

#### The Anglo-French Treaties of 1904 and 1906.

The signing of the 1904 Agreement was part of a package deal that included concessions from various parts of the world. (See Appendix C.) The aims of both Great Britain and France were met in the redefining of the boundary between the Niger River and Lake Chad. Britain secured the repeal of the Newfoundland Treaty Shore rights,

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<sup>54</sup>Prescott, 1961, op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>55</sup>Foreign Office Confidential Prints #3686, Foreign Office, France (Africa) Lansdowne to Cambon, February 5, 1904, p. 295-296.

where French fishermen had fishing privileges in Newfoundland. In addition, the abolishment by France of the Niger enclaves was secured. In return Britain conceded a portion of the Sokoto arc, giving France a route practicable and control of Maradi, Tessaoua and Zinder.<sup>56</sup>

Guidelines for the final demarcation were laid down by the Agreement whereby consideration of trade routes, political organization especially in the region of Maradi, Tessaoua and Zinder proved favorable to France. For the most part the boundary, especially through the Hausa speaking area, was defined in anthropogeographic terms; however, to the east through Bornu, the boundary followed the Komadougou Yobe River to where it debouched into Lake Chad and within Lake Chad the boundary was defined in geometric terms.<sup>57</sup>

For the first time in the evolution of the boundary between the Niger and Lake Chad was defined in terms of local cultural features. Despite the attempt to follow the local political frontiers along part of the boundary, the Agreement was very imprecise. For the next two years representatives from Britain and France studied the data that had accumulated from the various expeditions and surveys that had been undertaken within the borderlands. With these data a more precise boundary was defined and delineated, again quite advantageous to the French.

The Agreement of 1906 formed the basis of the boundary that exists today. In the west the boundary was shifted east beyond the Dallol Maouri into the uninhabited zone between Kebbi in the east

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<sup>56</sup>Foreign Office, France (Diplomatic) #3616, 1903, Landsowne to Monson, July 2, 1903.  
Hertslet, op. cit., p. 818.

<sup>57</sup>Prescott, 1961, op. cit., p. 133.

and Djerma Dendi and Maouri in the west. This decision and concession by Great Britain was in compliance with a desire not to disrupt the local trade routes and settlement patterns in addition to keeping the towns and villages in the Dallol Maouri under their traditional rulers.<sup>58</sup>

North of Sokoto the boundary was shifted south of Birni n'Konni to within 60 miles of Sokoto. This action reunited Birni n'Konni with Gobir which for the most part had been placed under French jurisdiction by the 1904 Agreement. Farther east the boundary of Maradi was shifted south into the depopulated frontier of separation between the Maradawa and Katsinawa. In the region of Damagarim the boundary placed Daura and Zango within British territory. Although Daura lost a considerable amount of its traditional lands to the French, the events of the 19th Century had greatly reduced Daura's territory and it was upon the basis of the contemporary scene that the boundary commissioners delimited the boundary. Further rectification was made in Lake Chad and along the Komadougou Yobe whereby the indigenous population along both banks of the river was given fishing rights in both the Lake and the river.<sup>59</sup> The boundary delimited by the 1906 Agreement was defined in very precise terms referencing towns, villages and pathways.

(See Appendix D.)

Realizing the difficulty of defining a boundary by treaty, the Commissioners in an annex to the Agreement empowered the demarcation committee to deflect the boundary whenever necessary so as not to disrupt the local communities. Any major deflection, however, was

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 819.



to be submitted to the boundary commissioners for ratification.<sup>60</sup> Further consideration was given to the indigenous population whose territory was being transferred from one power to another. Those that desired to remain under the jurisdiction of the power that then dominated them were free to transfer across the boundary within one year of the demarcation.<sup>61</sup>

It was only after careful consideration of the local cultural landscape that the final Agreement of 1906 was delineated and ratified by both European governments. Over a period of 16 years the boundary between the Niger River and Lake Chad had evolved from a geometric boundary to an anthropogeographic boundary whereby consideration was given to the indigenous political organizations. (See Figure 21.) In the Hausa dominated area of the borderlands the boundary has not been superimposed but instead it is an antecedent boundary passing through the uninhabited area of the frontier of separation. To the north of the boundary under French rule were the Hausa States that successfully resisted domination by the Fulani jihad, whereas south of the boundary lay all those Hausa States that were subdued by Sokoto.

### Demarcation

In accordance with the terms of the 1906 Agreement, a Boundary Demarcation Commission was chosen with representatives from both Great Britain and France. Major O'Shee led the British contingency and Captain Tilho led the French demarcation commission which surveyed

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 586.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

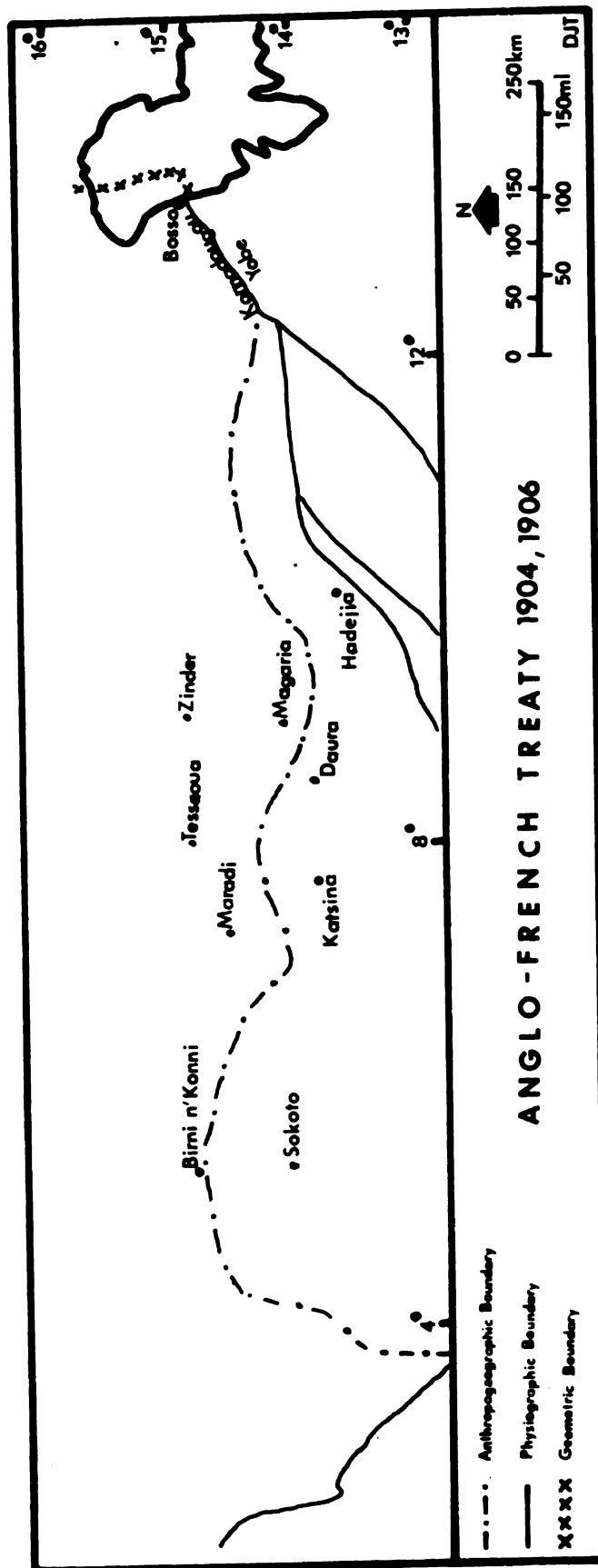


Figure 21

and demarcated the boundary upon the landscape during the period between 1906-1908.

The French viewed the demarcation of the boundary as an occasion to do more than merely survey and establish boundary pillars, but as an opportunity also to gather additional data about their newly acquired territories. Tilho received instructions to report on the anthropology, history and languages within the borderlands of French territory. In addition, information concerning Lake Chad, geology, meteorology, astronomy, and the health and diseases of the indigenous population was also recorded.<sup>62</sup> Among the commissioners sent to demarcate the boundary were French specialists that collected a considerable amount of data. Because of the thoroughness of the French survey the actual demarcation of the boundary was periodically held up and this delay was regarded with impatience by the British demarcation commissioners whose sole purpose was to survey and demarcate the boundary.

The actual demarcation of the boundary was accomplished between 1906 and 1908 with 148 beacons demarcating the precise location of the boundary. These beacons as identified in the Treaty Series Number 1, were of five types:

Class A    A group of four palm-tree posts disposed around a fifth central post which carries a tri-colour enamelled iron plaque, 8 inches by 6 inches, with the inscription:

Delimitation 1907  
Borne No \_\_\_\_\_

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<sup>62</sup>Archives Nationales, Dakar, Gouvernement Général d'Afrique Occidentale Française. (3F14) Délimitation de la Nigeria - Mission Tilho 1906-1908, #38, Capitaine Tilho à Monsieur le Ministère des Colonies le 7 Août 1907.

- Class B    A conical pillar built of dry stone, cemented on top except where stated, to which is fixed the number plaque above mentioned.
- Class C    The upper length of an iron telegraph pole of Northern Nigeria pattern, 15 feet long, fixed in the ground at a depth of 4 feet to 5 feet, carrying at the top the numbered plaque above mentioned and generally cemented at the base.
- Class D    The cast iron base socket, 5 feet long, of an iron telegraph pole, fixed point uppermost in the ground, at a depth of 3 feet. The numbered plaque is fixed to a tree close by.
- Class E    A tree, stripped of all except the upper branches, to which the numbered plaque is fastened at a height of 10 feet to 15 feet above the ground. A clearing has been formed around the tree.<sup>63</sup>

The majority of pillars used in the demarcation of the boundary were of Class B and C, although today little evidence of these pillars exist.<sup>64</sup>

In a total of nine places the boundary was deflected in order to preserve the indigenous political structure or to prevent the boundary from running directly through a town or village.<sup>65</sup> In special cases the request of leaders such as the Emir of Sokoto to have Sabon Birni remain under his hegemony, or the Emir of Daura at Zango desire to

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<sup>63</sup>Treaty Series, 1912 (pamphlet) Number 1 - Agreement between the United Kingdom and France Respecting the Delimitation East of the Niger. London, February 12, 1910 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912).

<sup>64</sup>Despite several days spent in attempting to locate evidence of boundary markers the author was unsuccessful. Even with the assistance of customs officials and village chiefs within the immediate vicinity of the boundary no markers were found. Only one pillar made of iron within the vicinity of the boundary north of Zango was pointed out to be a boundary pillar. (See Figure 22.) However, no inscription could be found to identify it as such, although the local customs officials regarded it as a boundary marker.

<sup>65</sup>Prescott, 1961, op. cit., p. 135.



Figure 22

## IRON BOUNDARY PILLAR NEAR ZANGO

Although the above marker was identified by customs officials as a boundary marker, no identifying inscription was found. The height and general appearance of this marker closely fits the description of the Class C pillar used in the demarcation of the boundary 1906-1908.

remain within British territory were considered and respected by the Boundary Commission.<sup>66</sup>

Following the completion of the demarcation, provision was made for the maintenance of the boundary markers. It was the responsibility of France to maintain the markers from 1 to 74, and the remainder to be maintained by Great Britain.<sup>67</sup> However, the periodic resurveys and replacement of boundary markers was not undertaken as often as was essential. The rapid deterioration and the apparent disregard for the pillars by the indigenous population did much to destroy the careful work of the Commission. It was reported that the plaques were often stolen by the indigenes and sold to the local blacksmiths.<sup>68</sup>

A further attempt to clearly demarcate the boundary was undertaken along the northern boundary of Katsina Province. For a distance of 208.5 miles, from beacon 64 to 117, the British, utilizing indigenous labor, dug a trench to further differentiate British from French colonial acquisitions.<sup>69</sup> Despite these efforts, within four years a report on the condition of the boundary pillars showed not only the state of disrepair of the pillars but also that the trench was ill

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<sup>66</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Ibadan, Chief Secretary's Office 1/27/14, Resident of Sokoto to High Commissioner July 15, 1904.

Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Kaduna, Anglo-French Boundary File 1655, Vol. II, Palmer to O'Shee, June 9, 1907.

<sup>67</sup>Archives Nationales, Dakar, Gouvernement Générale de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, (3F18) Délimitation de la Nigeria: Reparations des Bornes Frontiers 1910-1918, #6, Col. Venal à Monsieur le Gouvernor Général le 20 Février 1915.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Kaduna. File 1655, Vol. I, Report on the Anglo-French Boundary, Jan-May, 1910.

defined and in most places indistinguishable.<sup>70</sup> Again in 1927 the boundary was cleared and retrenched by the French. Within one year the trench had been obliterated by cultivation and the indigenous inhabitants were informed that no cultivation would be permitted within 50 yards of the boundary.<sup>71</sup>

Despite initial efforts, the maintenance of the boundary was essentially abandoned and no reference to it is made from 1914 until 1950, at which time the British wished to resurvey a portion of the boundary, and it was only with great difficulty that the old boundary markers were found.<sup>72</sup>

#### Areas of Superimposition

Although the guidelines of the Treaty of May 29, 1906, stressed the importance of following indigenous political frontiers of separation and the desire to preserve existing trade routes, the boundary did not respect all of the traditional frontiers. In some instances the concession by the colonial power would have been too great; however, where the boundary did bisect the traditional states sufficient territory was ceded to make the trade route continuous.<sup>73</sup>

The states left intact by the Agreement of 1906 were Mantakari, Adar, Gobir and Maradi all falling under the hegemony of France. To

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., Anglo-French Boundary: Katsina Provincial Office, p. 19.

<sup>71</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives File #1655, Vol. III, Anglo-French Boundary, 1927.

<sup>72</sup>Federation of Nigeria, Survey Office, Kaduna, File 701/1, Redemarcation, p. 269.

<sup>73</sup>Prescott, 1961, op. cit., p. 236.

Great Britain went all of Sokoto, Zamfara and Katsina. The remaining States of Maouri, Konni, Gobir Toudou and Damagarim were more or less seriously cut by the boundary.<sup>74</sup> It was France that received most of the territory of each one of these States; consequently, in these areas Britain ceded only sufficient territory to give France a route practicable and retained the southern portion of each state.

To the east of the Hausa States the boundary followed without any serious superimposition the frontier between the Bornu and the Manga. By the time the boundary was demarcated the influence of Bornu, north of the Komadougou Yobe had declined and the river formed a convenient northern boundary of Bornu.<sup>75</sup>

#### EFFECTS OF THE BOUNDARY ARRANGEMENT

The negotiation and evolution of the Niger-Nigeria boundary indicates that the boundary that was eventually established took careful consideration of the indigenous political situation. The colonial powers have often been condemned for the rapidity with which boundaries were established in Africa and though the northern boundary of Nigeria is an exception to the general rule of boundary superimposition, it illustrates at least one instance where the local cultural landscape was considered in the delimitation of a colonial boundary.

The boundary separating British and French colonial powers in Hausaland was antecedent in that it followed the frontier of separation between rival Hausa States. A cursory glance at a map would indicate

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<sup>74</sup>Mission Tilho, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>75</sup>Prescott, 1961, op. cit., p. 237.



the Niger-Nigeria boundary was a superimposed boundary; however, a closer examination reveals that the ancient Hausa States have been preserved. North of the boundary are those Hausa States that remained independent from the Fulani Sokoto Empire, whereas south of the boundary are the States that succumbed to the Fulani jihad.

Despite the fact that the boundary as initially demarcated can be classified as an antecedent boundary, it nevertheless created stress upon the indigenous population resulting in a spatial reorganization and an adjustment to the colonial powers concept of territoriality. The creation of a boundary and imposition of colonial authority necessitated a reorganization of the political, economic, and social conditions in order to adjust to the pressures brought to bear in the borderlands.

#### Political Reorganization

As the respective colonial spheres of influence became clearly defined through the demarcation of the Niger-Nigeria boundary, the influence of colonial administration was extended to incorporate all territory and population under the colonial powers jurisdiction. Despite the differences in colonial administrative policies neither the British nor the French completely ignored the indigenous system of political areal functional organization. Certainly the British through their policy of indirect rule made greater use of the indigenous system of administration than the French military rule and the policies of assimilation and association. While the French military occupation initially attempted to break down the indigenous system, it eventually became necessary for the French to work within the traditional system.

British indirect rule. The case of Northern Nigeria is often cited as the classic example of Britain's approach to colonial administration through the policy of "indirect rule." Indirect rule neither originated with the British nor was Northern Nigeria the first instance of Britain adopting this form of colonial administration.<sup>76</sup> However, the hierarchy of the traditional Hausa Emirate system of political organization lent itself very well to the adoption of indirect rule.

The traditional system had been greatly abused prior to British domination; however, the British realized that with some modification the system could be an efficient means of colonial administration. The people were familiar with the system of government and it could be run with a minimum of British staff to act as advisors. Thus the Emir was given a letter of appointment and although he was a dependent subject ruler, he maintained and exercised a considerable amount of authority.

In order to facilitate colonial administration, the British divided Northern Nigeria into Provinces and Divisions based on political history or ethnic relationship.<sup>77</sup> The Divisions consisted of a number of Emirates and each was headed by a District Officer, whereas the Province comprised a number of Divisions and was directed by a Resident. For example, Kano Province, as originally conceived, was divided into four divisions: Kano Division comprising Kano Emirate;

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<sup>76</sup>Sir Charles Orr, The Making of Northern Nigeria (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1965), p. 219.

<sup>77</sup>C. K. Meek, Northern Nigeria (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 4.

Katsina Division comprising Katsina, Daura and Kazaure Emirates; Hadejia Division comprising Hadejia and Gumel Emirates; and Katagum Division comprising Katagum, Messau and Jemaari Emirates. Each Emirate was further subdivided into district, village areas and hamlets, as previously discussed, and these divisions were recognized and adopted by the British. (See Table 1.)

Table 1

## KANO PROVINCE 1921

Division	Emirate	Number of Districts	Average Area Per District (sq.Miles)	Average Population Per District
Kano	Kano	25	483	70,404
Katsina	Katsina	22	368	21,825
	Daura	7	133	6,834
	Kazaure	6	77	7,165
Hadejia	Hadejia	9	307	13,210
	Gumel	4	275	4,952
Katagum	Katagum	11	318	17,521
	Messau	5	142	13,520
	Jemaari	1	160	18,622

Source: W. F. Gowers, Northern Provinces - Provincial Gazetteers, (London: Waterlow and Sons Ltd., 1921), p. 7.

The Emirates formed the basic Native Administration and it was through this administration that the functions of government were performed, taxes collected, and maximum use made of local institutions for local services. Thus the legislative and judicial functions of government were almost entirely performed by the local hierarchy of chiefs under advice and direction of the Resident and a small staff. (See Table 2.)

Table 2

COMPARISON OF BRITISH AND FRENCH  
COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

British Administration	French Administration
Northern Nigeria (Governor)*	Federation of French West Africa (Federation Afrique Occidentale Française)
Provinces (Resident)*	Governor - General (Gouverneur - Général Residing in Dakar)
Divisions (District Officer)*	Colonies
Emirates (Emir)	Niger - Governor
Districts (District Head)	Provinces - Provincial Commissioner (Cercles) - (Commandant du Cercle)
Village Areas (Village Head)	Conseil des Notables
Hamlets (Hamlet Head)	Subdivision - Administrative Officer (Chef de Subdivision)
	Canton - Native Chief (Chef Indigène)
	Village

\*Staffed by British Officials

One of the initial problems the British faced was the redrawing of district boundaries and substituting coaduate districts for scattered dependencies. As previously mentioned the discontiguity of districts posed a vexing problem for efficient administration and was solved by the following means:

He (the Resident) found fief holders owned towns vicariously scattered over the whole province. Taking the principle town of each fief holder he grouped around it one homolgous district a sufficient number of towns to yield a revenue equivalent to the former revenue of the fief holder and appointed him "District Head" of this self contained district. He even succeeded in giving the most important chiefs the districts farthest from the capital where their responsibility would be greater. . . .<sup>78</sup>

Not all Emirates were plagued by discontiguity of districts and absentee District Heads. For example, Katsina Emirate posed fewer difficulties and most of the District Heads resided within their district. However due to the populating of the frontier of separation, new districts had to be organized and new District Heads appointed. Several of those appointed were Habe and immigrants from French territory.

Most of the districts in Katsina and Daura are derived from earlier administrative divisions with the exception of several immediately adjacent to the boundary. Some confusion in the naming of districts occurred during the early period of colonial administration since the districts were sometimes named after the District Head. This arrangement obviously caused some confusion since the name of the district was changed with the appointment of every new District Head. This situation was remedied by the abolition of this practice

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<sup>78</sup>Sir F. D. Lugard, Colonial Reports - Annual #516 Northern Nigeria 1905-06 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1905), p. 24.

and the adoption of the name of the principal village in the district.

During the period of colonial administration the Provincial boundaries periodically shifted. In the borderlands Katsina and Daura were frequently transferred from one Province to another. In 1910 Katsina Emirate along with Daura and Kazaure Emirates formed Katsina Division of Kano Province. In 1926 Kano Province was reorganized and Katsina Emirate was removed and added to Zaria Province while Daura and Kazaure Emirates became part of the Northern Division of Kano Province. Finally in 1934 Katsina Province was organized by the removal of Katsina Emirate from Zaria Province and the addition of Daura Emirate. (See Figure 23.)

With the establishment of Katsina Province the well populated districts adjacent to French territory were brought under closer colonial administrative control. The districts fronting French territory from west to east are Jibya, Kaita, Mashi, Maiaduwa, Zango and Baure. The size of these districts and number of villages in each varies considerably. Each district, however, submitted to the jurisdiction of the Emir of Katsina or Daura and ultimately to the Colonial administration. As recently as 1935 it was reported that the more remote districts, especially where communications were lacking, had not been fully integrated into the colonial system although taxes were paid annually.<sup>79</sup>

Through the British system of indirect rule a great deal of autonomy was given to the traditional leaders so long as their

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<sup>79</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Kaduna File Acc #1299, Kaita District - Assessment Report, 1935.

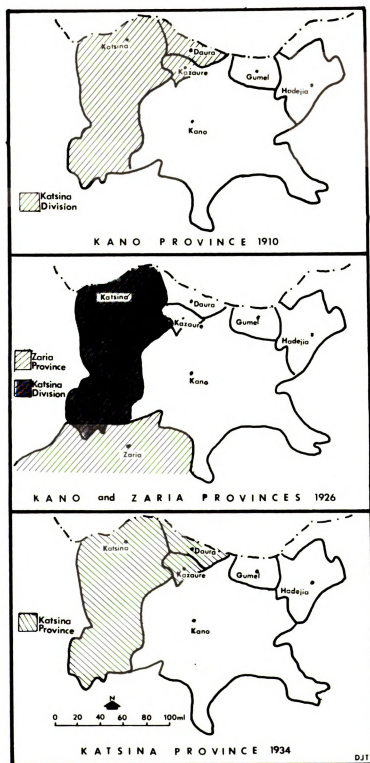


Figure 23

decisions did not conflict with the British concept of right and justice. Thus the traditional system was only slightly altered by the British, a fact that the French viewed rather critically:

Les avantages d'un pareil système sautent aux yeux: les chefs acquièrent une autorité et un prestige considérables par suite des gros revenus qui leur sont assurés, et de la force que procure à leurs agents l'escorte des policemen mis à leur disposition pour ces opérations; il se dévouent tout entiers à une Administration qui assure ainsi leur bien-être, tandis que humbles "tallakas," taillables et courbeables à merci, habitués depuis toujours à courber le dos sous les coups à subir vexations et exactions, paient ce qu'on leur demande et remercient Allah qu'on ne leur ait tout pris. . . .

Le système Français est à notre idéal national utilisation et glorification de l'élite intellectuelle avant pour corollaire la protection des humbles et l'adoucissement de leurs souffrances; le système britannique se rapproche au contraire de l'orgueilleux esprit qu'un des prophètes contemporains de l'Angleterre se hardiment développe ces dernières années l'exaltation de l'élite au détriment des masses populaires qu'il traite avec mépris de "contingent de l'Abîme."<sup>80</sup>

French administration. While the French were critical of the British system of colonial administration on the grounds that it favored the traditional elite and ignored the masses, the aim of the French administration was to create an indigenous elite imbued with the ideals and superiority of French culture. Initially the French policy of assimilation was aimed at breaking down the traditional society and replacing it with French culture and civilization.

In order to accomplish its aims, French colonial administration can best be described in terms of centralization, subordination and uniformity. Through a highly centralized organization the Paris government had greater control over its colonies than did the British government. Resistance of many colonies to the policy of assimilation

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<sup>80</sup>Tilho Report, op. cit., p. 37, 40.



which aimed at destroying the indigenous institutions resulted in the adoption of a policy of association. Through association the aim was to preserve indigenous institutions and ideally to use the indigenous institutions to introduce French civilization.

The expansion of French administration east of the Niger River resulted in the creation of Le Troisième Territoire Militaire in 1900. The resistance to French domination, especially from the Tuareg, necessitated the organization along military lines and differs considerably from Britain's more peaceful conquest of Northern Nigeria. For several months the headquarters of the new military territory was at Sansanne-Haoussa; then in 1901 it shifted to Sorbo-Haoussa. In 1903 the headquarters were transferred to Niamey although the main portion of troops were garrisoned at Zinder.<sup>81</sup>

The name of the territory was changed in 1905 to Le Territoire Militaire de Niger and the headquarters remained in Niamey until 1911 when Zinder became the capital. Zinder, with its more central position, was regarded as the logical location for a capital since at that time Niger's western boundary was the Niger River. Finally in 1922, the military territory became Le Colonie du Niger and the change from military to civilian administration was effected. In 1926, with the dissolution of Haute-Volta, Niger acquired territory to the west of the Niger River and the decision to relocate the capital from Zinder, located within the southern borderlands, to Niamey was agreed upon. With the re-emergence of Haute-Volta just prior to World War II, Niger retained a portion of territory lying west of the Niger River

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<sup>81</sup>Rivet, op. cit., p. 41.

in the interest of maintaining ethnic homogeneity. (See Figure 24.)

Along with the periodic shifts in capitals and boundaries the territorial organization has likewise been relatively unstable, frequently being reorganized in the search for a more efficient means of territorial organization. Basically the colony was divided into Cercles (Provinces), the number fluctuating from seven to sixteen. Just prior to independence Niger was divided into nine Cercles.<sup>82</sup> The Cercles were subdivided into smaller territorial units referred to as subdivisions or circonscriptions. Usually these subdivisions closely followed the territorial limits of the traditional societies and ethnic groups.<sup>83</sup> The subdivisions were further divided into cantons which was a group of villages supervised by a canton chief. The smallest unit of political areal functional organization was the village.

This system, as it evolved in Niger, was the closest to the principle of indirect rule within the French Empire. Initially in Niger, the French adopted a "divide and rule" policy. Some of the larger traditional Emirates in the borderlands were divided and administered separately. Both Gobir (1916) and Maradi (1922) were each divided into two separate administrative units. Maradi was divided so that headquarters were at Maradi and Madarunfa. Opposition to dividing these two Emirates resulted in their reunification. The French further blundered by appointing a Fulani to become chief of

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<sup>82</sup>Edmond Séré de Rivière, Le Niger (Paris: Société d'Éditions Géographiques Maritimes et Coloniale, 1952), p. 47.

<sup>83</sup>Edmond Séré de Rivière, Histoire de Niger (Paris: Berger, Levrault, 1965), p. 238.

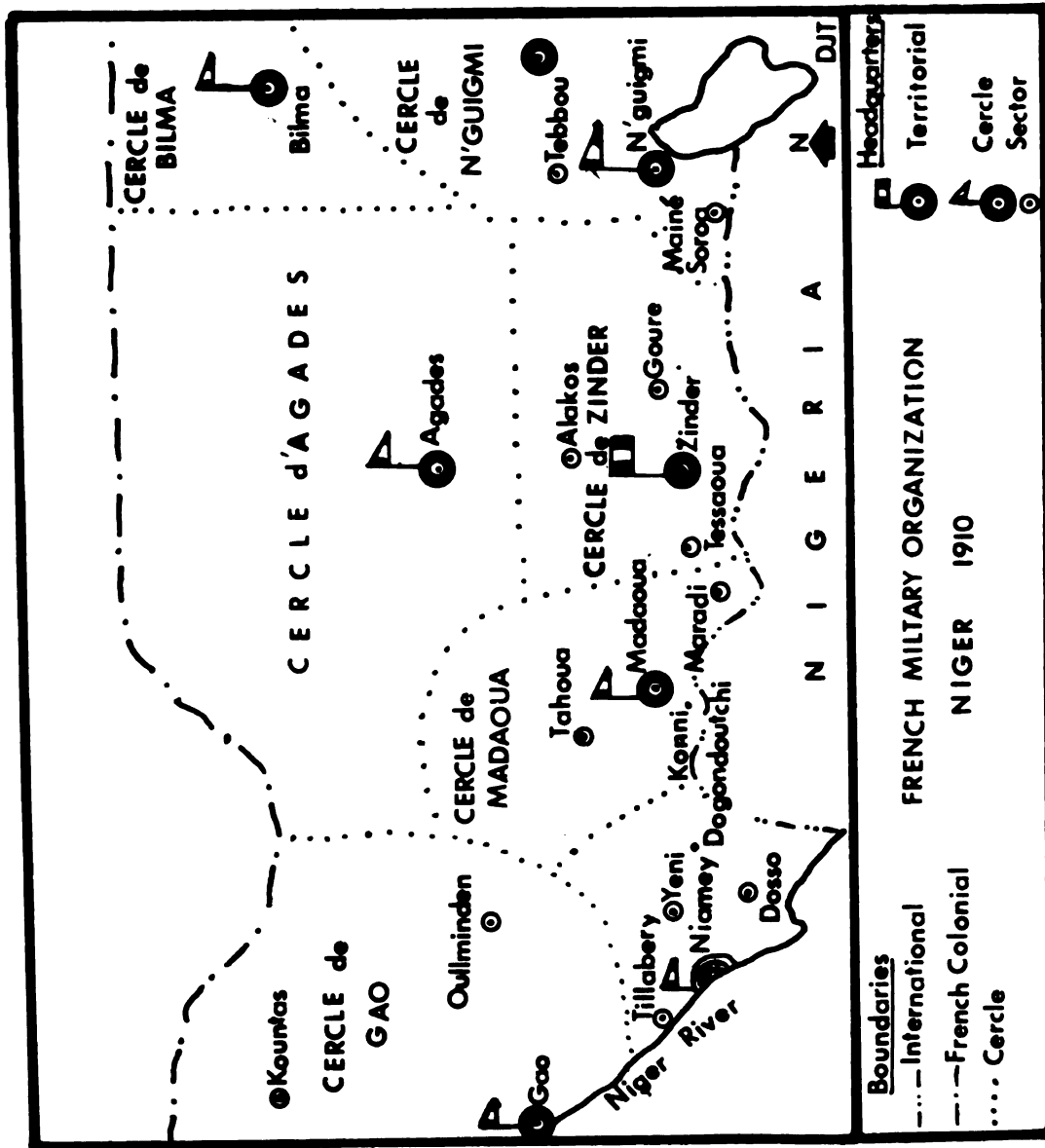


Figure 24

Maradi; however, the Habe Maradawa refused to submit to the domination of a Fulani and this resulted in the French reappointing a member of the Habe dynasty as Emir of Maradi. With this decision the French returned to the organization that had initially been adopted in 1907 with Cercle headquarters at Maradi divided into three subdivisions: Maradi, Gobir and Kornaka.<sup>84</sup>

The region of Maradi immediately adjacent to the boundary has frequently been reorganized. From 1907 to 1921 Maradi formed a subdivision of the Cercle de Madaoua, then later from 1921 to 1926 was a subdivision of the Cercle de Tessaoua. In 1926, having been subordinate to Tessaoua, Maradi was chosen as the headquarters of a newly created Cercle, the Cercle de Maradi. After several attempts to break down the traditional organization, the French colonial administrative organization began to follow a more logical evolution in recognizing the value of the indigenous system and adjusting the colonial system to it.

While the basic territorial organization was maintained within the borderlands it was the French administrators who directed the affairs within a system where all power was highly centralized and concentrated. In 1919, however, a Conseils des Notables was established where the Emirs and Canton Chiefs acted in an advisory capacity. This council also formed an avenue for the implementation of directives from the central government.

Since 1926 the subdivisions immediately adjacent to Katsina Province have been relatively stable. From west to east they comprise

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<sup>84</sup>Phillippe David, Maradi l'Ancien Etat et l'Ancienne Ville (Documents des Etudes Nigeriennes #18 IFAN-CNRS), p. 120.

the subdivisions of Maradi and Tessaoua in the Cercle de Maradi and the subdivisions of Matameye and Magaria in the Cercle de Zinder. (See Figure 25.)

Each of these territorial units are based on traditional patterns with a southern expansion of territory to incorporate the uninhabited zone of the frontier of separation lying within French territory. Thus the French, in order to facilitate colonial administration, found it convenient to utilize the traditional system of political areal functional organization.

### Spatial Reorganization

Migration. One of the consequences of the establishment of boundaries is the movement of population from one side of the boundary to the other. This displacement of population was not uncommon within the Niger-Nigeria borderlands during the period of boundary evolution and demarcation. More often the pattern of migration within the Borderlands was from north to south, that is, from French into British territory. Certainly the British administrators did much to encourage this migration, for as Lord Lugard reported following the resettlement of 2,000 to 3,000 Tuareg in Northern Sokoto:

I shall of course do my best to encourage this immigration for this Protectorate has been terribly desolated and its population decimated in recent years by internal wars and the slave raids of the Fulani etc. The advent of fresh inhabitants possessed of flocks and herds will mean an added source of wealth to the British territory and impoverish the French.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Ibadan, Chief Secretary's Office, 1/19/3, Governor of Northern Nigeria to Colonial Office, January 2, 1903.

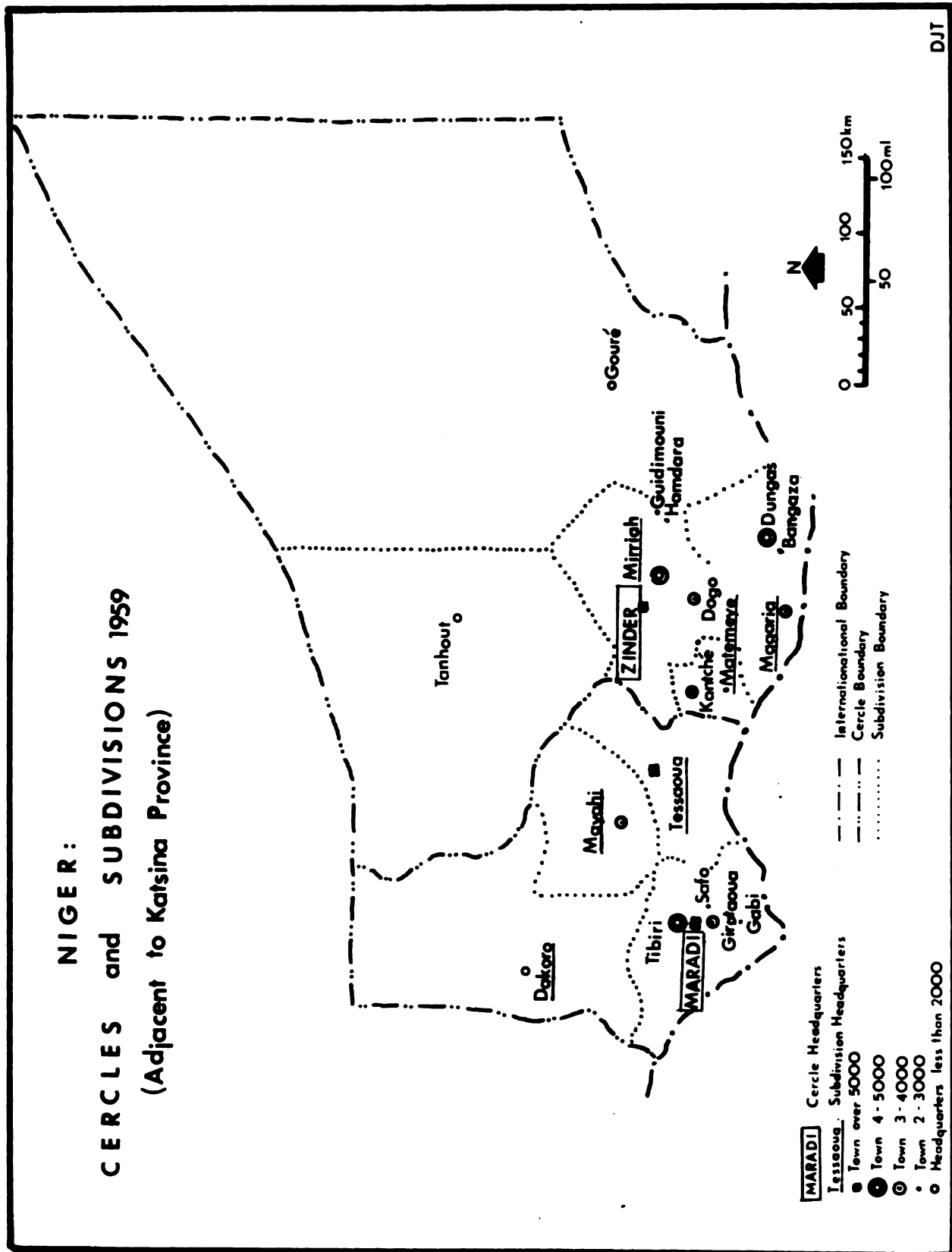


Figure 25

Several of the early reports indicate that this migration southward was underway before the final demarcation of the boundary and was not localized to only small areas of the borderlands, but occurred along the entirety of the boundary. As a result, the population of Sokoto, Katsina, Daura, and Bornu increased by several thousands.

