
The Contributions of *Zabarma-Sorko* to the Development of the Riverine Communities in Yauri and Borgu Emirates in the 19th and 20th Centuries

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Abstract: *This paper is on the series of Zabarma-Sorko (also Sarkawa) migrations,¹ settlements and foremost their major contributions in private sector to the general development of the riverine communities² of Yauri and Borgu Emirates of Kebbi and Niger States of Nigeria, up to the end of the 20th century. It also discusses the general impact of the Zabarma-Sorko activities on the riverine people of the area. Sarkawa is the name given to all fishermen who came from the upper reaches of the River Niger. Some of them were Hausa, such as those who are now settled between Bakunji and Gebbe, in the present Shanga Local Government Area of Yauri Emirate while others are Zabarmawa 'Songhai'; Sorko etc. Since the creation of Kainji lake, Borgu and Yauri Emirates, particularly in Borgu and Ngaski Districts, had received thousands of Sarkawa people who now reside there as permanent citizens. The name Sorko might have been the origin of the Hausa word Sarkawa which can be regarded to mean the Sorko people. So the peoples have been studied together due to similarities in their socio-cultural and economic activities and, also based on the fact that they originated from the same region who seems to be blood relatives.³ Through their migratory expeditions in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Zabarma-Sorko have established their permanent stronghold in the eastern and western banks of River Niger within the geographical area of the 2 emirates. They provided a lot of socio-political and foremost, economic development in the area. This research has emphasised on the riverine communities of Ngaski and Borgu Districts. Generally speaking, notwithstanding the acute shortage of documented sources the paper has been able through the use of oral data to bring into light the major characteristic features of the Zabarma-Sorko relations and their activities.*

Keywords: *Zabarma-Sorko People, Riverine Communities, Socio-cultural Integration*

1. ORIGIN OF THE ZABARMA-SORKO PEOPLE

Available evidences have shown that, the formation of the *Zabarma-Sorko* society was no doubt an amalgamation of ethnic extractions of various ethnic groups from the larger part of western Niger and adjacent areas of Burkina Faso, Benin, Ghana and Nigeria whose current population is approximately 3,459,000 people worldwide.⁴ The *Zarma* language is one of the Songhai languages, a branch of the Nilo-Saharan language family. Because of the common language and culture, they are sometimes referred to as "*Zarma Songhay*" (also spelled "*Djerma-Songhai*"). *Zarma* actually constitute several dozen smaller ethnic groups, who were either indigenous to the era prior to the Songhai Empire and have assimilated into the *Zarma* people, or else are people of *Zarma* origins who have differentiated themselves sometime in the pre-colonial period (through dialect, political structure, or religion).⁵ Groups usually referred to as part of the *Zarma* or *Songhay*, but who have traceable historical distinctions include the Gabda, Kado, Tinga, and Sorko peoples. Many live in the Niger River valley and exploit the river for fishing jaunt and irrigation. They grow millet, maize, sorghum and rice.⁶

The *Zarma* people are believed to have migrated from what is now the Fula region around Lac Debo, Mali during the Songhai Empire, and settled first in Anzourou and Zarmaganda in the 16th century. In the 18th century, many *Zarma* resettled south to the Niger River valley, the Fakara plateau and Ziguin in what is now Southwest Niger near Niamey. Forming a number of small communities, each led by a *Zarmakoy*, these polities soon found themselves pressured from the north by the Tuareg and the Fula from the southeast, as well as other ethnic groups in the area. While *Zarmakoy* Aboubacar founded the Dosso state from his own Taguru clan around 1750, it remained a small collection of villages in the Dallol Bosso valley until the 1820s, when it led much of the resistance to the Sokoto Caliphate. While Dosso fell under the control of the Amir of Gando (a sub division of Sokoto) between 1849 and

1856, they retained their Zarmakoy and the nominal rule of a much larger Zarma territory, and were converted to Islam. During the reign of Zarmakoy Kossom of Dosso (1856-65), all the eastern Zarma were united, with the exception of a small state stretching from Tibbo and Beri in the north, to Gafiadey in the south, and to Bankadey and Tombokware in the east.⁷

