The Development of Hausa-Muslim Culture in Kambariland under the British Colonial Rule, 1900-1960

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ABSTRACT
This research is specifically on the role of British colonial government to the development of Hausa-Muslim culture among the large chunk of Kambari ethnic grouping of northwestern Nigeria, in the 20th century. It has also examined the main factors that contributed to changes in the Kambari culture, thereby succumbing to the traditionalism of the most popular ethnic group in Nigeria and in the entire Western Sudan - the Hausa. The research gives preference to the colonial period (1900-1960). Following the establishment of the British colonial rule in Nigeria in 1900 which came along with its Western values, the British government set in place some developmental institutions under its educational policy which ensured the establishment of Western elementary schools, Hausa Bible School and some ethno-linguistic projects in Kambariland that greatly helped in transferring the Hausa culture among the Kambari people. These forces were observed throughout the colonial period and were maintained after the colonial departure in 1960. Today, the Kambari are almost being an entire culturally Hausanized and Islamized society.

Keywords: Kambari People; Hausa-Muslim Culture & British Colonial Rule
1. THE KAMBARILAND AND ITS PEOPLES

Kambariland could be described as the territory which the people of the Kambari ethnic group could call as traditional homeland to the exclusion of all others, just as the Hausa people regard Hausaland, (Kasar Hausa), as theirs. Looking at matters in this way, one can say that there was Kambariland because up to the beginning of the 20th century there was a large chunk of territory which was occupied almost exclusively by the Kambari people.
This territory was located on the east bank of the River Niger in the present Yauri and Kontagora Emirates. The only and non-Kambari people living in the territory were Hausa people who were concentrated in three towns only, namely Birnin Yauri, Agwara and Ngaski. The territory stretched for more than fifty kilometers to the east of the River Niger.¹

According to Adamu, one of the ancient kingdoms which perhaps existed near the Hausaland by 1200 A.D. was the Kambari kingdom called Maginga with old Agwara as their capital. The political history of Yauri shows that when Hausa people began to establish their rule in the Yauri area towards the end of the 14th century, they found the Kambari chieftaincy of Maginga, which they later dominated to date.²

The word Kambari is the name by which the people choose to identify themselves with. They consist of six sub-groups of Awunci, Akimba, Agadi, Abadi (Avadi), Agaushi, and Ashen. Geographically, the Kambari people now live in the present Kebbi and Niger States of Nigeria, particularly in the Local Government Areas of Ngaski, Shanga, Mashegu, Magama, Kontagora and Agwara. A few of them can also be found in the present Zuru Emirate of Kebbi State. It is noted that though in their relations with other peoples like the Hausa, they called themselves Kambari. The word Kambari is the compound name for all the groups’ collectively.³

2. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF KAMBARI CONTACTS WITH THE HAUSA, C. 17TH-19TH CENTURIES

The history of early Kambari contacts with the Hausa has been traced back to the first half of the 17th century when the first groups of Hausa artisans and traders gradually began to establish their presence in the area, following the transfer of Kambari government of Maginga to Ngaski town in the same period. This development took place during the reign of Sarkin Maginga, Aliyu son of Baza (1597-1621) whose suzerainty included the Kambari.⁴

The principal method by which the early Hausa culture spread in Kambari territory from 17th century up to the 19th century was by means of the peaceful settlement of some Hausa traders, artisans and Muslim scholars in some Kambari towns and villages. Those towns were usually the seats of village governments. On account of their literacy and knowledge of Arabic, the Hausa-Muslim traders not only carried on their commercial activities but also became advisers and courtiers to the Kambari rulers.⁵

From the beginning of the 15th century up to the middle of the 18th century, the town of Birnin Yawuri had experienced the presence and settlements of different groups of Hausa people who persisted in practicing their Hausa culture. Thus Birnin Yawuri appeared as the meeting point of Hausa community who were mainly seasonal traders from all parts of Hausaland. It was this development that eventually led to the establishment of Hausa rule first witnessed at Birnin Yawuri as their political headquarters of the newly created kingdom of Yawuri. This also ensured the planting of Hausa rule at Agwara, the then seat of the Kambari Kingdom of Maginga, about 30 miles south of Birnin Yawuri by the first half of the 17th century.⁶