French reports as early as 1901 demonstrate that this movement was underway into Sokoto Province from adjacent borderlands. The French reported a small group that moved into Sokoto Province and formed a nucleus for the gathering and attracting of other groups.<sup>86</sup> British reports further substantiated this movement when during 1902 a considerable number of Tessawa were reported to have moved from French territory and resettled in Dankama. Further west Maradawa settled in Zandam and Jibiya.<sup>87</sup> To the east the Resident also reported migration into Bornu from the North.<sup>88</sup>

In some instances this cross boundary movement was encouraged through force used by the local chiefs. Along the borderlands between British and French Gobir, the indigenous population residing in French territory were intimidated by the Sarki n'Gobir, who resided in British territory. This particular chief terrorized the villages situated in French territory, coercing individuals to migrate into Northern

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<sup>86</sup>Archives, Ministère de la France d'Outre Mer, Afrique Orientale Française XVI dossier 13. Rapport sur la Situation Politique de 3ème Territoire Militaire, 3ème Trimestre, 1903.

<sup>87</sup>Sir F. D. Lugard, Colonial Reports - Annual #476 Northern Nigeria Report for 1904 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), p. 34.

<sup>88</sup>Colonial Report #409, op. cit., p. 79.

Nigeria. The actions of this chief can be explained by the fact that part of his traditional territory had been cut by the boundary. The French reaction to these incidents was to accuse the British of encouraging the attacks, or at least ignoring the actions of the Sarki.<sup>89</sup>

Further actions on the part of the British to encourage this migration was to appoint Habe district heads in the districts immediately adjacent to the boundary of Katsina Province. Since the population north of Katsina had so long resisted Fulani domination, the placing of the Habe leaders within the borderlands attracted immigrants from the north.<sup>90</sup>

While British policy was to encourage this migration, several reasons have been proposed as to why this migration took place. Considering that great care had been taken by the colonial powers to establish the boundary within the uninhabited zone of separation, it is rather difficult to understand why this southern migration was so extensive. Today, as a result of this population spillover, ethnic boundaries no longer conform with the international boundary. Most of this permanent migratory movement was completed shortly after boundary demarcation.

Certainly one factor that might have encouraged this cross boundary movement was the inequities of French and British colonial administration. The slowness with which British authority was extended

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<sup>89</sup>Archives, Ministère de la France d'Outre Mer Afrique Orientale Française XVI dossier 13, Rapport sur la Situation Politique de 3<sup>ème</sup> Territoire Militaire, Mai-Août, 1903.

<sup>90</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Kaduna, Katsena, Resident of Katsena to High Commissioner, July 8, 1907.



to the borderlands and the rapidity with which the French imposed their administration certainly caused inequities within the borderlands. French administrators became very much aware and concerned over the migration of population into Nigeria and at least one attributed this flight to the "heavy burden of the French occupation." The concern of this movement is expressed in the following correspondence by Commandant Noël, an early French administrator:

It has come to my notice that there is a clearly marked current of emmigration towards the districts of Sokoto, it would be a real calamity for a country where the population is already thinned if the principle force we require, strong active men continued to go to a foreign country even if only temporarily. . . .

This current immigration is considerable enough, since if we only consider the region of eastern Niger (Djermas) the population that has immigrated in less than one year could be estimated at at least 10,000 . . . Restrictive laws even if most severe would be useless and might even result in accentuating instead of retarding the movement.

The burden of our occupation and chiefly the supplying of rations weigh very heavily on certain population, (sic) and the district of Tahoua in particular has a burden which is not in proportion to the restricted number of its inhabitants. . . .

If one takes into consideration on the other hand the actual manner of colonization at Sokoto, where I am told there are no taxes or compulsory labour, one will see that the comparison is not to the advantage of our territory. The life in Sokoto is easier, the soil is richer and these are already sufficient reasons for the current of immigration to establish itself spontaneously by force of circumstances without scarcity or poverty entering into the argument. Immigrants after hard sacrifice of the departure for exile find from many points of view a fruitful compensation for the voluntary quittal of their birthplace in this more privileged country.<sup>91</sup>

The flight of population initially prompted the French to adopt severe restrictive measures despite Noël's warning. Since the population was regarded as the territory's most valuable resource, and the development of Niger was dependent upon this resource, restrictions were often

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<sup>91</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Ibadan, Chief Secretary's Office, 1/27/3 High Commissioner to Colonial Office, January 2, 1903 - Translation of Noël's correspondence.

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extreme, even for nomadic populations that had followed a seasonal migration north and south for generations. In order to restrict migration to British territory the French attempted to police the borderlands, exacting restrictions in the form of hostages or deposits of money to be left in French territory.<sup>92</sup> These restrictions applied even to the nomadic Fulani, for when they were discovered leaving French territory they were required to leave part of their herd behind.<sup>93</sup>

Despite the restrictive measures the flow of migrants continued and eventually resulted in France reducing taxes and abandoning compulsory labor. With these decisions the inequities on one side of the boundary were reduced, but the flow of migrants did not stop immediately. The French tried to attract population back into Niger by offers such as one made to the Emir of Zango. The French offered to construct a new town and farmlands if the Emir and his followers would return to French territory.<sup>94</sup>

According to estimates of colonial administrators these formative years were the years of great migration and it would appear that French

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<sup>92</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Ibadan, Chief Secretary's Office, High Commissioner to Colonial Office, January 29, 1903.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Kaduna, Daura, Kano Province, Telegram Resident of Kano to High Commissioner, April 8, 1907.

This offer was turned down by the Habe Emir of Zango and this same individual later was appointed Emir of Daura to replace the Fulani dynasty. Today Daura is the only Emirate in Nigeria to have the descendants of the original Habe dynasty at its head.

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policies within the borderlands were a factor that encouraged migration. Yet this migratory pattern of resettlement appears to have been a common occurrence throughout Hausaland with the advent of colonial domination.

The abolition of slavery and the establishment of peace resulted in the occupation of the potentially productive uninhabited frontiers of separation. This trend persisted within Northern Nigeria where potentially good agricultural land had been uninhabited for decades and gradually the population shifted from the fortified towns and villages to occupy this land. Since this was a general trend throughout Hausaland it can be assumed that the repopulation of the northern frontier of separation was the outcome of this general pattern. Agricultural land and the availability of water were better in the zone of separation and the attraction for the sedentary agriculturalists to move south and occupy these areas would have been quite strong. This fact plus the pressures of French occupation certainly were the principal causes for the migration southward.

In the years prior to boundary demarcation observers were reporting thousands of migrants moving into British territory. Although no accurate number was recorded, by the 1920's this trend had decreased dramatically. Statistics taken for six districts in Katsina Emirate over a five year period indicates the number of people coming from Niger was negligible.

The migration of population has essentially been from Niger into Nigeria and has fluctuated from year to year.<sup>95</sup> Periodically

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<sup>95</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Kaduna File #1285, Migration of Labour, November 19, 1925, District Officer Katsina Division to Senior Resident, Kano Province.

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migration from Niger has been enhanced during periods of drought and crop failure. Such a year was 1914 when scarcity of food became prevalent and prompted large numbers of starving refugees to migrate into British territory.<sup>96</sup> Later mass migrations were usually of a temporary nature, and as a later study indicates, migrations from French territory in search of work and food was then, as it is now, a significant way of life during the dry season.<sup>97</sup>

Table 3

EMIGRANTS FROM FRENCH TERRITORY  
1920-25 Katsina Division

District	Male	Female	Children	Total
Ruma	53	78	81	212
Sarkin Gabas	31	46	63	140
Yarima	18	34	41	93
Gatari (Zandam)	15	19	25	59
Sullubana	67	94	116	277
Dankama	19	27	44	90
	203	298	370	871

Source: Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Kaduna File #1285, Migration of Labour, May 16, 1925, District Officer of Katsina Division to Resident Kano Province.

The shift of population inevitably resulted in the establishment of new towns and villages bringing about a reorganization of the

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<sup>96</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Ibadan, Report on the Blue Book 1914 (Lagos, Nigeria 1915), p. 35.

<sup>97</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Kaduna, File #4025/51, Sokoto Province - Survey and Report on Labour Migration, May 1954.

In this study it was reported that 22 per cent of the sample of migrants moving in Sokoto Province originated in Niger and were destined overwhelmingly for the Middle Zone and Western Region of Nigeria. These figures, however, might be inaccurate since no count was made at the boundary crossing and many questioned within Nigeria may have been reluctant to admit entering from Niger.

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settlement patterns in order to accommodate the immigrants. Most of the population relocated themselves within the borderlands immediately adjacent to the boundary and remained in close contact with kinsmen in their home villages.

Reorganization of settlement patterns. One of the earliest effects of the extension of European control within the borderlands was the movement of population out of the fortified towns and villages into the unoccupied frontiers of separation. This trend resulted from the Pax Coloniale imposed by the British and French who terminated the interstate conflicts between the Fulani Empire and the Habe States north of the boundary.

The pattern of settlement, shifting from a nucleated to a dispersed settlement, became especially evident in the borderlands as the population moved out of the fortified birnis and towns. This early depopulation of the towns was reported by Tilho in 1907:

Quant à la diminution du nombre des habitants dans les grandes cités, il est amplement compensé par la mouvement inverse qui en résulte, le peuplement des compagnes et la disparation progressive des "zones inhabitées;" les indigènes en effet, n'avaient d'autre intérêt de se rassembler en cités populeuses que pour être à même de mieux se défendre contre leurs voisins toujours en quête de pillage et de chasses aux esclaves. Depuis que l'occupation française et anglaise à supprimer les guerres de tribu à tribu et ramené la sécurité dans le pays, les indigènes n'ont plus aucune raison de rester entassés en des villages malpropres et insalubres ou les épidémies ont beau jeu à l'occasion; il préfèrent la liberté des champs ou ils vivent sans souci au centres de leurs cultures. . . .<sup>98</sup>

New settlements were established within the frontier of separation between Katsina-Daura, and Maradi-Tessaoua-Damagarim as a

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<sup>98</sup>Mission Tilho, op. cit., p. 33-34.

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result of the southward migration.<sup>99</sup> Many of the towns and villages located within the frontier of separation were established by the Maradawa and Tessawa from Niger. Today important border towns, such as Jibiya and Zandam, were initially re-established by Maradawa migrants from Niger, whereas Dankama was re-established by Tessawa.<sup>100</sup> Further east in Daura, the re-establishment of the Habe dynasty encouraged the return of Daurawa from Damagarim and the establishment of towns and villages throughout Daura Emirate.

The case of Jibiya illustrates the migration and settlement of a town by the Maradawa. In 1903, Jibiya Maje was first settled by persons from Maradi. Following the demarcation of the boundary in 1907, Jibiya was found to be located within a few yards of the boundary within British Territory. Following several days discussion the villagers decided to stay in British territory. The chief also decided to relocate the village, and with the consent of the Emir of Katsina, the town of Jibiya was situated approximately two miles further south on the banks of the Goulbi n'Maradi.<sup>101</sup> The relocation of Jibiya brought further prosperity and eventually the Maradawa Chief was appointed District Head of the District of Jibiya and became a point of attraction for others migrating from Niger.

The prosperity of Jibiya came as a result of its establishment as a borderland market town which functions within a system of periodic

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<sup>99</sup>Sir William Wallace, Colonial Reports - Annual #594 Northern Nigeria 1907-1908 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912), p. 37.

<sup>100</sup>Colonial Report #476, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>101</sup>Federation of Nigeria, National Archives, Kaduna, Jibiya District (no date or file number).

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markets. The tributary area of Jibiya extends well beyond Nigeria's boundary and results in a considerable amount of cross-boundary movement on market days. (See Chapter VI.)

A similar situation occurred in Dankama, another important border market town that was resettled by Tessawa from Niger. Maiaduwa and other important market towns in the borderlands of Katsina and Daura have also been greatly influenced by the influx of immigrants during the early period of boundary arrangement.

With the reorganization of settlement patterns and the establishment of new market towns, there inevitably resulted a reorientation of the patterns of trade and circulation.

Reorientation of trans-Saharan trade. The demarcation of colonial territory and the extension of European political control throughout Hausaland and into the borderlands upset the traditional commerce. It was the policy of France to divert trans-Saharan trade from British territory and establish Zinder and Gaya as the terminal points for this important trade. As early as 1902, Britain was aware of these French designs and realizing the large internal market and the great potential for the expansion of commercial interests, it was suggested that the external trade could be reoriented to the coast by establishing cheap transportation.<sup>102</sup>

Although France desired to acquire control of the trans-Saharan trade, Kano remained the most significant entrepôt in the Western Sudan. For a brief period the trans-Saharan trade flourished as a

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<sup>102</sup>Colonial Report #409, op. cit., pp.63-65.

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result of British protection of the trade routes from the south. To the north the French were unable to pacify the Tuaregs and consequently the northern routes were frequently pillaged and menaced by the marauding Tuaregs. In return for protection of the trade routes the British proceeded to levy a toll on all caravans passing through British territory. Katsina and Kano were the two major collecting points, and while the toll was regarded high by a few merchants, it was welcomed by the majority since it eliminated the frequent payments to chiefs whose territory was traversed.<sup>103</sup>

As a result of the expansion of communication networks, and especially the abolition of slavery, which for centuries had been one of the mainstays of the indigenous economy, the shortlived prosperity of trans-Saharan trade during the early colonial period began to decline.<sup>104</sup> The decline of the trans-Saharan trade resulted in the traditional front ports of Black Africa such as Kano, Katsina, and Zinder being relegated to a hinterland rather than a nodal region for commercial activities. As the projected railroad from Lagos neared Kano the Tripoli trade began to decline. When the railroad finally reached Kano in 1911 the position of this traditional commercial city was greatly strengthened and the function of Kano as a node of transportation and commercial activities was guaranteed.

Kano's trade was reoriented to the south with its tributary area extending into the borderlands of Niger. Primary products were

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<sup>103</sup>Colonial Report #476, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>104</sup>E. W. Bovill, The Golden Trade of the Moors (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 246.

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produced and sent to Kano for exportation. Likewise Kano became a distributing center for European manufactured goods and other goods coming from the south. In the borderlands Katsina maintained an important position through the extension of motor roads from Kano.

The consequence of European intrusion resulted in the decline of the traditional trans-Saharan trade and although this trade continues down to the present its importance has greatly diminished. The traditional pattern of external trade was reoriented to the south and the new emerging pattern was greatly enhanced by cheap transportation and the production of goods that found a ready market in Europe.

Local trade. In addition to a reorientation of the traditional external trans-Saharan trade, local trade within the borderlands was also affected. The establishment of European commercial firms in the major cities and towns of the borderlands did much to integrate the frontier zone into the colonial economic system. In some instances towns of long standing in the traditional system of periodic markets declined and others began to develop aided in some cases by the colonial power.

One example of such a development occurred in the valley of the Goulbi n'Maradi. Traditionally the market functions of Maradi were carried out in the town of Tarné located just south of Maradi. While Maradi was the larger of the two towns, the pillaging and banditry of the Emir of Maradi discouraged merchants and caravans from trading at the birni. As a result, Tarné prospered until the arrival of the French. However, the French eventually insisted on the establishment of a market at Maradi on Sunday. With the establishment

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of a modern economic infrastructure and the appearance of European commercial houses in Maradi, the importance of Tarné began to decline. A Thursday market day continued functioning at Tarné until 1939 when Maradi developed a two day a week market cycle on Fridays and Mondays. From that time Tarné has no longer held a market.<sup>105</sup>

While this was a rather distinctive case of the growth and demise of two market towns in the borderlands it does illustrate the influence of European commercial houses upon the prosperity of the towns in which they were established. Maradi prospered as the result of the establishment of the Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain (SCOA), Compagnie du Niger Français (CNF) and a number of British commercial establishments from Kano.

As towns began to take on colonial administrative functions it often brought a change in the role it played in the market system. Matemeye is a case in point where the market in this town had traditionally been overshadowed by the market at Kantché to the north. With the development of administrative functions, the extension of better communication facilities, and the rising importance of groundnuts (peanuts), the importance of Kantché began to diminish at the expense of Matemeye.<sup>106</sup> South of Matemeye the villages located adjacent to the boundary lie within the tributary area of Maiaduwa and Daura and consequently most of the villagers in this area frequent

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<sup>105</sup>Phillipe David, Maradi, L'Ancien Etat et L'Ancienne Ville (Bordeaux: Documents des Etudes Nigériennes #18, 1964), p. 130.

<sup>106</sup>Guy Nicolas, Problèmes Agraires en Pays Haoussa - Canton de Kantché (Paris: Rapport Provisoire, Recherche du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Ministère de la Coopération, 1962), p. 69.

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During the colonial period, commencing with the demarcation of the boundary and the extension of European control into the borderlands, there began to emerge significant changes in the patterns and distribution of markets. With the development of new towns and villages within the frontier of separation new market towns emerged. Along the boundary in Nigeria important market towns such as Jibiya, Dankama and Maiaduwa rose to prominence performing an essential market function within the borderlands. The tributary areas of these markets extended into the southern cantons of Niger producing a considerable cross-boundary movement on market days. As a result of differential development and the availability of goods in Nigeria the border markets became an integral part in the weekly cycle of periodic markets which will be discussed more fully in Chapter VI.

The dispersal of population into newly cultivated territory favored the multiplication of market towns, thus new market towns were established resulting in others diminishing in size and importance and still other disappearing when they became isolated from the newly developed network of communications.

Communications. One significant effect of the colonial period has been the development of an infrastructure of transportation networks. The railroad reached Kano at a very early date (1911) and although it has never been extended into the borderlands, extension lines to Kaura Namoda and Nguru brought the railroad to within 40 miles of the boundary. The establishment of the boundary dictated that Niger be a landlocked colony of France dependent upon its neighbors for

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right of transit for all imports and exports. Initially the French tried to avoid using Nigeria as a transit route for supplies. For a short while following the demarcation of the boundary, supplies for Zinder came from the west via the Bamako railroad then down the Niger River to Niamey. From Niamey supplies then moved by road to Zinder.<sup>107</sup> Once the railroad to Kano was completed, the French depended upon this cheaper means of transportation and became very much dependent upon Nigeria for access to the sea.

Niger never developed a railroad system, although during the colonial period elaborate and ambitious plans to develop a trans-Saharan railway from Algeria through Niger were frequently discussed, these plans never did materialize. Thus the French established an infrastructure that linked the major towns of Niger. The major system parallels the boundary and links all the major towns within the borderlands. This east-west axis joins Niamey, Birni n'Konni, Madaoua, Maradi, Tessaoua, Zinder, and N'Guigmi on Lake Chad.

(See Figure 26.) Very little of this east-west axis has been paved and is comprised principally of laterite which during the summer rains falls into disrepair making upkeep an annual and costly job. A secondary network connects the east-west axis with the major routes of exportation into Nigeria.

It was not until the 1920's that motor routes, comprised of hardpan laterite, were established in the northern districts of the borderlands of Nigeria. However easy access from Katsina to Kano, and Daura to Kano had been established shortly after the arrival of

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<sup>107</sup>Colonial Report #516, op. cit., p. 88.

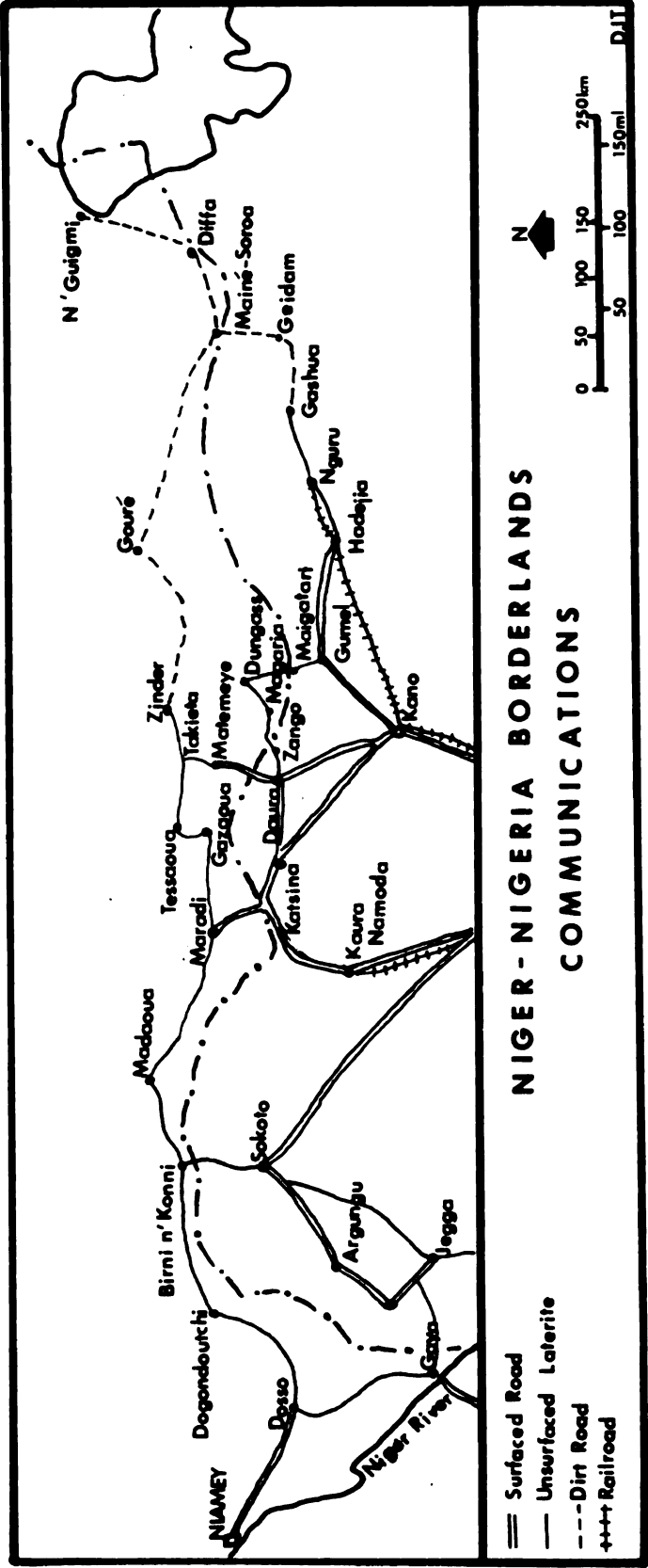


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the railroad in Kano. As rapid transport increased the British were diligent in extending paved roadways to Katsina and Daura from Kano. These paved highways were extended to parallel the boundary joining Daura, Katsina and Jibiya. It was only with approaching independence that paved highways were extended into Niger connecting Jibiya and Maradi, and shortly after independence another extension connecting Matemeye and Daura was completed.

In addition to the motor roads there are many rough tracks and trails that cross the boundary at many points. These pathways generally connect the villages on either side of the boundary and eventually lead to the market towns of the borderlands. It is along these trails that a considerable cross boundary movement is evident on market days.

With the creation of a network of roads the borderlands were opened up to the circulation of goods and money from the south. The expansion of improved transportation networks did a great deal to integrate the borderlands into the colonial economy and bring about an economic reorganization.

Economic reorganization. Initially the economic reorganization drastically devaluated the local medium of exchange and replaced it with the franc and pound sterling. To acquire this indispensable money for taxes and commerce it became necessary for the borderland inhabitants to produce products of interest to international trade. The traditional means of acquiring foreign exchange was discouraged. Slavery, which was once the source of greatest profits, was abolished by the colonial powers; ostrich feathers lost their value; ivory became a rare commodity; and even the local weavers could not compete with the

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Despite the general decline of the local economy the early colonial administrators attempted to create new forms of production within the borderlands. The most significant source of income was eventually derived from cash crops that were introduced. Both the British and French discouraged the development of large European operated plantations but encouraged the introduction of cash crops among the agricultural villages even to the point of distributing seeds and plants.<sup>108</sup>

The crops found most adaptable to the borderlands were cotton and groundnuts (peanuts). Groundnuts eventually became the most important cash crop with ideal physical conditions of sandy soils and adequate precipitation. They had been introduced into West Africa at an earlier date by the Portuguese and was a crop grown by the indigenous farmer even prior to European domination. The great demand for groundnuts in Europe came as a result of the hydrogenation process whereby oil was extracted and used in the food industries.<sup>109</sup> The extension of the railroad into Kano provided a cheap means of transportation for the evacuation of groundnuts and the crop eventually became the most important cash crop in the borderlands.

From 1911 the production of groundnuts rapidly increased on both sides of the boundary and eventually became the mainstay of the colonial economy of Northern Nigeria and the leading producer of foreign exchange for all of Niger. Kano assumed an important role as

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<sup>108</sup>Colonial Report #409, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>109</sup>K. M. Buchanan and J. C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria (London: University of London Press, 1961), p. 135.

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The constant fluctuation and variation of prices paid for the cash crops did not provide the farmer with a reliable source of income. During this period the bulk of Nigerian groundnuts were purchased by large European commercial houses such as the United Africa Company or smaller buying agencies often dominated by Syrians.<sup>110</sup> In Niger such companies as SCOA and CNF controlled the marketing and evacuation of groundnuts. The vagaries of prices paid to the farmer prompted the producer to guarantee a successful food crop. Late onset of rains delayed the planting of export crops until the food crops were guaranteed. In many areas the margin of time left for the groundnuts to come to maturity was insufficient causing a shortage of export crops. Since the local population was supported by locally grown foodstuffs and depended only upon income received from groundnuts to pay taxes and purchase imported articles of clothing and housewares, it is understandable that primary concern was with the production of food. At other times shortages were created when the price of groundnuts fluctuated from the beginning to the end of the season. When the season price was exceptionally high groundnuts preserved for seed were often sold creating a shortage of seed for the following season.<sup>111</sup>

Owing to the frequent fluctuation of prices paid for cash crops from year to year, the growers in the borderlands were in an

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<sup>110</sup>Government of Nigeria, Annual Report on the Northern Provinces of Nigeria (Lagos: Government Printer, 1932), p. 28.

<sup>111</sup>Government of Nigeria, Annual Report on the Northern Provinces, 1935 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1936), p. 32.

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advantageous position. Frequently the price paid in adjacent territory was higher; thus when the price was low on the Nigerian market it became a common practice to transport groundnuts from the Nigerian borderlands into Niger in order to obtain a higher price.<sup>112</sup> It was estimated that in 1956-57, 12,000 tons of groundnuts moved across the boundary from Katsina Province. The following season this trend was reversed, and as a result of higher prices in Nigeria, an estimated 20,000 tons illegally crossed the boundary and were sold on the Nigerian market.<sup>113</sup>

The instability and constant fluctuation of groundnut prices was finally resolved by the government of both countries establishing

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<sup>112</sup>Government of Nigeria, Annual Report on the Northern Provinces 1939, Lagos - Katsina Province (Lagos: Government Printer, 1940).

An attempt to ascertain the amount and persistence of this movement by comparing the annual fluctuation of groundnuts sold in the borderland districts proved futile. Statistics at the Provincial level of the various districts had not been kept and more recent statistics from the Groundnut Marketing Board were unobtainable. As an indication of this movement the following information for the District of Jibiya can be compared.

1947	1,885 tons of groundnuts for export
1948	1,752 tons of groundnuts for export
1950	279 tons of groundnuts for export

The low tonnage in 1950 was the result of high prices paid in Niger, over £40 per ton compared with less than £20 per ton in Nigeria. The flight of these groundnuts into Niger resulted in the establishment of a police post to prevent the illicit trucking of groundnuts into Niger. During the groundnut evacuation season two Produce Inspection Officers were assigned to check on the movement of groundnuts from Niger. Despite these precautions an attempt to create a commercial barrier, this illicit movement persisted depending upon the price differential on either side of the boundary. (See Government of the Federation of Nigeria: National Archives, Kaduna (no file number) Jibiya District.)

<sup>113</sup>National Economic Council, Economic Survey of Nigeria 1959, (Lagos: Federal Government Printer, 1959), p. 30.



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a scheme that guaranteed the farmer a fair price for his crop prior to planting. In 1954, Nigeria established the Marketing Board, whereby licensed buying agents were appointed and authorized by the government to purchase cash crops at the guaranteed price, less a cost differential based upon transportation costs. The fact that transportation costs are deducted from the price meant that the growers of groundnuts in the borderlands received less per ton than those farther south.

The function of the Licensed Buying Agent is to bag the groundnuts into sacks weighing 175 pounds and transport them to the nearest Gazetted Inspection Station. Kano is the largest Inspection Station in the North, however, Katsina performs this function for the borderlands. (See Figure 27.) The Gazetted Inspection Stations function as a means of quality control to assure the overseas buyer that only quality groundnuts will be exported.

This system has worked satisfactorily since its inception despite certain irregularities and investigations into misplaced funds. On years when the world price is above the price paid by the Marketing Board the profits are divided between the government and the Marketing Board. A fund is maintained by the Board and on years when the world price slumps the farmer is still guaranteed the price quoted by the Board at the beginning of the season through a subsidy from the fund. The establishment of such a scheme has benefited the farmer, maintained a high standard on produce being exported, and eliminated the price differential between Nigeria and Niger. Shortly after independence a similar organization was established in Niger.

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Figure 27

## GAZETTED INSPECTION STATION KATSINA

Alraine Ltd. in Katsina functions as the inspection agent for the Northern Nigerian Marketing Board. This agency is delegated the responsibility of groundnut quality control and the storing of groundnuts for transport to Kano.

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(SONARA) was established to achieve the same aims as the Nigerian Marketing Board. The intervention of the State through SONARA stabilized the price of groundnuts and guaranteed a fair price to producers in Niger. In this scheme the old buyers were organized by SONARA since they were experienced in the marketing procedures. All the major towns within the borderlands became the focii for the purchase of groundnuts where they were inspected prior to evacuation. The result for Niger has been the reduction of marketing and export costs and an increased price paid to the producer.

Throughout the period of colonial domination the economy of the borderlands was gradually reorganized and became an integral part of the colonial economy. Despite this economic reorganization many features of the traditional economy remain, especially in the marketing, distribution, and circulation of goods and money at the local level. The establishment of cash crops in the borderlands did much to alleviate the initial economic dislocation by bringing a source of cash income to the population, although the majority of the people were still very much concerned with the production of food crops for local consumption.

One of the principal effects of the European presence has been the implementation of a new agriculture, particularly groundnuts, and the creation of a marketing organization for exportation. European cotton textiles ruined the traditional industry and to a degree brought about the decline of the cultivation of cotton in the borderlands. The extension of groundnuts has given the region the means to reorient its economy.

The economic reorganization has also given renewed significance to Katsina as a commercial center for the collection of groundnuts.

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In Niger the borderland region between Maradi-Zinder-Magaria has most successfully adapted to the cultivation of groundnuts and has emerged as the economic core area of the country.

### Boundary Function

From the time of the demarcation of the boundary until the emergence of Niger and Nigeria as independent States, the Niger-Nigeria boundary functioned primarily in an administrative capacity to delimit the extent of each powers colonial jurisdiction. The boundary did not function efficiently to inhibit the movement of peoples and goods since numerous trails crossed the boundary. It was easy to avoid the main roads where some control over the movement of goods and people had been established. Despite early attempts to make the boundary functional by periodic patrols that discouraged cross-boundary cultivation and settlement, it proved to be an impossible task to provide constant surveillance, and eventually the boundary came to function at two levels: the local and the international level.

At the local level, people moved back and forth across the boundary with little hindrance. This movement, especially on market days, along the trails that led to the border market towns was considerable. At the international level some control was exercised over the mass movement of goods to and from Niger. The movement of goods by truck was restricted to the highways that crossed the boundary and consequently much easier to control by the local officials.

Despite a general lack of control during the colonial period several attempts were made to make the boundary function as a barrier to the movement of goods.



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Barrier to trade. The early prosperity of the borderlands resulted in the decision by the French to establish a customs barrier in the most populated region bordering Katsina Province. In 1913 customs headquarters were established in towns such as Maradi and Matemeye. The customs officials were charged with the collection of duties on all merchandise entering and leaving Niger. A network of collecting and surveillance posts were established on the major roads leaving Niger. Posts were thus established in small towns and villages adjacent to the boundary such as Nielloua, Garin dan Sadao, Kandare, Tchidoufaoua, and Garin Balarabe. It was forbidden by the French to enter the subdivision of Maradi along any of the other minor trails that crossed the boundary.<sup>114</sup>

The customs organized by the French proved to be premature. The consequences and effects upon the local markets were disastrous. The price of products augmented and surpassed those in Nigeria resulting in the rise of the importance of Nigeria's borderland markets. Despite the vigilance of customs, smuggling became a common and profitable practice to the detriment of the honest merchants.

After five years of strict customs surveillance the French abolished the policy, primarily because the cost of customs maintenance was higher than the receipts from duties and tariffs. With the abolition of this practice the traditional trade flow resumed and new patterns of local trade emerged within the borderlands. The customs service was later re-established by the French, however the surveillance was not located at the boundary. Instead most of the important towns

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<sup>114</sup>David, op. cit., p. 123.

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within the borderlands established a customs office at the entrance of the town and the flow of goods were controlled in this manner. (See Figures 28 and 29.)

In contrast, the British did little during this early period to control the flow of goods. Most goods in transit from the French government entered duty free and other imports and exports were checked by the Native Authority at Katsina and Kano. No customs stations were established on the boundary until after World War II. However, in 1939 permanent buildings for Native Authority Police were erected at Jibiya, Maiaduwa and Ajiwa to control the rising flight of groundnuts due to price differentials.<sup>115</sup> These posts also functioned to control the trade cattle moving from Niger. Prior to this time, except for periodic checks at the markets for cigarettes, liquor, perfume, cotton goods, and matches, which were the principle goods smuggled in from Niger, there were very few cases of smuggling. For example only nine cases of smuggling were reported in 1936 and eleven cases in 1937.<sup>116</sup> The few convictions of smuggling was indicative of the open nature of the country and the difficulty of maintaining surveillance.

It was not until after World War II that Nigeria took the initiative and commenced to establish customs stations on the major roads at the point where they crossed the boundary. A customs station was constructed on the Jibiya-Maradi road, at Kongolom on the Daura-

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<sup>115</sup>Government of Nigeria, Annual Report on the Northern Provinces, 1940 (Katsina Province), (Lagos: Government Printer, 1940).

<sup>116</sup>Government of Nigeria, Annual Report on the Northern Provinces, 1936, 1937 (Katsina Province), (Lagos: Government Printer, 1936, 1937).

