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Introduction to the New Series

Prof. A.R. Mohammed, Editor

Kano Studies, a journal of Savanna and Sudanic Research, is the oldest and most widely circulated academic journal of Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria. It was first published in 1965 and has since then established a high reputation world-wide. However, it suffered a setback on the death of the second Editor-in-Chief, Prof. Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya, which unfortunate event occurred in July 1995. The Editorial Board that took over from him could not bring the journal back to life due to certain circumstantial bottlenecks. The new University administration (from August 4, 1999) in its determined efforts to promote scholarship reconstituted the Editorial Board and provided it with the wherewithal to publish the journal bi-annually.

The journal accepts papers based on research that focuses on the Savanna region of Nigeria and the entire Sudanic belt of Africa. Such papers can be on any field of study including culture, the humanities, social sciences, science and technology, since the journal is multidisciplinary in its approach. The journal also publishes papers written in Hausa, Arabic, Fulfulde and French.

Arab Settlers in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Survey of their Influence on Some Central Sudanese States

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Introduction

Arabs came into an unprecedented world prominence with the rise of Islam in their midst and region in 610 A.D. Within the first two hundred years, the religion was able to draw them out of a religio-cultural, socio-economic and political backwater and make them a real force in regional, continental and even global politics and economics. They extended their sway to India, China, and the islands of South-East Asia in the East, the Caucasus and Central Asian region in the North, Egypt and the Magrib in the West, the Iberian Peninsula in the Northwest, and the Sudanese belt of Africa south of the Sahara. Between 1000 and 1500 A.D. not only was the influence of the Arabs felt in these areas, but quite a substantial number of them established settlements especially in the Central Sudan, particularly Kanem and Borno, Katsina and Kano. The result of the interaction, and the extent of the acculturation between the two people- the incoming Arabs and the existing communities- is the subject matter of the discussion to follow.

Theoretical Framework

Before making an inroad into the details of this study, it is pertinent to make some comments on two controversial issues relating to the history and historiography of sub-Saharan Africa. The first one has to do with the Hamitic hypothesis (Smith, 1987). This is a racist theory of history, which identifies the Black African population with the incapacity to evolve an independent refined culture and civilization. Proponents of the theory are always in haste to link any positive

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Black African achievement to influence from the Middle Eastern region, even where no evidence is adduced to suggest this. The argument in this paper articulates a different dimension. While the issue of cultural influence of Arabs on Africa's sub-Saharan population connotes cultural superiority, it should be stressed that culture is an historical variable, itself subject to dislocation and transformation (Usman, 1977). Arab culture went through a process of refinement, from its parochial tribal enclave embedded in the Asabiyya tradition to a cosmopolitan status with a universal appeal as provided by Islam. Thus, the Black African attraction to some of the values in Arab culture is not in any way dictated by their Arab origin but rather by their Islamicity and universality.

The other issue relates to the method or process of the influx of the Muslim Arabs and the dissemination of their cultural influence on the inhabitants of sub-Saharan Africa, which is more often than not associated with the use of force in spreading Islam into the region as typified by the Almoravid movement in the twelfth century. It is true that Abd Allah b. Yasin conducted a jihad among the Saharan population. But it is not true that Islam first came to Central Sudan through the militarizing tendency of the Almoravids. In fact sub-Saharan areas of Central Sudan up to the confines of Kanem were acquainted with Islam from the eighth Century A.D. onwards. There were three main trade routes linking both North Africa and Western and Central Sudan dating back to this period. These were[2]

Tahert in Algeria to Gao Via Wargla and Takedda.
Sijilmasa in Morocco to Old Ghana Via Audeghost
Tripoli in Libya to Kanem Via Fezzan and Kawar.

(Clarke, 1982 and Mustapha, 1991)

It was more through these routes of commercial enterprise across the Sahara that the Central Sudanese population witnessed the peaceful penetration of Islam. It also marked the beginning when some Arab merchants established Muslim quarters in the capitals of Sudanese States. What is more, most of the jihads waged in these areas in the 18th and 19th Centuries were mainly aimed at arresting the growing degeneration of Muslims into syncreticism.

Cultural Contact Between Arab And Sudanese States

To come back to the theme of this paper, reference to the influence of Arabs on the people of Central Sudan denotes an element of acculturation. Culture as defined in its macro- scope connotes people's ways of life including belief system, norms, values, language, dress, festivities, occupations, crafts and technology. But as society is dynamic, so is culture. It is susceptible to change, due to contact with other peoples. One of the first culture areas the peoples of Central Sudan came into contact with was North Africa. This exposed them to Islamic culture and civilization. It required some adjustments for them to reap the benefits of belonging to such a global religious community. Such adjustments extended to, among others, the sphere of governmental institutions. The centralized polities that evolved in Central Sudan from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries include Kanem and Borno and the Hausa states. Initially, each of these polities governed itself based on value systems traditional to it. But upon the region's contact with and relative submission to Islam, each of the various polities established an independent Ummah. Since the overriding principle characterizing an Ummah is the Shari'ah, it invariably follows that these polities should model their governing institutions to be in conformity with the Shari'ah. Already, the Kanem Empire has illustrated this example, even in an extreme form, when due to an error committed by Mai Biri Dunamani (1163-1190) in the application of the Shari'ah on a thief; he (the Mai) was sentenced to

imprisonment for one year on the order of the Maghira (Mustapha, 1991). In Kano, the adjustment was carried out in the reign of Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499). On his request, a visiting Maghribian scholar, Shaykh Abd al-Karim al-Maghili, wrote a treatise, *Taj–Al-Din Fi Ma Yajib Ala Al Muluk*. It was based on this text that Rumba reorganized the structure of government in Kano to reflect the Muslim model (Gwarzo, 1972).

Closely linked to this is the ideological posture of the Central Sudanese region. Contact with Islam made the Kanuri and the Hausa share similar values, aspirations and goals on matters that border on the integrity of the Ummah. When in the 1870's A.D. the Ottomans under Sultan Abdul-Hamid II were threatened by the European Great Powers and they appealed for international Muslim support through Pan-Islamic agitation, the Borno empire responded effectively to the call. Though this unity is today hindered by arbitrary boundaries created by colonialism, public response among Muslims all over the world is still similar when the interest and integrity of a Muslim state is at stake. Thus the Muslims in Northern Nigeria were in the forefront in condemning the 1978 Camp David Accord signed between Egypt and Israel; condemned American aggression against Libya in 1986; and they were against Anglo-American machinations which led to the 1992 United Nation's imposed international flight embargo on Libya for allegedly sponsoring a terrorist bomb attack on an American plane at Lockerbie in Scotland which had killed all the 270 passengers on board in 1988.

Intellectual Sphere

The incorporation of Central Sudanese states into the Muslim world made them partake in the intellectual tradition prevalent especially in North Africa. The Maliki School of jurisprudence became the brand to dominate both legal and intellectual activities in the region. Malik b.

Anas (713-795 A.D.) was a renowned scholar of his age. His book, the *Kitab al-Muwatta,* is the earliest surviving Islamic law book. It gives a survey of law and justice, ritual and practice in Islam according to the Nass and the Ijma of Medina. It also creates a theocratic standard known as *Istislah* (judgment that something is for the general good) for matters, which were not settled from the point of view of Sunna and Ijma. His disciples dispersed to many parts of the Muslim world, but concentrated their activity mainly in the Maghrib, where they established their center at Qayrawan. From here they wrote books and gave instructions on many aspects of Islamic sciences based on the interpretations of Imam Malik. The age-long contact existing between the Maghrib and Central Sudanese states facilitated the dissemination of Maliki teachings into the regions of the latter. The books used in both the administration of justice and intellectual discourse were those based on Maliki interpretations. They include *al-Mudawwana al-Kubra* of Abd al-Salam b. Said Sahnun al-Tanukh (d.240 A.H.), *al-Risala* of Abd Allah b. Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani (d. 386 A.H.), and al-*Mukhtasar* of Khalil b. Ishaq. Many of the indigenous scholarly works produced in Hausa land in the 18th and 19th centuries were also based on Maliki interpretations (Kani, 1979).

Another intellectual influence was brought about through the proliferation of Sufi orders among the Muslims of Central Sudan. Religio-cultural relationships existing between North Africa on the one hand and Hausa land and Borno on the other caused the latter to adopt the culture of Sufism. Prominent among the orders that established themselves in the region include Qadiriyya, Tijjaniyya, Arusiyya and the Sunusiyya to mention a few. Many of these Sufi orders still maintain their links with the countries of origin of these orders. Suffice it to say that the late Shaykh Muhammad Nasir Kabara established the tradition of occasional visits to the tombs of Shaykh

'Abd al-Qadir al Jilani in Baghdad and that of Abd al-Salam at Dasmar in Tripoli from the 1950s onwards. The former was credited with the founding of the Qadiriyya order and the latter established the Arusiyya order. The Tijjaniyya scholars have since the first visit of Shaykh Ibrahim Nyass to Kano in 1937 established a network of contact through Senegal to North Africa, the birthplace of the founder of the order, Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijjani.

The Judiciary and The Administration Of Justice

Islam was introduced together with its system of justice, the Shari'ah. Many empires and kingdoms in the Central Sudan tried to conduct their judiciary in conformity with Islamic teachings. In Borno, for example, the offices of Qadi, Talba, and Mainin Kanedi were established (Mustapha, 1999). In Kano, the dearth of indigenous scholars made many Arab settlers learned in the Shari'a present themselves for appointment as Alkalai, especially in some major towns of the kingdom and especially in the sixteenth century. The simple procedure of the Shari'ah in litigation gave it an advantage over the traditional court. Moreover, changing social conditions in an increasingly heterogeneous society gave rise to problems, which required new regulations, and the Shari'ah filled the vacuum. Exposure to new cultural ideals made it quite advantageous for both litigants and offenders:

> To disassociate themselves from
> traditional justice and to appeal to
> The new source of law and judgment which
> The Shari'ah offers. This is particularly
> So where the provision of the Shari'ah recognizes the legitimacy of new types
> Of claim and protects them against the
> demand of customs (Lewis, 1966).

It was in this process that the influence of the Shari'ah became firmly rooted in the region. Colonialism with all its anti-Islamic tendencies had to contend with this arrangement up until the 1950s when, using the threat of the withholding of Independence, the leaders of Northern Nigeria were cajoled to accept a compromise, thereby sanctioning the introduction of the Penal Code in 1959. To this day, attempts are being made to erase the lingering influence of the Shari'ah even in personal matters where it is allowed under the Penal Code to operate. The debates over the Shari'ah in the Constitutional Conferences of 1963, 1978, 1988 and 1994 were all directed at just that (Naniya, 1993). The current declaration by some Northern States as Shari'ah-governed, spearheaded by the Government of Zamfara state in October 1999, marked the culmination of the age-long Muslim dream of the full implementation of the Shari'ah to govern their lives.

Trade And Craft

Contact with North Africa through trans-Saharan trade routes linked Central Sudan with international trade. This not only advertised the products of Black Africa to other parts of the world (e.g. leather) but it also introduced to sub-Saharan Africa new tastes and fashions in Arabian products which included sword blades, razors and Egyptian linen striped with gold. Other articles of European origin which found their way via North Africa included, calico and cotton from Manchester, French silk, red cloth from Saxony, beads from Venice and Trieste and eye glasses and needles from Nuremberg (Barth, 1966). The extent of the benefits, which this trade brought to Central Sudan and especially Kano, which was its economic nerve center, is demonstrated by the nineteenth century European intelligence agent, Heinrich Barth, who says:

> Dyed coarse silk from Tripoli is imported to a considerable amount, this forming the principal merchandise of most of the caravans of the Ghadamsiye merchants, and about one

> third of their whole commerce amounts certainly to not less than from three to four hundred camels loads annually, worth at Kano each 200,000 Kurdi; this would give a value of about seventy millions imported (Barth, 1966).

With regard to crafts, the influence of the Arabs in Central Sudan was tremendous. In fact, it contributed "a great deal to the importance of the place" (Barth, 1966). The type of shoes manufactured by Arab settlers, of Sudan leather, was called *belgha* and it was exported as far as North Africa (Barth, 1966). It was in recognition of this specialized expertise of Arab settlers that Kano made conscious efforts to encourage more of them to settle permanently in its economic region. Thus, during the reign of Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846), there were settlements of several Arab leather workers from Katsina, and Ghadames at Dala, Jingau and Alfindiki quarters of Kano city. They established their crafts production units, which specialized in the manufacture of leather sandals called *Lantami* (slippers with a large tongue). These were shoes for the members of the ruling group and the rich (Adamu, 1969). Similarly Arab settlers at Aikawa, Dandali and Sanka specialized in tailoring. They were credited with introducing different designs of North African dress into the region, famous amongst which were *Falmaran*, *Jallabiya* and '*Yar Maroko.*

Education

The role of Arab settlers in the education of the inhabitants of Central Sudan is significant indeed. Prior to this contact, the indigenes of this region could only boast of informal and oral education. We do not have evidence of their using any form of writing. But with the establishment of Islam there began the process of Islamic education. Children were introduced to reading and writing of the Qur'an. Formal school started with a five-day working week (from Saturday to Wednesday) following the tradition established by Caliph Umar b.

Khattab (634 – 644). Arabic became the official language of the States, used both in official correspondence and in record keeping.

By the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries, both Borno and Kano could boast of some indigenous scholars who pioneered literary scholarship in the region. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the tradition of this scholarship matured as to give birth to indigenous form of writing, the *ajami,* using Arabic letters. The *ajami* was used for communication among wider spectrum of the population who might not be privileged to speak and understand Arabic, although they could read the Qur'an.

This literary tradition survived even colonialism. Many a traditional scholar had scores of manuscripts, pamphlets and even books to his credit. When colonial Western education was introduced in the first half of the twentieth century it met stiff resistance. This was what partly accounted for the slow pace in the acquisition of Western education in the predominantly Muslim section of Northern Nigeria. Government's attempt to improve the situation through evolving a process of integrating the two systems of education, as demonstrated in the establishment of a Law School in Kano in 1934, met with limited success only. For the products of the school remained as hostile to Western education as the products of the traditional schools. To this day, post-colonial governments of some states in Northern Nigeria are still busy trying to bring Islamiyya schools closer to the Western secular ones through integrating their curricula.

Language

Arabic influences on the languages of Central Sudanese states are quite substantial. Both Kanuri and Hausa languages borrowed extensively from Arabic vocabulary. Since Arabic was the medium of expression through which this region was exposed to the wider

world, it follows that names of things introduced to the inhabitants via North Africa should be in Arabic. Aspects affected by these influences include religion, literacy and education, personal names, ethical and moral concepts (Philips, 1989).

Architecture

Arab settler influences extended even to the sphere of architecture. The initial Hausa style of building consisted of a round hut with a sloping thatched roof. The early walls of Kano were made of wooden stockade (Saad, 1989), but by the fifteenth century when contact with North Africa became very extensive there was the development of clay or mud houses on a rectangular pattern with geometric decoration and *azara* roofing. The palace built by Muhammad Rumfa was said to be a "casbah (castle) made of stones and bricks" (Last, 1985). Murry Last believes that the layout design for the market established by Rumfa in a town centre with a mosque erected within "represented a plan standard at this time" in the Maghrib (Last, 1985).

Intermarriage And Food

Another result of contact between North Africa and Africa south of the Sahara was the establishment of Arab settlements all over the region of Central Sudan. In Borno, a whole ethnic category known as the Shuwa Arabs was established and played a role in the socio-economic development of the Borno Empire. In Kano, by the nineteenth century, Arab settlers had occupied various quarters such as Alfindiki, Alkantara, Dandali, Dukurawa, Sanka and Sharifai, to mention the better known. Gradually the interaction culminated in intermarriage, a development that left a number of Kanawa and Kanuri with a tradition of tracing their origin to Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco or Egypt. Suffice it to say that some of these descendants obtained appointments in the service of their areas of residence. In Kano, for example, the title of Ma'aji (Treasurer) was

reserved for them in the Kano Native Authority at the beginning of the colonial period in recognition of the tremendous contributions of their forefathers in the development of trade and in fiscal policy administration in the Emirate. Thus the first Ma'aji to be appointed was Auta na Abande (1903-1917) (Naniya, 1990). He was succeeded by Alhaji Zimmit, then Ma'aji Salim.

Secondly, because of some of the settlers' claim of descent from Prophet Muhammad (SAW) through his daughter Fatima and his in-law Ali b. Abi Talib, the intermarriage introduced a new category of people into the social formation of Central Sudanese societies. Shurafa'a (singular: Shariff), as they are called, were introduced into the population. Pride in their line of descent and supernatural gifts which they possess (not getting burnt by fire and having a quick positive response of their prayers to God) put them in a privileged position of guardians to the society.

Thirdly, the settlement of Arabs also led to the introduction of varieties of food into the dietary habits of the people in Central Sudan. In Kano, Arab dishes such as *gurasa*, *al-kubus*, *dashishi*, and s*inasir*, have become used as food and refreshment in festivities. Others which also are of Arab origin include: *algaragis*, *alkaki*, *dubulan*, *bakilawa*, *nakiya* and *gireba*.

In conclusion, it is the submission of this survey that prior to sixth century A.D. an argument for Arab culture could be made with support provided for in the rich literature of the Jahiliyya period as illustrated in the collection of Ashab al-Mu'allaqat. But with the dawn of Islam, Arabism was transformed into a civilization with values and norms universalized for the benefit of mankind. Other culture areas that came to be subsumed by its influences like the Central Sudanese

states in Africa were only submitting to Islamic universality rather than to Arabs and their culture.

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Colonial Conquest and Resistance: The Case of Ebiraland 1886-1917 A.D.

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Introduction

From 1860, the British government sought to establish and maintain a colonial state in Nigeria. This ambition, which for material exploitation as motivational impetus involved some long processes, was realised through the employment of carefully designed dubious measures. The measures were characterised by the removal of all visible indigenous African resistance and opposition to the imposition, expansion and consolidation of British central authority over the territory later known as Nigeria.

The bid to conquer Ebiraland, like other pre-colonial independent states and principalities in the Northern provinces effectively began in 1860 when the British firm, the National African Company, had become firmly established in the Niger-Benue Confluence area with headquarters in Lokoja. As their well-known stock-in-trade, the British conquest was gruesome and brutal. Yet as dramatic as the conquest was pursued, it was typically inconclusive, because the Ebira put up resistance to this alien intervention in their geo-polity for almost one and half decades, marking it out as one of the polities where the British had a difficult task in establishing their political control and socio-economic order.

A study of this kind will identify the diversity in African resistance to colonial imposition. The efforts of most historians have been concentrated on the large centralised pre-colonial polities like the Sokoto Caliphate and the Borno Sultanate. This study in constrast

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brings to the fore the experience of polities that had no centralised chain of command during the pre-colonial era, or had what is generally referred to as a non-centralised or segmentary political system.

Human Geography of the Study area

The Ebira, who constitute the focus of this research, are the people of Okene, Okehi, Adavi and Ajaokuta local government areas of Kogi State. The world "Ebira" refers to the people themselves, their language and their geographical location. Using the name of the most popular town of the land, we may refer to them as Ebira Okene. Other Ebira groups are Ebira Igu in Kogi and Koton Karfi local government areas of Kogi state; Ebira Toto and Umaisha of Nassarawa (Toto) local government area of Nassarawa state; Ebira Mozum of Bassa local government area of Kogi state; and Ebira Etuno of Igarra District of Ako-Edo local government area of Edo state. Other Ebira are to be found in Abaji in the Federal Capital Territory and Agatu in Benue state.

According to Greenberg's classification of African languages, Ebira belongs to the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo family, which also comprises the Nupe, Gbari and Gade (Greenberg, 1966). But Hoffman and Bendor-Samuel in their studies of Nigerian languages set up Ebira as a separate entity (Adive1985:56-57). Recent in depth research indicates that the Ebira have been part and parcel of what is now generally known as Central Nigeria since 4000 BC (Ohiare 1988). Studying the various groups in the Niger-Benue Confluence area using linguistic tools, historians rely on its branches like genetic classification, dialectology and glottochronology in which historical time is a factor. Though Greenberg tried to resolve the problem of languages of the Niger-Benue Confluence area, recent historical research by Benneth, Stark, Blench, Williamson and other confirm the

antiquity of the human population in the region. They contend that by 4000 B.C., the Benue-Congo proto-language from which most of the languages spoken in this area evolved had already developed. These studies derive Ebira language from the Nupoid group (also called Niger-Kaduna), of languges including Nupe, Gwari and Gade. The Nupoid, according to historical jurists took off from a proto-language described as the Benue-Congo from which other language groups which included the Platoid group also evolved (Benth Stark 1992, Williamson 1967).

In terms of archaeology, stone implements recovered by Soper, Davies and Shaw from the Ebira zone, extending from Keffi-Nasarawa-Izom westwards to Jebba and further upstream, have been associated with the Sangoan assemblage. The reading from this implements indicates that man may have lived in this area as far back as some forty-five thousand years ago. The Ebira zone is also prominent in the prehistoric civilization of the Iron Age generally characterised by the Central Nigeria as epitomised by Nok Culture. Even recently the iron-working site of Ife-Ijummu (Kogi State) has been dated to 260 B.C. Thus, it could be deduced that the Ebira as a group existed for a long time in locations within Central Nigeria not far from where they are located presently (Ohiare 1988, Willamson 1967, Beneth 1972). The Ebira Okene occupy the hilly stretch of land southwest of the Niger-Benue confluence area and share boundaries with the Yoruba-speaking people of Akoko, Owe and Ijumu to the west; the various Akoko-Edo people to the south and south west; the Hausa, Nupe and Ebira groups at Lokoja to the north; and the River Niger to the east.

A common physical feature of Ebiraland is the conspicuous presence of blocks of dissected hills and the metaphoric rocks enveloping the greater part of the land. The hills rise to a peak of 2000ft and

probably represent the remnants of an old post of Gondowana pediplain (Clayton 1957). The African laterite and plain which embraces the greater part of Ihima, Okengwe and Ageva are occupied by extensive undulating plains (1200-1400ft). They are studded with smooth rounded rocks of inselbergs. The laterite soils are derived from metaphoric rocks of greyish-buff (18 inches) and clayed pan which overlay vascular iron stone (Omorua 1959:1). The depth of the soil is however variable, ranging from two to three feet to about three inches where the ironstone approaches the surface, as in the Itakpe hills in Adavi district.

There is also the Niger literic plain forming a lower terrace below the higher plains. This is conspicuous in Ajaokuta, Eganyi, Ebiya and part of Adavi in the north and north-east of Ebiraland. Another very important feature is the rim from the highland. This enscarpement which extends to Ihima, Eika and part of Ajaokuta widens into a broad zone of dissected hills. The soil formation of the rims are mostly skeletal, consisting of pale brown and orange brown sands and grits. The enscarpment contains quartz stones interspersed with pockets of deeper sand wash (Omorua 1959:1-2).

The implications of these features to the past and contemporary history of the land are many. A few of them are as follows. The nature of the topography has affected the relief pattern of Ebiraland, which is marked out of the dissected peaks with knife-edged ridges, and steep V-shaped valleys. Valleys of this type occur in Okene, Okengwe and Eika towns. Apart from exerting much influence on the climate, the features in part provided security and protection for the ancient Ebira. Thus they resisted external incursions into their geo-polity as in the case of the *Ajinomoh* jihadist wars in the 1880s discussed elsewhere (Okene 1990:26-30). Furthermore, the features influenced the pattern of the people's technical know-how as it

relates to the production of crafts like pottery, dyeing and blacksmithing and of the people instruments of production or destruction such as hoes, cutlasses and spears and bows and arrows.The Ebira were famous in Central Nigeria for the production of these crafts (Barth 1990:510-515; Jones 1969:38). In contemporary times, these features serve as a reservoir of the iron-ore deposit now discovered in large quantity in some hills of the land. Itakpe hill in Adavi district alone has an iron-ore deposit estimated between 37 and 47 million tons, and of more than 60 per cent iron content (Okene 1995:37). This is meant to provide raw material for the Ajaokuta Iron and Steel Industry set up by the Federal Government of Nigeria. Other minerals to be found in substantial commercial quantities in Ebira include marble, limestone, copper, chalk and mica.

Economic And Political Organisations on the Eve of the British Occupation

The nature of the physical environment influenced not only the land tenure system but also agriculture practices which in fact were the main determinant of the people's economy. Agricultural production was geared towards both domestic consumption and exchange. Almost every household, which was the basic unit of production, was involved in farming. Over time the people, through production efficiency, division of labour and specialization, took advantage of both internal and external economies of scale. By early 19th century, realising its potentialities, the Okengwe district specialised in the production of beniseed which it traded and exchanged with the groundnuts in the production of which Adavi clan-groups and communities in the immediate north of the land had also become specialised (Okene 1995:79-84).

Apart from fishing and hunting, which complemented farming, the Ebira economy also to some extent depended on local industries and

craft production like palm oil, animal husbandry, iron technology and blacksmithing, textiles dyeing, wood carving and basket, mat and raffia weaving. Because of its unique nature, the textiles industry requires a brief discussion. Cotton, the main raw material of the industry, is a crop of antiquity with the Ebira. The Ebira had migrated with the crop and with the knowledge of its production to their present location, the soil of which was fortunately very favourable for its commercial cultivation. An exclusively female preserve, the distinct technique employed by the Ebira textiles producers was vertically mounted single loom system, locally called *Oguntoro*. According to Brown, Ralph Willis, Picton and Mack, (Brown 1970:60; Willis 1972:51; Picton & Mack 1979:17,77,80,82)the Ebira cloth weaving had undergone series of styles, patterning and specailization that made it excellent and one of the best in the Western Sudan before the advent of the British rule. In the same vein, Henry Barth noted in 1851 that Ebira Woven cloth favourably rivaled those of other areas in terms of pattern, colour, decoration and texture. Barth did observe the superiority of the Ebira Woven cloth compare to other regions in the Kurmi International Market, Kano when he visited the City during the same period (Barth 1990:511).

Generally speaking, the settlement pattern of the Ebira in their present location was largely determined by the topography of the area and their migratinal groupings. They settled in highly knitted related families, kindreds, clans and clan-groups on several hills tops which include Eikoku Okengwe, Okehi, Ukpai and Okerekere. The socio-political institutions which became consolidated over time were primarily geared towards the maintenance of discipline, social harmony and peace which were essential ingredients for social relations and economic progress within and without Ebria ecological zone.

The basis of political organisations of the Ebria started from the family. As the smallest unit, the family consisted of the father, wives, children and grand children. The unit lives in a specially designed *Ohuoje* (compound), while the *Ovovu* (outer compound), was the exclusive use of other people under the custody of the family. These include the family slaves, war or famine refugees on asylum and family labourers. The oldest surviving male was the head of the family. He personified the cultural, clannish and economic heritages as the respresentative of the ancestors in the family.

Several families who believed they were patrilineally related by blood formed the next political unit of lineage, *abara*. The head was the oldest surviving male of the lineage. Though, his decision was not final as he had to consult with the heads of the families that made up the lineage, the chief had perogative power over the economic activities of the lineage. The lineage land and relics were vested on him and the sylvan produce of the lineage were gathered in his palace annually for distribution to the various member families based on the ancestral law of age grade. Several lineages have survived to the present. These include Etumi, Avi, Adovosi, Egiri and Ogagu.

The clan was the next political unit of the Ebira of this study. Though third in the strata, the clan was the main and most sensitive of all the political units. Each clan had both a prefix in its name of either *Ozi-(*i.e. children of) or *Ani-* (i.e the people of) and a totemic symbol indicating either a sacred object or an animal attached to their clan name. For example, Eziehimozoko, a clan in Okengwe district had an additional eulogy of *eziede, "*children of crayfish", attached to their clan name. In the past, a clan name and a totemic eulogy served as identification marks for the various migrational groups or parties. The head of each of the clans, many of which have also survived to the present, was the oldest surviving male. His power was nominal, as he

administered through consultation. Nevertheless, he was the representative of the ancestors in the clan. He therefore executed sanctions and controls over its members. These were thought to emanate from the ancestors who watched over the affairs of the people from the world of the ancestral spirits.