In 1807, agreements of neutrality and passage were reached between Sheikh Uthman Ibn Fodio and Sarkin Yauri Muhammadu Albishir Dan A’i that rendered free movement of Hausa Muslims into the areas of Yauri and Maginga kingdoms. This could have contributed to the settlement of more Hausas into the areas up to the end of the 19th century.⁷

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The increasing flow of the Hausa in the area had no much assimilative impact on the Kambari as the Kambari were not ready to accept the Hausa strength culture, which to them would substitute their traditional settings. As a result of that, many Kambari living closer to the areas of Hausa settlements were said to have fled into remote settlements to distance themselves from the Hausa out-reach so as to protect their culture from decay. Moreover, the Hausa community living among the Kambari had displayed their Hausa manner of ‘racial superiority’ over their Kambari host. They abhorred the Kambari cultural traits instead of embracing them. This no doubt delayed the spread of a sizeable Hausa culture in Kambariland until the middle of the 20th when some captivating measures were employed by the British colonialists in drawing the attention of the Kambari to Hausa. This is the reason behind the conception of this particular academic write-up.

3. SOME ASPECTS OF THE KAMBARI CULTURE: AN OVERVIEW

Like among the Hausa and other African societies, the dominant social institutions that governed the affairs of the Kambari people were religion and other cultural beliefs. Both give meaning and significance to their lives in this world and the hereafter.

Contrary to the Hausa-Muslim beliefs, the Kambari in their traditional beliefs worshipped in many places that include river banks, trunk of big trees, caves, reptile animals, mountains and on hill tops. The same spots were also used for rituals, festivals, and prayers. In all ceremonies, fetish (bori) dances, animal sacrifices and consumption of local beer called maro in Kambari language, were excessively practiced. Their traditional deities of worship were Lata, Magiro, Kabori, Kakpaea, Shende, Saipa, Agangu, Harakwai, Bana, Mutumin Bisa and Uwar Mutumin Bisa among many others.

Beside their traditional religious practices, some customs like tribal marks existed which served as sources of recognition among their sub-cultural groups. In their style of dresses, the Kambari men wore a skin or loin-cloth (Hausa, Walki) while their women wore a black strip cloth called mayaga in Kambari language; marriage customs that comprised stealing and eloping with one’s wife prevailed, which also served as a major source of internal stability and population growth among the Kambari. Hence marriage laws and regulations were made and strictly adhered to. Other customs such as child naming, burial, medical care, demons and witchcraft as well as music and dances existed among the Kambari people. Among their ceremonial music and dances were Malango normally staged to mark the successful harvesting of millet (Hausa, gero), the staple food of the Kambari; Leku dance also staged to celebrate a successful cultivation season; Agili dance primarily called “naked dance”. It was a beauty contest where the young ladies appeared naked as they danced also used to be observed after the harvest of all farm products. The winner became the Queen (Hausa, Sarauimiya); Ugunu dance (also called Agunu), a festival used to take place two weeks before the commencement of heavy farm works.

Society and its culture are not static, as both changes gradually. Like other African societies, the Kambari people and their cultural activities have undergone rapid changes in modern times, starting from the 14th century to date. The coming of colonial rule along with many of its influential forces in Kambariland was seen as the real form of disorder that has affected the entire peoples’ tradition and culture. However, many factors were responsible for the crumbling and disappearance, as well as changes, in the Kambari entire culture. Most of
these forces that aided the changes among the Kambari were agents of colonialism and they were historical in nature, and therefore, have to be chronologically narrated to meet the historical demands as follows:

4. THE ROLE OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN SPREADING THE HAUSA-MUSLIM CULTURE AMONG THE KAMBARI

   A major factor that contributed in bringing some remarkable cultural changes among many African communities, including the Kambari was the role of modernization, mostly brought in during colonial era in Nigeria. The influential forces of modernization comprised of the introduction and role of Western education and the coming of Christianity, which all served as bye-products of Western customs.  