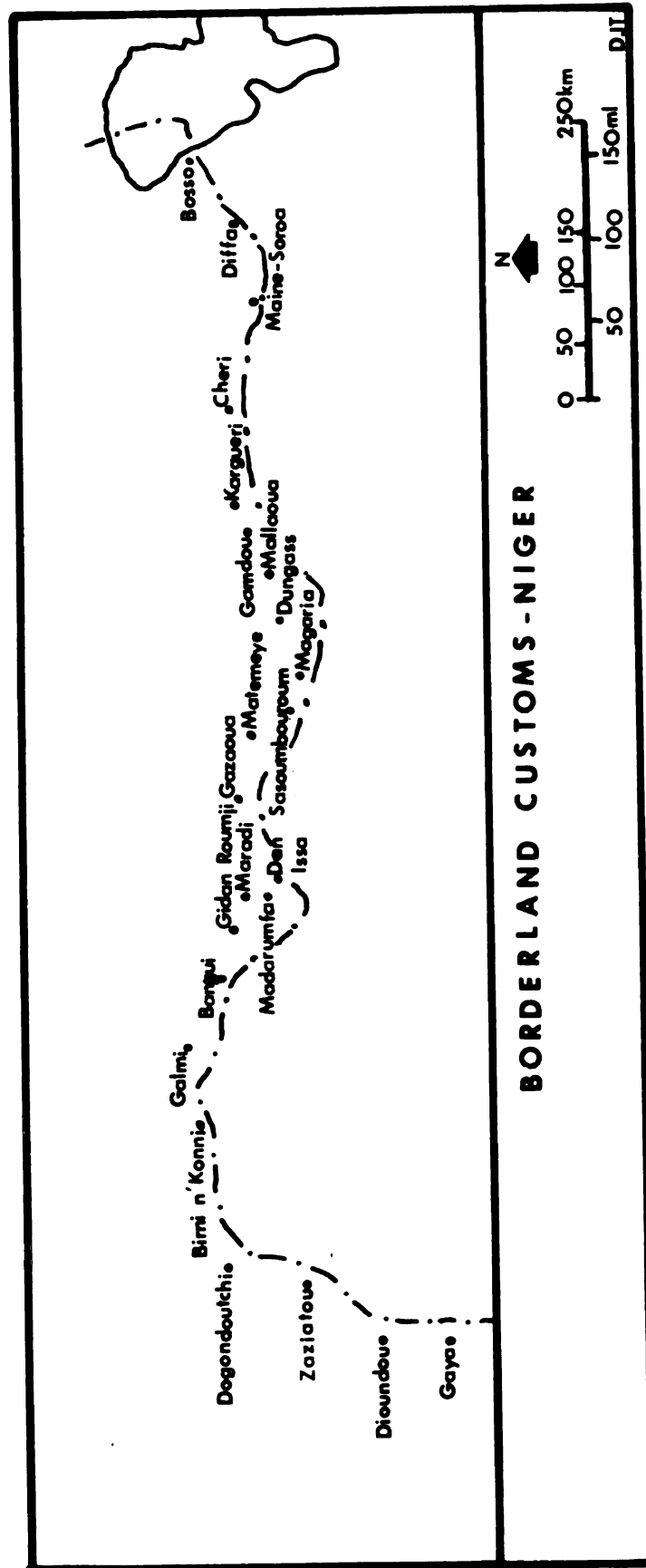


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Figure 29

## SASOUNBOUROM CUSTOMS STATION

Customs control in Niger is located on the main roads at the nearest town or village in Niger. Sasounbouroum is located approximately six miles from the actual boundary.

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Matemeye-Zinder road and a temporary station on the Zango-Zinder road. The establishment of these control points along the boundary of Katsina Province facilitated the flow of export products, primarily groundnuts from Niger, in transit through Nigeria. The rapid expansion of this flow after World War II necessitated a more efficient method of control, achieved through control points at the boundary. Despite this commercial function of the boundary the local regional flow was not curtailed to any great extent.

Significance of dislocation. The degree of stress created by the demarcation of the Niger-Nigeria boundary has been minimal. The nature of the boundary, that is, the criteria used in defining the boundary by the colonial powers, were the frontiers of separation between traditional rivals. The final decision and demarcation by France and Britain was arrived at following more than 14 years of negotiation and the delimitation of two prior boundaries that divided traditional territories. However, during this early period of boundary evolution the European control of the borderlands was not complete.

The demarcation of the boundary in an uninhabited zone resulted in the boundary being classified genetically as antecedent. The present-day appearance of superimposition is the result of early migrations from the north and the settling in the uninhabited borderlands.

The principal function of the boundary has been to separate two colonial administrations and did little to inhibit spatial interaction at the local level. The resulting differential modernization between Niger and Nigeria, with the greater availability of products on the local market in Nigeria, has done much to encourage a movement that did not exist prior to the demarcation of the boundary.

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Since the boundary has had a single rather than a multiple function; and since the homogeneity of population adjacent to the boundary is the result of voluntary migrations, the demarcation of the boundary has created a minimum of stress. Through adjustment to the boundary the creation of new patterns of trade and circulation resulted within the borderlands.

The borderlands have each been integrated into their respective colonies and new colonial patterns emerged as the result of the development of a colonial economy. The Niger borderlands have developed as the modern economic core of Niger and the Katsina borderlands have contributed significantly to the economy of Northern Nigeria. Each has accepted its new focus and political allegiance developing new imposed patterns of movement and circulation that have diminished, but not obliterated, the traditional pre-colonial patterns. These patterns have set the stage upon which the contemporary patterns are being developed by the new emerging States of Nigeria and Niger.

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## CHAPTER VI

### KATSINA-MARADI-ZINDER BORDERLANDS :

#### CONTEMPORARY PATTERNS

The emergence of Niger and Nigeria as independent States has resulted in a functional change from a colonial to an international boundary and the consensus, at least at the national level of the recognition of the boundary demarcated by the colonial powers. At the local level the boundary still exerts little influence in the daily lives of the inhabitants and the patterns that emerged during the colonial period have become more firmly entrenched. The difficulties that arise for Niger as a landlocked state with the problem of access to the sea have also become critical issues for the economic development of Niger.

#### CHANGING FUNCTION OF THE BOUNDARY

##### Establishment of Customs Control

One of the important changes in Nigeria has been the transfer of boundary surveillance and the maintenance of customs offices from the Native Authority police to the Federal Customs Service. The transfer of authority at Jibiya and Kongolom took place in 1960 and the following year Zango and Babban Mutum (Kano Province) were staffed by Federal Officials.<sup>1</sup> (See Figures 30 and 31.)

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<sup>1</sup>Government of Northern Nigeria, Provincial Annual Reports 1960, (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1961), p. 89.

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Figure 30

## KONGOLOM CUSTOMS STATION

Typical construction for the permanent customs stations established at the boundary by Nigeria.



Figure 31

## BOUNDARY BARRICADE AT KONGOLOM

Note warning to "Keep Left" upon entering Nigeria. This warning is written in English, French and Hausa.

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Except for these customs stations only Kamba had a permanent customs station controlling the movement from Niger; however, in 1968 permanent customs stations were scheduled to be opened at Kaingwa and Illela in Sokoto Province, and Maigatari in Kano Province where temporary control points had been established. East of Maigatari along the remainder of the boundary which passes through the relatively sparsely populated region of Bornu, no permanent customs stations have been established and only control points are maintained under the jurisdiction of the Native Authority police that patrol the borderlands from Nguru, Gashua, Geibam, Damasak and Yo. (See Figure 32.)

#### Effectiveness of Boundary Control

The establishment of a Federal Customs Service at the boundary was intended to make the boundary function more effectively as a barrier to the movement of goods and people. Attempts to create a barrier have been greatly hindered by the open nature of the country and despite a more efficient staff, the boundary still functions at the two levels previously discussed. This condition will continue until adequate staff is available to patrol the roads and trails that cross the boundary.

In an attempt to reduce the clandestine trade from Niger the customs staff frequently patrols the nearby markets and despite an increased number of arrests for smuggling little change in the function and enforcement of the boundary as a commercial barrier has occurred. In fact, patterns that emerged during the colonial period have become more firmly entrenched.

In contrast to Nigeria, Niger continues to control the boundary

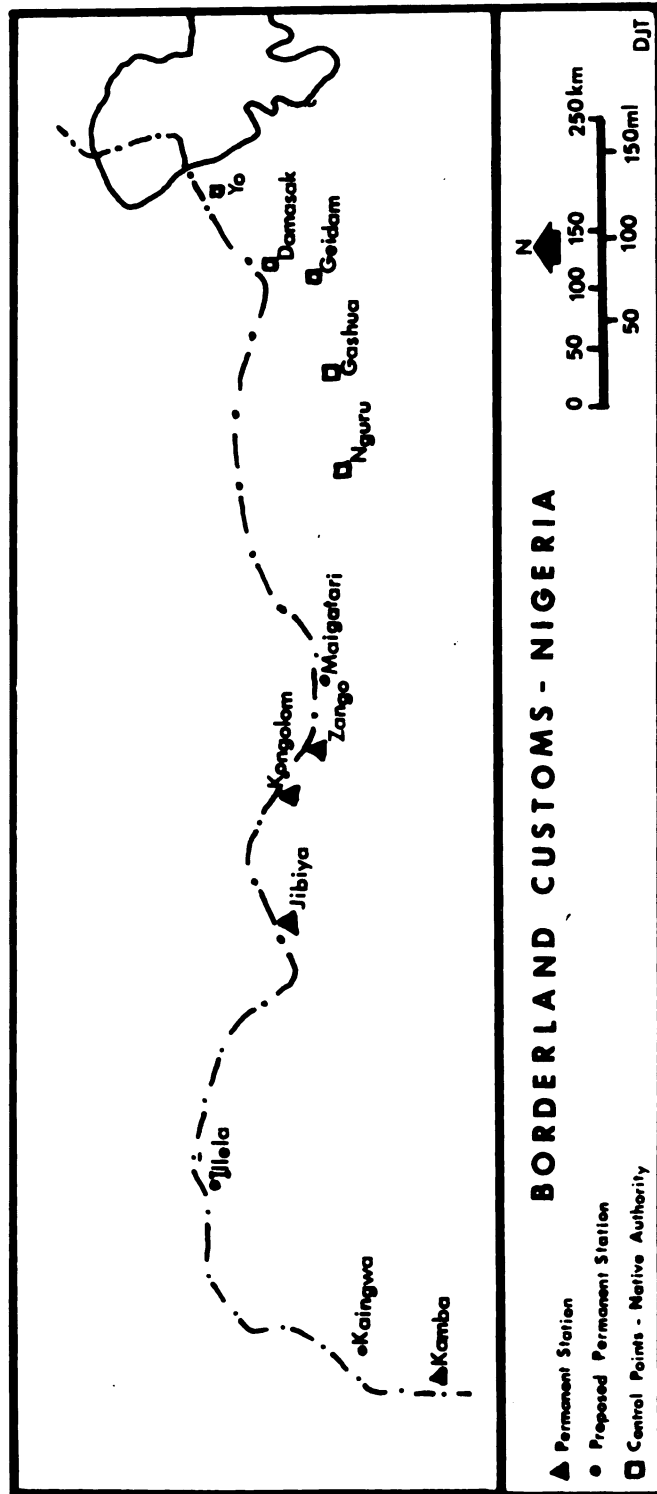


Figure 32

from towns closest to the boundary. No control point has been established at the boundary and consequently customs control remains inefficient and constitutes a considerable loss of revenue to a country already impoverished by its physical conditions and landlocked position. One report estimated that 50 per cent of the livestock exported and 40 per cent of the Maradi goat skins exported to Nigeria avoided payment of duty.<sup>2</sup>

The illicit movement of goods to Nigeria is not confined to individuals and an investigation revealed that a large portion of the smuggling has been undertaken by semi-administrative organizations such as Copro-Niger, which in 1966 avoided payment of duty on 608 tons of fresh meat destined for Nigeria, a loss of at least \$5,000 to the government.<sup>3</sup>

Since independence, despite attempts by both governments to make the boundary more functional in the commercial sense, the amount of clandestine trade shows the ineffectiveness of customs control. In one way the control of Nigeria transit export goods is closely and efficiently controlled by Nigeria customs, however the local cross boundary movement is largely uncontrollable and continues unhindered.

#### Survey of Cross-Boundary Movement

The most important cross-boundary movements that take place

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<sup>2</sup>Bastien (Monsieur), Rapport sur le Fonctionnement de Service des Douanes de la République du Niger 1967 (Paris: Secrétariat d'Etat aux Affaires Etrangères Chargé de la Coopération, Centre de Documentation, 1967), p. 18.

The ease with which livestock on the hoof can be exported is illustrated in Figure 33, showing the movement of a Fulani herd from Niger to Nigeria at the precise location of the boundary.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.



Figure 33

## FULANI PASSING FROM NIGER INTO NIGERIA

This shows a Fulani herdsman crossing the international boundary. The line of trees is the approximate location of the boundary and were planted by villagers to demarcate the boundary.

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represent the two levels at which the boundary functions. At the international level the vehicular movement is carefully controlled and confined to the major roads that cross the boundary and connect the major towns of the Niger borderlands with Kano. Most of this movement from Niger is focussed upon Kano despite the fact that railheads in Nigeria at Kaura Namoda and Nguru are located much closer to the boundary. The reason for this is primarily administrative since goods in transit to and from Niger can be more efficiently controlled in Kano.

Associated with the considerable amount of vehicular movement is a movement of population that cross the boundary aboard the loaded trucks and mammy wagons. Normally most of these people are not involved in the local borderland commercial movement but are destined to towns and cities within and beyond the borderlands for reasons other than commerce.

— At the local level the weekly cross boundary movement of individuals going to market by way of the numerous trails and roads that cross the boundary represents the largest population movement from one country to the other. This movement is uncontrolled and involves thousands of people every week. These migrations were surveyed and tabulated in order to assess the degree and magnitude of this movement within the borderlands. Although the surveys have limitations and represent only a small sample, they do reveal not only the magnitude but also the salient reasons for the movement, and demonstrate the close inter-relationship and spatial interaction of the borderlands.

Vehicular movement. A survey of vehicles passing the Nigerian

customs stations at Jibiya, Kongolom and Zango reveals the magnitude and seasonal nature of the movement. The busiest period of vehicular movement is from November to April when the exporting of groundnuts from Niger is at a peak. At Zango, for example, approximately 98 per cent of the total truck movement during the month of January 1968 carried groundnuts. Similarly, 72 per cent of the truck movement at Kongolom and 5 percent at Jibiya were carrying groundnuts for the same period. The low percentage at Jibiya is explained in part by the emphasis on the movement of groundnut oil and cake through Jibiya and also by the fact that much of the groundnut production in the Maradi region is exported west through Dahomey.

The vehicular movement for July 1967 and January 1968 is summarized in Tables 4, 5, 6, and 7. The seasonal nature of the movement is most representative in comparing the July and January movement at Zango. In July 1967 only 10 vehicles were reported passing Zango Customs Station, whereas in January 1968, 1,114 vehicles moved from Niger into Nigeria. The reason for this difference is twofold; first, the dependence on groundnuts for the maintenance of vehicular flow, and second, the condition of the unpaved highway between Zango and Daura which makes passage virtually impossible during the wet season.

At Kongolom the wet season vehicular movement does not decrease as dramatically since the transportation of other products becomes important. The principle goods transported in July 1967 from Niger and passing Kongolom were beans that were being exported for consumption on the local Nigerian market. The vehicular flow at Jibiya does not significantly decrease since the year round production of groundnut

Table 4  
VEHICLE MOVEMENT  
NIGERIA TO NIGER  
July 1967

Vehicle Type	Jibiya		Kongolom		Zango	
	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent
Truck	120	70	125	69	2	33
Tanker	14	9	14	8	1	17
Mammy-Wagon	3	2	19	10	-	-
Car	36	19	25	13	3	50
Total	173	100	183	100	6	100
Vehicle Registration						
Niger	61	34	113	68	3	50
Nigeria	112	66	70	32	3	50
Cargo						
Empty	72	42	8	4	2	33
Personal Effects	6	4	89	48	2	33
Petroleum	3	2	12	7	1	17
Salt	5	3	8	4	-	17
Sugar	47	27	6	3	-	-
Passengers	326	-	NA	-	NA	-
Other	40	23	60	34	-	-



Table 4 (continued)

	Jibiya			Kongolom			Zango		
	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Per Cent
<b>Town of Departure</b>									
Kano	155	91	181	99	5	83			
Katsina	11	6	2	-	-	-			
Daura	2	-	-	-	-	-			
Jibiya	1	-	-	-	1	17			
Kazaoure	1	-	-	-	-	-			
Sokoto	2	-	-	-	-	-			
Jos	1	-	-	-	-	-			
<b>Town of Destination</b>									
Maradi	170	99	-	-	-	-			
Madaoua	1	-	-	-	-	-			
Dan Issa	1	-	-	-	-	-			
Zinder	1	-	180	98	2	33			
Tessaoua	-	-	3	2	-	-			
Sasoumbouroum	-	-	-	-	3	50			
Magaria	-	-	-	-	1	17			

Source: Author's computations.

Table 5

VEHICLE MOVEMENT  
NIGER TO NIGERIA  
July 1967

Vehicle Type	Jibiya		Kongolom		Zango	
	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent
Truck	87	62	130	64	2	20
Tanker	31	22	8	4	7	70
Mammy-Wagon	16	11	47	23	-	-
Car	11	5	19	9	1	10
Total	145	100	204	100	10	100
Vehicle Registration						
Niger	44	30	150	75	10	100
Nigeria	101	70	53	25	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cargo						
Groundnuts	7	5	2	1	-	-
Groundnut Cake	61	44	-	-	-	-
Groundnut Oil	30	21	-	-	-	-
Beans	-	-	84	43	-	-
Personal Effects	5	3	77	38	1	10
Empty	39	27	33	17	9	90
Tin	-	-	2	1	-	-
Passengers	174	-	NA	-	NA	-
Other	3	2	1	-	-	-

	Jibiya			Kongolom			Zango		
	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent		Number of Vehicles	Per Cent		Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	
<b>Town of Departure</b>									
Maradi	143	99		-	-		-	-	-
Dan Issa	1	-		-	-		-	-	-
Niamey	1	-		-	-		-	-	-
Zinder	-	-		202	99		5	50	50
Tessaoua	-	-		2	-		-	-	-
Magaria	-	-		2	-		3	30	30
Sasoumbouroum	-	-		-	-		2	20	20
<b>Town of Destination</b>									
Kano	127	90		201	99		10	100	100
Katsina	11	5		-	-		-	-	-
Daura	6	4		-	-		-	-	-
Kazaure	1	-		-	-		-	-	-
Maiaduwa	-	-		3	-		-	-	-

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Source: Author's compilations.

VEHICLE MOVEMENT  
NIGER TO NIGERIA  
January 1968

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Vehicle Type	Jibiya		Kongolom		Zango	
	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent
Truck	40	38	122	60	1,095	98
Tanker	24	20	11	6	6	.5
Mammy-Wagon	21	17	35	17	-	-
Car	33	27	35	17	13	1.5
Total	122	100	203	100	1,114	100.0
Vehicle Registration						
Niger	59	49	171	85	665	60
Nigeria	60	49	32	15	449	40
Other	3	2	-	-	-	-
Cargo						
Empty	28	24	35	17	22	2
Personal Effects	5	4	67	35	-	-
Groundnuts	-	-	72	37	1,091	98
Groundnut Cake	22	19	-	-	-	-
Groundnut Oil	24	20	-	-	-	-
Cotton Seed	29	24	-	-	-	-
Beans	1	-	16	9	-	-
Passengers	211	-	NA	-	NA	-
Other	-	-	3	2	1	-

Table 6 (continued)

	Jibiya			Kongolom			Zango		
	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent		Number of Vehicles	Per Cent		Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	
<b>Town of Departure</b>									
Maradi	121	99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Niamey	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zinder	-	-	-	203	100	-	6	.5	-
Magaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	389	35	-
Sasoumbouroum	-	-	-	-	-	-	281	25	-
Kwaya	-	-	-	-	-	-	215	19	-
Dan Tyao	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	9	-
Bande	-	-	-	-	-	-	87	7	-
Dungas	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	2	-
Dogo	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	.5	-
Matemeye	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Kantché	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
<b>Town of Destination</b>									
Kano	115	96	-	202	99.5	-	1,105	99	-
Katsina	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jibiya	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Daura	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Sasoumbouroum	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
Kantché	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Matemeye	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Other	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Author's compilations.

Table 7

VEHICLE MOVEMENT  
NIGERIA TO NIGER  
January 1968

Vehicle Type	Jibiya		Kongolom		Zango	
	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent
Truck	62	46	90	57	908	99
Tanker	19	14	20	13	1	-
Mammy-Wagon	20	15	23	15	-	-
Car	33	24	23	15	3	-
Total	136	100	157	100	912	99
Vehicle Registration						
Niger	51	40	113	70	532	59
Nigeria	84	60	44	30	380	41
Cargo						
Empty	92	69	66	43	888	97
Personal Effects	8	9	51	34	1	-
Salt	7	6	6	2	15	2
Petroleum	1	-	14	9	1	-
Passengers	224	-	NA	-	NA	-
Other	23	18	20	12	7	1
Town of Departure						
Kano	127	95	156	99	902	99
Katsina	5	3	1	-	-	-
Jibiya	1	-	-	-	1	-
Zango	1	-	-	-	3	-
Daura	-	-	-	-	5	-
Other	2	-	-	-	-	-

Table 7 (continued)

Town of Destination	Jibiya		Kongolom		Zango	
	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent	Number of Vehicles	Per Cent
Maradi	133	98	-	-	-	-
Niamey	2	-	-	-	-	-
Dan Issa	1	-	-	-	-	-
Zinder	-	-	157	100	7	-
Magarla	-	-	-	-	470	52
Sasoumbouroum	-	-	-	-	277	30
Dan Tyao	-	-	-	-	18	2
Bande	-	-	-	-	11	1
Kwaya	-	-	-	-	114	13
Dungas	-	-	-	-	15	2

Source: Author's compilations.

oil and cake at Maradi maintains the vehicular movement along the all weather road to Kano.

Another relevant detail emerging from the data at Jibiya and Kongolom is the predominantly two way departure-destination flow. For example, of those vehicles passing Jibiya and entering Nigeria, 99 per cent departed from Maradi and 96 per cent were desinted for Kano. This trend is reversed in the outward movement from Nigeria, where 91 per cent departed from Kano and 99 per cent were destined for Maradi. The figures are even more impressive through Kongolom where the entire recorded movement is between Zinder and Kano.

By contrast, the movement through Zango is much more diversified. The destination of the flow from Niger into Nigeria is 99 per cent for Kano, however the points of departure are more dispersed. Approximately 35 per cent left from Magaria, 25 per cent from Sasoumbouroum, and 19 per cent from Kwaya. On returning to Niger 52 per cent were destined for Magaria and 30 per cent for Sasoumbouroum, whereas the point of departure for 99 per cent of the vehicles was Kano. (See Figures 34 and 35.)

An analysis of the flow from Nigeria into Niger reveals that roughly 70 per cent of the trucks return empty, compared with 97 per cent at Zango. There is a slight discrepancy at Kongolom where the recording of personal effects is so high. This discrepancy is perhaps based on the customs officials' interpretation of "personal effects" where a truck may be returning empty with a few passengers who are carrying personal belongings. Such an interpretation would raise even higher the percentage of trucks returning empty. This one way flow of goods certainly increases transportation costs and leaves



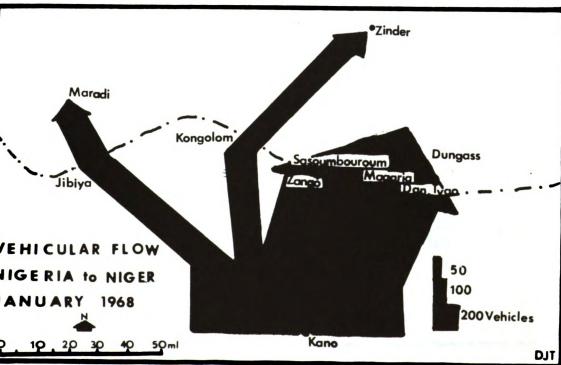
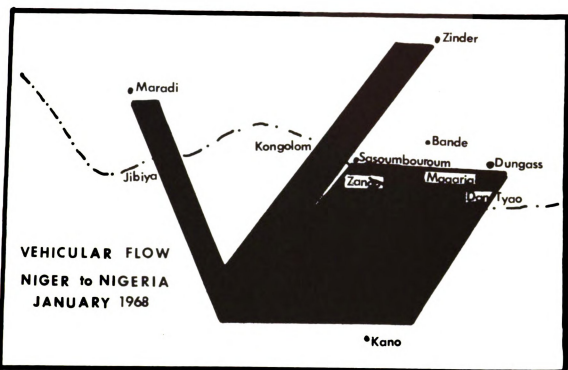


Figure 34

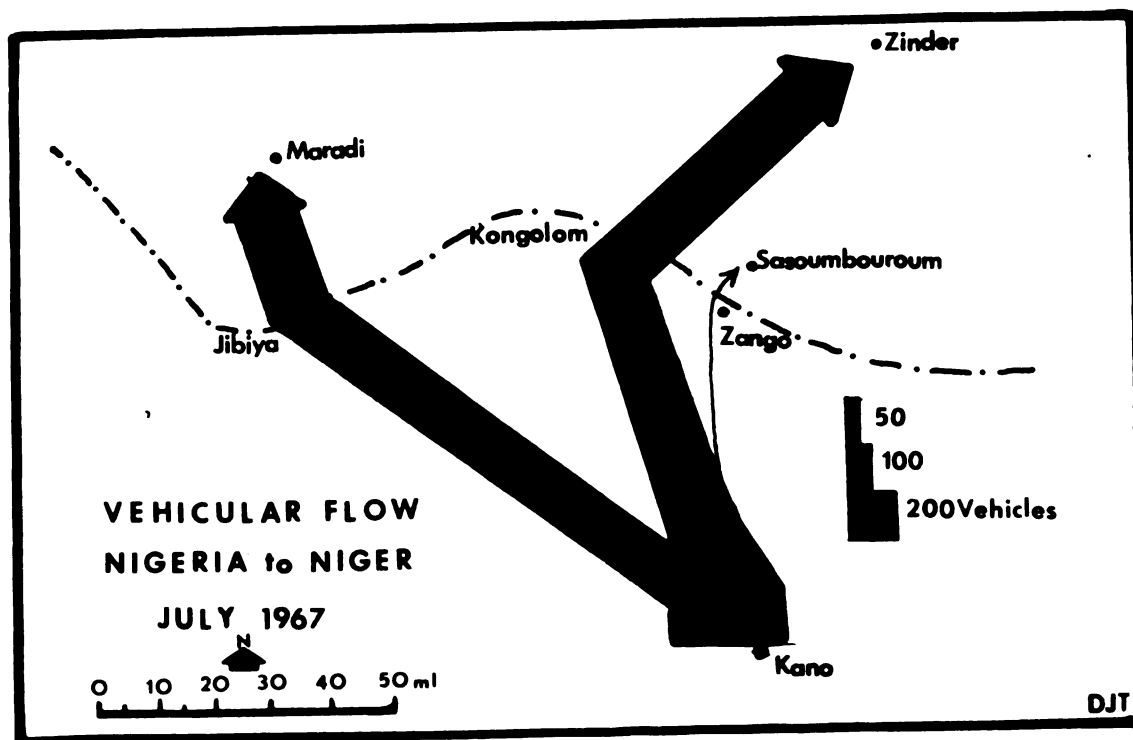
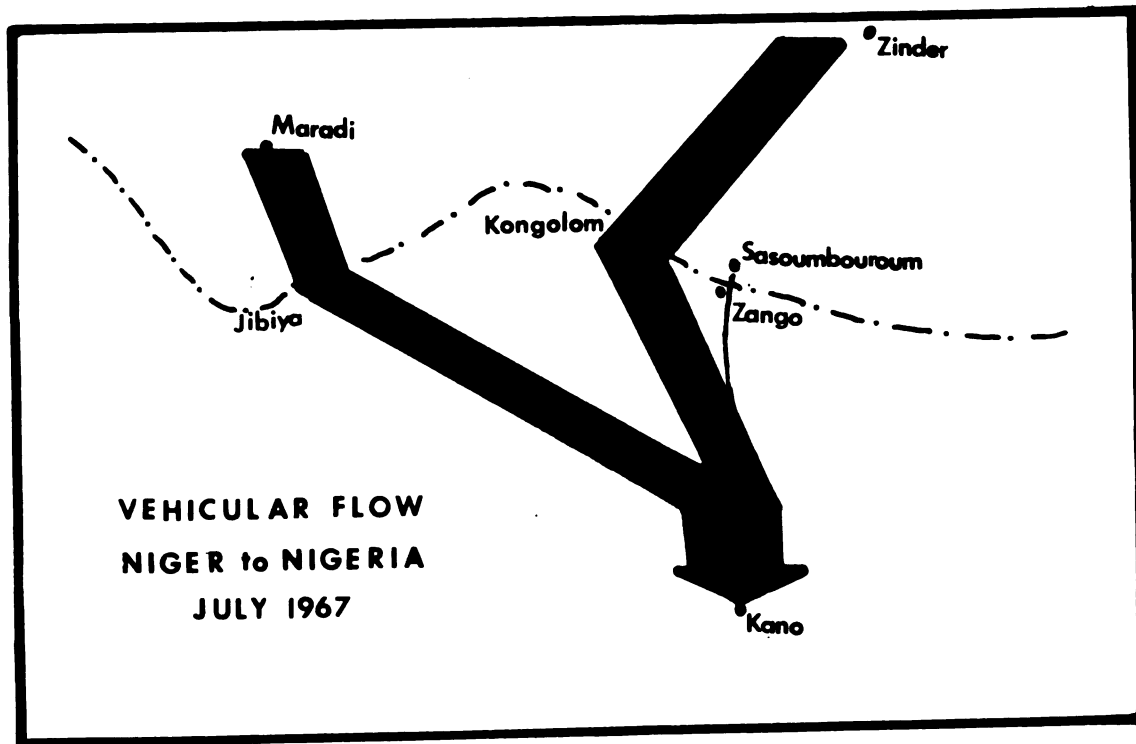


Figure 35

Niger in a very unenviable position. The few transporters that do return with goods usually carry salt or sugar and occasionally a tanker is sent empty from Niger and returns with petroleum.

The movement of vehicles from Magaria, Dungass and Dan Tyao through Zango may be regarded as rather anomalous. Magaria is located just 12 miles north of Babban Mutum, a Nigerian customs control station on the boundary. Instead of moving directly south the majority of truck movement from Magaria and points east travel the more circuitous route to Zango. While this route is 35 miles longer, once Daura is reached the road to Kano is paved. By contrast, the road between Magaria and Kano, by way of Babban Mutum, is entirely made of laterite and is in poor condition.

Random survey of cross-boundary movement. One of the noticeable features related to the vehicular movement is the number of passengers that are carried by the transporters. Despite a full load of ground-nuts or other products, nearly every truck that crosses the boundary carries passengers. (See Figure 36.) However only the customs station at Jibiya recorded the number of passengers. Obviously these passengers, who move back and forth across the boundary by this means, are not part of the local market movement that occurs on market days within the borderlands. In order to ascertain the reason for (rather than the magnitude) of this flow of people the author was able to solicit the assistance of customs officials at Zango and Kongolom to undertake a survey of people crossing the boundary on days other than local market days. (For the results of this survey see Appendix F.)

Individuals passing the customs station either as passengers



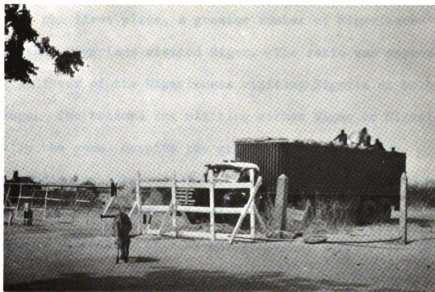


Figure 36

## GROUNDNUT MOVEMENT FROM NIGER

Along with the movement of goods, each truck usually carries passengers. The above picture illustrates this point and was taken at Zango Customs Station in Nigeria. Note the number of passengers seated atop the groundnuts.

on the trucks or on foot were questioned as to where they were from, where they were going, the reasons for leaving either Niger or Nigeria, and the duration of their stay. While the sample was small and the duration of the survey lasted only one month some interesting observations and conclusions can be drawn.

In the first place, a greater number of Nigeriennes visited Nigeria than Nigerians visited Niger. The ratio was approximately 3 to 1 in favor of the Nigeriennes visiting Nigeria at both Kongolom and Zango. The reasons for visiting either Niger or Nigeria were basically the same, despite the greater flow from Niger.

Trading was the most important reason for cross-boundary movement from Niger to Nigeria with 44 per cent of those interviewed at Kongolom indicating this as the principal reason, the majority desinted for Kano. Similarly Nigerians visiting Niger responded 60 per cent as going to Niger, primarily Zinder, to trade.

By contrast the station at Zango indicated that of those passing from Niger into Nigeria, 45 per cent were planning to visit relatives. Approximately 9 per cent were visiting Nigeria to attend a relatives wedding and 2 per cent to attend a funeral.

At Zango, 28 per cent of the movement involved traders visiting Nigerian markets, primarily Kano, to purchase foodstuffs or sell livestock. (See Appendix F.) For those seeking work in Nigeria, 9 per cent passed through Zango compared to 11 per cent at Kongolom. This movement is part of the masu cin rani, an annual migration that takes place throughout Hausaland during the dry season. Undoubtedly if the survey had been taken earlier in the dry season the movement would have been considerably greater.

Prior to the survey, it had been assumed that the dominant reasons would have involved visiting relatives, trading or seeking employment. Among the additional reasons cited for crossing the boundary, were Nigerienne students attending Koranic school in Daura, or other Nigerian towns, and Nigerian students attending Koranic school in either Magaria or Sabuwa.

Another feature of the cross-boundary traffic was the number of people who journeyed from Niger into Kano, Nigeria, in order to repair radios, bicycles and other commodities. This gives some indication of the importance of Kano as a service center whose hinterland extends beyond the boundary to perform functions and services that cannot be obtained elsewhere.

One other movement that should be mentioned is the transit movement between towns of Niger via the Nigerian borderlands. The lack of communications and the poor conditions of the road has resulted in a transit movement between Matemeye and Sasounbouroum or Magaria in Niger, through Nigeria by way of Kongolom, Daura and Zango. This is most certainly a more circuitous route; however, the condition of the road facilitates travel and it is frequently used.

Although this cross boundary movement is considerable and is accomplished with relatively little control, it is the local commercial movement that is of the greatest magnitude. In order to ascertain how much movement occurred on borderland market days a survey of the local cross-boundary movement was undertaken. The magnitude and significance of this movement is perhaps best understood by a consideration of the system of Hausa periodic markets that prevail within the borderlands.

## BORDERLAND COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

The Hausa have gained a reputation as itinerant traders throughout West Africa and this reputation can be traced to the system of periodic markets that flourish throughout Hausaland. Trading is a way of life and virtually all the rural population becomes involved in the marketing system to such a degree that the market or kasuwa has become an institution throughout Hausaland.

Within the system of markets that proliferate throughout the region there is a definite hierarchy of market centers each similar in form and performing similar functions within their tributary area. The borderland markets perform a special function because of their location on the fringe of differing monetary, economic, and administrative systems. The location of these markets, especially in Nigeria, produces a considerable cross-boundary movement of population on market days and consequently exerts considerable influence in the southern cantons of Niger.

Form and Function of Hausa Markets

It is in the form and function of the market system that much of traditional Hausa culture can be observed. Basically the form and function of all Hausa markets are the same and have changed very little despite the colonial experience. Usually the kasuwa is located in an open area on the outskirts of the town or village. In some instances in the larger traditional birnis such as Katsina, the kasuwa is located within the city itself.

To the casual observer the market would appear to be disorganized and chaotic; however, upon close examination a degree of order in the



arrangement of goods for sale is evident. Usually the center of the kasuwa is made up of a number of mud-baked stalls (in some instances these have been replaced with cement) covered by either straw matting or corrugated iron for shade. Beyond the stalls other traders lay their goods on straw mats. The order and arrangement is evident in the fact that traders selling similar products congregate within a specific area. Improvements in market facilities have been undertaken by both the colonial and present-day government with the construction of additional stalls, concrete slaughter houses, and the planting of shade trees.<sup>4</sup> (See Figure 37.)

The primary function of the kasuwa is obviously commerce, but in most cases the market is not conducted every day. Throughout most of Hausaland the market operates on a weekly cycle, thus for only one or perhaps two days each week the market is open and functioning in a commercial capacity. In some of the larger urban agglomerations a small market functions daily selling primarily foodstuffs and is known as a duriya.

Not every settlement has a kasuwa and consequently a market organized in one village will attract buyers and sellers from a tributary area that includes villages not functioning as central places for commercial activities. The commercial transactions are undertaken according to a weekly cycle such that the market day of each village that does have a kasuwa will not conflict with its nearest neighbor. The object and purpose of this is twofold: first, so that the two neighbors will not be competing against each other; and

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<sup>4</sup>Guy Nicolas, Etude de Marché en Pays Hausa, Documents Ethnographiques: (Republique de Niger), Mimeographed 1964, p. 21.



Figure 37

## JIBIYA MARKET

One of the largest borderland markets, Jibiya attracts a considerable number of people to its weekly market. The scene is typical of the many Hausa markets that dot the landscape.

second, to allow the itinerant traders to move from one market to another in an uninterrupted cycle. (Figure 38 shows the cycle and market days of some of the more important markets within the borderlands.)

In the past the markets were more numerous. Better communications and the establishment of new communication networks brought about the demise of many of the smaller markets and the development and growth in importance of others. Most markets are spaced a distance of approximately 8 miles (12 kilometres) from their neighbor, varying according to the density of the population in the region.