The largest socio-political unit among the Ebira was the clan-group locally called *Ekura.* About six of such clan-groups survive to the present. They are Okengwe, Okehi, Adavi, Eika, Ihima, and Eganyi. Though each was self autonomous, they however related on issues of common concern. The head of each was priest-chief, *Ohinoyi-ete.* Each group was made up of several clans believed they had distant patrilineal blood tie. For instance, the Okengwe group comprised of Akuta, Ehimozoko, Avi, Esusu, Ogu, Asuwe, Omoye, Omavi, Eire and Adobe. The chief-priest consulted the heads of the clans on any serious matter affecting the group. In addition, he administered justice in conjunction with his deputy, *Ohireba,* and the concil of elders of the group.

Despite the obvious limitation to his authority, the priest-chief was the highest spiritual and socio-political head of the clan-group. He was believed to have a daily communication with the anscetors. He ministered to, and indeed mustered the earth shrine to solicit for fertility, adequate rainfall and good harvest. He exercised sanctions and ensure control, discipline, and compliance with the societal norms and rules. He was vested with the interpretation of the ancient ancestral laws through divination, sacrifices and indeed long experience. Through these, the six priest-chiefs in close cooperation, consultation and communion with one another were able to administer justice and maintain the society of Ebira in relative social harmony uptill the eve of the British invasion in 1903.

The British Interest in Northern Nigeria

The British and indeed the European contact with the various groups in Northern Nigeria dates back to the early exploration across the Sahara Desert.Through trading and the trans-Saharan trade in particular, the British became aware of some of the polities of Northern Nigeria. This was infact a reason for the despatch of the various expeditions and voyages of exploration. But it was only in the mid-19th century that the British became more interested in developing a close commercial relationship with the Niger-Benue territory where their traders had been operating. By the last quarter of the 19th century, the British firm, the National African Company (NAC), had outflanked other European competitors in the Niger-Benue trade (Blindloss & Co.1968:297).

In fact, so intense was the rivalry, jealousy and suspicions among the competitive commercial European firms over acquisition of special territorial concessions in Africa that the Berlin West African Conference was convened to settle issues, and indeed to design new rules of the game. The Conference, which took place from November 13th, 1884 to February 20th, 1885, tried to bring some form of discipline and sanity to a situation that looked as though it might rapidly get out of hand. With no African present, the rules for the partition of West Africa into units that were to become the basis of modern nations were determined. Understandably, the guidelines had already been set by the activities of European traders, missionaries and administrators in the eighty-odd years since the official abolition of slave trade (Crowther 1976:63). With her firms already established in part of the region, what was later become Northern Nigeria was assigned to Britain under the terms of the Berlin Conference.

Convinced by the prospect of commercial and material gain in the Niger-Benue trade and indeed the entire Northern Nigeria, the British

Government began to encourage its trading firm to consolidate its control over the region. Through dubious treaties with some of the indigenous chiefs and community leaders, the company, which had by 1886 metermorphosed into the Royal Niger Company (RNC), obtained a charter to administer the territories claimed. In an apparent attempt to consolidate its hold on the trade of the region and to ward off other European rivals, the company commenced military conquest of Northern Nigeria, beginning with the states bordering the Niger-Benue confluence area. This marked the end of the independence of the indigenous communities of the region. By 1900, when Lugard formally took control of British affairs in Northern Nigeria, a large number of polities, especially in the Niger-Benue confluence area, had been incorporated into the British Empire. These included Ibi, Donga (1885), Bida, Ilorin (1897) and Wase (1898).

The British conquest of Ebiraland

The situation which finally culminated in the forceful occupation of Ebiraland in 1903 by the British imperial power began to unfold when in 1886 Goldie secured the seal of the British Privy Council for his company, the National African Company. By this seal, the company became the Royal Niger Company (Suleiman 1992:86-95). During the same period, Lokoja, a confluence town bordering Ebira which had nevertheless been the abode of the various British officials, became strengthened as the operational base of the company, and it was here the conquest of other areas of the North was to be organised and executed.

However, this was not to be the first time an organised invasion was plotted against the Ebira. Between 1865 and 1880, the Ebira had successfully engaged the Sokoto Jihadists who sought to make them vassals of the Caliphate conglomerate. For several reasons which are

beyond the scope of this research, the worriors *Ajinomoh*, Jihad as the Sokoto Jihad organised from Ilorin and Bida against Ebiraland was called by the people, were engaged and severally forced to retreat.

Despite the considerable obstruction caused by the Jihadist activities in the land, the Ebira of Okene, Eganyi and Eika Ohizenyi, principal towns of Ebiraland which were not so much devastated by the *Ajinomoh* Jihadists, carried on their trade and commercial transactions with the Royal Niger Company in Lokoja and Ajaokuta. Trading in articles like palm oil and kernels, cotton and beniseed, which were much needed by British firms, and enjoying favourable terms of trade, the Royal Niger Company soon carved out Ebiraland in 1890 as falling within the company's territorial jurisdiction (NAK. Lokoprof. 213). But the presence of the Ilorin and Bida Jihadists in the territories immediately bordering Lokoja to the south and north persistently jeopardised and offset the free flow of trade and the commercial system. This could not be accepted by the Royal Niger Company, which quickly set up a fort in Kabba adjacent to Ebiraland to the west, under Captain Turner, an officer of the Royal Niger Constabulary (Willis 1972:51). The fort served as a military base and raw material collection centre. Hiding under the pretext of ensuring free movement of trade in the region, the Royal Niger Company annexed Bida and Ilorin in 1898. The conquest of these two areas obviously should be seen within the general context of British imperialism in Northern provinces (Abubakar 1980:449).

The collapse of Bida and Ilorin in the face of the Royal Niger Company's superior strategy and mercenaries was greeted with marked apprehension and consternation in Ebiraland. Like their encounter with the *Ajinomoh* Jihadists, the Ebira thought they would

be able to fight and protect their territorial integrity from the company's onslaught.

The opening up of the interior from Lokoja was a fundamental factor in the economic interest of the British. Opening up the interior, the British felt, was the only way they could guarantee constant and cheap supply of raw materials and other products. Eventually when Frederick Lugard took over from the Royal Niger Company in 1900 as a commissioned agent of the British administration in Northern Nigeria, the question of physical occupation of the interior areas and linking them up directly with the maritime business was uppermost in his programmes. It is thus not surprising, and indeed it was due to deliberate design, that in the same year Lugard sent two of his assistants, Captain Beddoes and Lieutenant Grant with eight rank and file, to Ebiraland to negotiate the ceding of the land to the British (Willis 1972:47).

However, the mission of Captain Beddoes and Company was not successful as the Ohindase Avogude Okomanyi refused to grant the British their request. As the most powerful clan-group chief of the land at the time, Avogude of the Okengwe clan-group insisted on equal terms of relationship with the British. He nevertheless promised them, on behalf of the Ebira nation, free access to trade and reciprocal social relations. (Aviniwa, Ihima, Eku 1994).

In addition, Avogude, a patriarch, introduced Beddoes and his team to some of the leading men of Ebira. They included Agidi Ukako, Owudah Adidi, Atta Omadivi, Achegido Okino, Agbo, Echimakere Ihima and Adai Oricha. The leading men of Ebira were divided as to what should be the Ebira relationship with the British. While Achegido Okino, Agbo, Oricha and the delegates from Ihima and Eika advocated frontal confrontation and therefore took up an

uncompromising stand against the British, Atta Omadivi, Owudah Adidi, Akpata Ihima and company, realizing what could be achieved in terms of material and social influence from the new order, decided to compromise, and invariably made a deal with the British (Badamasuiy, Onipe, Atta).

While the anti-British elements saw the stand of Omadivi and company stand as a sell out, some informants claim that Atta Omadivi through his *eva*, divination and *Ako* raiding business discovered early enough the military strength of the British and therefore the futility of resistance (Eku, Atta, Onipe). The anti-British elements won the day. In their abhorrence of, and disdain for the alien negotiators they attacked Captain Beddoes' team and forced them to retreat to their fort sin Kabba. In the same vein, the group also chased Omadivi from Okene (Okengwe clan-group) to Obangade (Eika group), where he took asylum with Owudah Adidi, another pro-British Ebira leader (Atta, Onotu, Okikiri).

Atta Omadivi was not the type to accept defeat and communal disgrace in such manner. Fraternizing and ultimate collaboration with the British, he reasoned, would restore his image in his Okengwe district. The raiding activities which he and other prominent Ebira personalities had perfected after the *Ajinomoh* Jihadist war in 1880 and his dealing in the slave trade had brought him in close contact with the British officials in the riverine areas. By early 1903, a close collaboration between the likes of Omadivi and Owudah and the British officials had made the latter acquainted with the topography of the land. The result of this expert geographical knowledge was the British plot to violently sack Ebiraland.

Thus, in May 1903, a punitive invasion under the British army officer Major Marsh invaded Ebiraland. The team consisted of two companies

under Lieutenants Sparrenburg, Morram Calloway, Byng-Hall, Smith, Oldman and Captain Lewis. Heavily equipped with maxim-guns, the two combat companies sacked Ihima, Obangade and finally Okene which harboured notable Ebira opposition elements (Willis 1972:47). The Ebira *Ajinomoh* Jihadist veterans resisted the British mercenaries with their utmost might without success. The people could not match the alien maxim-guns. They realised the feebleness and inefficiency of weak weapons made of bows and arrows, matchets and cutlasses, even if poisoned, in the face of the colonialists' superior arsenal and effective organisation.

Generally speaking, this episode could be compared to the British incursion into neighbouring Igalaland. In the conquest of Ankpa, for example, the British organised a punitive expedition on 2nd January 1904 following the abortive first attempt in December 1903. The first had led to the death of Capt. O'Riodan and Mr. Amyatt Burney, the invaders' two leaders, at the hands of the patriotic local people. As in Ebiraland, the British organised a heavy retaliatory onslaught consisting of eleven officials and 262 African rank-and-file with two guns and two maxims, under the command of Major R.A. Merrick. The British invasion of Igalaland as in Ebiraland, led to pandamonia, brigandage and general disaffection. Yet while the resistance lasted for almost one and half decades in Ebiraland, resistance to British invasion in Ankpa, according to Abdulkadir, lasted for only three months (Abdulkadir 1987:16-21).

With the conquest of Ebiraland, the British quickly consigned it into a district of Kabba Division under the supervision of O. Howard and Malcolm. The two British officers immediately "recognised" all the Ebira notables that had conspired with them in the occupation of Ebiraland. They included, understandably, Atta Omadivi, as the "District Head" of Ebiraland, and Akpata Ihima, Owudah Adidi and in

1910 Ozigizigi Opoh as "Headmen" of Ihima, Eika and Obehira respectively.

Resistance to the Establishment of British Administration and Economic Regime

Though the British had conquered Ebiraland in 1903 through a naked show of power characterised by brutality and coercion, by 1916 it was yet to evolve a colonially envisaged centralised political economy in the area. This was due to several reasons. The fundamental factor should be located in the determination of the Ebira not to recognise the alien system. The naked show of power of May 1903 had only engendered social disorderliness and political disequilibrium in which, according to Mr. Greaves, the then Division Officer, (D.O.) each segment of the social system became suspicious of other segments and of the British invaders. Mr. Greaves captured the mood of this period when he noted that "not each community, not each district, or town but each family was a law to itself" (NAK Lokoprof 16).

When Frederick Lugard took charge of colonial affairs in the Northern Provinces in 1900, he formed the West African Frontier Forces (WAFF) out of the existing constabularies. Various detachments of WAFF were ultimately engaged in suppressing revolts of the Ebira people. Thus one detachment of the WAFF was made to patrol Ebiraland up to the Afanmai area of the present Edo State. In addition, the British constantly sent military and police escorts either to secure free traffic for its touring officers or to suppress uprisings (NAK, Lokoprof 14). The presence of such security personnels was abhorred to say the least, and consequently resisted by the people for some time. This became significant when the British imposed their alien taxation in 1904 and insisted that such taxes be paid in British sterling from 1909 (NAK, SN P4636). From then onward, the question

of taxation hardened the people the more to resist British rule. In other words, the issue of taxation became knitted with resentment necessitating riots and uprisings against alien usurpation.

A good example of Ebira resistance to British hegemony was the Okene riot of 1903. The town had just been made the second headquarters (after Kabba town) of Kabba Division under Mr. Groom as officer in charge. The people drove him away from their land. The British in Lokoja had to send an escort of thirty soldiers under M.A. Blackwood "in order to "reopen" Okene (Willis 1972:47). In fact, the Ebiras also attacked Blackwood's escort, which resulted in a bloody encounter between the two parties. It was only when Lt. Shott reinforced the first group with additional fifty soldiers that Okene people were defeated. At the same period, Mr. Lang with armed policemen organised a military campaign against Adavi-Odu for what the British subjectively called their "truculence". In Eika where the village head, Owudah Adidi, lost control, the people in 1910 attacked five police constables with poisoned arrows and seized their hand-cuffs. The police retaliation was brutal and decisive. They raided the village in the middle of the night burning several homes and homesteads to recover their lost items (NAK Lokoprof 16).

Despite the persistence of Ebira revolts against the British and their alien system, and the belief of the latter that the former were "timid" and "suspicious of changes", the British could not abandon Ebiraland. This was because, according to M.A. Blackwood, the A.D.O., "the people are good agriculturalists and traders". When the First World War broke out in 1914 the various districts and villages of the land used the opportunity to throw off the yoke of British imperialism by refusing to pay taxes. The understanding of the Ebira of Ohizenyi, Ipaku, Eganyi and Ikuehi villages was that with the outbreak of the war the British would pack their loads and leave. Local town criers

quickly rallied round, mustering enough will and courage to announce to the people to disregard British taxes. Meetings, mostly nocturnal, were held and open revolts were ordered by local champions and disgruntled clan heads. The British acted quickly by arresting those they considered leaders of the uprisings (NAK, Lokoprof 23). In 1919, Mr. Greaves, the Resident of Kabba province, was worried about the constant complaints of the Ebira of these areas as to why "should they pay taxes here when they don't pay in Southern protectorates" (NAK Lokoprof 17).

Meanwhile, throughout 1914, there were riots, protests, or what the official reports termed "general unrest" in Adavi district (NAK, Lokoprof 24). At Nagazi, a prominent village of the district, the people sang in the market places to the effect that there were to be no more taxes for the British. But more worrying and disturbing to the British was the mobility of powerful Okengwe notables dubbed by the British as "trouble makers", "truculent elements", which enabled them to move from their district to other to mobilize the people against British highhandedness. The British soon reasoned that the only way to deter the Ebira from uprisings was to station the armed police forces on the land permanently. This move started in August 1915 when the Kabba Divisional police headquarters was transferred from Kabba to Okene. It was finally achieved in mid 1916 when the last batch of policemen were moved to Okene. What seems to be the last main uprising of the people against the annexation of their land by aliens came in November 1916. This month, about thirteen years after the British had physically occupied Ebiraland, Major Ellias, an Assistant Commissioner of Police, had to use force against the people of Eganyi when they declared their district independent of British rule (NAK Lokoprof 23, 24).

The British believed that these people were under the influence of the Okengwe group whose leaders included Okino, Omaku, Adai Eire and Onipe. It is not surprising that the British accused the Okengwe group of leading the Ebira against the colonial order. For by 1900 the Okengwe group had emerged as the torchbearer of the entire Ebira people. Its principal town, Okene, had also developed as the leading town of the land. Several factors account for this development. The first was that one of the most powerful clan-group chiefs of the Okengwe, Ohindase Avogude Okomanyi, resided and died in Okene. Unlike to his predecessors, Avogude moved the seat of the throne at coronation from the main Okengwe town to Okene. As a powerful chief believed to have magical powers, his relocation to Okene attracted people not only from the Okengwe group but also from the other groups to Okene. So famous and influential was Ohindase Obanyi, as he was generally called to distinguish him from his predecessors and contemporaries, that all the Ebira groups had rallied round him during the Jihadist incursion. Secondly, during the Jihadist war in Ebiraland, the Okengwe war Generals led by Ohindase not only prevented the Jihadists from entring into the district, but they also led the various military groups that drove the Jihadists away from other parts of Ebiraland. As the war raged on, the enterprising Okengwe farmers and traders like their counterparts in Eganyi carried on their economic activities with minimum interruption. Two advantages could be noticed here. As a "safe heaven", the Ebira of other clan-groups and Ebira neigbours like the Owe, Imorga, Ogori and Igbede migrated to Okene. This led to increased population necessary for both the growth of ideas and economic system.

Furthermore, as the Okene people were able to carry on their trade with other Ebiras and the other peoples and the Royal Niger Company (RNC) at Lokoja and Ajaokuta, they became more wealthy

than other Ebira groups. Even today, most non-Okengwe groups and individuals who have become either politically or financially important have done so through Okene. Thus the Okengwe group had become socially and economically sophisticated enough to know the evil of alien occupation. The British charge of their spearheading the Ebira resistance and revolts should be viewed from this perspective.

Meanwhile, the concentration of the police in Okene and the constant harassment of the people helped to secure submission of the Ebira to the British. Since the policemen were mandated to pursue offenders down into the villages and the hinterland, the Ebira soon came to appreciate the power and strength of the new order. Put simply, the overwhelming presence of security personnel traumatised the people and ultimately coerced them into submission. The report of the A.D.O. on this matter is valid. It states that, "the stationing of police at Okene has had a very salutary effect on Ebira" (NAK Lokoprof 23).

Apart from the people's refusal to recognise the British order in Ebira, two other factors are important in explaining the inability of the British to establish an organised political economy between 1903 and 1916. The early British administrative policy was predicated on the false assumption that every polity in the Northern region was either centralised or at least had tasted the hierarchical suzerainty of the Sokoto Caliphate. The consequence of this assumption was that almost all ordinances and decrees of governance were formulated to suit the emirate system (NAK Lokoprof 18). Thus until early 1916 the British did not have any organised policy of administration for the non-centralised states of Northern provinces.

The calibre of the British agent in Okene also prevented the British from acting spontaneously on the serious matter of governance. Though he had been well-known to the people as courageous before 1903, Atta Omadivi being a British loyal ally was considered a nominal District Head of Ebira Division who was not recognised beyond his immediate locality, Okene. Other village heads, particularly those of Eika, Ihima, Adidi and Akpata respectively, considered themselves of equal status in British service with Omadivi, and therefore refused to recognise his central role. They dealt with the British political officer directly. The British appointed Omadivi, because, according to them, "he had always been most loyal to the government" (NAK Lokoprof 25). But to the people, Omadivi was a collaborator whom they remember today as the man who "invited" the British in 1903 to take over their land. Meanwhile by 1916 Omadivi, who was about 120 years old, had become increasingly "unsuitable to take active control of the Ebiras" (NAK Lokoprof 25).

In January 1917 Atta Omadivi died and the British was set to reorganise its administration in Ebiraland. Ohindase Adano was appointed as the D.H. of Ebira not because he was trusted by the colonial administration but simply because, according to J.C. Walker, the A.D.O. "he had always been promised since 1902 that he shall be made the D.H" (NAK Lokoprof 15). Apart from the credibility question placed over his head by the British, Adano was not accepted by the chiefs of the remaining clan-group, especially Obobanyi, Adeika and Asema of Ihima, Eika and Adavi respectively, who felt that one of the clan-group chiefs was being imposed on them. It was therefore easy for the colonial government to find excuses to dismiss him in November of the same year for what they termed administrative and judicial corruption.

In November 1917 the British imposed Ibrahim Onoruoiza, later known as Atta Ibrahim, as the D.H. of Ebira Native Authority. A number of factors that go beyond the scope of this paper were responsible for the appointment (Okene 1990:130/133). One point worth mentioning is that with this appointment, the British were beginning to put Ebiraland on an organised polity which as discussed above had been very much lacking. The colonial authority began to fashion what they considered a sound economy in which the Native Treasury (N.T) was central as an organ of colonial exploitation.

Atta Ibrahim was youthful (about thirty years old), energetic, intelligent, and a loyal ally of the British occupation force. He had been tested and trusted in the various services as an interpreter and tax collector to the British before this appointment (Eku, Atta, Onipe; NAK Lokoprof 25). Relying on the coercive apparatus of the British, which included the police, prison and N.A. courts, Atta Ibrahim was powerful, influential and somewhat overzealous. Atta's N.A was the kind in which the chief was the focal point through which the orders and wishes of the British were seen to have emanated. His central power was accentuated in the very early period of his reign when in the same year of his imposition the British started to implement all the judicial and fiscal ordinances which gave the chief a sweeping dictatorial status. So autocratic was the position conferred on him that the Atta could publicly flog or arbitrarily imprison any person whose activities he considered a threat to the N.A. without recourse to even the highly criticised established colonial judiciary processes (Okene 1998:131/123). It should also be stated here that with the coming of Atta Ibrahim, sustained opposition to British occupation of the land ended and a new method of resistance was initiated. This however goes beyond the scope of this study.

Conclusion

The general pattern used by the British to dominate Northern Nigeria was military conquest. In some areas, conquests were preceded by fictitious signing of agreements and treaties. But within the general pattern of piecemeal conquest were other noticeable styles necessitated by the local peculiarities of the concerned polity. While in the centralised states, especially the former emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate like Kontagora, Zaria, Bauchi and Kano, a devastating singular military onslaught was enough to coerce the polities into qualified submission, in Ebiraland the British had to contend with incessant and persistent opposition which lasted nearly a decade and half. While the established centralised and hierarchical administrative structures of, for instance, Zaria and Kano enabled the British to instantly extend their political control, the lack of a centralised order of command in Ebiraland before the advent of the British compounded colonial conquest and occupation for the alien invaders.

Despite these observations, it is interesting to note that some Ebira notables collaborated with the invading British forces. The first generation of British agents, viz. Atta Omadivi, Owudah Adidi, Akpata Ihima and Ozigizigi Opoh, were in this category. Whether they were traitors or not depends on the analysis. Thus it is a truism that in the occupation or threat to occupation of land by individuals or a group of foreigners, there are always internal-cum-domestic collaborators.

In the final analysis, that Ebiraland succumbed to British occupational force could be explained from many angles. The British had superior fire power. Their maxim-guns were the type the Ebira never comprehended. Ebira bows, arrows, matchets and clubs were not comparable to the British firearms. The bombardment, for example, of Okeneba in Okene from the valley of the present *Ireba* instantly put a whole house on fire. The Ebira opposition efforts were also uncoordinated; though concerted, each group was a law unto itself.

This was in contrast to the Ebira defence strategy used during the *Ajinomoh* Jihadist war. There were also serious divisions among the leaders, causing serious cleavages which the British favourably exploited. Divide-and-rule was to be a stock-in-trade of British administration in the Northern provinces and indeed in Nigeria. Finally, the British had a goal to pursue and were determined to execute their imperialistic agenda. They had made up their minds to establish a colonial state of Northern Nigeria. Ebiraland was a small though an important segment of the larger region.

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Financial and Marketing Crises in Northern Nigeria during the Great Economic Depression: 1929 – 1935

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Introduction

Available sources on Nigeria have shown certain facets which, if not properly analysed, are easily overlooked. Such issues include: falls in government revenue, the re-emergence of pre-colonial currencies, the re-emergence of certain elements of slavery (which had supposedly been suppressed), patterns of migration, the reduction of both salaries and even `tax rates', unemployment, food shortages, the pawning of children, the monopoly of import/export trade by syndicates/European firms), the difficulty of collecting taxes, the attempt to `diversify' the economy, and so forth. Even more obscure facets appear - such as the lending of funds by Native Authority Treasuries to foreign countries. In fact, `lending' or `investing' government bonds was a standard practice of colonial administrative units, and indeed was well recognized in the debates over the profit and loss of `Empire', but the consequences of this action on the local economy are very often ignored. In this paper, I am making use of Northern Nigeria as a case study. I hope to utilize the records available to illustrate some of the effects on ordinary Nigerians of the economic changes and policies of the 1930s.

Fiscal Policy

The precipitous fall in export prices and a fall in revenue from direct and indirect taxes, railway and other charges in Nigeria created fiscal crises in the 1930s. Between 1928 and 1929 the gross income of Nigeria from all sources fell by 66.21 per cent, from £74 million to

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£25 million (Shenton, 1986:101). In the 1928-29 financial year, Nigeria's budget showed a deficit of £1,660,310. In 1930-31 the total revenue for Nigeria was £5,622,200 while expenditure was £6,329,668, an excess of 12.58 per cent or £707,468. By the end of March 1930 Nigerian reserves had fallen to £3,736,808 (Ikime, 1975:682). By 1932-33, gross expenditure by the Central Government had fallen by 27.53 per cent from £6.9 million to £5 million (Helleiner, 1976:20). Similarly, the total revenue for the Northern Provinces for the financial year 1931-32 fell short of the original estimate by about 15 per cent while 1932-33 showed a decrease of about 25 per cent. (NAK/SNP, 478).

As a result of the decline in revenue, the Central Government in the 1928-29 financial year applied for and obtained a loan of £10 million (Ikime, 1975:682). In 1929 a Colonial Development Act was passed by the British Parliament, but it had little effect on Nigeria's fiscal dilemma, and indeed on the colonial empire generally. For example, the estimated Colonial Development Fund for Nigeria totalled £170,370, but the actual amount received was 16.4 per cent or £28,016 (Ekundare, 1973:121). In addition, Nigeria asked for and received less than a quarter of a million pounds sterling under the Act for its estimated 22,000,000 inhabitants between 1929 and 1939. This was just 2.72 pence per person. Equally, a mere £1 million per annum was provided for the development of the colonial empire with about 66,000,000 inhabitants. This again provided only 3.63 pence per individual.

The problem with the Act from Nigeria's perspective was that the funds provided under it could only be used for new schemes and not as a supplement to general revenue. This meant that the Act had little effect in alleviating Nigeria's fiscal crisis, and in order for the country to take advantage of the funds provided by the Act Nigeria had to

commit itself both to increased current expenditure and/or increased future expenditure in the form of interest and recurrent costs. The result was that the Act was little used. In fact, the reason for its ineffectuality lay in the origins and nature of the Act itself. For instance, the Act stated that "save in exceptional circumstances all orders for imported material should be placed in the United Kingdom; and that plant, machinery, materials etc. be of British origin and manufacture" (Shenton, 1986:105-106). Also, the objective of the Act was "to promote commerce with, relieve economic depression in the United Kingdom and to stimulate agricultural and industrial activity in the colonial territories" (Ekundare, 1973:121). This meant, in real terms, that the deeper purpose of the Act was the alleviation of industrial unemployment in Britain itself.

The fiscal crisis of Nigeria was further compounded by the action of the colonial state of 'lending' or `exporting' money from the already depressed Nigerian economy to foreign countries. The idea of investing surplus funds in Crown colonies has been suggested by Governor Bell as early as 1912, but the proposal was shelved at that time. However, at the end of 1915, out of the Reserve Funds of the Native Authorities (NAs) of Northern Nigeria totalling £121,449.1s.2d, about 46 per cent (i.e. £56,445.10s.1d) was invested in various stocks abroad, while £65,003.10s.3d (about 53.52 per cent) was on fixed deposit with the Nigerian Government at four and a half per cent(Ikime,1975:676).