   Western secular schools emerged as culture-modeling centers in Africa where Western European cultures were protected and transformed. However, the case was entirely different in Kambari territory because most of the Christian-oriented elementary schools opened in the territory played greater role of spreading Islamic culture among the Kambari and neighbouring tribes, instead of spreading Christianized Western culture. Evidences show that most of the pioneering school teachers and their Headmasters were Hausa-Muslims who succeeded in transforming their Islamic faith and culture into the hearts and minds of their pagan Kambari pupils.

   Perhaps that arrangement was made in order to sustain a cordial relationship between the British government and northern Emirs so as to ease colonization and more over, to avoid incessant confrontation with the already established Islamic order under the auspices of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate, in the non-Muslim areas. So the British introduced Native courts in order to protect the Caliphate interest and to respect the traditional values of non-Muslims. This protected the supremacy of the Kambari traditional religion and customs, and enhanced its sustainability. However, it needs to be noted that the arrangement did not wholly protect the Kambari customs from being interfered with.

   The establishment of Western elementary schools in Kambariland was a major factor that precipitated cultural changes among the Kambari. When Western education was brought into the Kambariland, a lot of Kambari parents were reluctant to send their wards to school in fear of losing their culture. Moreover, many feared losing the supportive hands of their children in pursuing their daily traditional farm works.

   Despite the outstanding fear in them, the parents later allowed their wards to attend the schools after been persuaded by their rulers. According to late Garba Wakili, an important factor that greatly assisted in the Kambari’s and other tribes’ enrolment into Western Education in Ngaski District was the outstanding role of District Head of Maginga Sarki Jibrin (1957-1968) who supported the colonial efforts by going out on his way to compel the enrolment of the Kambari, especially the Akimba, Awunci and few Lopawa, into Elementary School established in Wara in 1946.  

   Through the efforts of these Hausa school teachers, many non-Hausa societies in the area like the Bussa, Gungawa, Lopawa, and Laru among others become Hausanized. Nearly all the Kambari today are fluent Hausa speakers, a development which facilitated the oral interviews for this study.
As early as 1908, Elementary School was opened at Kontagora town but it did not play any role of Hausanization or Islamic conversion. This was due to the shortage of Hausa Muslim teaching staff in the school. Most of the school activities were fully controlled by the Europeans. 18

In 1946, when the Kambari Akimba enrolment began in Wara Elementary School, the pioneering Headmaster Malam Bawa Makaman Yauri and all the pioneering staff like Malam Haruna Jega (late Shettima of Yauri), Malam Hassan, Malama Amu, Malama Balaraba, Malam Bako Arabi (died 1999) and Malam Abdu were Hausa-Muslims who immensely helped in the spread of their culture among the Kambari pupils. They also strengthened the continuation of Hausa cultural practices among their Hausa pupils living in non-Hausaland like Mahdi Adamu, a prolific and celebrated historian who took the great danger of touring the whole West Africa from 1971 to 1974 for his doctorate degree to study the migrations, settlements and general activities of the Hausa community in different parts of the region.

It was the outcome of Mahdi’s researches on the Hausa migrant community that later appeared in his famous book which was published in 1978 -The Hausa Factor in West African History. In addition, he also becomes instrumental in leading and promoting many programs as well as imparting knowledge towards the development and preservation of Hausa culture in and outside Nigeria. He was once the Director, Centre for Nigerian Cultural Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (1975-1980), Chairman, UNESCO Sub-Committee on Hausa Translation of Abridged Volumes of General History of Africa 1980-1994 and Coordinator, Hausa Documentation Project (of National Council for Arts and Culture), August 1994. He on two occasions held the positions of Vice Chancellorship, first at Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto from 1982 to 1989, and later, at International Islamic University in Uganda from 1994 to 2004. He was now a Visiting Professor in the Department of History, Usman Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, a position he assumed in March 1994 after his return from Uganda. 20

