

The Decline of the Kano-Tripoli Caravan Trade

Pre-Colonial Structures, Colonial Impact, Environment and Revolt

Ben Chatterton

Contents

Abstract.....	1
Introduction.....	2
Research Question.....	3
Relevance of the Study.....	3
Outline.....	4
Background.....	4
The Caravan Trade 1900.....	4
1900 to 1916 – The Tripoli-Kano trades waning years.....	6
Theoretical foundation.....	7
Previous Research.....	8
Methodology.....	13
Limitations of the Data.....	14
Data Analysis.....	15
Conclusions.....	21
Appendix.....	24
References.....	25

Abstract

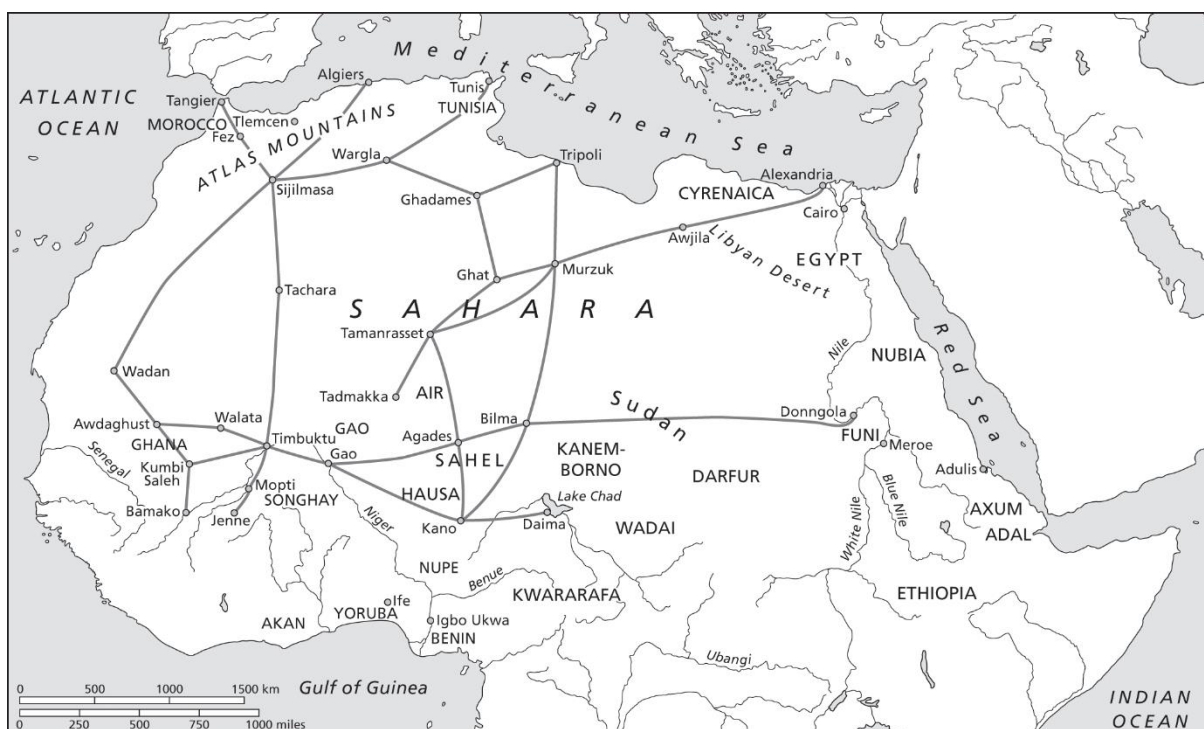
The old caravan trade routes across the Sahara Desert largely fell out of use decades before the beginning of the 20th century. The route from Kano to Tripoli however remained active and continued to transport a significant volume of exports and regional trade well into the 20th century. This thesis investigates the resilience and downfall of this trade route against a backdrop of the European ‘Scramble for Africa’, severe drought, revolt and conquest. Through this investigation it hopes to contribute to the debate on colonial impact by examining the trade decline and its effects on the three groups who contributed to and relied upon it most.

Using colonial export data, the thesis will explore the current assumptions of how the trade route came to vanish and utilise new understandings of the linkages between the political and economic spheres to test their credibility. Following this discussion, the thesis will further explore how the often-isolated Saharan economies managed to compensate for the loss of such an important source of income. It is hoped that overall the thesis will contribute to the understanding of how these isolated desert economies have flourished and faltered in the past to better integrate what are among the most marginalised areas of the planet.

Introduction

The Sahelian region of Africa has, for centuries, been a melting pot of cultures through the consistent flow of goods across the Sahara. The trade routes that cross the desert have long been dependent on the unique environmental conditions and natural endowments of the region. With a rainforest belt in the south followed by savannah and eventually desert to the north a rich and diverse plethora of commodities have been produced across the region. With the large European and Arabian markets to the North and East, a multitude of towns surrounding the oasis' and arable land along this route have flourished from this trade (Frederick 2018). Through the 19th century these routes gradually fell out of use with advances in shipping and improvements in infrastructure undercutting the costs of desert travel to the north (Cana 1915, Baier 1977). This thesis will examine the decline of the trade from Kano to Tripoli and consider how the ever-extending grip of colonialism, environmental issues and infrastructural change affected this decline. Further the thesis will attempt to examine how these far-flung towns compensated for the loss of this vital trade.

This thesis will examine the trade routes in the eastern edges of the desert, the Tripoli-Kano route linking towns such as Agadez and Zinder into a wider Saharan economy. The value of this trade will be ascertained through the British colonial records for Northern Nigeria, representing Kano, and the estimates of trade value passing through the port of Tripoli in the north. Though the end of the caravan route through the Sahara was somewhat inevitable the speed at which the centuries old northern route was abandoned is surprising. This thesis will attempt to analyse how this trade came to collapse with a refocus on the plethora of issues that faced the trade circa 1900 and the reactions of the three major groups involved in the trade to these changing circumstances. While this will involve considering the classic explanation for the trades collapse, the lowering of southern route costs following completion of the rail line to Kano, it will also enter the debate on colonial impact and evaluate how this impact was felt across the route. Integral to the argument of colonial impact being a driver of the trades decline is that, unlike the other trade routes further west, the more isolated Tripoli-Kano route survived into the 20th century until the arrival of colonial powers (Johnson 1976).



Research Question

The decline of the caravan trade was affected by many factors. This research aims to evaluate those factors and contend that a combination of exogenous shocks sped its decline significantly. This view is largely in contention with much of the literature on the topic which argues that the completion of the rail line and subsequent fall in transportation costs for exporting through Lagos brought about its end. As such the final research question will be:

‘Why did the caravan route from Kano to Tripoli move into decline, what factors brought about its end and how was it compensated for economically?’

In answering this question this thesis can contribute to the debate on colonial impacts and legacies (albeit more impact than legacies), apply new theoretical frameworks to a previously studied time in history and help describe how the Sahelian economy has functioned in the past.

Relevance of the Study

The topic chosen holds significance both to the ongoing debates of how colonialism has disrupted development paths and to how these desert towns react to outside influences rapidly changing the layout of the economy. While the completion of railroads and other infrastructural projects will no doubt be seen in the analysis of the data, the thesis will also attempt to examine the effects of other disruptions that may have raised transaction costs. In particular, the increasing Italian influence in the port of Tripoli, the actions of Britain in Northern Nigeria, the French takeover of modern day Niger and Mali and the practices of the colonial governments across the caravan route. While the Kano-Tripoli trade route and its decline have been studied before much of this work is decades old and dating the end of the trade has been a subject of debate with repeated revisions. Re-examining the trade routes end with newer theoretical foundations may well place greater emphasis on different causes for the decline.

The study holds further relevance in that it examines the change from pre-colonial to colonial governance. Across the myriad of studies focusing on Africa’s economic history many place their focus solely on colonial or post-colonial times at the expense of pre-colonial. While this approach certainly holds merit with colonialism representing a huge, disruptive shift it is not where Africa’s history began and not all encompassing when examining the economic systems of Africa today. Instead this thesis takes the view that in order to make any claim about economic behaviour in Africa one must examine pre-colonial political and economic systems. Therefore, in attempting to understand pre-colonial forms of governance, production and trade this thesis seeks to build a continuity in the economic activity that has been practiced across the examined region of the Sahel. In this way it is hoped the thesis can contribute to wider debates on African economic history by including the economic structures that existed *before* colonialism in the analysis.

The study may also be able to contribute to the understanding of contemporary issues in the Sahelian region. In 2015 the Law Against the Illicit Smuggling of Migrants was passed in Niger. The law targets those same desert towns that once served as hubs for trade which now serve as hubs for north bound migration. Encouraged by the EU this law has been a central condition to the extensive funds being paid into the region for development. Significant research has already been carried out in Agadez and across the region on the effects of this law. The conclusion of much of this research has highlighted that the migration industry has been deeply ingrained into the economic, political and societal spheres of the region (Raineri 2018). As such the decision to force people smugglers underground has had a far wider impact upon the economy of these

often-marginalized areas than intended (Hoffmann, Meester, Nabara 2017). While the circumstances and time frames of the decline of the caravan trade and the shutting down of migration routes differ immensely the effects on the area's most dependent upon them will likely be similar. Given that the caravan routes decline was followed by a revolt in modern day Niger that would take decades to recover from understanding how some areas managed to compensate for the economic loss of the trade route hold relevance for policy today.