In the financial year 1927-28, out of the total surplus of the NA.'s of Northern Nigeria, which stood at £1,329.353.17d.0d, about 38.33 per cent (i.e. £509,582.14s.2d) was invested abroad while £525,483.19s.11d, about 39.52 per cent, was on fixed deposits with British banks in Nigeria. Equally, in the financial years 1930-34, out of the Northern Nigeria NAs surplus of £5,589,270.5s.2d, about 44.87 per

cent amounting to £2,508,354.1s.9d, was invested abroad ('Ibid':680,690,691-2). In fact, the market value of these investments was higher than the cost price. The irony is that during this time of 'trouble', at the time when there was not enough capital in Nigeria and the entire economy was depressed, instead of borrowing money and bringing in capital, the Northern Nigeria NAs actually were investing, and almost 45 per cent of these funds invested were outside Nigeria. In fact, by 1934 the Northern Nigeria NAs had investments in Ceylon, the Scraits Settlements, Trinidad, New Zealand and Australia. Ironically many of these investments earned interest at rates considerably below those paid by the Nigerian Government at the time. The investments in Nigeria yielded interest of between four and five per cent, while those in New Zealand and the Strait Settlements yielded only three and a half per cent each and those in Australia three and three quarters per cent(NAK/LOKOPROF:603). Furthermore, financial statements of the Northern Nigeria Treasuries between 1930 and 1934 show that the NAs had investments worth £1,688,068.9s.8d (i.e. 30.2 per cent of their surplus for these years) in fixed deposit accounts. Collectively, these actions of government further reduced the money in the local economy. And certainly, Northern Nigeria was, at this crucial period helping the Empire (and not herself) to recover from the effects of the depression.

During the 1930s, and especially between 1930 and 1935, the total funds invested abroad rose steadily, while the amount of fixed deposit fluctuated despite the depression, a locust plague, floods and famine. In fact, the question about whether part of the surplus should be invested abroad was debated among the British in Northern Nigeria. The Treasurer to the Government of Northern Nigeria and some Residents argued that surpluses be invested in Nigeria so that they could be called up for use at short notice. However, Governor Bell (with the support of the Colonial 0ffice) disagreed, preferring to

have them invested abroad arguing that in an emergency the Protectorate Government could always advance money to the NAs concerned while arranging to draw on invested reserves (Ikime, 1975:682-3). Certainly, this was never done. A typical example would suffice. Between 1930 and 1934 there was a grain dearth in most parts of Northern Nigeria. In a vain bid to hold to the stock they had, virtually all Residents prohibited the export of grain across provincial boundaries. The problem was complicated because provincial administrations could not liquidate their capital and assets invested abroad for grain purchases. In fact, Resident Nash stated that "[the depression] would not appear to be a propitious moment for realizing investment"(Watts, 1979:321-2).

The British officials who were in the position to understand the nature of the depression, the fiscal crisis, and who were under pressure to do something about them were, of course, in London. In order to reduce the effects of the depression on ordinary Britons, the United Kingdom government took a number of measures in terms of monetary and trade policies, which involved direct Government intervention in the British as well as various colonial economies including Nigeria.

On Monday 21st September 1931, Britain went off the gold standard: the pound sterling was devalued from $4.86 (US) to around $3.40, interest rates were raised from 4.5 to 6 per cent, while the price of gold increased from about £4 per pounce in 1932 to £7 in 1935 (Landes, 1982:381-382). The devaluation made imports more expensive, but it gave a strong boost to exports. The impact of the devaluation, which was some 30 per cent against gold (Parsons, 1984:249) was real for Nigeria. It meant that the face value of silver coins was now lower than their precious metal value. Nigerians and other West Africans had originally purchased this silver, at a price

which was twice the bullion value, but now that its face value was less than its bullion value Britain withdrew it. During the financial year 1931-32, West Africa silver coin to the value of £106,918 was withdrawn from circulation and £131,768 was shipped to the United Kingdom to be melted down. Indeed, a tight monetary policy was generally followed in Nigeria in this period, and the period 1927-32 recorded that exports of species (currency) exceeded imports by over £14.5 million (Annual Report, Nigeria 1932:229).

The impact of the tight monetary policy was very dramatic in many areas of Northern Nigeria, with a sudden re-emergence of cowries and other traditional currencies. The Annual Report for Nigeria in 1932 mentions the sudden re-appearance of cowries and brass-rods in the Bida, Abuja, Gwari and Igala (Ankpa) markets. In Bida markets cowries were traded at 250 to a penny, in Abuja markets at 500 to a penny, while in Gwari areas trading transactions were carried half in cowries and half in British currency (Kirk-Greene, 1960:140). In Igala Division brass-rods were widely used. The velocity of money slowed down and this aggravated the effects of a scarcity of currency. A report on Igala in 1932 stated that: "the amount of money in circulation becomes less and less. Today trade in Ankpa is conducted almost solely by means of barter and the substitution of brass-rods for currency..... A rod is now worth 1d compared to 5d five years ago"(Abdlulkadir, 1990:421; 1995:181).

The depreciation in the value of brass-rods was consistent with everything else. Brass is also a commodity with a remarkable value, and a drop of 80 per cent of the earlier price was almost an exact reproduction of the loss of value of export crops and even foodstuffs. The currency problem was further compounded by the refusal of the Department of Marine and the Nigerian Railway to purchase the brass-rods because of their "very poor quality" (ibid.;

NAK/LOKOPROF:114/1924). The currency problem created a brisk trade in money changing, which enabled the middlemen/money changers to manipulate the exchange so that they took a double profit profit on their transaction in exportable commodities and a profit on the transaction in cowries and brass rods.

The tight monetary policy and the devaluation of the pound sterling also heralded in the creating of the `sterling bloc', which had the natural tendency of limiting trade with territories outside the British Empire. This trend was furthered by British trade policy expressed in the 'preferential tariffs' of 1931 and 1935. The reasons for this policy (formulated at the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa, Canada, in 1932) were to improve Britain's balance of trade, to support the pound sterling and to restrict colonies like Nigeria from importing cheap goods from countries like Japan. It has been stated that, "it becomes obvious that during the latter part of the year (1932) British cotton and other textiles with West Africa were being threatened by competition from Japanese goods". Also that, "Lancashire cotton manufacturers are getting alarmed by the enormous imports of cotton goods into African colonies by Japan" (*West Africa*, 1933:70, 81). Accordingly, 300 Lancashire businessmen engaged in the export of cotton pieces met in February, 1933 and formed the British Cotton Trading League, demanding "immediate action in regard to Japanese competition in the colonies where Japan is selling goods at prices lower, in many instances, than raw material costs" (ibid:81). The export trade was equally affected by official intervention and preferences, which favoured the British market and attempted to stabilise prices. Imports from Nigeria (as well as other British colonies) were allowed free entry into the United Kingdom, while others paid duties of at least 10 per cent. As a result, while government revenue from import duties increased by 66.79 per cent from £1,508,504 in 1934 to £2,258,259 in 1935, export duties fell by

29.35 per cent from £474,319 in 1934 to £366,667 in 1935(Trade Report, Nigeria, 1935:16).

In 1934 quotas were imposed on goods imported by non-members of the Ottawa Convention, particularly Japan. In addition to quota restrictions on Japanese textiles, Manchester also formed trade agreement with Russia against Japan. Consequently, cotton price goods from Japan fell by 97.59 per cent, from 556,021 square yards in 1934 to 13,412 square yards in 1935(ibid:24). The impact of the trade policy on Nigerians was negative in terms of making them buy expensive goods from Britain and in terms of making it more difficult to sell produce to countries other than Britain. In simple terms, it also means that exports from Nigeria were more and more directed towards Britain and imports were increasingly from Britain. This affected the direction of goods, the prices, the trading system and the standard of living.

Fall in Agricultural Prices:

The Period from 1929 to 1935 in Nigeria witnessed rapid and dramatic fall in agricultural prices, but rural production for export increased in spite of the lower prices offered. In Nigeria the value of palm oil declined by over 50 per cent to £1.5 million and the value of palm kernels by £1.5 million to just over £2 million, while groundnuts and cocoa each declined in value by over £500,000. Exports of cotton and tin ore also showed heavy reductions. On the other hand, shipments in 1932 of groundnuts and palm kernels increased substantially. Equally, imports in 1931 fell heavily by nearly 50 per cent to £4,444,000, with a reduction of over £4 million compared to 1930. Exports in 1931 fell by 23.58 per cent valued at only £7,691,000, against £10,064,000 in 1930. Cocoa exports during 1931 reached the record figure of 244,097 tons, but their value decreased by nearly £1.5 million to £5,493,000(*West Africa* 1933:70)

Between 1929 and 1934 a dramatic deterioration of agricultural prices took place. Indeed, the prices of agricultural produce in Nigeria declined significantly more than did world prices. Taking palm produce as an indicator (because it was an important money earner for the country), between 1927 and 1929 the F.O.B. price (Lagos price) of palm oil varied between 69 per cent and 72 per cent (£22.5 and £23.7 per ton) to the C.I.F. price (£32.2 to £33.1 per ton) in London. By 1934, however, the F.O.B. price of palm oil was only 32 per cent (£4.0) of the C.I.F. price (£12.6). To put it in another way, the 1934 F.O.B. price of palm oil was only 16.5 per cent of the 1927 price and only 11.4 per cent of the 1928 C.I.F. price (Usoro 1974:24).

Generally, the average market prices for most commodities fell during this period. For example, the average market price of palm kernels fell from £21 per ton in 1929 to £14 per ton in 1930, (a fall of 50 per cent) and by 1934 it was only 25 per cent (£7 per ton) of the 1929 price. (Ekundare 1973:118). The highest purchase price of cotton in Northern Nigeria showed that while the commodity sold for 2.25d per 1 pound in the 1928/29 buying season, it fell by 66.6 per cent .75d in 1930-31, but again rose slightly to 1.12d per 1b in 1933-34, (a fall of 49.77 per cent) of the 1928/29 level (Ingawa 1984:270). The average price for groundnuts in Kano, which stood at £12.18s.0d per ton in the 1927/28 buying season, declined by 34.23 per cent in 1930-31 to £4.17s.0d, and by 1933-34 it was only 17.48 per cent of the price 1927/28 falling to £2.13s.0d(Albasu 1995:109; Fika 1978:225). Equally, the market value of bulls declined very sharply. The prices for a full grown bull was £3 and £6 at the opening and closing buying season of 1929, but they fell by 50 per cent and 66.6 per cent in 1932 opening with £1.15.s.0d and closing at £2(Okedeji 1972:127). In Igala Division, while a tin of palm oil cost 5s. in 1932, the price fell by about 70 per cent to 1s.6d in 1933, and by 1934 it was only 20 per

cent of the 1932 level, falling to 1s. Similarly, the average price for palm kernels declined drastically by about 65 per cent from £13.5 per ton in 1928 to £4.5 in 1933, and by 85 per cent to £2 in 1934 (Abdulkadir, 1990:429; NAK/LOKOPROF:366; Adama Abawa).

It should be stressed that these prices are those quoted by the companies based in Nigeria, and there are strong indications that the prices given to the actual producers were often much less. The result was a sharp drop in the standard of living of the producers, who were thus financing Britain's recovery from the depression. Thomson states that: "The burden of recovery was carried unduly by the unemployed and by those foreign producers whose goods Britain imported more cheaply than ever before. World commodity prices fell more than export prices, so that Britain's imports cost her only two-thirds of their former cost. It is likely that these favourable terms of trade did more to maintain her standard of living than any deliberate measure of government policy"(Thomson, 1973:114).

In spite of declining prices, production for export increased. For example, while the total export of groundnuts from Kano was 86,000 tons in 1927/28, it rose by 44.15 per cent to 154,000 tons in 1930-31 and by 63.40 per cent to 235,000 tons in 1933-34(Albasu, 1995:109). During the same period, the prices of the principal imported goods did not decline as drastically as the export prices. For instance, the average price for cotton piece goods per square yard was 7d in 1928, but this fell by only 7.14 per cent to 6d in 1930 and by 48.82 per cent to 4d in 1934. The average price for salt per cwt. was 19s.7d in 1928, but this fell by only 14.63 per cent to 17s.1d in 1930 and by 1934 it actually increased by 48.82 per cent to £1.13s.5d. (Ekundare 1973:118).

Import statistics show clearly that there were, in fact, sharp reductions in the consumption by Nigerians of imported commodities such as kerosene, salt, machinery and textiles. The quantity of these goods between 1923 and 1933 dropped by the following percentages: kerosene 58 per cent, salt 26 per cent, soap 57 per cent; and the value of imported textiles declined by 39 per cent(ibid:211,213). Reduced money incomes and declining consumption, of course, imply a fall in the standard of living.

Although declining prices reduced government revenue and also made life uncertain for traders, it was the producers that suffered the most since they had to sell more than twice as much of their produce to pay taxes and had little or nothing left for expenditure. Two typical examples will suffice here. In 1934, it was reported that in the village of Arasamashe in Igala Division, palm kernels were selling for 19d per 1b. The Colonial 0fficer who made this report also stated that the average woman in this village had the use of less than eight trees, and that they yielded only 226.07 lbs of palm kernels NAK/LOKOPROF: 12795). Assuming that the price changed at the same time as the F.O.B. price, then the price prevailing in Arasamashe in 1928 would have been approximately 831d. per lb. This means that in real terms in 1928 a man and a wife would have had to process and sell approximately 103 lbs. of palm kernels in order to pay their 7s. tax. By 1934, however, they would have had to process and sell more than four times as much (442.1 lbs.) in order to pay the same 7s. tax. This means that, in real terms, despite the fact that the money tax remained the same, the tax burden increased by almost 450 per cent. Similarly, it was stated in 1934 that, in a labour unit consisting of a family of three (father, mother and son), income from farm produce was £10, total income including money loan £11, and money expenditure on tax £11 (Nadel, 1965:34). The above instances meant that producers had to step up the volume of their

produce and hence raise the volume of cash crop production merely to maintain their existing level of import consumption. The cost of this ultimately led to increased production costs because there was no way of expanding exports without purchasing additional inputs of land and labour. Thus by 1933-34 producers had suffered so greatly that the Colonial State in Nigeria considered taking action: "If there is no improvement, taxes may have to be reduced for the season 1934-35 and this will bring with it a reduction of the salaries of the native officials and with it a slowing down of development..."(NAK/LOKOPROF: 1073). As will be demonstrated later, these were all effected, but with an additional burden on and increased suffering by ordinary Nigerians. It is no surprise therefore that most colonial reports of the 1930s are littered with references to hardship, out migration, slavery, pawning, bankruptcy, hunger, disease, crime, the possibility of tax remission, in addition to acute village/urban unrest and violence.

The decline in the prices of export produce inevitably also led to a direct fall in the prices of foodstuffs. The evidence available indicates that yam prices in Igala Division by 1934 dropped by 75 per cent and 90 per cent from the pre-depressed levels, falling from 3d. a tuber in 1921 to 0.4d in 1931 and to 0.3d in 1934, despite the fact that the yam beetle seemed to have resulted in lower production in 1934 (NAK/SNP 10:564P; NAK/LOKOPROF:322; NAK/SNP 17: 19276; NAK/LOKOPROF: 19275). Similarly, the cost of a small bag of maize/corn which sold at 4s. in 1928 dropped to 1s. in 1934, while the cost of a bag of rice fell from 15s. to 7s.6d in the same period (NAK/LOKOPROF: 366), a decline of 75 per cent and 50 per cent respectively. Equally, in some places in Northern Nigeria, producers could not even remember when last they had had a bad year, as it was stated that "the price of corn, during the recent months (this was in 1932), has been so low and the old inhabitants (in Kano) cannot

remember the day when the corn has been on sale at two-tenths of a penny per lb. throughout the rains" (Northern Provinces News/*Jaridar Ta Arewa*, 3/10/32:5). In addition, a comparative statement of prices of local foodstuffs in Kano Market between 1928 and 1933 indicates that the prices for sorghum, millet, beans, rice, wheat and cassava fluctuated, as indicated in the following chart.

Comparative Statement of Prices of Local Foodstuffs, Kano Market, 1928 - 1933:

	Price of Foodstuff per lb. (in pence)					
Period	**Dawa**	**Gero**	**Beans**	**Rice**	**Wheat**	**Cassava**
1928						
March	0.8	1.0	0.7	1.0	2.0	0.4
June	1.0	0.8	0.8	1.0	4.0	0.4
September	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	2.0	0.3
December	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	4.5	0.4
1929						
March	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6	2.0	0.6
June	0.9	1.2	0.7	1.8	2.4	0.6
September	0.5	1.0	0.6	0.7	4.0	0.2
December	0.6	0.7	1.0	2.0	3.0	
1930						
March	0.6	0.7	0.6	1.0	2.0	0.8
June	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.2	3.0	0.21
September	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.2	3.0	0.2
December	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.8	1.5	0.3
1931						
March	0.7	0.8	0.7	1.0	2.0	0.5
June	1.0	1.2	0.8	1.5	2.5	0.3
September	0.5	0.5	2.0	0.5	0.6	0.2
December	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	2.0	0.3
1932						
March	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.6	1.0	0.18
June	0.3	0.3	0.34	0.96	1.0	0.15
September	0.25	0.16	0.21	0.34	1.0	0.06
December	0.25	0.33	0.33	0.37	1.0	0.12

1933						
March	0.25	0.31	0.25	0.4	1.0	0.06
June	0.21	0.21	0.17	0.37	0.75	0.05
September	0.19	0.21	0.17	0.3	1.0	0.04
December	0.18	0.23	0.17	0.21	1.0	0.05

Source: *Kano Provincial Annual Report, 1933*

These calculations and figures show a very clear and immediate relationship between the price of exportable produce and the price offered for locally consumed foodstuffs, and that the producers of all these commodities suffered considerably from sharply reduced incomes. It was stated in 1932 that "there has been at the same time a decrease in the prices of particular items of native foodstuffs. Average wages and incomes have fallen considerably below the standard of two years ago" (NAK/SNP: 18282). Two years later the economic situation in Igala Division in Northern Nigeria was described thus: "The bulk of the wealth is derived from the export of yams to the Southern Provinces. The economic depression of the last few years has had a serious effect on this trade in respect of both bulk and price" (NAK/LOKPROF: 19275). In this period, women in Northern Nigeria suffered as much as men. Despite the fact that most of them were doing the transporting, they were forced to accept less for their transport: "Whereas the male has been hit by low price the female has been hit by small profits on her trading since the size of the load she takes to market remains the same though its total cost is very much less"(NAK/SNP 17, 19276). A Colonial record stated this about Nigeria: "The general trade depression has resulted in a fall of wages and this fall has been set off to a large extent by a decrease in the prices of native foodstuffs, but there has been little corresponding decrease in the cost of imported articles of food and manufactured goods" (Colonial Annual Report, Nigeria, 1931:38-39).

The real incomes of agricultural producers thus declined sharply both because their cash income from the sale of produce declined and because the prices of imported goods which they were able to consume became relatively expensive. These facts are widely acknowledged. The Acting Resident, Kabba Province, Mr. G.G. Feasey, stated in 1932 that "the economic position of the people is that the value of their produce for export is below pre-war level, while the cost of imported articles, even of such necessities as salt, is above the level" (NAK/SNP 10: 18282). The District Manager of the United African Company (UAC) at Idah, Mr. H.W. Part, acknowledged the rising cost of imported merchandise and a considerable drop in demand with the exception of salt (NAK/LOKOPROF: 1286). Also, the Governor of Nigeria, Sir Donald Cameron noted that "these (imported) goods may [sic] become slightly more expensive" (*The Nigerian Gazette*, Monday 8th February, 1932).

Locust Invasion, Flood and Famine:

The vulnerability of the Northern producers to variations in income and environmental stress was brought sharply into focus by the yam beetle, a locust plague outbreak and flooding in the 1930s. For example, yam beetle infestation in Bassa Nge and surrounding districts caused considerable damage to yam crops. In fact, in this part of Igala Division there had been a continued occurrence of yam beetle attacks since 1925, but the severity was more felt in 1933 (NAK/LOKOPROF: 366). The exceptionally heavy rains in the same area in 1933 accompanied by severe flooding of farms caused a loss of 50 per cent of the sorghum cultivated (NAK/SNP 17: 19276).

A Locust plague outbreak began in the middle Niger region in 1926. The first such outbreak in Northern Nigeria actually began at the end of 1928 when huge swarms invaded Nigeria. By December, 1929, the migratory locust had entered the south-west corner of Nigeria from

Dahomey, and between the months of April and July 1930, they began to breed in Oyo and Abeokuta Provinces (NAK/MINPROF: 269/1929). Some of the provinces seriously affected by the locust invasion in Northern Nigeria were Ilorin, Kabba, Benue, Azare, Plateau, Niger and Sokoto. In Niger Province 1,336 flying swarms were recorded each month between 1930 and 1938, in Kabba Province 374 monthly-recorded swarms, and in Benue Province 907 (NAK/MINPROF: 1,349; Crocker, 1936:115). The severity of the damages done was acknowledged by the Governor of Nigeria, Cameron, who stated: "Locust infestations and swarms of grasshoppers led to a serious food shortage in the Northern Provinces". (*The Nigerian Gazette*, 1932: 90).

Such disasters as locust infestations, yam beetle intestations and flooding were not new. For example, locusts invaded Abuja twice, during the reign of Abu Kwaka (1851-1857) and the reign of Ibrahim Iyala, the third Emir of Abuja. Similarly, there were a series of locust invasions in Bida in the 1880s (Iyela, 1987: 248). During these crises, the affected peasantry assisted from the traditional central granaries as part of the welfare functions of the State. But the realities of the colonial situation in the 1930s meant that the ability of the people to control the immediate disaster was less, and government did very little to alleviate their sufferings. The colonial State had undermined the traditional welfare functions, but instead made new appropriation of peasant production, particularly through a rigid and badly timed colonial tax. In fact the various provincial administrations were forbidden to liquidate their surplus funds invested abroad or in fixed deposits in Nigeria to remedy the situation.

Furthermore, the assistance provided by the colonial State in Nigeria was very minimal and negligible. For example, colonial reports of 1934 stated: "Recently, Northern Nigeria has been subject to a plague

of locusts. In 1930, the damage done by locusts was considerable, in spite of an active [sic] campaign of destruction of the locust hoppers conducted chiefly by driving the swarms into trenches or pits. In 1931, the campaign was conducted largely by poisoning the bands of hoppers with bait (dried) treated with arsanie" (*Colonial Annual Report*, 1934:44). It is claimed that about 1,200 tons of bait were made at over eighty centres, with over 150,000 acres of hoppers destroyed while similar campaigns "on a rather smaller scale [were] rried out in 1932, 1933 and 1934" (ibid). The same reports stated that "little damage had been done to crops (?) in these recent years" (ibid). This certainly is not true, because considerable damage was done. For instance, in Niger Province, it was reported that in 1928, 25 farms were destroyed in Kontagora Division: 20 in Rijau and 32 at Kumbashi. In Abuja Division, 265 farms including 95 farms of sorghum, 79 of maize/corn, and 7 of millet were destroyed (NAK/MINPROF: 1349). Similarly, in July 1933 alone about 162 farms were damaged in Kontagora Division and 193 in Abuja Division, and 50 per cent of sorghum was destroyed in three villages in Bida Division (ibid).

The general grain dearth experienced was not ameliorated by the actions of the central government as well as provincial administrations. In fact, there was no prospect of obtaining foodstuffs from other provinces or even divisions as a result of the prohibition of grain exports across provincial/divisional boundaries. For example, when the District Officer (D.O) of Kontagora Division sought assistance from Agaie and Lapai Division, the D.O. stated that "I am afraid little help will be forthcoming from this Division". The D.O. of Abuja Division, on his own part, replied in this way: "It is regretted that Abuja Administration is unable to help" (NAK/MINPROF: M68). To make matters worse, the Secretary of the Northern Provinces directed that food relief should only be sought from internal sources

(ibid). Since the government failed to support the people, they were thrown back on domestic and community resources, which were themselves increasingly incapable of supporting them. The results were food shortages, famine, starvation and even death as well as out- migration. In most parts of Northern Nigeria an abnormal rainfall in 1932 led to real shortage of food and famine (NAK/LOKOPROF: 12). Among the mining communities in Jos the decline in the external supply of foodstuffs from the lowland area of Jos Province made the cost of living higher in the mining camps (NAJ/JOS-PROF: 3/1933). In Kontagora Division, it is claimed that in order for some children to get enough food and to survive the crisis, their parents sold them to those who had enough (Iyela, 1987: 246). The Annual Report for Zungeru Division in Niger Province for 1932 contains evidence of instances of migration and an alarming number of deaths from disease and starvation (ibid: 247). The Kano Annual Report for 1934 shows that there was real food shortage in one of the biggest groundnut districts. Similarly, the Annual Reports of 1930 and 1931 for Sokoto and Zaria Provinces mention famine in these areas and cite a locust plague and over-cultivation of export crops as the main reasons for it (Shenton, 1986: 103). Many places in Adamawa Province were equally hit by drought while several farms and crops were ruined (Fariku, 1974: 42).

Conclusion

The 1930s witnessed a worldwide economic depression which virtually crippled Northern Nigeria economically and created a financial crisis and a drastic fall in produce prices. The expansion of exports was not an indication of prosperity in terms of a response to high produce prices, but essentially the result of very low produce prices, high tax rates and an adverse movement in the terms of trade. The deflationary measure of the British of exporting money from the already a depressed Northern Nigerian economy had resulted in a

fiscal dilemma for the administration and a financial crisis for the whole of the area. Generally, the fiscal policy of government, the fall in the prices of primary commodities, the high cost of imported goods, locust invasions and floods meant declining living standards among the majority of Northern Nigerian citizens, and famine, starvation and even death in many areas.

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Post-Enlightenment Imaginary: Heinrich Barth and the Making of an Aesthetic in the Central Sudan

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"It is perfectly possible to argue that some distinctive objects are made by mind, and that these objects, while appearing to exist objectively, have only a fictional reality'' — Edward Said (1978:54).

Introduction

A century and a half ago (1850–1855), the Anglo-German traveller-writer, Heinrich Barth (1821–1865), visited, while on a mission sponsored by the British Government[1], the Savannah belt of West Africa between Lake Chad in the east and the River Senegal in the west, a region variously called the Sudan, the Western Sudan, or the Central Sudan. In the *Draft Instructions* (1849) handed to Barth and his companions (James Richardson and Adolf Overweg), he was charged with providing precise and factual information which might facilitate trade, the so-called legitimate commerce, between Britain and the Sudan, and accelerate the effort of the European powers to abolish the so-called domestic African slave trade.

In 1857 Barth published, with the aid of a generous publishing grant from the British Government, his *magnum opus*, the celebrated *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa.* Since then this text has become academic currency in recounting 19th century Sudanese societies. Barth's narrative has been prized by academic historians for its wealth of detail, meticulous observation, scientific methodology, and empathetic survey of the people, languages, cultures, and flora and fauna, of the Sudan. From Bovill (1926), Kirk-Greene (1962), Davidson (1970), and Hodgkin (1975) to Adeleye

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(1971), Ayandele (1979), Usman (1982/85) and Smith (1997), Barth is regarded as the greatest explorer of the Sudan, the founder of Nigerian historical studies, and, not least, the most credible of all European explorer-writers on the Sudan. Indeed Barth's scientific and academic prestige has survived the turbulent period of African decolonization.

This paper sets out to highlight a key aspect of Barth's textual practice and writing strategy, which the historical authorities have either ignored or failed to conceptualize adequately --- Barth's debt to the post-Enlightenment imaginary. The distinctive categorial premises of this literary tradition are the rhetorical apprehension of the exotic Other within representational and symbolic narrative, and of the landscape as *writable* and aesthetic (or anti-aesthetic) property, via the explorer-writer's reflexive, expository and performative voice, or point of view. It is argued below that Barth's text was composed not from a scientific, or disinterested, observation, but from literary, rhetorical and aesthetic notions, which had themselves been mediated by the ideological frames of the 19th century civilization mission, namely racism and imperialism.

The Enchanting Scene

Within the literary modes and conventions in which Barth writes or re-presents the Sudanese landscape (interiors, rivers and farmlands) and bodies, even his own relational self-presence, the Sudan is an *image*, and he an artist meant to "paint", and thus restore, her to (textual) life. This he does, first of all, by introjecting affective properties such as enjoyment, delight, enchantment, beauty, and so on, onto the objective space of the Sudanese landscape. Yet it will be shown below that these affective properties indicate the quality of an imaginative and figurative consciousness which drains the objective landscape of its concrete particularity, and then bestows upon it an

emotional, sentimental and poetic quality, a quality which seeks to convert the concrete into (poetic, aesthetic) meaning. That is, Barth's text provides the image of a rhetorical, aestheticizing form or imaginary which is always constructed before it is presented within the process of the writing of the Other. This has been described by Said (1978:55) as "imaginative geography'', the process by which the mind of the explorer intensifies "its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away''. This is indeed the case, for exploration writing as we know it is the attempt, futile as it is, to bridge this distance, to merge it, to re-present the far-away as the familiar, the non-threatening.