Also in 1957, a Primary School was opened at Birnin Yauri and enrolment of the Kambari began in January 1958. Those first intakes embraced the Hausa-Muslim culture through their Arabic teachers like Malam Adamu Karofi, Malam Ummaru Bahago Birnin Yauri, Malam Muhammad Dantanin, Late Aliyu Uban Maginga (He became the first Imam of Jum’at mosque of Birnin Yauri), Malam Abubakar Muhammad Nayari Birnin Yauri, Alhaji Garba Makera and Malam Sallau Abbas. Most were indigenous Kambari of Agadi tribe. They also strengthened the Hausa-Muslims who interacted with the Hausa community and accepted Islam earlier on. 21 According to Lumamu, those Western elementary school teachers not only played an outstanding Islamization role but changed the dressing patterns and medium of communication of their first set of school intake to that of the Hausa, instead of spreading the Western European culture. Moreover, Hausa language was instructed in those schools as a teaching subject throughout the colonial period. 22

Similar school was opened at Yauri in 1932 but much of her students who became assimilated to Hausa culture were the Gungawa tribe. Other schools were opened in Auna, Duga and Agwara in the 1950s and played the same assimilative role over the Kambari of the area. 23

The British colonialists left behind a precedent educational legacy after their departure in 1960, which helped in transferring the Hausa culture among the non-Hausa tribes in Northern Region. Most of the pioneering Kambari students proceeded to other Western schools also built by the same British colonial government in some main Hausa towns under
the defunct Northern Provinces like in Birnin Kebbi, Sokoto, Katsina, Gusau, Zaria, Kano and Bauchi among others. The resultant effect was that the Kambari became more Hausanized while attending such schools due to their continuous interaction with the Hausa, which enhanced their degree of Hausanisation. Their Hausa became more grammatical than the Hausa spoken in the Kambari area. They later emerged as the ambassadors of Hausaland in the midst of their indigenous community whom throughout their lifetime preserved the Hausa cultural traits. The schooling expeditions had developed inter-personal bond, which led to intermarriages between the Kambari and the Hausa daughters who also enormously inculcated the Hausa customs into the minds of their Kambari-born children. Consequently, many of the Kambari children cannot speak their language.24

5. THE ROLE OF HAUSA BIBLE SCHOOL TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HAUSA CULTURE AMONG THE KAMBARI

The British colonial government itself had accorded significant value to the Hausa language, consequent upon which made them to support the establishment of Hausa Bible School in the heart of the Kambariland. The school was built in Salka town in 1951 and still exists, discharging its vigorous role of spreading Christianity among the Kambari.25

The Hausa Bible School as it reads has since its inception specialized in instructing the Hausa language. It succeeded in nurturing its Kambari and non-Kambari disciples with the mystery of Christianity, also teaching them the art of evangelisms in Hausa language, to date. No wonder that even preaching and other church services were rendered in pure Hausa language throughout the colonial era. This made the Kambari appeared as Hausa speaking community who regarded and inculcated the habits of speaking Hausa as their trade language of communication and also wearing Hausa traditional garments like rigar gwanda, barage, turkudi, arkila, kwashe, rawani, sanda rishi, kufta, turban and some variety of caps like kube and habarkada. This led to the establishment of an ideal Kambari-Christian community but of Hausa etiquette. The Hausa Bible training has no doubt affected the rest of the Kambari and non-Kambari community outside the school environment as the students’ continuous interactions with the surrounding community become unavoidable.26