Outline

Given the large areas the caravan route from Tripoli to Kano covered, the different groups who were engaged with it and the numerous colonial administrations that would eventually cover its breadth, the structure of this thesis has been designed so as to slowly build arguments onto the background information. As such the thesis first introduces the caravan trade as it functioned before the European 'scramble'. It will then briefly run through important factors in the regions history from 1900 to 1916. The theoretical basis for the thesis will then be introduced followed by a review of previous research and the thesis' own arguments.

The method for testing these arguments will then be discussed along with justification of the thesis' assumptions regarding the data. The limitations to the data will then be highlighted and a discussion on how the thesis will proceed regarding these limitations. The data will then be analysed and conclusions will be drawn. The conclusions will attempt to empirically measure the viability of previous research on the end of the caravan trade as well as critically examine this thesis' own arguments.

Background

The Caravan Trade in 1900

To understand the decline of the caravan trade from Kano to Tripoli significant time must be devoted to understanding the political economy of the Sahara as well as how different cities and powers along the route took part in the trade. This thesis argues the upheavals and changing balance of power in the region upon the arrival of the colonial powers was a central cause of the northern routes decline. As such understanding the political economy of the pre-colonial period is essential to understanding the thesis' arguments. Here the thesis will examine the roles of the three major actors involved the Tripoli-Kano trade before the year 1900. The description of these actor's roles is set *before* the British takeover of Northern Nigeria and the French takeover of modern day Niger.

The role played by Tripoli and Ghadames Merchants

At the Northern end of this trade route was the city of Tripoli. In name the city and surrounding region was under Ottoman rule though many Viziers of Tripolitania acted largely independently as the empire began to deteriorate. The caravan trade through Tripoli brought high value goods such as ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and leather through the Sahara for export out of Africa (Northern Nigeria Blue Book 1900). While some of these commodities had changed over the centuries the value of the trade remained significant through to the demise of the route with final available estimates being set at £60,000 in 1904, equivalent to £ 6,960,000 in 2018 (Baier 1977).

While many caravan routes through the Sahara ended much earlier the Kano-Tripoli route was kept open longer partly due to the actions of Tripolitania merchants. The merchants here typically provided the capital for the long and expensive Sahara crossing and largely bankrolled

many of the caravans making the crossing. This provision of capital effectively acted as an assurance that the caravans would continue to move along the Tripoli route. Tripoli also served as a continuous destination for the caravans from Kano due to the strong business ties and networks that had been built up through the centuries between partners on each side of the desert (Olukoju 1996).

The use of Tripoli as a point of export for commodities from the Kano caravans was also relevant due to its integration with world markets. Merchants based in the city maintained offices and agents not just along the southern reaches of the caravan route but across Europe and the Middle East providing markets in both the Ottoman and European Empires (Olukoju 1996). This also allowed the caravan route to serve those at its southern reaches with European manufactures mostly in the form of cloths of various quality. These western cloths would often be taken apart and re-used in African cloth production based in Kano to adorn locally produced cloth (Frederick 2018) thus driving the manufacturing on the southern edges of the caravan route.

The role played by Tuareg interests

The Tuareg have played a significant role in the caravan trade for the area of study over centuries. While the role changed somewhat in the last decades of the trade it acted not only as a lifeline for their desert capitals but was the basis for their ability to maintain a nomadic lifestyle. Before the arrival of the French the large tracts of desert and savannah that make up modern day central and northern Niger made up the Tuareg states. Here noble clans ruled over subservient clans, and free farmers who were attracted north at the prospect of worthwhile farmland. In exchange for protection from other clan's, payments in grain would be made to nomadic nobles as they passed through the area on the annual transhumance (Baier 1977, Pezard & Shurkin 2015). The use of this loose political control over the inhabitants of Tuareg territory served a dual purpose. First, it allowed the Tuareg free reign to migrate enabling them free reign to move between useful pastures and engage in trade to supplement incomes during the dry season. Second with the region prone to prolonged drought the lack of penetration of state power into the populations daily lives ensured that ruling Tuareg had little responsibility to the populace in their domain (Baier 1977). Serious drought also played a part in the economic cycles ever present in the desert. Each few decades part of the caravan and pastoralist route would be affected by serious drought that could often last years. This provided a Malthusian effect in the Southern Sahara with those who lived sedentary lives fleeing south to sell cattle before the market became oversupplied and prices dropped. Once the drought ended many would return North to the now empty and productive farmlands and the population would begin to grow again restarting a favourable economic period (Lovejoy & Baier 1975).

While only a few Tuareg would practice as specialist merchants crossing the Sahara to Tripoli many would cover part of the route as nomadic pastoralists. Each year caravans would move from Agadez to the oases at Bilma and Fachi to sell grain from the savannah area and buy salt and dates. With the rainfall shifting southwards in December they would then move back down into modern day northern Nigeria selling the dates and salt as they went in search of the better pastures. With the return of the rains in the North the pastoralists would stock up on grain and move back to the start of the loop. With this pastoralist transhumance prices could be kept exceedingly low in places such as Agadez despite the large distances goods would have to travel to reach this northern market (Lovejoy and Baier 1975). Not only would this passage allow a wealth of goods from the desert to move south to Kano to be traded but it also ensured that

areas further north could be kept supplied with grain throughout the year despite the lack of fertile land.

The Tuareg of dominant clans would further facilitate this trade with the organisation the largest annual caravan to Tripoli carrying with it the exports of Ivory, Ostrich Feathers and Hides to be sold in North African markets (Northern Nigeria Blue Book 1900). These large caravans would often grow in size with petty traders taking advantage of the security of numbers for the long desert crossing to Tripoli. In turn this allowed the trade to be accessible to a broad portion of society constituting an important source of income for the region. Given the reliance of the Tuareg on the cross-Saharan trade their position as the dominant group in the region was an important factor in keeping its transaction costs low. This was accomplished through ensuring security for the caravan routes and facilitating the movement of goods through their transhumance in the dry season (Baier 1977).

The role played by South Niger and Northern Nigeria (Hausa states)

While the Tuareg held dominance in the desert areas to the south the Hausa states also played an important though less direct role in the trade. While in the late 19th century the Sokoto Caliphate dominated the areas around Kano it had been a significant economic hub for centuries. Here along with a gathering place for the products of the rainforest and savannah areas there was a strong manufacturing base.

With the decline of the slave trade in the mid-19th century and the British takeover of Lagos in 1861, providing a strong link to European markets through the port, there could seemingly have been a crisis in the caravan trade. Instead however European markets created ever increasing demands for, among other things, ostrich feathers and ivory. Kano served as a market town for these goods from the north of Nigeria to be exported to Tripoli by the caravaners. Given the dramatic rise in value of ostrich feathers many in the rural Hausa states also began to hunt to supply the trade (Baier 1977).

The town further contributed to regional trade through its well-established manufacturing sector. While European cloth could be produced far cheaper and in many places across Africa quickly wiped out local competition the industry had a significant base in Kano and kept producing into post-colonial times. This is largely due to the early exposure of West Africa to Islam, the trade networks that it brought with it and to cotton cloth production. With the centuries the industry had producing before the advent of the Atlantic trade complex consumer demands had developed which European factory produced cloth could not meet. With its high population density Kano was capable of supporting an artisan class which could provide products that were in demand and could not be produced elsewhere thus further driving the regional trade of the caravan network (Frederick 2018).

1900 to 1916 – The Tripoli-Kano trades waning years

Before the year 1900 the Kano-Tripoli route, unlike the other caravan routes further west which had already become defunct decades earlier, had avoided colonial interference. In 1900 however the British extended their grip on Nigeria further north and the French moved into modern day Niger at Zinder. By 1903 the British had absorbed the Sokoto Caliphate, and the caravan routes southern hub town of Kano with it, and the French continued to expand their influence and occupation further into the Sahara. Through this period until 1908 Italy sought to force its sovereignty on Tripoli by gradually tying the region into its economy and creating dependency. This would end in 1908 with the Ottoman ‘Young-Turk’ revolution and the violent

shift in Ottoman policy against Italian commercial interests. In retaliation 1911 saw the fall of Tripolitania to Italian invasion.

Each of these incursions by outside powers would then be followed by severe drought from 1911 to 1914. Following increased, unrecompensed camel requisitions by French forces, both for further colonial campaigns during the drought and the First World War, modern day Niger Tuareg would then revolt against the French forces in 1916 in the Kaocen revolt. Against this background of upheaval, revolt, environmental difficulties and conquest the caravan trade from Kano to Tripoli would struggle and eventually halt, certainly with the breakout of the Kaocen revolt.

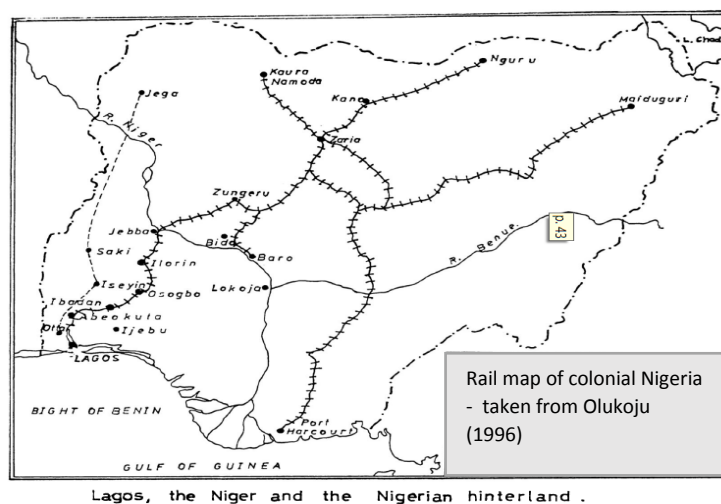
Transaction Costs and the Pre-Colonial State – Theoretical Foundations

When building the theoretical framework for this thesis it is important to highlight that many of its arguments are based on North's (1994) description of how economies work when transaction costs are above zero. North highlights that neoclassical economics describe a world where it does not cost to transact, as such all transactions are free to be carried out with 100% efficiency. In practice however, no economy works this way. Complete efficiency would require everyone to be completely informed about all economic options they could possibly carry out with the resources available to them. It would also require that political markets operated completely efficiently without any form of ideological input or interest beyond efficiency. This is due to the political sphere determining the rules of the economic paradigm in place. Understanding that the rules are set by those in power and therefore the continuation of a certain economic paradigm is based in the continuation of the same power structure is an important assumption for the arguments of this thesis. Here we seek to explore how the political changes brought about by the start of the colonial period affected the decline of the caravan trade. There will also be an examination of other explanations, namely increased infrastructure lowering transport costs south and disruption brought about by the arrival of colonial powers. While these are expected to be shown to have a strong effect on the trade the thesis hopes to show how an end to the political arrangement that had vested interest in the caravan trade heavily contributed to its demise.