Each market is a node or focal point for local commerce and becomes a central place dominating a tributary area and providing a place for farmers and merchants to gather to buy and sell their products. In general the villages with a kasuwa are more important and their significance is increased with the existence of a local market. However, it cannot be assumed that inhabitants living within the tributary area of one market will trade exclusively at that market. In addition to the primary function of Hausa markets, the kasuwa performs a secondary function and market day plays an important role in the social life of the people. It is a day of rest from everyday labors and provides an opportunity to meet with relatives, to make new acquaintances and in general is an important social occasion. Because of the social function of the kasuwa many people prefer markets other than the kasuwa in their own or neighboring towns. Many people undertake several days' journey in order to partake of this secondary function.

Within the system of markets in Hausaland and specifically within the borderlands there is a definite hierarchy of markets,

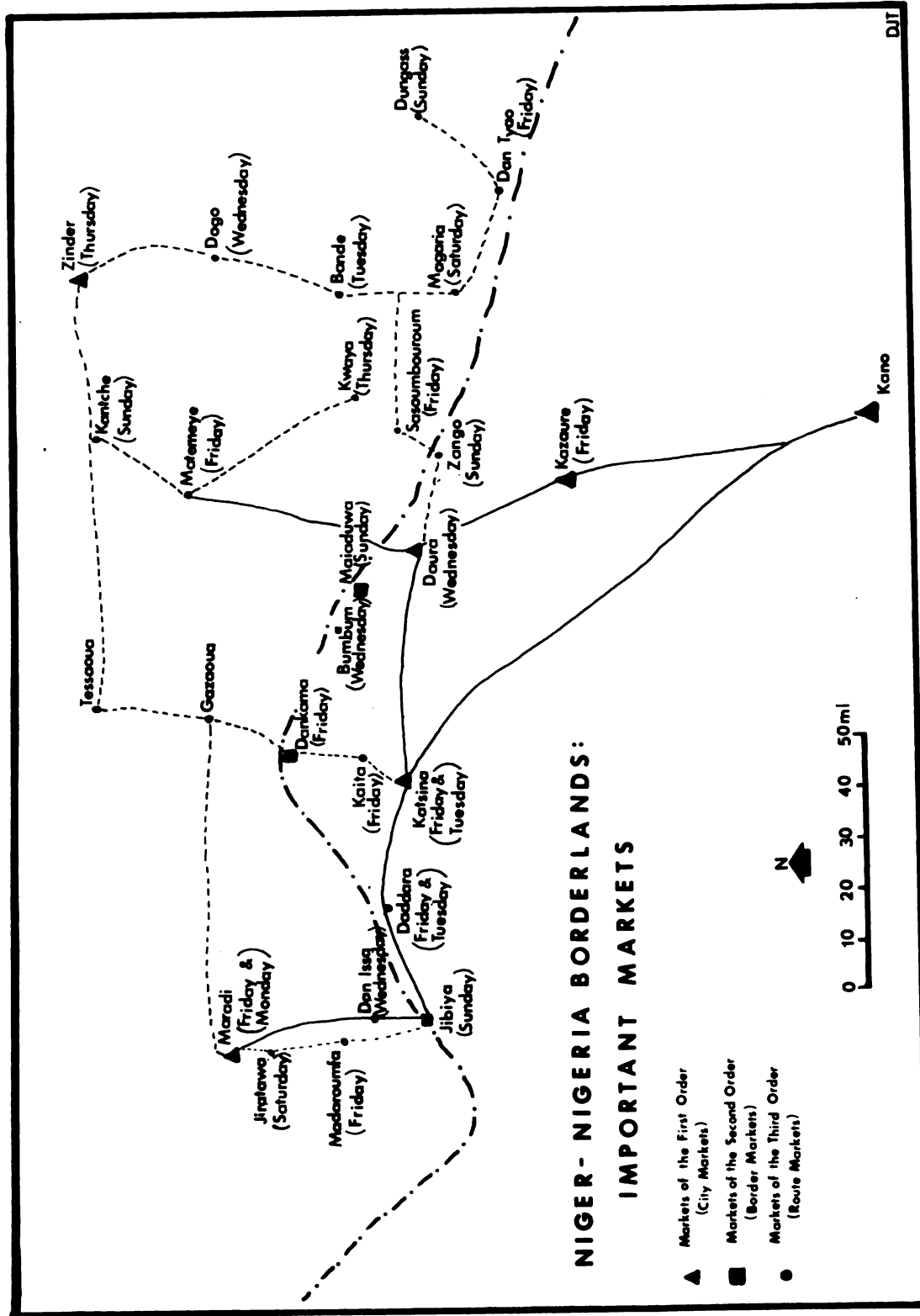


Figure 38

defined in terms of the size of the market and extent of its tributary area. In the borderlands four classes of markets can be observed: those of the First Order (City Markets), Second Order (Border Markets), Third Order (Route Markets), and markets of the Fourth Order (Bush Markets).

Markets of the First Order (City Markets). Within and just beyond the borderlands are a number of market cities whose tributary area extends over a vast area. These cities form nodes for transportation networks and function as important centers in the import and export trade of both southern Niger and Northern Nigeria. In these cities European commercial establishments are to be found and stores or canteens provide a variety of European goods, especially foodstuffs.

Most of these markets of the First Order are the traditional caravan cities and political capitals that have adjusted to the colonial economy and still continue to exert considerable influence. Such cities as Kano, Katsina, Daura, Zinder and Maradi fall into this category. Although Kano falls outside the borderlands as defined in this study, the influence of Kano upon the entire area places it within a category by itself. Many traders from other First Order markets go to Kano in order to purchase supplies, such as traders in Zinder who rely upon Kano for many products. In addition, Kano forms a focal point for exports from the borderland and redistribution center for imports.

The other city markets located in the borderlands perform similar functions but on a smaller scale. Whereas Kano market operates daily, the borderland city markets of Maradi, Katsina, and Zinder operate on a two days a week cycle, however each has a small daily

duriya. In addition these markets also function as regional collecting points for cash crops for export as well as centers for redistribution of a variety of manufactured goods that percolate onto the local markets.

Markets of the Second Order (Border Markets). The markets of the Second Order are those markets that are located on the fringe of the two opposing political and economic systems and exert an influence such that they attract a considerable cross-boundary movement. Within the area under investigation, the border markets of Nigeria exert a greater attraction than those in Niger. Two border markets that have risen to prominence on the basis of their location close to the boundary are Jibiya and Maiaduwa; although Dankama performs a similar function it is considerably smaller and does not attract as significant a cross-boundary movement.

The cattle routes from Niger converge at Jibiya and Maiaduwa and these markets form points of attraction for those in Niger desiring to sell cattle. As a result of this situation pastoralists purchase supplies at the market where they sell their cattle thereby diminishing the importance and significance of local Niger markets. To sell in Niger means a loss in buying power since goods are more expensive. At the same time this represents a considerable loss to the local economy of an already impoverished Niger.

Both Jibiya and Maiaduwa have easy access to the larger city markets and can be regarded as satellite markets. The influence of these markets is considerable for they detract and diminish the importance of larger market towns of southern Niger, especially Maradi, Matemeye and even Zinder.

Markets of the Third Order (Route Markets). These markets are located on the main highways between the city and border markets. They are intermediary satellite markets of primary local significance. The traders that frequent these markets get their supplies from the city and border markets. These markets also provide an outlet for local produce.

Many of these route markets can be identified. (See Figure 38.) On the main highway between Katsina and Jibiya, Daddara is a market that operates on a two day a week cycle, every Tuesday and Friday, and specializes in the production of pottery. Between Jibiya and Maradi several route markets can be identified on the two roads that cross the boundary. On the old unsurfaced road Maradarunfa meets on Thursday and Jeratawa on Saturday; on the paved Dan Issa road market convenes every Wednesday. It is along these highways that traders pass on a weekly cycle travelling from one market to the next and frequently, if not every week, crossing into Nigeria for Sunday market day at Jibiya.

To the east between Maiaduwa and Zinder several route markets such as Matemeye, Kantché and Takiéta can be identified along the principal line of communication. Matemeye holds its market day on Fridays and is the nearest competitor for the Nigerian border market of Maiaduwa. Matemeye is located 22 miles (30 kilometres) from the boundary and its influence to the south of the canton of Kantché has been greatly diminished by the presence of Maiaduwa. Matemeye is also the closest customs control point in Niger on the Daura-Zinder road.

Markets of the Fourth Order (Bush Markets). Located away from the main transportation networks are the local bush markets, or markets that function as an outlet for locally produced products within a limited tributary area. The small village bush markets exert a great deal of autonomy and are often situated in regions where certain products are more abundant and less expensive. For this reason traders are often attracted to these out of the way markets to buy the local produce for resale on the larger markets.

Despite the number of these bush markets the local people nevertheless conduct minor commercial activities on the small local markets and reserve the more important buying and selling for their periodic visits to the larger markets.

#### Influence of the Boundary

The influence of the boundary on local commerce today, as during the colonial period, is minimal. The demarcated boundary represents the de jure territorial limits of two sovereign States and it should also be the limit of two opposing economic systems, one oriented to the franc zone and the other toward the sterling zone. However, as has been mentioned, the local Nigerian border markets, especially Jibiya and Maiaduwa, are prosperous and exert a considerable influence beyond the boundary attracting many merchants and buyers from Niger.

The use of Nigerian currency extends beyond the de jure territorial limits and diminishes gradually as one goes farther from the boundary. The de facto boundary based upon the use of Nigerian currency extends well into the Niger borderlands. A line drawn just south of Maradi, Gazaoua, Matemeye, and Magaria, indicates the region



of the borderlands where Nigerian currency exerts considerable, and in some instances greater, influence than the franc CFA. (See Figure 39.) Despite the illegality of carrying Nigerian currency beyond the boundary, within the area immediately adjacent to the boundary Nigerian currency is the principal medium of exchange. Even beyond the line drawn Nigerian currency is accepted in the city and route markets.

The reasons for the prevalence of Nigerian currency within this zone are twofold. First, it is an indication of the attraction of the Nigerian border markets. Since many Niger borderland inhabitants journey to Jibiya and Maiaduwa to buy provisions, frequently the rural farmer traders will refuse to sell their produce for anything but Nigerian currency. Second, the exchange rate is to the advantage of Nigerian currency and anyone purchasing goods in the Nigerian border markets with franc CFA takes a considerable loss, not only in the exchange rate but also in the purchasing power. It is for this reason that there is hesitancy to accept franc CFA even within the Niger borderlands that are influenced by the Nigerian border markets. As a result it is not uncommon for traders to refuse to sell for Niger currency in Niger for fear of losing on the Nigerian Market.<sup>5</sup>

Since much that is sold on the local markets of Niger comes from Nigeria, the price is augmented by additional middlemen costs and payment of customs duties. Because customs officers in Niger are located in the principal borderland market towns it is often difficult for the trader to evade payment on dutiable items from Nigeria. These

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

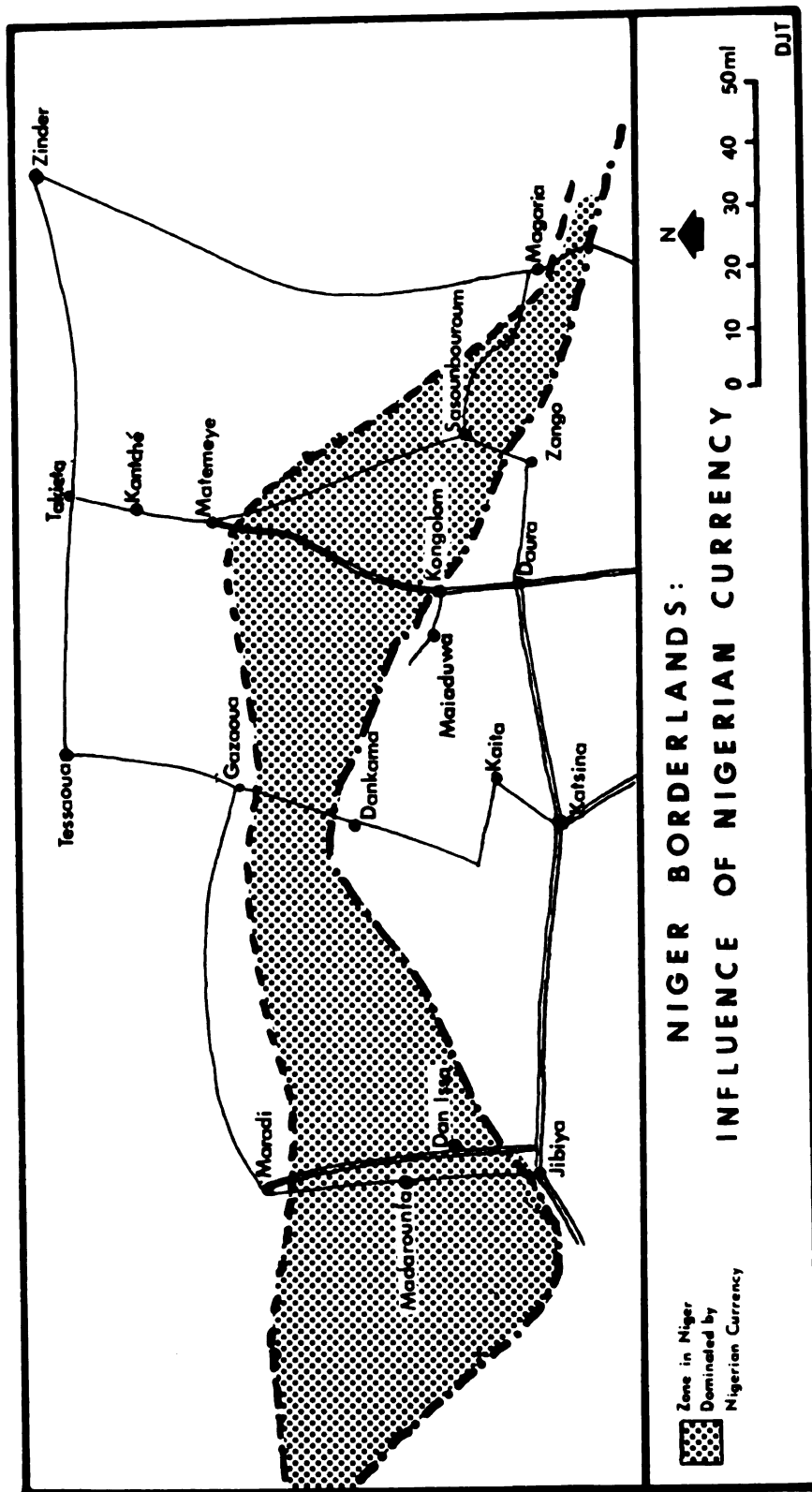


Figure 39

higher prices encourage the flight of borderland inhabitants to frequent the border markets of Nigeria and encourages the use of Nigerian currency adjacent to the boundary.

The creation of a customs barrier and the close supervision of boundary surveillance has done little to inhibit local commercial activity, thereby reinforcing the argument that at the local level the boundary influence is minimal. This, however, does not mean that the inhabitants are unaware of the location of the boundary. At the village of Makada, located approximately one-half mile east of the Goulbi n'Maradi, a dispute arose over the precise boundary location between farmers of this village and the neighboring village of Rufawa, located approximately one-half mile north of the boundary. This dispute was resolved by planting a row of trees to demarcate the boundary thereby permitting the villagers on either side of the boundary to cultivate up to that point. (See Figure 40.) Interestingly, this row of trees was perceived by the inhabitants as a line separating the French from the British rather than a line separating Niger from Nigeria. Under normal circumstances relations between the two villages were free and open with considerable interaction between the two.

Cross-boundary cultivation is a common occurrence along the boundary although this is rarely admitted. Such practices have been discouraged by both the colonial and independent governments but it does persist. Usually through payment of a small "rental" fee to the district head a farmer can obtain permission to cultivate land on the other side of the boundary.

The movement of population along the many trails that cross the boundary render the control of the boundary minimal. The cross

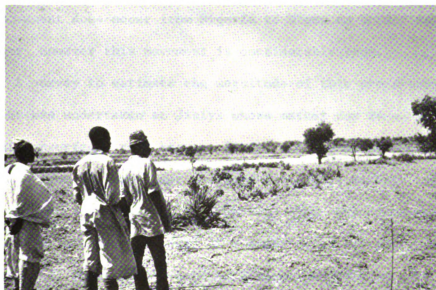


Figure 40

BOUNDARY DEMARCATED BY TREES

Village Chief showing the line of trees planted by villagers to demarcate the boundary.

boundary population movement of the greatest magnitude is that which occurs on market days within the borderlands.

#### Survey of Market-Day Movement

The market-day movement is the result of the colonial period and has continued to the present. The movement from Niger to markets in Nigeria, specifically Jibiya, Maiaduwa and Zango are greatest. Some movement does occur from Nigeria to Niger on border market days in Niger, however this movement is considerably less.

A survey to estimate the magnitude of this cross-boundary movement was undertaken at Jibiya whose market day is on Sunday. On the main unsurfaced road between Jibiya and Madarunfa 708 men and 486 women crossed from Niger destined for Jibiya market. (See Figure 41.) This represents a total of 1,264 persons that moved from Niger over a 12 hour period. Further west on a minor trail 324 people entered Nigeria. All these people entered Nigeria unhindered, many carrying goods and produce for sale at Jibiya. By far the majority of the people travelled on foot some having walked three or four hours to attend market. Other means of transportation noted on the Jibiya-Madarunfa road were 44 donkeys, 30 camels, 20 horses and 5 bicycles were counted on one Sunday.

In contrast to the movement on the unsurfaced roads there was also a considerable movement along the paved highway between Jibiya and Maradi. For twelve hours mammy-wagons shuttled back and forth between Maradi and Jibiya. Those who rode the mammy-wagons were subject to inspection at Dan Issa, Niger, and Jibiya customs stations. (See Figure 42.) The number who passed Jibiya customs during the same period numbered 330 men and 276 women, and represent a considerable



Figure 41

## CROSS-BOUNDARY MOVEMENT JIBIYA MARKET DAY

A sample of the considerable movement from Niger that occurs every Sunday. The white post on the right of the picture is a boundary market and is located in the Jibiya-Madarunfa road.



Figure 42

## JIBIYA CUSTOMS CONTROL

By contrast to the uncontrolled movement as shown in Figure 40, those travelling to Jibiya via mammy-wagon are subject to customs control.

decrease in the number that passes the official customs control points.

The movement from Nigeria to markets in Niger involves considerably fewer people. There are several reasons for this, the main factor being distance. Most of the important markets of Niger are located at least 15 miles from the boundary, consequently the areas south of these markets fall within the tributary area of the important Nigerian border markets. Accessibility is also a factor. Some of the markets are located on the main unsurfaced roads and are generally inaccessible by mammy-wagon except via a circuitous route. Finally the higher prices on the market of Niger discourages the buyer from frequenting these markets.

A survey to ascertain the amount of movement from Nigeria into Niger revealed that only a total of 104 crossed the boundary one Friday destined to the market at Madarunfa. This market town is located 15 miles north of the boundary on the main unsurfaced road between Jibiya and Maradi. This road between Jibiya and Madarunfa is impassable by mammy-wagon and makes it relatively inaccessible for many people. By contrast Dan Issa's market day is on Wednesday and is located on the main surfaced road between Jibiya and Maradi. This town located 6 miles from Jibiya, was within easy access by mammy-wagon and on market day 176 persons passed the Jibiya customs station destined for the market at Dan Issa.

At Maiaduwa, another important Nigerian border market, an average of 122 people passed the customs station at Kongolom every Sunday for the months February and March 1968. The reverse flow from Nigeria to Matemeye on Fridays was considerably less with an average of 71 people tabulated for the same period. All these people were

travelling by mammy-wagon. No survey was taken on the minor roads and trails leading to Maiaduwa from Niger; however, a random survey of people in the market indicated that one out of every three had come from Niger.

This cross-boundary local commercial movement is seasonal in nature and diminishes during the rainy season. It can be estimated that at least 50,000 people cross the boundary every year to visit the market at Jibiya. Such a large movement means a loss of revenue and currency exchange for Niger and at the same time adds to the importance and significance of the Nigerian border markets as suppliers of goods for the southern borderlands of Niger. This local commercial activity is largely uncontrolled and differs from the bulk movement of goods to and from Niger which is closely controlled. This control of bulk imports and exports due to the presence of the boundary exerts many hardships for Niger and it is at this level that the boundary functions as a commercial barrier and an international boundary.

#### THE BOUNDARY AND ITS EFFECTS UPON NIGER

The creation of the Niger-Nigeria boundary has placed Niger in the unenviable position of being a landlocked State. Very little has been done to analyze the problem of landlocked States although as a result of independence movements in Africa the number of landlocked States in the world has more than doubled.<sup>6</sup> A study of Niger

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<sup>6</sup>Harm J. deBlij, Systematic Political Geography (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), pp. 341-368.

Two recent articles have dealt generally with the problem of access to the ocean for Africa's landlocked States. See David Helling, "Politics and Transportation: The Problems of West Africa's Land-Locked States" in Essays in Political Geography, Charles A. Fisher, (ed.) (London: Methuen Co., Ltd., 1968), pp.253-271. Also see Edmund H. Dale "Some Geographical Aspects of African Land-Locked States" Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 58, #3, September 1968, pp, 485-505.



reveals an attempt to overcome the basic problem of all landlocked States, that is, the problem of access to the ocean.

The economic development of Niger is based upon access to cheap ocean transportation since Niger is a country dependent upon monoculture (i.e., groundnuts) as a means to acquire foreign exchange. It is through the bulk movement of this cash crop that the Niger-Nigeria boundary functions at the international level with both the exports and imports being closely controlled.

### Niger's Economic Core

The majority of Niger's economic activity lies within the sedentary zone of the southern borderlands. The economic core area of Niger is referred to as le Niger Utile, that is, the useable part of the Niger.<sup>7</sup>

This economic core area is located primarily within the central and western part of East Niger and extends into the eastern fringes of West Niger adjacent to the Niger-Nigeria boundary. The small area that makes up the economic core can be delimited by the arc of a circle approximately 125 miles (200 kilometres) from Maradi. (See Figure 43.) This arc extends west to Birni n'Konni and east to Zinder and forms the basis for Niger's economic activity. Within this small area resides 60 per cent of Niger's population, 92 per cent of Niger's groundnuts and 98 per cent of Niger's cotton is grown within this small area. The area also dominates in the production of foodstuffs and livestock.

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<sup>7</sup>République Française, Organisation Commune Dahomey-Niger (Paris; Compagnie Générale d'Etudes et Recherches pour l'Afrique, 1960), p. 4.

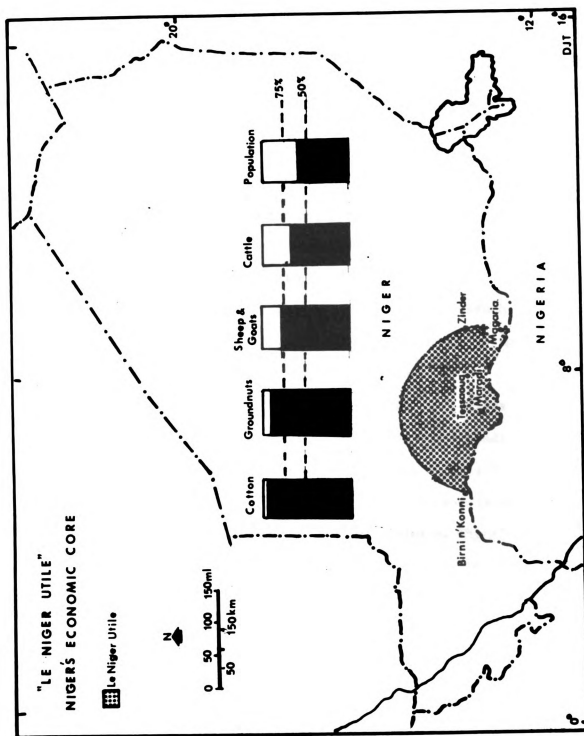


Figure 43

Groundnut production. The mainstay of Niger's foreign exchange is its groundnut production which has risen steadily since independence. (See Table 8.) The uncertainty of rainfall, the dependence upon a single crop for foreign exchange, and Niger's landlocked position, all make groundnut production a precarious base for economic development. Because of its one crop economy, Niger is vulnerable to world market prices, although until very recently Niger's groundnut production was subsidized by France, who paid a higher price than the world market price. The vulnerability of Niger is best illustrated by the results of the 1966-67 groundnut season which recorded an all time high in production, an increase of 24 per cent over the previous season. Because of low world prices, the abolition of French preferential buying, and higher transportation costs, Niger's export receipts dropped by 27 per cent over the previous year.<sup>8</sup>

Although groundnut exports account for over two-thirds of Niger's foreign exchange, a great number of people in the borderlands are involved in its production. While every farmer may cultivate a small crop of groundnuts, the main concern for most of the population is the production of foodstuffs. In the overall value of Niger's agricultural production, groundnut production accounts for slightly less than 10 per cent. When livestock is included this percentage drops to approximately 6 per cent.<sup>9</sup> In the circonscriptions adjacent to the boundary that form the heart of Niger's groundnut zone, this

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<sup>8</sup>Ministry of Information, Niger on the March (Paris: Jeune Afrique Editions, 1968), p. 19.

<sup>9</sup>République Française, Commercialisation des Arachide-Niger Situation Actuelle, Tome III (Paris: Compagnie Générale d'Etudes et Recherches pour l'Afrique, 1961), p. AIV-5.

Table 8

## NIGER ANNUAL GROUNDNUT PRODUCTION

	Average 1959-62 (tons)	1962-1963 (tons)	1963-1964 (tons)	1964-1965 (tons)	1965-1966 (tons)	1966-1967 (tons)
West Niger	5,350	4,376	3,054	3,870	7,406	10,632
Central Niger						
Madaoua	2,170	2,134	2,863	4,373	6,233	7,075
Maradi	16,100	15,292	17,681	21,823	29,582	34,203
Tessaoua	13,250	13,612	13,946	15,135	28,745	41,272
East Niger						
Zinder	7,042	8,052	8,743	9,286	11,515	16,387
Magaria	28,277	31,730	40,231	28,395	44,309	60,835
Matemeye	NA	15,759	25,817	22,059	26,019	17,429
Goure	950	1,423	1,795	1,420	2,271	3,473
Total	73,129	92,340	114,130	106,361	156,081	191,307

Source: Société Nigérienne de Commercialisation de l'Arachide, Rapport du Conseil de l'Administration  
(Mimeographed September 1967).

percentage rises to at least one-third of the value of agricultural production. In Maradi, for example, almost 40 per cent of the value of agriculture is derived from groundnuts.<sup>10</sup>

The overall effect of the production of groundnuts is much greater than these figures indicate. In a country where the majority of the population survives at a subsistence level, the production of groundnuts furnishes the local farmers with a modest cash income. Because of the dependence upon groundnuts as a cash crop and the necessity to export the harvest for foreign exchange, transportation has become an important local industry. Groundnuts have also formed the basis for other local industries such as the production of groundnut oil and cake.

The majority of Niger's groundnut production is for export. (See Table 9.) France is the principal buyer, consuming approximately 90 per cent of the total exports. A small portion of the groundnuts are diverted to the production of groundnut oil, one of the few modest industries found in Niger. Groundnut oil production is carried out at three plants, two operated by Société Industrielle et Commerciale du Niger (SICONIGER) at Maradi and Tessaoua (see Figure 44,) and a third operated by Société des Huilleries du Niger (SHN) at Matemeye. The production of groundnut oil is modest with no oil mill functioning at capacity. On an average less than 8 per cent of the groundnut production has been diverted to the production of oil.

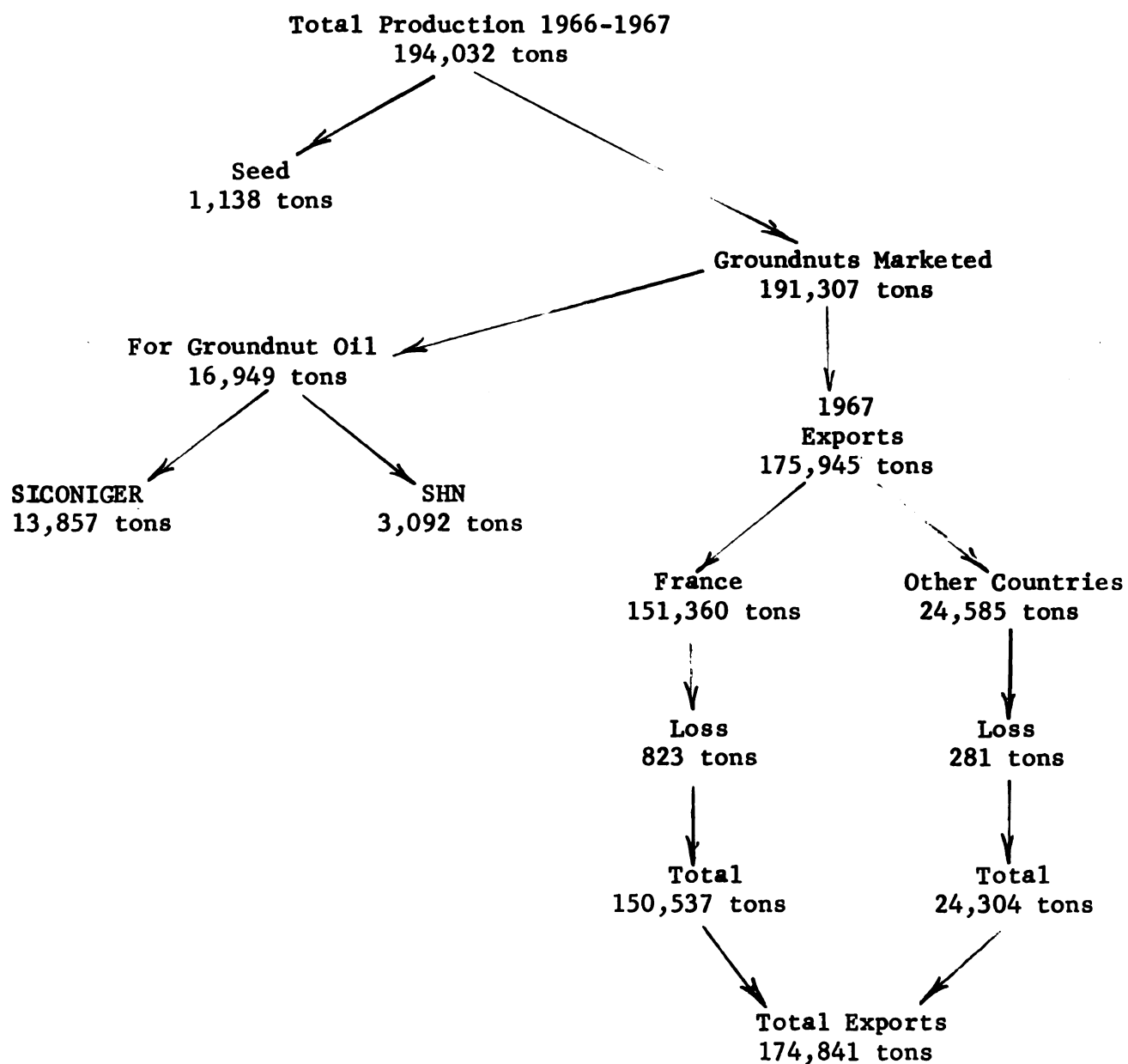
The major groundnut producing zone is located in the circonscriptions of Magaria which produced 32 per cent of the 1966-67 harvest,

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. AIV-7.

Table 9

**DESTINATION OF NIGER'S  
GROUNDNUT PRODUCTION**



Source: Société Nigérienne de Commercialisation de l'Archide Rapport  
du Conseil de l'Administration (Mimeographed September 1967).

Tessaoua which produced 26 per cent, and Maradi which produced approximately 17 per cent of the harvest. All these circonscriptions lie adjacent to the boundary and are the major producers. Matemeye, which also lies adjacent to the international boundary, produced an additional 9 per cent of the 1966-67 harvest. From this central zone of groundnut production, the amount of groundnuts cultivated decrease east and west as well as to the north. Southward into Nigeria, groundnut production increases because of more favorable physical circumstances.

The organization responsible for marketing and exporting the annual groundnut crop is the Société Nigerienne de Commercialisation de l'Arachide (SONARA). This organization controls the price, organizes the markets, and stores the groundnuts at specified locations to await exportation. (See Figure 45 and Appendix G.) Figure 46 locates the principal groundnut buying markets in the Niger borderlands.

One of the major problems faced by SONARA is related to Niger's landlocked position and how to gain access to port facilities for the exportation of its annual crop. This is certainly not a new problem for landlocked States; however, Niger has attempted to find a satisfactory solution to this problem. Economic progress is dependent upon Niger's ability to export its cash crop and has forced Niger to pay a high price for its transit routes.

#### Problems of a Landlocked State

The most obvious problem of any landlocked State is one of access to the ocean. It is essential to gain this access in order to export products to gain foreign exchange and thereby import products not produced within the country or in neighboring States. This problem

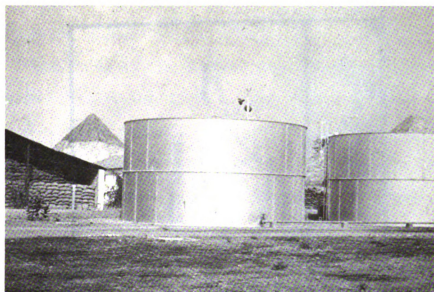


Figure 44

MARADI SICONIGER OIL MILL



Figure 45

MAGARIA SONARA GROUNDNUT STOCK YARDS



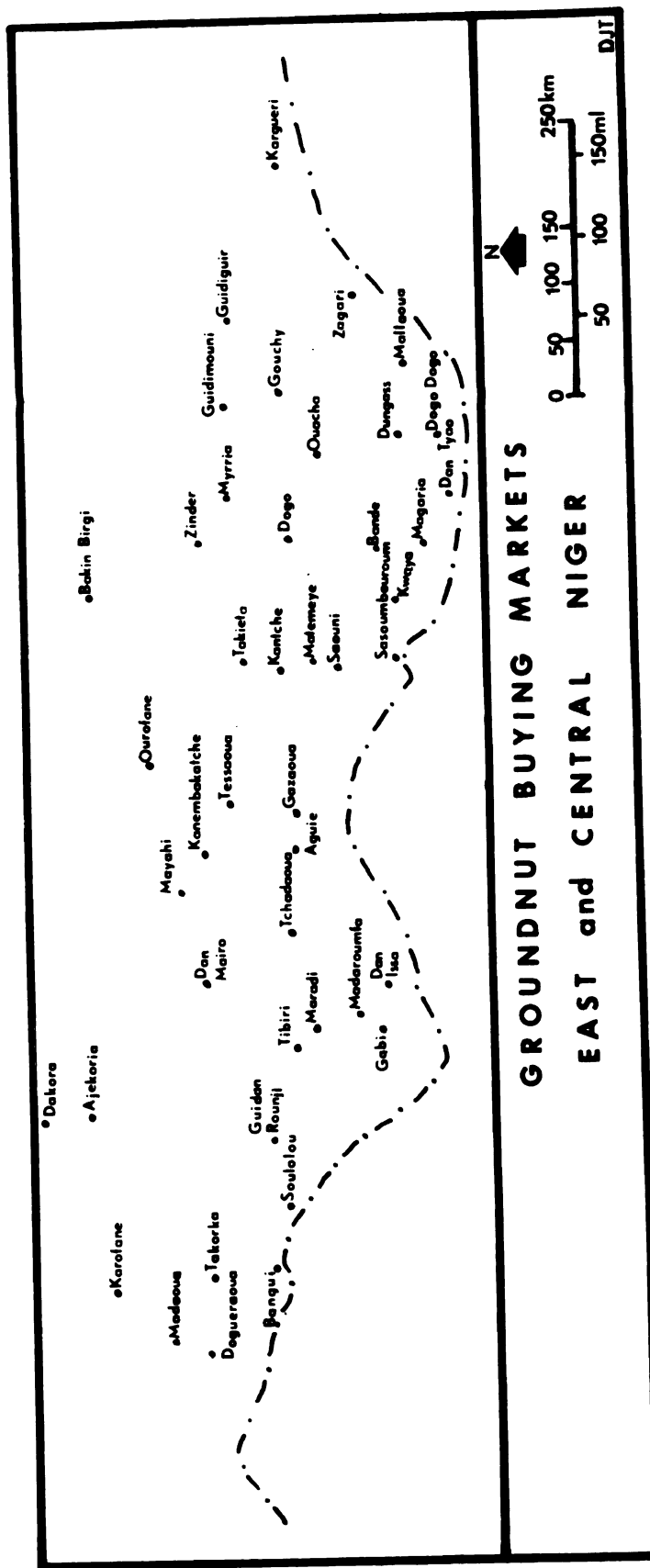


Figure 46

is compounded in Niger by the poverty of the country, the limited transportation system, and the dependence upon monoculture as a means of supplying foreign exchange and economic development.