2. EARLY MIGRATIONS AND SUBSEQUENT SETTLEMENTS OF DIFFERENT PEOPLE IN YAURI AND BORGU AREAS

Even though the exact period of the influx of other Nigerian tribes into the area of Yauri and Borgu could not be dated accurately, some studies have showed that the *Zabarma* were not the first to have stepped in their foot into the areas. As early as the first half of the 15th century, the Gungawa settlements on some islands on the River Niger in the Yauri and Borgu area had received some Hausa traders, some of whom even settled among the Gungawa people. Those Hausa migrant traders were believed to have established their hegemony by peaceful means over the Gungawa and later used force and brought the Kambari people on the mainland under their control. By the end of the 15th century the Kambari in the Maginga area had also come under the rule of the Hausa people. It was the Hausa people who established their political rule over the Awunci Kambari and Gungawa of Yauri and Maginga area, controlling them to date.⁸

After the fall of Mali Empire in the beginning of the 17th century, many of the learned men of Timbuktu, which was one of the ancient centers of Islamic scholarship in Western Sudan migrated further east along the Niger River to the prosperous kingdom of Kanem-Borno providing an impetus to Islamic learning in northern Nigeria, especially in Kano and Katsina. Some of these scholars among who were the *Zabarma* frequent the neighbouring Borgu and Yauri areas, which served as their main routes into the Nigerian area.⁹

In the 19th century, a considerable number of these scholars from Mali went to Gwandu through Borgu and Yauri. Many dwelled in Yauri town and in some other villages, along their routes where they engaged in Islamic teaching, fishing and little farming practices as well as in short distance trade. Some scholars who were mostly of *Zabarma* origin also fled Niger following the French colonial conquest and its aftermaths. They moved to the west into Niger River where they dwelled in various villages in Yauri and Borgu Emirates, along with their students and assorted goods.¹⁰

The period from the middle of the 18th century to the end of the 19th century had witnessed widespread migrations and settlements of various communities into other Nigerian communities which had produced a diverse effect on both the migrant groups as well as the host communities. Renowned scholars on migrations like Samir and Prothero have conducted researches and provided several explanations as to why such migrations occurred. As such, the scholars have characterized migration into two (2) types, namely the seasonal and permanent.¹¹ As far as seasonal migrants were concerned, Prothero estimated 259,000 of them as going south from Sokoto Province alone, and Samir Amin estimated the flow of the Nigerians at one million persons annually, who mostly settled in different communities along the Niger banks.¹²

Prothero has shown that economic motives were of outstanding importance to migrants, as many were said to have left home seeking to supplement their income in various ways. Beside the general desire for economic betterment there was another push factor that forced people to migrate. Most of the 1,300 migrants interviewed along the River Niger between July and September 1966 indicated that they left home because of poor crop yields, lack of farm land or because they wanted to earn money for bride price or for setting up petty trading activities. About 5% of them argued that they left home in order to avoid enemies, while several others simply attributed their departure from home to fate.¹³

Journeys were also undertaken by Hausa and non-Hausa *Mallams* in search of jobs, mainly associated with the work of Muslim clerics, such as teaching the Qur'an, roving studentship-*yawon almajiranci*, praying for people, divination, preparing charms and preaching, especially during the month of Ramadan. Some of the *Mallams* moved about with a few pupils, in search of work. Some of the itinerant *Mallams* were also traders, for they traded through their pupils and some local clients and, in some cases, directly themselves. Hausa itinerant traders and *Mallams* lately moved about in groups mainly because the highways were not safe for lone traders. Some were Hausa and *Zabarma*

itinerant haberdashers (Hausa, *'Yan koli*) who carried their assorted goods on their heads. The wealthy few operated as long-distance merchants (Hausa, *fatake*).¹⁴

From the beginning of the 19th century, Yauri and Borgu Emirates had witnessed the arrival and settlement of some more Nigerian communities especially the Hausa, Zabarma, Sarkawa, Nupe, Yoruba, Igbo and some others. The most prominent migrants were the Hausa who have earlier settled in the area as itinerant traders and craftsmen. They settled along the eastern and western banks of the River Niger.¹⁵