North's (1994) description of institutions and how they impact the cost to transact goes beyond political institutions and the rules they set. Institutions are further built around common sets of behaviour and informal rules which are built from the culture of a specific economy or region. In the context of the caravan route from Tripoli to Kano it is important to recognise that common institutions have had considerable impact on *lowering* the cost to transact even across the massive distances of the route. Lydon (2005) provides an in-depth argument for the typical division of 'North Africa' and 'Sub-Saharan Africa' not truly applying in the context of trans-Saharan history. Instead the trans-Saharan trade and the areas it traversed share similar legal, linguistic and religious institutions. This conceptualisation of how the trade functioned on shared institutions may help understand how it proved so resilient despite the difficulty of the route and the transportation costs that must have been incurred. It further feeds into the idea that the breakup of the route by three alien colonial powers, each utilising a different institutional makeup to what was originally in place, may have changed the cost to transact along the Kano-Tripoli route.

While changes in cultural institutional arrangements may well have fed into the trades decline the political institutions that held it up likely hold greater significance. The thesis will make use of Herbst's (2000) description of how many pre-colonial states in Africa operated. The description entails that, faced with low population densities and an abundance of low value land African leaders were forced to focus their efforts on controlling people rather than territory. With people having the ability to simply move if they were unhappy with their leadership different forms of state system had to be established. This is especially true for those who lived along the caravan route and depended upon it. With low population densities and an inhospitable climate prone to long droughts every few decades it was necessary to establish loose forms of control over people based on coercion and co-operation. While this relationship has been elaborated upon earlier in the thesis the deconstruction of these power relations, the loss of the state's ability to coerce and the division of the route into separate territories, which disrupted actors' abilities to co-operate, may have played an important role in the end of the cross-Saharan trade.

While this thesis will argue that the establishment of colonial administrations played a greater role in hastening the decline of the caravan trade north than previously thought it is important to outline other main arguments in the context of the theoretical framework. Namely the importance of the rail route from Kano to Lagos in lowering the transaction costs for exporting south. This included trade capital being tied up for shorter periods of time (Baier 1977), the dangers of the caravan routes across the desert and the ability of the railways to transport bulky, and more importantly perishable, commodities from areas far from ports in a speedy manner. The linkages created by the incorporation of the whole route under one power, Britain, and the ending of war in Yorubaland brought about by conquest lowered the risks of losing merchandise on route. Further the entry of western capital into Lagos caused a boom in petty trading with caravans travelling from Lagos to Ilorin and beyond to Kano more and more regularly (Olukoju 1996). These reasons all contributed to the lowering of the cost to transact along the southern Kano-Lagos route at the expense of the northern Kano-Tripoli route.



Lagos, the Niger and the Nigerian hinterland .

Factors for the Caravan Trades Decline – Previous Research and Thesis Arguments

With the turn of the century into 1900 came the arrival of European powers in force to the interior areas of West Africa and their intrusion on the Kano-Tripoli caravan route. Scholars to this day still argue on the colonial impact and what it meant for Africa. While it is generally accepted that colonial intervention opened Africa up to global markets and encouraged further

integration there is still debate on its true impact. There are dependency theorists who argue colonial encouragement for primary resource production cemented Africa in a position of providing the raw materials for European production. Those who see most production decisions largely still in African hands, at least in the 'peasant' colonies, and attribute economic successes to the general populations there. Beyond this there are those that understand that, while colonialism was based on racist presumptions, its commitment to increasing infrastructure and market linkages allowed Africa to pursue a comparative advantage in primary production (Austin 2010). When exploring the decline of the caravan trade this thesis will view colonial arrival as part of a series of exogenous shocks and further try to understand which of these narratives best fits the case of each group along the caravan route.

Upon examining the literature describing the decline of the caravan trade there are several explanations highlighted by different authors all of which will likely have contributed in some way. The dominant explanation however from scholars such as Baier (1977), Baier and Lovejoy (1975) and Olukoju (1996) is that following the completion of the rail line from Kano to Lagos in 1911 the caravan trade collapsed. The logic being that with the completion of the rail line it no longer made any economic sense to continue the caravan trade north given its higher costs. While this view almost certainly holds some truth, there are competing factors for the routes decline. These are largely based around the arrival of colonial administrations causing disruption, the policies they pursued and their effect on the political economy of the region. There are also environmental causes that should be explored when examining this decline. Although drought is not a new phenomenon in this region it has always had a negative effect on growth, when combined with the disruption caused by colonial authorities the 1911-1914 drought (considered the worst since the 18th century) cannot be ignored as a possible factor for the trades abrupt end (Baier & Lovejoy 1975).

While not impressed as a major factor by many scholars the arrival of the French in 1900 may well have had a substantial effect on disrupting trans-Saharan and regional trade. The importance of coercive power to the Tuareg in maintaining their dominance over the caravan route. While much of the region to the east of Zinder was likely far from fully controlled by the French their presence in hub towns along the caravan route will have doubtlessly had an effect. Baier (1977) highlights that much of Tuareg power in the region was largely based in forms of coercion, mainly offering protection from other raiding clans, as such the arrival of the French as a dominant power completely dismantled the political map of the region. With this regional power shift the French arrival may have altered the economic systems that had been in place for centuries, sustaining the caravan trade. For the Tuareg losing this role as a dominant force in the region may have upset many of the relationships upon which they relied to keep transaction costs for moving north low. This includes grain tributes to their capital Agadez, which allowed an artisanal class to operate there providing goods for regional trade. These in-kind tributes further lowered the cost of the transhumance during the dry season when the diet of most Tuareg would switch to mostly grain from milk. Increasing costs of the transhumance in turn would raise the costs of those goods which would be brought back and sold from across the areas travelled. This explanation further fits the theoretical foundations of this thesis both from the perspectives of North (1994), who highlights that those with political power shape the cost of transacting, and Herbst (2000) who shows how many pre-colonial African states and power structures were reliant on an implied coercive power as well as co-operation between groups.

The French would not be the only power to influence the cost of doing business along the Kano-Tripoli caravan route. With the British invasion of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903 and the Italian invasion of Tripolitania in 1911 the caravan route had been split between three separate powers none of which had a true incentive to keep the route running. When examining the route before 1900 it is clear that each of the three groups along the route had clear incentives to keep regional trade alive. For those merchants in Tripoli the continuation of the caravan route gave them access to a wide variety of tropical, savannah and desert produce which was valued not only in Europe but to North African and Arabian markets. The Tuareg relied upon the trade to supplement their incomes which could often otherwise be heavily affected by drought and other exogenous shocks. Finally, the Hausa states in the south not only gained a large market for their grain by selling to those arid climates in the north but also a wide market for their cloth and artisanal industries. The final colonial division ensured that anyone who wished to transport goods from Kano to Tripoli now faced dealing with three separate colonial administrations and the export charges each would levy (Olukoju 1996). When compared with the route south from Kano to Lagos traversing the territory of a single power, Great Britain, with rail lines to assist transport it is unsurprising that performing transactions through Lagos, rather than Tripoli, was desirable for those who produced in Northern Nigeria and North-Eastern Niger (Lovejoy & Baier 1975). This argument is further buoyed by evidence that many merchants who previously based themselves in Tripoli began moving their operations to Lagos or up to Kano to invest in the groundnut trade where they would not face any tolls on route to the southern coast after 1907 (Olukoju 1996).

Work by Johnson (1976) continues to support the arguments made here of colonialism's disruptive tendency towards the trade route. Her work highlights that, despite repeated proclamations that the Kano-Tripoli trade would soon be dead, colonial officials and observers were wrong about the resilience of the trade. As early as 1862 the argument that cheaper transportation costs for the southern route would surely doom the northern route had become prevalent in British reports. The actual decline however would not begin until after the colonial occupation of much of the route. Interestingly Johnson (1976) also highlights that most of what was being brought down from Tripoli to the south for trade was in fact British made low quality cloths. Given the low value and bulkiness of these manufactures this hints that the northern route must have been relatively competitive on transport costs to the river route from the south. It also provides insight that the Kano-Tripoli trade route, and the Africans that ran it, was integrating even the most remote communities into the global economy before the arrival of the colonial powers.

The evidence for colonial intervention bringing about the downfall of the trade is further expanded when considering Britain's role in actively seeking its redirection. Adebayo's (1992) research into the production and trade in Northern Nigerian hides discusses early British attempts to redirect trade south with the chartering of the Royal Niger Company. The company's prime focus was to monopolise the export trade from Northern Nigeria and redirect it down the River Niger rather than across the desert to Tripoli. While this appears to have been a relatively ill-fated attempt at controlling trade out of Northern Nigeria, (the company having quickly lost its charter after a few years in operation), it paved the way for colonial control there that would eventually break down the trade route north.