6. THE ROLE OF EVANGELICAL/ETHNO-LINGUISTIC RESEARCH WORKS TO THE SPREAD OF HAUSA LANGUAGE

The evangelism efforts were greatly supported through the introduction of Evangelical Linguistic Research works in the Kambari territory, which started in the early 1960s in Agwara town, targeting Awunci Kambari population. It needs to be noted that the linguistic research works were mostly conducted with the aid of the Hausa language. Similarly, in the 1970s, Wycliffe members worked in Salka among the Avadi for the same purpose. The Agaushi of Auna had no such linguistic work until the late 1980s and Wara and the other Kambari Akimba villages had no such research centers at all. This has justified why Hausa still has the predominance influence in the Agaushi, Ashen and the Akimba territories of the Kambari.27
7. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the evidences at our disposal have reasonably attributed the successful spread of the Hausa culture among the Kambari in the 20th century to the colonial efforts. However, the successive flow of the Hausa immigrants at the down of the 21st century in the Kambari territory has a full work force in assimilating the Kambari to Hausa. Like the situation was during the colonial era, the school curriculum gave emphasis on the teaching of Hausa language in the entire post colonial northern Region. It is therefore not surprising that the Kambari were now almost de-Kambarized, thereby becoming the representatives and custodians of a truly Hausa culture in a non-Hausa territory, having a considerable percentage of Hausa speakers and of Muslims. The Kambarinization process among them has already started to give way to Hausa and Islam. Noticeably, Hausa language is being considered as the religious medium in traditional and modern religious sites (like in mosques and churches) of the Kambari today. Other ceremonial functions like marriages, child-namings, Eid (Sallah) festivals, chieftaincy (Sarauta) coronations, epithets (Hausa, kirari), among others have been carried-out in Hausa etiquettes by the Kambari. The Kambari customs of wearing loin cloth (Hausa Walki), use of facial marks, stealing and eloping with other man’s wife, witchcrafts, fetish, excessive and alcoholism have almost faded away. The practices of the Kambari farming culture remained though striding along with modern agricultural system.

Evidences show that in most of the major Kambari towns and villages such as Kambu, Kambuwa, Salka, Auna, Ibeto, Nasko, New Agwara, Mareveni, Shagwa, Gurei, Mazakari, Wara, Tungan Bako, Ganekasaye, Libata among others in their environs, the Kambarci was no longer a home-spoken or practised language. In almost all the Kambari houses the Hausa language served as the medium of communication. This was so because most of the Kambari family have intermarried with either the Hausa or other ethnic groups like the Fulani, Yoruba, Dakarkari, Agaushi, Lopawa, Gungawa, Laru, Busawa, Nupe, Barebari, Kamuku, and vise versa who have already been assimilated into Hausa long ago. The deculturization and Hausanization of the Kambari was plausible.

However, efforts have been taking place towards cultural revivalism among the Kambari people. There is an organized Kambari Union called All Kambari Progressive Association (AKAPA), established in 2011 at Salka town of Magama Local Government Area of Niger State, where its maiden annual festival was held. According to the District Head of Salka, Alhaji Muhammadu Dogo Bawa Salka, the festival was aimed at the restoration of the Kambari lost cultural heritage in terms of cultural dances, extension of a hand of friendship to a fellow Kambari man anywhere in the world.

End notes

[1] However, this claim for Kambariland is challenged by the tradition of origin of the parent stock of the Kambari people that is the Awunci, which says that they, the Awunci, were migrants from Mecca in Saudi Arabia who left that area when Mecca was conquered by the Muslim forces in the 7th century A.D. How long it took them to get to where they settled finally in the Yawuri area is not given in the tradition. So the Kambari were not the autochthons of the territory they now occupied. They were
immigrants at one stage in the past. See Abubakar, Mansur, “History of the Akimba group of the Kambari people to the end of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century”, UDUS, M. A. History Dissertation, 2010, p. 11.

[2] See Adamu, “The Hausa and the other Peoples of Northern Nigeria, 1200-1600 A.D.”, in Studies in Nigerian Culture, Okita et al (eds), Vol. 2, No.1, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 1982, p. 71. He added that the Hausa people who first established Hausa rule in Yauri about 2 centuries later were traders from southern Katsina who resided in the area. Solomon also was of the view that the Kambari were the first group to occupy Yauri area, settling there, perhaps, even before the Mali and Songhay invasions of the 13\textsuperscript{th} -15\textsuperscript{th} centuries. See A. S. Frank, The Social Construction of Colonial Reality: Yauri Emirate, in Journal of Legal Pluralism, London, 1987, p. 51.