Moreover, research show that Borgu and Yauri had established contacts with many *Gonja*¹⁶ communities in the Nigerian area, being situated in the main *Gonja* trade routes¹⁷ to Ghana where the majority of the Hausa and non-Hausa kolanut traders, such as the Yoruba and Zabarmawa used to pass starting from the beginning of the 18th century up to the middle of the 20th century. Many of those *Gonja* traders were highly impressed with the favourable climate of the towns along their trade routes. Some of such traders were highly attracted by the climatic conditions that attracted them to settle permanently in some of the towns. A fifth of the foreigners expelled from Ghana in 1970 were merchants, principally Nigerians, mainly Hausa and Yoruba. Two thirds of the merchants who migrated outside their regions of origin came from Dioula-Soninke, Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Zarma groups.¹⁸

3. THE MIGRATIONS, SETTLEMENTS, BIOGRAPHIES AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES OF THE EARLY ZABARMA MIGRANTS IN NGASKI AND BORGU DISTRICTS

According to some informants, many immigrants who were mainly Zabarma and Hausa traders and farmers are known to have been living for long in the eastern and western banks of River Niger in the present Yauri and Borgu Emirates. Some of them also appeared as Muslim scholars whose histories have been narrated in the pages that follow. However, the towns of Wara, Kakwaran, Gungun Hoge, Gungun Bussa, Malale, Shagunu and Yumu were known to have received a considerable number of Hausa and Zabarma-Sorko migrants, probably because of their geographical and economic importance, with abundant resources which no doubt had played a great role in attracting traders from far away. Consequently, those coastal towns and villages especially in Ngaski and Borgu Districts were favoured by immigrants. No wonder that such settlements are now developed into large towns with people of diverse ethnic origins.¹⁹

4. ZABARMA IMMIGRANT SETTLERS AT OLD WARA

Malam Usman Ba'adare: His real identity was not known but was said to be a Zabarma wealthy trader, mainly selling Hausa embroidered clothes like *turkudi*, *rigar gwanda*, *sanda rishi* and others. He settled at Wara in the 1920s from where he used to visit other Kambari, Gungawa, Laru and Lopawa neighbouring areas for the purpose of selling his materials. He later became a distinguished Islamic scholar and played a great role in Islamizing the inhabitants, from whom many of them were said to, have learned Qur'an from. He also became the chief host of most migrant communities from Niger Republic and other French-speaking strangers. He died in old Wara long before the commencement of the Kainji Dam works.²⁰

Malam Amadu Na Utiya (my informant): He was a Zabarma from Shinaka (in the present Goronyo Local Government of Sokoto State) but was also a fluent Hausa speaker as well, a reason as to why his identity was still in question among his contemporaries. He was a Muslim cleric who specialized in preparing charms; a great reason that made him well known and thus a special guest of many rulers in Yauri, Maginga and Borgu areas. According to him he first dwelled in Yauri on the order of Sarkin Yauri Abdullah son of Jibril (1923-1955) along with his late wife Utiya where they stayed for some years in the house of Audu Dan Kamisho before they later proceeded to Wara where they settled permanently. While at Wara, he fully engaged in farming activities and was crowned the Chief Farmer (*Sarkin Noma*) of Maginga during the reign of Maginga District Head Sarkin Hussaini (1976-2001). Na Utiya died in 2010 at new Wara.²¹

Malam Barmo: He was among the earliest Zabarma immigrants to have established his settlement at old Wara. He was a *Qadiriyyah* Muslim cleric whom besides farming occupation, he also engaged himself in spreading Islamic education among the Kambari of Akimba and their vicinity. He later became a renowned *Ishiriniyyah* singer that mentored many of his Kambari and non-Kambari disciples till his death in the 1980s at new Wara.²²

Malam Alu Bazabarme: He was a renowned Zabarma migrant Muslim scholar from Saye region in the present Niger Republic. He was also a fluent Hausa and Fulani speaker who became a host to different visiting communities especially from Niger, Mali and part of Sokoto. He appeared at old Wara in the 1920s along with his children, in the company of his Zabarma, Fulani and Hausa disciples, who followed him in the name of roving-studentship. Malam Alu was a farmer and also a Qur'anic teacher whose school in Wara later grew to have more than 100 pupils. He begot many children seven of whom later followed his footsteps and became Qur'anic teachers. Among them were Malam Amadu, Malam Jami'u, Malam Bayero, Malam Sanda, and Malam Mu'azu. The last mentioned was the only son that survived up to the resettlement period and was said to have died shortly after settling at new Wara. The rest died at old Wara. A certain wealthy Zabarma merchant and Lorry driver called Alhaji Buhari (d.1985) was Alu's grandson. He succeeded in mentoring the indigenous Kambari youths with the driving skills before his death.²³