The desire to redirect the trade also extended into the colonial state bureaucracies. Evidence taken from the letters and actions of the colonial governors for both Lagos and the Northern Niger province show a keen awareness of the value of the North bound trade. This awareness is

highlighted each year in the colonial blue books which noted the presence of this exporting route and in 1903 stating:

'The more valuable sections of this trade are in the hands of Arabs who ultimately export the results of their trade from depots at Tripoli... The British Consul at Tripoli states that one caravan from Kano... carried merchandise valued at £41,000'. (Northern Nigeria Blue book 1903)

This awareness is significant due to the colonial states ability to raise revenue primarily through export duties. Given that colonial states generally lacked the ability to raise revenue through anything but import and export duties there is a clear and present incentive to re-route this trade south. This point is illustrated further by the increasing encroachments of the British into Nigeria through the 1890's many of which cited guaranteeing 'free trade', and by extension the security of the southern route through Lagos, as justification. The extension of British rule into the interior and finally to Kano allowed for the guarantee of security for the southern route. The construction of the rail line in 1911 was also seemingly part of this effort to redirect the Kano-Tripoli trade with the British governor for Lagos explicitly stating that *'the more quickly the railway is extended towards the Niger, the easier it will be to capture this trade'* (Olukoju 1996, Baier 1977, Lovejoy & Baier 1975).

Beyond the changes in power structures and costs of transacting explanations for the trades decline can further be found in colonial policies and actions across the region. In particular, whenever moving or attempting to expand the control of their empire in the Sahara French forces often requisitioned large numbers of Tuareg camels without paying for them. While this significantly reduced the costs of occupying the Sahara it also placed a strain on Tuareg ability to continue the northbound trade which relied on thousands of camels strong enough to make the desert crossing. With losses of animals on the route near guaranteed the success of a caravan was to a large extent dependent on the number and health of these animals. In addition, French forces notably attacked a Kano bound caravan transporting several prominent Tripoli merchants despite an attached guard from the Ottoman Empire. As such Olukoja (1996) notes that many merchants chose to at least delay their trip along the route for the year given the insecurity brought about by these colonial policies and actions.

This insecurity would further continue in Tripoli with the Young-Turk revolution in the Ottoman Empire, the subsequent invasion of Tripoli by Italian forces and the resistance provided to them by the Senusi. This would ensue with Italy seeking assurances from other European powers of its 'right' to control Tripolitania as well as pushing a policy of 'pacific penetration' designed to further integrate Tripoli into its economy and sphere of influence (Gibbons 1922). In 1908 however, the revolution in the Ottoman empire began the reversal of Italy's ambitions in Tripoli, with the closure of Italian businesses and the remilitarization of Tripoli by the Ottomans. Each of these events is likely to have caused significant disruption for the caravan trade, first with Italian influence providing unequal access for its citizens and businesses and later with large sections of the market effectively forced out of business. The consistent issues with Tripoli as an outbound port would continue with the Italian invasion of Tripoli from September to October of 1911. Not only did the war undoubtedly cause disruption and delays during the dry season when the caravans would typically travel but resistance from the Senussi, a religious sect based in modern day Libya, after the invasion was ever present in the desert around the areas of Italian occupation.

Understated in most previous literature though argued as crucial for the trade by Olukoja (1996) is the role of North African merchant capital in the diversion of the caravan route south. Before

the division of the route between colonial powers merchant capital played a significant role in financing many of the caravans that would travel back and forth across the desert. This however would change with the arrival of the different colonial powers and their various policies towards the trade. In the south with the entirety of Nigeria under British rule relative stability has been achieved. This was undoubtedly accomplished to encourage trade through Lagos and when coupled with the increasing instability of the Northern route and Tripoli it appears many merchants changed their base of operations to Lagos. Many others would utilise their contacts in Kano to invest in the new crops that could be profitably produced after the arrival of the railway. With this abandoning of Tripoli as a base of operations the caravan route lost the merchant capital that financed the long desert trip. Given that the Tripoli-Kano trade route relied on co-operation between the Hausa states, Tuareg and Tripoli merchants it is likely that the movement of traders into Nigeria caused significant decline in the trade.

While colonial policy in the northern and central parts of the route hampered the continuation of the caravan trade colonial policy in the southern areas of the route, under British rule, attempted to encourage a re-direction of exports. In no way was this more effective than with the completion rail lines into the interior. Not only would these provide a cheap and safer route for goods to travel to the ocean but they also allowed new types of bulky goods to be produced in the northern reaches of Nigeria which the limitations of camel travel prevented. While Britain initially intended the northern regions of Nigeria to become major cotton producers' farmers there instead shifted cultivation to groundnuts (Austin 2009). This shift would be the second group primarily invested in the caravan trade to move away from supporting it. While the shift to export agriculture from grain production for northern cities likely benefitted those around Kano economically it represented the final link to be broken in the co-operative chain that allowed the caravan route to function.

Despite each of these policies, events and changes to the political structure of the region it is likely that regional trade would have been able to continue albeit on a smaller scale. The Tuareg would still perform their transhumance each year and move between oases, savannah and manufacturing hubs such as Kano and Agadez buying and selling produce from each area. The exceptionally low costs for nomadic pastoralists to transport goods from areas beyond the reach of the rail lines was the starting point for this regional trade. There is even evidence that some cloth manufacturing survived into the post-colonial period which is indicative of its resilience (Frederick 2018). The 1911-1914 drought however, described as the worst since the 18th century, combined with increased French camel requisitions for further military campaigns placed increasing strain on these pastoralists ability to trade in any meaningful way.

By 1916 this would result in the Kaocen revolt in Northern Niger. The war would largely decimate the area with French and Tuareg alike fighting a desert warfare that often revolved around removing the infrastructure necessary for the caravan route to function. The filling in of wells, requisitioning of grain supplies and camels from those not fighting and destruction of arable land ensured that the caravan trade would no longer be able to run profitably from Kano to Tripoli (Baier 1977, Deycard 2012). While the drought would normally cause large areas on the southern reaches of the caravan route to de-populate recovery was inevitable once land became arable again. Here it is argued that the revolt was followed by a depopulation of most of the northern areas as well and ensured that neither trans-Saharan nor regional trade could continue in any meaningful way (Baier & Lovejoy 1975).

With each of these factors stacked against the trade this thesis argues that it's demise was not primarily caused by the completion of the rail line lowering the costs of taking the Lagos route.

Instead a multitude of factors resulting from colonial interference in Africa picked apart the economic and political structures upon which the trade was based raising transaction costs for exporting through Tripoli. In reaction, those on either end of the caravan route re-orientated themselves as best they could towards other profitable enterprise given the changing circumstances. This further degraded the trades ability to operate given that it ran on the co-operation of every group it involved. Those who could not as easily re-orientate at the centre of the trade were further faced with antagonistic colonial policy and difficult environmental conditions. This would result in revolt that would remove the last of the infrastructure upon which the desert trade was built.

Methodology

The methodology for the study will be based in a quantitative longitudinal study. This method was chosen as the highest quality data available to provide insight into the caravan trade is the colonial export statistics and consular export estimates. The change in these export statistics over time offers the best opportunity to analyse how the Kano-Tripoli trade route declined.

Over the period during which the caravan route from Tripoli to Kano went into decline there were several potential disruptions that may have contributed to its end. This study will examine the export estimates associated with the caravan route for Tripoli up to 1904 combined with value per kilo data for commodities leaving through the port of Lagos. Given that all goods exported through Lagos would largely have the same end destination as those through Tripoli (ivory and ostrich feathers to Britain, skins and hides to Britain and New York) prices given at the ports would likely mirror each other. Baier (1977) provides some assurances for this assumption as he highlights that consular reports indicated that prices in Tripoli were effectively a reflection of prices in London. The thesis will then make use of export statistics available for Northern Nigeria from 1900 to 1912 and attempt to highlight any affect these disruptions may have had.

The potential disruptions have been chosen as events along the route that may have raised the transaction cost for doing business along the northern route to Tripoli or lowered the cost for moving goods south. First, the arrival of the French forces at Zinder in 1900 and their incorporation of this part of the caravan route into their empire. Second, the fall of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903 and the subsequent British takeover of the area and its administration. Third, the Italian invasion of Tripolitania and the subsequent civil unrest there over the course of 1911. Fourth, the extension of railway lines into the interior of Nigeria which were completed in 1911 and offered a secure and low-cost route to export via the port of Lagos. Finally, the drought of 1911-1913 and the Kaocen revolt that followed it. While the effect of each event will be difficult to determine as they will likely overlap it is hoped that by examining the timing of the caravan trades decline some causality can be inferred.

The study will base its conclusions on how, and more importantly when, the export trade has been diverted from taking a northern route up to Tripoli to taking a southern route and exported either via the Niger river or the port of Lagos. This will be done by focusing on the three major exports that would define the caravan trade through the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th: ivory, ostrich feathers and hides. The study will assume that increases in exports from Northern Nigeria beyond a rate that may be considered production growth, ascertained by examining export growth *before* the diversion of the trade through the port of Lagos, must be diverted trade from the northern caravan route. Given the colonial states weakness it only collected export data moving south through trade posts on the border or the

river. While this does not allow us to monitor drops in goods moving north we can assume that these goods meant for export are likely diverted from that northern caravan route.