In the historical literature devoted to Barth's representation of Sudanese societies, such as the texts cited above, his text's convention of visual and textual construction of the concrete has never been probed. For example, there is hardly a paragraph or sentence in *Travels and Discoveries* without an affective verb or adjective, namely "imagine", "enjoy", "fine", "picturesque", "romantic", "unspoiled", "imaginative", "magnificent", "astonishing", "mighty", "delight(ful)", "pleasant", "beautiful", and so on. Here is a typical passage:

> The whole plain appeared to be one continuous corn-field, interrupted only by the numerous villages, and *shaded* here and there by single monkey-bread-trees, or Adansonias, and various species of fig-trees ...with their *succulent, dark-green foliage...* with large, fleshy leaves of *a bright green color*. Since I left Kano I had not seen so *fine* a country.. I had *a pleasant excursion* on horseback...through the plain to a neighbouring village, and then toward the Komadugu, which forms *a beautiful sweep*, being lined on the north side by a steep, grassy bank adorned with fine trees... In the bottom of the fiumara we found most *delicious water...* These pools are *enlivened* by a great number of water-fowl, chiefly heron and flamingoes (II: 94-95; my italics).

In the above passage, it is the trope of the picturesque, anchored in the writer's visual perception, which organizes and tracks the scene. The concrete particularity of the landscape is invested with visual-imaginary abstractness. The materiality, the physicality, of the space is recuperated within an aesthetic of delight, the on-looker's delight, or rather domesticated as an abstract, vision-sanctioned field of colour. Hence the preponderance of nominal adjectives of colour, and affective adjectives. Indeed, even the water is delicious, that is, a desired object for bodily consumption.

In this way, Barth presses on the landscape a post-Enlightenment imaginary: he constructs an emotional-aesthetic field of the concrete and the imaginary, the beautiful and the sublime. That is why he finds a promontory either "unspoiled'', or "rich'' and "picturesque'' (I: 34, 36), and wadis, or ravines or cliffs presenting to view "beautiful layers of red [colour]'' (44), and beautiful scenery "arresting our attention'' (70), and whole landscapes becoming "very pleasant [and becoming] more agreeable in appearance by the fineness of the morning'' (85). As the narrator of the text says, it is the beauty or otherwise of the landscape, that is whether it is pleasant, beautiful or monotonous, that necessarily "impresses itself on the narrative of the traveller'' (69).

Barth translates, or transfers, the concrete particular, the ravine, the valley, the foliage, from the domain of intransitivity (the matter-of-fact) to one of (his) vision or perception, to one of aesthetic, imaginary-poetic possibility. While leaving a Sudanese town, he reports the country as becoming, by degrees, "more beautiful and cheerful, and exhibiting the character of repose and ease'' (I: 481). Moments later, as the sun breaks through the dense clouds, suddenly the day becomes "a most beautiful morning, and I indulged in the feeling of unbounded liberty, and in the tranquil enjoyment of the

beautiful aspect of God's creation'' (482). The surrounding landscape is here transferred from its concrete, matter-of-fact particularity to the narrator's subjective space, his loving and pleasing embrace, his personal aesthetic project.

It is clear, then, that for Barth freedom or liberty is a function of the picturesque and the lofty magnificence of the sublime. Even Barth himself is ravished and transported by the exalted Nature, or by the force of Nature which is not, however, a force at all, since it supplies unbounded possibilities. As the narrator says soon after the above passage, the landscape is "one of the finest landscapes I ever saw in my life'' (482). The sublime, that is Nature in its awesome presence, has moved the protagonist (to an emotional wonder) and has, accordingly, or to the same precise degree, charmed him (by its impressive quality), as he says of a "delightful park-like appearance which had so *charmed* me the previous day'' (484).

For Barth, then, the landscape, indeed the whole material presence of the surrounding countryside, is an aesthetic object which exists, or is made to exist, in conformity to his senses (his perception and sentiment) and capacities (his exploration and discovery of it). In fact the Sudanese landscape is inseparable from, and inheres virtually in, his sensuous manifold: he keeps reaping enjoyment from the sheer presence and existence of the landscape. In a word, the landscape is both his home, and his food, so to speak:

> I chose my camping ground on an eminence...shaded by a majestic tamarind-tree, and affording an open prospect over the characteristic landscape (III: 46).

Here the landscape is not only a source of pleasure, but also affords a panorama which functions as a symbolic food or drink, that is enjoyed ("affording an open prospect over the characteristic

[beautiful, picturesque, fine, etc.] landscape''). The same impression is conveyed by a passage in which a Sudanese spot evokes the "same impression [in the hero] which the finest spots of Italy would produce on a traveller visiting them from the north of Europe'' (I: 227) Or consider the representation of a charming grove, appropriated as the "African Netherlands'', that is transported back and forth between the African picturesque and the European one. It is called "magnificent'', lighted by a "magnificent morning sky... a most picturesque view'' (II: 408). Barth's look on the landscape is thus full of desire and anticipation. It is even hedonistic since only the beauty and charm and excitement of the landscape pleases him. So here beauty is goodness (enjoyable). For example, while en route to Kano, Barth comes to Bichi town, on the outskirts of the city. The town appears to the traveller-protagonist as metonymically a large, delicious papaya fruit on account of the profusion of the gonda-bush all around the town. As he says, the fruit is so delicious to the extent that I must "call the attention of every African traveller to this fruit, which affords the greatest relief after a long day's journey'' (I:486). In the last analysis, then, the landscape emerges as an object for the (its) spectator. Barth is the spectator-owner. And to this extent, it is aesthetically and rhetorically his. Here, the hero has transformed the landscape into an object of possession. His eye has colonized it, mastered it, and portioned it into fixed zones, parameters and values. Hence his *looking down* rhetorically upon the landscape.

Which implies, therefore, that the Sudanese landscape is (of) an imagined value: it is, on this view, an artefact, defined, as Peckham (1999:172) says in a different context, "in terms of legibility, while the traveller [is] cast in the role of reader who activate[s] the meanings of the [manuscript-landscape]''. Yet in this rendering of the landscape as in tune with the hero's sentiment or imaginary possibilities, the landscape is encoded as *the* transparent space, exhibited and "made

to become readable, like a book" (Mitchel 1988:33). In this transparent space, the whole cultural and natural presence of the Sudan becomes the duplicate of the Book, the special lisible structure of the narrator's personal aesthetic. It is within this personal aesthetic that the Sudan is grasped, appropriated, or as Said (1978:181) might put it, "reduced, or codified as lived in, exploited aesthetically and imaginatively as a roomy place full of possibility''.

For example, the hero repeatedly represents the landscape as responding to his gaze and active perception of it. He is, in other words, "greeted by the cheerful sight'' (I: 96). Charming scenes present themselves to his eyes or sight (II: 202), while the horizon, the "finest embroidery from the hand of nature'' (II: 342) presents itself to his majestic vision. In these episodes, the narrator reduces the objects of his perception to a picture, that is a stilled and synchronized field of vision, now apprehended, now inscribed, within the semiotic discourse of what Pratt (1992) has called the "verbal painter''. But the "verbal painter'' is, paradigmatically and rhetorically, a reader of nature, as we see in the passage below:

> ...Several cavalcades were seen coming from various quarters... in the most *gorgeous* attire...and wearing over it several [shirts] of all sorts of colors and *designs*, and having their heads covered with... *casque*, made very nearly like those of our Knights in the middle age, but of *lighter* metal, and *ornamented* with most gaudy feathers. Their horses were *covered* ...with the most coloured stripes ...and adorned by a metal plate... The lighter cavalry was only dressed in two or three showy [shirts], and small *white or colored caps*; but the officers and more favored attendants wore bernuses of *finer* or *coarser* quality, and generally *of red or yellow* color, slung in a most *picturesque manner*... so that the inner wedding of *richly-colored silk* was most exposed to view... The *sight* of this troop, *at least from a little distance, as is the case in theatrical scenery, was really magnificent* (II: 238-39; my italics).

Note that the entire description consists in a tracing of embroidered "natural'' reality. Adjectives of colour abound: things are ornamented by colours, and appear in delicate or *coarse* qualities; dimensions are either *richly* ornamented or *not.* The narrator hints at the spatial demarcation, the *distance*, which both enchants and signifies the view, as in a theatre, where the distance, or enchanted chasm, between perceiver and object both *grounds* and *circumscribes* the scene. Here, Barth has no interest in the physicality, or material integrities of the riders and the footmen. What occupies his attention is the profusion of signs and *signifiers*; yet even these are cast, or narrativized, within a nominalized, insubstantialized, nonreferentialized discourse of Form.

It then follows that Barth's apprehension of the Sudanese landscape issues in, exists only within, a form of *sensate discourse,* or as Baumgarten (1734) would say, *sensitive knowing,* which not only affects but also effects the mediation between the subject and the object of perception. As the example of the above passage testifies, it is Barth's *sentiment,* his aestheticizing phenomenology, rather than, as the historians such as Usman (1982/85) and Bivins (1997) have argued, his historical *Reason,* which serves as the *manifold* which *shapes* and *organizes* the form ("meaning") which the landscape should take, (or actually does take). For Barth as for his teacher Hegel, the "*form* is the indwelling process of the concrete *content* itself'' (cited in Callinicos 1983:18). The following passage is an interesting example, or illustration, of Barth's philosophy of form, and the aesthetic ontology which shapes his thought. The passage is a celebrated description of a Katsina cavalry.

> The governor... about noon held a sort of review of several horsemen, whose horses, in general, were in *excellent* condition. They were armed with a *straight* sword *hanging* on the left, a *long heavy* spear for *thrusting,* and a shield, either of the *same description as that of the Tawarek,* of *oblong* shape, made of the

> *large* antelope ...or else bullock's or elephant's hide, and *forming* an *immense circular disk* of about five feet in diameter; some of them wore also the dagger at the left arm, while I counted not more than four or five muskets. Their dress was *picturesque,* and not too flowing for warlike purposes, the large shirt, or shirts (for they generally wear two), being fastened round the breast with an *Egyptian shawl* with a *red* border; and even those who were dressed in a bernus [Arab cloak] had it *wound round* their breast. Most of them wore *black* 'rawani' or shawls, *round their faces,* a custom which the Fellani of Hausa have adopted from the Tawarek merely on account of its looking warlike... (I: 454; my italics).

The passage is a good example of Barth's aesthetic ontology, or aestheticizing manifold. First, the passage overflows with metonymies and synecdoches: parts are reduced to wholes, namely the army is *reduced* to its appearance (clothes, spears, etc); wholes are *reduced* to their constituent parts, namely the colors, shawls, shields, and spears that instance the army's *material presence.* As in any idealist-aesthetic ontology, the concrete particular is subordinated to the abstract universal; the spear is transitively merged with "thrusting''; the sword with "the left''. Metaphors ("black", "warlike") effect the translation of the shield and the *rawani* from the Fellani to the Tawarek and, arguably, vice versa. As in the previous passage, nominal adjectives of colour (red, black) add to the passage's density of meaning. Here, as in the previous passage, Barth filters the visible, material referent for the *sign* (meaning). The whole passage is anchored to the transcendental imaginary of the seer, the eye/I which sets up the gaze ("I counted...'') within an aesthetic-symbolic manifold which *displaces* the human element, and then appropriates it as an aesthetic delight ("Their dress was picturesque''). It follows, then, that it is the aesthetic, rather than the biological-human-material, form of the mounted men that is mentioned, or found worthy of representing. It may in fact be said that given the *displacement* of the physicality of the mounted men by nominal adjectives of colour, and abstract nouns, the men are no more than "spears for thrusting'', an

"oblong shape", "immense circular disk", and so on. This reading of the passage is supported by the fact that the active elements that transport the signified content of the passage are *dynamic* verbs such as "fastened" "wound", and so on.

It is significant that the narrator calls the whole image "picturesque" and a "spectacle". On the argument we have been developing, it is fair to argue that those quoted passages are not an example of objective, empirical, matter of-fact, description beloved of the historians, but a rhetorical-semiotic one: it is a *synchronic* picture, a semantic graphing of real, biological and social entities, in a word, a *displacement* of the referent by the sensuous. But if this is indeed the case, then the landscape which we encounter in *Travels and Discoveries* is not a real, intransitive landscape, the material proof of the Sudan, but an *imaginary-fictional* one, absorbed, or apprehended within, a sensuous and poetic discourse. Thus the allegedly objective presences which Barth's text purports to describe are, in the light of the developing argument, fictional and imaginary presences, the products of a metaphorizing discourse, of what is fabricated in the process of its being *re*-presented.

This is not to claim that such a fictional and fictionalizing act is worthless or inauthentic or (transitively) unreal. It is rather to argue that that is all Barth and his text can ever manage. For Barth's is a "productive imagination" which creates its own objects of perception as its own perceptual field. To this extent, *Travels and Discoveries* signals its own fictionality by its own eminently semiotic re-invention of the Sudanese landscape, by its own, in other words, post-Enlightenment Romantic idealist-aesthetic ontology which seeks, as we have seen in the quoted passages above, to give *form* to the concrete particular, the external object of perception. On this score, the landscape, the Sudan's real material presences, remains real yet

imaginary precisely because it is given to, and intended for, the contemplating subject, the explorer, the "I'' of sensitive knowing called "discovery''. As the narrator says of his exploration of the Sudan, the Sudan is *his,* that is the "*first* object of my desires... and dreaming'' (I: 317). But why, we should ask, have the historians, that is those who have approached Barth as a realistic describer, missed the opportunity to retrace his *self*-production in the aesthetic? One answer lies in the indeterminacy of the aesthetic itself, or what Kant has called, in memorable phrase, "fictitious creations that are neither fish nor flesh, neither poetry nor philosophy'' (cited in Eagleton 1990:136).

Bivins (1997:4,5) has argued, in a critical account of Barth's association of history with geography (physical boundaries), that Barth tries, for example, to model a geography of Hausaland from the latter's myth of origin. Bivins censors Barth for failing to imagine what she calls "the master metaphor'' behind the myth of the "sibling relationships'' in the Hausa myth of origin. The irony of this position is entirely missed by Bivins. That is, while Bivins, as a historian, credits Barth with the ability to "carefully [report] the evidence'' (5), she does not appreciate that the "evidence'', or the "empirical proof'' which Barth presumably carefully reports is a metaphorical one. Read literally, metaphor means "transfer'', in the manner of analogy, simile (similarity to) and even metonymy (different from). It carries, in other words, one thing, or a group of things, from one place to another, or from one form of symbolization to another. It is used to *characterize* objects of any kind (including) perceptual "objects''. According to White (1973:34) metaphor is a trope which is essentially "useful for understanding the operations by which the contents of experience can be prefiguratively grasped and prepared for conscious apprehension''.

If this is indeed the case, then it is incoherent to assume a disjunction of metaphorical (indirect, figurative) discourse and factual, empirical description, as Bivins does. It is, in a sense, Bivins' lack of a tropological sense of Barth's discourse that has led her to model Barth as the bearer of an empirical, factual discourse. True enough, *Travels and Discoveries* seems to be an intensely referential text, carrying, so to speak, a variety of objects, places, peoples, and "resources'' along with it. Yet even this can be characterized, following Brown (1993) as a "rhetoric of acquisition'' which seeks to convey the authority and presence (at the foreign referent) of the writer-narrator.

This is why the "rhetoric of acquisition'' which pervades *Travels and Discoveries* is precisely that— a rhetoric, that is, a metaphoric ontology (of forms). This refers to what Bhabha (1994:31) has called the "shot/reverse-shot strategy of a serial enlightenment'' in which the Other is the "good object of knowledge... the docile body of difference'', the articulable inarticulable, in a word, the exegetical horizon of inscription, articulation and difference. It is this, as we have emphasized above, which is the constant presence in Barth's discourse of the landscape. We say constant presence because even as a supplement (or supplementary) to Barth's rational-empirical discourse, (if Bivins is to be believed), it is not a mere addition-substitution but one which is, in truth, the *foundation* and *precondition* of the activities of Barth's mind. Consider also the following passage:

> Then came the... people of the town, a few on horseback, but most of them on foot. *The people were all dressed in their finest finery, and it would have formed a good subject for an artist* (I: 338; my italics).

So the picturesque calls, to speak metaphorically, for its representation in graphic and pictorial form. As Said (1978:54) says of

the Orientalists, it is the metaphorical presence of the established artist and the art form which "provide a context for the understanding of foreign reality''. In the above passage, the narrator openly acknowledges the mediating power of the aesthetic, or the imaginative role of the artist in the representation, indeed even the knowledge, of a foreign or alien or exotic culture and landscape. Once again, it is aesthetic judgement which acts as the manifold within which the exotic is apprehended. But it is this which underscores Barth's essentially aesthetic and metaphorical method. Even in Barth's meta-critical discourse, this metaphorization of the landscape is deployed as an objectification of the real, hence the semantic appearance of *Travels and Discoveries* as a text. It "captures'' or articulates, the lands, rivers, trees and farmlands in images, and surveys them in sketches, engravings, pictorial and archeological note-book inscriptions. This is precisely what Barth himself says the very presence of the Sudan calls for: the *presence* and imaginative play or act of the artist ("a good subject for an artist''), namely his own self-presence.

But this precisely is why Barth *has* to represent the Sudan, that is, set up something else other than the Sudan to stand-for the Sudan as a material presence. What *stands-for* the Sudan in *Travels and Discoveries?* It is a network of words, inscriptions, perceptions, sensations and imaginaries. Within this network, the Sudan is, or becomes, the artist's canvass: it is, or is portrayed as, mute and sychronized and said to be lacking any consciousness of itself, or the desire to represent itself, to "measure its own monuments, write its own history, derive its own meaning'' (Terdiman 1985:36). It is Barth the artist who speaks on its behalf. It has, in effect, become *his* text, his signification, his code. He cites, quotes, frames and illuminates it.

This is why the traditional conception of exploration writing as more or less uncomplicated representations of empirical reality cannot account for the important truth that this reality, the Other, is a phonic and existential absence, for if the lands, rivers, trees, farmlands, mountains and societies of the Sudan were not absent in Barth's text, there would be no point in *Travels and Discoveries* representing them, that is, to stand for them and to speak for them.

This is at the heart of the *aporia* of textual representation. The material presence of the Sudan becomes an *absence,* that is, a presence becoming an absence, and vice versa. As we have seen above in the example of the perceived charm of the Sudan evoking the (desired) presence of the artist, a relation of standing-for *replaces* a relation of intransitive presence. The present, the picturesque Sudanese spectacle, or the sublime awe of the River Niger, is turned into a *vision,* that is, an abstract visual image. Yet this blanketing and displacing is effectively obscured or displaced by the illusion, fostered by Barth's mobile profiling, the actual travelling and writing, that the Other was, or is, actually and indubitably encountered *there* (the far away place, the Sudan as the *foreign* country). A good illustration of this point is found in III: 62, where the narrator distinguishes between a stubble-field and a grove "by the *appearance* of a certain degree of industry'' in the former (my italics). Here it is *appearance* as such which is, or becomes, the *meaning-making* manifold within which the gazed object is apprehended as a meaningful object. In other passages even the natural world is cast as being in tune with the narrator's presence, that is as being "awake and full of bustle, and the trees swarming with white pigeons'' (III: 316), just as the narrator contemplates the scene. On page 461, we encounter the narrator walking about in a beautiful valley, and suddenly being overcome with emotion so strong as to let slip out the words: "The evenings [are] beautiful''.

Clearly, then, it is the affective properties by which Barth has appropriated or absorbed the landscape ("appearance'', "awake and full of burstle'', "beautiful'') that have, in a truly tropological fashion, *performatively* re-created or re-presented the land as a network of signs. That precisely is the *magic* performed by representation in exploration narratives: the real object has *disappeared,* vanished, absented, turned into, or over to, a vacant space. What appears and takes over the field, the real space of the concrete, is, as Fabian would say, "communication, rhetoric and persuasion'' (1990:757). It follows, then, that the question of logical proofs or systemic fits between word and referent, signifier and signified, which is likely to occupy the historian, does not arise, or is, at best, a secondary issue. Here lies the truth of McCannel and McCannel's thesis that representation is a form of semiosis in which meaning is produced through codes or conventions (1982: 9); and Hegel's claim that aesthetic thinking suppresses "the particularity of the object with the universality of the concept, and vice versa'' (cited in Eagleton 1990: 141).

The Disenchanting Landscape

The central argument to be developed in this section is that it is because *Travels and Discoveries* has displaced the intransitive Sudanese landscape, that is turned it into a legible, transparent space of desire, that the landscape has necessarily to appear, here and there, as an index of chaos, dystopia and anomie. This may seem, on the surface, to undermine our earlier argument that Barth sees in the landscape, as his teacher Schelling had taught, the "original, as yet unconscious poetry of the spirit'' (cited in Eagleton 1990:133). On the contrary: it is because Barth seeks to give *form* to all that is outside of him that he inevitably has to judge, admonish and demarcate the Sudan, and also find her wanting. For if the entire Sudan is anchored

in his sensory experience, judgement, desire or agency, then authority as such lies in him or rather in the authenticity or "objectivity'' of his felt experience. Thus the Sudanese landscape is *his* in virtue of its existing as his sensory object. This is also the sense in which he must externalize all that is within him, that is dramatize the aporias of Enlightenment utilitarian-technicist Reason (objectivism) and post-Enlightenment Romantic-Promethean subjectivism. The point is not only to uncover the contradictions at the core of Barth's textual practice but also to demonstrate the fundamental insight of Derrida and Macherey that a text is always organized/ordered around its own blind spot and that text-writing is an absence/silence so radical that it cannot be located, for as Paul de Man has added, a text "simultaneously asserts and denies the authority of its own rhetorical mode" (1979:77).

Barth scans the Sudanese landscape so as to establish its industrial potential (prospects). The potential or otherwise of the land is then converted into meaning. Said has argued that the very determination or demarcation of space as "appropriate'' or "inappropriate'' is a "poetic process, whereby the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning'' (1978:55). We see this process at work in Barth's text: the landscape is ugly or monotonous or beautiful (varied) to the extent it possesses a representational plenitude:

> But *picturesque* as the state of the trees was, it did not argue much in favor of the *industry* of the inhabitants; for it is well-known... that the palm-tree is most picturesque in its wildest state (I: 147; my italics).

Here the beauty of the land is measured in *industrial* terms: order and beauty must issue forth in the industrial-utilitarian form. For the land must yield its prospect for exploitation by technological reason.

Barth's utilitarian and romantic imaginative-figurative economy is seen in the mixture of romanticism and objectivism which structures his observation: sometimes the landscape is picturesque, pleasurable, at other times rich, a "charming *prospect*'' (I: 306; my italics). In this instance, pleasure is the motive for the gaze, in the other profit. For example, on seeing one of the most "fertile regions of [the Sudan]", where the population, the cultivators, are able to "export to foreign countries'', his heart, says the narrator, "gladdened at this sight'' (I: 413).

The narrator gets the same feeling upon sighting fields full of grazing livestock, or well cultivated fields, such as when he is "greeted by the cheerful sight of the first corn-crop'' (II: 92) or elevated by the sight of vast herds (I: 304). In a word, the beautiful land is the good land. For the land is not only valorized for its beauty but also for its medicinal potential and productive utility, for example the *Adansonia* for its spice, the *tamarind* for its anti-dysentery properties. Barth has special affinity with the trees of the Sudan, such as the tamarind (from which he takes his anti-dysentery medicine), the deleb-palm which he sees as the sign of Arabs, Islam and Mediterranean civilizations, the monkey-bread tree (*Adansonia digitata)* which is the sign of the Hausa ethnicity. The bore [baure] and korna [*kurna*] trees he says are his special friends. Note that in all this, the relationship between the sign-trees and the referents is one of a *standing-for* between the referent and its doubles. In the end, however, it is the potential of the object for producing a marketable surplus that engages the narrator's attention.

In other situations, the beauty of the land is interrupted, admittedly for the better, by the realities of trade and commerce. For the narrator almost always juxtaposes his discourse of the picturesque with that of utility. For example, a picturesque discourse of the Damerghu

landscape is repeatedly interrupted by the description of the "milky juice'' used by "the pagans ...to ferment their *giya* [wine]'' (I: 417). There are many such passages on virtually every page of *Travels and Discoveries.*

Sometimes, however, it is the lack of the picturesque which interrupts the search for the "charming prospects'' (the potential source of profit):

> Cheered by the spectacle of life and industry around us, we continued our pleasant march... we reached the castle of Mesellata...but I found it so desolate and comfortless that I left it immediately (I: 84).

In the same vein, the narrator spots the famous Mount Baghzen in the distance, an object which had once "filled my imagination with lofty crests and other features of *romantic scenery.* But how disappointed I was... I soon turned my eyes from it to Mount Eghallal'' (I: 304; my italics). In other instances, the barren landscape registers its anti-aesthetic appeal, as in the case of the "monotonous country of Bornu'' (III: 54), and of the Wadi Ran, whose "monotonous character'' even "impresses itself on the narrative of the traveler'' (I: 69). Yet even this anti-aesthetic stands, to all intents and purposes, in a unique, original and creative relationship to Barth the eye/I. For in these situations, the barren, monotonous and ugly landscape stands forth, to quote Said (1978:173) like "an illuminated text'', and presenting "itself to the scrutiny of a very strong, refortified ego.''

Time and again, the picturesque and the sublime-utilitarian frames exist side by side:

> The morning had been rather dull, but before noon the sun shone forth, and our situation on the sloping ground of the high country, overlooking a great extent of land in the rich dress of vegetable life,

> was very pleasant. There was scarcely a bare spot; all the green, except the ears of the millet and sorghum were almost ripe (II: 246).

Here are "some remains of industry... tobacco plantations'' interrupted by desolate country (III: 479); there a miserable "state of great poverty'' which, however, and in spite of itself, makes "a cheerful impression on me, on account of the number of dum palms and Korna-trees by which it is adorned'' (III: 128). Finally, at the desert town of Beni Ulid, the narrator records, in a justly seductive prose-style, the charming spectacle of decayed castles and ruins of buildings and a profusion of "beautiful olive-trees, besides being enlivened by many small villages consisting of stone dwellings half in decay'' (III: 629).

All this should not be taken to be an innocent example of the clash and co-existence of conflicting paradigms in Barth's *oeuvre*. Even within its figurative economy, Barth's eye/I is an "improving eye/I,'' an integral part of capitalist rationality which dreams of *improving* or transforming the landscape into a modern industrial landscape available for European exploitation. As he says while surveying the rich cornfields of Damerghu, "for here a more promising field for our labours was opened, *which might become of the utmost importance in the future of mankind*'' (I: 413; my italics). These lines signify Barth's dream of a future Commonwealth in which the Sudan's natural resources will be transformed with himself as their master. The rights of mankind (Europeans) can only be served with Barth's Enlightenment heritage firmly in place. As Pratt has put it, the visual descriptions of the land's utility and resources, naturalize "a transformative project embodied in the Europeans'' (1992:61). Barth's text abounds in magisterial descriptions of markets, cornfields, local industry and cattle. True enough, such visions of improvement, of promoting trade and commerce between the Sudan and Europe (as

Barth says in the preface to his text), are expressed by, and through the aesthetic:

> It is hardly surprising to find an emissary of a European imperial power concerning himself above all with parameters… the eye scanning prospects in the spatial sense knows itself to be looking at prospects in the temporal sense -- possibilities of a Eurocolonial future coded as resources to be developed, surpluses to be traded, towns to be built. Such prospects are what make information relevant in a description (Pratt 1992:60-61).