5. THE CLIMAX OF ZABARMA-SORKO MIGRATIONS IN YAURI AND BORGU EMIRATES

From the beginning of the 20th century there were continuous migrations of fishermen popularly known as the Sarkawa, along with few of their Zabarma allies who slowly occupied the whole length of the Middle Niger purposely to carry out their fishing occupation. As professional fishermen, they concentrated on the banks of the River Niger and its tributaries in the Yauri and Borgu Emirates in the territories of the Akimba, Gungawa, Lopawa and Laru ethnic groups. Though many of them came into the area before the Niger Dam Resettlement Project, the vast majority came after the dam was commissioned.²⁴

The Zabarma-Sarkawa immigrants were believed to have come in large numbers, migrating along with their wives, children and properties and occupied the eastern banks of the dam and what remained of the Hoge Island. They considered their new settlements as their new homes. Enquiries have shown that most of them came from Argungu Emirate as a result of pressure of fishing grounds. The completion of Kainji Dam in 1968 was indeed of great economic significance to the *Zabarma-Sorko* people because it opened up more fishing grounds and opportunities to them. So their influx in the area became perceptible.

Among the first set of the Sarkawa people who settled within the Ngaski District long before the Kainji Dam resettlement were the late Nasanyi, Alhaji Dan Kwaifa, Alhaji Manu na Wara, Alhaji Dan Sango Bakari, Alhaji Manu Tungan Mai Ruwa, Alhaji Garba Mai Jirgi, and many others.²⁵

The conglomeration of *Zabarma-Sarkawa* immigrants formed their new areas of settlement like Tungan Mai Ruwa, Wawu, Bakari, Tungan Halidu and many others in the 20th century. It was the product of those *Zabarma-Sorko* migratory expeditions in the middle of the 20th century that established parts of the Borgu riverine communities of Malale, Shagunu, Tungan Garba, Hoge Island (Gungun Hoge), Tungan Gyama, Yumu, Talke and Bussa Island (Gungun Bussa) and had a stronghold at Dossawa village, whose settlers were believed to have migrated from Dosso town in Niger Republic. Initially, their major profession was fishing but later some of them engaged in other professions of high values like water transportation (Hausa, *fito*) where they possessed large canoes operating within their vicinity. Some of them became rich and had even inter-married with the local people among whom were the royal classes, a reason why they entered party politics.²⁶ It is indeed, not an exaggeration for one to say that there was no riverine town or village without resident Zabarmawa and Sarkawa people living with the people on permanent basis.

6. GENERAL EFFECTS OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ZABARMA-SORKO MIGRANT COMMUNITY ON THE RIVERINE COMMUNITIES OF YAURI AND BORGU EMIRATES

The social and economic impact of the activities of the *Zabarma-Sorko* immigrants towards the development of the territory and its society can be dated back to the end of the 19th century when population expansion seems to have stimulated economic activities especially in trade and commerce in the area of the river Niger. As already seen, some of the *Zabarma-Sorko* immigrants had engaged themselves in farming when they arrived. It needs to be mentioned that the area had again regained its prominence in farming profession by producing large quantity of grains which made it well known in Nigeria. Fishing has also received great impetus.²⁷ Additionally, there was flow of a variety of goods from outside the territory which no doubt had confirmed expansion of markets not only within the boundary of the riverine communities but went far beyond into the hinterland settlements like Ngaski, Makawa, Kwanga, Gungun Tagwaye, cupamini, Dilli, and others.²⁸

The contacts between the riverine communities and the *Zabarma-Sorko* immigrants had also contributed to the establishment of commercial network of Hausa, Zabarma, Yoruba and the Igbo Diasporas through the exchange of goods which later made the area and its environs prominent and successful in both long and short distance trading activities. Those commercial relations no doubt developed and expanded their trade in commodities like fish and groundnut as well as other commodities like Kolanuts and salt. There was encouragement in the development of occupational groups and specialization in modern artisans by the indigenous youths some of whom became mechanics, masons, carpenters, food sellers, drivers and many others.²⁹