Approximately two-thirds of the export value of Niger is derived from groundnuts.<sup>11</sup> The necessity of maintaining open access to the ocean is also apparent when it is realized that Niger is dependent upon the importation from overseas for 100 per cent of its petroleum products, 84 per cent of its metal products, and 54 per cent of its textiles.<sup>12</sup>

The economic development of Niger is very much dependent upon selling its annual groundnut production on the world market. In addition to the vagaries of world groundnut price fluctuations, Niger is also faced with high transportation costs as well as the problem of evacuating its annual production. Regardless of the access route, Niger is dependent upon friendly relations with its neighbors. Sometimes this is not sufficient since internal strife within neighboring countries can disrupt the free flow of Niger's cash crop during the short five or six month period of evacuation. Consequently, Niger sometimes finds itself unable to control events that can have adverse effects upon the prosperity of the country.

Problem of access. The location of the economic core of Niger,

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<sup>11</sup>B. Courmo, "La Place Capitale de l'Arachide dans l'Economie Monétaire," Europe, France, Outremer, November 1965, #430, pp. 25-28.

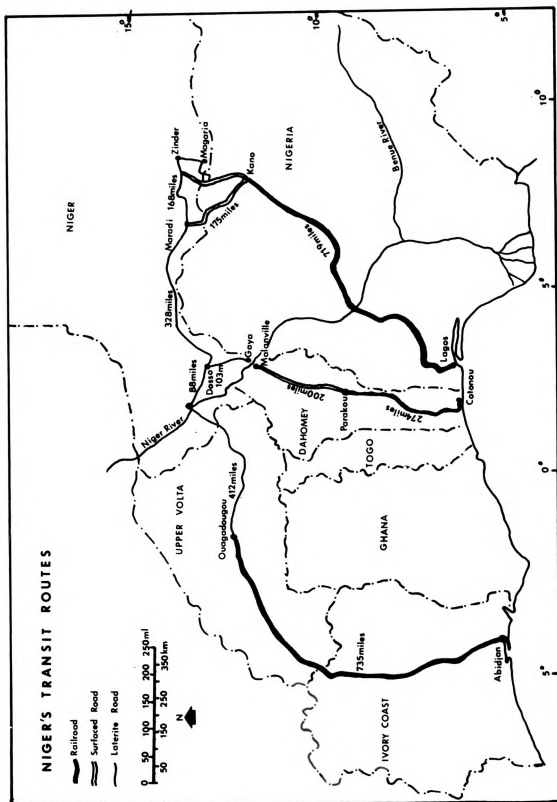
<sup>12</sup>République Française, Etude sur les Possibilités de Création de Petites Industries en République du Niger (Paris: Société d'Etudes et de Réalisation Minières et Industrielles, 1963), p. 14.

lying primarily within the Central region of the borderlands, poses an acute problem of access in order to evacuate Niger's cash crop. Three alternate routes lie open as a means to secure access to the ocean; however, all three are not economically viable.

The longest and least economical, at least for the exportation of groundnuts is west to Ouagadougou in Upper Volta, then via rail to port facilities at Abijan in Ivory Coast. (See Figure 47.) This transit route has not been used as a means of exporting groundnuts, however, it is used for the importation and exportation of goods to and from the region of Niamey. The distance from Maradi to Ouagadougou is 828 miles (1,325 kilometres) almost entirely of unsurfaced laterite and consequently makes this route economically unfeasible for the exportation of groundnuts. The distance from Ouagadougou to Abijan by rail is an additional 728 miles (1,175 kilometres).

A shorter and more feasible route, at least for groundnuts produced in West Niger is the transit route by way of Dahomey. The distance from Maradi to Gaya is 331 miles (705 kilometres) and is comprised entirely of unsurfaced laterite. Upon entering Dahomey a surfaced route extends from Malanville a distance of 200 miles (315 kilometres) to railhead facilities at Parakou. The railroad from Parakou to the port at Cotonou is 274 miles (438 kilometres). This transit route served West Niger exclusively up to 1953 when the decision was made to reroute produce from Central and East Niger, regions that are best served by the most direct access route via Nigeria.

The shortest and most economical transit route for the groundnut producing zone is through Nigeria. Kano is the major break-in-bulk



**Figure 47**

point for transshipment via rail to port facilities at Lagos. The principal collecting points for groundnuts such as Maradi, Matemeye, Zinder and Magaria all lie within 200 miles of Kano, and are connected by roads that are for the most part surfaced. The distance from Kano to Lagos is approximately 710 miles (1,126 kilometres) although transportation costs, whether by rail or road, are on a parity.

During the early years of Niger's independence, the average movement of goods (both imports and exports) on the three alternate transit routes are shown in Table 10.

Table 10

## NIGER IMPORTS-EXPORTS

	Country of Transit		
	Nigeria (tons)	Dahomey (tons)	Ivory Coast (tons)
Exports	65,000	50,000	10,000
Imports	50,000	60,000	10,000

Source: République du Niger, Organisation Commune Dahomey-Niger (Paris: Compagnie Générale d'Etudes et Recherches pour l'Afrique, 1960), p. 8.

By far the majority of exports that exited via Cotonou and Lagos was comprised of groundnuts. Approximately 35,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped through Cotonou, and 55,000 tons of groundnuts passed through Lagos. (See Figures 48 and 49.)

Nigerian Transit Route

The shortest and easiest route for the exportation of Niger's cash crop is through Nigeria. The main groundnut producing zone of Niger, the Maradi-Zinder-Magaria triangle lies within easy access to

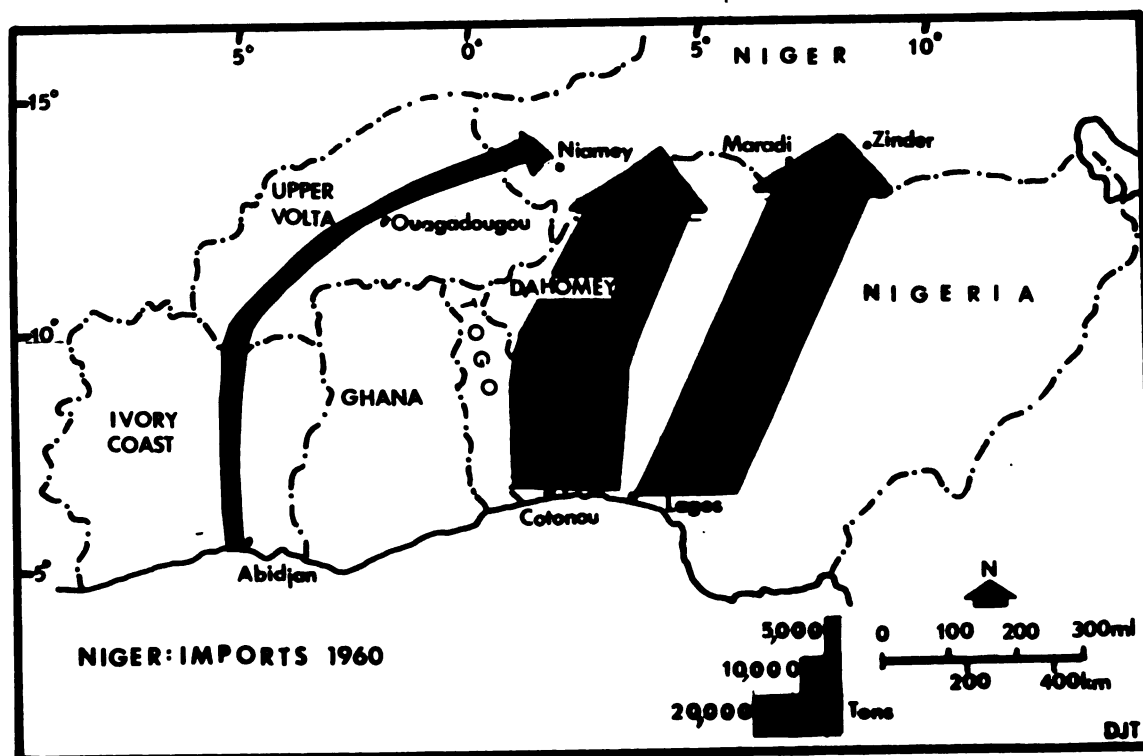
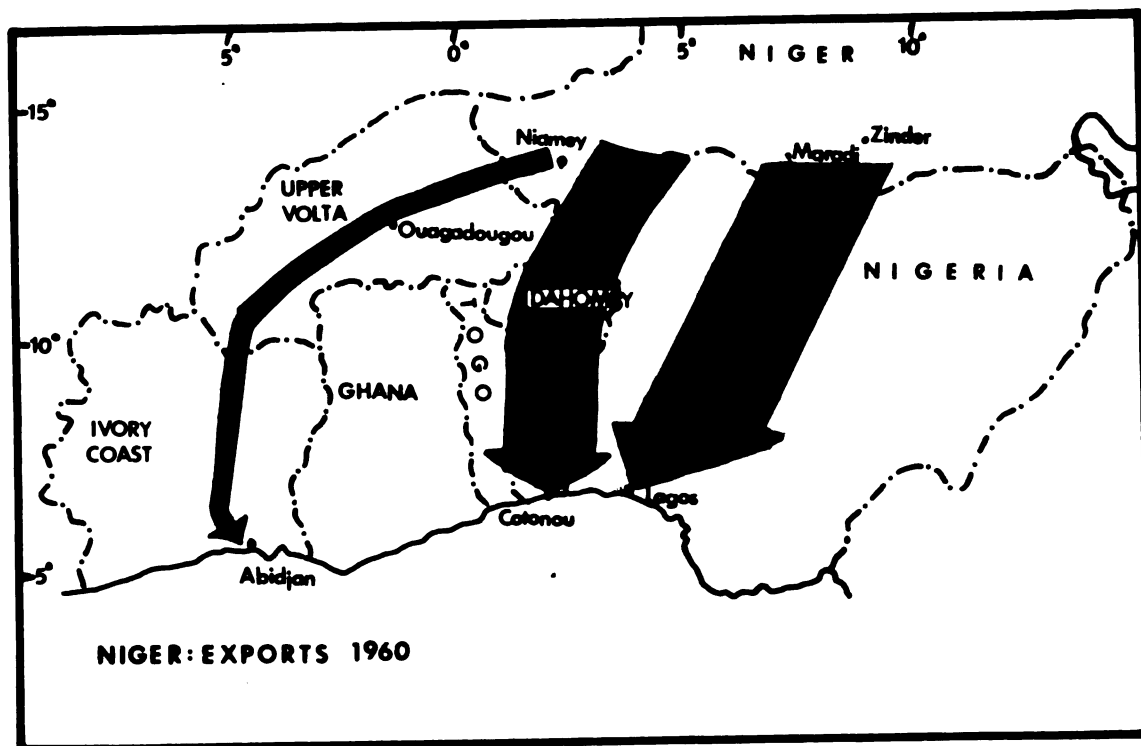


Figure 48

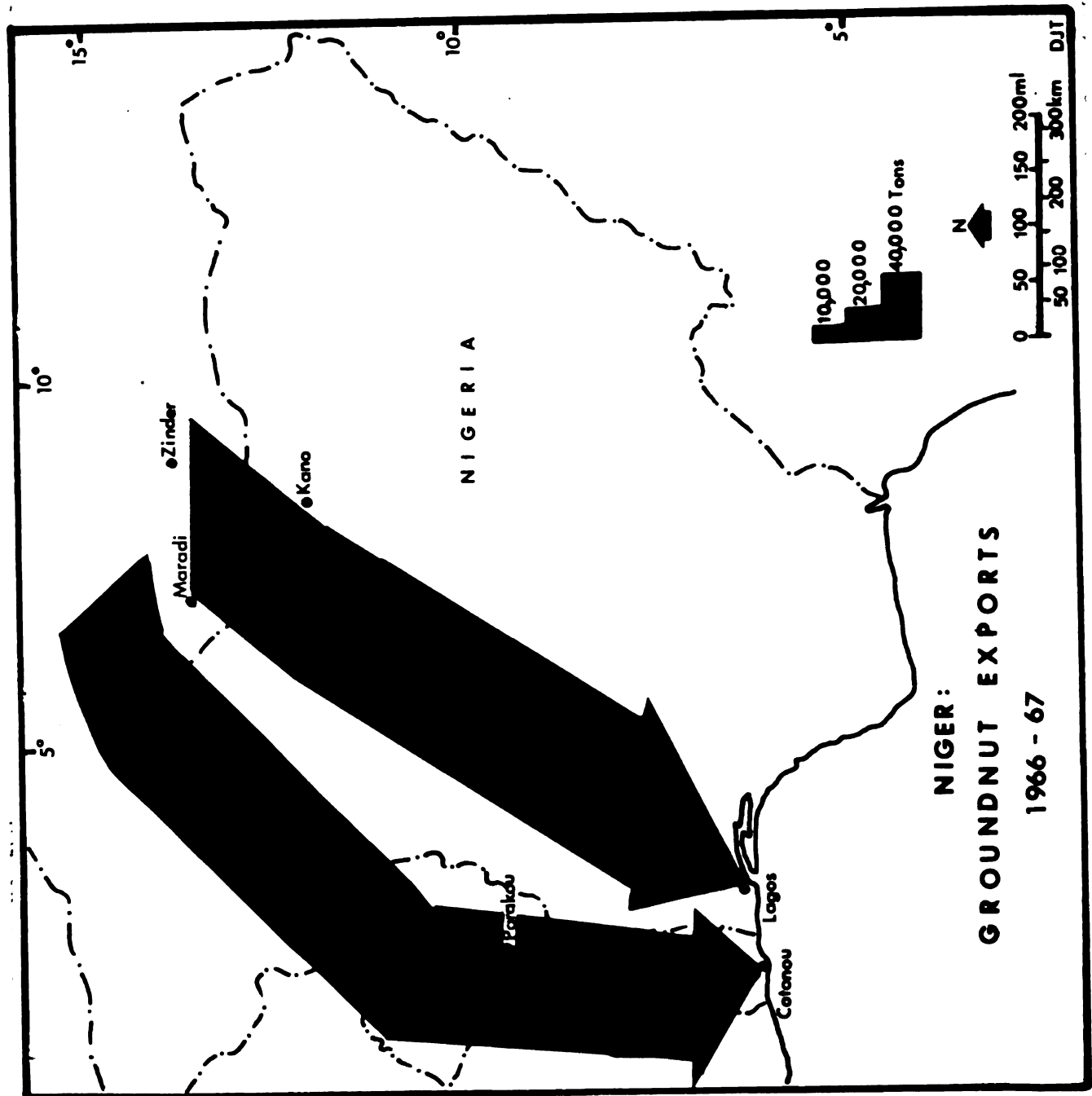


Figure 49

railhead facilities in Kano. The transportation of groundnuts to the depots at Kano is made in part by Nigerian trucks and in part by Niger trucks at a price close to \$14,00 per ton (3,000 francs CFA) a rather high cost due primarily to the absence of return freight.

From the 1930's when groundnuts first became an export commodity for Niger until 1953, the evacuation route for virtually all groundnuts was through Nigeria.<sup>13</sup> It was during the 1952-53 groundnut season that the realization of Niger's dependency upon Nigeria as its sole means of evacuation became a crucial issue. During that season Niger produced over 63,000 tons of groundnuts for export; however, the Nigerian Railways allotted only approximately 43,000 tons to Niger for transshipment from Kano to Lagos.<sup>14</sup>

Since the economic development of Niger is based in part upon the foreign exchange derived from its cash crop production, it became apparent from the inability of the Nigerian Railways to move the totality of Niger's groundnuts, the future economic development would have to be geared to Nigeria's ability to evacuate the cash crop. Such a dependence upon a neighboring State was intolerable and forced responsible authorities in Niger to seek a second outlet for its expanding groundnut production.

The resolution of this issue lay in the diversion of part of the annual cash crop production through Dahomey. Nigeria viewed this

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<sup>13</sup>République Française, Rapport sur l'Elaboration de Plan de Transport de la République du Niger (Paris: Ministère de la Coopération, 1963), p. 27.

<sup>14</sup>République Française, République du Niger, Economie et Plan de Développement, (Paris: Ministère de la Coopération, 1962), p. 33.



decision as outside revenue being diverted away from Nigeria. Shortly after the reorientation of part of the groundnut production from Central Niger through Dahomey rail facilities in Nigeria were expanded and since that time the Nigerian Railways has been able to fulfill its commitment to landlocked Niger and has subsequently moved an ever-increasing amount of groundnuts for Niger. Today approximately two-thirds of Niger's groundnuts passes via the Nigeria transit route. The remaining one-third passes through Dahomey.

In 1966-67 Niger feared the closing of the Nigerian transit route as a result of the Nigerian civil war. A study to investigate this problem resulted in assurance by Nigerian railroad officials that priority would be given to the movement of Niger's groundnut crop. Railroad officials guaranteed that Nigeria would be able to evacuate between 70,000 to 80,000 tons during the 1966-67 season.<sup>15</sup> Remarkably, despite severe internal difficulties Nigeria was able to move an unprecedented amount of over 100,000 tons of Niger groundnuts. A comparison of recent statistics illustrates that Niger's transit movement and even Nigeria's exports from the north were not readily affected by Nigeria's internal difficulties. (See Table 11.)

The apprehension on the part of Niger was based on the fact that the trains were operated by Southern Nigerians, primarily Yoruba and Ibo, since not one Northerner had been trained as a train driver.<sup>16</sup> When the initial atrocities against the Ibo occurred in the North, there was considerable fear that the railroad would come to a standstill,

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<sup>15</sup>République Française, L'Evacuation des Arachides du Niger (Paris: Ministère de la Coopération, 1966), p. 9.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

Table 11  
COMPARISON OF TOTAL TONNAGES OF PRODUCE LOADED IN  
1964-65, 1965-66, 1966-67 SEASONS

Commodity	1964-65				1965-66				1966-67			
	From 23/11/64				From 5/11/65				From 1/12/66			
	When Loading Commenced Up To 4/11/65				When Loading Commenced Up To 30/11/66				When Loading Commenced Up To 14/12/67			
	To Apapa	To Baro	To Harcourt	Total	To Apapa	To Baro	To Harcourt	Total	To Apapa	To Baro	To Harcourt	Total
Nigerian Groundnuts	141,554	15,516	54,792	211,862	290,252	42,511	93,979	426,742	327,234	17,469	-	344,703
Cake	79,970	-	-	79,970	96,380	-	18,335	114,715	115,402	-	-	115,402
Oil	66,626	-	-	66,626	54,742	-	13,531	68,283	42,317	-	-	42,317
Cotton Seed	20,442	-	24,615	45,057	39,506	-	12,751	52,257	39,356	-	-	39,356
Cotton Lint	4,546	-	6,486	11,032	5,025	-	5,515	10,540	15,336	-	-	15,336
Soya Beans	180	-	3,174	3,354	-	-	5,642	5,642	3,825	-	-	3,825
Benniseed	-	-	9,195	9,195	-	-	6,500	6,500	4,899	-	284	5,183
Niger Groundnuts	51,679	-	-	51,679	85,284	-	-	85,284	56,434	-	-	56,434
Lint and Seed	3,383	-	-	3,383	4,532	-	-	4,532	7,529	-	-	7,529
Cake	7,890	-	30	7,920	8,514	-	-	8,514	5,092	-	-	5,092
Oil	6,991	-	-	6,991	5,788	-	-	5,788	4,132	-	-	4,132
Total	383,261	15,516	98,292	497,069	590,033	42,511	156,253	788,797	621,556	17,469	284	639,309

Source: Northern Nigerian Marketing Board.

especially if the remaining Yoruba train drivers felt threatened. The shortage of railroad personnel caused by the flight of the Ibo was overcome by the employment of British and Pakistani train drivers and a program designed to train Northerners.<sup>17</sup>

Although the Nigerian Railways was able to fulfill its commitment to Niger, it could not be done without a rise in transportation costs from £7-15-0 (\$22.00) to £8-8-0 (\$24.00) per ton. The rising transportation costs were attributed to the necessity of employing armed guards for protection during the early stages of the crisis.<sup>18</sup>

Much of the credit for the evacuation of Niger's groundnuts through Nigeria can be attributed to Transcap, a company designated by SONARA to evacuate the groundnuts from Kano. (See Figure 50.) with facilities in Kano and Lagos, Transcap solicited the aid of both the Nigerian Railway and Nigerian truckers to assure the evacuation since transportation costs were about the same. (See Figure 51.) Transportation costs via the Nigerian route are high. The total cost involved for moving one ton of groundnuts from Niger, including the various port taxes, storage fees, and so forth, is approximately \$45.00. These high costs cut deep into the profits and with the fluctuation of world groundnut prices economic development is a slow process. Approximately 80,000 tons were transported via the Nigerian Railways and 20,000 tons were trucked to Lagos during the 1966-67 season.

Under normal circumstances the amount of groundnuts that pass through Nigeria in transit from Niger is a very small part of the

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 9.



Figure 50  
GROUNDNUTS ENROUTE FROM NIGER

Groundnuts from Niger are trucked to storage facilities in Kano.



Figure 51  
TRANSCAP GROUNDNUT STOCK YARDS-KANO

Niger groundnuts awaiting rail transfer to port facilities at Lagos.

railroad activity. More than a million tons of groundnuts alone utilize rail facilities, and while Niger groundnuts have never totaled much over 100,000 tons, this access route is of vital importance despite attempts to make the Dahomean route more viable.

#### Dahomean Transit Route

The natural outlet for West Niger is through Dahomey and until 1953 this transit route served the West almost exclusively. A small proportion of Niger's groundnut production produced in the region of Birni n'Konni had been evacuated by the Dahomey route, however the total volume exported was limited. The failure of the Nigerian Railways to absorb the whole groundnut production from Central and East Niger in 1953 caused great concern among colonial officials and eventually led to the decision to secure a second transit route for evacuation of its groundnuts. The solution to the problem lay in the reorientation of a portion of the cash crop from the Maradi-Zinder region through Dahomey.

Operation Hironnelle. The reorientation of groundnuts from Central Niger assumed the name of Operation Hironnelle. The rerouting of groundnuts from Maradi via Dahomey increased the journey to port facilities by over 600 miles (1,000 kilometres) and augmented transportation costs by 40 per cent.<sup>19</sup> (See Figure 52.) The theoretical point where transportation costs were equal for the Nigerian or Dahomean transit route was in the region of Malbaza just east of Birni n'Konni.

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<sup>19</sup>Organisation Commune Dahomey-Niger, op. cit., p. 7.

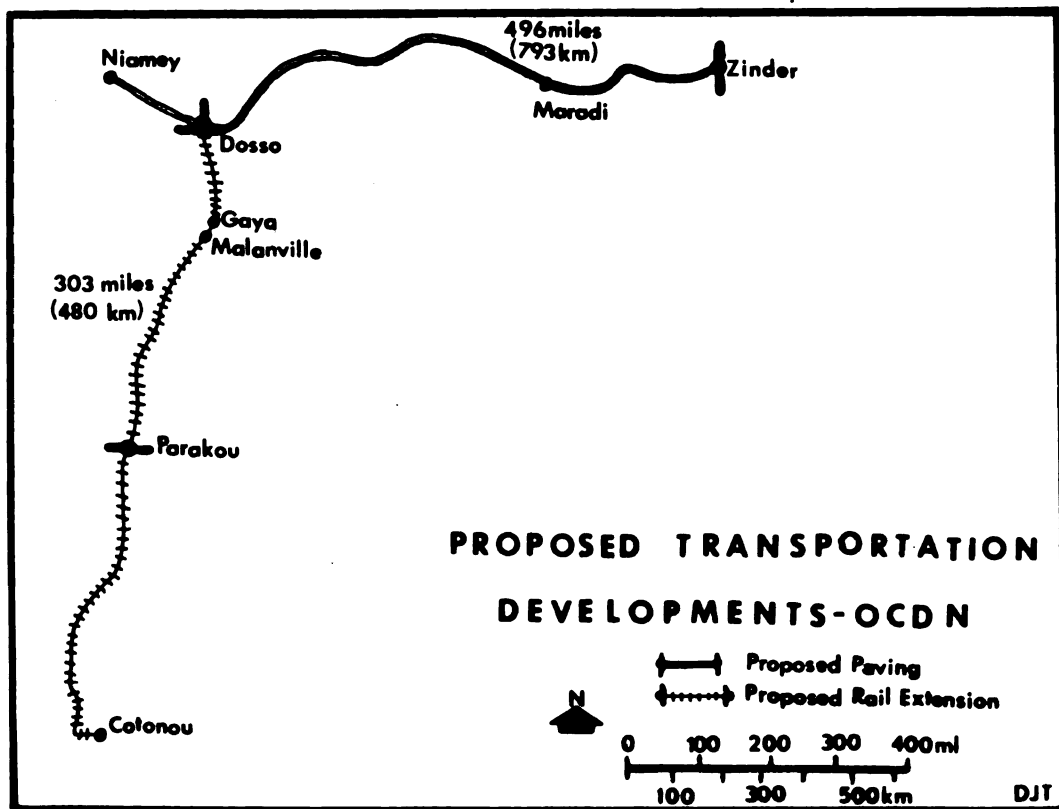
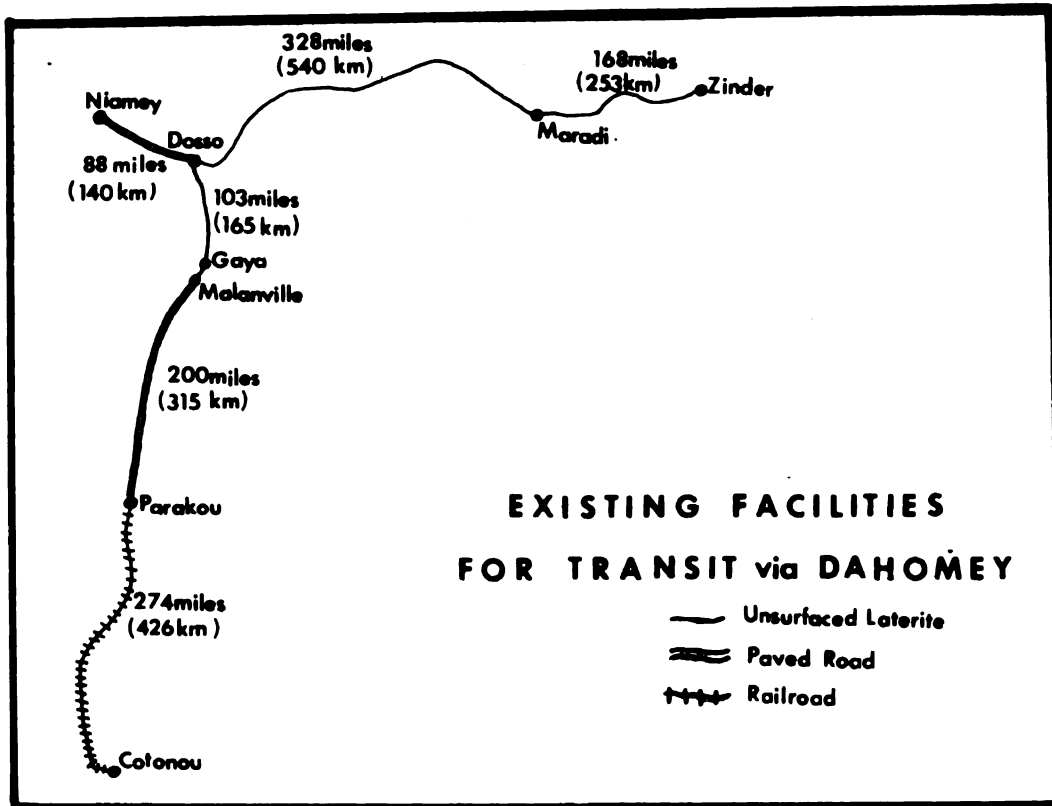


Figure 52

The function of Operation Hironnelle was to charter truckers in Central Niger with the express purpose of moving a portion of the groundnuts to railhead facilities at Parakou. The higher transportation costs were absorbed by a groundnut stabilization fund which was a special tax placed on groundnuts produced in Central and East Niger.<sup>20</sup> The viability of Operation Hironnelle lay in the guarantee to truckers that freight would be awaiting at Parakou for the return trip. Whenever a truck returned empty, the transport company was paid as though a full load were returned. This meant that whenever a truck returned empty the actual cost of moving groundnuts was doubled. Such added expense was paid by the government and encouraged officials to make certain that return freight was available. (See Table 12.)

Operation Hironnelle was basically a temporary agreement between Niger and Dahomey; however, this agreement was renewed annually from 1953 until 1959 even though the causes for its creation had largely disappeared. Nigerian Railways soon ameliorated facilities for the evacuation of Niger's groundnut production and has since been able to absorb an increasing production.<sup>21</sup> As independence approached Niger sought a more permanent solution to the problem of access. The success of Operation Hironnelle, despite its high cost of operation eventually led to the signing of an agreement between Niger and Dahomey in 1959. Thus Operation Hironnelle was the forerunner of the present-day Organisation Commune Dahomey-Niger (OCDN).

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<sup>20</sup>Donaint, op. cit., p. 131.

Etude sur les Possibilites de Création de Petites Industries en République du Niger, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

See also Rapport sur l'Elaboration du Plan de Transport de la République du Niger, op. cit., p. 33.

Table 12

GROUNDNUT EXPORTS AND MERCHANDISE IMPORTS  
UNDER "OPERATION HIRONDELLE" 1956-61

	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
<b>Exports</b>					
West Niger	6,500	9,050	8,600	3,222	5,652
East Niger	<u>20,200</u>	<u>10,600</u>	<u>17,500</u>	<u>17,500</u>	<u>19,318</u>
Total	<u>26,700</u>	<u>28,650</u>	<u>26,100</u>	<u>20,722</u>	<u>24,970</u>
<b>Imports</b>					
West Niger	14,000	11,800	8,400	13,605	15,018
East Niger	<u>13,500</u>	<u>10,500</u>	<u>13,000</u>	<u>12,180</u>	<u>11,421</u>
Total	<u>27,500</u>	<u>22,300</u>	<u>21,400</u>	<u>25,785</u>	<u>26,439</u>

Source: République Française, République du Niger Economie et Plan de Développement (Paris: Ministère de la Coopération, 1962), p. 33

Table 13

GROUNDNUT EXPORTS FROM NIGER  
ORGANISATION COMMUNE DAHOMEY-NIGER  
1962-1967

Year	Country of Transit		Total (tons)
	Dahomey (tons)	Nigeria (tons)	
1962-63	25,972	57,751	83,723
1963-64	19,367	74,038	93,405
1964-65	16,075	69,817	85,892
1965-66	25,000	107,600	132,600
1966-67	75,752	100,193	175,945

Source: Présidence de la République, Bulletin de Statistique (Niamey: Commissariat Général au Plan, Service de la Statistique.)



Organisation Commune Dahomey-Niger. The agreement between Niger and Dahomey was signed with the intention of developing more adequate transportation communications between the two countries. OCDN was organized to function as a branch of the two signatory States and is managed by an administrative council composed of interested representatives, both public and private, from both countries. The organization is regarded as an "établissement public à caractère industriel doté de la personnalité civile et de l'autonomie financière."<sup>22</sup>

With the emergence of OCDN the responsibilities of Operation Hirondelle, that is, the chartering of transporters to reorient groundnuts from the Maradi-Zinder region, were taken over by the new organization. The additional costs of transportation above the costs via the Nigerian transit route are now paid equally by the governments of Niger and Dahomey. In addition to assuming the function of Operation Hirondelle, OCDN is also charged with the management of the wharf at Cotonou. With the expected increase in trade, the first task of OCDN was to improve and expand port facilities at Cotonou. This task was completed in 1964, and Cotonou is now a deep water port with adequate facilities to meet the rising demand. (See Table 13.)

OCDN is also involved in the management of the Cotonou-Parakou railroad to assure the free movement of goods. The realization of inadequate transportation facilities has led OCDN to undertake studies in order to ameliorate the movement between Dahomey and Niger. These proposals call for the improvement of port facilities at Cotonou (already completed), the modernization of the railroad from Cotonou to Parakou, the extension of the railroad from Parakou to Dosso in

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

Niger, and the development of a surfaced road between Niamey and Zinder.<sup>23</sup> The total cost of these proposals was estimated at 16 billion francs CFA (approximately \$65 million). Attempts to find agencies to finance the entire proposal have proven unsuccessful since its economic viability was questioned. The recent discovery of uranium in West Niger may encourage investment in this ambitious plan sometime in the future. At the present only the port facilities at Cotonou have been improved and the Agency for International Development is presently funding the surfacing of the road between Zinder and Maradi. Beyond these developments communications remain very much the same as at the time of independence.

Operation Hironde and OCDN have brought certain advantages to Niger. First, is a reliable, though costly second access route. Second, the increased activity along the main Niamey-Zinder axis has brought a degree of prosperity to the west. Third, the increased movement across the Niger River prompted the construction of a bridge between Gaya in Niger and Malanville in Dahomey. Fourth, Niger has also been able to conserve on foreign exchange since Dahomey is on the same franc CFA monetary system. Finally, through this agreement two former French colonies, have been brought together to work in close cooperation as independent States. For a brief period in 1962, Niger and Dahomey developed differences over a boundary dispute concerning the possession of an island in the River Niger. These differences were soon overcome and close cooperation has persisted since that time.

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<sup>23</sup>For a complete report on the various proposals see République Française, Organisation Commune Dahomey-Niger (Paris: Compagnie Général d'Etudes et Recherches pour l'Afrique, 1960).

The whole policy of redirecting a portion of the groundnuts from the Maradi-Zinder region through Dahomey has proven extremely costly for Niger. At the present time Niger is paying a high price to maintain a second access route. Nevertheless it is a price that Niger is willing to pay in order, as President Diori Hamani expressed, "de respirer par deux poumons." In the 1966-67 season, partially as a result of the Nigerian crisis, the amount of groundnuts passing from Niger through Dahomey tripled over the previous season to a total 75,752 tons. Of this total, 55,000 tons were moved with no equalizing return freight and cost Niger 200 million francs CFA.<sup>24</sup> The cost for moving 55,000 tons, instead of 7.60 francs CFA per ton/kilometre which is the one way cost, the price doubled to 15.20 francs CFA. This high price brought criticism within Niger and an attempt has been made, to no avail, to reduce to one-third the cost of subsidizing for Niger and the remaining two-thirds to be paid by Dahomey. Some studies show that the reorientation via Dahomey would never be profitable for Niger so long as Niger would have to pay part of the transportation subsidy. The only way for Niger to make it a payable proposition would be for Dahomey to pay Niger a fee to reorient trade via Dahomey.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the high price, Niger continues to support OCDN thereby guaranteeing a second outlet to the sea. The dilemma of Niger's landlocked position greatly hinders its economic development and its attempts to maintain two access routes is very costly.

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<sup>24</sup>SONARA, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>25</sup>Rapport sur l'Elaboration du Plan de Transport, op. cit., p.28.

As has been demonstrated Niger's problem is the product of the decision-making of two colonial powers in the creation of a boundary at the commencement of the 20th Century. The boundary has been held in place for a period of sixty years and can be regarded as a stable boundary along which no problems have or will occur, at least within the foreseeable future. Better communication facilities would greatly alleviate Niger's problem of access since the right of free transit through both Dahomey and Nigeria is guaranteed. The expansion of road and rail facilities is costly and Niger's meager resources have not warranted investment by France or any international funding agency. Only future mineral discoveries can guarantee Niger improvement in communications since groundnuts will never justify the great cost.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There have been few case studies of boundaries in Africa and virtually none dealing with the impact of a superimposed boundary upon the spatial organization of an indigenous population. In a few instances where open conflict has arisen over the question of boundary superimposition, as in the Ewe and Somali questions, these conflicts have been documented. However, little attention has been focused upon those boundaries in Africa where indigenous peoples have apparently been divided by the imposed colonial territorial framework and where conflict has not arisen. This study has focused upon such a boundary, the Niger-Nigeria boundary and the influence it has had upon the Hausa-speaking peoples in the borderlands region.

The approach to organizing the data is represented in the proposed paradigm for the analysis of superimposed boundaries. This paradigm demonstrates a time-space relationship. By proceeding through time the political processes at play during a specific time period produce certain spatial patterns. Three time periods are recognized: the pre-colonial period when the traditional patterns were prevalent, the colonial period when imposed patterns were introduced, and the post-colonial period, when contemporary patterns emerged.

By analyzing the evolution of patterns through time the adjustment to boundary imposition was determined. Adjustment to the

introduction of a European boundary produced a spatial reorganization of population and settlement patterns and brought about emergence of new patterns of movement and circulation. The application of this paradigm to the Niger-Nigeria borderlands revealed several misconceptions concerning the evolution of boundaries in Africa and several important conclusions were drawn.