The colonial statistics for Northern Nigeria further divide the exports of Northern Nigeria depending on where they were exported through. Most useful for this thesis is the division of exports moving through the trade posts presumably by caravan or river, and those moving south by rail. By utilising this division it will be possible for this thesis to measure the effect of increased rail infrastructure in the north, at least for the first few years where statistics exist. In this way we will be able to distinguish between changes in trade patterns occurring due to the completion of the rail line and those occurring due to the other theorised causes, namely the Italian takeover of Tripoli and the continued campaigns of the French in the Sahara. It will also allow us to measure to what extent the rail lines influenced trade overall at least for its first years of operation while statistics are available.

In order to examine how those areas involved in the caravan trade compensated for the loss the thesis will then examine the changes in exports recorded out of Northern Nigeria and Nigeria after its creation. Again here the ecology of the region plays to the advantage of this study, the northern areas of Nigeria became the largest groundnut and palm producing areas of the country (Austin 2009). As such we can assume that growth in these exports will be primarily made up of exports from the northern regions even after the creation of the colony of Nigeria. Beyond these crops the trade in hides will also be examined. With much of Nigeria being unsuitable for rearing cattle due to the prevalence of sleeping sickness, hides would primarily be produced in the north of the country. The trade in hides may also give us insight into the livelihoods of those who lived in modern day Niger but migrated across the border south both to sell hides and reach pasture during the dry season. While this is a poor proxy for the northern regions of Niger the nomadic nature of those who lived in these areas does allow us some insight into changing production priorities. By examining the change in the makeup of typically northern export commodities the thesis will attempt to display how the livelihood patterns of Nigeriens and Northern Nigerians changed in reaction to the breakdown of traditional economic and political structures. This portion of the thesis will utilise the African Commodity Trade Database (Frankema, Ewout, Williamson and Woltjer 2018) for its data on Nigerian groundnut exports due to its data being far more complete than otherwise available and the aforementioned prevalence of groundnut production in Northern Nigeria.

Limitations of the Data

Before attempting to answer the research question several limitations must first be addressed. First, as with most economic history research, comes the limitations in available data. Although the quality of information generally suffers the further back in history we go this is especially true of Africa, and even more so the African interior, considering most available data was generated at the coast by the so-called colonial 'gate-keeper state'. Given that so much of what we can ascertain comes from export data through colonial and pre-colonial port cities any attempt to reconstruct the economic happenings of the interior will suffer from a lack of reliable data. In order to account for this lack of data on interior trade the research will focus on the end points of the trade routes where goods would often be marked for export. While this will not capture the full value of the caravan trade the boom periods in the trade often coincided with demands for exports, notably ostrich feathers (Baier 1977), it can therefore be assumed to capture a significant portion of the value.

The data from the end points also suffers from possible poor quality. In Tripoli the value of caravan exports is based on estimates by the British consulate in the city. While there is no reason to expect the estimates would be skewed by bias the nature of estimations ensures that the information will not be completely accurate. For this study however, the changes in value year on year will be examined, it is hoped that this will eliminate the effects of any repeated under or over estimations of value. The value of the Tripoli trade also suffers from incomplete data for the timeframe being examined. Here estimates for the value of caravan exports are only completed up until 1904. With Italian influence in the city growing increasingly over the first decade of the 20th century and pushback from the Ottoman empire causing increasing disruption and eventually war this is unsurprising.

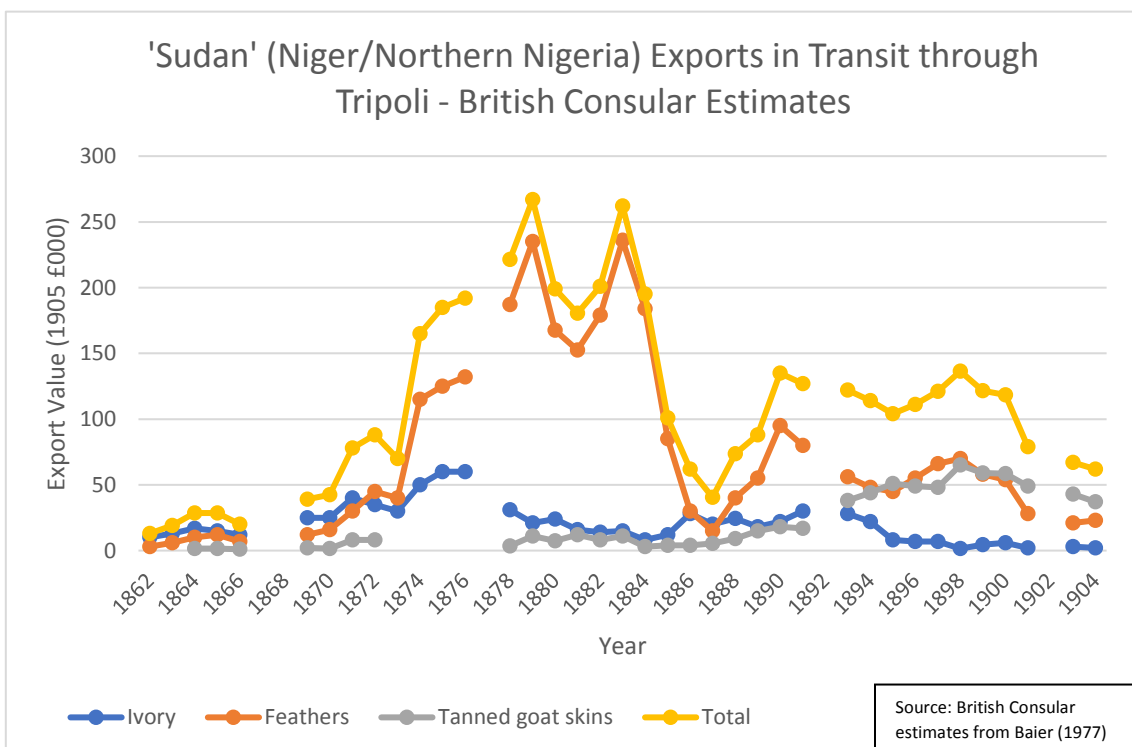
The data used for Kano will be taken from the blue books for the Northern Nigerian province of British West Africa. While this will not give exact data for the size or value of the caravan trade it does allow the breakdown of prices and quantities for the goods being traded in the protectorate. The caravan trade here functioned first by bringing various goods from the desert and the port of Tripoli into Kano (notably natron and British manufactured cloth) to trade for goods which would then be carried to the northern port of Tripoli for export. Here the different ecological zones of desert, savannah and rainforest allow for relatively accurate estimates of where commodities will have been brought from before being recorded for export out of Nigeria (Frederick 2018, Olukoju 1996, Johnson 1976). The data however is lacking in detail during the first years of British rule due to low manpower in Northern Nigeria and many of its economic hubs not coming under British control immediately in 1900. Following from 1903 and the defeat of the Sokoto Caliphate the data on exports from Northern Nigeria becomes gradually more detailed and useful however.

Even as the colonial state in Northern Nigeria became more established the values represented in the export data are not the entirety of the trades value. First, many of the commodities transported along the route will have been intended for regional consumption. With these items not passing through the trade stations they will not have shown up in the figures. Second, items meant for regional trade often went across the borders into French or German territories and may well have been exported through their ports and hence be missing from the data. Third, much regional trade was conducted by bartering necessarily removing its value from the export statistics. Finally, due to the weakness of the colonial state in Northern Nigeria many traders simply moved across the borders into other colonies both to avoid trade duties and to take advantage of the greater range of goods (Northern Nigeria Colonial Blue book 1904, Olukoju 1996). Despite these problems it is likely that the export data present is comparable year on year as these problems remained constant. As such the research will examine the change in value over time in order to gain insight.

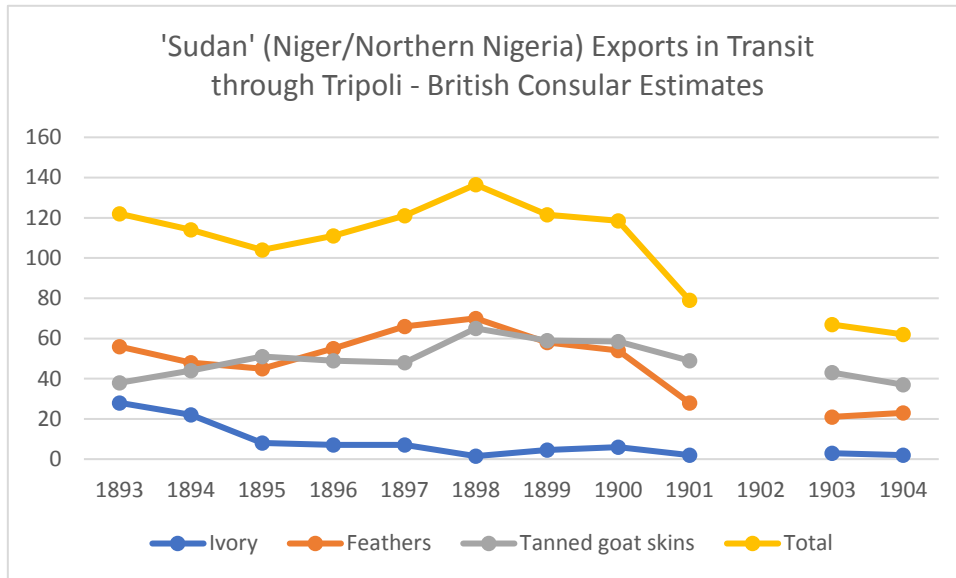
The research will also make use of the African Commodity Trade Database used and created by Frankema, Ewout, Williamson and Woltjer (2018). Considering this database utilises the same colonial blue books as this thesis the data is likely to suffer from many of the same problems and inaccuracies as highlighted above. Its data also represents the whole of Nigeria even before it was combined into a single colony. As such only the prices for exports and the export figures for groundnuts will be utilised.