Cultural assimilation was another effect of the riveriners' interactions with the Zabarma-Sorko and Hausa immigrants. Several cultural changes occurred whereby the host tribes adopted the new modes of dressing, the religion and the language of the leading immigrant tribe, the Hausa people. For instance, nearly all the Akimba, Gungwa, Laru and Lopawa today are fluent Hausa speakers, a development which facilitated the oral interviews for this study. The Zabarma-Sorko people were no doubt part of this major development as they proved to be a distinct specialised Hausa cultural group. Almost in all the riverine towns and villages there was hardly an indigenous man or woman bearing their local or traditional names. Most bore Hausa names like Manu, Audu, Shehu, Mamman, Amadu, Shagari, Garba, Mammadu, Mashayabo, Halima, A'i, etc, all of which were derived from either Islam or the Hausa. This was simply because all the Zabarma like the Hausa immigrants were practicing Muslims. Many riveriners had adopted the religion of their guests, Islam. Indeed, it should be recalled from the earlier discussions that all the pioneer Zabarma and Sorko immigrants in the 19th and 20th centuries were Muslims who were assimilated into Hausa-Muslim culture. Social integration had reached its peak when the majority of the immigrants, especially among the Hausa, Zabarma and Sarkawa married from the indigenous tribes and among themselves, a development which automatically made them to become close relatives irrespective of differences of language, ethnicity or religion. To-date, intermarriages across ethnicities has become the leading social factor in the area. The religion of Islam and the Hausa culture are the main beneficiaries of the new sociological development.³⁰

Emergence of new towns and villages was another direct effect as already seen with the case of the Sarkawa immigrants who established their new settlements which today remained part of the Ngaski District. The leading Sarkawa settlements were Tungan Mai Ruwa, Wawu, Bakari, Tungan Halidu and many others. Besides that, the immigrants contributed immensely to the establishment of modern physical developments within the areas. The Zabarma immigrants also brought about new skills and professions such as mechanical repairs, driving, commercial telecommunication facilities, etc ³¹

More interestingly, the Zabarma-Sorko and other non-indigenous people were allowed to participate fully in the political activities of the host community. Available evidence showed that some of them were even absorbed into the services of the ruling class,³² and were involved in decision making. For instance, some of them who were absorbed into ruling class were Alhaji Dan Gongola of the Zarma-Sorko origin. He was conferred with the royal title of War Chief (*Sarkin Yakin Maginga*) in Ngaski District. Na Utiya was also was crowned the *Sarkin Noman Maginga*, all during the reign of Sarkin Maginga Hussaini (1976-2001).³³

Generally, the region had benefited enormously from the flow of vast labourers, mainly from different Nigerian and foreign tribes like the Hausa, Yoruba, Nupe, Igbo and Zabarma who mostly went there to supply labour when the construction of Kainji Dam project began in 1964.³⁴ Many Hausa and Zabarma immigrants had secured jobs and participated fully in the construction of the dam. They served as skilful architectures and masons at the construction sites of the Dam and the resettled houses. After the resettlement exercise of 1968, many of the immigrant labourers did not return to their various places but declared such resettled towns and villages as their new homes. Thereby increasing the population of the area.³⁵

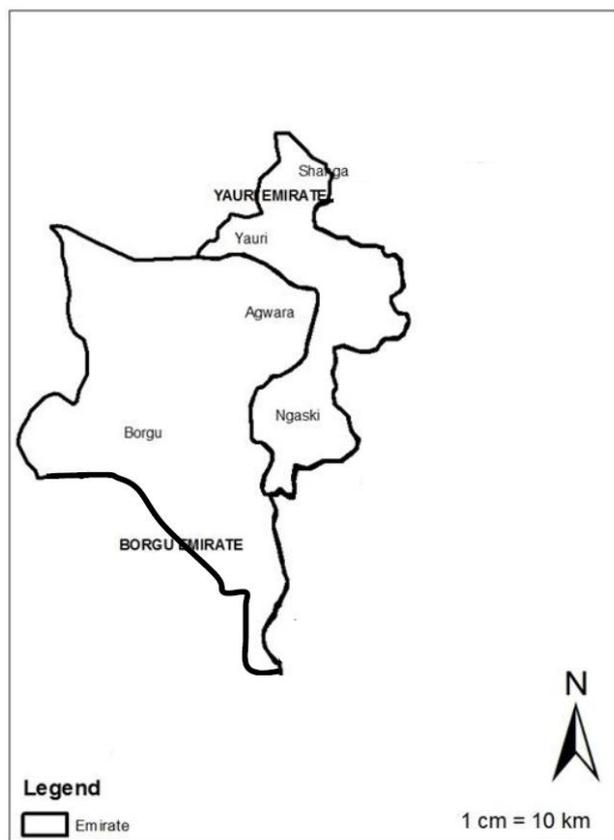
At the dawn of the 21st century, there were large numbers of *Zabarmawa* specialized gold-miners who frequent the emirates in search of gold. They served as miners and major gold brokers who later exported it to the outside worlds. More importantly, they provided the host riverine and hinterland communities with the skills in gold-mining works and its trade, thereby preparing them into mining traders along with the avenues of modern trade civilization.³⁶ Many *Zabarma* have engaged themselves into other valuable business transactions such as irrigation farming, selling audio and video CD cassettes, and selling of second-hand materials like clothes (Hausa *gwanjo*), used electronics and many other menial jobs like water vending (Hausa, *Taula*) and well-digging among many others.³⁷