### Pre-Colonial Period

One of the common misconceptions concerns the homogeneity of the Hausa population. Invariably the Hausa are portrayed as a homogenous ethnic group (see Figure 1, based on Murdock's classification), yet the traditional period reveals that the Hausa were, in fact, very much divided. It is shown in this study that within Hausaland several groups emerged, each centered upon a birni which formed the nucleus of the City-State system that developed prior to the European penetration. An attempt has been made to show the territory occupied by each of these groups within the borderlands.

For centuries the various States warred against each other vying for control of the trade routes and the expansion of territory. Even the Fulani jihad did not unite Hausaland, but produced further fragmentation of important States. The flight of the traditional Habe dynasties of Gobir, Katsina and Daura north into present-day Niger, and the persistent opposition to the newly installed Fulani elite caused conflict and turmoil throughout the 19th Century. In turn these conflicts produced frontiers of separation, between the two opposing factions. This depopulated frontier later played an important role in the decision making process at the European boundary negotiations.

The constant regional dissension did much to weaken the Hausa States and prepared the way for a relatively peaceful penetration of Hausaland by France and Great Britain. Despite the turmoil the Hausa States maintained the traditional hierarchical structure and political areal functional organization. The economic prosperity of traditional Hausa society was based upon the extraterritorial trade that resulted from the latitudinal location of Hausaland within a region of complementarity between Mediterranean Africa and the lands to the south. In addition the development of important local crafts resulted in the commercial cities of Hausaland functioning as front ports of Black Africa. During the 19th Century, Hausaland occupied a position of nodality with the region to the south being a hinterland to the Hausa core. Following the European intrusion, trans-Saharan trade declined and the roles were reversed with the southern coastal regions emerging in importance and Hausaland functioning as the hinterland.

### Colonial Period

The result of European expansion into Hausaland modified the traditional patterns and produced imposed patterns that necessitated a spatial reorganization of the political, social, and economic patterns. In terms of boundary imposition the Niger-Nigeria boundary did not cause the dislocation and disruption of traditional patterns to the degree that one might expect.

The colonial powers have frequently been condemned for the rapidity and lack of geographic information of the continent of Africa before they embarked upon the process of defining, delimiting and demarcating boundaries. In some instances, as in the Niger-Nigeria boundary, this condemnation is unwarranted. It should be pointed out

that this is the exception to the general rule of boundary superimposition, but it does reveal that in some instances the colonial powers were aware of the local political and indigenous circumstances before the final boundary demarcation was undertaken.

The Niger-Nigeria boundary negotiations were continued for 16 years in an ambiance of keen competition between Great Britain and France in which each power wished to acquire the most satisfactory arrangement. From 1890 to 1906, four treaties were signed by Great Britain and France defining, delimiting, and making provision for the demarcation of the boundary.

The Treaty of 1890 reveals the rapidity of boundary decision-making and lack of geographic knowledge by the two powers whose only concern was in restricting the other and defining a sphere of influence. This initial treaty established a primary, straight line geometric boundary between the Niger River and Lake Chad. The treaty did provide for a deflection of the line to incorporate within the British sphere all that belonged to the Sokoto Empire.

It was on the basis of the disagreement between Britain and France over the extent of the Sokoto Empire and the persistent intrusion of the French into British territory that prompted a reopening of boundary negotiations in order to find a more equitable solution. A treaty signed in 1898 defined a second boundary in terms of arcs, straight lines and lines of latitude. Although the powers had accumulated considerable data on the political situation within the area, the environmental conditions were not as well known. The French soon realized the limitations of the new agreement when it was discovered that the arc of a circle 100 miles from Sokoto pushed the French into



the Sahara desert. Several attempts to make contact with French territory lying to the east of the arc met with disaster and meant that France had to rely upon Britain for the right of free transit through British territory. The conditions laid down by Britain were regarded as intolerable by the French who immediately sought to reopen boundary negotiations in search for a route praticable, or watered route, whereby France could connect her West and North African territories with her Equatorial territories.

The final treaties signed in 1904 and 1906 proved to be favorable to France with the boundary being shifted south to incorporate additional territory and thereby assuring France of a route praticable. The French suggested that the boundary should follow the traditional political frontiers. While the reasons for their suggestion were primarily selfish, the British complied in order to get concessions from France in other parts of the world. By the agreements of 1904 and 1906 the Niger-Nigeria boundary was eventually demarcated through the frontiers of separation that had been created between the Habe and Fulani dominated Hausa States.

In the evolution of the boundary from 1890 to 1906 the Niger-Nigeria boundary evolved from a straight line geometric boundary to an anthropogeographic boundary that considered the indigenous Hausa political organization. To the north of the boundary under French domination were the Hausa States that had successfully resisted Fulani domination and maintained the traditional Habe ruling dynasty. South of the boundary, under British jurisdiction lay all the Hausa States that succumbed to the Fulani jihad and were dominated by Sokoto.

It can be concluded from an analysis of the evolution of the

boundary that since the boundary for the most part followed the depopulated frontier of separation, the boundary was antecedent, according to the genetic boundary classification, and not superimposed as previously surmised. The present-day appearance of superimposition is the result of migrations from Niger into Nigeria following the establishment of the boundary. These migrations during the early period of colonial domination changed the pattern of population distribution such that the ethnic boundaries no longer conformed to the colonial boundary. The reasons for these migrations are attributed to a combination of factors. The imposed Pax Coloniale produced a movement from the fortified towns and birnis into the unpopulated zones. The movement from the north into the depopulated frontiers of separation was in response not only to the peaceful conditions but also to occupy the more fertile and better watered lands to the south. In some instances the heavy burden of French occupation may have caused a movement of population into British territory; however, much of the migration took place just prior to and immediately after demarcation during a period when French control in the borderlands was minimal.

New settlement patterns emerged as the population moved out of the fortified towns and a dispersed pattern of settlement became evident. The settling of new border market towns in Nigeria resulted in these towns becoming the focus of borderland trade and was certainly enhanced by the differential modernization and the availability of goods in Nigeria.

It can be concluded that as a result of the reorganization of internal trade during the colonial period there emerged patterns of trade that had not existed during the pre-colonial period. Contrary

to the boundary functioning as a barrier to trade, the newly established borderland markets in Nigeria became a magnet to the residents of the southern cantons of Niger. The creation of these new market towns caused some dislocation and brought about the demise of many small markets that functioned within the traditional system but could no longer compete with the growing border and route markets. In effect the borderlands became a zone of salutary contact with little restriction at the local level.

The traditional patterns of external trade were severely dislocated by the European intrusion that brought about a reorientation of trade to the south. This dislocation was partially alleviated by the establishment of cash crops, primarily groundnuts, and the extension of adequate transportation facilities. Throughout the period of colonial domination the economy of the borderlands was gradually reorganized and became an integral part of the colonial economy, laying the foundation for the contemporary economic patterns.

As a result of the colonial experience, the borderlands were integrated into their respective colonies and new patterns emerged as the result of the development of a colonial economy. The Niger borderlands have developed as the modern economic core of Niger and the Katsina borderlands have contributed significantly to the economy of Northern Nigeria. Each has accepted its new focus and political allegiance developing new imposed patterns of movement and circulation that have diminished, but not obliterated, the traditional pre-colonial patterns. These events have set the stage upon which the contemporary patterns are being developed by the new emerging States of Niger and Nigeria.

### Post-Colonial Period

The Niger-Nigeria boundary was established to function as a colonial boundary separating two colonial powers. It was not foreseen at the time of boundary negotiations that it would function as an international boundary; however, with the emergence of Niger and Nigeria as independent States the functional role of the boundary has changed. As a result of this change the patterns established during the colonial period have intensified and become more firmly entrenched in the cultural landscape.

The boundary continues to operate at two levels, despite attempts to make the boundary function more efficiently as a barrier to the movement of goods and people. At the local level the boundary exerts little influence, at least in the sense of a barrier effect, upon the local inhabitants. The cross-boundary movement continues unhindered except on the major roads that cross the boundary. The patterns of local commercial activity that developed during the colonial period and focused upon the borderland markets of Nigeria continue to exert a considerable attraction for the southern cantons of Niger. The local cross-boundary movement was surveyed and it was concluded that the bulk of the population going to the border markets avoided the main road and entered Nigeria by way of the numerous minor roads and trails that cross the boundary. It was demonstrated that the tributary area of the borderland markets of Nigeria extends beyond the boundary and dominates the southern cantons of Niger.

In addition to the local commercial population movement, vehicular movement was also surveyed and tabulated. From the results of these surveys it was shown that the boundary operates at an international

level, controlling the flow of goods to and from Niger. For the most part the vehicular movement is seasonal and corresponds with the dry season from November to April. In part the seasonality of vehicular movement is related to that period of the year when the roads are open since the poor condition of the roads during the wet season severely restricts movement. More important, vehicular movement is tied to the evacuation of Niger's groundnut harvest. An analysis of this movement reveals a predominantly two-way departure-destination flow focusing upon Kano, Nigeria, and the major towns of Niger's borderlands.

For Niger the presence of the boundary 700 miles from the ocean creates special problems. As a landlocked State, Niger is faced with the problem of relying upon its neighbors for access to port facilities. The development of Niger is dependent upon the exportation of primary products, principally groundnuts. The various alternatives open to Niger were discussed. The most direct route for the evacuation of Niger's cash crop is through Nigeria, however, failure of Nigeria to move part of Niger's groundnut crop one season prompted Niger to seek an alternative route. This alternative route prompted the reorientation of part of the groundnut crop through Dahomey. Despite the longer haul and higher costs this reorientation had several positive conclusions for Niger. The increased activity along the Maradi-Niamey axis has brought additional revenue to the area. Niger has also been able to conserve foreign exchange since both Dahomey and Niger have the same currency. It has also brought a great degree of cooperation between two West African States of French expression. Finally the reorientation away from Nigeria, prompted Nigeria to ameliorate conditions on the railroad and guarantee Niger that their annual harvest would be evacuated.

The problem of Niger's access to the ocean could be alleviated by the improvement of transportation communications. Attempts to fund these improvements have not been forthcoming since Niger's resources have not warranted this expansion. The recent discoveries of uranium at Arlit in West Niger may alter this and future mineral discoveries may result in an interest on the part of France to expand facilities. For the moment, Niger remains an impoverished State, attempting to progress but severely restricted by its limited resource base and distance from port facilities.

The Niger-Nigeria boundary has been established for over 60 years and has produced no conflict. It is a boundary that can be considered "stable" as a result of its historical antecedents. The freedom of movement at the local level has meant that the boundary has not functioned as a barrier. The stability of the borderlands, however, is tied to the maintenance of the status quo. Any attempt to inhibit the local commercial activity will in all probability create considerable dislocation within the Niger borderlands and loss of revenue to the Nigerian borderlands. The migration of population from Niger during the colonial period has produced a fairly homogenous population within the borderlands. Family ties across the boundary still remain strong and any large scale attempt to inhibit freedom of movement will have serious repercussions.

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## **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A

### ANGLO-FRENCH TREATY 1890<sup>1</sup>

Declaration between the British and French Governments, respecting Madagascar and the French Sphere of Influence South of her Mediterranean Possessions. Signed at London, 5th August, 1890.

The Undersigned, duly authorized by Her Britannic Majesty's Government, declares as follows:--

I. The Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognizes the Protectorate of France over the Island of Madagascar, with its consequences, especially as regards the exequaturs of British Consuls and Agents, which must be applied for through the intermediary of the French Resident General.

Missionaries. Religious Liberty,  
Worship, and Teaching.

In Madagascar the missionaries of both countries shall enjoy complete protection. Religious toleration, and liberty for all forms of worship and religious teaching, shall be guaranteed.

British Rights, &c., not to be affected.

It is understood that the establishment of this Protectorate will not affect any rights or immunities enjoyed by British subjects in that island.

British Recognition of French Sphere of Influence  
South of her Mediterranean Possessions.  
Niger Company. Sokoto.

II. The Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognizes the sphere of influence of France to the south of her Mediterranean

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<sup>1</sup>Sir E. Hertslet, The Map of Africa by Treaty (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909).

Possessions, up to a line from Saye on the Niger, to Barruwa on Lake Tchad, drawn in such manner as to comprise in the sphere of action of the Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the Kingdom of Sokoto; the line to be determined by the Commissioners to be appointed.

Boundary Commissioners to be Appointed.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty engages to appoint immediately two Commissioners to meet at Paris with two Commissioners appointed by the Government of the French Republic, in order to settle the details of the above-mentioned line. But it is expressly understood that even in case the labours of these Commissioners should not result in a complete agreement upon all details of the line, the Agreement between the two Governments as to the general delimitation above set forth shall, nevertheless, remain binding.

The Commissioners will also be intrusted with the task of determining the respective spheres of influences of the two countries in the region which extends to the west and to the south of the Middle and Upper Niger.

SALISBURY.  
WADDINGTON.

London, 5th August, 1890.

## APPENDIX B

### ANGLO-FRENCH TREATY 1898<sup>1</sup>

Convention between Great Britain and France for the Delimitation of their respective Possessions to the West of the Niger, and of their respective Possessions and Spheres of Influence to the East of that River. Signed at Paris, 14th June, 1898.

[Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 13th June, 1899.]

The Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and the Government of the French Republic, having agreed, in a spirit of mutual goodwill, to confirm the Protocol with its four Annexes prepared by their respective Delegates for the delimitation of the British Colonies of the Gold Coast, Lagos, and the other British possessions to the west of the Niger, and of the French possessions of the Ivory Coast, Sudan, and Dahomey, as well as for the delimitation of the British and French possessions and the spheres of influence of the two countries to the east of the Niger, the Undersigned, his Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Edmund Monson, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, accredited to the President of the French Republic; and his Excellency M. Gabriel Hanotaux, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic; duly authorized to this effect, confirm the Protocol with its Annexes, drawn up at Paris the 14th day of June, 1898, the text of which is as follows:--

#### Protocol.

The Undersigned, Martin Gosselin, Minister Plenipotentiary and Secretary of Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy at Paris; William Everett, a Colonel in Her Britannic Majesty's land forces and an Assistant Adjutant-General in the Intelligence Division of the War Office; Rene Lecomte, Minister Plenipotentiary, Assistant Sub-Director in the Department of Political Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Louis Gustave Binger, Colonial Governor, unattached, Director of African

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<sup>1</sup>Sir E. Hertslet, Map of Africa by Treaty (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909).



Affairs at the Ministry of the Colonies; delegated respectively by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and by the Government of the French Republic in order to draw up, in conformity with the Declarations exchanged at London on the 5th August, 1890, and the 15th January, 1896, a draft of definitive delimitation between the British Colonies of the Gold Coast, Lagos, and the other British possessions to the west of the Niger, and the French possessions of the Ivory Coast, the Sudan, and Dahomey, and between the British and French possessions and the spheres of influence of the two countries to the east of the Niger, have agreed to the following provisions, which they have resolved to submit for the approval of their respective Governments:--

Frontier between Gold Coast Colony  
and French Ivory Coast and Sudan.

Art. I.--The frontier separating the British Colony of the Gold Coast from the French Colonies of the Ivory Coast and Sudan shall start from the northern terminal point of the frontier laid down in the Anglo-French Agreement of the 12th July, 1893, viz., the intersection of the thalweg of the Black Volta with the 9th degree of north latitude, and shall follow the thalweg of this river northward up to its intersection with the 11th degree of north latitude. From this point it shall follow this parallel of latitude eastward as far as the river shown on Map No. 1, annexed to the present Protocol, as passing immediately to the east of the villages of Zwaga (Soauga) and Zebilla (Sebilla), and it shall then follow the thalweg of the western branch of this river up stream to its intersection with the parallel of latitude passing through the village of Sapeliga. From this point the frontier shall follow the northern limits of the lands belonging to Sapeliga as far as the River Nuhau (Nouhau), and shall then follow the thalweg of this river up or down stream, as the case may be, to a point situated 2 miles (3,219 metres) eastward of the road which leads from Gambaga to Tenkrugu (Tingourkou), via Bawku (Baukou). Thence it shall rejoin by a straight line the 11th degree of north latitude at the intersection of this parallel with the road which is shown on Map No. 1 as leading from Sansanne-Mango to Pama, via Jebigu (Djebiga).

Frontier between Lagos and Dahomey  
(West of Lower Niger).

Art. II.--The frontier between the British Colony of Lagos and the French Colony of Dahomey, which was delimited on the ground by the Anglo-French Boundary Commission of 1895, and which is described in the Report signed by the Commissioners of the two nations on the 12th October, 1896, shall henceforward be recognised as the frontier separating the British and French possessions from the sea to the 9th degree of north latitude.

From the point of intersection of the River Ocpara with the 9th degree of north latitude, as determined by the said Commissioners, the

frontier separating the British and French possessions shall proceed in a northerly direction, and follow a line passing west of the lands belonging to the following places, viz., Tabira, Okuta (Okouta), Boria, Tere, Gbani, Ashigere (Yassikera), and Dekala.

From the most westerly point of the lands belonging to Dekala the frontier shall be drawn in a northerly direction so as to coincide as far as possible with the line indicated on Map No. 1 annexed to the present Protocol, and shall strike the right bank of the Niger at a point situated 10 miles (16.093 metres) up-stream from the centre of the town of Gere (Guiris) (the port of Ilo), measured as the crow flies.

#### Frontier on the River Niger.

Art. III.--From the point specified in Art. II, where the frontier separating the British and French possessions strikes the Niger, viz. a point situated on the right bank of that river, 10 miles (16.093 metres) up-stream from the centre of the town of Gere (Guiris), (the port of Ilo), the frontier shall follow a straight line drawn therefrom at right angles to the right bank as far as its intersection with the median line of the river. It shall then follow the median line of the river, up-stream, as far as its intersection with a line drawn perpendicularly to the left bank from the median line of the mouth of the depression or dry water-course, which, on Map No. 2, annexed to the present Protocol, is called the Dallul Mauri, and is shown thereon as being situated at a distance of about 17 miles (27.359 metres), measured as the crow flies, from a point on the left bank opposite the above-mentioned village of Gere (Guiris).

From this point of intersection the frontier shall follow this perpendicular till it meets the left bank of the river.

#### Frontier East of the Niger.

Art. IV.--To the east of the Niger the frontier separating the British and French possessions shall follow the line indicated on Map No. 2, which is annexed to the present Protocol.

Starting from the point on the left bank of the Niger indicated in the previous Article, viz., the median line of the Dallul Mauri, the frontier shall follow this median line until it meets the circumference of a circle drawn from the centre of the town of Sokoto with a radius of 100 miles (160.932 metres). From this point it shall follow the northern arc of this circle as far as its second intersection with the 14th parallel of north latitude. From this second point of intersection it shall follow this parallel eastward for a distance of 70 miles (112.652 metres); then proceed due south until it reaches the parallel of 13° 20' north latitude, then eastward along this parallel for a distance of 250 miles (402.230 metres); then due north until it regains the 14th parallel of north latitude; then eastwards along this parallel as far as its intersection with the meridian passing 35' east of the centre of the town of Kuka, and thence this meridian southward until

its intersection with the southern shore of Lake Chad.

The Government of the French Republic recognizes, as falling within the British sphere, the territory to the east of the Niger, comprised within the above-mentioned line, the Anglo-German frontier, and the sea.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognizes, as falling within the French sphere, the northern, eastern, and southern shores of Lake Chad, which are comprised between the point of intersection of the 14th degree of north latitude, with the western shore of the lake and the point of incidence on the shore of the lake at the frontier determined by the Franco-German Convention of the 15th March, 1894.

Art. V.--The frontiers set forth in the present Protocol are indicated on the annexed Maps, which are marked 1 and 2 respectively.

The two Governments undertake to appoint within a year as regards the frontiers west of the Niger, and within two years as regards the frontier east of that river, to count in each case from the date of the exchange of ratifications of the Convention which is to be concluded between them for the purpose of confirming the present Protocol, Commissioners who will be charged with delimiting on the spot the lines of demarcation between the British and French possessions, in conformity and in accordance with the spirit of the stipulations of the present Protocol.

With respect to the delimitation of the portion of the Niger in the neighbourhood of Ilo and the Dallul Mauri, referred to in Art. III, the Boundary Commissioners shall, in determining on the spot the river frontier, distribute equitably between the two Contracting Powers such islands as may be found to interfere with the delimitation of the river as defined in Art. III.

It is understood between the two Contracting Powers that no subsequent alteration in the position of the median line of the river shall affect the ownership of the islands assigned to each of the two Powers by the proces-verbal of the Commissioners, after being duly approved by the two Governments.

#### Treatment of Native Chiefs.

Art. VI.-- The two Contracting Powers engage reciprocally to treat with consideration ("bienveillance") the native Chiefs who, having had Treaties with one of them, shall, in virtue of the present Protocol, come under the sovereignty of the other.

#### Non-interference in Sphere of other Power.

Art. VII.--Each of the two Contracting Powers undertakes not to exercise any political action in the spheres of the other, as defined by Arts. I, II, III, and IV of the present Protocol.

It is understood by this that each Power will not, in the spheres

of the other, make territorial acquisitions, conclude Treaties, accept sovereign rights or Protectorates, nor hinder nor dispute the influence of the other.

#### Lease of Land to French Government.

Art. VIII.--Her Britannic Majesty's Government will grant on lease to the Government of the French Republic, for the objects, and on the conditions specified in the form of lease annexed to the present Protocol, two pieces of ground to be selected by the Government of the French Republic in conjunction with Her Britannic Majesty's Government, one of which will be situated in a suitable spot on the right bank of the Niger between Leaba and the junction of the River Moussa (Mochi) with the former river, and the other on one of the mouths of the Niger. Each of these pieces of land shall have a river frontage not exceeding 400 metres in length, and shall form a block, the area of which shall not be less than 10 nor more than 50 hectares in extent. The exact boundaries of these pieces of land shall be shown on a plan annexed to each of the leases.

The conditions upon which the transit of merchandize shall be carried on on the Niger, its affluents, its branches and outlets, as well as between the piece of ground between Leaba and the junction of the River Moussa (Mochi) mentioned above, and the point upon the French frontier to be specified by the Government of the French Republic, will form the subject of Regulations, the details of which shall be discussed by the two Governments immediately after the signature of the present Protocol.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government undertake to give four months' notice to the French Government of any modification in the Regulations in question, in order to afford to the said French Government the opportunity of laying before the British Government any representations which it may wish to make.

#### Reciprocal Treatment as regards River Navigation, Commerce, Taxes, &c., for Thirty Years from date of Exchange of Ratifications.

Art. IX.--Within the limits defined on Map No. 2, which is annexed to the present Protocol, British subjects and British protected persons and French citizens and French protected persons, as far as regards their persons and goods, and the merchandize the produce or the manufacture of Great Britain and France, their respective Colonies, possessions, and Protectorates, shall enjoy for thirty years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the Convention mentioned in Art. V the same treatment in all matters of river navigation, of commerce, and of tariff and fiscal treatment and taxes of all kinds.

Subject to this condition, each of the two Contracting Powers shall be free to fix, in its own territory, and as may appear to it most convenient the tariff and fiscal treatment and taxes of all kinds.

In case neither of the two Contracting Powers shall have notified twelve months before the expiration of the above-mentioned term of thirty years its intention to put an end to the effects of the present Article, it shall remain in force until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the Contracting Powers shall have denounced it.

In witness whereof, the undersigned Delegates have drawn up and signed the present Protocol.

Done at Paris, in duplicate, the 14th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1898.

MARTIN GOSSELIN.  
WILLIAM EVERETT,  
RENE LECOMTE.  
G. BINGER.

Annexes 1 and 2.

Maps Nos. 1 and 2.

Annex 3.

Modification of Conventional Line  
by Commissioners on the Ground.

Although the delineation of the lines of demarcation on the two maps annexed to the present Protocol are supposed to be generally accurate, it cannot be considered as an absolutely correct representation of those lines until it has been confirmed by new surveys.

It is therefore agreed that the Commissioners or local Delegates of the two countries, hereafter appointed to delimit the whole or part of the frontiers on the ground, shall be guided by the description of the frontier as set forth in the Protocol.

They shall, at the same time, be permitted to modify the said lines of demarcation for the purpose of delineating them with greater accuracy, and also to rectify the position of the watersheds, roads, or rivers, as well as of towns or villages indicated on the maps above referred to.

Any alterations or corrections proposed by common consent by the said Commissioners or Delegates shall be submitted for the approval of their respective Governments.

MARTIN GOSSELIN.  
WILLIAM EVERETT.  
RENE LECOMTE.  
G. BINGER.

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## Annex 4.

## Form of Lease.

1. The Government of Her Britannic Majesty grants in lease to the Government of the French Republic the piece of land situated of the Niger River, having a river frontage in length, and forming a block of hectares in extent, the exact boundaries of which are shown on the plan annexed to this lease.

2. The lease shall run for thirty years uninterruptedly, commencing from the , but in case neither of the two Contracting Powers shall have notified twelve months before the expiration of the above-mentioned term of thirty years its intention to put an end to the present lease, it shall remain in force until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the Contracting Powers shall have denounced it.

3. The said land shall be subject to the laws for the time being in force in the British Protectorate of the Niger districts.

4. A portion of the land so leased, which shall not exceed 10 hectares in extent, shall be used exclusively for the purposes of the landing, storage, and transshipment of goods, and for such purposes as may be considered subsidiary thereto, and the only permanent residents shall be the persons employed in the charge and for the security of such goods, their families, and servants.

5. The Government of the French Republic binds itself--

(a) To fence in that portion of the said land referred to in Art. 4 of this lease (with the exception of the side which faces the River Niger) by a wall, or by a stockade, or by any other sort of continuous fence, which shall not be less in height than 3 metres. There shall be one door only on each of the three side of the fence.

(b) Not to permit on the said portion of land the receipt or exit of any goods in contravention of the British Customs Regulations. Any act in violation of this stipulation shall be considered as evasion of customs duties, and shall be punished accordingly.

(c) Not to sell nor allow the sale of any goods in retail in the said portion of land. The sale of quantities less in weight or measure than 1,000 kilog., 1,000 litres, or 1,000 metres is held to be sale in retail. It is understood that this stipulation shall not apply to goods in transit.

(d) The Government of the French Republic, or its sub-lessees or agents, shall have the right to build on the said portion of land, warehouses, houses for offices, and other buildings necessary for operations of landing, storing, and transshipping goods, and also to construct on that part of the foreshore of the River Niger comprised in the lease, quays, bridges, and docks, and any other works required in connection with the said operations, provided that the designs of all works so to be constructed on the foreshore of the river are furnished to the British authorities for examination, in order to ascertain that these works would not in any way inconvenience the navigation of the river, or be in conflict with the rights of others or with the Customs system.

(e) It is understood that the shipping, landing, and storing of goods on the said portion of land shall be conducted in all respects in accordance with the laws for the time being in force in the British Protectorate of the Niger districts.

6. The Government of the French Republic binds itself to pay annually to Her Majesty's Government, on the 1st January of each year, a rent of 1 fr.

7. The Government of the French Republic shall have the right to sublet the whole or any portion of the land passing under this lease, provided that the sub-lessees shall not use the land for any other purposes than those stipulated in this lease, and that the said Government shall remain responsible to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty for the observance of the stipulations of this lease.

8. The Government of Her Britannic Majesty binds itself to fulfil towards the lessee all duties incumbent upon it as owner of the said land.

9. At the expiration of the term of thirty years specified in Art. 2 of this lease, the French Government, or its sub-lessees, may remain in possession and in the enjoyment for a period of time which, together with the said terms of thirty years, shall not exceed ninety-nine years, of the constructions and installations which shall have been made on the leased land. Nevertheless, the Government of Her Britannic Majesty reserves to itself, on the expiration or determination of the lease, in accordance with the conditions specified in Art. 2, the right of purchasing such constructions and installations at a valuation to be determined by experts who will be appointed by the two Governments, on the understanding that notification of their intention be furnished to the French Government ten months, at latest, before the expiration or determination of the lease. In case of disagreement between them, the experts shall choose a referee, whose decision shall be final.

In calculating the value of the above-mentioned constructions and installations, the experts shall be guided by the following considerations:--

(a) In the event of the lease expiring at the end of the first thirty years, the purchase value of the property to be sold shall be the full market value.

(b) In the event of the lease being determined at any time after thirty years, the value of the property to be sold shall be the full market value less a fraction, whose numerator shall be the number of years the lease had run, minus thirty, and whose denominator shall be sixty-nine.

10. The land comprised in the lease shall be measured and marked out without delay.

11. If a difference of opinion should arise between the two Governments as to the interpretation of the lease, or as to any matter arising in connection therewith, it shall be settled by the arbitration of a jurisconsult of third nationality, to be agreed upon by the two Governments.

MARTIN GOSSELIN.  
WILLIAM EVERETT.  
RENE LACOMTE.  
G. BINGER.



ANGLO-FRENCH BOUNDARY, EAST OF THE NIGER  
CONVENTION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE  
OF JUNE 14, 1893.

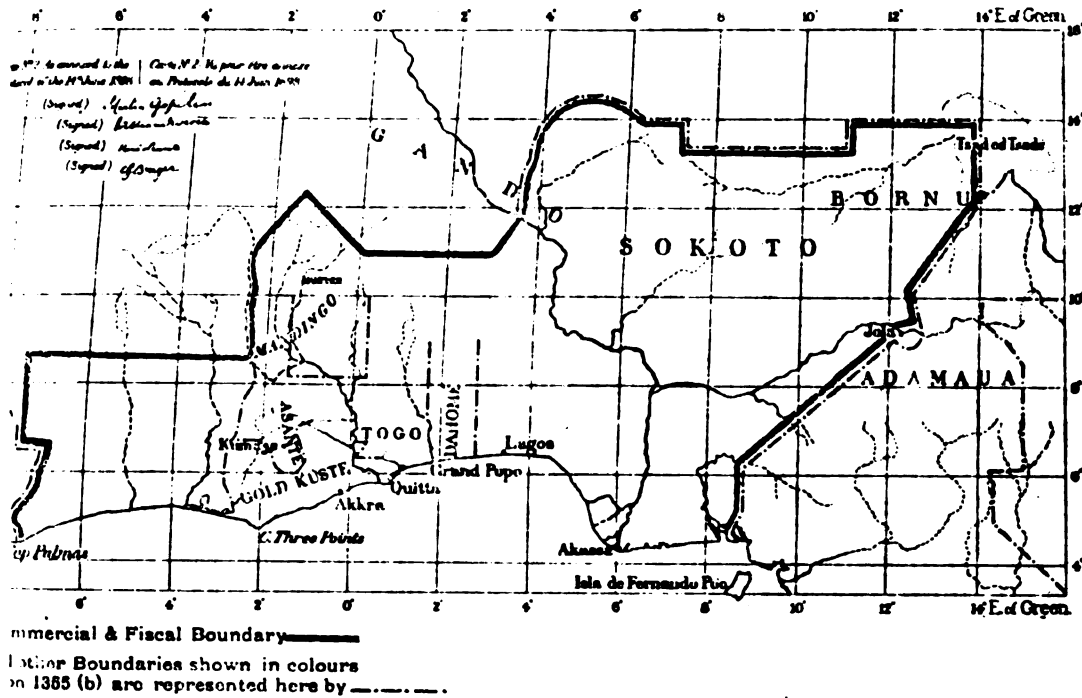


Figure 53

## APPENDIX C

### ANGLO-FRENCH TREATY 1904<sup>1</sup>

Convention between Great Britain and France, respecting Newfoundland, and West and Central Africa. Signed at London, 8th April, 1904.

[Ratifications exchanged at London, 8th December, 1904.]

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and the President of the French Republic, having resolved to put an end, by a friendly Arrangement, to the difficulties which have arisen in Newfoundland, have decided to conclude a Convention to that effect, and have named as their respective Plenipotentiaries:--

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, the Most Honourable Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice, Marquess of Lansdowne, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and

The President of the French Republic, his Excellency Monsieur Paul Cambon, Ambassador of the French Republic at the Court of His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India;

Who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows, subject to the approval of their respective Parliaments:--

[Arts. I to III relate to Newfoundland.]

Art. IV.--His Britannic Majesty's Government, recognizing that, in addition to the indemnity referred to in the preceding Article, some territorial compensation is due to France in return for the surrender of her privilege in that part of the Island of Newfoundland referred to in Art. II, agree with the Government of the French Republic to the provisions embodied in the following articles:--

Frontier between Senegambia and Gambia Colony.  
Yarbutenda to France.

Art. V.--The present frontier between Senegambia and the English

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<sup>1</sup>Sir E. Hertslet, The Map of Africa by Treaty (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909).

Colony of the Gambia shall be modified so as to give to France Yabutenda and the lands and landing-places belonging to that locality.

In the event of the river not being open to maritime navigation up to that point, access shall be assured to the French Government at a point lower down on the River Gambia, which shall be recognized by mutual agreement as being accessible to merchant ships engaged in maritime navigation.

The conditions which shall govern transit on the River Gambia and its tributaries, as well as the method of access to the point that may be reserved to France in accordance with the preceding paragraph, shall form the subject of future agreement between the two Governments.

In any case, it is understood that these conditions shall be at least as favourable as those of the system instituted by application of the General Act of the African Conference of the 26th February, 1885, and of the Anglo-French Convention of the 14th June, 1898, to the English portion of the basin of the Niger.

#### Isles de Los ceded to France.

Art. VI.--The group known as the Iles de Los, and situated opposite Konakry, is ceded by His Britannic Majesty to France.

Art. VII.--Persons born in the territories ceded to France by Arts. V and VI may retain British nationality. Native laws and customs to remain undisturbed. Iles de Los British fishermen enjoy same rights as French with regard to anchorage, sale of fish, and landing and drying of nets.

#### Frontier East of Niger.

Art. VIII.--To the east of the Niger the following line shall be substituted for the boundary fixed between the French and British possessions by the Convention of the 14th June, 1898, subject to the modifications which may result from the stipulations introduced in the sixth and seventh paragraphs of the present Article.

Starting from the point on the left bank of the Niger laid down in Art. III of the Convention of the 14th June, 1898, that is to say, the median line of the Dallul Mauri, the frontier shall be drawn along this median line until it meets the circumference of a circle drawn from the town of Sokoto as a centre, with a radius of 160,932 metres (100 miles). Thence it shall follow the northern arc of this circle to a point situated 5 kilometres south of the point of intersection of the above-mentioned arc of the circle with the route from Dosso to Matankari via Maourede.

Thence it shall be drawn in a direct line to a point 20 kilometres north of Konni (Birni-N'Kouni), and then in a direct line to a point 15 kilometres south of Maradi, and thence shall be continued in a direct line to the point of intersection of the parallel of 13°20' north latitude with a meridian passing 70 miles to the east of the second

intersection of the 14th degree of north latitude and the northern arc of the above-mentioned circle.

Thence the frontier shall follow in an easterly direction the parallel of 13° 20' north latitude until it strikes the left bank of the River Komadugu Waube (Komadougou Ouobe), the thalweg of which it will then follow to Lake Chad. But, if before meeting this river the frontier attains a distance of 5 kilometres from the caravan route from Zinder to Yo, through Sua Kololua (Soua Kololoua), Adeber, and Kabi, the boundary shall then be traced at a distance of 5 kilometres to the south of this route until it strikes the left bank of the River Komadugu Waube (Komadougou Ouobe), it being nevertheless understood that, if the boundary thus drawn should happen to pass through a village, this village, with its lands, shall be assigned to the Government to which would fall the larger portion of the village and its lands. The boundary will then, as before, follow the thalweg of the said river to Lake Chad.

Thence it will follow the degree of latitude passing through the thalweg of the mouth of the said river up to its intersection with the meridian running 35' east of the centre of the town of Kouka, and will then follow this meridian southwards until it intersects the southern shore of Lake Chad.