Data Analysis

When analysing the estimates for caravan export value out of Tripoli there are significant hints that the Kano to Tripoli caravan route was affected by the events along its route. Included in the first graph is the total value of the trade in thousands of 1905 British Pounds (with each £1 being worth approximately £116 in 2018). Here it can be seen that the trade was greatly affected by European demand for ostrich feathers through the late 19th century. The sudden spike and fall in trade value is almost entirely made up by price rises and the consequent production increase in ostrich feathers. It has been highlighted by Baier (1977) that after 1880, although these are trade values, price data from London can be used as a proxy to determine trade volume. Apart from the significant fall in price for ostrich feathers in 1885 where overproduction and a fall from fashion caused the market to crash prices stayed relatively stable over the period. The price for ostrich feathers also recovered and after 1890 prices on each of these exported goods remained stable. It should also be noted that the value in trade during the 1890's maintained a significantly higher average in value than before the boom in ostrich feathers in the early 1870's encouraging the view that the trade was far from dying at this point.

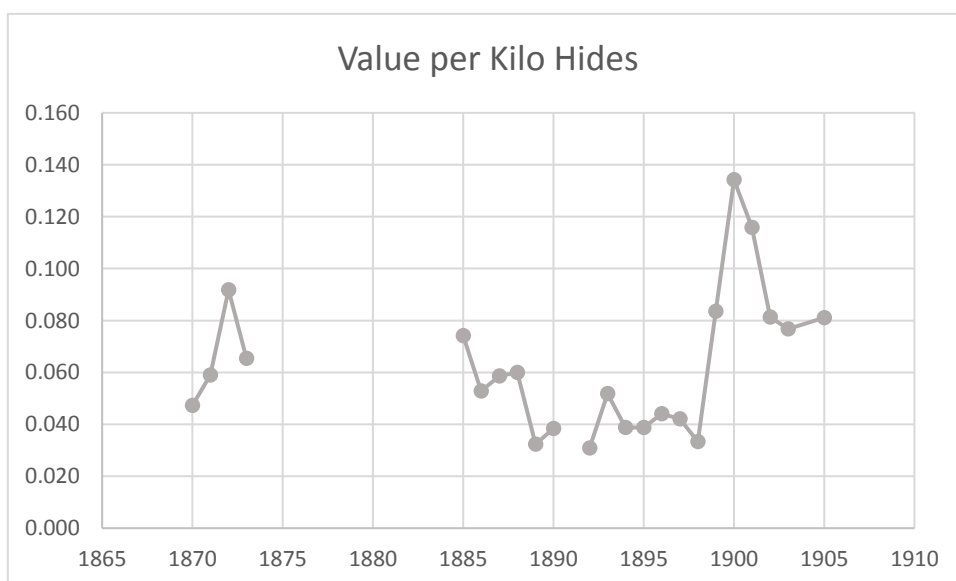


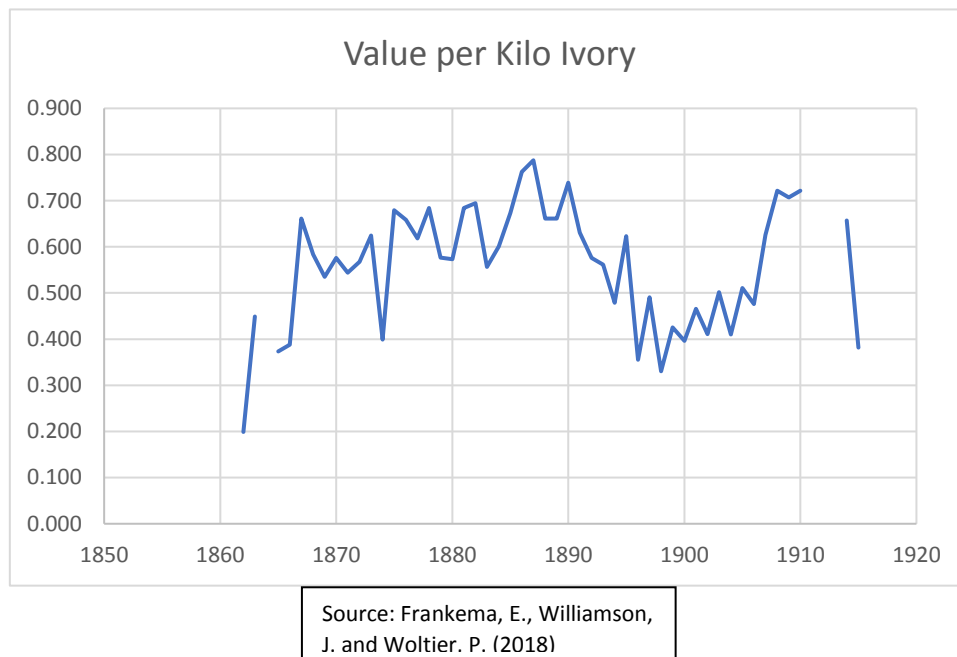
While the Tripoli data is far from complete when the last decade of available data is analysed it seems apparent that a steady decline begins in 1900. With an average value of £121333 through the decade from 1890 to 1899 it would seem that the caravan trade was performing relatively well until the arrival of colonial administrations in Niger and Northern Nigeria. From 1900 through to 1904 however this average drops to £81625 with a near 48% fall in caravan trade value by 1904. These results lend themselves to the arguments that the dismantling of power structures that had an interest in keeping the caravan routes running had a significant adverse effect on the trade *before* the completion of the rail line to Northern Nigeria. It is also important to note that these figures are representing a period *not* experiencing drought. As such it should be expected that with prices remaining stable the value of this trade should be growing as non-drought periods accompanied population and hence production growth.



Source: British Consular estimates from Baier (1977)

It can also be noted using the Tripoli figures the relative importance of each commodity exported over the period. While ostrich feathers clearly drove the boom period in the late 1870's and 1880's by the 1890's the recovery was based both in ostrich feathers and a growth in exports of tanned hides. It can also be seen that the importance of ivory to the trade was diminishing from the early 1890's despite the fact that Johnson (1976) found price estimates by the British consul in Tripoli to be higher than in the 1860's and this is partly supported by the value per kilo assigned for exports in Nigeria although price hikes from the mid 1860's likely encouraged trade. This lull in the ivory trade could also be caused by the new market for tanned goat skins to be found on the coast in Tripoli encouraged the change to this new, in demand commodity. While sources discussed by Johnson (1976) wrote about considerable demand from American merchants the price data does not clearly support this until price spikes in 1900. Alternately the British invasion of Yorubaland during the 1890's may have encouraged an early redirection of this market though the export statistics from Northern Nigeria to be examined later provide no clear confirmation of this.



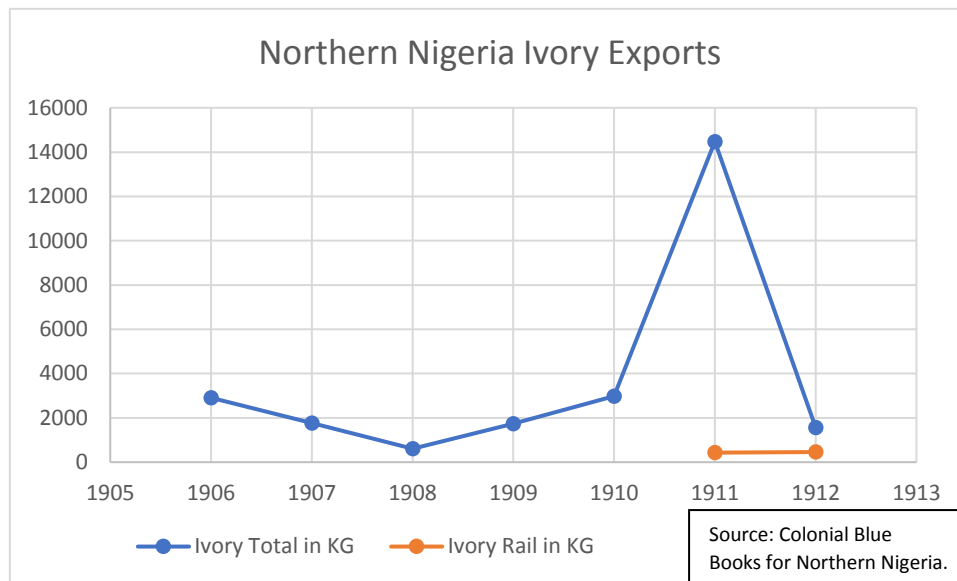


Overall the data from Tripoli does show a decline after 1900 in the caravan trades export value. The available price data for hide show relatively stable prices through the 1890's and increasing prices following 1898. Despite this the value of the trade in hides drops after 1900 implying the volume being exported through Tripoli went into decline at this point. This is in spite of the higher prices in the 1900's than the 1890's when this commodity saw significant growth in exports implying that production should have increased further in the 1900's. The data for Tripoli combined with the value per kilo given at Lagos therefore implies that exports must have been diverting slowly away from the Northern route. This is a notable point as after 1900 the French colonial forces had taken much of Niger and the towns through which the caravan trade passed as well as the year the colony of Northern Nigeria was created by the British.