As the perceptive reader might notice, it is both because Barth has to scan parameters and strive to penetrate the landscape and deliver up its putative meaning that he has to find the Sudan as a deficit history, or an anti-aesthetic. This is indeed the "dark side'', as it were, of the picturesque and the utilitarian paradigms. For both logically lead to a discursive space in which the landscape is savage, wild, barbarous and odd. This is sometimes called *exoticism.* The exotic is, despite its anti-aesthetic quality or connotation, really an aesthetic ideal. But it is also a source of pleasure and anxiety. Barth registers the exoticism of the landscape in the very process of emptying it of its concrete particularity. An example is the inscription of the town of Borzari, which, we read, is "not remarkable in any way for the beauty of its scenery''. The town's "bleak soil'' reflects back to the surface the intense heat of the sun. It has a "scanty vegetation'' and is "oppressive in the extreme''. Around the outskirts of the town, "there is no great industry to be seen, nor is there a good market.'' Worse, its wells "measure ten fathoms in depth" (III: 37-38). And yet we are told that the governor of the town is generous enough to send the narrator-traveller a sheep, a large bowl of rice, several dishes of prepared food, and two large bowls of milk. He is said to be an "excellent man''. Both the contrasting images of the unusually generous governor, and the intense misery of the town convey the "shot/reverse-shot'' picture of a remote, primitive, ruined though

humble land. Many a European reader might be struck by the apparent disjunction between the town's misery and its ruler's opulence.

So here even the discursive frame of the picturesque is embedded in an anti-aesthetic of exotic difference. For it is this frame which differentiates and classifies both Borzari and its ruler on the one hand, and the misery and bountiful existence of the town and its ruler on the other. This may be regarded, following Duncan (1999:156), as "a double erasure and inscription''. First, the town is literally erased (as a negative presence), and replaced with the narrator's symbolization of the negative presence of the town. Second, the governor is, by implication, aesthetically privileged over *his* town's unpleasant, unappealing presence. This is the typical discourse of exoticism: the Sudan, or much of it, lives in Nature (without technology); and yet some chunks of the Sudan, for example its rulers, over-reach themselves in generous measure. Perhaps this is how, Barth is saying, savage life really is: it defies rational understanding. It is denied the "shock of the familiar'', hence its contradictory appeal as aesthetic delight and deficit aesthetics, but an aesthetic nonetheless. This is one reason why Barth encodes the Sudan as a dystopian region, an Other whose other is the European Self.

The Exotic Bodyscape

Barth's exoticism is most evident in his representation of the native body; for his disciplining and voyeuristic gaze circulates within a semiotic of exoticism in which the native body is the bodyscape, a site of racial difference, and a source of anxiety. The native body is also used to codify and fix difference. But it is also an extension of the landscape; and like the landscape, it is inscribed, written over, within an aesthetic ontology of grace and symmetry on the one hand,

ugliness and unpleasantness on the other. According to Spurr (1996:22), Western writers have historically seen "the body [as] that which is most proper to the primitive, the sign by which the primitive is represented. The body, rather than speech, law or history is the essential defining characteristic of primitive peoples''.

The body is precisely the *semiosis* by which *Travels and Discoveries* defines, catalogues, classifies and encodes difference. The body, in other words, is what the primitive lives *within.* The traveller-narrator not only pays great attention to the sight of naked boys, but also to the physiognomy of the native subject, which is described variously as tall, well-made, well-built, handsome, or ugly, even a horrible sight (I: 550; II: 418; III: 515). For Barth, the aesthetic significance of the body is that it is a racial body, judged by the visible economy of race and colour. For example, while gazing at a group of half-naked boys, the narrator notes the boys' "tall, well-formed figures and their light color— the finest proof that this little clan does not intermarry with the black race" (I: 265). This visual economy of race and colour highly valorizes "very regular and agreeable features'', and "fine, lively black eyes, and an olive complexion only a few shades darker than that of the Italian peasant''. It also sees charm in the "light complexion'' (I: 330-31), large benevolent eyes, well-marked features, fair complexion and slender frame. These, says the narrator, are also indicators of a physiognomy which bespeaks of its possessor's "notable birth'' (I: 418).

This is why the protagonist is strongly attracted to handsomeness as a universal aesthetic quality, and to handsome individuals, as evident in his portrayal/display of Kungu, a young Tawarek lad. One morning Kungu comes to bid the narrator farewell, having previously become a good friend. Kungu is romantically described as intelligent and chivalrous, with "long black hair… large expressive eyes and [a]

melancholy turn of mind, *I liked him much*'' (III: 425 my italics). Moments later, we are told that Kungu takes leave of his interlocutor by "swinging himself upon his horse by means of his spear [and riding] off with a martial air'' (426). The same romantic inscription is deployed by the narrator in his description of a young Sudanese, who is said to be "a fine, and slender young man, with a very pleasant expression of countenance'':

> he was quite naked, but loaded with coquettish ornaments. Round his neck he wore a double string of red beads, a little lower again a set of two strings of iron beads; on his shoulder he wore four broad iron rings; on his elbow two other narrow iron rings... very neatly worked like beads; on his wrist six narrow and one broad iron ring... and above them an ivory ring... The right arm was not so richly endowed with ornaments... (II: 215).

This is the classic discourse of the exotic body. There is, on the one hand, an intense awareness of the *physicality* of the lad's presence, and on the other a hypnotic effect which is, however, interrupted by the qualifying clause at the end of the passage. The lad is, in other words, *fascinating,* as conveyed by the almost surreal description. The parts and surfaces of the lad's body are highlighted, that is, the parts and surfaces the on-looker wants to see, or wants the reader to imagine. Barth the narrator-writer contains the threat and terror of the exotic black body by acknowledging its essential difference, and by disqualifying or disapproving it with the qualifying clause "the right arm was not so richly endowed with ornaments, having only...''

Thus the gazed body is disciplined: its surface is highlighted as difference. As Low (1990:108) has suggested, the "appeal to surfaces is strategic to a discourse of racism'', for the racial fetish of skin colour must be "spread on'' the black body. This is how Hammadi, a *black* lad, is represented, as "a stout figure, with broad *coarse features*, strongly marked with the small-pox, and *of a very dark*

complexion, his descent from a female slave being his chief disadvantage'' (III: 467; my italics). Or consider the description of the chief of the Arab Welad Sliman, who is said to be clad in a "picturesque attire'', and "exhibit[ing] an interesting and animated specimen of horsemanship'', and presenting a "*remarkable contrast to the unwieldy movements of the clumsy and sluggish figures of the negroes*'' (II: 424; my italics). We could also include, among these examples, the supposedly objective description of Aliyu, the Sultan of Sokoto. He is inscribed in a profusion of active constructions, and of a creative mixture of finite verbs and concrete vocabulary:

> I obtained a distinct view of this chief... I found him a stout, middle-sized man, with a round fat face, *exhibiting evidently* rather the features of his mother, a Hausa slave, than those of his father Mohammed Bello, a free and noble Pullo, but full of cheerfulness and good humor (III: 107; my italics).

In the passages cited above, the black body is metonymically associated with an anti-aesthetic. Note that the narrator's focus is only on a specific *part* or *surface* of the body— the face. It is the corporeal imagery of the black face (round, fat, small-poxed) which unproblematically fixes the racial tag on the black body itself. For the black face is wild (anti-art), and suggests a metaphorical association of face and character, and in the case of the alleged sluggish and clumsy movements of the negroes, of muscle and soul. For example, physiognomy is, for Barth, the key to character. Blacks are said to have "the cheerful and playful character'' (I: 279) and are therefore unwarlike and cowardly; while the Berbers, whom the narrator considers as almost "white'' are sober and grave, brave and noble (I:279,281,287,289,320). For Barth, then, the body, as Shortland (1990:28) would argue, speaks, and speaks of a form *signifying content.* The *form* is the desirable racial aesthetic or the undesirable racial anti-aesthetic, as the case may be; and the *content* "difference'', namely character (valor, cowardice, industry, indolence, etc). This is

why *Travels and Discoveries* repeatedly deploys the nouns (which sometimes function as adjectives) "countenance'' and "expression''. And it is largely from the countenance or expression of the subject that the text encodes its racial difference and social character (loyalty, treachery, good cheer, etc).

In the case of the description of Aliyu, note the curious non-finite clause, "exhibiting evidently'', which, we would argue, is an oxymoron because to *exhibit* is to display, that is, according to Hall (1997:259), "to mark, assign and classify [to deploy] symbolic power [and thus] ritualized expulsion''. To exhibit, according to Lidchi (1997: 153) is to display within a museum of the exotic, to, in effect, create representations of the other (as an artefact). Yet the expression "exhibiting evidently'' is also a deceptively referentializing clause, which seeks to signal its verisimilitude. But this is an illusion, given the realization that Aliyu has, in being fetishized into a body-part, and made to be encountered as a "round, fat face'', been turned into an aestheticized mirror-metaphor. This is what is seen and gestured towards, rather than the real, blood-and-flesh Aliyu. This is clearly one reason why Barth is a racist, and a racial aestheticist. For he sees only the *"severed parts* of the black body'', to borrow a phrase from Low (1997:107). A body, rather than a whole human subject.

In a revealing passage, the narrator says he turns down an offer of a black trooper as escort chiefly because if "phrenologists [those who determine people's characters and abilities by measuring their skulls] had taken his features as the general type of the Negro race, they would have felt themselves authorized in assigning to them a more intimate connection with monkeys than with men''. The narrator qualifies this with the expression: "his cheerless but conceited disposition was in perfect harmony with his exterior'' (II: 426), that is, black skin. Cheerless but self-conceited disposition!

Homi Bhabha cannot be more right when he writes that the "Black skin splits under the racist gaze, displaced into signs of bestiality, genitalia, grotesquerie'' (1994:92). All this is in contrast to Barth's own body, which is never mentioned, and which, by implication, is the "undifferentiated *whole* white body'', what Bhabha calls "the phobic myth'' (92). This may explain why Barth hates racial intermarriage, as when he condemns the Berber clan of Amoshagh for allowing themselves to "become degraded by inter-mixture with the black natives" and the Kel-Owi, for being specimens of Berber and Sudan [black] blood''. In one instance, Barth regrets the passing of the racially pure Kel-Owi: "the poor Kel-Owi... have degenerated from their original vigor and warlike spirit by their intermixture with the black population'' (I: 202, 212, 339). The same is said of the mixed-race Buzaye, who are said to be, on this account, debased, "having lost almost entirely the noble carriage'' of the pure Berber blood (I: 281). In general, then, half-castes are aesthetically and socially inferior, that is "devoid of the noble and manly appearance'' of the pure non-negroid specimen (248; 249). A good illustration of this point is the passage where the Fulbe, said to be the charming, ruling race, have become "spoiled by the influence of the softer manners of the subjugated tribe [the Hausa]'' (III: 83).

Thus the pure blood, race or specimen is the aesthetic *par excellence*, as we see in the case of the racially pure Berber clan of the Ikazkezan, who are encoded as having a "beautiful manly figure and fine complexion'' (I: 283). But this is not the case with the archetypal pure negro (or black) who is encoded as muscular, with a flat nose (dilated nostrils), thick lips, red eyes, frizzy hair, and of deep dirty black colour.

In other instances, the negroes (blacks) are encoded as muscular but "rather ugly'' (I: 144), of "less handsome expression of countenance'' (269). The Fulbes are said to have "really Circassian [Caucasian] features [handsome] until they reach the age of about twenty years, when they gradually assume an apish expression of countenance, which entirely spoils the really Circassian features" (II: 157). One day, Barth had two visitors: one, we are told, "was a man of apparently negro origin... nothing very remarkable about him'', the other was "one of the finest men I have seen in [Bornu], and more like a European than a native of negroland, tall and broad shouldered, and remarkably amiable and benevolent'' (II: 152,505). Even in instances where the black body or form is admired, or found appealing, it is treated as a spectacle, and invested with what Mercer (1988:145) has called "isolation-effect'' whereby the black body becomes the sole object of discourse. Yet this is not always the case, as we see in situations where a comparative-chiastic classificatory technique is deployed against the black body, that is, explicitly compared with the positive end of the aesthetic system of values. Thus the discursive objectification of the black body constantly requires a chiasmusic trope, as illustrated by the textual requirement of displaying the black body paratactically, that is side by side with its positive other. For example, when Barth encounters the untypical black body, it is aestheticized as a fair, improved specimen, that is, a *character* approximating "very closely to the European standard'' (I: 301). There can be no better example of a binary opposition or chiasmic semiosis than the above passages. Here Barth has *naturalized* the rhetorical fiction of an essential racial-biological difference between light-skinned and dark-skinned subjects (European/African).

Despite the undoubted historical or cultural reasons behind Barth's racism and racialism, it is this aesthetic ontology which has textually provided him with a semiosis by which to map the lines of

determination, his discrimination, of the biological and the cultural body, nature and culture, physical difference and colour, all in the effort to display and reveal the body, the exotic body, the totemic body-object, for *his* semiotic consumption, or to articulate what Low would call the "atavistic trope of blackness''(1990:108). This substitution of a part (colour, face) for the whole (a person, an ethnic group) is, argues Hall, the *effect* of "representational practice'' (1997:266), which is designed to fix difference, and "thus secure it forever. It is an attempt to halt the inevitable 'slide' of meaning, to secure discursive or ideological closure'' (245).

But the body is also a source of anxiety because it cannot be fixed once and for all: its "meaning'' slides and spills. The body is also a seductive danger. Nowhere is this the case for Barth more than the female body. It is the special object of his gazing. Sometimes, the hero is encoded by his text as being the object of the female gaze. *Travels and Discoveries* is rich with almost erotic descriptions of women. Even the ugly women are seductively ugly. Nevertheless, Barth encodes his presence within the woman's body-field as a heroic male, the strong white man. He has, as he says, to resist the lure of the savage-woman-body, as we see in Agadez when a group of women demands his attention. Pratt (1992) has called such scenes "*seraglio* scenes'' to convey Barth's fear of, and desire for, the beautiful-ugly wildlife-woman (See I: 200,209). The point is, it is in such moments that Barth's aesthetic threatens to breakdown, to flee, while at the same time re-asserting itself. For example, Barth repeatedly laments his lack of a female companion, and says that that is one disadvantage the foreign traveller or explorer will face unless he brings along his own wife (I: 534,588-9; II: 37).

And despite his racist attitude to the black body, Barth finds many a black woman beautiful. He has a special instinct for the Hausa

woman, whom he repeatedly favours compared to the supposedly ugly Kanuri woman, who looks, with her dilated nostrils, very apish, and coquettish, at the same time:

> It is remarkable what a difference there is between the character of the ba-Haushe and the Kanuri -- the former lively, spirited, and cheerful, the latter melancholic, dejected and brutal; the same *difference is visible in their physiognomies* -- the former having in general very pleasant and *regular features* and more *graceful forms,* while the Kanuri, with his broad face, his wide nostrils, his large bones, makes a far less *agreeable impression,* especially the women, who are very plain, and certainly among *the ugliest* in all Negroland, not withstanding their coquetry, in which they do not yield at all to the Hausa women (I:536; my italics).

Here is a discourse of difference concluding with a semiosis of female body-beautiful. In fact both the Hausa and the Kanuri countries have been gendered or feminized, and displayed, via the governing adjectives (in italics), as the visually accessible seductive/anti-seductive binary field. Once again, it is the (female) body which has functioned as the master metaphor for the landscape and its normative presence. In the above passage, there are also unstated connections between sex and ethnicity, the sensual and the cultural, the seductive and the lexical. The seductive and the lexical because the Hausa-body is so aesthetically and romantically significant that it has yielded a more "succulent'' and "delicious'' scripting of its presence. Which implies, then, that the pronoun "her'' (which is embedded in the proper names Hausa-woman/Kanuri-woman) designates the Hausa ethnicity and the Hausa woman on the one hand, and Kanuri ethnicity and Kanuri woman on the other. The archetypal difference or binarism of seductive Hausa and repulsive Kanuri has disappeared under the great metaphor of the body. Here, Barth's attempt to demarcate the two spaces by a metaphorical mapping has failed largely because each group of women— the ugly and the beautiful— has only been confirmed as, or restricted to, a

body part. Both are only *surfaces,* one pleasant, the other not; one framed within the classical conventions of Romantic painting, the other the regressive margins of a degraded sublime.

We see the last-mentioned process at work in a scene where the narrator encounters a group of women who want to obtain a small present from him. He says that he left them "without the least acknowledgement'' because he did "not observe one distinguished in any manner by her beauty or becoming manners'' (III: 410). There is no exchange between the two groups because there is no desire, and so no legible body to effect the *seraglio* act, that is, the non-sexual sexual, the allegorization of the sexual act into a spectacle, or, as the Freudians might say, a textual sublimation. The sublimation consists in converting sexual feelings into "magisterial observation''. For example, while in Agadez Barth is introduced, by his informant, to what the former calls the "mistress of the house'': she has "a fine figure'', and a "fair complexion'', and wears "a great quantity of silver ornaments'', and "dressed in a gown of colored cotton and silk'' (I: 351). She is the archetypal aesthetic woman. Clearly, the narrator has consumed the mistress not sexually but allegorically, that is mapped through, and by, her own body.

The image of the female body as an allegory leads, in many cases, to sexual anxiety. In an encounter with two "pretty and well formed'' women, graced, we are told, "with fine black hair hanging down in plaits and tresses, lively eyes, and very fair complexion'' the protagonist comes very close to losing his will and control, for, we read, the girls' "demeanor was very free" (I: 353). Suddenly, he reminds himself of the need to exercise the caution necessary for a stranger passing through a foreign land. In the face of temptation, the protagonist would rather recommend that the traveller take his wife with him. Or else, he says, he should "maintain the greatest austerity

of manners with regard to the other sex'' (353). Here the narrator has produced erotic images and passages without appearing to provoke arousal either on his part or on that of the reader. This is what obtains in many scenes of erotic encounter between the hero and local women.

Thus the erotic-aesthetic presence of the beautiful native woman sets in circulation a companion semiotic of seduction-desire, but which is contained by the free play of metaphor. There are, in Barth's narrativizations, scenes of women with bare breasts, and of a newly-married lady, a fine figure, with "quite an attractive appearance'' (III: 495); of ladies who form a great and interesting sight... of rather full proportions [and] plainly dressed'' (410). The most famous scene is the one involving a *seraglio* encounter with a Bagirmi damsel, "a buxom young maiden''. She is described in the most seductive and erotic of prose: graceful, very handsome, and coquettish, with eyes dark, lovely and beautiful. She asks the protagonist, the voyeuristic eye/I to "look into'' her eyes. He approaches "her very gravely''. He inspects her "sound and beautiful eyes''. For some few tense moments, they seem frozen, as if caught in each other's gravitational field. Then suddenly, the seer is released from the spell of the graceful, and he utters the words "beautiful eyes, beautiful eyes'', which she repeats after him in a "coquettish and flippant manner'' (II: 521). As Foucault (1990) would say, Barth has thoroughly saturated the female body with sexuality, or at least with a sexualized aesthetic phenomenology. And it is this phenomenology which has structured his metaphorical-imaginative-rhetorical communion/communication with the exotic-sensual body.

This precisely is what enables the hero to curb his phallic exuberance, and thus reproduce the heroic male fantasy of the strong white male who has displaced the woman-body as the object of *his*

desire. Yet such a displacement is, besides being an illusion as we have seen above, is narcissistic, that is, the romance of the strong white man. By such metaphorical manoeuvre, Barth attempts to construct a "re-productive'' sign which, in the last analysis, is in opposition with the feminine. The terms of the opposition are *negative* because the exotic body is assessed, mapped and encoded within the economy of an aesthetic judgement which constructs the body as an object of curiosity, of the *disciplinary* gaze, that is bound and circumscribed by the white-male-bourgeois discovery rhetoric. In this rhetoric the body, the exotic-racial body, is, or is read as, a text: it is inscribed upon, it is what is inscribed upon the text, so as to make it lisible, scriptible, legible all at once.

But that is precisely why the rhetoric or the aesthetic functions solely to erase the body metaphorically and metonymically by inscribing its symbolic death. However, as Derrida would say, "death by writing inaugurates life''. This is not to suggest that Barth's text has given life to the savage body. On the contrary, the body in Barth's text figures as a superscription, as the "docile'' body produced by Barth's aesthetic colonization of the native body. It is by such techniques of *reinvention* that Barth erases the real body and replaces it with a palimpsest, and thus, at the same time, asserts his cognitive power over the real. As Shortland (1990:45) suggests, such erasing of the real is the hallmark of colonial narratives:

The colonizer of the body surface lays down the rules, formulates the law of reading, and sets into play a pretence autonomy of signifiers. Text and image put into circulation body, face, writing, but only the last possesses any freedom of development.

Shortland's postulation sustains the argument, central to this paper, that Barth's discourse of the native landscape and body is a *writing*,

the production of *substitute* bodies and landscapes, of bodies and landscapes without a content, or rather *forms* whose absence and emptiness are precisely what make their *articulation* possible. That is not to suggest, however, that the substitute body is a purely ethereal object. Barth's phenomenology would not allow the native to get away so easily. For the body of the native must, within the industrial aesthetics which Barth represents, be a sign of other material signs, namely labour power, antique, innocence, degradation, scientific evidence of racial difference or inferiority, of suffering (humanitarian object), and of desire (erotic spectacle). All these inscriptions/valuations of the exotic body can be found on virtually every page of *Travels and Discoveries.*

Conclusion

The contention, with which we began this paper, that Barth organizes his representations within an aesthetic ontology is intended to underline the essentially semiotic and literary nature of his writing practice, and our thesis that the Sudan he has inscribed cannot be neatly and unmediatedly *separated* from this aestheticizing, imaginative and rhetorical technique. In Barth's text, the Sudan, far from being a sensuous living reality, or a pure presence, is a *sign* of writing. Like the sign, the concrete other, the land, culture, voice and body scapes of the Sudan are, in *Travels and Discoveries,* the very clear example, as Pfeiffer (1997:200) would say, of the "simultaneity of the absent and the fabricated''. This is because the text necessarily and inescapably figures its referents by means of an aestheticizing/metaphorizing breath, imposing on its referents a host of figurative (transpositional) fabrics of discourse. This, needless to say, leaves little or no room for an intrinsic, namely referential and intransitive, discourse of the Sudan as a material-historical reality in its own right. Surely there is, on this view, no such thing as factual or irreducibly empirical discovery. That is because of many complicated

reasons for which we lack space. For the moment, however, we should stress that discovery, in the context of Barth's text amounts to a semantic productiveness sustained precariously by ideology and representation, an aesthetic-imaginative manifold in which the Othering process of exploration writing is, and can be, read. Insofar as Barth has set out consciously to write the negativity of the Other, insofar as the Sudan has largely figured in his writing as a *lack,* an *incompleteness,* insofar as the Other is an anti-aesthetic, or rather the aesthetic end of the anti-aesthetic scale of values, then they are resources for exploitation materially, politically and graphically (semantically). This indeed casts light on why even the "civilizing mission'' is, in the last instance, an aesthetic project, a desire on the part of Europe to give the allegedly immeasurable and undefined others a *form,* a beautifying emergence from barbarism and indefiniteness. As Hegel wrote years ago, Europe should liberate Africa "by the free power of the spirit into a *beautiful form''* (Hegel 1956:141; my italics).

We should thus conclude, in the light of the foregoing argument, that Barth's book portrays not the real, historically self-evident Sudan, her peoples, cultures and landscapes, but a *metaphorical* Sudan, a Sudan, which has been *reduced,* in a sense, to Barth's semiotic and linguistic *play,* that is, the shape and activity of his writing and aestheticizing practice.

If in Barth's text the Sudan, its land, people, cultures and voices textually figure *only* as a silent, negated and aestheticized opposition (to the civilized, the normal and the present), then that is because Barth has sought to be the artist for whom the Sudan is an *image.*

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Christian Missionaries and Hausa Literature in Nigeria, 1840-1890: A Critical Evaluation

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The main purpose of this paper is the critical evaluation of how Christian missionaries in the period 1840-1890s created the need for and subsequently laid the foundation of Hausa language literature in Nigeria. And since in missionary work "British leadership was inevitable, since Britain was the greatest colonial and commercial power", (Atlaz 1967:214), the Protestant, Church Missionary Society (CMS) took the lead.

Founded in 1799 when the Society for Missions to Africa and the East (SAME) was transformed into the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, the emergence of the CMS was informed by, among other reasons, the complementing of the efforts of the much older Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in 1691 and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1701.

From the onset, the fundamental conviction of preaching the Gospel to all creatures which drove the missionaries to Africa did not openly conflict with the need for the opening of commercial opportunities for British merchants. As G. Moorhouse puts it, the missionaries endeavoured to create the "commercial opportunities that might follow from cleansing Africa of all pagan practices" (Moorhouse 1973:30). Thus, the CMS was attracted to West Africa in particular not just to promote the humanitarianism of British evangelism through fighting slavery, curing the sick and imparting the craft to natives. This is especially so when we realize that the CMS in London:

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> … were mostly middle–class men of substance and conscience, and of the twenty-four people who sat on the first CMS committee, thirteen were clergymen of the established Church, three were merchants and the others skinners, a banker, a surgeon, a tea broker, a silk merchant and even a sculptor. A number of them were shareholders in the Sierra Leone company which had been set up to colonize West Africa. (ibid. p. 45).

In West Africa itself, Sierra Leone was the most attractive as a base for reaching out to the hinterland, including the homeland of the Hausa language in what was to become Nigeria. It was, in fact, during the first anniversary meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa in June 1840, in London, that the most vigorous mobilization and sensitization of the British Missionary Societies to look more towards Africa began to take shape. Shortly after that meeting, the British Government organized and financed the expedition up the River Niger in 1841.

Consisting of 'three armed vessels', the expedition set out to 'explore the lower Niger basin, to negotiate anti-slave trade treaties, to report on the natural and human resources, and to acquire land for settlement, agriculture, trade and missionary endeavour' (Ade-Ajayi 1970:vii). When the CMS heard about the forthcoming trip to West Africa from the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and the Civilization of Africa, it sought and obtained permission for its two missionaries to join the expedition. The main task of the accompanying missionaries was to explore the prospects for missionary stations in the interior of West Africa. In the offices of the CMS, the choice of the two fell on Reverend James Frederick Schon and Reverend Samuel Ajayi Crowther. The enthusiasm in CMS circles for the 1841 voyage was due to the expectation that 'the Niger would be a highway for the Gospel as well as for legitimate trade' (Stock 1899:166). And as Buxton, the chief proponent of the 1841 expedition stated, 'there should be actual missionaries to preach the Gospel: the

Bible should go with the plough and the trader's goods' (Ifemesia 1962:293). For the purposes of effective and meaningful proselytization work in the interior, the missionaries had to identify, be trained and adopt some of the indigenous languages of West Africa as obtained in Sierra Leone.

However, in the light of the existence of a multiplicity of languages being spoken in Freetown, Sierra Leone itself, the missionaries had to arrive at some criteria for choosing a language for particular attention. One of the most crucial of the factors was the number of available speakers. Thus the prevalence of numerous speakers of given languages that would be potential informants for the missionary education in Freetown did influence the choice of languages for research and development (Hair 1994:1). Unfortunately, the CMS offices in London did not appear to have had a clear articulated policy on the place of language in the Christian missionary enterprise in West Africa. That was surprising. Could it have been that the English language was to be employed in the proselytization of the natives of West Africa? How else were the pioneer missionaries to cope with the linguistic complexity that was West Africa? But the CMS was not alone in that situation of a linguistic lacuna because:

> … many mission organizations in Africa have no formally stated policy in regard to language use or development, and in some other cases programs of missionary language learning or literature development exist in the minutes of some past mission conference but bear little resemblance to work actually being accomplished (Welmers 1971:191).

Part of the effect of the policy or the lack of it was that the CMS field missionaries were more or less left to their own devices in addressing the actual, real language problems they encountered. Many of the missionary linguists did exert themselves creditably well, even though:

> … many of them admirably trained in the classical languages, and even Hebrew, were totally unprepared for phenomena vastly different from anything they had previously known. In addition the very absence of a *literature tradition* [my italics] languages of Africa might be *primitive* in some way [my italics] (Welmers, 197).