Analysis shows that not all the *Sarkawa* people accept to be called *Zabarma*. They considered themselves as Hausa. This no doubt was because they do not speak the *Zabarmanci* as a language of communication. They were earlier assimilated into Hausa culture through their interactions with the dominant Hausa speaking people along their migratory routes for a couple of centuries. They intermarried with the Hausa daughters while living in Argungu Emirate. Today, *Sarkanci* to some *Sorko* (*Sarkawa* people) living in the area is seen as a mere epithet in honour of their occupation- fishing, not tribe's name as assumed by other people since *Zabarma* language itself has already given way to Hausa.³⁸ Moreover, many *Zabarma* in Yauri and Borgu Emirates have inter-married with the indigenous tribes who also mostly lost their language to Hausa. This has remained a debatable subject among the *Sorko* groups themselves, which can be resolved through linguistic researches. Nevertheless, a few *Sarkawa* people speak *Zabarmanci* while others understand but cannot properly converse in it. Another interesting part of the *Zabarma* history is that, despite the degree of the *Zabarma* assimilation into the Hausa culture as a result of their permanent settlements in the area of the River Niger, they still maintained cordial contacts with their original homelands. They paaid occasional visits to each other and also arrange intra-relative marriages.³⁹

7. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, from the available information at our disposal, migrations were an old feature in the social and economic life of the *Zabarma-Sorko* people. The territories of the Yauri and Borgu Emirates have also been one of the areas attracting migrant groups since the pre-colonial era to date. As a matter of fact, today there was hardly a major town or village in Yauri and Borgu Emirates, especially those on the coast of the River Niger where the *Zabarma-Sorko* people have no economic influence. Their activities in the area of Yauri and Borgu Emirates have become a great source of inspiration to the socio-economic, intellectual and political development of the inhabitants. The Hoge Island is the greatest beneficiary of such inter-communal relationship. The *Zabarma* settlements can be found in other coastal towns such as Yauri, Rofia, Zamare, Kisabu, Pisabu, Utono, Gidan Kwano, Gungun Tagwaye, Dilli, Cupamini, Kuka-Ukku, Malale and many others. The *Zabarma-Sarkawa* lives there as a highly practising fishermen accompanied with the farming and trade culture.