[3] In Abubakar, \textit{Op.cit.} p.11. From the 1860s to 1968, the Kambari migrated from their original homeland in Ngaski District of Kebbi State into different parts of Niger State and beyond. The main factors behind the dispersal of the Kambari were: the civil wars in Maginga (1859-1872) which engaged the Kambari to contribute in fighting the wars; the Nagwamatse family slave raiding campaigns on the Kambari (1864-1876); the colonial taxation policy and the conscription of the Kambari into the colonial army during the Second World War (1939-1945), as well as the 1968 Kainji Dam resettlement project, which created shortage of farmland that made them to flee in search of vast farmland. For more details about the expansion of the Kambari into other states of Nigeria, see Abubakar, “History of the Akimba….”, pp. 43-49.


[6] See Adamu, The Hausa Factor….., Pp. 50-51. Apart from Birnin Yawuri, which first appeared to be the melting point of the Hausa culture in the area, there were other settlements in the district, majorly founded by the Hausa people in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. They are: Tungwani, Konono, Mai Kafo and Gindane. In discussion with Alhaji Aliyu Lumamu, (63 years), interviewed in his house, Kambu Village, 13/8/2012, time- 11:00-1:30 p.m.


[8] In discussion with Alhaji Attahiru Giwa (over 70 years), the Village Head of Wara, interviewed at his palace on 25\textsuperscript{th} December, 2007, from 11:01a.m to 12:30 p.m.

[9] It was part of the ancient Kambari tradition to appear publicly half-naked. Though some of their men used to wear loin-cloth, likewise some of their women. In discussion with Alhaji Aliyu Lumamu (63 years), interviewed in his house, Kambu Village in Birnin
Yauri District, 13/8/2012, time- 11:00-1:30 p.m. Evidence show that Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna (the Premier of Northern Nigeria) never showed abhorrence to these kinds of Kambari cultural outfit. He used to shake their hands and exchanged cheerful discussions with them during his Islamization campaigns in the area from 1956 to 1965. This made him to succeed in accomplishing his mission among the Kambari. He championed the course of spreading the Hausa-Muslim culture in the area. See Abubakar M. Wara, “A History of the Islamisation of the Kambari People, 1956-1965”, in Sokoto Journal of History, Vol. 3, Sokoto, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, 2014, p. 296.


[14] In discussion with Attahiru Giwa, op. cit.

[15] See E. P. T. Crampton, “Relations Between the British Administration, the Missions and the Emirs” in Christianity in Northern Nigeria, London, Macmillan Ltd., 1975, Pp. 46-47. The British made little modification where under the new system Native and Customary Courts were established in each district. Native Courts, Grade ‘A’ to ‘D’ were built in some areas of the Kambari to administer and protect their religious matters, judiciously. For instance, in 1912 Kontagora had grade B, Rijau had grade C in 1916 while in 1906, Kumbashi had grade D. Also in 1917 Kiama and Bussa had grade B and in 1918, Ibelu, Aliyara and Wawa had grade C. Similarly, between 1912 and 1914, Ngaski had grade A and C. all the pioneering judges that served throughout the colonial era were Hausa. See Blake, para 20. Also for more information about the existence and roles of such Native Courts and their judges in the transformation of Hausa culture, see A.H.M. Kirk-Greene (ed.), Gazetteers of Northern Province of Nigeria, Vol. I, revised ed., London, Frank Cass Publishers, 1972, p. 5.

[16] In interview with late Garba Wakili, the Village Head of Karoliya (Kambari over 100 years), at Kaloriya, 27/4/2008.

[17] Similar role of mass enrolment into Western school was encouraged by the late Emir of Yauri, Abdullahi (1923-1955) who used to go out on his way to compel parents to send their children. In discussion with late Garba Wakili who was a good friend of both Emir Abdullahi and Sarkin Maginga Jibrin. He was said to have spent most of his joyful period with them. Also see Abubakar, Op.cit., pp. 136-138.