As Moorhouse indicates, missionary societies were certainly not slow to engage in linguistic work. From the outset, men went out to Africa with the fixed intention of picking up the native language as rapidly as possible and the earliest missionaries spent a great deal of their time in translating the Bible, or the least the Gospel, into local tongues (Moorhouse: 323).

Assigned to participate in the expedition because of eight years experience of West Africa, his sound judgment and proven linguistic abilities (ibid, p. 86), J. F. Schon was afforded the opportunity for the intensive study of African vernacular languages, so that translation of scripture might be made available for the local preachers to take into the interior of the continent (ibid. p. 87).

In preparing for the expedition in Freetown, J. F. Schon had, out of the many available languages readily identified both the Igbo and Hausa languages as being "the most useful language" (Hair, 38) for the envisaged missionary work in the West Africa interior. Schon then proceeded to elect and study Hausa among the many Hausa-speaking ex-slaves in Freetown. In fact, by September of 1840 Schon had begun to find Hausa 'a soft and sweet language' (ibid). As Schon and the other pioneer missionaries discovered, *Christian* missionary activity in the interior of West Africa had to be preceded by the:

> … reducing to writing of the principal native languages of Western Africa; and the giving instructions in them grammatically, to youths to whom they are vernacular. The making of translations, especially

> of the scriptures, into the languages so reduced to writing, for the use of missionaries and teachers (Ade-Ajayi, xi-xiii).

In the light of the circumstances, the thought of adopting the English language or any other European language for that matter was dismissed outright by Schon as an impossibility. Upon reaching the confluence of the river Benue and Niger in Nigeria, only one language needed to be chosen as studying all of them and then reducing them to writing was considered 'impracticable' (Schon, p. 120).

The Christian missionary concern first with the graphization of Hausa and other selected Nigerian languages as necessary precursors to full evangelization stemmed from the fact that "unlike Islam, Christianity has no holy or revealed language" (Westermann 1937:187), and therefore translation of evangelical materials into indigenous languages had to be an important even if not a dominant preoccupation. Thus even though Islam and the Arabic language had existed in West Africa generally, including Nigeria centuries before the advent of Christian missionaries, all missionary linguistic, literacy and literary development efforts were not concentrated in the direction of Arabic and Arabic-script based writings, nor on any of the Nigerian languages. Naturally, since the Christian missionaries knew very little or no Arabic, they could not take full advantage of the long existing practice of literacy in the Arabic language among the Hausa. They viewed a Nigerian language such as Hausa as being 'script less' and therefore evidently 'primitive'. The first task of the missionaries, therefore, was to Romanise all the languages since they were intent upon reaching the average African primarily with religious texts (Zima 1976:20).

Furthermore, notwithstanding the avowed commitment of the CMS missionaries to reducing as many 'useful' Nigerian languages as

possible to writing in the furtherance of the goals of evangelism, they were never able to engage the services of full-time, professional linguists. And for someone like Schon, his superiors made sure that pastoral duties always came before philological ones. His requests for the designation of translation as a distinct branch of pastoral service were only acknowledged, negatively. Having shown the centrality of language in the missionary drive in Nigeria in the nineteenth century it is imperative to explain the more-than-average interest of Christian missions in the Hausa language. This engagement with Hausa was in spite of the fact that when Schon started his Hausa studies, "he had to begin at the very beginning. A small but outstanding valuable vocabulary of Oldfield, a few words in Clapperton's *Travels* were all he met with as then in existence" (Hair 1994:38).

The sheer large number of people who spoke and understood the Hausa language in the population of freed slaves in Freetown alone was well known. This meant that there were more than enough informants for any interested linguistic investigator. However, the fact that a number of those who spoke Hausa even in Freetown were not necessarily ethnically Hausa did not appear to matter very much. Additionally, the role of Hausa as a commercial lingua franca in the West African region in particular gave it a distinct advantage over many other Nigerian languages. As justified by Schon, the Hausa language:

> In point of importance, claims the first place and attention… it would open a door for communication with an immense population, and over a vast tract of country … the wide extent to which this language is spread seems to be attributable to the commercial intercourse which is kept up between the Hausa and various other nations" (Schon's Journal, 357).

As if amplifying of his earlier view about his enchantment with the Hausa Language, Schon noted further that for the Hausa:

> Their language, too proves them a superior people to any of the African nations that I have knowledge of. It is rich in words; and its grammatical structure is easy and beautiful, which may also account for its being so generally adopted (ibid).

In his journal of the 1841 expedition up the Niger, Schon arrived at more definitive views about the extreme usefulness to the British of the Hausa language for both religious and commercial purposes. He wrote that:

> Hausa is now, to these parts of Africa, what the French is to Europe, I cannot see why it should not become the standard. Hausa people, or such as have obtained a knowledge of that language, are generally in almost every village from Idda; and the more you advance, the more it generally becomes. The Hausa, too, does not labour under the difficulties, as do other languages. It is rich, and admits of additional number of words being formed legitimately; and the influence which Mohammedanism [sic] has gained over the people in the interior has supplied it with many religious terms and words which we sought for in vain among the vocabularies of Pagan nations" (Schon: 120).

Thus, the early and rapid cultivation of the Hausa language and of the numerous Hausa traders was sure to "have a wonderful instrument for their dissemination over at least half the Dark Continent" (Robinson 1896:202).

Despite the disregard, sometimes the open hostility with which some of the early missionaries approached the existence of advanced literacy in Arabic among the Hausa, a few of the missionaries felt greatly attracted to the Hausa language precisely because of its written heritage. A particular missionary enthused that:

> One of the most important characteristic marks by which a civilized nation is distinguished from an uncivilized one is the possession of a written language and literature. Apart from the Hausa there is no

> race north of the equator, nor indeed in all Africa, outside Egypt and Abyssinia, which has reduced its language to writing, or made any attempt at the production of a literature. The Hausas have adopted a modified form of the Arabic alphabet, and have produced a number of national poems or songs…(Robinson 1900:179).

Interestingly enough, the early interest in the Hausa language was fully justified and was sustained. The fact that the Hausa later distinguished themselves as soldiers in the British colonial battles of Burma, Abyssinia and the Gold coast naturally excited curiosity in their arts and culture. In the opinion of one Major Darwin, since "the Hausa also formed the very best fighting element on the west coast Africa. They made faithful and intelligent soldiers, and soon became attached to their officers, so that the study of the language was of decided military value.

In a considerable number of the Christian missionary circles in West Africa in the pioneering years, there was a widespread assumption that the Jihad was a strictly tribal affair, that the Fulani Jihadists were racist and oppressive, and that the Jihad was even prosecuted to further the cause of enslaving and dominating others. Thus on account of their seeming arrogance, the Fulbe in Nigeria as well as their language, Fulfulde, did not merit the attention of missionary-linguists. Hausa, on the other hand, continued to receive due consideration because the modest success of the 1841 Niger expedition. For example, the CMS authorities were beating their chests for having "delivered the great Hausa nation, in the heart of the Soudan, from the Fulani slave-kidnappers who had oppressed them for so long" (Stock: 456). It is remarkable that the 'altruism' which informed these above remarks neither acknowledged the Islamic and therefore, non-tribalistic, non-racial character of the Uthman Dan-Fodio Jihad of 1804, nor the right as well as the capacity of the Hausa to defend themselves against any 'oppression', real or

imagined. Needless to say, the Hausa had no need for white European liberators.

However, not all the reasons for studying the Hausa language were military, economic, political or religious; there were linguistic ones, too. For instance, the commitment of the missionary linguists to the Hausa language was justifiable because it was intended to increase the knowledge of Europeans about a most important Nigerian language for the purpose of advancing wider philological concerns. The labour of long-standing missionary linguists on Hausa never went unnoticed after Schon was awarded an honorary doctorate at Oxford University. Similarly, the attitudes of the missionary linguists who studied Hausa were influenced very considerably by their conviction that they were accomplishing something of lasting value. This comprised the work on alphabetization and with it the basis for the standardization of the Hausa language. Thus, the creation of a Roman writing system was not only bound to elevate Hausa above other languages yet to be reduced to writing, but it also bridged the "gulf of ignorance of each others speech". Robinson 1896:201). But then from the purely linguistic viewpoint, the most cogent justification for the attention given to the Hausa language was the alleged Semitic origins of the language.

The weaknesses of the Semitic hypothesis, in historical or linguistic studies, are far too celebrated for mention here. It may suffice to add that the obvious basis of the Semiticists was most apparent in their attitude towards Hausa. Left without rational, logical explanations for the relative political, economic, social, linguistic and overall cultural advancement of the Hausa, the colonialists had no option but to impute foreign, preferably Caucasian or Asiatic origins. The advances of the Hausa must be explained in foreign, non-Black terms. In this wise, the Hausa language became a natural choice and target for

scholarly work. Yet the assumption that all the Hausa are homogeneously Muslims and thus subject their unrestrained language to the influence of the Semitic language such as Arabic is certainly false. The Hausa language had indeed been spoken for centuries before the advent of Arabic and Islam in Hausaland in the 14th century, A. D. There were also vibrant communities of Hausa speakers who were animists and could not have had close enough contact to become influenced by the Semitic Arabic language and civilization.

Despite the missionary-linguists' limited and limiting opportunities for the extensive study of the Hausa language in nineteenth century Nigeria, the studies laid the foundations for the emergence of Hausa literature in the Roman script. While fulfilling the primary objectives for which those early studies were financed or sponsored, the basis for the emergence of the literature appeared to be in place. Unlike linguistic or literary studies in nations or territories not subjugated by other countries, the very history of literature in Hausa is not feasible without the detailed examination of intensions and actual practices of Christian missions. The apparent dichotomy of civilized and uncivilized, conqueror and conquered, light and darkness, between the British and the Hausa could not but produce a literature dependent on its conjurer, the colonizer.

The pioneering work of the missions in respect of the Hausa language and literature which started in the 1840s was to receive its major boost some forty years later. This was the arrival of the Hausa Association in England in November 1891.

Formed specifically "with the object of uniting in a common effort on behalf of the Hausa people all who were willing to cooperate in advancing their interests" (Robinson 1900:136); the Hausa Association

was formed in memory of the Reverend John Alfred Robinson. The Reverend Robinson had died in June 1891 on the River Niger on his way to Hausaland. He was also a missionary from the CMS, including the Reverend J. O. Murray as secretary; the other officials of the Hausa Association included six archbishops and bishops, four philologists and three representatives of West Africans business interests. Among others, the thrust of activities of the Association were informed by the need

> to provide the higher interests of the Hausa people, by providing (in continuation of the work begun by Rev. John A. Robinson) for a scholarly and scientific study of the Hausa language, and for the translation of the scriptures and other appropriate literature into their tongue" (1897:287).

The driving force of the association clearly involved the studying of the Hausa language in order to further the 'civilizational' work, which the British saw as a patriotic, national duty. At one of its meetings, this opinion of Mr. H. H. Johnston captured the basis of Association's romance with the Hausa language. He urged that,

> That nation which is to acquire the greatest control over the central Sudan, the greatest influence in politics and trade must first of all acquire a supreme influence over the Hausa people. In Africa there are five great languages of the present and the future - French, English, Arabic, Hausa, Swahili. If we can obtain a mastery over the last three, we shall enter readily into the minds and views of the people of Africa" (Robinson 1896:127).

As well as engaging in language studies with a view to counting German advances in their possessions in Africa, Crabtree argues that British interest in the development of African languages was an

> important asset to commercial supremacy… The surest way to attain success in that continent of Africa, where England now has so many interests; it is by systematic study of the languages spoken by the people who live there, and with whom our business and

> administrative relations are concerned. Knowledge of the language is the key to the situation" (Crabtree 1912: 189).

Having furnished the overall motives for the attraction of the Hausa language for missionary–linguists, it is worthwhile to then see what they eventually did and the relationship of this to the Hausa language. Consequently, the justification for the interest for linguists here is determined by the effect it had on the history of literature in the Hausa language.

As reported by Hair, the earliest published material on the Hausa language was by Carsten Niebuhr who obtained the information about inner 'Africa' from a Hausa-speaking slave in Copenhagen in 1773 (Hair, 33). Although the vocabulary items were not published until 1790-1, what Niebuhr did stimulated further interest and curiosity about Hausa and Kanuri. However, Niebuhr's sixteen-word list could not have been expected to ignite a massive intellectual interest. Thus, from Niebuhr in 1773 to the 1850s, Hair lists seventeen others who published Hausa vocabulary collections as a result of 'superficial inquiry' (Hair, 34-36). Like Niebuhr, virtually all the sixteen (excepting H. Clapperton, D. Denham. M. Laird, and R. Lander and R. A. K. Oldfield), all collected from outside Hausaland itself. Quite a number collected from Tripoli, Morocco, Murzuk, Wadi, Cairo, Algiers, Nobra in North Africa and the Sudan; some others collected in colonial metropolises like Paris and London. One encountered Hausa speakers in Brazil in 1819 and other closer home in Ghana and Sierra Leone. The nature of the sources for the vocabulary listings also conforms to the patterns of four very important, epochal events in the life of the ancient Hausaman. These institutions and events were responsible for the wide dispersal of the Hausa language and culture to disparate parts of the globe from time immemorial to date. These are presented below not necessarily in a

chronological order. In any case, there was an interrelatedness and fusion in most of these developments.

The existence of the institution of long-distance caravan trade within various parts of present-day Nigeria and between the Hausa and the Gold Coast is well documented. Trade relations had characterized the relationships between the Hausa and most of the people of the interior of West Africa since the 17th century.

This is confirmed by Mahdi Adamu's assertion that pre-colonial migrations of the Hausa people were motivated, among others, by f*atauci* (trade) and *yawon almajiranci* (intinerant Islamic scholarship) and to a lesser extent, the *cirani* (seasonal migration) (Mahdi: p. 14). Having demonstrated how Kano had functioned fully as commercial emporia of Hausaland in the 18th and 19th centuries respectively, Mahdi elaborates on long-distance, caravan trade between Hausaland and North Africa and Gwanja. He points to the prevalence of voluntary settlements (Zango) along the trade routes as further evidence of the dispersal in order to prove that trade with Gwanja Hausa settlements was established from Yawuri down to Gwanja itself. By 1600 at least, "colonies of Hausa and Kambari were in existence at Buipe and Kofab … terminus of the trade caravans from Katsina". (Mahdi: 64).

Also, along with the pilgrimage to Mecca on foot, the trans-Saharan trade between the Hausa and the Sudan and the Magreb had contributed enormously to the dispersal phenomenon. The trade was not just of goods but also of humans. And naturally, going for the Muslim pilgrimage on foot took years, whether through the Sudan or Tripoli and it compelled many to set up homes and seek livelihood along the routes. Moreover, the fact that the majority of the informants relied upon by the earliest collectors of Hausa vocabulary

in West Africa, North Africa or as far as Brazil were slaves or liberated slaves could not mean that the trans-Atlantic slave trade played a crucial role in the spread of the Hausa language. Though it is conceivable that a significant proportion of slaves may have had languages other than Hausa, their ability to speak and understand the language suggests its early influence not just in the Nigerian area but also in the whole of West Africa. Although happening after 1804 the Uthman Dan Fodio Jihad could be cited as one of the causes of the movement of the Hausa language from its original homeland to different parts of the world. Finally, the fact that either the African Association or the British Government or private funds sponsored the bulk of Hausa vocabulary collecting shows that the Christian missionary interests took time to pick up steam. But this is not to say that there were no missionary-sponsored collections at all; John Clarke's and S. W. Koelle's were. In fact, the Christian missionaries were to dominate the course of Hausa research from the 1841-2 expedition onwards. The 1841 trip was indeed a turning point for the study of Hausa language and literature on account of the work done by a member of trip, James Frederick Schon, an Englishman of German extraction.

In June 1841, when Schon joined the expedition and was at sea, his first task was to translate into Hausa "an address to the Chiefs and peoples of Africa", from the British Government (Hair, p.38). The subsequent printing of the address at the Government Press at the Cape Coast conferred on that document the status of "the first Hausa text in print" (ibid). The document, which urged the chiefs and the peoples to abandon the trade in slaves with the Portuguese in favour of carrying out legitimate business with the British, emphasizes the shift towards colonies and imperial expansion. To further strengthen the wider imperialist designs of the British, the first Hausa 'text' was not an extract from the Christian Bible, as Schon, himself a

missionary, would probably have preferred; it turned out to be the preface to the treaty document for natives to sign away their lands, rights, resources and sovereignty as Hausa people as well as all those encountered along the route of the expedition. In effect, the British Government, the financiers of the trip, did want to miss the opportunity to annex as many areas of Nigeria as possible in view of the rivalry with the Germans and the French. Since Hausa was understood by many in the interior, making sure that the address was available in that language made things easier for those dedicated to colonizing them. However, that the expedition never made it to Hausaland proper did not seem to matter, as speakers of the language were encountered almost all the way from Freetown to Lokoja, and this was more than adequate compensation for the effort. Thus, authoring the first Hausa text in print, Schon proceeded to produce *A Sketch of the Hausa language* in 1882; *A Grammar of the Hausa language* in 1862; and translations of various portions of the Holy Bible, namely Mathew, completed in 1844-5; John in 1845-6; and Luke 1846-7 (ibid). Schon himself stated upon his return to Sierra Leone after the expedition "I was requested to pursue the study of the Hausa, and to prepare translations of portions of Scripture into it. Three Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles were translated, and materials collected for a Grammar and translated, and materials collected for a Grammar and Dictionary amidst many interruptions from fever and other circumstances" (ibid, 39). In all likelihood the most significant of Schon's work on Hausa language and its literature is his *Magana Hausa (the Story of the Hausa).*

Almost ten years since his return to England in 1847, Schon managed somehow to gain custody of the two youths, Abbega and Dorugu. The two were brought to England by Dr. Heinrich Barth. The details of the dispute, which arose between Barth and Schon as to the rightful 'owner' of the youth, are documented by P. E. Hair (46-47).

The text, *Magana Hausa,* an autobiography, was narrated to Schon by Dorugu in 1856. In it, we see Dorugu "recounting his childhood, enslavement, liberation by Barth and travels with him in the Sudan, across the Sahara, and in Germany and England" (Hair: 48). Also, according to Neil Skinner, *Magana Hausa:*

> includes tales, riddles and proverbs, but the most interesting part of the work is Dorugu's reminiscences which Schon apparently wrote down verbatim … it permits us to see Victorian middle-class mores through Hausa eyes. (Skinner: 164).

Not surprisingly, *Magana Hausa,* has been described as being full of dated orthography and archaisms and rendered in a dialect variant of the Hausa language (22). Schon himself had indicated that:

> The narratives exhibit the native way of thinking and arguing, they lead us into the secrets of family and public life; we learn something of slavery, of the state, quarrels and disputes occasioned by the institution of polygamy, condemning the system in their popular songs and traditions; of their views of heaven and hell, sun, moon and stars; also the love of money, so characteristic of the Negro race; much of human cunning and especially in women (23)..

Besides the fact that *Magana Hausa* has the status of being the first narrative text in Roman-style Hausa to find its way into the world of the print, its significance also lies in its pioneering the exploitation of the 'native' in order to create a 'literature' for him in Nigeria. The other example from Tiv engineered by Rupert East as *Akiga's story*, was to come much later. There is a strong probability that for Schon, Dorugu should have considered himself lucky over his transformation from being a mere 'slave' in Hausaland to that of a 'free' individual, albeit still dependent on the patronage of an inquisitive white man. Dorugu was a slave in Borno until he met Overweg, Barth's travelling companion. Overweg bought him off and instantly engaged him as a servant. Since Dorugu was denied his certificate of 'freedom' as well

as the option of rejoining his family, he was right to continue to refer to Overweg as his "master" (52). It is interesting that neither Overweg nor Dr. Barth (he took over Dorugu upon the former's death), bothered to work out the terms of payment for Dorugu's services if he was truly liberated. Barth's promise to return Dorugu to his father when they were in Hausaland was a ruse. It was never fulfilled. To Dorugu's dismay, Barth did not even bother to try while they were in the vicinity of his home. To all intents and purposes, therefore Dorugu continued to remain a 'slave' in Barth's custody. In reality, however, Dorugu was involved in more than just geographical or social mobility. A typical object in the hands of his 'masters', Dorugu had been transformed form a fully cultured human being into a 'slave' and a mere target of historical and cultural curiosity. But then Schon's actions had historical antecedents. European Christian missionaries and colonial administrators like Schon

> Sometimes individualize their obstacles as objects of curiosity, while missionaries usually portray Africans as weak, pitiable, inferior mortals who need to be shown the light (Bratlinger 1986:194).

For Schon, Dorugu's worth was not simply in his Africanness or his humanness but only in what he can reveal about the mysterious 'Others'. The prosperity and sustenance of the economy of industrial, white Europe depended upon the labour and abundant resources of the darker, 'Others' populating the continent of Africa. As Kirk-Greene and Newman confirm in their introduction to the *West African Travels and Adventures, Magana Hausa* was "not selected primarily as examples of vernacular Hausa literature. From a language point of view there are clearly better texts to illustrate "better" Hausa stylistics (3). The great usefulness of *Magana Hausa* was in the provision of:

> Fresh perspectives on the Nigeria of the times and for a new look both at the people who traditionally lived there and the uninvited

> strangers who came there in short; for a much-needed non-European contribution to the story of Hausaland (3).

Dorugu remained valuable so long as he was available to be intellectualized upon by the likes of Schon. A. S. Wynter puts it, the 'We' was the powerful, Christian, bourgeois West and the really fundamental split between the We and Others, between Western and non-Western cultures, began in the sixteenth century, when the world market economy was first established; and a world economic system, global in reach, became a reality. (1976:p.9).

To facilitate his distancing from his roots and to fulfill the role designed for him, Schon baptized Dorugu in 1857 and renamed him James Henry. Dorugu's narrative of his own land is not longer recognizable. It is alien and full of negatives. We hear most about crying, theft, death, war, booty, famine, fire, raids, starvation, enslavement, exhaustion and highwaymen. Here is Dorugu describing a raid in terms of "all the children in town were crying. Mothers were separated from children and husbands were separated from their wives". (36). Arabs, and Kano people, are thieves (84).

The only pleasant things Dorugu remembers have to do with the English, his masters! Houses in London (England) are better and have better things in them than ours (60). Dorugu also says "An English dinner is pleasant. Perk up your ears and hear about the pleasantness of an English dinner" (91). Consequently, in addition to his role in the negative portrayal of his background for the reading pleasure of the European audience, Dorugu was crucial in the advancement of Schon's, and by implication British imperial endeavours in Africa. Not being totally conscious of what Schon was up to, Dorugu seemed thoroughly exasperated and amazed at the way Schon kept flying for pen and paper each time that he, Dorugu, uttered a Hausa word. As Dorugu himself says to Schon:

> Now I have told you many stories. Do you like them, you lover of the Hausa Language? Have you discovered any new words? If you find a new word you jump for joy … I'm tired of talking, I am going to sleep. Isn't your hand tired from writing yet? I am going to sleep (93).

On the whole, N. Skinner either conveniently ignored the cultural and political implications of *Magana Hausa* or they simply escaped him. This is evident in the way Skinner harps on the arguable fact that the book had marginal significance since it had no direct influence on the emergence of literature in Northern Nigeria, being available only to the missionaries and colonial administrators. Skinner's assumption here was that *Magana Hausa* did very limited damage to the consciousness of the 'natives'. But as Skinner must himself be fully aware, literary and cultural influences percolate best indirectly through several intermediaries. What happened to Schon's *Magana Hausa* is not an exception. In fact, the mediators in the case of Schon's text were these same missionaries and colonial administrators, Skinner included, who played significant roles in the genesis of literature in Hausa and other languages of Northern Nigeria. For Schon, getting Dorugu at that time and place, the circumstance notwithstanding was truly fortunate. Schon himself enthused that:

> Dorugu is a real Hausa, speaks the language fluently and beautifully. Never was there an African coming to this country that was of greater use; full of information for his age … He began relating stories to me or rather dictating them, giving me a description of his own life and travels in Africa in his own language, very often dictating to me for hours together and even till late in the night; so that I soon had a Hausa literature of several hundred pages before me! (Hair: 48).

Schon's extraordinary good fortune and excitement in discovering Dorugu is best appreciated when one remembers that except for

people he encountered in Freetown, Dorugu was the first speaker of Hausa as a first language that he had met. Indeed he obtained the maximum out of Dorugu's mental resources. From Dorugu's resources, Schon produced not just *Magana Hausa* but a grammar and a vocabulary. In all, Schon "published about 3,000 pages in or on, Hausa during a period of nearly fifty years" (Hair: 53).

From the pioneering work of Schon, we shift to Charles Henry Robinson and the Hausa Association. The Hausa Association (Associations of all sorts existed in England at that time) was founded in November 1891. Among other reasons, the Association came into being to memorialize the name of the Reverend John Alfred Robinson, M. A., a scholar at Cambridge who died on 25 June, 1891 on the treacherous River Niger trying to reach Hausaland. He was on a mission for the C.M.S. (Robinson 1900:130).

From all indications the Association was also set up "with the object of uniting in a common effort on behalf of the Hausa people all that were willing to cooperate in advancing their interests" (ibid). And in the words of G.H. Robinson himself,

> The aim of the Association is to provide the higher interests of the Hausa people, by providing (in continuation of the work begun by the Rev. John A. Robinson) for a scholarly and scientific study of the Hausa language, and for the translation of the scriptures and other appropriate literature into their tongue (Robinson 1897:287).

Almost more than anything else, the real character of the Association was revealed in its leadership. The executive of the body consisted of six archbishops and bishops, four philologists and three representatives of those with business in West Africa.

The Hausa Association had made it incumbent upon itself to service what it deemed as the "higher interests of the Hausa people". This

virtual obsession with the Hausa, according to C.H. Robinson, was on three different but closely related accounts. First, the Hausa people and their tongue were envisaged as playing a large part the development of Africa during colonialism that the British were, as a national duty, dedicated to facilitating civilization work in Africa. Thirdly, in the preparation for work on behalf of imperialism in Africa the United Kingdom added Hausa to the list of languages a knowledge of which would qualify for the post of student interpreter. In the light of these, therefore, it was felt that the Hausa people "have a real claim on our sympathy, and we have assumed the responsibility of molding their future development" (ibid. 288). Similarly, the typically colonialist view of literature informed the Hausa Association's attitude towards the collection of functionalist, Hausa Orature this is brought out here clearly:

> One of the objects for which the Hausa Association has been formed is the collection of Hausa traditions, whether written or oral, and of everything which may enable us to understand better and get into closer touch with their methods of thought (Robinson, 187-188).

As H.H. Johnston eloquently stated at one of the early meetings of the Hausa Association, in the context of imperialist rivalries in Africa:

> That nation which is to acquire the greatest control over the central Sudan, the greatest influence in politics and trade, must first of all acquire a supreme influence over the Hausa people. In Africa there are four great languages of the present and the future-French, English, Arabic, Hausa, Swahili: If we can obtain a mastery over the last three, we shall enter more readily into the minds and views of the people of Africa" (Robinson, 1900: 27).

The Association decided to take more practical steps to realize its goals. In the light of the above, the Association was in favour of sending an expedition into the heart of Hausaland to obtain all manner of information on the Hausa and if possible commence the

careful study of the language. After rejecting a number of applications from potential expeditioners in response to the advertisements inserted in learned journals, Charles Henry Robinson, Canon Missionary of Ripon, was approached to undertake the trip, and he agreed to go. Engaged on a three-year contract to study the Hausa people and language, C.H. Robinson left England in April 1893. He learned the Hausa language at Tunis, reached Kano and made the return journey through what is now the Republic of Niger. Costing $200, C.H. Robinson's trip produced worthy publications in the history of Hausa Language Literature. The first in the series was *Specimens of Hausa Literature*, published in 1896.