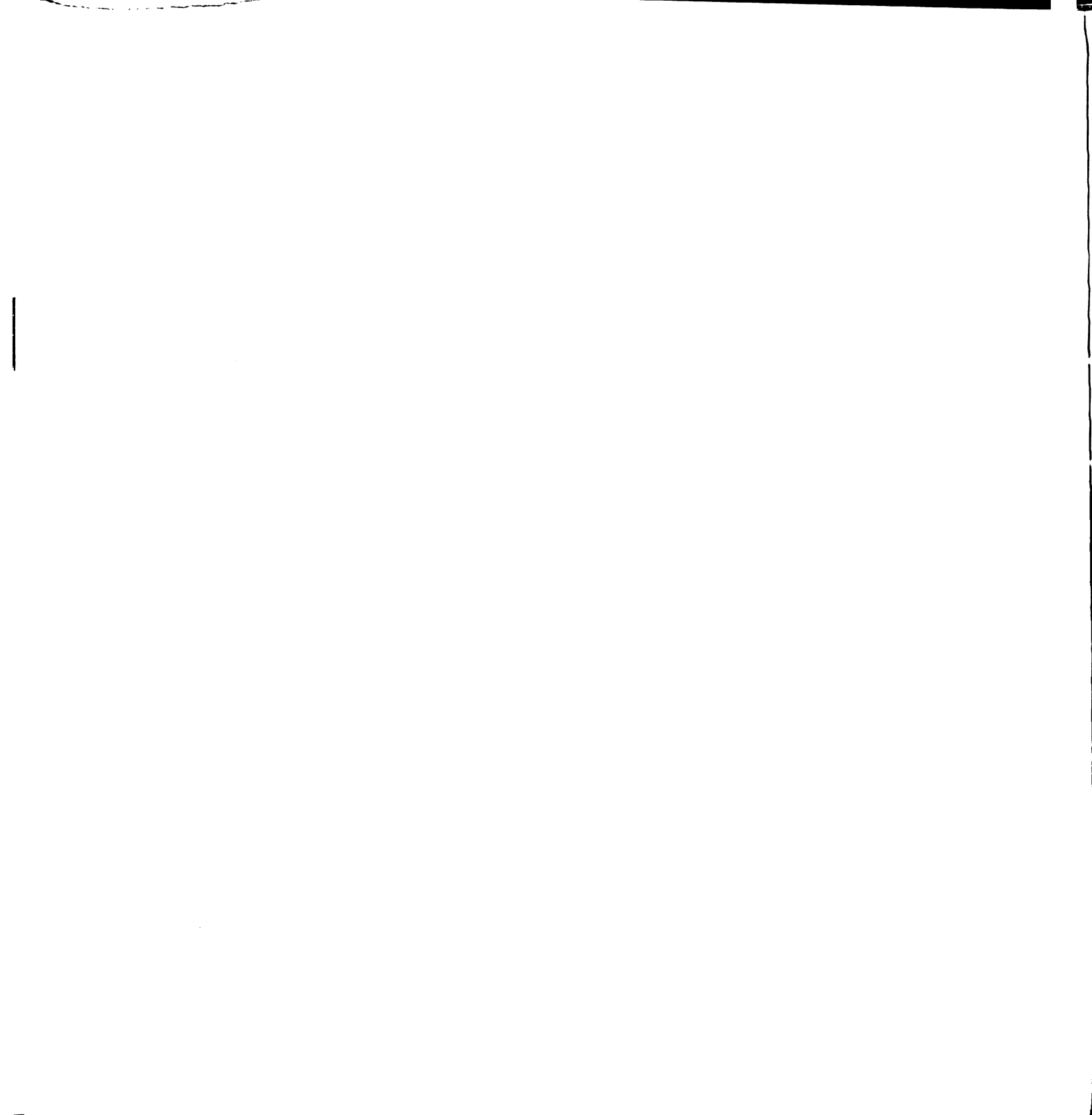
It is agreed, however, that, when the Commissioners of the two Governments at present engaged in delimiting the line laid down in Art. IV of the Convention of the 14th June, 1898, return home and can be consulted, the two Governments will be prepared to consider any modifications of the above frontier line which may seem desirable for the purpose of determining the line of demarcation with greater accuracy. In order to avoid the inconvenience to either party which might result from the adoption of a line deviating from recognized and well-established frontiers, it is agreed that in those portions of the projected line where the frontier is not determined by the trade routes, regard shall be had to the present political divisions of the territories so that the tribes belonging to the territories of Tessaoua-Maradi and Zinder shall, as far as possible, be left to France, and those belonging to the territories of the British zone shall, as far as possible, be left to Great Britain.

#### Lake Chad.

It is further agreed that, on Lake Chad, the frontier line shall, if necessary, be modified so as to assure to France a communication through open water at all seasons between her possessions on the north-west and those on the south-east of the Lake, and a portion of the surface of the open waters of the Lake at least proportionate to that assigned to her by the map forming Annex 2 of the Convention of the 14th June, 1898.

#### River Komadugu.

In that portion of the River Komadugu which is common to both



parties, the populations on the banks shall have equal rights of fishing.

Art. IX.--The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged, at London, within eight months, or earlier if possible.

In witness whereof his Excellency the Ambassador of the French Republic at the Court of His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, duly authorized for that purpose, have signed the present convention and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at London, in duplicate, the 8th day of April, 1904.

(L.S.). LANSDOWNE.

(L.S.). PAUL CAMBON.

## APPENDIX D

### ANGLO-FRENCH TREATY 1906<sup>1</sup>

Convention between Great Britain and France, respecting the Delimitation of the Frontier between the British and French Possessions to the East of the Niger. Signed at London, 29th May, 1906.

[Ratifications exchanged at London, 29th August, 1906.]

The Government of His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and the Government of the French Republic, having agreed, in a spirit of mutual good-will, to confirm the Protocol with its two Annexes, prepared, in accordance with paragraphs 6 and 7 of Art. VIII of the Convention of the 8th April, 1904, by their respective Delegates for the delimitation of the frontier between the British and French possessions to the east of the Niger;

The Undersigned The Right Honourable Sir Edward Grey, a Baronet of the United Kingdom, a Member of Parliament, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

And his Excellency Monsieur Paul Cambon, Ambassador of the French Republic at the Court of His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India;

Duly authorized to this effect, confirm the Protocol with its Annexes, drawn up at London the 9th day of April, 1906, the text of which is as follows:-

#### Protocol.

The Undersigned, having been commissioned by the Governments of His Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic respectively to submit proposals in accordance with paragraphs 6 and 7 of Art. VIII of the Convention of the 8th April, 1904, for the delimitation of the frontier between the French and British possessions to the east of the Niger, have agreed to the following Arrangement, which they have decided to submit to the approval of their respective Governments:--

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<sup>1</sup>Sir E. Hertslet, The Map of Africa by Treaty (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909).





## Lines of Frontier.

Art. I.--Leaving the last boundary-post erected in 1900 by the Anglo-French Boundary Commission on the road from Ilo to Madekali, at a distance 16,093 metres (10 miles) from the centre of the village of Guiris (Giri) (Port of Ilo), the frontier crosses the Niger and runs to the valley of the Foga (Dallul Mauri), following straight lines which are determined by five points placed as follows:--

The first on the road from Korkova to Tunuga, at a distance of 5 kilom. from the village of Korkoba.

The second on the road from Tunuga to Kangakoe, at a distance of 5 kilom. from the village of Tunuga.

The third on the road from Tunuga to Komba, half-way between these two villages.

The fourth on the road from Komba to Sabunbirni, half-way between these two villages.

The fifth on the road from Komba to Bengu, half-way between these two villages.

Thence the frontier will run first in a north-easterly and then in a northerly direction, so as to pass parallel to and at a distance of 10 kilom. to the east of the road from Bengu to Matankari.

This road is determined by the following points:--

Banna, Yellu, the Well of Angua-n'Iliaso, Bale, Goru, Kisamu, Kuduru, Tullu, Baoda, Makarua, Lokoko, Beibei, Maizari, Dumega, Angua-n-Ouri, Wassadeaki, Bischimi, Kiada (Tiada), Nassarawa, the pool called Tabki-M'budu, Angua-Nana, and Dogunduchi.

The frontier will follow the line thus laid down as far as a point situated 10 kilom. to the east of the cairn already erected on Budu Hill. Thence it will follow a series of straight lines through four points placed as follows:--

The first, 5 kilom. to the west of Kwardana;

The second, 5 kilom. to the south of that village;

The third, 5 kilom. to the south of Kwariawa;

The fourth, 5 kilom. to the south of Bazaga.

From the last-named point it will follow a line drawn parallel to and at a distance of 5 kilom. to the south of the road from Bazaga to Malbaza, which passes through Massalata, Birni n'Konni, Tierassa, and Sarnawa, as far as a point situated 5 kilom. to the south of the village of Malbaza.

The frontier will then run in a series of straight lines:--

(1) To a point half-way between the villages of Chigio and Gida n'Seriki Koma, on the road from Wurnu to Chara.

(2) To a point 5 kilom. to the north of the village of Antudu, situated on the road from Wurnu to Sabon Birni.

(3) To a point 10 kilom. from the centre of Sabon Birni, measured along the road from Sabon Birni to Chara.

(4) To a point 5 kilom. to the north of the village of Gida n'Mai Mai.

(5) To a point half-way between Sabon Birni and Gida n'Karri, on the road from Sabon Birni to Chibiri.

(6) To a point half-way between Sansanne-Aisa to Chibiri, on the road connecting these two places.

The frontier will then pass round the Sultanate of Maradi in a series of straight lines traversing--

- (1) A point 10 kilom. to the west of the village of Fiawa.
- (2) A point 10 kilom. south of Gida n'Gafey.
- (3) A point 10 kilom. south of Kandavai.

It is, however, understood that the frontier thus traced to the south of the Sultanate of Maradi shall not extend south of the parallel of 13° north.

From the last-named point, 10 kilom. to the south of Kandavai, the frontier will be so drawn as to intersect the Maradi-Katsena road at a point situated half-way between Kandavai and Katsena. Continuing thence in a straight line, it will reach first a point situated on the Katsena-Tessawa road, equi-distant from the villages of Gida n'Duma, and Yenkeisga; next a point on the Gallo-Raffa road, equi-distant from the wells of Katafa and Gobromaggi, and then a point 5 kilom. to the south-west of the village of Regia Mata. Thence it will follow a line drawn parallel to and 5 kilom. to the south-west of the road from Regia Mata to Zango (on which are placed the villages of Kollema, Garato, Beri Beri, Memaji, Gallu, Danberto, Adamawa, and Gemi), as far as a point situated 7 kilom. to the west of the centre of the village of Zango.

Thence the frontier will be drawn so as to intersect--

- (1) The Zango-Gemi road, half-way between these two places;
- (2) The Zango-Dumbi road, half-way between these two places;

and will then pass--

- (1) 8 kilom. north-east of Sara.
- (2) 13 kilom. north-east of Shadere.
- (3) 10 kilom. north-east of Dasha.
- (4) 8 kilom. north of Baoure.
- (5) 7 kilom. north of Bure.
- (6) 7 kilom. north-east of the last-named place.
- (7) 5 kilom. south of Karagua, of which the latitude is approximately 12° 48' north, the longitude 9° 37' east of Greenwich.
- (8) 5 kilom. east of the above-mentioned village of Karagua.
- (9) 5 kilom. west of the centre of the village of Bilamgari.

The frontier will then intersect--

- (1) The Machena-Lagwankaka road, half-way between these two places.
- (2) The Komi-Gumshi road, half-way between these two places.
- (3) The Buburua-Maiori road, half-way between these two places.
- (4) The road from Sunda Sunda to Gurselik, half-way between

these two places, and will reach a point situated 5 kilom. to the south of the village of Zumba.

From the last-named point the frontier will follow a line drawn parallel to and 5 kilom. to the south of the road from Gurselik to Adubur, which passes through Zumba and Judkorum, until this line strikes the thalweg of the river Komodugu-Yobe, then it will follow the thalweg of the said river as far as Lake Chad.

From the mouth of the Komodugu-Yobe in Lake Chad the frontier will follow towards the east the parallel of latitude, passing through the thalweg of the mouth of the said river as far as a point situated at a distance 35 kilom. from the centre of the village of Bosso. From this point it will run in a straight line to the point of intersection of the 13th parallel of north latitude with the meridian running

35' east of the centre of the town of Kikawa, the meridian mentioned in the Conventions of the 14th June, 1898, and the 8th April, 1904.

#### Islands of Lake Chad.

Art. II.--It is agreed that the Islands of Lake Chad situated within the line laid down in the last paragraph of Art. I will form an integral part of British territory, and that those situated outside that line will form an integral part of the French possessions.

#### Free Navigation on the Lake.

The two High Contracting Parties agree to guarantee free navigation on the Lake to British subjects and British-protected persons, and to French citizens and French-protected persons, as far as regards their persons and goods.

Art. III.--The frontier set forth in the present Protocol is indicated on the annexed map.

#### Boundary Commissioners to be Appointed.

Art. IV.--The two Governments undertake to appoint within a year Commissioners who will be charged with delimiting and marking out on the spot the lines of demarcation between the British and French possessions, in conformity with and in accordance with the spirit of stipulations of the present Protocol.

#### Annex.

Although the delineation of the lines of demarcation shown on the map annexed to the present Protocol is supposed to be generally accurate, it is agreed that the Commissioners hereafter appointed to delimit the frontier as set forth in the Protocol.

It shall, however, be permissible for them to modify the said lines of demarcation for the purpose of fixing them with greater accuracy, and to make any indispensable alterations of detail. Alterations or corrections of a more important nature affecting the frontier line must be submitted, by the common consent of the Commissioners, to the approval of their respective Governments.

Inhabitants living near the Frontier  
may Settle on the other Side.

It is understood that if the inhabitants living near the frontier

thus determined should express the wish to cross the frontier in order to settle in the French possessions, or, inversely, in the British possessions, no obstacles will be placed in the way of their so doing, and they shall be granted the necessary time to allow them to gather in all standing crops, and generally to remove all the property of which they are the legitimate owners.

Signed in duplicate, London, the 9th day of April, 1906.

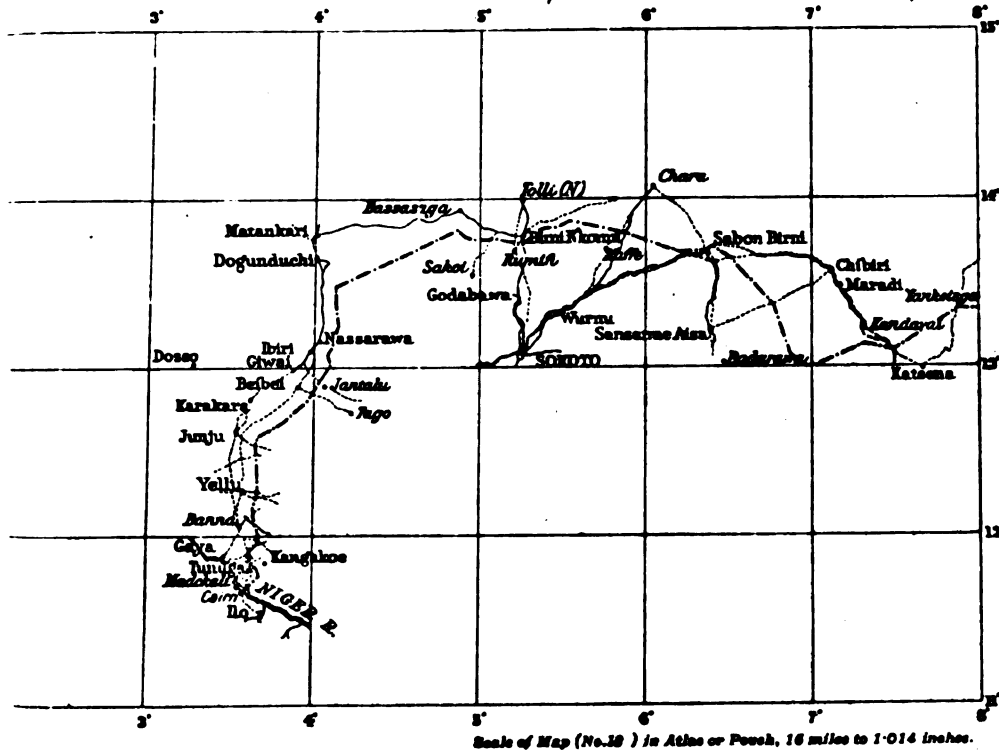
ERIC BARRINGTON.  
WILLIAM ERSKINE.  
CHARLES STRACHEY.  
C. F. CLOSE.  
G. R. FRITH.  
G. BINGER.  
H. DE MANNEVILLE.  
J. TILHO.

CONVENTION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE  
OF MAY 29, 1906.

Frontier between British and French Possessions  
to the East of the Niger.

**Sheet 1.**

*Map annexed to the Protocol of the 9<sup>th</sup> April. 1906.*



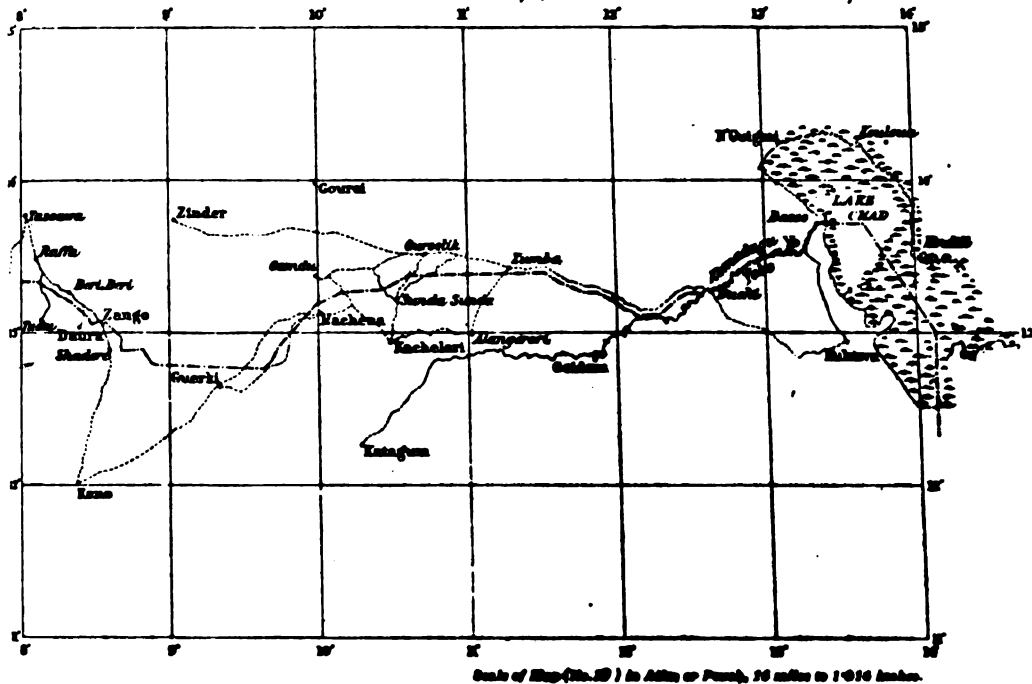
Scale of Map (No. 10 ) in Atlas or Pouch, 16 miles to 1·014 inches.

CONVENTION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE  
OF MAY 29, 1906.

Frontier between British and French Possessions  
to the East of the Niger.

**Sheet 2.**

*Map annexed to the Protocol of the 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1906.*



Scale of Map (Fig. 10) is Approx or Precise, 10 miles to 1:616 inches

**Figure 54**

## APPENDIX E

### AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND FRANCE RESPECTING THE DELIMITATION OF THE FRONTIER BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND FRENCH POSSESSIONS EAST OF THE NIGER.

London, February 19, 1910.

By an Exchange of Notes between the French Minister for Foreign Affairs and His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris--dated respectively May 17, 1911, and July 1, 1911--His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic formally approved the following Protocol signed at London on February 19, 1910, for the delimitation of the frontier between the British and French possessions to the east of the Niger, which has been carried out in accordance with Article 4 of the Convention signed at London, May 29, 1906 ("Treaty Series, No. 14 (1906)") :--

#### ANGLO-FRENCH COMMISSION FOR THE DELIMITATION OF THE FRONTIER EAST OF THE NIGER, NORTHERN NIGERIA.

##### Protocol with Regard to Definition of Frontier.

The undersigned Commissioners, appointed for the delimitation of the frontier between the British and French possessions to the East of the Niger under the provisions of the Convention signed at London on the 29th May, 1906, submit for the approval of their respective Governments the following description of the frontier they have marked out:--

##### Article I.--Description of the Frontier.

The frontier follows a straight line from beacon to beacon.  
For convenience of reference the list of beacons is given in

tabular form with the following conventions--

1. The boundary beacons are described according to the following system of classification--

Class A.--A group of four palm-tree posts disposed round a fifth central post which carries a tri-colour enamelled iron plaque, 8 inches by 6 inches, with the inscription--

Delimitation 1907.

Borne No. \_\_\_\_.

The number on the plaque is the number of the beacon referred to in the Table and on the map.

Class B.--A conical pillar built of dry stone, cemented on top except where stated, to which is fixed the number plaque above mentioned.

Class C.--The upper length of an iron telegraph pole of Northern Nigeria pattern, 15 feet long, fixed in the ground at a depth of 4 feet to 5 feet, carrying at the top the numbered plaque above mentioned, and generally cemented at the base.

Class D.--The cast-iron base socket, 5 feet long, of an iron telegraph pole, fixed point uppermost in the ground, at a depth of 3 feet. The numbered plaque is fixed to a tree close by.

Class E.--A tree, stripped of all except the upper branches, to which the numbered plaque is fastened at a height of 10 feet to 15 feet above the ground. A clearing has been formed around the tree.

2. All bearings are true bearings from north round by east. They must not be taken as mathematically exact. Any case where the position of the frontier intermediate to two beacons is in doubt must be settled by tracing on the ground the straight line between the two beacons.

3. All distances between beacons, and also those whose bearings are given in degrees, are measured in a straight line. All other distances are measured along native tracks in question. Except in certain cases all distances are given in round numbers to the nearest 100 metres, and must not be taken as mathematically exact.

4. The first village mentioned in the description of the position of a beacon is in British territory in the English text, and in French territory in the French text.

5. In case where a beacon has disappeared and a doubt should arise in consequence as to the exact position where it was placed by the Commissioners, the position must be determined by reference solely to the distances given in the column headed "Position." Should, however, the roads and localities therein mentioned have disappeared since the passage of the Commission, then the position of the beacon in question must be determined by reference to the figures given in the columns headed "Bearing" and "Distance."

Table of Beacons.

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance	
			From preceding Beacon.		Metres	
-	Last boundary mark erected in 1900 by the Anglo-French Boundary Commission.	On the road from Illo to Madekali, 16,093 metres from centre of Giri (Port of Illo).	-	-	-	-
1	Class A. A small cemented stone beacon is placed on a rise 70 metres distant, bearing 49°	At edge of creek, 180 metres from centre of Dole, bearing 135°.	48 1/2	7,400		
2	Class A.	South side of Korkova--Dole road, 3,700 metres from centre of Dole.	48 1/2	3,600		
3	Class B.	North side of Korkova--Tunuga road, 5,000 metres from centre of Korkova.	48 1/2	4,200		
4	Class B.	South side of Kangakoe--Tunuga road, 5,200 metres from north-east gate of Tunuga	350	5,900		
5	Class B.	North side of Komba--Tunuga road, near salting named Tunga Magaji, 3,300 metres from west gate of Komba.	296	3,900		
6	Class B.	North side of an alternative Komba-Tunuga road, 3,500 metres from west gate of Komba.	296	800		
7	Class A. Four tall palm-tree trunks, with a small stone beacon in the centre.	On a sand-hill close to south-west side of Komba--Sabonbirni road, 3,800 metres from west gate of Komba.	351 1/2	3,600		
8	Class B.	East side of Komba--Bengu road, 8,800 metres from centre of each village.	356 1/2	6,100		
9	Class B.	20 metres south of Fingila--Bengu road, 10,500 metres from north-west corner of Bengu town wall.	45	8,800		



Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From preceding Beacon.		
			Degrees	Metres	
10	Class B.	South side of Gode--Bengu road, 11,400 metres from north-west corner of Gengu town wall.	353	6,900	
11	Class B.	On a small conical spur south of Gode-Bana road, 150 metres west of point where road enters the define, and 12,700 metres from centre of Bana.	337 1/2	10,400	
12	Class B.	South side of Gode--Yelu road, on top of the cliff crossed by the road, 9,300 metres from west gate of Yelu.	8	10,800	
13	Class B.	South side of Zogirma--Yelu road, 1,700 metres west of top of cliff, and 10,700 metres from west gate of Yelu.	22 1/2	5,700	
14	Class B.	South side of Debbe--Bara road, 4,800 metres from Debbe well, and 10,100 metres from the cross roads near Kutumbu water hole.	352	15,600	
15	Class B.	North side of Tilli--Junju road, 11,400 metres from Furore (centre).	360	12,800	
16	Class B.	East side of Gidarri--Tombo--Kuduru road, 1,700 metres from well of Gidarri.	49 1/2	16,800	
17	Class B.	West side of Kuri--Kuduru road, 450 metres south of the pool Tabkin Banguberi.	54 1/2	9,300	
18	Class B.	West side of Tsafedzi--Makarua road, 1,600 metres from point where the road descends from the plateau.	60	5,700	
19	Class B.	East side of Fiaski (well)--Matachi road, 3,200 metres from Fiaski, on the brow of the hill.	53	8,400	
20	Class B.	West side of Aljenna--Kwatadey road, on top of cliff south of Kwatadey.	33	6,200	



Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From preceding Beacon.	Metres	
			Degrees		
21	Class B.	West side of Bwi--Kafiru road, 1,700 metres from east gate of Kafiru.	30		6,100
22	Class B.	South side of Rimau--Kafiru road, 3,000 metres from west gate of Kafiru.	34		2,300
23	Class B. (uncemented)	South side of Galewa--Kafiru road, 3,000 metres from west gate of Kafiru.	34		2,300
24	Class B. (uncemented)	North side of Galewa--Kaokao road, 1,700 metres from centre of Galewa.	40		2,300
25	Class E.	West side of Galewa--Gidodam road, 1,700 metres from centre of Galewa.	51		1,700
26	Class B.	North side of Jantullu--Gidodam road, 4,800 metres from north-west gate of Jantullu.	24		3,500
27	Class B.	East side of Jantullu--Falakari road, 1,400 metres from well of Falakari.	28		6,000
28	Class E.	East side of Hudussu--Falakari road, 900 metres from well of Falakari.	9		500
29	Class B.	North side of Lema--Birnin Fala road, under cliff, 3,600 metres from east of Birnin Fala.	48		2,600
30	Class B.	South side of Sakwabe--Tombo--Nassarawa road, 500 metres east of well of Tombo.	12		18,800
31	Class B.	250 metres south of Kaura--Zigola road, 5,000 metres from Zigola (centre).	360		3,5600
32	Class B.	North side of Gurrdam--Kauara road, 1,400 metres from Kauara (centre).	90		10,100
33	Class B. (uncemented)	At the side of Bale--Kolmey road, 11,400 metres from centre of Kolmey, near rocky hill named Bakantsauna.	47		33,600
34	Pile of ant-heap clay surrounded by stakes	North side of Sokwoi--Kolmey road, 19,100 metres from Kolmey; district known as Yatagimba.	75 1/2		8,400

Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From preceding Beacon.		
			Degrees	Metres	
35	Class B. (uncemented)	East side of Bagidda--Baizu road, 10,900 metres from Bagidda (centre).	78		33,400
36	Class B.	In the bush, bearing 270°, distant 5,000 metres from well of Kwardanna.	69		4,000
37	Class B.	East side of Bagidda--Kwardanna road, 4,200 metres from well of Kwardanna.	135		5,600
38	Class B.	West side of Ruahurri--Kwardanna road, 6,600 metres from well of Kwardanna.	106		4,600
39	Class B.	West side of Ruahruui--Kwariawa road, 5,200 metres from centre of Kwariawa.	89 1/2		3,000
40	Class B.	East side of Tsoni--Mazoji--Bazaga road, 500 metres from centre of Mazoji.	89 1/2		2,900
41	Class B.	East side of Sarama--Farsawa road, 600 metres from centre of Farsawa on a spur of the hill.	77 1/2		7,900
42	Class B.	East side of Sarama--Ambuta road, 700 metres from south side of Ambuta.	96 1/2		5,400
43	Class B.	At the side of Sarama--Massalata road, 5,000 metres from Massalata (centre).	94 1/2		5,800
44	Class B.	East side of Rumji--Massalata road, 5,000 metres from Massalata (centre).	104		3,300
45	Class B.	West side of Kalmallo--Birnin Konni road, 5,000 metres from west gate of Birnin Konni.	77 1/2		4,500
46	Class B.	East side of Illelela--Birnin Konni road, 5,000 metres from west gate of Birnin Konni	77		2,400
47	Class B.	East side of Rungamawa--Tierassa road, 1,000 metres from Rungamawa (centre).	42 1/2		8,800
48	Class B.	East side of Rungamawa--Tsarnawa road, 3,700 metres from Rungamawa (centre).	40		3,300

Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From preceding Beacon.	Degrees	Metres
49	Class B.	In the bush, bearing 170°, 2,900 metres from centre of Mazoge.	70		11,600
50	Class B.	West side of Keri--Malbaza road, 5,100 metres from centre of Malbaza.	79		8,500
51	Class B.	West side of Gadda--Malbaza road, 7,900 metres from centre of Malbaza.	111 1/2		3,100
52	Class B.	East side of Gadda--Dogarawa road, 9,800 metres from Gadda (centre).	117		8,900
53	Class B.	East side of Kaffe--Galmi road, 600 metres north of wells of Bigal.	109		8,300
54	Class B.	300 metres west of Kaffe--Gidan Bugaji--Chigio road, 1,100 metres north of Gidan Bugaji on a path alongside main road following foot of hills.	112		8,900
55	Class B.	East side of Gadabu--Kumassa road, 4,100 metres south of the well on the road, 10,800 metres from Kumassa.	110		5,900
56	Class E.	East side of Angualale--Rabami road 10,300 metres from Angualale (centre).	108		29,300
57	Class C.	In the bush, bearing 360°, distant 5,000 metres from centre of Antudu.	117		7,600
58	Class D.	East side of Malambuzu--Rabami road, 3,800 metres from right bank of Gulbin Rima.	69		8,900
59	Class D.	East side of Gidan Meimei--Gidan Jibo road, 7,200 metres from centre of Gidan Meimei.	86		5,100
60	Class D.	North side of Sabonbirni--Dangari--Maradi road, 1,700 metres east of centre of Dangari.	117 1/2		18,400
61	Class D.	East side of Kamerawa--Tibiri road, 2,800 metres north of pool Tabkin Firi or Baban Rafi.	135		39,700

Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From preceding Beacon		
			Degrees		Metres
62	Class E. A heap of shingle is at foot of tree.	South side of Mashema--Tokarawa road, 18,109 metres from Mashema (centre).	148 1/2		25,300
63	Class B.	South-east side of Zurumi--Ruruka road, 2,400 metres south of rocks named Duchin Chirgi.	142		20,900
64	Class B. (small)	80 metres from right bank of River Haranawa, 350 metres south of centre of Dufambara.	90		11,800
65	A post carrying the plaque fixed in a heap of shingle surrounded by stakes.	North side of Zandam--Dufambara road, 10,500 metres from Dufambara.	73		10,000
66	Class B.	North side of Jibia--Kototua road, 1,500 metres from Jibia North village (centre).	40		10,300
67	Class B.	West side of Jibia--Birnin Kaura road, 1,300 metres south of Gidan Dangaladima.	40		3,400
68	Class E. A small heap of shingle is placed at foot of tree.	South side of Kaga--Birnin Kaura road, 3,500 metres from Makada.	99 1/2		3,600
69	A granite boulder 7 feet high, on top of which the plaque is set in cement.	50 metres from right bank of the stream Koramma Daddara, 4,100 metres of Kaga (centre).	107		6,900
70	Class B.	North side of Katsina--Kandare road, 1,500 metres east of Daddara stream crossing.	93 1/2		8,900
71	Class D.	South-west side of Kusa--Jema road, 10,000 metres from centre of Kusa.	59		5,200

Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From preceding Beacon		
			Degrees	Metres	
72	Class B.	40 metres east of Sayi-Dambo road, 3,200 metres from centre of Sayi.	59	9,800	
73	Class D.	East side of Dogondawa--Dagazari road, 2,600 metres from Dogondawa (centre).	59	9,600	
74	Class D.	East side of Gisserawa--Rizia Kaura road, by a pool 1,200 metres from Rizia Kaura (centre).	59	7,600	
75	Class D.	East side of Gidan Kuntu--Agie road, 2,700 metres from Gidan Kuntu (centre).	59	13,500	
76	Class B.	East side of Gidan Duma--Gangara road, 1,800 metres from centre of Gidan Duma.	59	7,500	
77	Class D.	East side of Gidan Danbaba--Rogogo road, 4,500 metres from Gidan Danbaba (centre).	96 1/2	5,900	
78	Class E.	West side of Bamli--Gidan Adamu road, 5,800 metres north of Birnin Moma.	96 1/2	7,500	
79	Class E.	South side of Bamli--Birnin Kuka--Rizia Malam road, 2,000 metres from Birnin Kuka (centre).	96 1/2	5,600	
80	Class D. The plaque is fixed on a tree bearing west 50 metres distant.	East side of Gobromaji well--Katafa well road, 1,350 metres from each well.	96 1/2	8,200	
81	Large stone 2 feet high set on cement foundation with cement cap. Plaque on tree bearing 3450 metres distant.	North-west side of Hamiss--Risla Mata road, 5,000 metres from centre of Rizia Mata.	119	6,200	
82	Class C. The plaque is on a neighbouring tree.	North-west side of Makerowa--Kolma road, 800 metres from centre of Makerowa.	108	4,700	
83	Class C.	East side of Dagura--Dantikiara road, 1,100 metres from south edge of Dantikiara.	135	6,200	

Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From preceding Beacon		
			Degrees	Metres	
84	Class B.	West side of Maludu--Beriberi road 2,000 metres from centre of Maludu.	111	6,500	
85	Class C.	West side of Muturrumi--Maimujia road, 900 metres from centre of Maimujia.	135	4,500	
86	Class C.	West side of Sofonbirni--Dambartu road, 4,700 metres from Dambartu (centre).	131	5,500	
87	Class C.	North side of Kulansami--Adamawa road, 700 metres from Kulansami (centre).	130 1/2	4,900	
88	Class C.	South side of Daura--Tsamia--Gieni road, 3,000 metres from centre of Tsamia.	133 1/2	7,100	
89	Class C.	North side of Daura--Ika--Zongo road, 7,700 metres from west gate of Zongo. The frontier does not cross this road.	149	2,600	
90	Class C.	East side of Zongo--Gieni road, 3,500 metres from west gate of Zongo.	66 1/2	5,600	
91	Class C.	East side of Zongo--Daombey road, 2,900 metres from east gate of Zongo.	91	4,000	
92	Class C.	North side of Zongo--Dambadada road, 6,500 metres from east gate of Zongo.	112	5,600	
93	Class C.	North side of Herdaji--Tumfafi road, 1,700 metres from west gate of Herdaji.	131	4,300	
94	Class C.	East side of Diehi--Yekua road, 900 metres from east gate of Diehi.	136	6,500	
95	Class C.	East side of Gomba--Dunawa road, 2,200 metres from Dunawa West village.	155	5,000	
96	Class C.	North side of Bechia--Jelgawassa road, 1,100 metres from west gate of Jelgawassa.	114	6,800	
97	Class C.	West side of Baure--Bachebache road, 1,700 metres from south gate of Bachebache.	101 1/2	4,800	



Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From	Preceding	Beacon
			Degrees	Metres	
98	Class C.	East side of Kaggera--Arko road, 600 metres from west gate of Arko.	108 1/2	7,800	
99	Class C.	West side of Dandogo--Dambarde road, 300 metres from north gate of Dandogo.	112	7,300	
100	Class C.	East side of Taramnawa--Galawa road, 900 metres north of west gate of Taramnawa.	105	6,500	
101	Class C.	At cross roads Salei--Angua Dashi and Barbera--Dandakei, 230 metres from Angua Dashi.	104 1/2	5,800	
102	Class E.	West side of Barbera--Kiaoshe road, 800 metres from Kwadege well.	91 1/2	4,000	
103	Class C.	At cross roads Kabobi--Zamoo and Jeiki--Maidodo, 2,200 metres from Zamoo (centre).	91 1/2	4,400	
104	Class C.	West side of Jeiki--Danchiao road, 1,400 metres from centre of Joiki.	91 1/2	2,800	
105	Class C.	East side of Maifaru--Danchiao road, 1,000 metres from centre of Maifaru.	91 1/2	3,200	
106	Class C.	West side of Maizuo--Serkinfawa road, 1,100 metres from south gate of Serkinfawa.	91 1/2	6,600	
107	Class C.	East side of Dangumchi--Soli road, 1,100 metres from centre of Soli.	91 1/2	7,400	
108	Class E.	25 metres west of Danbunki--Tamli road	93	4,400	
109	Class C.	1,100 metres from well of Danbunki.			
		East side of Gumel--Dammakia road, 800 metres from south gate of Dammakia.	106 1/2	4,200	
110	Class C.	East side of Jobi--Dangaru road, 700 metres from well of Jobi.	80	7,000	

Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From preceding	Degrees	
111	Class C.	East side of Maigatali--Tumbi road, 1,100metres from Maigatali (centre).	96		6,800
112	Class C.	West side of Walawa--Maidiku road, 300 metres north of the pool Tabkin Sisiwa.	92		4,900
113	Class C.	East side of Galadi--Maidiku road, 1,100 metres southeast of pool Tabkin Dukuram.	92		7,100
114	Class C.	East side of Galadi--Kwadege road, 500 metres from well of Kwadege.	92		7,300
115	Class C.	West side of Gerari--Karagua road, 4,900 metres from Karagua (well).	88 1/2		3,400
116	Class C.	West side of Jerrekassa--Karamashi road, 1,300 metres from Karamashi (centre).	43		4,600
117	Class C.	7 metres from north fence of Baggo, 100 metres from the well bearing 280°.	42		5,900
118	Class C.	East side of Garundoli--Banzaram road, 2,500 metres from Garundoli (centre).	45		6,500
119	Class C.	East side of Barambagori--Gariri road, 800 metres north of the pool Tabkin Hamama.	44 1/2		5,400
120	Class C.	South side of Karragirri--Gelewa road, 400 metres from west gate of Karragirri.	33 1/2		9,500
121	Class C.	West side of Mattara--Goaleri road, 1,100 metres from Mattara (centre).	61 1/2		5,000
122	Class C.	North-east side of Kavi--Dunari road, 3,900 metres from well of Dunari.	35		5,500
123	Class C.	North side of Machinna--Geltari road, 450 metres east of pool Tabkin Kangarwa.	45 1/2		7,800
124	Class C.	East side of Machinna--Jajayassami road, 6,300 metres from centre of Jajayassami.	47		5,700

Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From preceding Beacon.		
			Degrees	Metres	
125	Class C.	East side of Machinna--Tamassa road, 5,300 metres from centre of Machinna.	68		2,900
126	Class C.	East side of Machinna--Gogi--Komi road, 2,700 metres from Gogi (centre).	67		3,900
127	Class C.	East side of Gumzi--Komi road at point where road crosses hill Wamjari, 13,000 metres from Gumzi (centre).	62 1/2		16,000
128	Class C.	West side of Gumzi--Yamia road, 11,500 metres from Gumzi (centre).	88 1/2		7,500
129	Class C.	West side of Gumzi--Geurslek road, 1,200 metres north-east of the granite rock Kaobako situated at the junction of the road to Kargiri.	87 1/2		6,800
130	Class C.	East side of Maiori--Burburua road, 5,300 metres from Maiori (centre).	84 1/2		14,300
131	Class C.	West side of Dandelsando--Geurslek road, 4,100 metres north-east of the Water Hole Kursazia.	67 1/2		22,200
132	Class C.	West side of Bamusu--Geurslek road, 6,100 metres from Sirgaram and 3,700 metres from Garrarak cross roads.	86		16,700
133	Class A.	South side of Kaderi--Karagu road, 6,700 metres west of the crest of Dabalia salting.	90		8,600
134	Class C.	100 metres west of Garoganowa--Karagu road, on crest of hill 3,800 metres from crest of Dabalia salting.	90		5,400
135	Class C.	West side of Gau--Zumba road, 5,500 metres from Zumba (centre).	90		33,600
136	Class E.	40 metres east of Zamugu--Zumba road, 5,100 metres from Zumba (centre).	90		2,600

Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance
			From preceding Beacon.		
			Degrees	Metres	
137	Class C.	On a ridge 15 metres west of Gau--Chikrikadwa--Sheri road, 4,900 metres from Sheri (centre).	90	11,100	
138	Class C.	On a ridge 50 metres east of Bitwa--Kayatoa road, 2,200 metres from Kayatoa (centre).	88	8,200	
139	Class C.	On a ridge 50 metres west of Zamugu--Jetkorom road, 5,000 metres from Jetkorom (centre).	109	15,500	
140	Class C.	West side of Chillima--Burduma--Jetkorom road on crest of hill, 2,800 metres from Burduma (centre).	115	10,600	
141	Class C.	40 metres west of Chillima--Bidamaram road on the spur of a remarkable ridge running east and west, 3,300 metres from Bidamaram.	101	13,200	
142	Class C.	East side of Geidam--Adebeur road 5,800 metres from Adebeur at crossing of Bidthur--Bidamaram road.	102	8,800	
143	Class C.	West side of Bidthur--Adebeur road, 9,300 metres from Adebeur (centre).	117	4,700	
144	Class C.	East side of Bidthur--Maini road, 4,300 metres from Bidthur on crest of ridge, 1,000 metres from Bilamari pool.	125	12,200	
145	Class C.	East side of Abakomerri--Maini road, 600 metres from south hamlet of Abasheri, and 3,200 metres from Abakomerri (centre).	135 1/2	4,600	

Table of Beacons (continued)

Number	Description	Position	Bearing		Distance	
			From preceding Beacon.		Metres	
146	Class C.	West side of Kanema--Maini road, 3,800 metres from big tree at Kanema market.	116	1/2	5,100	
147	Class C.	20 metres west of Kanema--Lekariri road 1,800 metres from Kanema market, on summit of ridge bordering swamps of Komadugu Yobe.	112		2,800	
148	Class C.	On the left bank of the River Komadugu Yobe in the bush. An auxiliary mark, consisting of a telegraph pole, is placed on the right bank of the river.	103		4,000	

From beacon 148 the frontier follows a straight line bearing 90°, distance about 30 metres, till this line intersects the thalweg of the River Komadugu Yobe.