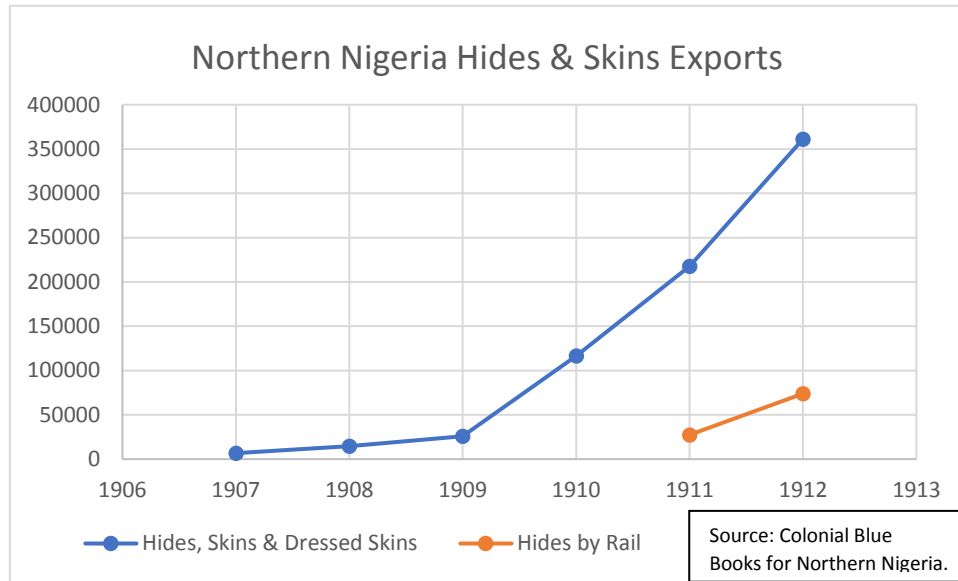
The export of ivory by the late 1890's appears to have become far less significant to the caravan trade through Tripoli than in previous decades. The price data shows a fall in ivory value through the 1890's before a recovery in 1905, this data provides a strong indication that falls in the value of ivory exports through Tripoli were most likely caused by merchants adjusting what they carried across the desert in response to prices. The fall in value of the ostrich feather trade after 1900 is most likely associated with falling volumes of trade. Baier (1977) found that prices for the feathers gradually fell after their recovery from the 1885 crash. This was until the mid-1910's when the feathers fell from fashion again. With the gradual fall in prices described it is unlikely that the value traded could have fallen two thirds from 1898 to 1903, just a five-year period.

When examining the export data from Northern Nigeria it immediately becomes clear that the issues highlighted earlier in the thesis on the completeness of the data are correct. Often there are spikes in production that can only be explained by more of production being accounted for in the exports that year. This is likely due to those who are exporting commodities attempting to avoid the colonial state so as not to pay tax on said commodities. After considering these data limitations the thesis has chosen to place most emphasis on the export data for hides and skins for the Northern Nigerian period as it lacks the spikes in production present in the ivory and ostrich feather trades and data is available enough years to observe a pattern, unlike the ostrich

feather trade. Given the limitations of the ostrich feather trade data it has been left in the appendix but will not be analysed.

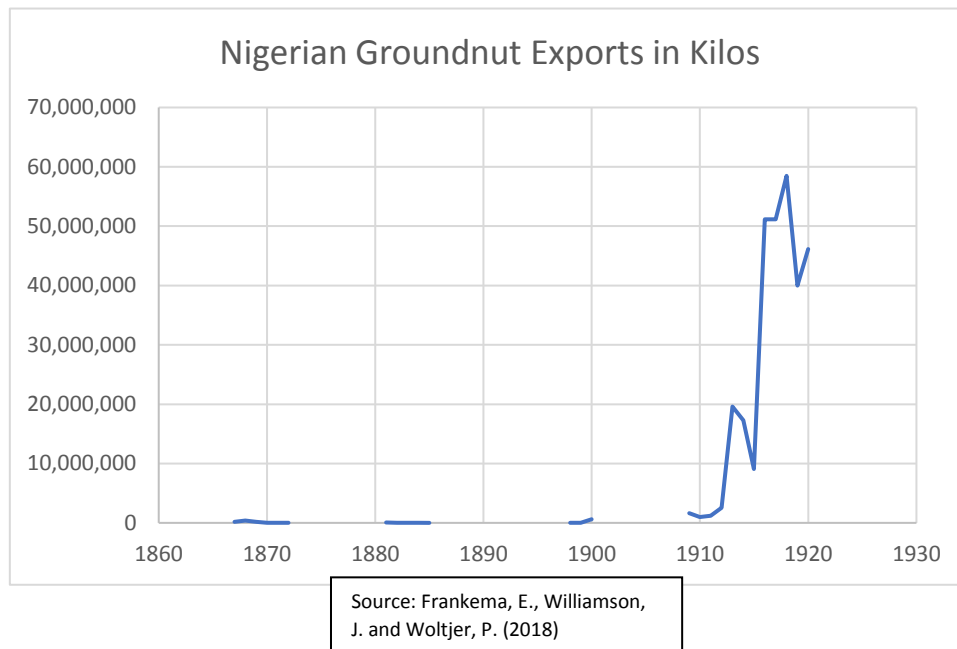


The data on the ivory trade through Northern Nigeria from 1906 to 1912 clearly suffers from problems with the data recorded in 1911. This may simply be a mistake though the value of ivory exports also shot up from £1154.85 to £8202.25 that year and given state funding was raised from export duties it seems unlikely such a mistake could have been made. Alternatively, the data for 1911 could be more representative of the actual size of the ivory trade out of Northern Nigeria. Given that duties on ivory were among the first imposed by the colonial state (Blue Book 1901) and the fact that each tusk weighed many kilos and duties were paid on weight there are clear incentives to avoid colonial customs on them. It is entirely possible that during this year merchants trying to export south, possibly diverting from the northern route given the Italian-Ottoman war in Tripoli, were caught and forced to pay the export duties. The data does however provide some insight. First, given that the railway to Kano is often listed as a primary cause of the caravan routes demise it carried a remarkably low amount of ivory exports. Far more is listed as moving through the Idah station customs house on the river Niger. Second that the small recovery in the trade after 1908 coincides with the increasing value per kilo. When combined with the Tripoli data showing low overall value of ivory to the trade this suggests that production as a whole slowed while prices were relatively low.



The colonial data for the export of hides, skins and dressed skins does not suffer from the sudden jumps in recorded production. The data does however show an incredibly fast climb in exports with the average year on year growth in exports at 139%. While some of this may be the increasing competence of the colonial state on taxing its exports the year on year increase cannot only be attributed to this. By 1907 the colonial state had been in power across the entirety of Northern Nigeria for 4 years and much of the land for 7. It is also notable that the increase in trade south began years before the completion of the rail line to Kano, further even once the rail line had been completed it accounted for an average of 16.55% of the trade. This promotes the conclusion that the rail line was not the driver for trade switching from the northern to southern routes although it did assist the expansion of the Kano-Lagos trade. The increasing trade in hides also provides insight on how the loss of the northern trade route was compensated for. For the Tuareg states the loss of the caravans passing through their territory must have encouraged an expansion to the economic opportunities still open to them. The rapid increase in hides and skins moving south is almost certainly a sign that integration into the new southern market was the most economically sound option available.

Apart from the increase in exported hides the data also shows increasing exports of cash crops, notably groundnuts. The cash crop revolution and its effects on livelihoods is well documented and researched (Austin 2005, Austin 2009, Frankema, Williamson & Woltjer 2015). In the context of this thesis however the sudden boom in commodity prices and the subsequent shift towards their production demonstrates how the southern section of the caravan route, the Hausa states, was drawn out of the co-operative chain that allowed the caravan route to function. It also provides insight into how strengthening integration with the southern economy compensated for the loss of the northern trade route. The data presented is taken from the African Commodity Trade Database (Frankema, Ewout, Williamson and Woltjer 2018) and represents the whole of Nigeria though previous research (Austin 2009) indicates that Northern Nigeria was the principal region for groundnut growth.



Here the data clearly lends credence to the importance of the northern rail lines in encouraging southern trade in cash crops. From 1912, the year after the Kano-Lagos line was completed, groundnut exports increased rapidly. This highlights that, not only could the caravan route north not transport perishable goods of this quantity but also that the production of groundnuts as a cash crop must have been significantly more profitable than attempting to produce anything else for the Tripoli route given the speed of the transition. The sudden surge in groundnut production for southern markets may also be linked with the Italian-Ottoman war in 1911 causing the delay of many caravans during that year and the continuing uncertainty of the routes safety after (Olukoju 1996).

Conclusions

Following careful analysis of the data it would appear the empirical material supports several of the arguments in this thesis. There are however issues with the quality of some of the data that create uncertainty surrounding the results and does not allow us a proper and in-depth analysis on each of the commodities. Further, while establishing causality in historical case studies is incredibly difficult, combining and applying the theories of Herbst (2000) and North (1994) here does allow a construction of events that matches the empirical material and is suitably holistic of the range of issues facing the caravan trade upon its decline.

The data from Tripoli when combined with the price data from Lagos lends itself to our argument of colonial impact accelerating the trades decline. The beginning of the trades decline, from a relatively strong standpoint in the 1890's, occurs with the incursion of colonial powers into the interior of West Africa in 1900. Despite the increasing value of hides, which were at this point driving the trade, the value of exports begins to decrease year on year from 1900. The other two main commodities in the trade, ostrich feathers and ivory, also see falls in overall export value from this point on. Given that the trade was based on the power relations along the route as well as the ability of the Hausa states, Tuareg and northern merchants to co-operate the arrival of the French and British can be the only viable explanation for this protracted decline.