Specimens of Hausa Literature contains instances of Hausa poetry (A-E) and an extract on the history of Zazzau. It is rendered in the Hausa ajami, Roman script transliteration, and English translation. The poems, all untitled, are all related to the Jihad or post-Jihad in content and structure. To be precise, poems E. and F are on the Jihad itself and on the obligatory Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca are authored by no less a person than the Sheikh Usman Fodio himself. Poem titled B and D on devotion and salvation are by Muhammadu Na Birnin Gwarri; Liman Chidia (Chedia?) authored the dirge labelled A; while the poem C is by an anonymous associate of Liman Chidia, and discusses the foolish man spiritually speaking. G is an extract from a longer dynastic chronicle of Zazzau and the author is unknown; the Hausa Roman-script rendition is in the stilted nineteenth century pattern. The standardized, Kano-based orthography was still far off for the British readership for "whom the book was primarily intended, namely merchants, adventurers, missionaries and imperial officials. *Specimens* indeed filled gaps and yawning desires of such an audience. The much-sought-after psychology and sociology of the Hausa man is finally beginning to be available, thanks to Robinson.

The poems all touch on aspects of fundamentals of belief in Islam such as predestination, life, death, and life after death. The composers are all highly educated, deeply religious people. They composed originally to educate and strengthen the faith in their fellow believers. The prose specimen is on the dynastic history of Zazzau. The extract throws light on the history, nature and operations of a typical Islamic Hausa polity from its foundations to its incorporation much later into the Sokoto caliphate. In addition to territorial details, the extract shows the pattern of diplomatic relations in nineteenth century Hausaland. As we well know, the information and *Specimens* coming at the time it did (1890s) was to influence the need to speedily conclude trade treaties, which ultimately culminated in the formal annexation of Hausaland by the British. However, *Specimens* is replete with other problems, which seriously undermine its quality and appeal. Canon Robinson was obviously handicapped in the important area of transliteration and translation.

Probably the most damning criticism of Robinson's work comes from F.W. Taylor. After accusing Robinson of being superficial and handicapped in his knowledge of the Hausa language, Taylor describes him as naïve, ignorant of important articles on Hausa, and even of being a plagiarist. A far more serious point of Taylor's criticism of Robinson is that he (Robinson) thinks he is the pioneer of Hausa studies and not Schon. Here is Taylor:

> … Canon Robinson went out of his way to belittle Schon's works; in his new Grammar he does not even mention Schon's Grammar, though he must have based practically all his own work upon it, in fact there is nothing in Robinson which is not in Schon; and personally I have no hesitation whatever in saying that Schon's is by far the better book (1926: 147).

Moving from Robinson's *Grammar* and the different editions of his *Dictionary*, Taylor concludes that he thinks Robinson "shows a

complete inability to grasp fundamental facts of the Hausa Language" (150). Furthermore, Taylor notes that though "Canon Robinson did good work in his day is only faint praise, he should have crowned that work by an edition so abounding in errors is but light criticism" (p. 55). On Canon Robinson's *Dictionary* Taylor writes that when it is tested:

> For such common words as saddle-cloth, Jalala, sash, Janejemi, soap, Sabulu, an alkali's assessors, Mufutai, pulpit, Mumbari, we find it does not satisfy our need. Sins of omission are bad enough, but when he finds such glaring errors of which the following are only a small sample, the critic can hardly refrain from impugning the value of the whole book (155).

From the foregoing, it is apparent that the pioneer missionaries' strong organizational base, voluntary and governmental did play a not inconsiderable part in the development of the Hausa language in the period from 1840 to the 1890s. However, missionary effort had necessarily to be limited first to the alphabetization of the language itself and thereafter its standardization. The impact of the graphization of the Hausa language seemed restricted on account of its Biblical character as well as the fact that it also encountered an existing competing scribal tradition in the Arabic language. Perhaps even more fundamental was that the intended reader of texts such *Magana Hausa* and *Specimens* were invariably in the metropolis, and of a Christian missionary or colonial-explorer mould. As statistically insignificant as they were, these readers came to exercise vast influence on Hausa culture, as they turned out as leading lights in Hausa studies. Much of subsequent researching, teaching and published in Hausa was somehow an acknowledgement of their pioneering work

Thus the Christian missions had to expend considerable energies in the creation of a Roman style, *boko* Hausa, as the necessary prelude

to literacy in the long run to literature. In view of the urgency for the Christian missionaries to produce as many literates as possible to assist them in spreading the Gospel in Hausaland, priority was accorded to the production of Bible-based readers for use in teaching. The development of the Hausa language and literature went alongside the missionary conversion work was definitely subordinated to it. The interest in Hausa and the Hausa, therefore, mattered only to the extent that it facilitated the attainment of stated objectives.

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Intensive Reading in English as a Second Language
A Case Study of Bayero University, Kano

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Introduction

It could be argued that cutting corners, or looking for an easy way out, is a strategy that certain Nigerian university students adopt to get their academic reading quickly over and done in order to satisfy the requirement for the award of degrees of their choice. What deliberation there is accompanying that resolution may not be germane to the wishes foremost at the forefront of the minds of such students, final year ones especially - that of graduating with any of the upper classes of degree. In this paper I will show that the book choices that some students made for a course of mine lacked rigour, as the selections made appeared not to have been tempered by the conscientious deliberation according with my aim and theirs - that of their making sense of the course, and of earning excellent marks in it.

Background to the Study

At Bayero University, Kano at Level 400 I teach Stylistics, a two-credit course, which in essence deals with the vocabulary and sentence choices writers make. I chose Leech and Short (1981) as the principal text for the course, but Fowler (1981) is also instructive, particularly with regard to the historical background to the subject. The main focus in the treatment of style is the text - of whatever length and complexity; while writers of mostly native English or American descent, whose prose has many interesting features worthy of literary/ linguistic study, provide the data base from which extracts (or a whole novel for a thorough analytical study) can be taken for classroom discussion. Writers chosen by Leech and Short include Jane Austen, Joseph Conrad, George Eliot, Charles Dickens, William

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Golding, Henry James, James Joyce, Ernst Hemingway and D. H. Lawrence, with Conrad (*The Secret Sharer*), James (*The Pupil*) and Lawrence (*Odour of Chrysanthemums*) attracting more thorough analysis of lexis, syntax, imagery, and cohesion than all the other writers. I widened the scope, in an effort to give my students ever greater choices and perspectives, by choosing extracts from the writings of not only native speakers of English (James, *The Aspern Papers*, *What Maisie Knew*; Lee, *Cider with Rosie*; Maugham, *The Moon and Sixpence*; Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*), but also non-natives (Naipaul, *A House for Mister Biswas*; Soyinka, *Ake*, *The Interpreters*, *Season of Anomy*).

One section is all that is needed for perusal and analysis. It may be the opening paragraph, as in James:

> The litigation had seemed interminable and had in fact been complicated; but by the decision on the appeal the judgement of the divorce-court was confirmed as to the assignment of the child. The father, who, though bespattered from head to foot, had made good his case, was, in pursuance of his triumph, appointed to keep her: it was not so much that the mother's character had been more absolutely damaged as that the brilliancy of a lady's complexion (and this lady's, in court, was immensely remarked) might be more regarded as showing the spots. Attached, however, to the second pronouncement was a condition that detracted, for Beale Farange, from its sweetness an order that he should refund to his late wife the twenty-six hundred pounds put down by her, as it was called, some three years before, in the interest of the child's maintenance and precisely on approved understanding that he would take no proceedings: a sum of which he had had the administration and of which he could render not the least account. The obligation thus attributed to her adversary was no small balm to Ida's resentment; it drew a part of the sting from her defeat and compelled Mr Farange perceptibly to lower his crest. He was unable to produce the money or to raise it in any way; so that after a squabble scarcely less public and scarcely more decent than the original shock of battle his only issue from his predicament was a compromise proposed by his legal

> advisers and finally accepted by hers. (James, *What Maisie Knew*, 1897/1980:1.)

Or it may be one chosen deep in the novel, as with Soyinka:

> … With a new measure of respect for his assessors, Sagoe once again approached the board-room, filled, as with all boards, with Compensation Members. Lost elections, missed nominations, thug recruitment, financial backing, Ministerial in-lawfulness, Ministerial poncing, general arse-licking, Ministerial concubinage … Sagoe occupied the first few minutes fitting each face to each compensation aspect, and found that one face stood out among them. One face did not bear the general vacuity and contempt for merit of the knights of the oval table. It surfaced quietly at the far end of the table and a pair of yellow eyes surveyed him above the silver rims of old-fashioned spectacles. In his own perch, however, there was something odd. This was his cap. It was a simple abertiaja, but worn so that the ears were front and back, not bent above each ear as in normal use. This sage-like oddity possessed a narrow head, tapering backwards like the carved head of an ibeji, a true phrenologist's collector's piece. Sagoe stared, but he was new in the country and had not heard of the famous cranium of The Morgue, and the ever-growing catalogue of myths which surrounded it. Never without some covering, some said it ended in a hole, and others claimed it ended in triple point and was its own lightning conductor. Others more curious than the rest tried to find his barber and question him. The miracle was that Sir Derin was not an idiot, for this was the average cretin bonce. 'Please sit down.' (Soyinka, *The Interpreters*, 1965/1978:77.)

The text, going by the argument put up by Leech and Short (1981:12), is the nearest to a writer's homogenous use of language. My teaching strategy involves, first, the treatment in class of Conrad, James and Lawrence, and then the assignment, as continuous assessment (CA), of my chosen extracts to groups of about a dozen students each. Each group studies a particular extract, studies it, and then hands it in for marking. Thus, unlike a lecture course, Stylistics is a skill-based course in which students, reading actively and thoughtfully

(Riley:1975:199), participate in practical sessions and apply their linguistic and literary knowledge to the analysis of text.

The Study

I undertook this research initiative to widen the scope of the number of writers my students should in my view have read before the termination of the second semester in which the course is normally taught. Reading, which is a service skill integrating a variety of language activities (Sonka:1979 :2), should be given a greater role in the ESL classroom. On the one hand I wanted to avoid boredom for myself, which is likely to arise while marking student CA or examination scripts and could affect the final mark I award to each candidate; on the other, the students needed to avail themselves of the opportunities for experimentation, diversification, and freedom of choice, among the multiple works of divergent writers of serious fiction. A discussion of their modes of writing provides the students with the opportunity for applying their learned skills to new material, which, as Sonka (1979:2-3) has argued, often has an impact only if it is done with unfamiliar material. At the beginning of the course I gave the students the option of taking a literary novel of their choice and either choosing an extract out of it, or alternatively skimming and scanning through the whole text; the purpose in either case was that they should take note of the writers' lexical and syntactic choices in preparation for the writing of individual CA essays, and for answering one of three questions in the final-year examination. Those students who deliberately or otherwise missed a CA in one assignment could have the required mark recorded for them by doing the other. More importantly, by reading more than one writer, including those treated at length in class, students would appreciate one of the central theses of stylistics, which is that it is an area of knowledge requiring the study of a number of writers of the greatest diversity and best approached with vibrant curiosity – the kind of curiosity which is

engaged the more by the frequency of the reading of top-quality prose.

Data Collection

I was very much interested in what choices my students would make without undue promptitude, other than the warning that only novels worthy of academic discussion, in whatever genre - African, American, English or whatever - would do. After passing out the day's attendance sheets, I instructed them to write down there and then the titles of the books they had chosen against their names, and to begin to study them, taking note of the stylistic features which attracted their attention the most. Further explanations, which soon followed, were to the effect that in trying to determine a writer's mode of style the jotting down of a choice of stylistic devices was only part of the job; there is the need to write an analytical framework in prose of commendable purity.

Analysis of Data

A quantitative analysis of the students' choices can be shown in the table below:

Table 1: Book Choice

	Genre and Gender					
	African Lit.		**English Lit.**		**Total**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Departments						
English	31	32	7	2	38	34
Mass Communications	8	16	3	3	11	19
History	3	0	0	0	3	0
Education	8	2	3	1	11	3
Total	**100**		**29**		**129**	

Clearly, of the two genres, the students read African literature, which accounts for 77.5%, much more than the English variety, which

accounts for the remaining 22.5%. Table 2 below shows the writers read, and the number of students who chose which writer:

Table 2: The Writers Read

African Lit.	**Citations**	**English Lit.**
Abrahams	10/1	Austen
Achebe	59/1	A Bronte
Alkali	10/1	E Bronte
Amadi	5/7	Conrad
Ba	3/3	Dickens
Beti	2/1	Dostoevsky
Ekwensi	1/1	Fitzgerald
Hussein	1/3	Golding
Jibia	1/5	D H Lawrence
Kaunda	1/1	Manley
Ngugi	1/2	Orwell
Ousmane	2/1	Swift
Total	**123***	

*Titles, rather than authors' names, were mentioned in the remaining 6.

With 59 (46%) citations, concerning *Arrow of God* (41), *Things Fall Apart* (16), *No Longer at Ease* (1) and *Anthills of the Savannah* (1), Achebe is the most read of all the 27 writers, while Abrahams, with 10 (7%) (concerning *Mine Boy* only), and Alkali, with a comparable figure (but concerning only *The Stillborn*), come second, followed by Amadi (5 citations or 3.5%) with *The Concubine*. Of the English writers, Conrad (*Heart of Darkness*) is the most read with 7 citations, or 5%, followed by Lawrence (*Sons and Lovers* and *The Woman Who Rode Away*) with 5, and Golding (*The Lord of the Flies*) and Dickens (*Hard Times* and *Great Expectations*) with 3 each, or 2%.

Three reasons account for the popularity of Achebe. First, he generally has the reputation of being an easy writer whose books could be, and are read even at the secondary school level. (Students

are very much aware of this fact - and could confidently put it up as a defence.) His sentence structure is indeed simple, mainly mono-clausal, and framed within the 2,000 vocabulary item level. That should be sufficient for the purposes of cogency at the senior secondary school level. As Eco has argued (1971/1981:7),

> … every type of text explicitly selects a very general model of possible reader through the choice (i) of a specific linguistic code, (ii) of a certain literary style, and (iii) of specific specialisation-indices (Eco:1971/1981:7).

Achebe's books are for this reason, at least in the opinion of students, amenable for total comprehension.

Second, it could be argued that most of the novels which make up the Heinemann African Writers Series read as if they were specifically written for that lower level of a large audience. To quote Eco (1971/1981:10) again:

> The reader is strictly defined by the lexical and the syntactical organisation of the text: the text is nothing else but the semantic-pragmatic production of its own Model Reader. (Eco:1971/1981:10.)

The model readers, in the oil-boom period of the 70s, did not have to purchase the novels themselves, but collected them free from State Ministries of Education who had large surpluses of money to spend on annual book allocations to schools.

Third, literature teachers, lacking any training in linguistics, have not over the years shown the inclination to diversify and go beyond the stock of literature teaching: theme, plot, character, dialogue and imagery, and attempt the treatment of those aspects as demonstrated by a writer through his or her use of language. After all, form is substance, as James (Allott:1959/1965:164) is quoted as saying; there

is no substance without form. Will the analysis of language use make teaching (or the literature subject itself) difficult? Achebe, as the extract below shows, has easily maintained his audience right up to the final year of university study:

> This was the third nightfall since he began to look for signs of the new moon. He knew it would come today but he always began his watch three days before its time because he must not take a risk. In this season of the year his task was not too difficult; he did not have to peer and search the sky as he might do in the rainy season. Then the new moon sometimes hid itself for many days behind rain clouds so that when it finally come out it was already half-grown. And while it played its game the Chief Priest sat up every evening waiting. (Achebe, *Arrow of God*, 1966:1.)

The simple diction, as demonstrated below, is not altered in subsequent novels written by the author:

> No one can deny that Chief Honourable M.A. Nanga, M.P., was the most approachable politician in the country. Whether you asked in the city or in his home village, Anata, they would tell you he was a man of the people. I have to admit this from the onset or else the story I'm going to tell will make no sense. (Achebe, *A Man of the Peop*le, 1971:1.)

> For a full minute or so the fury of his eyes lay on me. Briefly our eyes had been locked in combat. Then I lowered mine to the shiny table-top in ceremonial capitulation. Long silence. But he was not appeased. Rather he was making the silence itself grow rapidly into its own kind of contest, like the eyewink duel of children. I conceded victory there as well. Without raising my eyes, I said again, "I am very sorry, Your Excellency." A year ago I would never have said it again that second time - without doing grave violence to myself. Now I did it like a casual favour to him. It meant nothing at all to me - no inconvenience whatsoever - and yet everything to him. (Achebe, *Anthills of the Savannah*, 1985:1.)

Confronted with writing of this kind, the average Literature teacher feels at home and easily gets the job of literary analysis done without

having to bother him- or herself with focusing attention on the treatment of language their students will have no problems with – problems mainly of comprehension. The closest they usually come to discussing the use of language is when they tackle Achebe's choice of proverbs, which is discussed under imagery. Yet analysis only involves the meaning of the proverb, and the role it plays in "unravelling the plot", or in "the delineation of character". But the proverb can in fact also be analysed at the levels of language and linguistics. As a translation from Igbo, how apt is the English version? What determines vocabulary choice? What is the syntactic structure of the proverb? Of simplicity and complexity, which of the two resulted from the phenomenon of two languages coming into contact?

The Strategy of "Corner Cutting"

Students "cutting corners" stick to Achebe, a writer popular in African literature courses, because of the problems they have with the English language. One such problem is that of vocabulary deficiency. While research is awaited to determine the vocabulary power of Nigerian undergraduate students, a conservative estimate of between 2,000 to 100,000 has been suggested (Kamal, 1999a) for the students of the humanities. To read Achebe overwhelmingly could be a demonstration of the fact that even at Level 400 the actual word-tally, for the majority of students, is well below the 100,000 figure. As I have shown in the paper, such students faced severe problems at Level 200 even when they read popular fiction. Because of the problem of poor word power, this is not as "effortless" as it is generally assumed to be, but often brought the readers up short: they read for leisure, or extensively, as if they were reading for scholarship, or intensively. As a result, by approaching reading as problem-solving (Phillips:1975:60), and looking for "points" to earn them high marks, they aim for total comprehension, which for most purposes does not need to be total (Nuttal:1988:7). The insistence on

total comprehension slows them down whenever they come across the odd bit of English/American slang, which they find baffling. They are used to reading in a naïve way (Eco:1971/1981:21), and in the case of Achebe, as I discovered in their CA and exam scripts, they fail to make any sense of the average proverb; parsing requires grammatical knowledge which many of them lack.

Vocabulary deficiency arises because students hardly read outside the literature curriculum; otherwise, they should have discovered writers other than Achebe to read. The failure of experimentation could also be related to the fact that the available book is usually the one that is selected for the Literature course, or that teachers taking a course may decide to teach a particular novel year after year - and, in consequence, avoid the bother of having to read another writer, and of going through the tedium of securing critiques on him or her, reading and jotting notes, and teaching the acquired knowledge in the classroom. Corruption, culturalism and (neo)colonialism are major themes of African literature, and the claim that the average literature teacher will put up, that this writer or that is the best option for their treatment, is arguably challengeable: there are numerous writers writing in the same genre whose handling of the themes could suffice as well as or even better than the most common choices often made. Moreover, teachers, as further proof, have the freedom of choice to choose whatever novels they deem as most suitable to teach the courses assigned to them. But with piracy being very common nowadays, suitability (or choice) is no longer affected by scarcity – rather, by teachers' comparable strategy of "corner cutting", or sticking to a writer who will present no demands on their time, on their effort, on their energy. Interestingly, many of the books withdrawn from circulation at the University Library were volumes on criticism.

The Rationale Behind the Students' Choice of Books

There is hardly any evidence to support the view, that many of the novels chosen by the students for my Stylistics course were part of a World Bank Book Project allocation, which filled up some of the empty space on the dusty shelves at the University Library. The book deliveries, which covered areas of knowledge other than reading, are prejudicial of fiction of whatever genre. Rather they were treated in Literature courses in the class. Indigenous Nigerian (or African) writing, unlike the situation in other cultures beyond our borders, does not prepare tertiary-level students with the reality of extensive reading, which enables the student reader to learn to guess the meanings of words in context, as well as increasing the possibility of his or her developing their vocabulary well above that of most native speakers of English (Goulden *et al*.:1990:357). Writers who take years between one publication and another do not maintain the interest of those readers in reading continually; and this does not help the reading culture, which requires a reading regime sustained by continuity.

Students arguably do not read much. Books of fiction have over the years been gathering dust on university library shelves, with the result that titles that had not been borrowed over a ten-year period were all not long ago withdrawn from circulation. Many were "new" in that they had never been taken out by student readers before the withdrawal exercise began. Of the books that remained, many were either lost or misplaced in the Library; otherwise the student reader could still diligently read a writer (or writers) all of whose books should have been available for perusal in tranquility. Thus, reading even the available authors has been intermittent, and is only done for the purpose of passing a Literature course, not for leisure or the improvement of one's control of the English language. Conrad and James, Eliot and Austen - writers in the great tradition of English

literature (Leavis, 1975), whom students need to study at length - are yet to be included in the pirated pool of the writers of fiction. Yet to fail to read them, in a multilingual society like Nigeria, where indigenous languages are spoken most of the time, leading to the loss of practice in and greater command of English, puts the student of English at the greatest disadvantage. For the rectification of this situation, reading, which should be taught to students lacking sufficient language competence (Kriedler:1975:180; Cates and Swaffar:1979:58; Sonka:1979:2), must be sustained and varied, native and near-native, interesting, and, as Bell *et al*. (1985:166) have argued, a little ahead of the students' current level of competence.

Implications for the Language Classroom

Even in their final year Combined Honours students of English, just like their colleagues taking the Single Honours option in Literature, lack the requisite knowledge of grammar to parse an English sentence, even though the knowledge of the class a word belongs to increases the chances of a student guessing its meaning (Phillips:1975:229). Furthermore,

> to attain an adequate reading ability in English, a student has to learn certain essentials of grammar … different from his own language (Lutoslawska:1975:197).

The absence of that skill among those which a student of English is supposed to possess - listening, speaking, skimming, scanning, spelling, writing etc. - means that the deficiency will so badly affect the student's performance that his or her treatment of the style of a writer, even as "simple" as Achebe, will not be up to standard. Achebe's style of not going beyond the compound sentence, itself bare of multiple embedding or parenthetical information, will then not turn out to be as "easy" as students generally believe analysing it will be. The relation between theme and plot, character and dialogue,

narration and imagery, and even reader and writer - all in terms of language use, constitute a hard nut for the unprepared student to crack; in which case, Stylistics for him or her is just like African literature, which is taught in lecture form as if it were history or political science.

Clearly, grammar should be taught throughout the four-year degree course in English as a way of preparing students to tackle intelligently writers in African literature like Achebe, who in the continuum of language use and language exploitation (Leech and Short, 1981) can be said to figure on the 'left axis' through their employment of a simple diction, before going on to discuss others like James and Soyinka who belong to the 'right', writing prose that is highly literary or that reads as if it were poetry.

Insofar as it is undertaken for the purposes of the achievement of cogency and the conduct of academic discussion, reading itself should be taught. More titles, in numerous genres, should be made available in the Library. The more the students read, the bigger their vocabulary pools will become, and the greater the access they will have to approach "difficult" writers about whose complex mode of style there is research evidence (Schlesinger, 1968, quoted by Berman:1984:145), which says that there is no one-to-one correspondence between syntactic complexity and (sentence) length. Yet the students of this research initiative appear to think there is. The word choice of Soyinka (who sometimes includes a Graeco-Latin vocabulary) or James (who sometimes uses archaisms) befuddles them, while the compound-complex sentence structure favoured by Conrad limits their understanding of a representative text of his. Other than by the inclusion in the English curriculum of grammar course units, deficiency of grammar can at least be remedied by the student himself through sustained bouts of varied reading, involving

literate fiction and non-fiction, quality magazines and newspapers during hours of both leisure and scholarship. In the classroom, teachers can help a great deal more by including what McCraken (Johnson: 1979:151) calls USSR, or Uninterrupted Sustained Silent Reading, for any length of time they deem appropriate. Such mature reading, especially when done for leisure and out of choice, enhances competence (Johnson:1979:11). It is by the nature of such experimentation, such diversification, that the student, sampling both native and non-native writing, avails himself of the opportunity of reading and benefiting from highly interesting modes of writing. It is, again, gradually and self-consciously, that in the process of exploration the student gravitates towards prose that is a little above his present level of competence - of his knowledge of grammar and lexis - which he puts into good use whenever he sits down to write the usual CA essay or a creative piece of his own choice. In this way even the so-called difficult writers, writing in whatever genre, will no longer be intimidating - as their modes of style, founded either on a difficult vocabulary use or complex sentence patterns and/or imagery, will be quite accessible to the student reader, and cogent and amenable to analysis at both linguistic and literary levels. In fact, expository writing, as in the style of James, provides a great deal of information (Norris:1975:203), such that it does not require "reading between the lines" to get at the meaning. But it is the skilled reader, as Kriedler (1975:180) has pointed out, who finds in a page of print sufficient cues to extract meanings. Thus, the main problem the students of this research faced is deficiency in vocabulary, rather than the failure to understand lengthy sentences. Provided that these students read regularly, against a background of grammatical knowledge, they will be able to read both for pleasure and for scholarship, without having to bother themselves about total comprehension; for either of the two purposes, and with language

(dare one say reading?) being recurrent and open-ended, total comprehension is not after all necessary.

Conclusion

The strategy of "corner cutting", which the final-year student subjects of this research adopt to get part of their required reading done for a course in Stylistics, is not only ineffectual, as it deters them from appreciating the course in full, but it likewise detracts from the application of the skills required for a stylistic analysis of a novel or a piece of text. Students deficient in vocabulary power and knowledge of grammar look for an easy way out, and mistakenly choose writers the analysis of whose "easy" prose is not, after all, as "simple" as the students assume it is. Simplicity simply means the students conducting an analysis in a shallow way and avoiding areas of fruitful discussion, although these can only be identified through deliberation and careful study, from the way and manner they are cast as a piece of text - simple, bare and clear. Thus, to achieve such sharpness of vision students need to be prepared for the task by being taught grammar and better reading styles, and by getting greater access to prose of the highest quality.

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Ethnomathematics and Teaching of Mathematics in Primary Schools: A New Perspective

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Introduction

The importance of mathematics in the modern world cannot be over emphasized. Mathematics has been recognized as the basic intellectual instrument for science and technology since the second World-War. It has grown to become the essence of scientific thought. It is the discipline that characterizes the modern world and the most central among all disciplines in all the school system. Mathematics is used as an instrument for validation in social, political and academic affairs through the manipulation of data.

Our economic systems are analysed and regulated through mathematical methods, our opinions rely on statistical data, our health is controlled by indices of our body chemistry, and our daily life is plotted with schedules, dates and times. The concept *mathematics* is used for the science that comes from a European tradition, which has been established since the 14th and 15th centuries. Most of the mathematics relies on the tradition of ancient Mediterranean civilizations (D'Ambrosio, 1995).

The power structure that exists in Nigeria today originated in the colonial period, in the 19th century. This led to the imposition of a dominating Eurocentric cultural system on the country . In Nigerian schools, mathematical tasks are presented to students with little reference to socio-cultural context (Shirley, 1995). Teachers in the country have increasingly been finding it difficult to get examples that are not Eurocentric. Consequently low achievement in school

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mathematics has been increasing and shows no sign of reversal (Abbas 1994, D'Ambrosio, 1995).

Conceptual Framework

Recent reports in mathematics education recognize mathematics as an integral part of culture just like language, arts, religion and other modes of explanation. With the spread of communications and consequent interest in cultural forms, the world faces new ways of doing things. These new ways of doing things are mathematical in nature (quantifying, measuring, inferring, counting, classifying and modelling). These ways have been existing and progressing independent of conventional mathematics.