A MAP Showing YAURI and BORGU Emirates



REFERENCES

- [1] Migration has been defined as movement of people, or animal from one place, country, town or home to another. See: Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, vol. II, USA, Cambridge ed. Massachusetts, G & Marlan Comp., 1970, p. 1434.
- [2] The riverine indigenous communities of Yauri and Borgu Emirates in Kebbi and Niger States are the Gungawa, Kambari of few Awunci and Akimba majority, Laru and Lopawa. They originally lived along the eastern and western banks of the River Niger long before the construction of Kainji Dam, which made them to be resettled to new environment in 1968. Due to the nature of their environment, they appeared as fishing and farming community.
- [3] See: M. Adamu, *Rise and Fall of Hausa Rule in Yawuri and Maginga Kingdoms from about 1425 to 1913*, Zaria, ABU Press Ltd, 2014 (forthcoming), p. 14. I am highly indebted to Professor Mahdi Adamu OFR for providing me with this manuscript, even though unpublished.
- [4] See "Zarma People" in www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Djerma, accessed on 3/11/2014.
- [5] In "Zarma People" ...
- [6] "Zarma People..."
- [7] "Zarma People..."
- [8] M. Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1978, p.51.
- [9] See: Ahmed, Nazeer, "The Destruction of Timbaktu" in *History of Islam: An Encyclopedia of Islamic History*, sourced from <http://historyofislam.com>, 2011. Accessed 11/12/2013.
- [10] See the history of the settlements of Zabarmawa Muslim scholars in Maginga area, in Abubakar, Mansur, "History of the Akimba group of the Kambari people to the end of the 20th century", M.A. History Dissertation, UDU, Sokoto, 2010, p. 115.
- [11] Seasonal immigrants were referred to as 'Yan Cin Rani in Hausa. They moved comparatively short distances (20 to 40 miles) during dry the season from their home towns or districts, probably with their families and with small personal belongings. Their motive for traveling may be partly social-desire to travel, visiting relatives and partly economic like practicing crafts such as weaving, pottery, mat making, to trade or to carryout dry season farming, while seasonal immigrants were referred to as '*yan tuma da gora* who mostly travel with only 3 essentials- a sword or bow and arrow, a bottle shaped gourd for drinking water. Many of them do not practice a specific trade in the areas to which they migrate but rely on their strength in the various labouring occupations which do not required any skill. See: M. R. Prothero, *Op.cit*, p.17. Also see: Amin, Samir, *Op.cit*, p. 73.
- [12] Samir, p. 80.
- [13] See According to the 1913 Northern Nigerian Census Report on Traffic Migration on the River Niger, over 3,500 migrants passed through Yelwa and crossed the Niger monthly to Osogbo, Ilorin, Bida and other towns with available opportunities. These migrants were either from former French territories or the former Sokoto Province. Those coming from the French territories, especially Niger Republic, were mostly heading to Ghana and elsewhere in search of money to pay their taxes and support their families. The majority of them remained in the fertile areas around the River Niger to farm. Others settled down as hunters and blacksmiths. See Adamu, *The Hausa Factor...* p.32.
- [14] In Prothero, P. 73.
- [15] Imports from Hausaland were plain and embroidered Hausa garments which included the *Kwashe*, the *barage* and the *rigar gwanda* gowns for men, the *turkudi* and *arkila* for both men and women and *sanda rishi*. Horses were also imported, but mainly for the nobility. Adamu, *The Hausa Factor....*, p. 40.