The data presented from the exports of Northern Nigeria, while unreliable for ivory and ostrich feathers, do show exceptional increases in the number of hides being exported south. While the

increases truly begin in 1908 this does fit evidence discussed earlier from Olukoja (1996) that north bound caravans chose to delay or halt departure after French forces massacred a Kano bound caravan in that year. The revolution in the Ottoman empire in the same year also prompted the remilitarization of Tripoli by the empire in retaliation to Italian interference, forcibly closing Italian businesses based there. The state-sponsored attempts to integrate Tripoli's economy with the Italian one over the previous half decade and their sudden end provides further reasoning for this re-direction of trade south. It is also noted by Olukoja (1996) that, faced with these difficulties, many of the merchants engaged in the caravan trade abandoned Tripoli as their commercial base and moved to either Lagos or Kano in this period further explaining this re-direction.

The colonial data from Northern Nigeria also provides interesting insight into the role of the rail line to Kano and its contribution in ending the trade. While most scholars put falling transport costs south as the primary reason for the trades decline the colonial data shows that only a small portion of the caravan trades staple commodities were in fact carried south by rail upon its completion. The commodities associated with the caravan trade also seemed to have begun being re-directed south before the rail lines completion. With this in mind the arguments made in this thesis of colonial impact, both in terms of dismantling the power relations essential for the trades functionality and disruptive policies, raising the cost to transact north are a far more compelling argument.

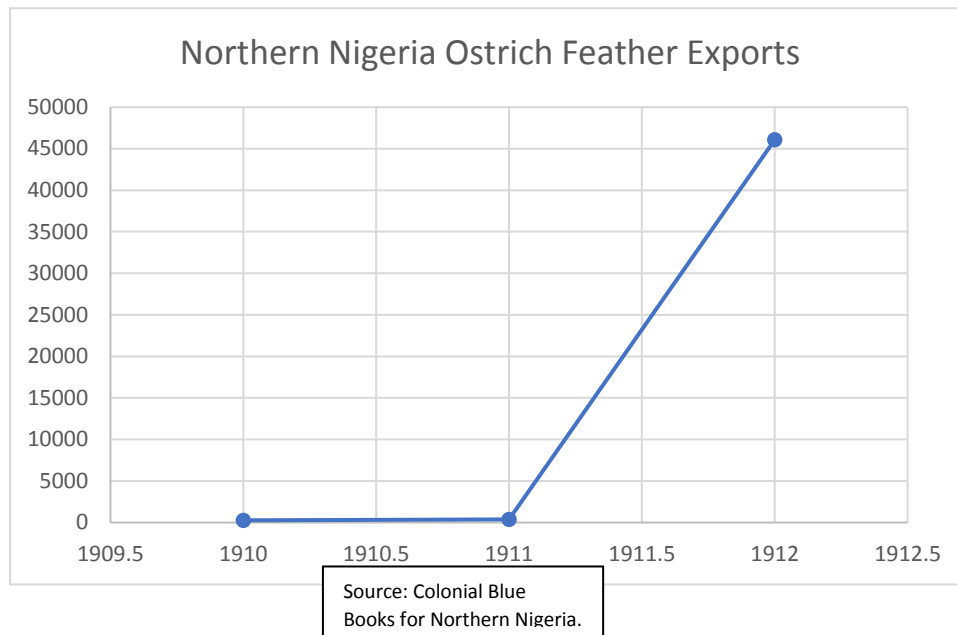
The impact of the railway can however be seen when considering the cash crop revolution that took place in Northern Nigeria around the time of its completion. The dramatic rise in groundnut production is timed perfectly with the advent of rail travel from the north to the port of Lagos. This however does fit into the theoretical structure of this thesis, while the Hausa states on the southern end of the trade route were producing goods for the Kano-Tripoli trade it could still function effectively. The arrival of the rail line provided new, more profitable opportunities for those in its vicinity to grow export cash crops for the world market. Those living in the former Sokoto Caliphate are likely the group who saw a switch to far more profitable line of business and for whom the end of the caravan trade actually represented a positive in purely economic terms.

The data unfortunately does not provide exact insight into when the trade finally collapsed though historical sources as presented by Olukoju (1996) claim that caravan traffic into Tripoli in 1911 was a tenth of what it had been a decade before. Without export data from Tripoli continuing into the 1910's it is impossible to put an exact end date to the trade from Kano. The drought of 1911-1914 and the subsequent revolt against the French in modern day Niger are almost certainly the last nails in the coffin for trans-Saharan trade and a setback for smaller scale regional trade that would not be fully recovered until the early 1950's (Baier & Lovejoy 1975).

Despite the necessary explanatory leaps that are required when attempting to examine 100-year-old trade without direct data this thesis suggests that previous literature has largely underestimated the resilience of the Kano-Tripoli trade route. Falling transportation costs south, while certainly a factor in the trades redirection, were not the primary cause for it. Instead the arrival of colonial powers, the changes they brought about in the political sphere and their obstructive policies raised the costs of continuing to export along the northern route at the same time as the southern route saw falls in costs. After 1900 these changes began forcing the decline of the Kano-Tripoli trade route. The rail line out of Kano did however, have significant impact in changing the co-operative pattern that allowed the route to function. By providing a quick route to the port of Lagos bulkier and perishable goods could now be exported from Northern Nigeria.

The 'cash crop revolution' that followed would offer far more profitable economic activity to those at the southern end of the Kano-Tripoli trade route providing incentives for them to stop producing for the north bound route.

On this thesis' relevance to contemporary issues in Northern Niger, namely replacing the economic activity from the migration industry, there has been one important point that undoubtedly still holds true. Given the regions isolated nature it is evident that economic success in the northern areas of Niger require it to be effectively linked into the wider economy to keep down the costs to transact. The increasing costs to transact for the region during the decline of the caravan trade would end in disaster that took decades to recover from. Findings from Hoffmann, Meester and Nabara (2017) indicate that this still holds true today. Policy in the region requires reformulating and should lose its current focus on blocking migration routes, which inadvertently does more damage to legitimate commerce, and instead focus on furthering commercial integration with southern regions of Niger and into Nigeria.

Appendix

This graph was not included due to its incomplete nature and clear inconsistencies in data collection.

References

- Adebayo, A. (1992). The Production and Export of Hides and Skins in Colonial Northern Nigeria, 1900–1945. *The Journal of African History*, 33(02).
- Austin, G. (2009). Cash Crops and Freedom: Export Agriculture and the Decline of Slavery in Colonial West Africa. *International Review of Social History*, 54(01).
- Austin, G. (2010). African Economic Development and Colonial Legacies. *Revue internationale de politique de développement*, 1(1), pp.11-32.
- Baier, S. (1977). Trans-Saharan Trade and the Sahel: Damergu, 1870–1930. *The Journal of African History*, 18(01).
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1900). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1900. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1901). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1901. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1902). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1902. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1903). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1903. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1904). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1904. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1905). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1905. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1906). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1906. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1907). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1907. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1908). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1908. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1909). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1909. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1910). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1910. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1911). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1911. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1912). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1912. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- British Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1913). Nigeria [Northern Nigeria] Blue Book 1913. London: British Foreign & Commonwealth Office.

- Cana, F. (1915). The Sahara in 1915. *The Geographical Journal*, 46(5).
- Deycard, F. (2018). Political Cultures and Tuareg Mobilizations: Rebels of Niger, from Kaocen to the Mouvement des Nigériens pour la Justice. In: Y. Guichaoua, ed., *Understanding Collective Political Violence*, 1st ed. Palgrave Macmillan, pp.46-61.
- Frankema, E., Williamson, J. and Woltjer, P. (2018). An Economic Rationale for the West African Scramble? The Commercial Transition and the Commodity Price Boom of 1835–1885. *The Journal of Economic History*, 78(01), pp.231-267.
- Frederick, K. (2018). A Comparative Analysis of East and West African Cotton Cloth Production from the Early Modern to the Post-Colonial Era. African Economic History Network working paper series, No. 37.
- Gibbons, H. (2015). *An Introduction to World Politics*. Routledge, pp.228-243. (First Published 1922)
- Herbst, J. (2000). *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. 1st ed. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp.11-96.
- Hoffmann, A., Meester, J. and Nabara, H. (2017). Migration and Markets in Agadez: Economic alternatives to the migration industry. Clingendael, Netherlands Institute of International Relations.
- Johnson, M. (1976). Calico Caravans: The Tripoli-Kano Trade after 1880. *The Journal of African History*, 17(01), p.95.
- Lovejoy, P. and Baier, S. (1975). The Desert-Side Economy of the Central Sudan. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 8(4).
- Lydon, G. (2005). Writing trans-Saharan history: Methods, sources and interpretations across the African divide. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 10(3-4), pp.293-324.
- North, D. (1994). Economic Performance Through Time. *The American Economic Review*, 84(3), pp.359-368.
- North, D., Wallis, J. and Weingast, B. (2006). A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History. NBER Working Paper No. 12795.
- Olukoju, A. (1996). SPATIAL ANALYSIS AND INTER-PORT COMPETITION: LAGOS, THE NIGER AND THE "CAPTURE" OF THE KANO-TRIPOLI TRADE, C.1890-1914. *The Great Circle*, Vol. 18(No. 1 (1996)), pp.30-47.
- Pezard, S. and Shurkin, M. (2015). *Achieving Peace in Northern Mali*. Santa Monica, California: RAND Corporation, pp.7-11.
- Raineri, L. (2018). Human smuggling across Niger: state-sponsored protection rackets and contradictory security imperatives. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56(01), pp.63-86.