These other forms of mathematical practices are mostly unrecognised in Nigerian culture. The cluster of other ways of mathematics is what is called *Ethnomathematics*. Ethnomathematics has been kept alive outside the academic and Western style of mathematics. In other words, *ethnomathematics is the mathematics which is practised among identifiable cultural groups such as the national tribe, societies, labour groups, children of certain age brackets or professional bodies.*

Many researches (Gerdes, 1988; Pinjen 1991; Knijnik, 1993; Zaslavsky, 1994; Bishop, 1994; Rauff, 1996) have shown that making students to reflect on their ethnomathmatics, examining their methods and ways of conceptualising mathematics, gives teachers important starting points and extends the mathematical structures understood by their students. The importance of cultural context has formed a central theme in a number of mathematics education research processes.

For a very long period mathematics was generally considered to be culture-free and value–free knowledge. For this reason explanations

of 'failure' and difficulty in school mathematics were sought either in terms of the learner's cognitive attributes, or in terms of the quality of the teaching they received. As a result, most attempts to make mathematics teaching more meaningful and effective were sought from that quarter and social and cultural issues in mathematics education were rarely considered.

In the last few years there has been increasing questioning of the total reliance on European models of education in developing countries. Due to these growing concerns, the social dimension of mathematics has come into greater prominence in research in mathematics education. Young children learning "academic" mathematics are assumed to be experiencing no conflict with the Westernised mathematics. The assumption for this cultural consonance has generally been present for many years. Despite continual concerns about the difficulty children have in leaning mathematics and the feelings of anxiety provoked by mathematics teaching, explanations have been sought elsewhere.

Bishop (1994) believed that many young people around the world are experiencing a dissonance between the cultural tradition represented outside the school (i.e. home, market etc.) and that represented inside school. This is very much the case of children in rural societies in Nigeria. In order to address this issue of lack of agreement between the experiences outside the school and those inside, various studies on ethnomathmatics and how it could be incorporated meaningfully into the classroom were conducted.

Gerdes (1988) uses various kinds of traditional material from Mozambique to reveal the "inner moment of geometrical thinking." He illustrated how studying the geometry behind certain types of Mozambican elements had made students reconsider the value of

their cultural heritage, as a result of which they concluded that "geometrical thinking was not and is not alien to their culture". In another study Pinxten, Soberson and Vahpooren in Rauff (1996) taught geometrical concepts using the Navago learning tradition at reservation schools near Arizona. The researchers found that children learn a Navajo ethnogeometry grounded in an appropriate cultural context. They concluded that children do not have to rely on rote-learning of cognitive materials that appears alien.

Knijnik (1993) conducted research into the conceptions, traditions and mathematical practices of a specific social group. The researcher's concern was to use the social group's specific practices of estimating the areas of land and estimating the volume of a tree trunk in teaching area and volume. The researcher pointed out that a student involved in the study knew the popular methods of calculating and estimating the volume of a tree trunk; before coming to school, and with the approach of ethnomathematics the students gained academic mathematics. The researcher concluded that pedagogical use of ethnomathematics tries to decodify popular knowledge by giving students the chance to become advance of the limitations of their methods and why local groups utilize the methods.

Zaslavsky (1994) showed how she used the shape of an African house in her curriculum unit. She used a round and rectangular house to challenge her students to find the largest area that could be enclosed by a given perimeter. This approach to solving mathematical problem gave the researcher's students the chance to appreciate how the builders of such structures in Africa arrive at solutions to the many problems they encountered.

Even governments are making efforts to bring ethnomathematics to the classroom. For example, Souriney (1988) and Kante (1988)

reported steps taken by Papua New Guinea and Ivory Coast respectively to do this. In both studies the fundamental assumption guiding the curriculum study was that children's knowledge of traditional number, measurement and geometry concepts should be employed in the services of formal mathematical development. The two studies showed that adopting and extending traditional knowledge helps children define concepts that are not really expressible in local terms.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to find out the effectiveness of using children's refined conceptions of mathematical ideas and techniques (ethnomathematics) in the teaching of conventional mathematics in primary school. The study specifically aimed at finding out the effectiveness of using the mathematical character of Hausa geometrical ideas for teaching three-dimensional and two dimensional shapes in Primary Two. The study aimed to find out whether certain Hausa geometrical ideas *Tabarma* (mat), *gida mai kusurwa* (local rectangular house), *daki mai da'ira* (round hut), *akwati* (box) could be used in teaching cuboids, cylinders, circle and rectangles effectively.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis tested in the study was that *there was no significant difference in achievement between those children taught the geometric academic concepts (cuboids, cylinders, circles and rectangles) using ethnomathematics and those taught the same concepts without ethnomathematics.*

Methodology

Population

This study was conducted in Riruwai Primary School in Doguwa Local Government of Kano State. The population of this study is constituted entirely by all Primary Two pupils in the three primary schools in Riruwai town.

Sample

At Riruwai Central Primary School. Seventy pupils of class two were further selected from the register of the class. The pupils were further divided at random into two groups, control and experimental groups. Each group had thirty-five students. Twenty-five of the total number of students involved in the study were females. Fifteen of the females were in the control group while ten were in the experimental group. The National Mathematics Curriculum of Primary Schools indicates that pupils should be introduced to geometry in Primary Two.

Mats of either plastic or fibre are very common objects in Hausa Society. Children use them every day. Children are also familiar with boxes with corners at home. They or their parents keep their clothes in them and also use them when travelling. The shape of houses in Hausa society is either rectangular or circular. Children of primary age sleep on a daily basis in these houses.

In the control group, pupils were taught concepts of cuboids, cylinders, circles and rectangle using the suggested activities in the curriculum. The subjects in the experimental group on the other hand, before being exposed to activities suggested by the curriculum, were first subjected to the treatment of ethnomathematics. An ordinary plastic (mat) *tabarma* in pupils' home was used to teach the concepts of the rectangle and the cylinder. The researcher rolled up a rectangular mat into a cylinder several times and pupils were made to do the same and told to note the two different shapes. Models and pictures of round hut, *daki mai da"ira* and a rectangular house *gida*

mai kusurwa were also used to teach the rectangle and the cylinder in addition to cuboids and the circle. The researcher detached parts of the models and showed pupils cuboids, the cylinder, the circle and the rectangle. Drawing them on the board drew pupils' attention to the detached parts of models. Afterwards the experimental group was taught the content of the curriculum as expressed in the curriculum.

After these activities in teaching concepts of the cuboid, the cylinder, the circle and the rectangle, the researcher brought before the pupils a large collection of objects which involved sugar boxes, books, match boxes, and circular tins of different sizes. Each pupil from both the control and the experimental groups was made to identify objects in the collection that illustrate the concepts taught. When a child identified an object correctly that pupil scored 10 marks. This means that if a subject identified all four correctly he or she scored 40 marks. When a pupil failed to identify an object correctly a score of zero was recorded for the student. Independent *t-test* was used to analyse the data collected for this study and the statistical tests were performed using the probability level of *0.05* or less.

Results

Table 1: T-test for independent samples of control and experimental groups.

Variable	N	Mean	SD	t-valve	df	p-valve
Control	35	25.3	14.134	3.24	68	0.006
Experimental	35	35.1	6.213			

The above results show that the experimental group (35.1 $\pm$ 6.2) performed significantly better than the control group (25.3 $\pm$ 14.1) = 3.24, P<0.05. The hypothesis that there is no significant difference between the control group (taught the content of the syllabus without using ethnomathematics) and the experimental group (taught the

content of the syllabus using ethnomathematics) groups in terms of achievement was rejected. The results of the study also show that the performance of the experimental group was higher and was more homogenous. (35.1 ± 6.2) than the control group (25.3 ± 14.1). Girls in the experimental group performed significantly better than their counterparts and boys in the control group.

Discussion

The results of this research as contained in table 1 above, indicate that using ethnomathematics in teaching conventional mathematics assists pupils greatly in understanding the concepts being taught.

This means that the dissonance which Bishop (1994) claimed children around the world are experiencing is reduced to lowest level when ethnomathematics is employed in teaching the conventional mathematics.

The findings of this research also agree very well with the conclusions of Gerdes (1988), Rauff (1996) and Knijnik (1993). Pupils of the Riruwai Primary School taught conventional mathematics via ethnomathematics see school mathematics as part of their culture, and do not have to rely on rote learning of cognitive materials, which is the normal thing when ethnomathematics is not employed. For many decades sex differences in mathematics learning and achievement persisted; girls did not achieve as well as boys. One other finding of this study is that girls can perform better even better than boys when appropriate ethnomathematics is used in teaching school mathematics. The advantage boys have over girls would be greatly reduced by using ethnomathematics in teaching academic mathematics.

One implication of this research is that the study and use of ethnomathematics particularly in early primary education could do much to improve the quality of mathematical learning and teaching at very little extra financial cost. Using ethnomathematics in the teaching of academic mathematics also implies that there need no longer be total reliance on textbooks which are rarely available in most public schools. This is so because the teacher will make use of the mathematics experience of the child at home to build the academic mathematical concepts. Just like the teaching of language, where the teacher deliberately uses what the child knows and feels to develop his/her linguistic skills. By drawing on the cultural experience and practices of individuals and communities, ethnomathematics allows for an easier flow of scientific ideas with children, thereby reducing the cultural blocks.

It is the view of this researcher that teachers of mathematics in both their pre-service and in-service training at primary and even post-primary level should be exposed to the ethnomathematical practices of Nigerian cultures so that they can use them as starting point when they go to teach the conventional mathematics. This study is not suggesting that we do away with school mathematics and remain with ethnomathematics or that ethnomathematics is a solution to all problems of poor achievement in mathematics. Rather the study advocates that mathematics educators who teach mathematics reflect the contributions of cultures wherever they find themselves. This study also strongly recommends that governments in Nigeria should make efforts to bring ethnomathematics officially into the Nigerian classroom.

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Book Review:

Confluences and Influences – the Emergence of Kano as a City-State
by Muhammadu Uba Adamu. Kano: Munawwar Books Foundation, 2000 (_500/$6.95/£4.99) (xvi, 231pp, charts, time line, biblio.) Available on the Internet at kano@kanoonline.com

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It is an exciting and wonderful thing to have, for the very first time, a full-length book on the overall history of Kano in English, written by a knowledgeable and senior indigene of Kano. Previous works, useful as they have often been, have been produced by English, American, West Indian, Igbo and Bole authors. This work is comprehensive, covering as it does Kano history from ancient times to the present. Kano is presented as a sophisticated, tolerant, and progressive city-state, which has managed well the process of balancing indigenous development, foreign trade involvement, and colonial occupation. The picture that emerges is all encompassing, and the author deals freely with religious, political, economic, social and traditional issues. In its totality this book is an uncompromising praise of the city and the state of Kano.

The central focus of this book is definitely Kano City. In the very beginning of the book is a praise song of Kano written by the author himself in which he asserts “Of thirty thousand cities built, Kano is surely the star of them all.” The analysis takes the city as its focus and “urban cultural ecology as a framework.” Few would dispute with the author the overwhelming dominance of Kano City in the history and development of the land and emirate of Kano, but it is certainly

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refreshing to have this work, which does not equivocate or apologise about the centrality of the city. This book resonates with the civic pride and the assertive patriotism of the author who is, of course, one of the leading citizens of Kano.

Dr. Muhammadu Uba Adamu has travelled far and wide, and although he has a Master's degree from the United States, he also has a B.A. and a Ph.D. (in History and Political Science, respectively), from Bayero University in his native Kano. He has devoted his life to the service of his people in Kano, and he has served as the principal administrator of Kano City, and also as a lecturer in management in the State Polytechnic. Dr. Uba Adamu knows the history of Kano City as only one born and brought up in her can know it – from the stories of the old people whom he has listened to and questioned over the years, from local anecdotes and legends repeated in the various quarters, and through academic study which he has pursued for virtually half a century. The author has ingeniously woven together oral traditions, community and family legends, traditional written English and Hausa and Arabic histories (such as *The Kano Chronicle*) and his own experience into a fascinating and forceful analysis of the city which he so clearly loves. His own life has brought him into contact with some of the immigrant communities which have definitely influenced Kano. This personal and intimate knowledge has enriched his study of Kano with the aromas of Arabic delicacies such as *alkaki* and the breadth of the European-introduced golf course, both of which Dr. Uba Adamu clearly enjoys as much as his own Hausa and Fulani foods and entertainments. The author has called this book *Confluences and Influences*, but equally well he might have named it *Complexities and Intricacies*.

Dr. Uba Adamu's exegesis of *The Kano Chronicle* is one of his principal vehicles for tracing the history of Kano through the

centuries. This is imaginative, and the reader is bound to be intrigued by the author's use of the present to explain the past. Occasionally, however, I feel that the folksy analogies overstep the boundaries which we formal historians seem to cherish. To call al-Maghili the "first *Izala*" may have some heuristic value, but it certainly is not the literal truth (p.42). Everyone agrees that there was a swamp in early Kano, but I doubt that it was "surrounded by mangrove" (p. 15). Similarly, although Lokoja was undoubtedly important to the Royal Niger Company, it cannot really be described as "the corporate headquarters" (p. 108).

When the author steps out of his own specific field of expertise, which is Kano, he makes some regrettable errors. It is not correct to say that the Sokoto Caliphate had dominion over "the entire northern territories" (p.112), and it is unfortunate that the author seems to agree with Goldie that there were "Southern communities which lacked organized local system of government" (p. 112). Although it is true that the author is required to simplify some things for his readers, it is misleading to say that the first major administrative step that the British took in 1903 was to create thirteen provinces, and that these included Sardauna Province (p.113). Again, while the British have tried hard to assert that there were some humanitarian facets to their imperial rule, it is simply not true that "with the British occupation… slavery [was] abolished" (p.149), for in fact it lingered on for decades. The author should have avoided dealing with historical issues outside of Kano with which he is not very familiar.

When the author deals with the city itself he sometimes treats us with delightful new insights, such as when he connects the traditions of Bacirawa and Gobirawa with the history in *The Kano Chronice* (p. 49), and when he tells us of the entanglement between the settlement of Gwagwarwa and the warriors from Damagaram (p.148). There are

also some issues which I would love to know more about, and hopefully Dr. Uba Adamu will enlighten us more in the future. He tells us, for example, that the Emir of Kano Abdullahi Bayero wanted to settle former slaves on some land "he specifically bought for the purpose" (p. 150). The whole question of the commodification of land during the reign of Abdullahi Bayero certainly needs more attention and explanation. As comprehensive as this book is, it seems to just skim the surface of Dr. Uba Adamu's knowledge of this vast and complex city, and one hopes that in the future he will continue to enlighten us with his own insights and recollections and explanations.

To summarise, I would like to say that although this book has some problems with trying to present an incredibly complex city to an English-speaking readership, it will prove itself an essential work for anyone who wishes to know how Kano Citizens view their own city's history. Without wishing to carp, I have pointed out a few difficulties with the book in the hope that they will prove useful to the author and his publishers when they come to issue a new edition, which everyone will certainly look forward to, as this will be essential reading for those who want to know about this great city of Kano.

Book Review:

Musan Kammu
Na Alkali Husaini Sufi. Kano, Mainasara Press, 1993, 415 pp

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This book written in Hausa titled *Musan Kammu* ('Let's Know Ourselves') is to all intent and purposes a biography of Walin Kano Sulaiman (1890-39). It is the product of painstaking research conducted over a fairly long period of time from May 1964 to October 1993. The idea of the book and its actual writing begun in 1964 in Egypt (p. 14). In the course of researching for the book Alkali Sufi visited several places and interviewed some well–informed interlocutors.

The places he visited include Daura, Zaria, Borno, Misau, Gumel, and Hadejia among others (p.4). Evidently, the author relies largely on oral evidence to tell the story of one of the illustrious sons of Kano. In fact, Alkali Sufi sees himself as an elder narrating stories he heard from his elders to the younger generation who needs to know the past. He approaches the study of history through study of the role of Walin Kano Sulaiman in the modern history of Kano. In this regard, the author has to some extent proved the importance of biography as a tool of historical studies.

Alkali Sufi's findings, conclusions, and assertions in the book under review could be summarized as follows. Sulaiman was born in the year 1890 in Kano City three years before the outbreak of the Kano civil war (Basasa). His father Mallam Ismaila was the Imam of Kano during the reign of Emir Alu b. Abdullahi just before the British

conquest of the Kano Emirate. Before his appointment as the Imam of Kano, Mallam Ismaila was said to be one of the best Mallams in Kano. Sulaiman thus received a thorough conventional Islamic education from his father and other learned scholars in Kano and Zazzau. He started his public career as a teacher and a scholar teaching the sons and daughters of both the Kano aristocracy and the commoners. His former students included men like the late Emir of Kano Alhaji Muhammadu Sanusi, Wali Abubakar, Mallam Muhammad Dan Amu, Mallam Adamu Rano, Mallam Mustapha Alkalin Bichi, Mallam Muhammadu Alkalin Gwarzo, Mallam Kwasu Zaria, and Ahmed Bakori among others (p. 14)

At the time of the emirship of Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero b. Abbas, Mallam Sulaiman emerged as Kano's foremost Islamic scholar and chief adviser to the Emir of Kano. During this time he was appointed the Ma'aji of Kano (Treasurer) and later the first Walin Kano. The author of this book narrates how Wali Sulaiman used his closeness to the Emir in recommending sound policies which Emir Bayero duly implemented. We are told that the establishment of the Shahuci Judicial School in 1929 owed much to Wali Sulaiman, for he was its first headmaster. This school was later upgraded and transformed into the Kano Law School and the School of Arabic Studies (SAS) in 1934. Wali Sulaiman was associated with this innovation. Indeed, the Law School was opened by Mallam Sulaiman on behalf of Emir Abdullahi Bayero, who had then traveled to England. According to Alkali Sufi the idea of establishing a girls' school at Gidan Makama in 1930, a modern elementary school in the Palace in 1936, and an Islamiyya School at Kofar Kudu in 1937, was first mooted by Wali Sulaiman. As one reads Sufi's book, one is increasingly made to accept the assertion that Wali Sulaiman was the philosopher behind Emir Abdullahi Bayero's policy of modernizing Islamic education. Today

most prominent scholars, civil servants and judges in Kano and in other parts of the Northern States are the products of this innovation.

Thus not only does Sufi show Wali as the brain behind the educational policies of Emir Abdullahi Bayero, but also as the "source" of other popular and "unpopular" policies such as the establishment of hospitals and clinics, the provision of pipe-borne water, electricity, rural development, commercial and industrial development as well as judicial reforms and changes.

The contributions of Wali Sulaiman towards the modernizing policies of Emir Abdullahi Bayero earned him the hatred of many palace officials. He became controversial, unpopular, misunderstood and hated even in death. Hence Alkali Sufi's idea of writing this book, which is intended to bring to light the contributions of an important citizen of Kano whose contributions have been grossly misrepresented due to local politics.

Wali Sulaiman died in 1939. He left behind a legacy of scholarship as demonstrated by the continuing expansion of Islamic and modern education in Kano. His offspring, such as Na'ibi Sulaiman Wali, Hafizu Wali, Dr. Sadiq Wali and his relations, and disciples like the author of this book Alkali Husaini Sufi, have sought to uphold his legacy.

Alkali Sufi's book focuses on other themes and personalities in the history of Kano. It gives greater attention and space to issues and events that owe little to his subject of study. These include the Kano Civil War (1893-95), the biographies of Sharu Ujdud, Alhassan Dantata, Mamman Nagoda, Baba Nabegu, the structure of Gidan Rumfa, and the nature of business and commerce in Kano.

However, the major strength of the book lies in documenting in detail the achievements of Emir Abdullahi Bayero, his travels to Makkah and England, and his promotion of scholarship and commerce in Kano. The book also discusses the history of mosques in Kano City, and chronicles the history of Qadis and Imams of Kano in the 19th and 20th centuries. In this regard, Alkali Sufi's book is a major contribution to the intellectual history of Kano.

This apart the book contains some fallacies and suffers from numerous pitfalls. One of the defects of the book is its failure to draw upon other historical sources such as published books and archival materials. Another is its failure to relate events in a chronological manner. For example, Sufi discusses the pilgrimage of Emir Abdullahi Bayero in 1937 before discussing the reign of Sarki Rumfa of Kano in the 16th century. Certainly, Sufi's book is not one that tempts one to read from cover to cover, because the reader encounters many unwarranted digressions which detract from the main theme, namely the biography of Walin Kano Sulaiman.

Furthermore, the author makes some inaccurate assertions. For example, we are told that a Mr. MacDonald rather than Mr. Hans Vischer was responsible for establishment of the famous Nassarawa School in Kano in 1908, instead of in 1909 (p. 235): that the nickname {an Hausa refers to the said MacDonald not Hans Vischer. Sufi's book has a great number of factual errors, and there is no space to highlight them. The reader may wish to check them up using other sources.

Finally, it should be stated that Sufi's book does not provide much new information on Kano in general or Wali Sulaiman in particular. However, Sufi's principal achievements in writing this book revolve around the fact that he has focused on a misunderstood figure whose

contributions to Kano society have not been adequately assessed, recognized, or acknowledged. The book has also underlined the importance of biography in historical construction and reconstruction. In this regard, Alkali Sufi has succeeded in driving home the point that in order to know ourselves (*Musan Kammu*) we need to know more about our past leaders and their contributions to the development of the society. The book *Musan Kammu* is in this light the story of an Islamic scholar who came to wield power decisively not for his own benefit but, arguably, for the good of Kano society. He died hated by his fellow courtiers and palace scholars. And yet he has not been forgotten, as demonstrated by Alkali Sufi's book.

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1. In the first instance *Kano Studies*, in keeping with the world-wide standards in information exchange, **prefers word-processed submissions** from authors in **Microsoft Word 2000**, or **HTML** formats, and including **three copies** of a hard copy printed on either a laser printer or ink-jet series printer. Review preference will be given to authors who send their articles on 3.5" MSDOS formatted disk, as well as **three hard copies** (printed) of their submissions. The dimensions of submitted articles to the journal should be the following: Margins: Top - 2.2", Bottom - 2.2", Left - 1.6", Right - 1.6". **The printed material should be within these margin boundaries**.

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Obituary
Tribute To A Seasoned Academic: The Late Prof. Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya, 1944 – 1995

Abba Rufa'i, PhD

Late professor Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya was born to his parents – Late Mallam Yahaya and late Hajiya Binta on 10th October, 1944 at "Yandoya, Kano City, not far from the famous Kurmi Market and the legendary Jakara stream. At the early age of four he started the normal Qur'anic education which kept him engaged up to early adolescence.

He started formal (Western) education at the age of fourteen when he joined the Dantata Memorial School at Koki Quarters, Kano City in 1958, graduating from it in 1961. In 1962, he joined Bichi Teachers College, from which he graduated in 1966 with a Grade Two Teachers Certificate. In 1967, he joined the then Abdullahi Bayero College (now Bayero University, Kano) for one year preliminary course in preparation for a degree course. That was the year I first met him when he took a course I taught titled Arabic-English Translation.

Having passed his preliminary examination in 1968, he registered for a combined Bachelor of Arts Degree in Hausa and English as main and Arabic as Subsidiary. By 1971 he graduated with a second class lower degree.

As a determined person in pursuit of higher education, he got admitted into Indiana University in the late summer of 1971 for a Masters Degree in Folklore. Having completed successfully in May, 1972, he returned home where he secured a Job on 15th June, 1972, as Assistant Research Fellow at the center for the study of Nigerian Languages. In the mid 1970's he went to University College, London, for a course work towards a PhD research on Oral Art and Socialization under the supervision of Prof. M.G. Smith (now deceased) and Prof. Murray Last, both of the department

Anthropology of the college. The Thesis itself was, however, written here at Bayero University, Kano, under the supervision of Late Professor M.K. Galadanchi and Professor Dandatti Abdulkadir. It was completed and defended 1979.

As a research fellow, late Professor Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya had the following academic activities: to his credit:

1. Various research project spanning from 1970 – 1990.
2. Teaching assistance rendered to the departments of Nigerian Languages at Bayero University, Kano.
3. External examination of undergraduate courses and postgraduate theses at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and Usman Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, at various periods 1971 – 1988.
4. Supervision of one PhD, five M.A. and Eleven B.A. theses at the department of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, Kano, as well as two M.A. theses at the department of Nigerian Languages, and African Languages, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
5. Authored eight books by himself;
6. Co-authored ten books together with other scholars.
7. Served as Consulting Editor for thirteen books.
8. Served as Joint Editor for six books.
9. Translated Shakespeare's Twelfth Night into Hausa.
10. He was the Editor-in-Chief of ***Kano Studies***, a Bayero University academic journal, 1977 – 1995.
11. He was the Editor-in-Chief of ***Harsunan Nijeriya***, a journal of the Center for the study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, Kano 1979 – 1989.
12. He was the author of fifteen articles which were published in both Nigerian and Foreign Journals or conference proceedings.

13. He left behind, a total of twenty six unpublished manuscripts in the form of theses, conference and seminar papers, lectures and speeches.[1]

With the activities listed above, the reader may be convinced that Late Professor Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya was a seasoned academic as the current Executive Secretary of the National Universities Commission, Abuja, Professor Munzali Jibril enjoyed calling him whenever they met. The list also shows the Late Professor's commitment, dedication and devotion to hard work and duty.

While he paid attention to his academic activities, Late Professor Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya also contributed greatly to Bayero University administration. At the time of his death he was the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, (Administration) and the Director of Academic Planning Unit. Prior to that he had held various positions as Chairman of various University Committees and member of various other committees in the University.

The Late Professor also rendered community services both at the governmental and non-governmental level, he had served as Chairman of two different boards of a parastatal and an institution of higher learning as well as member of two Federal Government Committees. As for the non-governmental level, he was a member of seven different associations.

It is pertinent at this juncture to say something however brief, about his personal character. The Late Professor was a good husband, a good father and a relative who made life abundant for his family and relatives both close and distant. He was generous, always ready to entertain his visitors with splendid dishes and drink. He was extremely sociable, always accessible to, and enjoying the company of all and sundry. Also, he was jovial and always smiling to the extent that at times, I wondered whether he had any problem in life.

[1] For details on Late Professor Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya's works, see *Harsunan Nijeriya*, VOL. XVIII, 1997, Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayro University, Kano, p.13

On July 6th, 1997, when the Centre for the study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, held a commemorative academic activity in honor of the Late Professor, the Guest of Honour, the Doyen of Business of Kano, and indeed a recognised one both nationally and internationally, Alhaji Aminu Dantata, recalled the close personal relationship between the Late Professor and him in particular and the Dantata family in general. He reported that whenever he was in town, the Late Professor used to visit him every Sunday. This indicates the Late Professor's sense of gratitude, appreciation and acknowledgement of the fact that the Dantata Memorial School where he was first a student and late a Teacher, ushered him into the hall of opportunity, fame and honor. Moreover, the reward for the sustenance of the close personal relationship was the fact that when it became necessary to take Late Professor Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, for treatment due to the injuries he had sustained in a ghastly motor accident on 6th July, 1995, Alhaji Aminu Dantata made his private jet available for the journey.

A close friend, Professor Dalhatu Muhammad of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, who was the guest speaker at the commemorative function, described the Late Professor as *Nagari Nakowa*; the Nice Guy as Professor Kirk-Greene would prefer to say in English, or *Sahibul Mujamalati*, the Arabic version I exclusively kept to myself. The intent here is to give the reader an idea of the Late Professor's character in the three languages he had studied for his first degree. May his soul rest in peace. Ameen.

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BOOK ANNOUNCEMENT

BUILDING THE CITADEL: THIRTY YEARS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN KANO, 1964-1994

EDITED BY
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Isma'ila Abubakar Tsiga
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Universities all over the world are passing through the throes of radical reforms in their organizational structure and interpretation of the Idea of a University. Nowhere is this change more manifest than in African countries. Left to their own devices after the end of the Cold War, African universities can no longer count too heavily on the free (expect for its ideological overtones) and unconditional aid that characterised the mainstream involvement of the major philanthropic aid agencies in the 1960s in African higher education. The universities are now forced, in an era of increasing demands for political liberalisation, to devise ways of making the mission of the university a community concern.

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