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- [16] See: M. R. Prothero, *Migrant Labor from Sokoto Province Northern Nigeria*, 1958. In *the Annual Report for Gwandu Division 1915*, Kaduna, Government Printers, p.18. Gonja trade, according to Kano chronicle began in the 15th century was certainly flourishing by the 18th century when the gold and Kola of the Ashanti region in Ghana were exchanged for manufactured goods from North Africa, together with indigo dyed cloth, onions and most importantly of all, *Kanwa* the potash of Borno which was in the hands of people of Mande or Kanuri origin, and it was not until the 19th century that the 'Hausa' began to enter the trade in large number. See: Obaro, I., (ed), *The Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books Plc., 1984, Pp. 205-206. or more details about the Gonja activities see: Wilks, Ivor, "Wangara, Akan and Portuguese in the 15th and 16th centuries: The Struggle for Trade", *The Journal of African History*, vol. 23:4, 1982, Pp. 463-472. Retrieved from www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gonja-2/23/2009.
- [17] Gonja routes: the main ferries over the river Niger were in Foghe district near Birnin Kebbi in the north, Chulu near Birnin Yauri in the centre, and Rabba in Nupe. Route through Yauri to Gonja was the most central and perhaps the most popular up to the beginning of the 19th century. Major centres of commerce were Birnin Yauri in Yauri Emirate, Wawa, Bussa, Kiama, Nikki and Djougou in Borgu Emirate. Adamu, *Op.cit.*, p. 63.
- [18] Amin, Samir, *Modern Migrations in Western Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1974, P. 114.
- [19] In discussion with Alhaji Attahiru Giwa (Wara Village Head over 70 years), at his palace in Wara, 12/12/13.
- [20] In discussion with Giwa. Ba'adare means a Hausa man from Adar in the present Niger Republic.
- [21] In oral interview with Malam Amadu na Utiya (110 years) at Wara-8/12/2008, from 3:00 to 4:30 p.m.
- [22] Abubakar, Mansur, "A History of Religions among the Kambari people to the end of the 20th century", Sokoto, UDU, PhD Thesis, 2014 (forthcoming), p. 94.
- [23] In discussion with Alhaji Attahiru Giwa. Attahiru added that Late Alhaji Buhari was among the first prominent Lorry drivers in the area who for many years ago committed himself in exchanging trading goods between Wara and western towns of Yoruba (*Kurmi*). He left behind many children and grand children among whom were, Captain Musa Buhari Wara and Lieutenant Basiru Buhari Wara, all serving in the Nigerian Army (N.A.). Other renowned wealthy Zabarma traders that settled in Wara were late Alhaji Adamu Mai Jigida. He was a cattle trader who possessed some herds of cattle. He left behind many children and grandchildren before his death in the 1990s. Also late Garba Aino (d.1999) and Alhaji Himu (d.2013). They all intermarried with their host communities and some of their sons and grandchildren are now involved in selling food provisions and petroleum products.
- [24] Samir, *Op.cit.* p. 112. There was also the Yoruba and Igbo appearance in the area. The Yoruba first appeared in the area during the colonial era, in the period between 1930 and 1945 while the Igbo migrants came in when the United African Company (U.A.C) opened its trading branch (*Kanti*) at old Bussa and old Wara in the 1930s. Both the Yoruba and Igbo were engaged in trade, and farming to a lesser extent. See Abubakar, M. Wara, "The Hausa Factor in Kambari History: Case study of the Akimba group of the Kambari people from the middle of the 18th century up to the end of the 20th century" in *International Journal of Arts and Combined Sciences*, Vol.3, Number 3, Malaysia, August/September, 2013, p.72.
- [25] Alhaji Dan-kwaifa (over 70 years), interviewed at Wara- 22/02/2009, from 4:35 to 5:45 p.m.
- [26] See the lists of the Sarkawa rich merchants: Alhaji Umaru Bate, Yaro Mai Kanke, Alhaji Dan Gondola, Samaila Mai Kwano, Dan Lanso and many others. Some were conferred with royal titles and therefore become among the decision makers of the area. Many lived in Hoge Island since 19th century to date. At Wara there still existed a large ward called *Unguwar Sarkawa* in the extreme south end facing the eastern bank of the River Niger. Many Zabarma communities, mainly from Mali and Niger also live in the area along with their Sarkawa allies. They harmonize their relationships through intermarriages and keeping same fishing culture.
- [27] Na Utiya, *op.cit.*
- [28] Attahiru Giwa, *Op.cit.* Most of the itinerant traders and hawkers were strangers, mainly from the Yoruba and Hausa tribes moving daily into all corners of the area for the purpose of exchanging goods and services.

- [29] Attahiru Giwa.
- [30] In discussion with late Na Utiya
- [31] Na Utiya.
- [32] In discussion with Attahiru Giwa.
- [33] The formal commencement of work on the *Kainji* project was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in August 1964. See: Key Dates in the Niger Dams Project “Kainji Dam”, a report prepared by NEPA, Lagos, 1968.
- [34] MammanMaidajiYakumashe (over 80 years), interviewed at Ganekasaye-New Bussa, 29/05/2008, 2:00-4:00 p.m.
- [35] Areas with high number of *Zabarma* gold-miners in Yauri Emirate are Laka in Kimo area, Kambu, Mararraba junction, in Birnin Yauri District, Libata west etc. in discussion with Alhaji Hussaini (Zabarma gold merchant, over 50 years), at Kimo village, 10/11/2014. He migrated from Niger Republic in the beginning of the 21st century and built a house at Kimo, residing with his family. He is a rich gold merchant, trading between Nigeria and Cotonou.
- [36] In discussion with Malam Yakubu Mai Gwanjo (Zabarma over 40 years), at Wara, 5/11/2014. Yakubu live in Wara and married Ladidi, daughter of Alhaji Salihu Me Mai.
- [37] Yakubu Mai Gwanjo.
- [38] See Abubakar, M. Wara, “The Hausa Factor in Kambari History...”, Pp.68-69.