From this point the frontier follows the thalweg of the River Komadugu Yobe as far as the mouth of the river in Lake Chad.

As the course of the Komadugu Yobe is extremely sinuous, rendering it liable to frequent changes, it is necessary to make an arrangement providing for such a change. The following appears the most suitable:--

In the case of the river altering its course to the northward or westward so as to intersect the straight line between beacons 147 and 148 to the westward of the present point, the new thalweg of the river will constitute the frontier from the aforesaid new point of intersection.

In the case of the river altering its course to the southward or eastward so as not to intersect the line as described at 30 metres from beacon 148, the frontier will follow the thalweg of the river as now existing to the point where the thalweg of this old bed will join the thalweg of the new bed of the river.

From this point the frontier will follow the thalweg of the river as it may exist for the time being as far as the mouth of the river in Lake Chad.

The mouth of the Komadugu Yobe has been marked by an iron telegraph pole, cemented at the base, situated in 13° 42' 29" north latitude, 8,250 metres east of the centre of the village of Bosso.

From this point the frontier follows the parallel of 13° 42' 29" north latitude for a distance of 26,700 metres to the point on that parallel 35 kilom. from the centre of Bosso.

An iron telegraph pole, set in cement, is erected on an island situated approximately 1,150 metres bearing 325° from this point.

From this point the frontier follows a straight line bearing 144° 34', distance 96,062 metres to the point where the 13th parallel of north latitude intersects the meridian 35' east of the centre of Kukawa.

The centre of Kukawa is in 12° 55' 35.5" north latitude.

The centre of Bosso is in 13° 41' 59" north latitude, 0° 15' 11" west of Kukawa.

## Article II.--Deflections.

From the line as laid down in the Convention of the 29th May, 1906, the following departures have been made, which are submitted for approval:--

1. At beacon 32 an area of 41 square kilom., lying in the British zone, has been included in the French zone in order to leave under French control the village of Kauara, which is isolated from British inhabited territory, and has been hitherto administered from Matankari.

2. At beacons 33 and 34 an area of 216 square kilom., lying in the French zone, has been included in the British zone. This area is waterless bush.

3. At beacon 54 the place named Gidan Seriki Koma could not be found, and beacons 52, 53, 54, 55 are placed in a straight line from

the point 5 kilom. south of Malbaza to the point 5 kilom. north of Antudu. This line passes 3 1/2 kilom. from Chigio instead of 4 1/2 as shown on the map annexed to the Protocol.

4. At beacons 58 and 59 an area of 43 square kilom., lying in the French zone, has been included in the British zone. This area, containing three small villages dependent on Sabon Birni isolated from French inhabited territory, was taken in compensation for Kauara.

5. At beacons 61 and 62 an area of 285 square kilom., lying in the British zone, has been included in the French zone. There being no direct road between Sansanne Isa and Tibiri, it was proposed by the British Commissioners that for the point mentioned in the Convention the point half-way as the crow flies between those two places should be substituted.

According to the French Commissioner the point should be half-way on the road Isa-Gidan Fadama-Tibiri, which is the shortest existing track between the two places. The French Commissioner, having accepted the British point of view, agrees that the positions of beacons 61 and 62 involve a deflection of 285 square kilom. This area is waterless bush.

6. Between beacons 93 and 101 various small deflections have been made, giving to the British the hamlet of Angua Dala, and to the French the hamlet of Danchalei, and amounting on either side to 19 square kilom. This area is cultivated.

7. At beacon 109 an area of 9 square kilom., lying in the British zone, has been included in the French zone. The frontier was found to cut across the northern part of the village of Dammakia, which, being a Demagherim village, has been left in French territory.

8. At beacon 120 an area of 14 square kilom., containing the village of Karragirri, belonging to Machinna, has been included in the British zone in compensation for the preceding deflection.

9. At beacon 124 the village of Lawankaka was found to have changed its name since 1905 in consequence of the Chief having migrated to another village 4 miles distant, near Zagari, now known as Lawankaka. The old village is now called Jajayassami. As it appeared reasonable to suppose that the latter village was the village intended to be designated in the Convention, the frontier was laid out accordingly.

The Commissioners are agreed in thinking that these deflections are of small importance and approximately compensated.

### Article III.--Maintenance of Beacons.

The Commissioners are of opinion that it will be to the interest of the two Colonies to maintain the frontier beacons which they have erected, and which are exposed from many causes to deterioration, and even destruction, if neglected.

They agree in recommending that the following precautions should be taken every year by both English and French authorities.

1. Towards the close of the rainy season, before the natives have fired the bush, clear around each beacon a space of 10 metres radius in order to prevent the splintering by fire of the enamelled face of the numbered plaque.

2. Keep pruned every year the trees on which are fixed the plaques indicating the frontier in the same way as has been done by the Commission of Delimitation.

3. Should it happen that a numbered plaque fall from any cause whatever (such as oxidation of wire or nails, lightening shock, etc.), it will be necessary that the Chief of the nearest village should immediately acquaint the Resident of the fact in order that the latter may take the necessary steps to insure that the plaque in question be immediately restored to the exact position in which it was fixed by the Commission of Delimitation.

4. It will be necessary to renew, as required, the thorn protection around the iron poles in order to guard them from shocks caused by cattle or wild animals.

The maintenance of the beacons is particularly important during the earlier years, before the natives have become perfectly familiarized with the position of the frontier.

In witness whereof the Undersigned have signed the present Report.

Done in duplicate in English and French at London, the 19th February, 1910.

R. POER O'SHEE, Major, Royal  
Engineers

British Commissioner

J. TILHO, Capitaine d'Enfanterie  
Coloniale

Commissaire Francais



# APPENDIX F

Table 14

## VEHICLE MOVEMENT MONTHLY SUMMARY

1967

	Jibiya			Kongolom			Zango		
	In		Total	In		Total	In		Total
	In	Out		In	Out		In	Out	
January									
Trucks	152	123	275	596	485	1,081	464	480	944
Cars	36	29	65	24	22	46	8	12	20
Other	39	24	63	36	40	76	4	5	9
Total	227	176	403	656	547	1,203	476	497	973
February									
Trucks	126	101	227	536	439	975	364	332	696
Cars	24	26	50	22	28	50	1	3	4
Other	68	49	117	34	25	59	5	5	10
Total	218	176	394	592	492	1,084	370	340	710
March									
Trucks	136	127	263	304	288	592	250	220	470
Cars	32	37	69	26	25	51	4	6	10
Other	78	52	130	23	24	47	2	2	4
Total	246	216	462	353	337	690	256	228	484
April									
Trucks	132	133	265	234	220	454	200	290	490
Cars	24	32	56	24	34	58	7	13	20
Other	106	40	146	24	22	46	2	3	5
Total	262	205	467	282	276	558	209	306	515

Table 14 (continued)

	Jibiya			Kongolom			Zango		
	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total
May									
Trucks	111	87	198	248	201	449	260	300	560
Cars	32	33	65	27	20	47	6	15	21
Other	42	30	72	35	23	58	4	5	9
Total	185	150	335	310	244	554	270	320	590
June									
Trucks	60	70	130	213	173	386	100	160	260
Cars	37	29	66	26	12	38	1	4	5
Other	20	10	30	30	20	50	1	3	4
Total	117	109	226	269	205	474	102	167	269
July									
Trucks	133	116	249	138	139	277	10	5	15
Cars	11	19	30	19	19	38	-	1	1
Other	18	21	39	47	25	72	-	-	-
Total	162	156	318	204	183	387	10	6	16
August									
Trucks	109	115	224	113	93	206	20	18	38
Cars	9	31	40	18	23	41	1	1	2
Other	20	23	43	25	30	55	4	5	9
Total	138	169	307	156	146	302	25	24	49
September									
Trucks	101	110	211	131	106	237	16	14	30
Cars	27	29	56	31	33	64	-	-	-
Other	15	15	30	24	22	46	1	3	4
Total	143	154	297	186	161	347	17	17	34

Table 14 (continued)

	Jibiya			Kongolom			Zango		
	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total
October									
Trucks	81	88	169	112	32	144	23	32	55
Cars	26	29	55	24	18	42	14	15	29
Other	17	9	26	8	9	17	-	-	-
Total	<u>124</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>250</u>	<u>144</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>84</u>
November									
Trucks	38	22	60	60	61	121	19	20	39
Cars	31	30	61	23	20	43	20	15	45
Other	13	12	25	59	57	116	-	-	-
Total	<u>82</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>142</u>	<u>138</u>	<u>280</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>84</u>
December									
Trucks	82	85	167	200	112	312	393	405	798
Cars	24	31	55	27	26	53	14	19	33
Other	7	11	18	28	12	40	2	2	4
Total	<u>113</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>240</u>	<u>255</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>405</u>	<u>409</u>	<u>426</u>	<u>835</u>
Annual Total	2,017	1,828	3,845	3,549	2,938	6,487	2,220	2,423	4,643

Source: Nigerian Customs Reports.

Table 15  
NIGER TO NIGERIA  
KONGOLOM

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Zinder	Kano		Kano Market			1 day
Miradi	Kano		Kano Market			4 days
Zinder	Kano		Trading			1 day
Zinder	Kano		Trading			2 days
Matemeye	Sasoum	X			In transit	1 day
Bumbun	Dambalta		Trading			2 days
Dodore	Fago	X				2 days
Tsauni	Kano	X				20 days
Zinder	Kano	X				5 days
Zinder	Kano	X				5 days
Kuni	Daura	X				2 days
Tessaoua	Kano	X				2 days
Tessaoua	Kano			X		Indefinite
Tessaoua	Kano			X		Indefinite
Tessaoua	Kano			X		Indefinite
Dogon Wahe	Bonu Yerau	X				2 years
Gabato	Yerau		X			2 days
Tsauni	Kano		X			2 days
Zinder	Kano		X			2 days
Shirwa	Kano					Indefinite
Zinder	Damaturu			X	Seek Knowledge	Indefinite
Zinder	Kano		Trading			2 days
Zinder	Kano		Trading			2 days
Shari	Abeokuta		Trading			6 months
Zinder	Katsina	X				1 day

Table 15 (continued)

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Zinder	Kano		Trading			2 days
Zinder	Kano		Trading			2 days
Tessaoua	Kano		Trading			1 day
Tanout	Kano		Trading			2 days
Neymey	Kano		Trading			1 day
Kafin Baka	Komrouy	X				2 days
Dan Nassara	Munya	X				1 year
Kauna	Daura	X				1 day
Kauna	Katsina	X				1 day
Maikomorus	Fago	X				2 days

Source: Author's survey and computations.

Table 16  
NIGERIA TO NIGER  
KONGOLOM

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Maraduwa	Matemeye	X				1 day
Kano	Tessaoua		Trading			2 days
Kano	Zinder		Trading			2 days
Kano	Matemeye	X				2 days
Daura	Matemeye	X				1 day
Daura	Matemeye	X				2 days
Fago	Matemeye		X			2 days
Kano	Zinder		X			3 years
Kano	Zinder		Trading			2 years
Daura	Matemeye	X				2 years
Lagos	Agades		Trading			2 months
Kano	Zinder	X				5 days
Kano	Zinder		Trading			2 days
Kano	Zinder			X		10 days
Kano	Zinder	X				1 day
Kano	Zinder		Trading			1 day
Kano	Zinder		Trading			2 days
Kano	Zinder		Trading			2 days
Kano	Gideburi					14 days
Abeakouta	Dambaoeya		Trading			2 days
Daba	Zinder		Trading			2 days

Source: Author's survey and computations.

Table 17

NIGER TO NIGERIA  
ZANGO

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Magaria	Kantche (Niger)	X				2 hours
Magaria	Daura				Koranic school	4 months
Magaria	Daura	X (funeral)				1 day
Matemeye	Magaria (Niger)	X				In transit
Sasoumbouroum	Fago	X (wedding)				1 day
Sasoumbouroum	Fago	X (wedding)				1 day
Damo	Zango	X				1 day
Lakira	Daura	X (wedding)				2 days
Idobisa	Zango				Study Koran	2 months
Gota	Daura	X (funeral)				2 days
Gota	Daura	X (funeral)				2 days
Idobisa	Zango				Study Koran	2 months
Rumji	Daura	X				4 days
Magaria	Kano		X			2 days
Dogo	Kano		X			2 days
Magaria	Kano		X			2 days
Binoni	Kano			X		2 days
Kukan Meka	Kano			X		4 months
Banda	Zango	X		X		2 weeks
Dungers	Kano		X			2 days
Bido	Zango		X			7 days
Magaria	Daura	X				2 days
Dogo	Kano			X		1 day
Dogo	Kano			X		2 months
Kantche	Katsina	X		X		Indefinite
Magaria	Zango	X				3 days
						6 hours





Table 17 (continued)

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Sasoum	Zango		X			3 hours
Agades	Kano			X		4 months
Agades	Kano			X		4 months
Magaria	Kano		X			3 days
Kofan Baka	Kwamara				Welcome friend from pilgrimage	4 days
Sasoumbouroum	Daura					2 days
Magaria	Kano	X (wedding)				1 day
Magaria	Matemeye	X (funeral)			Repair hand cart	2 hours
Sabuwa	Zango				In transit	3 hours
Sabuwa	Zango				Receive credit	3 hours
Durum	Kano	X			Receive credit	2 days
Isha Ruwa	Kano	X				3 days
Damo	Kano		Sell beef			3 days
Durum	Kano	X				3 days
Sasoumbouroum	Danbatta				On errand	3 days
Magaria	Kano				Visit Sarbein Bai	3 days
Kwaya	Danbatta				Study Koran	2 days
Kofan Baka	Ishowa		X			2 days
Sasoumbouroum	Daura	X				1 day
Sasoumbouroum	Gurjiya				Buy gasoline	3 hours
Sasoumbouroum	Fago	X				2 days
Sasoumbouroum	Danbatta	X (wedding)				2 days
Budur	Daura		X			2 days
Magaria	Kano		X			1 day
Magaria	Kano				Welcome friend from pilgrimage	3 days
Magaria	Kano				Welcome friend from pilgrimage	3 days

Table 17 (continued)

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Magaria	Kano				Welcome friend from pilgrimage	3 days
Magaria	Kano				Welcome friend from pilgrimage	3 days
Magaria	Kano				Welcome friend from pilgrimage	3 days
Sasoumbouroum	Daura	X				1 day
Sasoumbouroum	Daura	X				1 day
Sasoumbouroum	Daura	X				1 day
Durum	Daura	X				2 days
Magaria	Kano	X				1 day
Sasoumbouroum	Kano	X				2 days
Sasoumbouroum	Bumbun	X				Indefinite
Magaria	Kano			X	Visit teacher	7 days
Magaria	Kano				Visit teacher	7 days
Goshelo	Zango		Buy kola nuts			1 day
Magaria	Kano	X				7 days
Agades	Kano				Travelling	Indefinite
Dungas	Kazaure		Sell rams			7 days
Magaria	Kano	X (wedding)				7 days
Zinder	Kano	X				2 days
Magaria	Kano	X				2 days
Kayanbeke	Tessaoua				In transit	1 day
Magaria	Kano		Buy kola nuts			7 days
Magaria	Kano		Buy potatoes			2 days
Magaria	Kano		Buy pepper			2 days
Dungas	Kazaure	X (wedding)				7 days
Magaria	Kano		Buy potatoes			2 days
Kantche	Daura	X (wedding)				2 days

Table 17 (continued)

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Magaria	Kano		X			2 days
Magaria	Matemeye (Niger)				In transit	2 hours
Magaria	Zango	X				1 day
Tsawiya	Danzagi	X				5 days
Magaria	Kano	X				1 day
Magaria	Kano	X				7 days
Magaria	Kano		X		Escorting women to Kano	3 days
Sasoumbouroum	Katsayel	X				2 days
Zinder	Danbatta		Selling cattle			7 days
Zinder	Danbatta		Selling cattle			7 days
Zinder	Kano		Selling cattle			7 days
Zinder	Kano		Selling cattle			7 days
Magaria	Mecca via Kano				Pilgrimage	7 days
Magaria	Kano				Escort	7 days
Dungas	Dutsi	X				7 days
Sule	Zango		X			2 days
Gafache	Zango	X				6 days
Muriya	Danbatta	X				1 month
Kwaya	Daura	X				2 days
Durum	Kano			X		Indefinite
Idonbisa	Zindi	X				1 day
Sasoumbouroum	Fago	X				1 day
Zinder	Daura	X				2 days
Magaria	Matemeye (Niger)				In transit	2 hours
Magaria	Zango	X				1 day
Yawiri	Kano	X (wedding)				1 day
Kwaya	Kano	X (wedding)	X			1 day
Danbatta						2 days
Magaria	Daura	X				1 day

Table 17 (continued)

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Magaria	Matemeye (Niger)				In transit	2 hours
Magaria	Kano		X			1 day
Magaria	Kano		X			2 days
Magaria	Kano		X			2 days
Bande	Kano		X			2 days
Bande	Kano		X			2 days
Magaria	Matemeye (Niger)				In transit	2 hours
Magaria	Baure			X	Festival	Indefinite
Tashan Bakor	Zango	X (wedding)				3 hours
Sasoumbouroum	Daura		X			3 hours
Sasoumbouroum	Kano		X			1 day
Zinder	Zango	X				2 days
Ngwani	Shiroka	X				5 days
Ngwani	Shiroka	X				5 days
Toki	Zango	X				3 hours
Toki	Zango	X				3 hours
Magaria	Kano		X			1 day
Tsowiya	Danbatta		X			4 days
Magaria	Danbatta		X			2 days
Magaria	Danbatta		X			4 days
Magaria	Danbatta		X			4 days
Magaria	Daura	X				2 days
Sasoumbouroum	Kano				To repair radio	3 days
Kolfo	Danbatta		X			2 days
Gurguyu	Katsina	X				2 days
Kurni	Kano	X	X		Repair bicycle	7 days
Yekuwa	Zango	X				1 day
Dogo	Kano	X				7 days
Sabuwa	Daura	X				7 days
Sabuwa	Daura	X				7 days

Table 17 (continued)

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Sabuwa	Daura	X				7 days
Bironi	Zango	X				2 hours
Tsami Lafiya	Zaria	X				Indefinite
Tosoro	Kunya		X			7 days
Tosoro	Kunya		X			7 days
Magaria	Aci Lafiya	X				1 day
Sasoumbouroum	Daura			X		Indefinite
Gongora	Daura			X		Indefinite
Gongora	Daura			X		Indefinite
Gongora	Daura			X		Indefinite
Gongora	Daura			X		Indefinite
Sasoumbouroum	Zango	X				1 hour
Sasoumbouroum	Dan Nakola	X (wedding)				5 days
Sasoumbouroum	Kauna	X				7 days
Sasoumbouroum	Kauna	X				7 days
Sasoumbouroum	Kauna	X				7 days
Magaria	Kano				Repair Honda	2 days
Magaria	Kano		Buy potatoes			2 days

Source: Author's survey and computations.

Table 18

NIGERIA TO NIGER  
ZANGO

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Yan Daji	Sasoumbouroum				Sallah Festival	4 days
Yan Daji	Sasoumbouroum				Sallah Festival	4 days
M'Guri	Magaria	X				2 days
Zaria	Sasoumbouroum	X				13 days
Kano	Magaria	X	(wedding)			11 days
Ijebuode	Dungas	X				2 days
Zango	Sasoumbouroum		X			4 hours
Zango	Sasoumbouroum		X			4 hours
Zango	Sasoumbouroum		X			4 hours
Daura	Sasoumbouroum		X			4 hours
Daura	Sasoumbouroum		X			4 hours
Kano	Zinder	X				7 days
Kano	Dogo	X	(wedding)			7 days
Zango	Sasoumbouroum		X			4 hours
Zango	Sasoumbouroum		X			4 hours
Zango	Sasoumbouroum		X			4 hours
Daura	Sasoumbouroum		X			1 day
Daura	Sasoumbouroum		X			1 day
Kano	Zinder					7 days
Kano	Dogo					7 days
Wudil	Zinder	X	(wedding)			7 days
Wudil	Zinder	X	(wedding)			7 days
Wudil	Zinder	X	(wedding)			7 days
Kano	Zinder	X	(wedding)			Indefinite
Zango	Sasoumbouroum	X	(bride meeting, groom)			7 days
						Indefinite
						2 hours



Table 18 (continued)

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Zango	Sasoumbouroum	X				2 hours
Zango	Sasoumbouroum	X				2 hours
Daura	Magaria	X				1 day
Daura	Magaria	X				1 day
Mashi	Bande	X	X (funeral)			7 days
Zango	Sasoumbouroum				Greet chief	1 day
Zango	Sasoumbouroum				Greet chief	1 day
Zango	Sasoumbouroum				Greet chief	1 day
Zango	Dungas				On errand	Indefinite
Baure	Galadimawa	X				Indefinite
Ishawa	Sasoumbouroum	X	X (wedding)			2 days
Ishawa	Sasoumbouroum	X	X (wedding)			2 days
Ishawa	Sasoumbouroum	X	X (wedding)			2 days
Ishawa	Sasoumbouroum	X	X (wedding)			2 days
Mashi	Dogo	X				5 weeks
Daura	Sasoumbouroum				On Emir's errand	2 hours
Zango	Sasoumbouroum				Visit Mallam	Indefinite
Marte	Zinder					Indefinite
		Search for relative				
Kazaure	Bande	X				4 days
Kazaure	Bande	X				4 days
Kano	Zinder		X			7 days
Zango	Magaria	X				1 day
Kaura	Malawa	X				7 days
Maladuwa	Magaria				Receive credit	3 days
Kano	Magaria				Mallam on special call to pray	6 days
Kano	Magaria				Escort	6 days
Katsina	Magaria	X	X (visit son in school)			4 days



Table 18 (continued)

Hometown	Where Visiting	Reasons for Visit				Duration of Visit
		Visit Relatives	Visit Market	Seek Work	Other	
Daura	Nahuta	X				1 day
Sara	Gorgori	X (wedding)				1 day
Sara	Gorgori	X (wedding)				1 day
Sara	Gorgori	X (wedding)				1 day
Danbatta	Magaria	X				2 days
Danbatta	Magaria	X				10 days
Maladuwa	Sabuwa				Arabic school	31 days
Daura	Sabuwa				Arabic school	7 days
Zango	Kadei	X				1 day
Daura	Sasoumbouroum	X				1 day
Daura	Sasoumbouroum	X				1 day
Daura	Gwamba	X				1 day
Danbatta	Dan Tyoa	X				2 days
Maladuwa	Magaria	X				1 year
Kano	Magaria		Trading in groundnut oil			3 months
			Trading in groundnut oil			3 days
Kano	Magaria					3 days
Kazaure	Sasoumbouroum	X				1 day
Tessaoua	Magaria	X			In transit on errand	2 days
Zango	Sasoumbouroum				Greet chief	2 hours
Zango	Sasoumbouroum				Greet chief	2 hours
Zango	Gazabi				Receive credit	1 hour
Daura	Sasoumbouroum				Welcome chief	3 hours
Daura	Sasoumbouroum				Welcome chief	3 hours
Daura	Sasoumbouroum				Welcome chief	3 hours
Daura	Sasoumbouroum				Welcome chief	3 hours
Kano	Zinder		X			3 weeks

Source: Author's survey and computations.

APPENDIX G

Table 19

NIGER GROUNDNUT PRODUCTION - EAST NIGER 1962-67

East Niger	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67
<u>Circonscription of Gouré</u>					
Guidiguir	252.382	353.353	466.466	396.703	463.463
Karguiri	24.714	39.578	81.312	143.836	289.674
Zagari	1.145.837	1.401.631	870.870	1.731.037	2.719.717
	<u>1.422.933</u>	<u>1.794.562</u>	<u>1.418.648</u>	<u>2.270.576</u>	<u>3.472.854</u>
<u>Circonscription of Zinder</u>					
Zinder	3.544.114	2.786.857	2.777.228	4.055.967	6.482.091
Guidimouni	267.341	250.250	414.491	488.642	711.788
Takieta	514.239	507.430	455.455	597.058	978.747
Myrriah	1.619.346	1.989.911	2.032.338	2.205.664	2.962.498
Dogo	1.558.988	2.774.002	2.682.449	2.516.437	3.226.608
Koundoumaoua	283.506	274.890	371.371	564.564	839.993
Droumkafi	254.984	160.160	177.331	340.109	333.714
Bakinbirgi	-	-	375.606	747.054	851.312
	<u>8.052.518</u>	<u>8.743.500</u>	<u>9.286.269</u>	<u>11.515.495</u>	<u>16.386.751</u>
<u>Circonscription of Magaria</u>					
Magaria	8.551.984	11.586.421	8.880.449	13.143.361	15.544.606
Dantchiao	3.762.715	3.364.438	3.272.577	5.824.819	5.575.185
Dungass	13.705.295	14.171.080	9.818.193	14.081.067	15.572.557

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Table 19 (continued)

East Niger	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67
<u>Circonscription of Magaria (cont.)</u>					
Bande	1.420.958	1.624.392	1.363.208	1.828.981	3.675.903
Ouacha	788.325	1.671.439	1.188.495	1.368.213	1.192.191
Dogo Dogo	1.915.190	3.613.598	1.640.100	4.002.999	3.581.193
Mallaoa	868.452	2.903.593	1.424.115	3.276.273	4.830.826
Gouchy	717.875	1.296.064	887.887	783.783	1.022.714
Sassoumbouroum	-	-	-	-	6.635.244
Koaya	-	-	-	-	3.205.433
	<u>31.730.794</u>	<u>40.231.025</u>	<u>28.395.024</u>	<u>44.309.496</u>	<u>60.935.852</u>
<u>Circonscription of Matameye</u>					
Sassoumbouroum	6.880.104	9.835.518	8.155.455	10.136.742	-
Matameye	4.854.763	5.824.203	4.855.678	6.102.424	9.904.040
Kantche	1.187.417	1.377.607	1.319.318	2.473.463	3.044.195
Koaya	1.394.547	5.518.744	3.388.385	2.368.443	-
Dan Barto	1.442.992	3.261.104	2.986.676	3.300.759	2.528.603
Saouni	-	-	1.353.660	1.637.405	1.952.104
	<u>15.759.823</u>	<u>25.817.176</u>	<u>22.059.172</u>	<u>26.019.236</u>	<u>17.428.942</u>
Total East Niger	56.966.068	76.586.263	61.159.113	84.114.803	98.124.399

Source: SONARA, Niamey, 1968.



Table 20

## NIGER GROUNDNUT PRODUCTION - CENTRAL NIGER 1962-67

Central Niger	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67
<u>Circonscription</u> <u>of Tessaoua</u>					
Tessaoua	3.461.473	6.136.057	3.359.356	8.169.044	12.915.635
Tchadaoua	4.256.798	1.449.140	4.236.197	6.409.111	9.690.335
Ourofane	301.374	390.390	402.402	675.675	891.737
Gazaoua	4.404.469	4.492.680	3.394.456	5.087.979	5.710.442
Mayahi	654.840	817.663	1.405.404	3.072.793	3.167.025
Gabaouri	470.973	660.429	946.946	1.425.424	2.496.032
Atchidakofoto	309.771	-	-	-	-
Agule	-	-	1.070.663	2.344.824	2.120.230
Kanembakatche	-	-	320.397	751.429	1.273.272
Dodori	-	-	-	808.808	1.828.981
Dam Meiro	-	-	-	-	1.172.120
	<u>13.859.698</u>	<u>13.946.359</u>	<u>15.135.821</u>	<u>28.745.087</u>	<u>41.271.809</u>
<u>Circonscription</u> <u>of Maradi</u>					
Maradi	5.409.481	5.180.877	5.336.275	6.257.340	8.332.244
Tibiri	1.627.986	2.088.921	2.597.773	3.451.479	4.439.688
Guldamroundji	2.525.811	3.394.468	4.176.865	5.236.873	5.250.938
Madarounfa	2.921.630	3.470.502	3.412.415	4.423.968	4.926.471
Dan Issa	850.013	815.122	678.540	1.366.788	1.803.238
Sabon Machi	841.080	1.100.946	996.842	1.612.611	1.134.639
Gabi	526.477	1.164.163	1.679.054	2.611.840	2.840.222
Atchidakofoto	-	168.014	348.808	644.131	1.362.473
Ajekoria	-	298.529	394.240	840.840	953.930

Table 20 (continued)

Central Niger	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67
Tchadakori	-	-	246.862	307.294	266.416
Souloulou	-	-	1.293.908	1.559.558	1.410.794
Dakoro	-	-	661.661	1.269.730	1.482.255
	<u>14.702.478</u>	<u>17.681.542</u>	<u>21.823.243</u>	<u>29.582.452</u>	<u>34.203.308</u>
<u>Circonscription</u>					
<u>of Madaoua</u>					
Takorka	327.606	347.116	462.231	830.830	591.654
Bangui	1.721.335	2.478.322	3.177.944	3.985.982	5.364.550
Madaoua	10.549	1.001	47.047	297.297	221.200
Tounfafi	9.388	10.010	28.028	-	-
Sabonguida	-	26.026	103.103	358.510	329.807
Doukoudoukou	-	-	555.555	755.755	496.500
Karofane	-	-	-	4.697	17.160
Guidam Ideer	-	-	-	-	38.615
Tsernaoua	-	-	-	-	14.191
Dogueraoua	-	-	-	-	1.840
	<u>2.068.878</u>	<u>2.862.475</u>	<u>4.373.908</u>	<u>6.233.071</u>	<u>7.075.517</u>
Total Central Niger	30.631.054	34.490.376	41.332.972	64.560.610	82.550.634

Source: SONARA, Niamey, 1968

Table 21

## NIGER GROUNDNUT PRODUCTION - WEST NIGER 1962-67

West Niger	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67
Koremaïroua	220.796	171.320	401.309	583.534	735.187
Malgourou	291.570	227.880	267.280	481.413	675.253
Bengou	129.549	85.907	129.653	130.960	191.323
Gaya	89.006	98.360	64.160	111.657	79.946
Koulou	47.079	71.880	30.694	58.308	55.880
Karakara	391.554	249.200	232.400	555.080	889.160
Dioundiou	349.272	238.720	106.560	241.520	532.427
Doundougourou	79.908	85.121	164.374	393.480	474.240
Dosso	106.677	70.238	70.986	370.520	542.680
Tibiri	591.660	279.666	490.470	749.266	1,094.880
K Idougou Koara	99.647	66.840	33.173	100.160	120.000
Farray	98.575	81.480	43.173	167.520	160.000
Tenda	195.513	114.334	217.040	319.573	451.440
Sia	169.830	130.440	139.120	205.297	299.400
Sabongari	125.242	106.320	123.067	184.800	144.920
Tiangalla	142.960	156.720	140.720	264.000	155.120
Kiesse	48.756	34.667	257.680	484.400	634.973
Likdo	200.457	172.226	194.310	378.400	391.707
Guecheme	630.751	335.573	336.210	679.614	988.893
Tounga	51.861	58.800	68.693	275.240	531.760
Karguibangou	187,090	135.080	100.427	302.760	399.000
Goubeye	1.461	2.880	31.280	55.520	35.520
Bellande	-	5.280	-	-	-
Falmey	-	47.627	46.834	-	-
Moussadeye	-	27.400	43.493	159.680	230.920
Matankari	-	-	46.640	42.720	54.040
Dogondoutchi	-	-	89.360	82.800	199.760



Table 21 (continued)

West Niger	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67
Birni	-	-	-	16.680	41.080
Konni	-	-	-	-	3.760
Sabonbirni	-	-	-	-	178.480
Fabridji	-	-	-	-	16.770
Tola	-	-	-	-	18.120
Angouadoka	-	-	-	-	305.373
Secteur Agricole	-	-	-	11.393	-
Total West Niger	4.249.214	3.053.959	3.869.106	7.406.295	10.632.012

Source: SONARA, Niamey, 1968

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