[19] Professor Mahdi Adamu OFR was born on 2nd February 1939 in Ngaski town. He was among the first intake in the Elementary School in Wara in 1946. Among his colleagues
who were Kambari are: Apeli Dan Araba, late Sani Aboka, Attahiru Giwa (the current Village Head of Wara), Fati, Balki, Tamte, Ali Ahmad Libata, Ibrahim Jika (the current Village Head of Libata), Ibrahim Kana and late Mamman Tahiru among others. See Mahdi’s inaugural lecture titled- The Major Landmarks in the History of Hausaland, The Eleventh Inaugural Lecture, delivered Thursday, 1st April, 2010, at Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Trans-Akab Printing & Publishing Limited., 2010, pp. 62-66.


[21] In discussion with Alhaji Aliyu Lumamu (63 years), interviewed in his house, Kambu Village, 13/8/2012, time- 11:00-1:30 p.m.

[22] According to Lumamu (later Aliyu), him and his colleagues like Silazae (later Abubakar) and Gado (also renamed Isah) who pioneered the school enrolment in 1958 appeared there wearing loin cloth and leaves on their waists. But the school took the responsibilities to carter for them after reaching agreement with their parents. Apart from changing their Kambari names to that of the Hausa, the school provided them with full school uniform that covered their whole bodies, including caps and shoes.

[23] This trend was maintained after the colonial departure in most parts of the Kambari territory. In 1976, Primary School was established at Shahini village (now in Magama Local Government Area of Niger State), where a certain Arabic teacher of Hausa origin called Malam Arabi succeeded in converting the Avadi and Agaushi pupils to Islam and also imparted some Hausa culture on them. In discussion with Lumamu and Alhaji Ibrahim Tanko Salka.

[24] In discussion with Lumamu. He was one of those Kambari elites who married the Hausa and Fulani daughters. He married a Fulani woman called Malama Hauwa and a certain Ba’adara. Also none of his children married from their Kambari tribe.

[25] Similar Christian schools were established in Kambari territory after the colonial departure in order to compliment the earlier colonial efforts: Warari Bible School, Advanced Bible School Tungan Magajiya, Our Lady of Apostles (OLA) Girls Hostel Papiri, ECWA Theological Training Institute, Pisabu. All specializes in teaching the Kambari in Hausa and English languages. These schools have succeeded in training and producing indigenous Kambari Christian community, among who are also indigenous evangelists that comprised of Pastors, Church Deputy Superintendents (CDS), preachers, Reverends and many others who also still play enormous role of evangelical missions among their tribemates. They have been using their local dialect ‘Kambarci’ along with Hausa in drawing converts. In interview with Reverend Abdullahi Hassan (49 years) at ECWA Theological Institute, Pisabu, 24/4/13, 11:00 to 12:30 a.m. He was the current Principal of the college.

[26] In group discussion with Hassan Majidadi Libata (Kambari, over 100 years), at Libata Village, 26/12/2007.

[27] Other subsequent language survey analysis and orthography development were done in the area. For instance in 1988, the Kambari Research Project was initiated in Salka, embarking on their open conversion programmes widely. The Kambari Language
Project (KLP) was officially formed in 1992 with the goal of developing Kambari writing systems and producing useful literature for the Kambari people. The project has specific subgroups and coordinators mainly from among the indigenous Kambari, some of whom were employed as full-time staff and headed by two technical advisors (Dr. and Mrs Janie Stark). It needs to be known that the KLP has succeeded in executing its grand plan of spreading Gospel message among the Kambari through sending elaborate missionary expeditions for outreaches into different areas, most achieved with the help of the indigenous Kambari evangelists. Among the prominent Kambari Bible translators were Mamman Wakaso and Pastor Danladi Mathew, working along with Dr and Mrs Janie Stalk. Among the few translation works in progress on the verses of the Old Testament were *The Beginnings, the Life of Moses, Mark and Luke, Joshua to Solomon and Kings and Prophets*. See Stark, P. Janie, *Kambari Orthography Design*, SIL International, 2010, p. 41.


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